THE EARLY COMIC STRIP

David Kunzle

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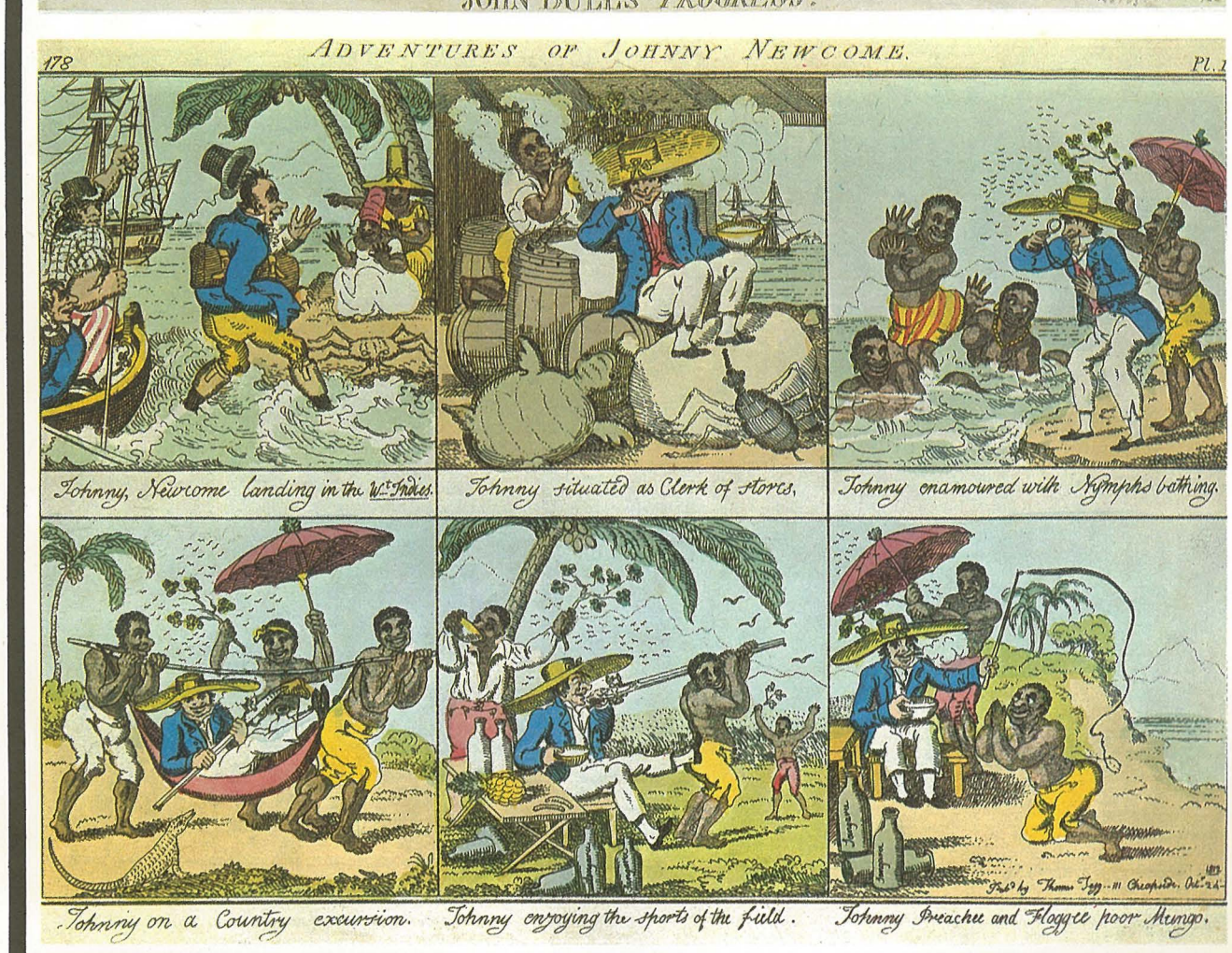

FRONTISPIECE: Top, *John Bull's Progress* (James Gillray, 1793). See Catalog, 12–28.
Bottom, *Adventures of Johnny Newcome* (William Elmes, 1812). See Catalog, 12–24.
Courtesy Wilmarth S. Lewis Collection, Farmington, Conn.

HISTORY OF THE COMIC STRIP
VOLUME I:

THE EARLY COMIC STRIP

Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from c. 1450 to 1825

David Kunzle

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The picture story, which the critics disregard and scholars scarcely notice, had great influence at all times, perhaps even more than written literature.

—Rodolphe Töpffer, ESSAY ON PHYSIOGNOMY, 1845

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PREFACE

"It would be tempting to trace the development which leads from Hogarth's picture stories to those of Töpffer."[1] It was as a PhD student at the University of London that I found myself succumbing to this temptation, and worked upon this, one of the many seminal ideas thrown up by the writings of Dr. E. H. Gombrich. My curiosity had also been aroused by the possibilities opened up by Mrs. Hilde Kurz, in an article published by the *Warburg Journal* in 1952, which analyzed certain 17th century Italian predecessors to Hogarth's moral narratives. I have not been able, as I had originally intended, to include in the present volume the work of Töpffer, whom I hold in reserve for the second volume of this *History*; but I have, on the other hand, been able to trace the picture story back to the 16th and even the 15th century, and to find a very large body of non-Italian examples from the 17th century. I still find myself surprised by the European-wide distribution of the phenomenon: Germany, Italy, France, the Netherlands, England, and even Russia, all have a contribution to make.

This volume then is based upon material, the bulk of which was first presented as a doctoral dissertation to the University of London, but which has been entirely reorganized, re-written, and substantially augmented in certain areas. I must acknowledge, first and foremost, the help of Dr. Gombrich, who guided me so skillfully through my first researches. I would like to thank the curators and staff of all the print rooms and libraries I have used, as listed on p. 431. I must single out the following institutions in particular where conditions are very favorable to study of the European broadsheet: the British Museum, where Mr. Cave, Mr. Coulson, and others worked tirelessly on my behalf; the van Stolk Collection in Rotterdam where, in the most pleasant ambiance, Miss Crol put the entire collection at my disposal, answered so many questions and patiently filled so many photographic orders; the Germanisches Museum in Nürnberg, where the print room is arranged ideally for research into the 'Bilderbogen'; and the Bertarelli Collection, in Milan, where Dottoressa Alberici proved most cooperative, and her assistant Mr. Enzo Roncaglio showed unusual devotion to the cause.

I would also like to thank the following for help of various kinds: M. Jean Adhémar, Sir Anthony Blunt, Dr. Peter Brieger, Dr. Caflisch, Mr. Michael Evans, Ann Friedman, who helped with the index, Mrs. Enriqueta Frankfort, Professor Gotthard Jedlicka, Mr. Holtrup, Dr. Peter Kidson (who took photographs for me), Mr. Paul Knabenschuhe, Dr. Otto Kurz, Professor Magnani of the University of Toronto, Mr. A. G. R. Petti (who generously lent me photographs), Miss Rosemary Rendel, Mr. Patrizio Rossi, Mrs. Roberta Rust, Mr. Schachar, Professor Gershom Scholem, Mr. Ronald Searle (who lent me photographs), Dr. Douglas Stewart, Dr. Frank Tobin, Mr. David Van Horn, Mrs. Frances Vivian, and Dr. Marian Wenzel. To Melinda Tharaud, who helped read the proofs, I owe a very special debt of gratitude. My thanks also go to Ernest Callenbach, of the University of California Press, who has shown exceptional care and energy in seeing this work through the press; and to Dave Comstock, for designing it so handsomely.

I must register a special note of thanks to my sister Margaret, my sister-in-law Valerie, Vera and Brita Luymes, Karen Stoerchle, and Charlene Miller. The later stages of my work were substantially aided by the ever helpful advice and criticism of Dr. Enzo Nizza, of Edizioni La Pietra.

The debt I owe to Regine is incomparable and inexpressible.

Translations and paraphrases of all texts from French, German, Italian and Dutch prints are my own; for the English version of the Russian captions I am indebted to the kindness and expertise of Mr. Arnold McMillin and Mrs. Helen Frost.

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September 1968

1. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, p. 350.

INTRODUCTION

Comic strip—a definition

This book is intended as a history or pre-history of an artistic phenomenon which is part pictorial and part literary, and known to the English-speaking world variously as "comic strip," "comic," "comic book," "strip cartoon," and "the funnies." Of all these terms, "comic strip" is the most commonly used for the newspaper strip; the English also frequently use "strip cartoon" (i.e. strip drawn in the comic style of the cartoon). A comic book is a book of comic strips. Terminology suggests that the concept "comic" is inseparable from the strip, which is to a certain extent misleading. The word or its equivalent in this sense is peculiar to English-speaking countries: the French, with characteristic accuracy, say *bande dessinée* (drawn strip), the Germans (when they do not use the American term[1]) say *Bilderstreifen* or *Bildergeschichte* (picture strip, picture story), and the Italians have the term *fumetto*. The latter is particularly inappropriate from the historical point of view, since speech balloons (*fumetto* means literally a "puff of smoke") are not a definitive characteristic of the comic strip even in modern times.

Thus it is only the English language which insists that "drawn strips" are comic. Around 1900, when they became assured of their place in the Sunday newspapers, comics were certainly intended as light entertainment, a function they inherited from the nineteenth century and which they retained well into the twentieth. But a glance at the plates in this volume will show that the earliest strips were not comic at all, either in style or content; and anyone familiar with the "comics" page in an American newspaper of today knows that the outright humorous strips are equalled in number by those telling serious stories in a grimly realistic style. The contemporary American strip has, in a sense, reverted to source; being only partially comic, its appeal has widened, and in ideological content it has resumed somewhat its original role of providing people with moral and political propaganda. There is little doubt that the present combination of comic and non-comic in the "comic strip" wields a greater social influence than one or the other alone.

The pre-history with which we are dealing reveals how the truly *comic* strip does not emerge until pictorial propaganda and the social cartoon become entirely comic in style, that is, in late eighteenth-century England. At this stage of its development, however, I have preferred to use the phrase "caricatural strip" in order to link it with the stylistic revolution in popular graphic art known as caricature. I never refer to the pre-caricatural (i.e. pre-1780) strip as the "comic strip," even when it contains an element of humor. I generally use the terms "narrative strip" or "narrative sequence," "picture story" or "pictorial sequence" (depending upon the format involved) in order to stress the *narrative* role of the medium, which I consider primary.

All over the Western world, the comic strip has become a major form of mass communication, a potent force in molding public opinion, an international language (many strips are translated simultaneously into several languages) understood and enjoyed by the literate and semi-literate alike. There are signs that the socialist republics also, the Russians and the Chinese, are beginning to exploit the medium. It goes without saying that picture stories appeal to the semi-educated; and I am convinced (although I can hardly prove it) that there are few educated people, at least in the United States, who have never glanced with interest and amusement at a comic strip. Many intellectuals are virtually addicts of certain strips, and not necessarily those with the greatest intellectual content. The comic strip cuts across social and educational boundaries today, just as its ancestor did in the earlier centuries. But here is the paradox: "Of all the lively arts, the Comic Strip is the most despised, and with the exception of the movies, the most popular."[2]

Critics and scholars have by and large ignored the comic strip and its history. I do not think many sociologists or critics of the mass media have denied the social importance of the comic strip; but neither do they regret the lack of a history of the subject. The academic historian of art or literature apparently prefers to ignore the pre-twentieth century strip as a factor in the development of the popular media.[3] It is customary to defend the publication of volumes as large as this one with the claim that they fulfill a long-felt, much declared scholarly need; I do not make any such claim.

Compilers of books on the twentieth-century comic strip, far from regretting the absence of a survey on the earlier period, are content to provide, in a few paragraphs or a few pages, their own potted history which dips

1. Cf. Welke.

2. Gilbert Seldes, *The Seven Lively Arts*, p. 193.

3. Art historians have failed to recognize the exceptional character of the *narrative* element within the *oeuvre* of those artists who have already enjoyed some critical attention: Callot, Rubens, Mitelli, Chodowiecki, Greuze and Morland. Even Hogarth has never been considered as a *narrator*, and the lone pioneering article upon some of his most important narrative predecessors (9–19, 9–20) is brushed aside by a noted Hogarth critic (Antal, pp. 97–98), who finds them "fundamentally medieval moralities illustrating Luxury, one of the Deadly Sins," having little or nothing to do with Hogarth.

haphazardly into the general history of art, comic and narrative; or else the reader is left with the impression that there simply is no history to the comic strip before the 1890s. Both attitudes are misleading, and both, I believe, derive from a simple failure of definition. What do we mean by "comic strip"? It is a curious fact, for instance, that many authors seem devoted to speech balloons, which I do not think an essential ingredient of the comic strip; furthermore, these same writers tie the invention of this ancient device to Hogarth, who would never have dreamed of introducing so unsightly a thing into his picture stories.

Surprising precursors have been found for the modern strip cartoonist. A monograph by John Paul Adams on that modern stalwart, Milton Caniff, is subtitled "Rembrandt of the Comic Strip." Rembrandt, as a father of the art, is only one among several names no less grand. Adams, ignorant of common art-historical usage, as of the distinction between "cartoon" and "comic strip," writes that "there are celebrated cartoons by Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, as well as Rembrandt."[4] The cartoon (joke) showing the American standing before Raphael's famous tapestry cartoons (full-scale colored drawings) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, saying "the drawing's good, but I don't get the joke" presumably reflects actual experience. Typically, a writer, without actually alleging a major contribution to the comic strip by masters of the Italian Renaissance, will ennoble its ancestry by means of great "monuments" from the entire history of art. Becker ranges from the Bayeux Tapestry to Rowlandson's book illustrations; della Corte cites Trajan's column, the Parthenon friezes, and Giotto's frescoes as ancestors of the comic strip, and considers inscriptions in certain ninth-century mosaics and Jewish phylacteries as the immediate prototypes of the speech balloon. A recent Italian publication, *Primi Eroi*, adds to the family tree such recherché items as Japanese scrolls and Mexican codices. A museum of the comic strip (which ought surely to be established) would, according to such definitions, rival the scope of the Louvre and British Museum combined. *Time* magazine pays this tribute to the existing state of knowledge about the history of the comic strip: "Conscientious (sic) historians like to trace the strips back to Egyptian papyrus, Grecian ceramics, medieval tapestries, or Hogarth's illustrations of eighteenth-century London low-life; but as a matter of practical fact, the modern comics were not born until the 1890s. . . ."[5]

For our present work, I would propose a definition in which a "comic strip" of any period, in any country, fulfills the following conditions: 1). There must be a sequence of separate images; 2). There must be a preponderance of image over text; 3). The medium in which the strip appears and for which it is originally intended must be reproductive, that is, in printed form, a mass medium; 4). The sequence must tell a story which is both moral and topical. We will briefly examine the implications of these four prerequisites regarding the period with which we are dealing.

1. A SEQUENCE OF IMAGES

The first, and most obvious, distinguishing characteristic of the comic strip is the sequence of images. "Comic strip" or "strip cartoon" is not the same as "cartoon," which means a graphic joke or humorous illustration.

A "cartoon"[6] has for over a century meant essentially any humorous drawing on any subject, printed in a magazine or newspaper. Although the comic strip (or strip cartoon) may be regarded as a subspecies of cartoon, its mode of operation, its appeal, and to a certain extent its style, are different from those of the cartoon. Single cartoons appear regularly in the comics section of the American newspaper, but they remain quite distinct and in a small minority, in relation to the strips.

The number of images in a sequence can vary considerably, but four seem to be standard in the modern joke (or "gag") strip, which stands formally midway between the single cartoon and the continuous narrative strip. The latter appears in serial form in the daily newspapers, usually with four scenes a day; more integral sequences are published in comic books. In my study of the ancestors of the modern strip, I have used four scenes as the lower limit, although the joke strip and the serialized strip of today are sometimes reduced to three or even two scenes. There is virtually no upper limit. Today's serialized strips, running the same story daily over a three-month period, average roughly four hundred scenes. In the present study, covering a period when the series strip did not exist, the longest story contains fifty-two scenes.

2. PREPONDERANCE OF IMAGE OVER TEXT

Although the comic strip is essentially a hybrid form, part verbal and part pictorial, the latter must be considered as its primary feature. A comic strip can consist of pictures alone; many do today and many did in earlier times; but it cannot be dominated by text. There is a distinction, however, between imagery which illustrates a text and imagery which is clarified by a text. It is often difficult to determine in a specific instance the exact relationship between image and text and which came first,[7] but it is usually clear which carries the burden of the narrative. I have excluded any strip in which the captions occupy a larger space than the picture (the Russian strip (8–30) is a borderline case).

Students of the modern strip seem to feel that the enclosure of text in speech balloons is an essential strip characteristic. There are seldom speech balloons in the earli-

4. P. 50. Misapprehension over the word "cartoon" has led to the most extraordinary mistakes even in works of relatively scholarly appearance. D. M. White places the founding of *Punch* (first published 1841) in the seventeenth century; inspired by the example of *Punch*, Benjamin Franklin is alleged to have introduced cartooning into North America.

Originally the term for the full-scale drawing on paper (Italian *carta*, *cartone*) used by painters to aid in transferring a design to a large rigid surface, the word "cartoon" was first given a humorous twist by *Punch* in 1843, when it launched a mock competition for designs or "cartoons" for the proposed decoration of the new Houses of Parliament.

5. April, 1965, p. 60.

6. Cf. note 4.

7. The situation is complicated by a habit of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century publishers, which may have been quite common since it possessed certain obvious commercial advantages, of selling engravings separately from the book for which they were originally made. Sometimes the illustrations were published in album form (e.g. Rowlandson's to *Dr. Syntax*) and occasionally reduced to strip form (2–23 is a specific instance of the latter). Alternatively, existing strips may have been broken up and inserted as illustrations to a book (cf. 1–26).

est strips, because the characters depicted do not speak; they mime actions, which are explained and commented upon as necessary by captions placed either directly above or (more commonly) beneath the picture. Those words used editorially to fill a narrative gap or provide a quick recapitulation were usually placed within the picture-frame. Artists of the post-Renaissance period, however, found this relic of common medieval practice an unaesthetic and primitive method of telling stories, and preferred to restrict the text (if text there had to be) to a space of its own, where it would not impinge upon the pictorial space. The speech balloon derives from the scroll held by prophets in medieval art, as is still apparent in the archaic Russian strip (7–20). Balloons and scrolls became increasingly popular during the seventeenth century, especially in the more sophisticated English broadsheets, but always in conjunction with, not in lieu of, captions or commentary. Even today there are strip cartoonists (notably Feiffer) who for aesthetic reasons avoid putting the dialogue into balloons. There is no cause, then, to regard the balloon as a definitive ingredient of the comic strip.

The content of a page containing a strip may include an extensive body of letterpress commentary, in addition to or in lieu of captions. In most cases, however, the longer kind of commentary can be considered a dispensable adjunct, which perhaps aids the understanding of the pictures, but is not essential to them. There are numerous other letterpress devices, ranging from internal labels which identify people or places, to "legends" which function as captions grouped below for convenience in printing. The various combinations of letterpress and engraved picture found in old broadsheets are innumerable, and there is no need to categorize them. The important point is that the pictorial part be primary.

3. A MASS MEDIUM

It is of course the mass distribution of newspaper strip and comic book which renders them so potent a cultural influence. The comic strip is, and can only be, the product of the printing press. There was no such thing as a mass medium, as I understand the term, before the invention of printing. This is not to say that the pre-Gutenberg world did not know the concept of propaganda directed at large numbers of people, that images and words could not radically influence public opinion and political events, that Trajan's column or the Bayeux Tapestry were not intended to spread over Europe the military reputation of the Romans and Normans respectively. But even if Trajan's column were "unwound," as it were, and thus made visible beyond the first row, and even if the Bayeux Tapestry had been displayed in a church or market place, visible to all, they would not rank as mass media.

A mass medium is mobile; it travels to man, and does not require man to travel to it. Although it may be addressed to the public at large, it invites possession by an individual. A printed paper, pinned on the wall of an inn, allows the reader to identify with its contents, in a manner usually denied to an officially sponsored painting permanently on view in a church. Further, if a man can own a print, hold it in his hands, and pass it on to a friend, his participation in its content increases correspondingly. While the roots of narrative art extend, in various media, back to and beyond the Middle Ages, the narrative strip as a means of popular communication cannot be said to ante-date the invention of printing.

4. TOPICAL MORAL NARRRATIVE

Whether it is considered morally harmful or morally useful, progressive or reactionary, the modern comic strip has undeniably strong moral content. In the early centuries also, most printed matter was fundamentally moral in intent. There is a certain amount of graphic material, such as illustration of technical processes and engravings of courtly ceremonials, which meets the three requirements outlined above, without being moral in the proper sense of the term. Such "technical" graphics need not concern us. I exclude not only technical narrative, but also most religious narrative, because its morality is of a traditional, not topical character. Several incunabula strips exist recounting the life of Christ, the Virgin, or the saints (cf. 1–7, 1–8, 1–9), which are evidently imitated from the late medieval subdivided altarpiece. These are not considered original productions of the printing press, and their *immediate* moral content cannot be compared with that of the strips not dependent upon Christian texts. Social morality is best influenced by reference to current events; effective propaganda is always tied to the possibility of rapid social and political change. If a print is topical, it becomes an instrument of social or political propaganda, and as such acquires *ipso facto* moral meaning. We thus eliminate not only the religious story, but all traditional stories, all material which appeals not because it is new but because it is old. I have found, however, surprisingly few early printed strips (as opposed to illustrated books) relating traditional folk tales. Judging from available evidence, it was not until the later eighteenth, and primarily the nineteenth century, that there developed a real market in Europe for picture strips telling such tales as *Tom Thumb* and *Till Eulenspiegel.* I have included only one example of a traditional cautionary tale (8–18), because in style and subject matter it happens to match some truly topical strips.

Apart from a body of strips based upon traditional Christian iconography, most of the early ones relate to a specific political event, or else are set in a precise social-historical and geographical context. Such stories are moral in a way that a traditional tale cannot be, for they contain a call to political or social action: to resist a tyrant or to abandon a personal life of vice. They are set in the present, and demand immediate change. The essentially popular narrative strip does not have recourse to the example of the Christian saint or the legendary hero, but rather presents identifiable contemporaries who may be actual political celebrities, or else fictional types in whom the reader can easily recognize himself and his fellow-men.

The moral quality of a strip is in direct proportion to the strength of the narrative element. To narrate is, first of all, to polarize a sequence of events into Before and After, Then and Now, Cause and Result—and Crime and Punishment. This antithetical method, which is based upon an old didactic and rhetorical tradition, is common to popular literature in general. Many a folk tale can be reduced to the formula of "crime and punishment" or "reward for vir-

tue." Here we encounter a property peculiar to the image, and not shared by the word, by which the two-part formula can be condensed into a single picture, a single graphic motif. In 6-21 we clearly see the criminal committing the crime, and at the same time threatened with immediate punishment for it. A cartoon tends to operate by means of such "condensation"; the comic strip does the opposite, by breaking the formula into its component parts and explaining it, in verbal fashion, by means of a linear sequence. The number of images generated thereby is less important than their interdependence. A simple contrast of two images can convey a more potent moral, and therefore tell a more potent story, than can a much longer sequence in which there is a breakdown between the beginning and the end. The early moral print thrives on contrasts, some examples of which I reproduce, in order to pinpoint the derivation, and the quintessential morality, of a narrative sequence treating a comparable subject. Contrast lies at the core of both the moral and narrative element in the early strip.

Broadsheet and popular imagery

The printed image intended for mass consumption is collectively known as the popular print, or popular imagery. The French were apparently the first to coin, about mid-nineteenth century, the term *imagerie populaire* (the Italian equivalent is *stampa popolare*). The term serves today as an overall description for any kind of cheap printed picture destined for the less-educated classes: representations of saints, madonnas, folk heroes, monsters, natural miracles, domestic animals, toy soldiers, playing cards, illustrations to ballads and folk plays. There exist several sumptuous publications[8] reproducing this heterogeneous material, which is treated as a category of peasant art and visual folklore. The concept "popular" is construed principally in a stylistic sense: anything crude and naive in appearance, anything reminiscent of peasant art, seems to count as "popular imagery." Our early strips are far from being popular imagery, or peasant art; they are essentially the work of sophisticated, even if often anonymous, professional engravers, and were intended to appeal to the urban rather than the rustic masses, to the merchant and the apprentice rather than the farmer and his boy. Stylistically, our strips fall between two stools: they are not "artistic" enough to appeal to lovers of fine engraving, and they are not naive enough to appeal to lovers of the primitive. Perhaps this explains why they have remained neglected for so long.

The English have a term which has come, over the years, to refer specifically to popular imagery with a topical, social or political slant: the broadsheet. Originally the word applied to any occasional text printed on a single sheet of paper, with or without illustration, and was more or less interchangeable with "broadside"; the latter term is now reserved for sheets which consist principally of text, while broadsheet has acquired a pictorial connotation. The Germans, who were the first to discover the many uses of printed pictorial propaganda, have the handy word *Bilderbogen* (picture-sheet), which is roughly equivalent to broadsheet and enjoys the advantage, shared by the English term, of having stronger moral connotations than *imagerie populaire* or *stampa popolare*.

Certain aspects of the illustrated broadsheet are at last beginning to receive critical attention.[9] In Germany, pictures were being printed from wooden blocks and copper plates even before texts were being printed from movable type. Chapter One attempts to show how prominent is the role played by the secular broadsheet as early as the fifteenth century, and how numerous were secular narrative strips on the most disparate of subjects from the very beginning. The early comic strip is a broadsheet; its history is part of the history of the broadsheet, and corresponds precisely to the incidence of broadsheet activity in different cultures at different periods. Germany in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, Holland in the seventeenth century, England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—all were strongholds of the broadsheet, and it is these countries at these times which give us our strips and picture stories. There are virtually no broadsheets, and therefore no strips, from Spain or Poland, where culture was restricted to an aristocratic élite, and the middle class was weak. France, on the other hand, enjoyed a continuing broadsheet tradition but has left us surprisingly few picture stories; the contrary situation prevails, to a lesser degree, in seventeenth-century Italy and eighteenth-century Russia.

Narrative strip and broadsheet album

Art historians tend to use the word "narrative" rather loosely, applying it first of all to any sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Netherlandish picture of everyday life, in which some fairly specific action is taking place ("narrative genre"), and second, to a picture from any school and any period which is of this character. In my usage, "narrative," when not referring to a strip design which is more or less narrative by definition, applies to any engraving in which are depicted, within a single setting, three (exceptionally, two) or more episodes from the same story. I call this "single-setting narrative," in preference to such misleading terms as "simultaneous" or "synchronistic" narrative. This technique was evolved during the later Middle Ages in order to tell in detail the lives of the saints. It survives in the art of the Italian Renaissance, but falls increasingly into disfavor during the seventeenth century; by the eighteenth century even the popular engraver avoids it, regarding it as archaic. Broadsheets which employ single-setting narrative are usually of inferior moral and narrative value, but may be graphically superior to the strips; I reproduce and discuss them only insofar as they relate to the strips in subject matter and facilitate direct comparison of the two techniques in operation. It does happen, however, that single-setting narrative and strip narrative are used in conjunction: a scene limited to one epi-

8. By Adhémar, Duchartre, van Heurck, Rovinski and Toschi.

9. By M. D. George and W. A. Coupe, for example.

sode may be followed by another uniting several at once (e.g. 8–7). Sometimes the very framework of the strip is broken down, so that the background continues from one episode to the next (this process can be observed in 9–17). Today, the presence or absence of background varies according to the graphic style of the artist and the kind of story he is telling; in the early centuries we observe that background was at first considered inessential, became gradually more important during the seventeenth century, until it reached a peak of elaboration in Hogarth, and then toward the turn of the century was eliminated once more.

There is another form of pictorial narrative which fulfills the same role as the broadsheet strip, while differing from it in physical presentation: the narrative album, or picture story told over a set of separated plates. If the ancestors of the modern comic strip were to be sought exclusively among broadsheets which united rows of small scenes on a single sheet, we would have to exclude the entire work of Hogarth, the lynch-pin of this volume, and by far the most significant single figure of the entire nearly four-century period. Whether a narrative sequence is gathered on one plate, or spread over several, is often a technical matter, and depends first of all on the dimensions of the scenes involved. In determining sizes, the engraver is bound not only by the character of the story he is to tell, but also by numerous extraneous factors relating to the taste and pocket of the public, and sometimes of the publisher as well. He is also bound by the available sizes of copper plate and printing paper, and the capacity of the press. Obvious technical reasons prevented large compositions such as Hogarth's from being united on one plate; on the other hand, aesthetic considerations probably underlay Callot's decision to print his *Misères* as a little album, in which each scene is viewed separately and set off by a wide margin. We should recognize moreover that any narrative album can be presented as a strip, merely by laying the pages (which were often sold unbound) side by side. The Dutch print (7–12) can be properly viewed only as a mural frieze. This is certainly the way Hogarth's picture stories were hung, and this is the way he wished them to be read.

If a narrative album can become a frieze or strip, a strip can also be mounted in an album. Strips of images seem to have invited this cutting up; the separate scenes could then be pasted on to caskets, toilet articles and into books. The British Museum preserves a copy of one of our broadsheet strips (5–15) in the form of a tiny album, mounted one scene per page; and our 8–11 remains incomplete because someone took a fancy to one scene in particular. The Popish Plot playing cards (5–10, etc.) perfectly illustrate the close relationship between strip and album: twenty-six designs were engraved on a single plate, printed off on a single sheet of paper, and sold either in this form, or else cut up and stacked like a normal pack of cards.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that all narrative strips are picture stories, although not all picture stories are, in the first instance, narrative strips.

Narrative sequence and popular series

I have included some narratives which are not, strictly speaking, strips; I have also included a few strips which are not strictly narrative. In 7–5 and 7–6 we are given an accumulation of motifs on the subject of human folly, which in no sense constitute a narrative sequence, but attempt a panoramic view of society such as Hogarth will later mold into a coherent story. Plate 12–5, from the post-Hogarthian period, represents a non-narrative strip of considerable significance because of the stylistic revolution it embodies. The narrative element is often rather tenuous, especially in the earlier centuries; in many instances, the episodes are loosely connected, the succession appears fortuitous, there is a lack of introduction, climax and conclusion. The picture story of the seventeenth century reflects the episodic character of literary romance in the same period; the infinitely greater narrative coherence of a Hogarth sequence parallels the progress made by Hogarth's friend Fielding in the structure of the novel. Just as it is the task of the literary historian to evaluate in what way and how far the term "novel," in the nineteenth-century sense, can be applied to an example from the sixteenth or seventeenth century, so it is our task to determine how far the term "narrative," as exemplified in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century strip, really fits a given sequence from an earlier period.

In this connection, another distinction must be made: between popular *series* and narrative *sequence*. It is unfortunate, to my mind, that Hogarth's sequences are invariably referred to as series or cycles. From the fifteenth through the eighteenth century, cycles of engravings are, typically, those which attempt to describe the world according to certain more or less fixed divisions inherited from the Middle Ages. Physically, the cosmos consisted of a given number of stars and planets; the planet earth and all that lived on it was composed of Four Elements; human knowledge was divided into a set pattern of Arts and Sciences; Time fell into those familiar divisions which are still with us. The months and seasons were immutable in their succession and fixed in their number, but the Ages of Man could vary from three to twelve. Society was arranged in a hierarchy of stations, usually in the form of a Dance of Death, or *Danse Macabre*. Individual psychology depended on an admixture of Four Temperaments (based on the Four Elements), and personal morality fell into the categories of the Seven Vices and Seven Virtues, which even today provide artists in various media with a convenient structural form.

These classifications are all series, and interest us insofar as they offer a framework upon which the picture story can be built. Only the last four mentioned—the Ages of Man (7—8), the Dance of Death (1—12), the Four Temperaments (7–17), and the Vices and Virtues, or Acts of Mercy (7–1)—are of immediate concern to us: the first because it contains a biographical matrix, the second because it analyzes the social structure, the third because it sets a standard of psychological variety, and the fourth because of its moral content and socially-satirical potential (present also, to a lesser degree, in the Dance of Death). But it must be stressed that such series, all of them favorites of the sixteenth-century broadsheet, are essentially static and circular rather than progressive; it is the artists of the seventeenth, and especially the eighteenth century, who lend them narrative dynamism.

Arrangement of the book

This volume is primarily a corpus of reproductions of all the broadsheets which, according to my definition, can be classed as picture stories and thus as ancestors of the modern strip up to 1826. I have attempted to tie these prints together by means of an historical commentary. Secondary material is found in the Catalogue, which includes notes on the plates.

In my commentary I have tried to establish historical continuity, as far as it was possible without losing sight of the picture stories themselves. The stories do not always lend themselves to continuity of interpretation; nor can they be reduced to order by means of conventional art-historical and iconological techniques. The perfect analyst of the early strip would have to unite the talents of the historian of politics, art, literature and social mores; he would also be a folklorist and a criminologist.

If, as all too often happens, political or social history appear entangled with the history of the picture story, we may blame, in part, the unequal and intermittent light thrown upon a given historical situation by a given picture story. Occasionally the light is clear and constant, at other times it is pale and flickering. This book represents (to borrow the title of a work by Töpffer) a "Voyage en Zig-Zag" through European history. With regard to the plates, I have adopted the principle that if a picture story is worth mentioning in the text, it is worth reproducing *in toto*, and vice versa. Some of the text illustrations constitute comparative material, particularly non-narrative broadsheets thematically related to an important picture story. These often serve as a satirical focus for the propaganda element which may be hidden in the more elaborate narrative engraving, and generally provide a context for the history of the broadsheet.

The Catalogue gives the essential data for each picture story reproduced: the title (or opening words of the title) in the original language, the publication line inscribed on the print, authorship (where verifiable), and the name of the library or print room where the print is located. I also indicate the existence and nature of a commentary when it is not reproduced. The medium is always engraving, usually from copper, except when stated otherwise. The alternative is usually woodcut, which is a hardier, cheaper and less flexible medium than engraving. Woodcut is preferred by German artists in the sixteenth century, but gives way to copper engraving in the course of the seventeenth century. I do not normally distinguish between the engraved and etched media, which were often mixed (notably by Callot) and which served basically the same market. When the dimensions of the scenes are of significance—particularly whether large or small—I indicate the fact in the text; broadsheets do not vary much in dimensions, and those reproduced here will be not more than twice or three times the size in the original.

The notes in the Catalogue entries include details of other versions and relatives of the print in question, and as much historical information as pertains directly to it and as is not already conveyed in the introduction. It has not been my policy to comment specifically on each episode in any given sequence, but rather to explain those which pinpoint the ideological or the personal attitude of the publisher/engraver. I have tried to avoid cluttering the introductory text with footnote material, which is relegated to the Catalogue section. The notes there tend to be long only in Part I, where it is necessary to convey a great deal of political background. In Part III, I have annotated the text in the traditional way, and only used the Catalogue notes when a footnote threatened to grow too long, or when there arose a particular problem of authorship, etc. It is in the century of Hogarth that we first meet a body of known artists for whom there exists biographical and critical material. It seemed more convenient to link this directly (and briefly) to the text. I have interpreted most of the picture stories quite fully, but had to restrict myself very severely with Hogarth, whose graphic *oeuvre* has been continuously interpreted and commented upon since he died in 1764.

The titles of engravings are translated in full, because the pleonastic style of certain prints (*Real and True Account of an unprecedented, horrible and cruel murder which happened and took place . . .*), so different from modern, brief newspaper headlines and book titles, is characteristic of an age which placed high value on the printed word. All titles, foreign and translated, are italicized.

The title, and picture-and-caption section of each strip, are reproduced in their entirety; narrative albums are also reproduced in full. Study of the picture story has in the past been made difficult by the too-common habit of reproducing selected scenes, with no indication that they are part of a longer, interconnected sequence.[10] Until Paulson's catalogue appeared in 1966, it was virtually impossible to find in the bookshops a complete edition of Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness*. One can hardly imagine the literary world tolerating so cavalier a treatment of, say, Henry Fielding, and allowing the integral text of one of his most important novels to be hidden away. Yet even the most famous of picture stories has not been treated as an indivisible whole. This book pays particular homage to Hogarth, who as artist and narrator is still far too little known, not only in the United States and on the Continent of Europe, but also in England.[11]

Quality of reproduction has been an immense problem, even in black and white. Photographs never seemed sharp enough or large enough. The very format of the strip presents difficulties: extensive groups of tiny scenes, each minutely engraved, are not easy to reproduce. Many prints have had to be photographed twice, several three times; and occasionally I have copied from an old facsimile rather than use a modern photograph, which proved less clear. The majority of the prints reproduced here have never been published in modern times. For the first time in perhaps a hundred years, we can "read" the beautiful Chodowiecki sequences (13–5 and 13–8) in the correct numerical order; in the surviving original impressions, which are artist's proofs

10. Diederichs (Nos. 542–545) reproduces scenes from *Sorgeloos* (9–6) in the wrong order; Toschi (Pls. 95, 96) isolates two scenes from the *Putana* (9–19) with no indication that they are connected.

11. In a standard work of reference, the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, the invention of the phrase "The Rake's Progress" (the title of a Hogarth picture story of 1735) is attributed to Thackeray (1850).

presented to friends, the scenes are arranged 1, 12, 3, 10, 5, 8, 7, 6, 9, 4, 11, 2 (they would then be cut up and mounted in the almanac, of which no copy has survived).

Very exceptionally, I reproduce and describe picture stories from a non-reproductive medium. For instance, a painting by a fifteenth-century Italian artist, and a German tapestry of the same era, are included because they are unique and relate directly to the themes and the narrative method developed in the graphic arts. In the later period, it is necessary to dwell upon two important instances of designs prevented by political circumstances from reaching contemporaries in engraved form: the famous Rubens paintings of the *Life of Marie de' Medici*, and the Ramberg drawings of the *Life of Strunk the Upstart*.

OFFICIALLY NOTED

The three divisions of this volume are determined partly by subject matter and partly by chronology. Part I, on politics, opens with German broadsheets from the first century of printing. These include a few very early religious, and one or two non-narrative, strips and are chiefly political in character; in some instances they document historical events. The remaining chapters in this Part are arranged chronologically and according to country, rather in the manner of a survey history of Europe such as the *Cambridge Modern History*, a work which has served me well for the political background. Thus we pass from the German Reformation to the civil wars in France and the Netherlands, back to the Germany of the Thirty Years War, and on to the history of Holland and England in the later seventeenth century, when the political picture story reaches its apogee. All the post-Reformation picture stories in Part I are tightly geared to specific political crises and the popular movements accompanying them, and constitute a kind of skeletal history of Europe from the Reformation through the wars of Louis XIV.

Part II, treating moral and social themes, begins with a chapter on private crime which, like the political narratives, document actual events. They are firmly situated in place and time, even if devoid of wider political and social significance. The chapters following deal in a general way with moral crimes not punishable by law. After viewing a panorama of follies and vices, we pass, more specifically, to marital improprieties in Germany, sexual transgressions in Italy, and the constellation of vices generated by them. These themes, although rooted in the sixteenth century, do not flower until the seventeenth century. Thereafter, they seem to disappear from the Continent altogether, and are revived only in the work of William Hogarth in England (1730–51).

Although he is principally a social rather than a political satirist, Hogarth's *oeuvre* (Part III) appears to contain all themes of any stature, large or small, represented by the earlier political and social narratives. Hogarth is at once the culmination of the old, and the progenitor of the new. With him, pictorial narrative gains aesthetic respectability and enters the mainstream of European art. He also provides a critical reference point from which we can judge his predecessors as well as his followers. All the eighteenth-century artists, English and Continental, included in Part III are indebted to the example of Hogarth, and none (except Goya) can escape his spell. Many seem to surrender to it unconditionally, voluntarily; others visibly struggle to free themselves of it. No fewer than twenty titles of picture stories use the word "Progress," first made fashionable in art by Hogarth. The Age of Progress is the age of the "Progress." At the end of the century, Hogarthian tragi-comedy is turned to pure comedy by a variety of minor figures who amuse us but seem to lack a firm direction. Gillray, unfortunately, never commits himself to narrative, so that the comic strip fails to reach a proper aesthetic climax during the great age of caricature. The "Hogarth manqué" of Germany, J. H. Ramberg, may be said to look stylistically backwards rather than forwards; and the chapter on Goya is more of an appendix than a conclusion to our history. Goya never fits into any general history of art; but some consideration of his crypto-narrative *Caprichos* and *Desastres* is necessary here because they provide a kind of negative definition of the picture story and comic strip at a crucial moment of their development. If Hogarth reveals to the full the capacity of pictorial narrative as a vehicle of artistic expression, Goya reveals its limitations by transcending it. It is possible that Goya is the greatest pictorial narrator of all time; if so, he challenges us to redefine "pictorial narrative." He also challenges any definition of the terms "popular" (which artist was less "popular" then, and more popular now?), "moral" (which artist was more moral, and which served more corrupt masters?) and "comic" (what vision was more grotesque and less humorous?).

It is Töpffer who clarifies the problems which Goya seems to obscure. He surely stands at the beginning of a new era and affirms the emergence of the amoral, apolitical, completely caricatural strip. With a remarkable lack of chronological overlap, the last works of Töpffer's predecessors fall precisely into the decade preceding the writing of his first picture-novel in 1827: the latest English caricatural strips date from 1814–25, Goya's *Desastres* were etched between c. 1810 and c. 1820, and Ramberg's *Strunk* was executed between 1822–25.

'A complete corpus'

Any claim to a chronologically complete collection of narrative broadsheets must take into account the survival factor. Fragile, often of scant artistic worth, made for the moment and apt to be discarded once the moment had passed from memory, many broadsheets must be lost to us. Originally printed by the hundreds and even thousands, many survive in only one copy. According to the theory of "proportionate survival" developed by Coupe, an outstanding student of the seventeenth century German broadsheet, the tendency for propaganda material to be destroyed by censors and political enemies is counterbalanced by the tendency for them to be preserved by sympathizers to their causes. While individual broadsheets may get lost, argues Coupe, it is unlikely that a whole *group* of broadsheets should disappear. If this is true of seventeenth-century German broadsheets, it is probably true of the European broadsheet as a whole, and therefore true of the broadsheet picture story. But the idea works better with political material than with social subjects of an apparently trivial or potentially offensive nature. Many a collection of "trivia" must

have been casually cast aside by an unsympathetic heir or curator; many a broadsheet depicting cruel or vulgar behavior must have been eliminated by the squeamish or prudish new owner. If the Victorians had not been historians and curio-hunters as well as prudes, the destruction of broadsheets would have been far more widespread.

On page 431 I list the libraries and print-rooms which are the repositories of my source material. I can only hope that I have not missed any significant picture story among the hundreds of folios that I have examined; it should be remembered, however, that since "picture story" and "narrative strip" do not exist as separate categories as far as collectors and curators are concerned, prints of this kind tend to be filed haphazardly in miscellaneous folios of "curiosa" or among anonymous engravings of historical interest. In leafing through a volume which appears to contain nothing but portraits of Henri IV and his family, one might suddenly come upon a strip recounting his assassination; in examining a folio oddly entitled "Dutch Drolls," an Italian narrative allegory of love may be uncovered. In the larger print rooms, anonymous prints tend to remain relatively inaccessible; it is no less challenging to track down picture stories signed by their authors. A signed print may be filed with the other non-broadsheet, and often better-known, productions of the same artist and tend to be engulfed by them. One would have to examine the entire *oeuvre* of every European engraver throughout a four-century period—an impossible task at present, although the picture catalogues of Hollstein (still in progress) have gone a long way toward facilitating research of this kind in the German and Netherlandish areas. I hope the reader will help me fill any gap left by my lack of specialized knowledge, so that significant omissions may be made good in the second volume of this trilogy.

I have familiarized myself with the holdings of major print rooms of Western Europe with as much thoroughness as was practicable, though I certainly remain ignorant of many potentially useful provincial and private collections. It would be of inestimable value in documenting a large and uncharted area in the history of graphic art, if curators or private persons would be kind enough to inform me of the existence of special collections comprising broadsheet material in the widest sense: satires, caricatures and prints of historical events.

Part I

POLITICS

Chapter One

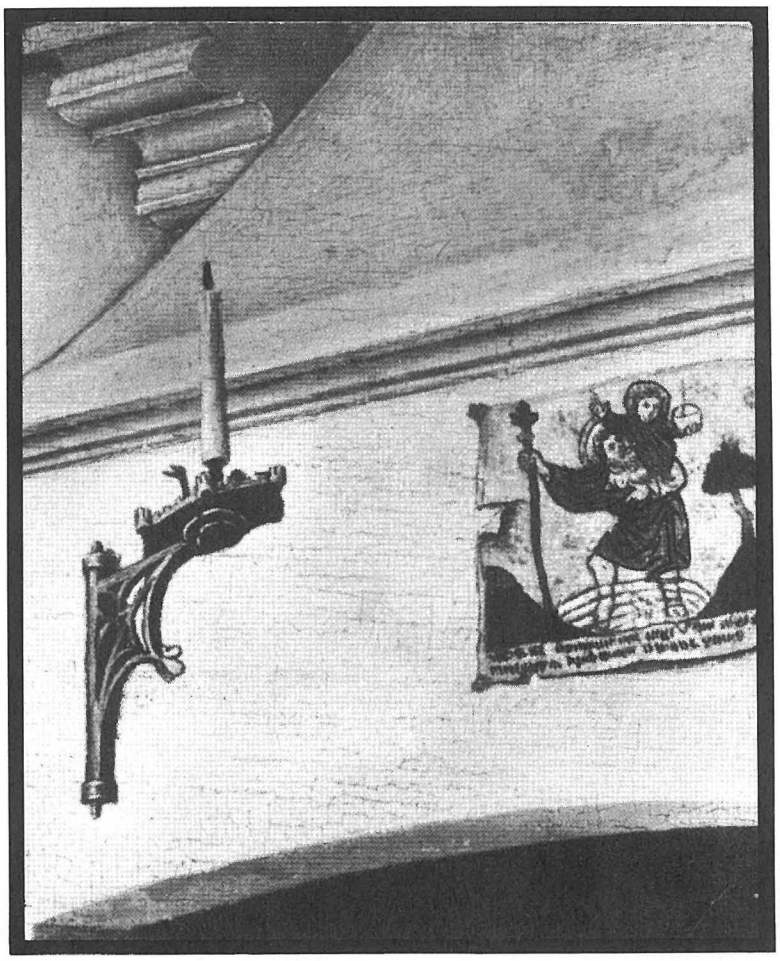
THE FIRST CENTURY OF PRINTING. RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA (*c. 1450-1540*)

1. Morality and narrative in the earliest religious prints

The increase in trade, wealth, and social mobility during the Middle Ages created a restless and acquisitive middle class which put new demands on artistic and educational media. More realistic styles in painting, sculpture and literature gave the public a greater sense of participation which in turn stimulated the multiplication of texts and pictures designed for personal use. By the beginning of the fifteenth century numerous industries had arisen to meet the demands for cheap copies of handwritten texts and devotional pictures. The invention of printing in the mid-fifteenth century may therefore be regarded as the result of new social pressures for more immediate and personal forms of communication.

For generations before Gutenberg started to print texts from movable type, pictures were being printed from wooden blocks, first on vellum, then on paper. The less wealthy bought them to insert as ready-made illustrations to a manuscript, or to serve as a pictorial initial they could not afford to have designed by hand. Devotional prints must have been sold by the thousands at pilgrimage shrines. They were fixed onto walls of the home (as we see in a Campin painting of the Annunciation, 1–1), pasted onto furniture, or even worn around the neck as amulets. Many of the earliest prints only survive today because they were glued into a manuscript, or onto the inside of the lid of a jewel-casket. There has been much controversy over the origins of the picture-print, but we can be certain that by the later fourteenth century in France and Germany, playing cards and single cheap images of saints were being mass-produced from wooden blocks. Before the middle of the fifteenth century, perhaps even before Gutenberg, we find in the Netherlands and Germany interconnected sequences of prints commonly bound together in book form, which we call "block-books." The most popular of these, the so-called *Biblia Pauperum* consisted of a series of sheets printed (rubbed from a wooden block) on one side. Each sheet had a design divided into three sections, not unlike a painted triptych. A centrally-placed episode from the New Testament is here made to contrast with two comparable "prophetic" episodes from the Old Testament. We thus find established, in the typological form characteristic of late medieval scholastic method, the "then and now," or "before and after," a contrast which is to underlie many of the earliest narrative strips. In the *Biblia Pauperum* subject matter is of course of a traditional, biblical nature; a more topical, secular form of moral exhortation is to be found in another block-book, the *Ars Moriendi* (*Art of Dying Well*). In this enormously popular work, which was soon available in French, Italian and English, as well as in the original German and Netherlandish editions, five pairs of plates contrast the situation of the virtuous, confident Christian, comforted by saintly figures at his death-bed, with that of the unfortunate sinner dying a prey to a gamut of temptations. The second temptation, for instance, to "Despair" (1–2) contains a panorama of the vicious life, with figures representative of the sins the dying man had committed: perjury, murder, fornication, cruelty, and avarice. Another popular block-book theme, which constitutes something of a secular encyclopedia, renders the typical activities and destinies of man on earth, as ordained by the Seven Planets. It is Planet-God Saturn (1–3) who presides over the fate of the unfortunate. Those villains, rakes and criminals who people the present work all seem to be doomed to suffer under the malevolent influence of Saturn. The saturnine type, then, is indeed lucky if he is able to pursue the peaceful if degrading occu-

1–1. Robert Campin (?). Woodcut depicting Saint Christopher, above head of Virgin Annunciate. Detail from a painting, c. 1430.





1–2. E.S. Master c. 1460. "Temptation to Despair." One devil confronts the dying man with a list of his sins. Another devil reveals his perjury (*Perjurus es*), parodying the gesture made when taking an oath; another points to a former mistress (*Fornicatus es*); another demonstrates with a knife how the dying man had committed murder (*Occidisti*); and a final demon reveals (*Avare vixisti*) how he failed to relieve indigence, represented in the naked sitting figure, and had even (according to the unidentified figure on the left) maliciously helped strip a shirt off a poor man's back.



1–3. Florentine c. 1460. "Saturn." The "saturnine" tended to lead unfortunate, lowly lives.



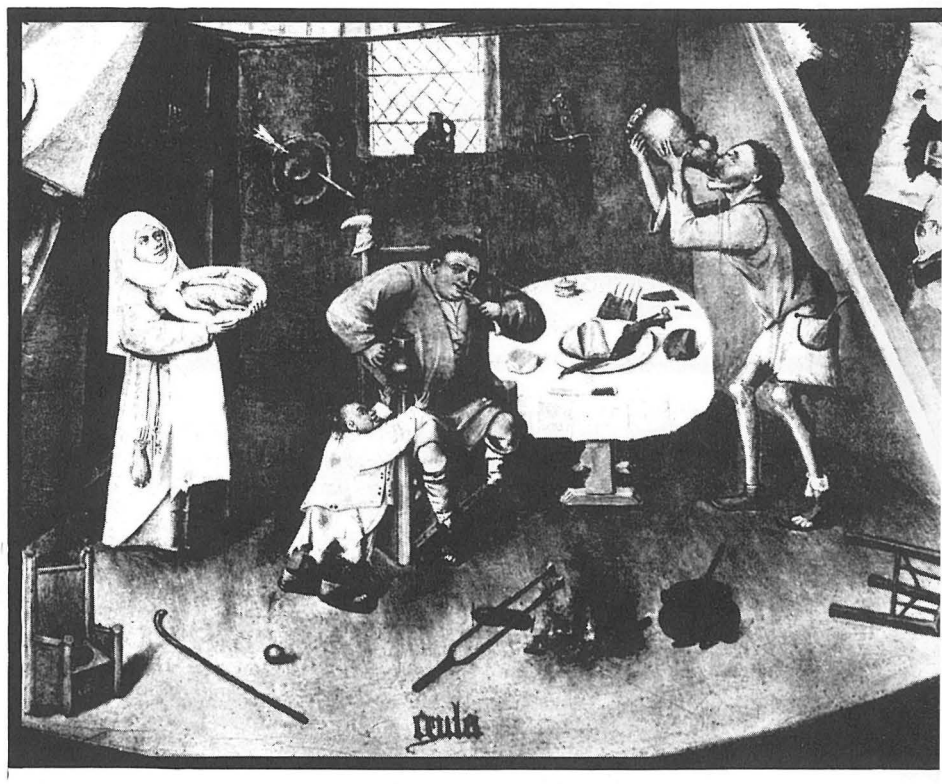
1–4. German c. 1470. *The Devil and the Seven Deadly Sins* (Pride on horseback, Avarice on a toad, Wrath on a bear, Envy on a dog, Sloth on an ass, Gluttony on a pig, and Lechery on a goat).

pations of slaughtering swine, cutting wood, or ploughing fields; for, according to narrators of our popular stories, he is more likely to subsist in extreme poverty, vagabondage, crippledom, and to end in prison or on the gallows. By contrast, the type born under Mercury would lead an intellectually and artistically industrious and rewarding life, and the "jovial," born under Jupiter, earns himself happiness and glory. In the *Ars Moriendi* and Planet illustrations we see no mere personifications, no mere emblems of vice, but the realistic representation of popular life, which art historians call "genre illustration."

It is perhaps surprising that the Seven Deadly Sins, a cycle of genre illustrations familiar from medieval cathedral sculpture, should not appear as genre in the early surviving broadsheets, but as strips of emblems (1–4). The most famous fifteenth-century illustration of the Seven Deadly Sins is to be found on the painted tabletop by Hieronymus Bosch (1–5). The scenes are composed with an unparalleled vivacity and in an unusual circular arrangement as if reflected in the eye of God, who stands in the center (or pupil of the eye) observing man's crimes on earth. The punishment of the latter is depicted in a smaller tondo placed in the corner, with a special torture appropriate to each sin. It is a curious and regrettable fact that

Bosch never worked for the broadsheet industry, and it was only long after his death in 1516 that some of his designs began to be engraved.

Broadsheet versions of the Ten Commandments, on the other hand, come not only in series of emblematic scenes, but also in series of genre illustrations which in the version reproduced (1–6) appear most lively and intimate. The subject was not of course new to ecclesiastical art; we know that Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, in order to improve morality in illiterate areas, ordered pictures of the Ten Commandments to be displayed in the churches. But the broadsheet on this subject had the advantage of being always visible in the homes of those who might visit the church only once a week. The crimes forbidden by the Ten Command-





1–5. Hieronymus Bosch (late fifteenth century) "Gluttony and "Wrath" (from the *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*).



1–6. Strassburg (?) c. 1460. *The Ten Commandments*. 1. "Thou shalt believe in God." The true Christian worshipper is contrasted with the three idolators on the left. 2. "Thou shalt not take His name in vain." A devil grabs the blaspheming, quarrelling gamblers by the hair. 3. "Thou shalt observe the Sabbath." A devil hovers over the laborers in the vineyard. 4. "Thou shalt honor thy father and mother." The son washes the father's feet, while the daughter combs her mother's hair. 5. "Thou shalt not kill anybody." Two young sparks are brawling. 6. "Thou shalt not steal." A man (or child?) takes advantage of a couple deep in conversation. 7. "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Gaudily-bedizened lovers embrace, under the auspices of a devil. 8. "Thou shalt not commit perjury." A witness raises his hand in oath before a judge, but a figure behind him, with his hand on his shoulder, is evidently about to bribe him. 9. "Thou shalt covet no-one's spouse." The woman does not appear unwilling. 10. "Thou shalt not (covet) another man's possessions." The two figures on the right may represent rivals for the rich man's money.

ments were also paired with the Ten Plagues of Egypt,[1] punishments which in those days still appeared very real.

It is, naturally enough, in the straightforward representation of the life of Jesus that the greatest number of early broadsheet strips survive, in sequences ranging from four to thirty-six scenes. One of the novelties of fifteenth-century art was to concentrate more and more upon the Passion of Christ, and to emphasize with increasing realism physical brutality and moral contrasts. Lacking the sophistication of the great painters of the age, the humble woodcut artist could still crudely convey the suffering of an innocent Jesus at the hands of so many vicious men. The growing violence of sacred iconography forms the background to the early strip cartoons.

1. Schreiber No. 1844.

While some broadsheet artists strove for the gruesome naturalism of the painters, others sought for simplicity by narrating exclusively with symbols. The language of symbols, or pictography, was concise and traditionally understood. In a rare English print we see it applied to the Passion story (1–7), told in strips of twenty-six isolated objects, whereby a ladder, a hand, a chalice, etc., must suffice to conjure up a whole episode.

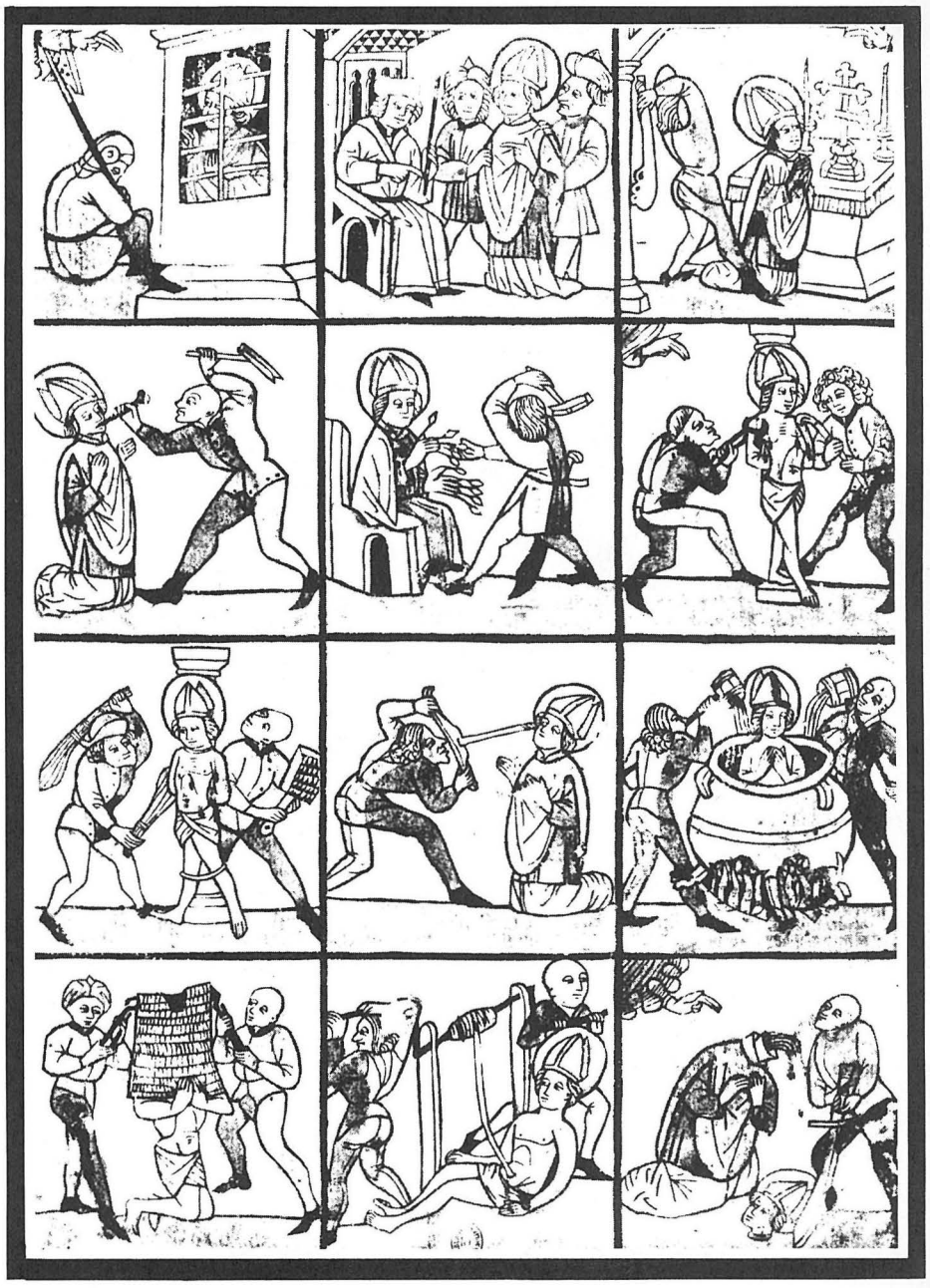
Before we dismiss such pictography as a method diametrically opposed to the development of realistic narrative, we must remember that the object associated with a biblical event imbued that event with a kind of sacramental presence: the event had taken place in the distant past, but the object was believed to have survived. This was an age when the possession of a holy relic—a nail believed to have been used at the Crucifixion, a thorn from the Crown of Thorns—constituted a major economic and cultural asset to a shrine and a town. Artists, too, saw an interest in maintaining the cult of relics, for not only were the goldsmiths (who were often also engravers of prints) required to make beautiful vessels to contain them, but the humbler cutter of wood blocks would be asked to draw up pictorial "exhibition catalogues" of all the holy objects to be viewed at any given shrine.

When we pass from the life of Christ to that of the saints, we find plentiful evidence that the popularity of a story hinged not only on the violence, but also on the variety of adventures. It is no coincidence that among north-



1–7. English c. 1500. *Lamentation over the body of Christ, surrounded by emblems of the Passion.* Letter of Indulgence: "Who in sin devoutly beholdeth these arms of Christ's Passion hath (illegible—number ?) years of Pardon."
The surrounding boxes contain, in no particular order, emblems relating to various phases of the Passion. Starting top left: the cock which crew at St. Peter's denial; heads of Annas and Caiaphas, and the Jews who spat on Jesus at his mocking, and of those who condemned Him; and (center) Jesus' own image printed on the scarf of St. Veronica; the pelican, symbol of Christ's sacrifice. Sides: holy vessels used at the Washing of the Feet and the Last Supper; hands raised to strike Christ or pull His hair in mockery; the Thirty Pieces of Silver given to Judas; the lantern used to light the Arrest; the sword and torch (or staff) of the soldiers sent to arrest Jesus; the hammer, pincers, and ladder used for the Crucifixion; the pincers and ladder used at the Deposition; the purple robe placed on Jesus when He was mocked; and the twisted column with flails and birches used for the Flagellation. Bottom row: the Crown of Thorns; the loincloth worn by Jesus on the Cross; the nails used to fix Him there; the Kiss of Judas; the dice the soldiers gambled with beneath the Cross; the ointment pots brought by St. Mary Magdalene at the Entombment; and the mortar and pestle used to grind the ointments.

1–8. Swabian c. 1455–65. *The Tortures of St. Erasmus.* St. Erasmus was supposedly persecuted under the Emperor Diocletian (late third century) who should be represented judging him in scene 2. Even the innumerable tortures listed in the *Golden Legend* do not cover all that is depicted here (e.g. the blinding in scene 8). Scene 7 shows the use of a metal scraper (or carder); scene 10, a red-hot cuirass which miraculously burned away as soon as it touched the saint's skin. (After several years of such torments, Erasmus was finally sentenced to be martyred "with a new pain" before and after every Sunday for a year; on the last Sunday he was given what was intended, no doubt, as the final treatment, when his entrails were wound out on a windlass [last scene but one]).



ern European prints, the only full biographical strip apart from the Christological ones is that of St. Erasmus, who suffered endlessly, each time under a different instrument of torture (1–8). Devotion to saints was usually expressed in a single, full-length image, such as could be sold cheaply in large numbers at shrines. Despite the example of the subdivided Gothic panel painting, prints rarely give us series of realistically described episodes from holy life. An exception is to be found in the Florentine engraving commemorating the life and powers of St. Sebastian, who like St. Erasmus had suffered atrocious physical pain and was therefore frequently invoked against illness and plague (1–9).

The painting of this period abounds in illustration of the various phases of single miraculous events. There is only one instance of a broadsheet recording a miracle in this detailed fashion. Perhaps the graphic artist found the task beyond his inventive or executive skill, and altogether too expensive for the cheap market he aimed at. In this one exceptional sheet (1–10) a Florentine engraver tells us an old, favorite story, which was familiar from the books and oral tradition if not from art, about three pilgrims to St. James' shrine at Compostela (Spain). Parents and son are on their way to the shrine when the latter is hanged for a crime he did not commit, only to be found miraculously preserved from death by St. James. The true culprits are then punished. Although the print does not survive complete, one can be fairly certain that it was pure narrative strip and did not include a full-length devotional image of the saint in the manner of the St. Sebastian engraving.



1–9. Florentine c. 1460–70. *Life and Death of Saint Sebastian.* Right side: 1. God commands Sebastian (who was a Captain of the Pretorian guard) to preach, while the devil tempts him. 2. Sebastian preaching. 3. The Emperor Diocletian orders him to be shot to death with arrows. 4. Left for dead, the saint is found alive by a Christian woman and taken to her home. 5. Having recovered, Sebastian accosts the Emperor, re-asserts his belief in the Christian God and accuses him of cruelty. Left side, bottom: 6. Saint Sebastian is beaten to death with cudgels on Diocletian's orders. 7. His body is thrown into a well or common sewer. 8. The plague at Rome, which did not cease until the saint's body had been brought to Pavia and an altar erected in his honor. Top left: 9. St. Lucy has a vision of St. Sebastian, who instructs her to recover and bury his body. Below: 10. St. Lucy and a servant rescue the body from the well. 11. Burial of the saint by St. Lucy "in the catacombs," as ordained.

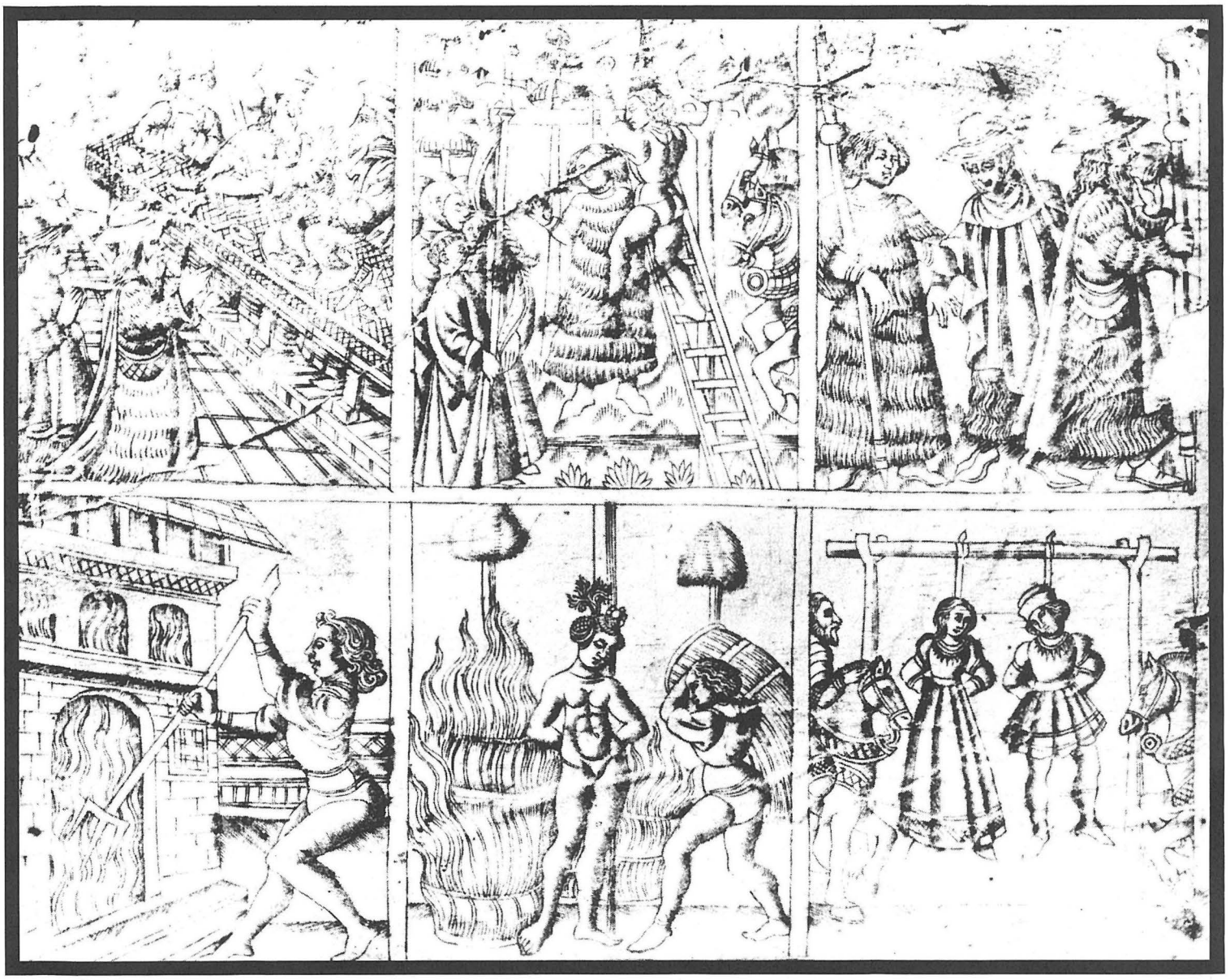
2 ~~1~~. *Morality and narrative in early book illustration*

The relationship between the single broadsheet and the popular book-illustration during the early years of printing must have been very close indeed. We shall trace briefly the rise of the illustrated popular book which served the same newly, or half-educated middle class as did the early broadsheet woodcuts. At the same time we must evaluate the moral and narrative potential of such early book illustration.

The woodcuts to any book must be to a certain extent designed and produced independently of the text which they will eventually adorn. There is much evidence to show that the illustrators, with their own shops and a different guild, worked independently of, and sometimes even at variance to, the text provided by the printer. The wood block tended to lead an autonomous existence; the same design could be used for different texts, and even by different publishers at widely different periods of time. In this sense, then, early book-illustration is less subservient to the text than one might at first suppose. The first generations of printers favored a page of text with illustrations small enough to be drawn, like the designs for playing cards, several to a single wooden block. The proof sheets pulled from this block would show continuous strips of images before the block was sawn up for insertion into the text. Some proof sheets have survived, but we find no evidence that they were commonly offered for sale in this form. It is however easy

1–10. Florentine c. 1460. *How St. James saves a Pilgrim on the way to his shrine at Compostela.* The sheet or part of the sheet containing the first scenes has not survived. According to the old legend, three pilgrims, parents and son, put up at an inn where the innkeeper's daughter attempts in vain to seduce the son. She revenges herself by placing a silver cup in his knapsack. The cup is discovered, and the son hanged for theft. The stricken parents continue to the shrine of St. James at Compostela, pray, and return some days later to find their son still alive on the gallows, instructing them to run to the mayor with the news.

We can continue the story on the surviving scenes. 1. The mayor is incredulous, and scornfully replies that it is as like that the old pilgrims' story be true, as that the roast chicken before him should come to life again. We see the cock spring up from the table, while the parents kneel before the mayor. 2. The son is cut down before the eyes of an amazed crowd. 3. Parents and son walk off together, praising the saint who had held him up on the gallows. 4. The inn is burned, and a menial takes some burning coals in order to nourish 5. the pyre, in the center of which stands the lecherous inkeeper's daughter. 6. Finally the innkeeper and his wife are hanged for having failed to bring up their daughter properly.



to imagine their appeal to those who had no use for the texts, or to parents teaching their children to memorize stories and allowing them to cut the little scenes up, arrange them in correct order, and paste them onto favorite objects—all without spoiling a book. The process of producing an illustrated book involves the absorption into the letterpress of a potential picture story; and if the text is a slight one the picture story can emerge relatively intact. Many of the earliest printed volumes are virtually picture books, although not always narrative ones.



1–11. "Petrarch Master." Illustration to "Pride" from *The Remedy to both sorts of luck* (1530). The husband (left) prepares for a journey. Abandoning his family, he rides off to make his fortune (background), spurning the beggar who prophesies his ruin.

The art of printing was hardly born before pictures were being added, despite the considerable technical difficulties of uniting wooden block and movable metal type. Over a third of the books printed before 1500 are illustrated; in one important center, Augsburg, where the presses specialized in popular illustrated literature, Anton Sorg advertised his exquisite edition of Aesop's fables as intended "to be read for amusement, with pretty illustrations." In the same town Günther Zainer produced the first large-scale illustrated work, the *Golden Legend* by Jacopo da Voragine (1471–2) where people could read in their own language the stories of St. Erasmus and St. Sebastian; the entire two-volume work contains over a hundred and thirty cuts of unrelenting gruesomeness. The saintly legends, the illustrated histories and travel books recounting the adventures of Marco Polo, Nicholas de Mandeville and Bernard Breydenbach, the French chronicles and romances such as the story of Melusine, the Netherlandish versions of the legendary Trojan heroes, the racy tales of Boccaccio—all these were intended to satisfy the curiosity of the well-educated merchants, the less well-educated craftsmen, women and children alike. Pictured exploits of Paris and Alexander were no longer reserved for those who could afford illuminated manuscripts, but were available to the public at large. There is no evidence, however, that printers saw any commercial advantage in offering these stories in a form where the pictures dominated absolutely, as in their modern equivalent, the adventure strips of newspaper and comic book. It is possible that the illustrations, in whatever number, were regarded as an incentive to reading, not as a substitute for it.

Of the many sources for popular moral narrative at the turn of the century, we may single out a few of the major illustrated moral treatises. Outstanding for its cuts, both in number and quality, is the famous *Narrenschiff* (*Ship of Fools*) of Sebastian Brant (1494). This lengthy procession of fools, who are described in all their vanities and delusions, would have made an excellent broadsheet strip, but the writer Brant, who furnished many topics to the illustrated broadsheet industry, was clearly not prepared to forego any of his excellent verses. The *Spiegel des menschlichen Lebens* (*Mirror of the Human Life*, G. Zainer, Augsburg, 1475–6) is a great popular moral compendium which served as a pretext for a large number of everyday genre scenes, many depicting the most violent crimes and punishments with a strong moral message attached. From a period of increasing social turbulence, we may cite *Ueber die Arznei beider Glück* (*Remedy to both sorts of luck, good and bad*) which has a text based on Petrarch but which amounts to a picture book designed by a mysterious Augsburg artist still known from this work alone as the "Petrarch Master." In over three hundred large woodcuts, which reveal in many instances a radical slant quite unwarranted by the text, we observe a typical late-medieval technique of systematically confronting good and bad aspects of the same issue. Beyond this, the various fortunate and unfortunate situations in life are left to accumulate in quite haphazard fashion. Toward the end, however, we do meet a succession of the Seven Deadly Sins, in which Gluttony is made to lead to Sloth, and Sloth to Lechery; but it is the illustration to Pride (1–11) which commands our attention, for it adumbrates a situation which will later be expanded into a picture story.

"A motion picture as visual narrative"—thus does a recent critic of satirical prints describe Holbein's vision of Death chasing mankind out of this world.[2] In the 1520s Holbein designed a picture book which has become immortalized under the name *Dance of Death* (1-12). The original published title, however, *Les Simulachres et historiées faces de la mort* (*Images and narrative aspects of Death*), conveys better the intent of Holbein's work, which constitutes a unique transformation of the old fifteenth century graveyard murals. Earlier versions of the theme had little of Holbein's quasi-narrative variety, his shifting characterization of Death the slayer, and the unpredictable reaction of those facing slaughter, all against a constantly changing background. All the constituent elements, high and low, of human society are here arrayed, a model for later generations of popular engravers. Holbein's ordering of the plates may appear haphazard, but a narrative consciously structured from plate to plate would be inimical to the central idea of Death as universal, impartial destroyer. There are no preliminaries to Death, who has no cause and needs no herald; there is no order in his action, which strikes at random. The Death of Holbein, moreover, takes innocent and vicious alike; for this artist was the first to add to the old Dance of Death specific social criticism, such as the lecherous nun or the corrupt lawyer (reproduced).

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2. Getlein, p. 82.



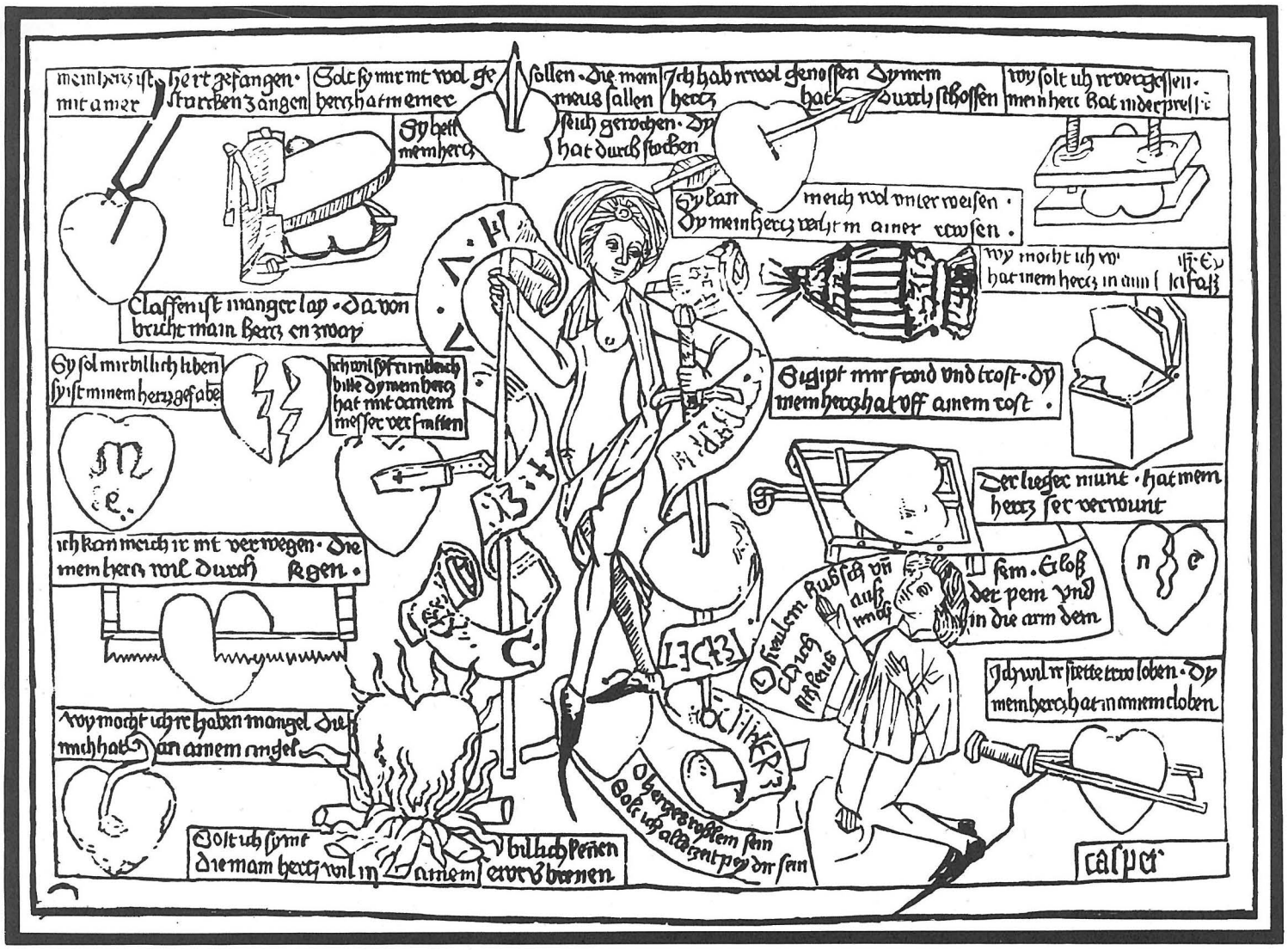
1–12. Hans Holbein. *Death takes the monk, the lawyer, the peasant, and the old man.* Four woodcuts from the *Dance of Death* (1538).

3. *Topical moral narrative and the rise of the satirical broadsheet*

Fifteenth-century graphic art, like the painting and literature of the period, is of course chiefly religious. Only about one fifth of the graphic incunabula can be termed profane in subject matter, but this proportion embraces a wide variety of themes to which the new media of woodcut and engraving turn almost from their inception. One has only to consider how easily the earliest printed pictures, playing cards, lent themselves to genre and humorous representation. Among the very first products of copper-engraving we can observe how the courtly-religious is transformed into the courtly-humorous subject, how the "Madonna in a Rose-Garden" or "Garden of Paradise" become a gentle mockery of human love. In the work of an early Netherlandish master who owes his very name to the famous plate (1-13), we see, instead of a Virgin surrounded by attendant maidens, lovers disporting themselves in the garden, surrounded by all the entertainments condemned by the moralists—cards, music, feasting. All kinds of men are thus shown to be vulnerable to love, which manifests itself in many different and often foolish ways. At the same time, from mid-fifteenth century onward, we meet two themes explicitly exposing the erotic power of woman: the women fighting for the male breeches, and the woman leading her foolish gallants by the nose. Since all these themes appear in the more sophisticated medium of copper-engraving, we may assume that they appealed to the wealthier classes. It is not long, however, before there arises in Germany on the

1–13. "Master of the Gardens of Love." *Garden of Love* (c. 1440).





1–14. Casper of Regensburg. *My Heart doth smart* (c. 1485). The above motto is inscribed upon a scroll wreathing a sword with which the girl pierces her lover's heart. Around the spear she carries in her right hand runs another scroll, inscribed with the enigmatic letters "M.V.V. + B. . E . . . C . . . ." The various operations suffered by the lover's heart are accompanied by verse couplets, as follows (starting top left, and reading clockwise):
1. My heart is sorely trapped in strong pinchers. 2. Should she not delight me, who has my heart in a mousetrap. 3. She has taken her revenge, who has pierced through my heart. 4. I have had my joy with her who has shot (an arrow) through my heart. 5. How can I forget her who has pressed down my heart. 6. She can instruct me well, who catches my heart in a fish trap. 7. How can I [word(s) missing] who has my heart in a salt-canister. 8. She gives me joy and comfort who has my heart on a gridiron. 9. The mouth of the slanderers has deeply wounded my heart ("H.C."). 10. I shall promise constant loyalty to her who holds my heart in a clamp. 11. (The lover, kneeling) O maiden pretty and tender, free me from suffering and close me in your arms. 12. (Heart below feet of beloved) Tender little rose of the heart, may I always be with you. 13. Should I not rightly punish her who wants to burn my heart in a fire. 14. How can I do without her who has my heart on a hook. 15. I cannot depart from her who wishes to saw through my heart. 16. I will kindly beg her, who has cut my heart with a knife. 17. She should certainly love me, she ("Me") is (*gefabe* = storied??) on my heart. 18. (Loud-mouthed gossip) or (gaping open) [pun?] is of various kinds. It makes my heart break in two.

lower level of the woodcut broadsheet a tradition in the mockery of amorous vanity and carnal love. An example of this theme is a print which uses a most unusual layout to draw up a catalogue of the lover's woes under the banner *My Heart doth Smart* (1-14). There are no separate boxes such as we usually find in a strip, but neither is there a setting unifying the scene as in most satires on love, so that each phrase or aspect of the lover's torments stands out distinctly. The systematic variety of household instruments symbolizing the extravagant anguish of his heart reminds us of the *Pietà* and the *St. Erasmus* strips described above, and reflects the many broadsheets showing the Holy Heart surrounded by Instruments of the Passion. This modern St. Erasmus of carnal love suffers most exquisitely under a Venus fresh from her German bathing-house, decked out in poulaines, craftily draped bathrobe and turban. The print bears a signature—*Casper*—at a time when broadsheet signatures are extremely rare. Since Casper signed no other print, one may wonder whether this was not made in self-mockery, and whether the letters "H. V. V.," "M. E.," "N. C.," inscribed in various places, do not offer clues to the identity of some courtesan of the time. It is, at any rate, in keeping with the lighthearted spirit in which the print must have first been made that we find it reproduced at the beginning of our own century as a humorous advertisement for heart-medicine.

The concrete imagery and high-flown metaphors present in this satire on human love are also characteristic of its serious religious counterpart, the *Minnende Seele*, or *Christian Soul courting Jesus the Bridegroom*, a highly

erotic subject which descended at this time from the lofty heights of mystical poetry to the broadsheet strip. In one woodcut we see the human heart, chained to God and blossoming in flowers, roasting on a fire which is fanned by the Holy Ghost and stirred by the Virgin, while Christ shoots arrows into it.[3] A complete measured narrative analysis of this love-relationship is to be found in the surviving fragments belonging once to two separate sheets, which were both probably divided into twenty scenes each. The fragments correspond in design and motif to a sixteenth-century copy surviving intact, the scenes of which I have rearranged to conform as closely as possible to the sequence followed by older illuminated manuscripts on the subject (1-15). An arresting narrative rhythm emerges, with a swaying crescendo in the love-intrigue: the Christian soul resists Jesus' invitation, but is gradually chastened into submission; then it is Jesus' turn to coquettishly resist the girl's advances, before a reconciliation takes place; Jesus is dominated by the Soul and struggles for freedom, but eventually returns to entice his bride and finally crown her. (The actual consummation of the love is omitted in the broadsheet; but cf. 1-16). Mystical poetry on this theme, with such delightful conceits as are here illustrated, continued to be popular into the seventeenth century, but I have been unable to find any remotely comparable strip from the later period.

In broadsheet incunabula one frequently passes from the sublime to the ridiculous or to the purely mundane. Among the various utilitarian prints of the period—the calendars, ABC books, alphabets, New Year wishes—there survives a sheet with a superficial resemblance to some of those considered earlier: lovers exchanging a ring in a landscape surrounded by border strips containing everyday household instruments neatly arranged in boxes (1-17). No emotive cult-symbols these, but a sober guide to lovers, reminding them in their blissful carefree state how many articles will be necessary to the well-run household. The simple didactic tone is in keeping with the spirit of contemporary verse-guides for newly-weds.

It is instructive to observe how anti-Semitism infiltrates sacred icongraphy during the later Middle Ages. We find it, for instance, in the Semitic physiognomies given to Roman executioners, and in the accent placed in Passion sequences on the mocking of Christ by villainous-looking Jews. Art is here reflecting existing social sentiment. In many major European cities economic prosperity was bound up with the presence of financially expert but otherwise disenfranchised Jews, who were usually the first to feel the crunch of social and economic dissatisfaction. In Germany, hatred of the Jews had for centuries been symbolized in the *Judensau*—the defamatory image which showed the Jews suckling and doing other disgusting things at an old sow (1-18). A fragment of a broadsheet with this hoary favorite has been dated as early as c. 1460, and a pictorial attack on Jewish usury was made to hasten, or celebrate, the expulsion of the Jews from Regensburg in 1474.[4] The following year, such anti-Semitic sentiment was fed from a very potent source: a murder charge in Trent (then a German bishopric) which culminated in the beatification of a two-year-old martyr, St. Simon, allegedly done most horribly to death at Passover time by a local group of Jewish vampires. Books and broadsheets on the subject appeared in both Latin and German, but the most comprehensive pictorial account is that of a North Italian engraving which must also have sold well in German towns (1-19). The fact that the design is not copied, as so many Italian popular prints were, from some Northern source is indicated by the elaborate ecclesiastical setting of the "Sacra Conversazione," where according to established Italian iconography, the Madonna sat enthroned, flanked by standing saints. On this occasion, the holy men must be conversing not so much upon the beautiful eternal mysteries of the Christian faith, as upon the most recent and gruesome anti-Christian action imaginable, committed as it were before their very eyes.

A less well-known print on St. Simon may be traced to Nürnberg, and it is in this prosperous town that we find what is at once the most remarkable anti-Semitic broadsheet of its age and one of the most perfectly developed narrative strips surviving from the entirety of the period under review. The lesser citizens of Nürnberg suffered from all the disadvantages attendant upon precocious capitalism, especially the swindling and the usury. In Nürnberg, Erasmus tells us, a man could become rich in three years merely by lending on interest; and in Nürnberg the Jew was the universal scapegoat, in the late fifteenth century as in our own. The story-strip, which carries the resounding banner headline *A horrible deed committed by the Jews in Passau* (1–20) refers to an event alleged to have taken place (hardly by coincidence) just two years after the St. Simon murder in Trent, that is in 1477; but for typographical and other reasons the print can be dated to the 1490s, previous to the expulsion of all Jews from Nürnberg in 1498. There is nothing surprising in the revival of a twenty-year-old charge originating in so very important a bishopric as that of Passau in Bavaria; accusations of murder did not pass quickly from public memory. The torture of St. Simon stood for the torture of Christ; the original crime of Deicide was re-enacted in the attempted destruction of the Holy Sacrament, the body of Christ Himself. The Holy Sacrament, a frequent source of miracles, was a subject of intense interest to the later Middle Ages, and the story of such a miracle involving Jews was calculated to fire the most placid Christian breast.

We find this conjunction of Jewry with sacrilegious crime in a story recorded from another place: Urbino. It survives in the form of a painted panel which observes the strip format and which tells a tale circumstantially so close to that of the German broadsheet that we must on this occasion waive our exclusion of the painted medium in the interests of a very illuminating comparison. In the late 1460s the old and famous Florentine painter Paolo Uccello executed for the church of Corpus Domini in Urbino, central Italy, a predella for an altarpiece which was dedicated, like the church itself, to the glory of the Body of Christ and the Holy Sacrament. The predella in Italian art is the horizontal subdivided frieze commonly placed beneath large altarpieces and normally used to narrate scenes from the life of Christ or a saint. On this unique occasion, however, it tells not of a *series* of traditional

3. Schreiber 1837m.

4. Schreiber 1961a and 1964.



Dein ſchlaff will ich verſumen/
Wol auff du müſt das bett raumen.
Mich ſoll noch niemandt mühen/
Es iſt noch gar vil zů frühen.

Wilt du lauters gaiſtes pflegen/
Wirtſchafft wirſt du dich verwegen.
Jch klag von groſſen nöten/
Du wilt mich hungers tödten.

Die rocken ſolt du legen hin/
Vnd mit dem gaiſt vnmüſſig ſin.
Wie ſoll ich mich nun began/
Můß ich von meinen ſpinnen lan.

Wilt du dich genieten mein/
So můſt du gar enblöſſet ſein.
Nement alle ſament war/
Er will mich enblöſſen gar.

Jch will dein flaiſch mit fleyß[illegible]
Das ſich der gaiſt darinn mög[illegible]
Du ſt[illegible]chſt mich alſo ſer/
Jch r[illegible] mit leyden mer.

Jch will dich blenden vnd lämen/
Ob ich dich möge gezämen.
[illegible]ben greyffen vnd ſtehn/
Wil mir alles ab gehn.

Niemandt mir die Tochter weck/
Das man ſie mir nit erſchreck.
Jch ſchläff zů dir in eyfferkeit/
Vnd wach zů dir in jnnigkeit.

Nim lieb von mir ein tranck der meine/
Es entbrint dir hertz můt vnd ſinne.
Den meine tranck ich nim von dir/
Wann mein gemůt gantz ſteht zů dir.

Jch fliehe mit allen meine ſinnen/
Vnd kan dir nit entrinnen.
Du fleüchſt fer ich lauff dir nach/
Zů dir lieb iſt mir gach.

Laß ab gar dein zuuerſich/
Jch verbirg mich du findeſt mich nit.
Vnder helffent alle rechen/
Ob ich mein lieb müge ſchechen.

Jch fache dich lieb in frewden zů mir/
Als nach meines hertzen begir.
Als du mich haſt gemaint/
So bin ich mit dir veraint.

Jch han mein lieb funden/
Gefangen vnd gebunden.
Jr layd mich ſehre zwinget/
Mein lieb mich darzů dringet.

Jch will mein lieb durch ſchieſſen/
Ob ich ſein mag genieſſen.
Mich hat der meine ſchmertz/
Geſchoſſen durch mein hertz.

Nym hin lieb als vil dein begerd ſey/
Vnd laß mich vngefangen frey.
Alle ſchätz wige ich klein/
Wenn dich hertze lieb allein.

Warte lieb wie dich mein ſaytenſpyl/
So lieblich zů mir ziehen wil.
Wilt du mich alſo vergygen/
So můß ich lieb zů dir ſygen.

Wirff hin wainen vnd betten/
Wol auff du můſt den rayen tretten.
Lieb wilt du mir baucken vnd gygen/
So laß ich alles trawren ligen.

Jch lere dich in ein leben gan/
Das one lere niemandt mag han.
Jch mag das bůch nit leſen/
Du wolteſt dann mein maiſter weſen.

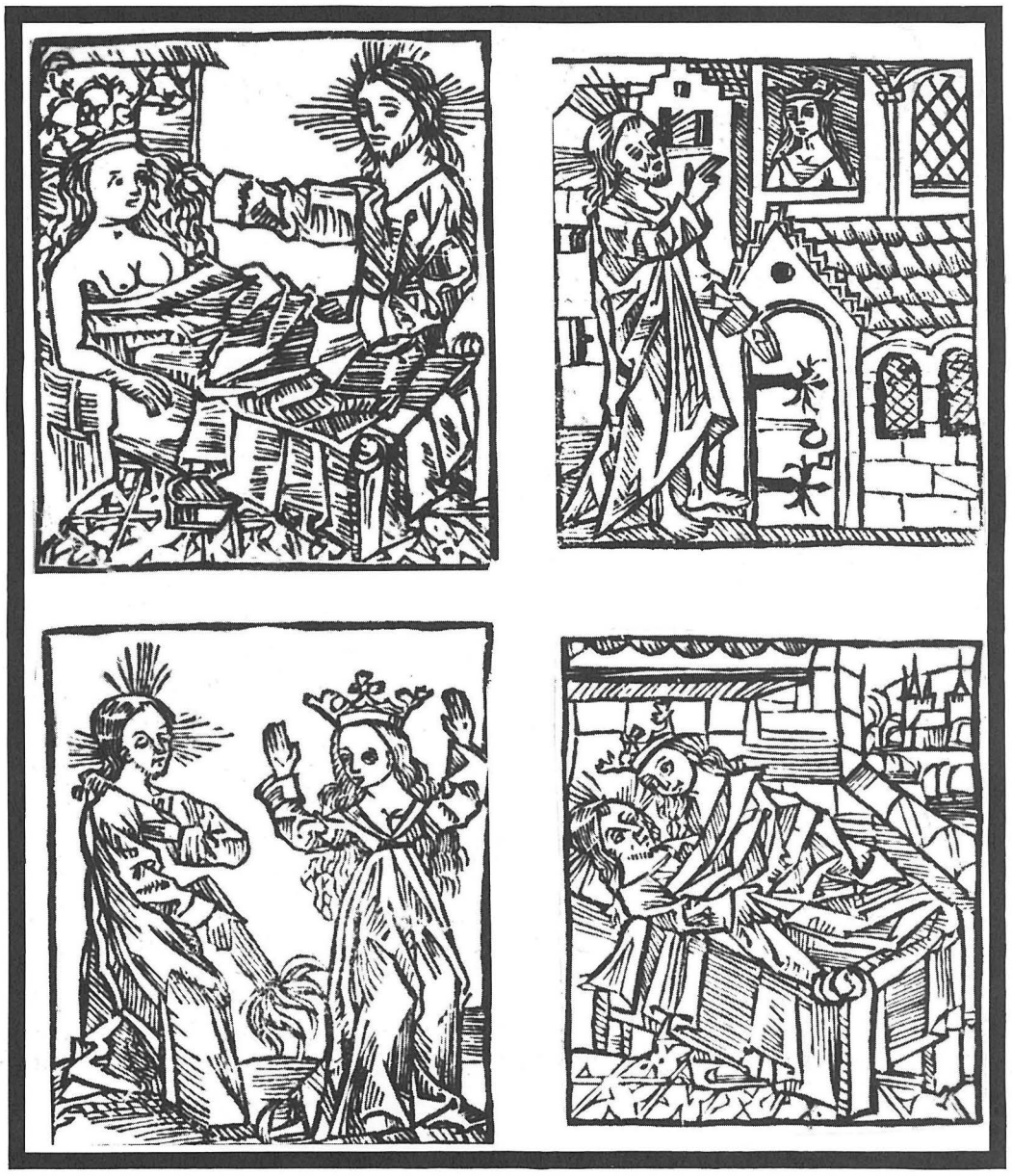
Jch rünne dir zů ein wort/
Das vber greyfft des Himels hort.
Nyemandt ich wol ſagen kan/
Was ich lieb von dir vernoműen han.

Jch henck dich auff in diſer friſt/
Vber alles das da jrdiſch iſt.
Was ſoll herauß werden/
Jch rür weder Himel noch erden.

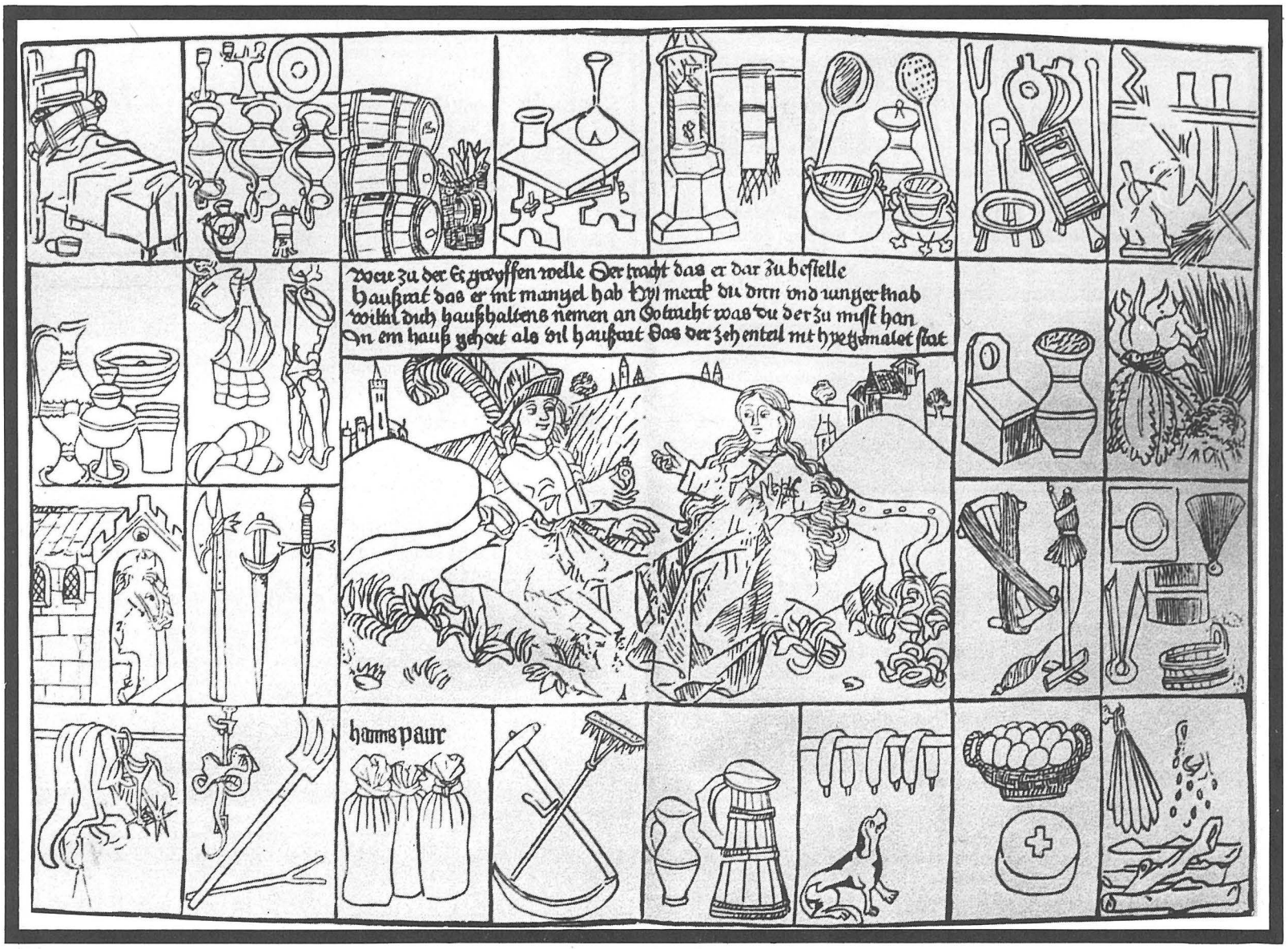
Wann du lieb gefelleſt mir/
So ſetz ich auff die Krone dir.
Mir füget nit dein Kron/
Beſunder ich will dich hon.

1–15. Swabian c. 1460–80. Jesus courted by the Christian Soul.

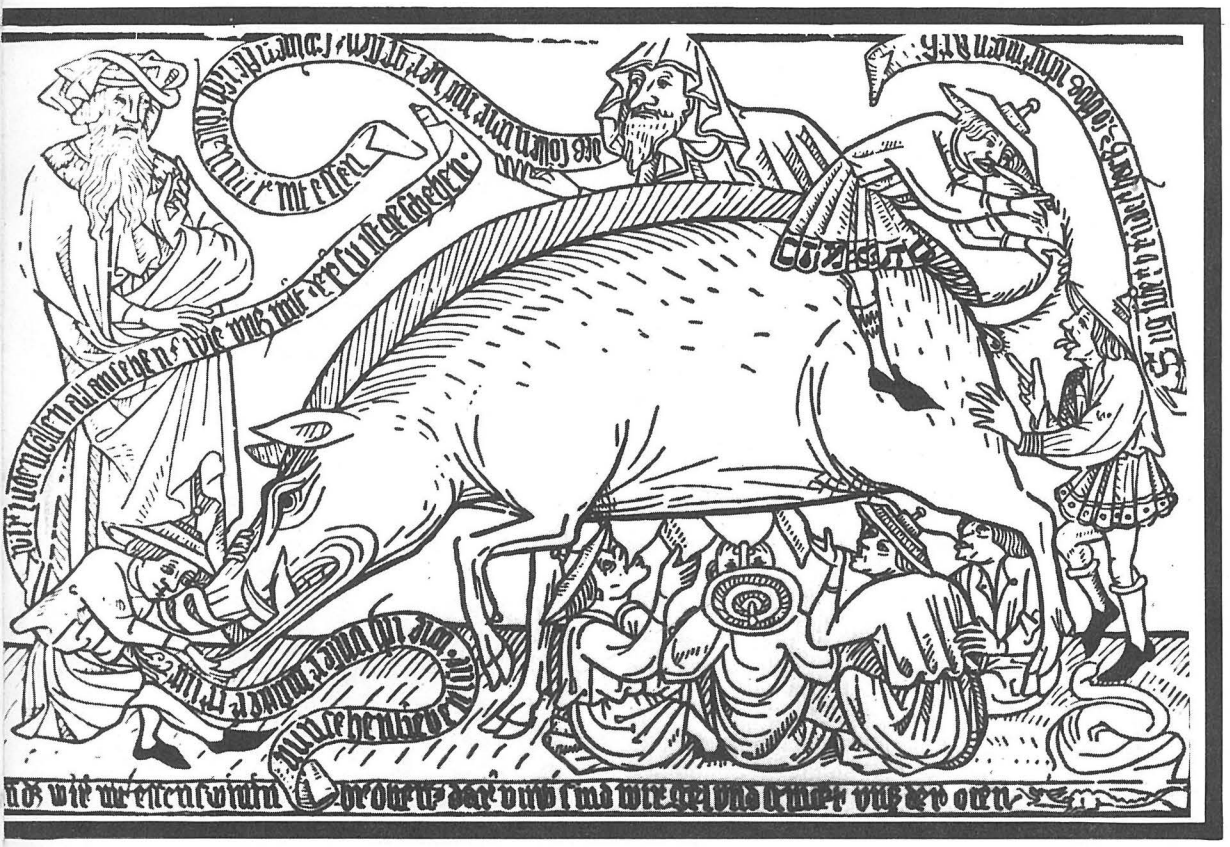
1. Jesus: "I must interrupt your sleep, you must get out of bed."
   Soul: "I do not wish to be disturbed, it is too early yet."
2. Jesus: "If you wish to nourish the pure spirit you must deny yourself food."
   Soul: "I suffer in dire necessity, you will starve me to death."
3. Jesus: "You must put aside the distaff and free yourself mentally."
   Soul: "What shall I do then, if I have to leave my spinning?"
4. Jesus: "If you wish to serve me, you must be stripped bare."
   Soul: "Look at the way he wants to strip me bare."
5. Jesus: "I shall castigate your flesh severely, to let the spirit thrive."
   Soul: "You are beating me so sorely, I cannot bear it any more."
6. Jesus: "I will blind and cripple you, so as to tame you."
   Soul: "I am unable to walk, stand or grasp."
7. Jesus: "Let no-one waken the girl, lest she be frightened."
   Soul: "I go to sleep before you in outwardness, and awaken to you in inwardness."
8. Jesus: "Take, my dear, my love-potion; your heart, spirit and senses are aflame."
   Soul: "I take my drink from you, for my affection is yours alone."
9. Jesus: "I flee with all my might, but cannot escape you."
   Soul: "If you flee away, I shall chase after you, for I long for your love."
10. Jesus: "Leave all your hopes, I hide and you cannot find me."
    Soul: "Children, all help me search for and catch up with my love."
11. Jesus: "I clasp you to myself in joy, my dear, desire of my heart."
    Soul: "Since you have courted me, I am united with you."
12. Soul: "I have found my love, caught him and bound him."
    Jesus: "Her pain overpowers me, my love forces me (to submit)."
13. Soul: "I will shoot arrows at my love, so that I may enjoy him."
    Jesus: "The pains of love have pierced my heart."
14. Jesus: "Take, love, as much as you desire, and liberate me altogether."
    Soul: "Such treasure carries no weight with me, for I love you, my heart, alone."
15. Jesus: "Wait, love, for my violin music to draw you tenderly towards me."
    Soul: "If you will enchant me with music, then I must be gracious to you."
16. Jesus: "Stop your weeping and praying, come and join the dance."
    Soul: "Love, if you thus entice me with drum and fiddle, all my sorrow is gone."
17. Jesus: "I'll teach you to lead a life that no-one can have without my teaching."
    Soul: "I cannot read a book unless you are my master."
18. Jesus: "I shall whisper a word to you that suspasses the Treasure of heaven."
    Soul: "I will tell no-one, love, what I have heard from you."
19. Jesus: "I now hang you up over all earthly things during your temporal existence."
    Soul: "What will become of me, I touch neither heaven nor earth."
20. Jesus: "Since you delight me, love, I set a crown upon you."
    Soul: "I do not deserve a crown, I want to have just you."



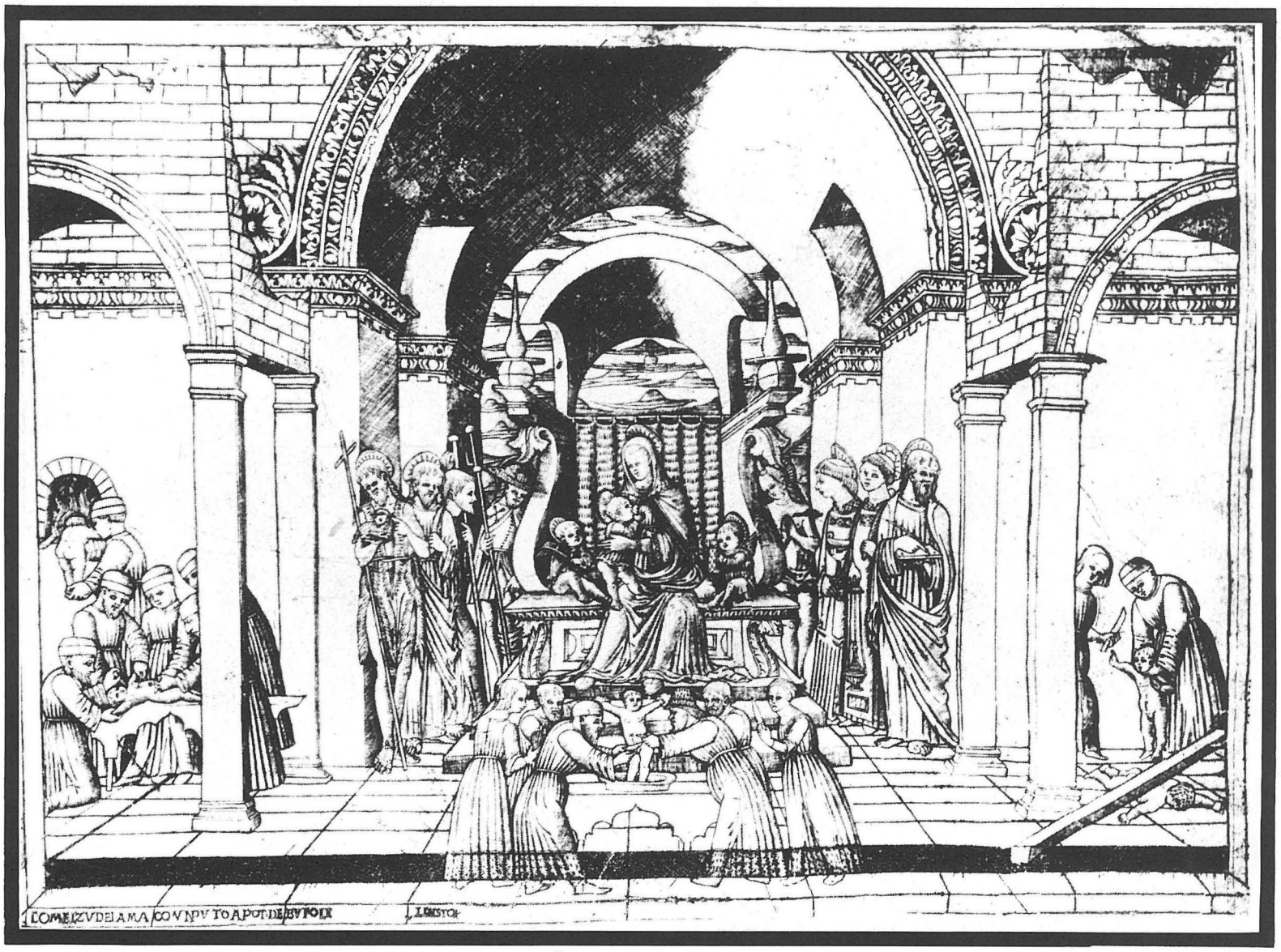
1–16. Illustrations to *Of the innermost soul, how God chastises her and makes her suited to Him (c.1500)*. "How Christ pulls the Soul out of bed by the hair." "How Christ stands in the rain and knocks on her door." "How Christ sets her on fire with a burning taper." "How they lie in bed together . . . and attain eternal rest."



1–17. Hans Paur (Nürnberg) c.1470. Articles necessary to a well-run household. "Those who wish to take to matrimony and set up a household, should try to acquire an adequate supply of household articles. Less than a tenth of what you actually need is depicted here."



1–18. Nürnberg (?), late fifteenth century. *The Jewish Sow*. The figure at the snout says "Now see, dear friends, how I fondle our dear mother." The figures at the tails say "Suck, dear Brother Hartz, and I will blow up her arse." The Rabbi, top left, says "We Jews should observe what we do with the sow." Another Rabbi, top center, says "We must not forget that we are not allowed to eat pork, we are therefore yellow (skinned) and our breath stinks."



1–19. North Italian after 1475. *The Murder of St. Simon of Trent.* A "Sacra Conversazione" with episodes from the martyrdom of St. Simon. On the right, the infant is held tight while a knife is brandished over him; nearby he lies crushed under a beam. On the left side he is being tortured by a group of Jews, while another is pushing him into an oven. In the center foreground St. Simon flings out his arms ecstatically as his torturers operate once again, standing him in a basin in order to catch his blood, which they will then drink.

miracles wrought by a saint (or, as one would expect in this context, by the Holy Sacrament), but a single six-part story based on a single miracle (1-21). The altarpiece for which this predella was made is well-documented and datable to very near 1468, that is, the year when the first Christian Monte di Pietà was opened in Urbino in an effort to break the Jewish monopoly on credit. Yet there followed no immediate persecution in the town, a well-governed and stable community famous for the arts, where the Jewish merchants had contributed so much to economic improvement, and where the sermons of the anti-Semitic Franciscan faction were comparatively unsuccessful. It is noteworthy that Uccello's painting, compared to the German broadsheet, indicates that the Jews of Urbino were not compelled to wear shameful insignia, such as the hood and the circular yellow badge which we see on the Nürnbergers. The ecclesiastical authorities who ordered the predella, in league with the Franciscans, were unable to gear their propaganda to any specific recent event, as in the Passau Profanation. As later narrative strips will show, the more extreme form of Jew-baiting was always a German rather than Italian vice.

The Nürnberg strip is designed with great vigor and clarity, with a particularly felicitous relationship of the well-regulated caption to picture, and of the commentary below to the strip-section above. This commentary adds a few moral exhortations to an expanded exposition of the incriminating evidence. Even on their own, the cuts tell the story with more topical realism and greater concentration on human action than does Uccello's painting, with its fewer, larger and of course captionless scenes. The Florentine painter has fine interiors and fine continuous landscapes and he is able to motivate the theft (pawning the cloak); but he throws the dramatic balance of the story towards the ceremonial ending by omitting the scene of the theft itself, and having the Jews already discovered by the second scene. Both predella and print devote the latter half of the story to the execution of the criminals. The Italian painter, so much better equipped technically, scores over the German engraver in the climactic moment of arrest and discovery, with a fine description of the psychological reaction of the

Ein grawſamlich geſchicht Geſchehen zu paſſaw Von den Juden als hernach volgt.

Hye ſtylt Criſtoff acht partickel des ſa
gramẽt auß der kirchẽ. legt das in ſein
aſchẽ. hatdy darinnẽ drei tag behaltẽ

Hye ſchuef er die ſacrament den juden
auff den tiſch die vnuermayligt gewe
ſen ſein. darumb ſy im ein guldẽ gaben

Hye tragen die judẽ vñ ſchulklopffer.
die ſacrament yn ir ſynagog. vnd vber
antwurtden dye den Juden.

Hye ſtycht pfeyl Jud das ſacrament
auff irem altar. iſt plut darauß gangen
das er vñ ander juden geſehen haben.



Hye teylten ſy auß dye ſacramẽt ſchick
ten zwen partickel gen Prag. zwẽ gen
ſalczpurg. zwen yn die Newenſtat

Hye verpzenten ſy die ſacramẽt verſu
chen ob vnſer glaub gerecht wer flogẽ
auß dem offen zwen engel. vñ. ij. taubẽ

Hye vecht man all Juden zu Paſſaw
die dy ſacramẽt gekaufft verſchickt ge
ſtolen vnd verpzant haben.

Hye furt mã ſy fur gericht. verurtayle
die vier getaufft. fackel mand. kolman
vnd walich. ſein gekopfft worden.



Hye zereyſt man den pfeyl vnd vettel
die das ſacramẽt bebylte. dy darnach
geſtochen vnd verpzant haben.

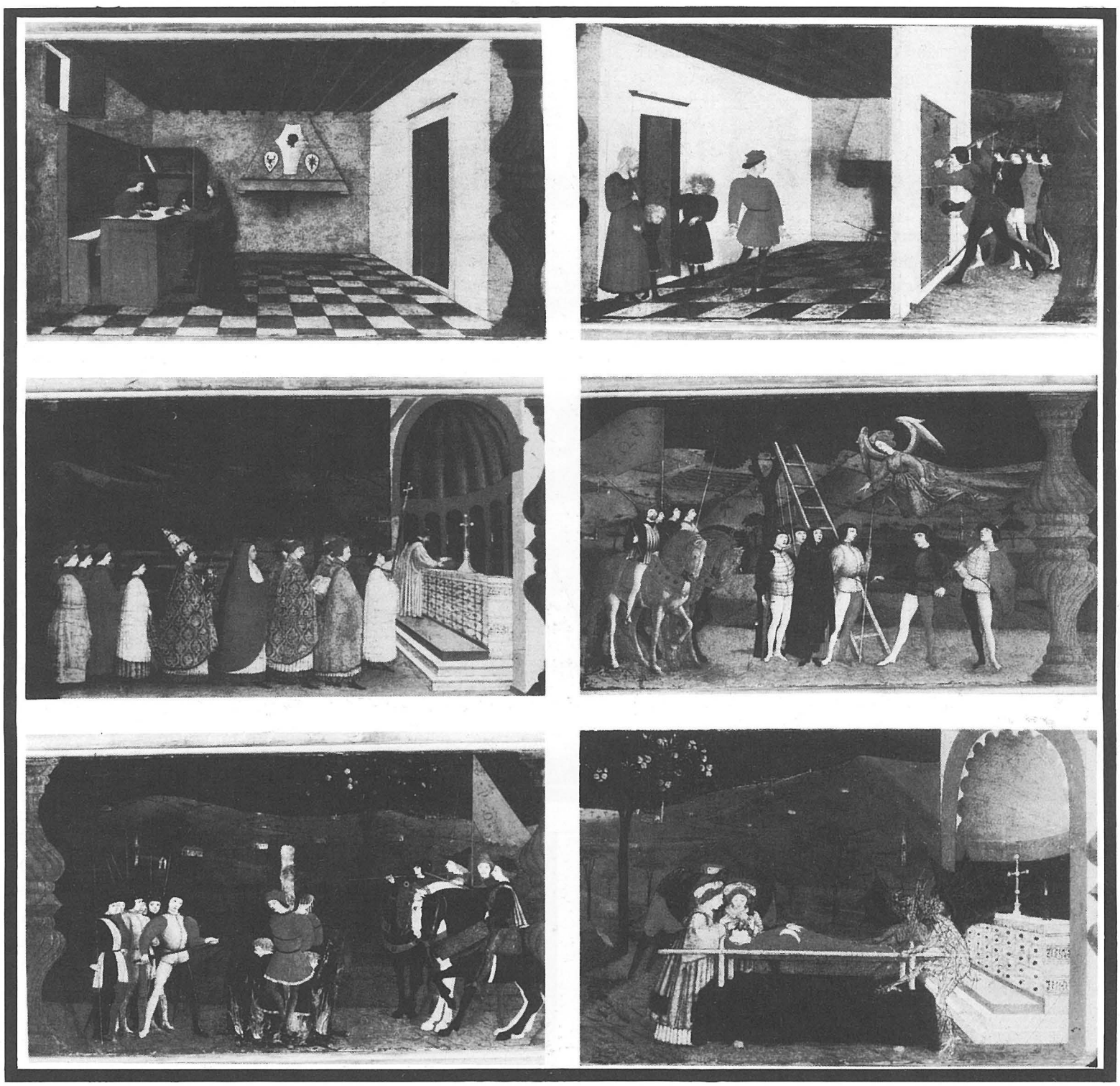
Hye verpzent man ſy mit ſampt dẽ ju
den. die yn yrem glauben blyben. vnd
vmb das ſacrament gewyſt haben.

Hye wirt der Criſtoff des ſacraments
verkauffer. auff einem wagẽ zeryſſen
mit gluenden zangen.

Hye hebt man an zw pawen. vnſerm
herren zu lob eyn gotzhauß. Auß der
juden ſynagog ꝛc.



NAch chriſti gepurt. M. CCCC. LXX
vij. jar Regirende zu den zeytẽ der hochwirdig furſt vñ herr her
Ulrich zu paſſaw geborn vonn Rußdorff. Es hat ſych begeben
das ein leychtferriger vñ verzagter menſch weylandt genant Criſtoff eyſen
greißhamer / vergeſſende ſeiner ſel ſelygkayt / nach Judas ſyten auß begyer
zeytlichs guts Mit den juden dye zeyt wonẽde hye zu paſſaw / bey der Ilcz
alda hinder ſant Jorgen perg / feyndt vnd leſterer des gecreutzigten waren
lebentigen gots vñ Marie ſeiner gepererin yn ein vorred vertrag gemacht
hat. Nach dem als ſy yn etwo offt in yren potſchafftẽ genutzt vñ gebraucht
nahendt vnnd verr geſchickt hetten. ob er yn precht das hochwirdig ſacra
ment. den leychnam vnſers herren Jheſu chriſti ob ſy den icht kauffen wol
ten. darzu ſy ym als die begyrigen hundt. auß groſſem neyd ſo ſy zu dem her
ren Jeſu vnſerm heyland haben. antwort gaben. Er ſolt den pungẽ daruñ
wolten ſy ym ein benugen thun. nach ſolchem geding der verkauffer vnnd
verſtockt ſunder yn ieiner boßhayt nach dem hoch wirdigen ſacrament ſtel
let. des bemelten ſyben vnd ſybenzigyſten iars. Am freytag vor ſant Aicha
els tag die kirchen vnſer lieben frawen yn der freyung der abtey. das ſtock
geheuß auff gebrochen. daryn. viij. partickel des hochwirdygen ſacramẽts
geſtollen. das mit ſeinen ſundigen henden an gegryffen. vnd yn ein tuchlein
gewickelt von dem freytag byß an den ſuntag Morgen bey ym getragẽ dar
nach den Juden falſchaffig verantwurdt. vmb eyn reyniſchen guldẽ ver
kaufft. eyn partyckel gepurt vmb dreyſſig pfennig. zu ſchmach der heyligen
chriſtenlich kyrchen. dye Juden vnd leſterer gots das behalten. zu zweyfel
yn ir ſynagog prachi den leychnam chriſti mit iren ſundigẽ henden, grauſſen
mit grymmiger gier zu creutzigẽ. chriſtẽ glaubẽ zu bewerẽ. Ein jud ein ſchar
pfes meſſer genumẽ den leychnã xpi auff irem altar in der ſynagog geſtochẽ
darauß plut gefloſſen. Eins kindes angeſicht erſchynẽ. Die judẽ ſere erſchra
cken. wurdẽ zu radt. vñ ſchickte. ij. partickel gen Prag. ij. in die Newẽſtat. ij
gen Saltzpurg. ij. partickel worffen ſy yn einẽ gluende packoffen. haben ſy
geſehen. ij. engel. ij. tauben auß dem ofen flygẽ. nachmals iſt der vbeltetter
vor der faſten im ſybenundſybentzygſtẽ iare. bey einẽ kyrchſtock zu Germal
perg begryffen / vñ den gefangẽ gefurt auff das oberhauß bey paſſaw. Da
ſelſt er vngezwungẽ ſolch groß vbel geſagt vñ mer auff die Judiſchayt. dar
auff der obgenant hochwirdig yn got vater. vñ herr Ulrich byſchoff zu pal
ſaw. Als ein chriſtẽlicher furſt dem ſolch vbel pillich zu hertzen iſt gangen.
vñ rechtlich zu ſtraffen erkant hat. ſchuff durch den zedeln vñ geſtrengẽ Rit
ter herrẽ Sebaſtian võ der alben. die zeit ſeiner genadẽ marſchalck. die ſelbẽ
Juden hye zu paſſaw all zu fahen vnd vmb die warhayt zu fragẽ. die doch
alſo gemeynicklich einhellig vñ bekantlich wurdẽ. vñ zaygtẽ das meſſer. de
ſtein. die ſtat vñ den ofen da ſy ſolch handlũg mit dem hoch wirdigen ſacra
ment volbracht vñ begangẽ habẽ. Alſo bekerte ſych yr vier zu dem Chriſte
lichen glaubẽ. vñ wurdẽ am Erichtag nach Judica yn der faſten des ſyben
vnd ſybentzygſtẽ iars fur recht geſtelt. Die newẽ chriſte mit dem ſchwert ge
richt. die Judẽ yn dem fewer. auch ir zwen mit zangẽ gerijſſen. Nach dẽ alle
vber etlich wochẽ wardt der verkauffer auch nach ordnũg des rechtẽ mit
gluendẽ zangẽ gericht. das er als mit groſſer gedult rew vñ andacht erlydẽ
hat wie das durch yn gehandelt iſt. offentlich vor menigklich bekennt.
wol ſych vber ſein vnd alle gloubig ſel erbarmen. Amen.



1–20. Nürnberg 1490s. *A Horrible Deed Committed by the Jews in Passau* (1477). 1. Christopher Eysengreisshamer (a Christian) steals eight pieces of the Sacrament from the church, puts them in his pocket and leaves them there for three days. 2. (In the Jews' house) he places the Sacrament on the table before the uncontaminated Jews, who give him a guilder. 3. The Jews and the beadle carry the Sacrament into the synagogue, and hand it over to the officials there. 4. The Jew Pfeyl stabs the Sacrament on the altar; blood flows out as he and the other Jews observe. 5. They divide up the Sacrament, send two pieces to Prague, two to Salzburg, and two to (the) Neuenstadt. 6. They burn the Sacrament, testing whether ours be the right faith; two angels and two doves fly out of the oven (and a vision of the Christ Child appears). 7. (The thief Christopher betrays the Jews and) all the Jews are caught who bought, sent away, stole and burned the Sacrament. 8. They are brought to judgment, sentenced, and the four who were baptized (i.e. at the last moment), Fackel, Mand, Kolman and Walich, are beheaded. 9. Pfeyl and Vettel, who took, stabbed and then burned the Sacrament, are torn with red-hot pincers. 10. They are burned with all the other Jews involved who kept their faith. 11. Christopher, who sold the Sacrament, is torn with hot pincers on a cart (before execution). 12. The Christians start building a church to the glory of God, on the site of the synagogue (which is destroyed)."

1–21. **Paolo Uccello** c. 1467. **The Profanation of the Host by Jews.** 1. A Christian woman has stolen the Sacrament from a church and exchanges it (clearly outlined against the ledger) for her cloak. 2. The Jewish pawnbroker has tried to damage the Sacrament, which lies in a pan over a small fire in the background, bleeding profusely in thick trickles which run under a mousehole into the street. The crime, thus brought literally to the light of day, attracts soldiers who are battering down the door, while the pawnbroker and his family wait inside, terrified. 3. The Sacrament is recovered, and restored to the altar in a grand procession. 4. The Christian woman who stole and sold it, repents and is pardoned just before her hanging. 5. The Jews are burned alive. 6. Devils and angels engage in the customary dispute for the possession of the Christian woman's soul as it leaves her tomb. (No such dispute would be necessary, of course, for the Jewish soul).

frightened children, and with his use of perspective (Uccello specialized in this science) to enhance the effect of the oozing blood. The position of the criminals at this moment suggests that they are trying to flee from the scene of the crime, but Uccello does this without having shown them in the act of committing it. The German engraver has no interest in such subtleties of narrative, drawing the criminals again and again *in flagrante delicto* and displaying the murderous operation with diagrammatic clarity over no less than five scenes. Uccello's is perhaps the greater work of art, but our broadsheet would surely carry greater weight in court.

4. *Lutheran propaganda*

The broadsheet on the Passau Profanation would have come to the attention of an ambitious young man of Nürnberg, the greatest of Germany's graphic artists, Albrecht Dürer. Dürer grew up and established himself during the generation which preceded the Reformation. This was a restless period which saw the expansion in the graphic arts of many topical satirical and humorous themes. Dürer himself, an artistic innovator comparable to the greatest Italian masters of the age, was however not to be decoyed into the bypaths of purely topical comment, nor into problems of pictorial narrative. It is true that he sometimes tapped the market in humorous rustic genre, and was even occasionally impelled to document a natural miracle, such as the famous eight-legged Saxon pig. But Dürer remains more natural scientist than journalist, and even in later life when he became personally committed to Luther's Reformation, he never descended to mere propaganda. It is in the work of his lesser contemporaries and successors that we are more likely to find topical narrative, in those who succumbed wholly to the dynamic graphic style of the master and shared his keen observation of everyday human life, but lacked his humanistic sense of intellectual superiority.

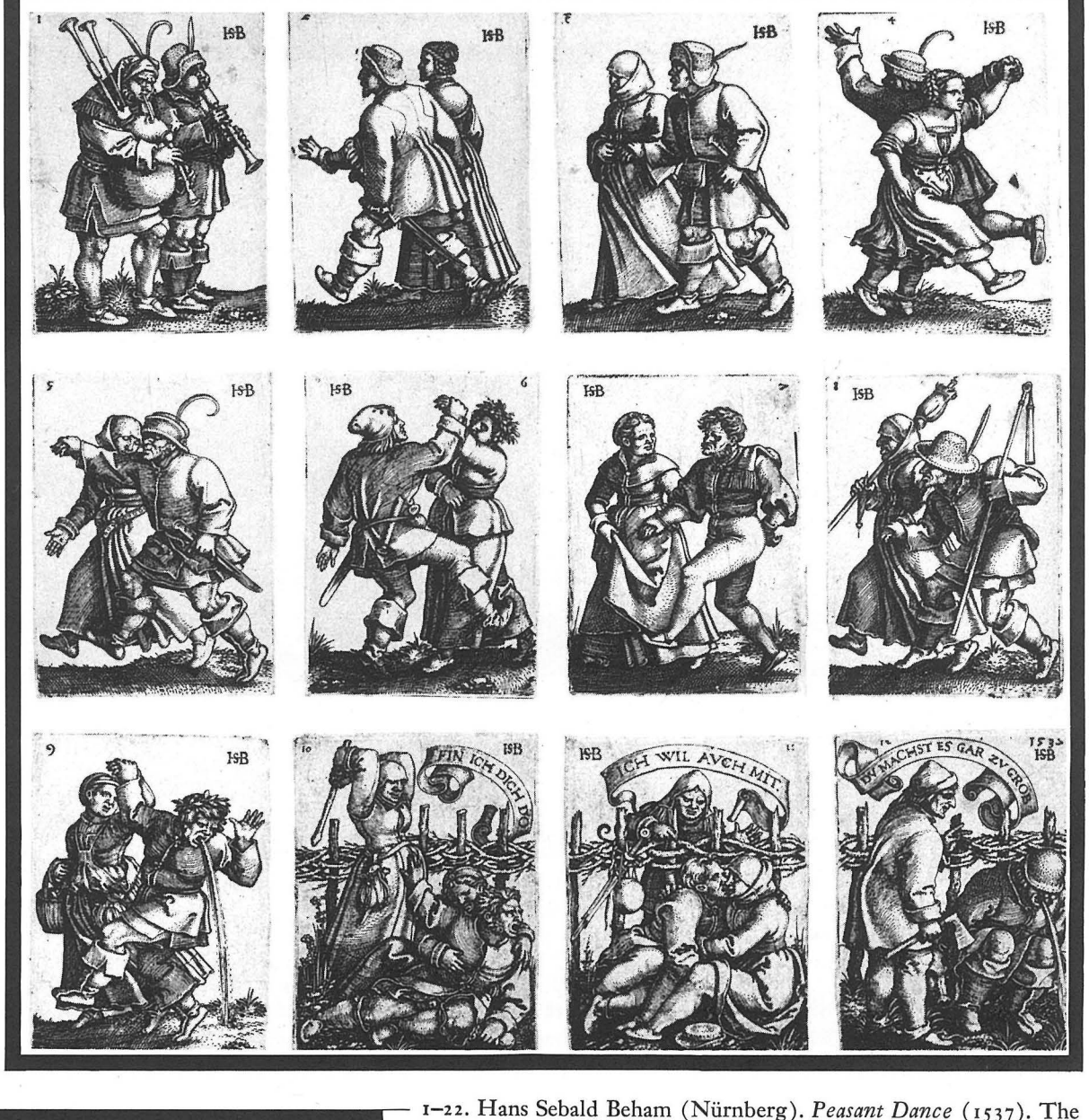
The most gifted and famous of Dürer's Nürnberg followers was Hans Sebald Beham, who developed the comic genre of the master, and showed considerable flair for depicting rustic life. A versatile artist, and a man of impressive ideological independence (he was banned together wth two colleagues from Nürnberg for his free-thinking views), he on several occasions verges upon the narrative strip, as in the amusing peasant dance (1-22). In viewing these prints, one should remember that peasant customs in early sixteenth-century Germany were not, for the burgher, merely harmless matters for humorous observation; they gained, in the light of the terrible peasant revolts, particular topical urgency. Beham, the creator of several Lutheran anti-Papal satires, had reason to show his contempt for rustics; they had after all formed a dangerous left wing of the Protestant movement which had tainted the artist himself.

For the birth of Lutheran pictorial propaganda, we must temporarily leave Nürnberg for Luther's own Wittenberg, where the principal court artist, Lucas Cranach, produced the first sustained body of anti-Papal satire, the famous *Passional Christi und Antichristi.* This appeared in 1521, only four years after Luther nailed his Theses to the door of a Wittenberg church. In a series of paired woodcuts we see episodes from the virtuous life of Christ contrasted with comparable, but vicious episodes from the life of Antichrist, or the Pope of Rome (1-23). This method, which derives from the typology of the *Biblia Pauperum,* mentioned above, is now given a topical moral twist: instead of the Old Testament scene prefiguring and being properly superseded by one from the New Testament, the New Testament scene is travestied, perverted, reversed, improperly superseded by an old and vicious paganism. If Cranach, under the direction of Luther and Melanchthon, makes the Popish Anti-christ of the *Passional* enact a grotesque travesty of the Passion of Christ, it still happens within the framework of a conventional biblical series, and, immensely popular as the *Passional* proved, it remains a picture book rather than a broadsheet.

Let us now return to Nürnberg, the first of the Imperial Free Towns of Germany to officially embrace the Reformation, doing so in the same year (1525) that it was found necessary to expel Beham and his free-thinking colleagues. The graphic artists, the *Formschneider* of Nürnberg, were formidable propagandists, and nowhere in Germany at this time do we find the censorship so active, so many legal documents citing "improper pictures" and so much disciplining of writers, artists and booksellers. A sculptor and engraver working in Nürnberg, Peter Flötner, inflamed no doubt by the religious controversy engendered over the famous Diet held in his home town of Augsburg (1530), took up the idea of Cranach's travesty. He adapted it, however, to fill a long broadsheet strip, abandoning the separate scenes for a continuous procession predicated upon the Passion story (1-24a). The sufferings of Christ are transplanted to a vicious Catholic Germany. Flötner also executed a companion-piece (1-24b), parodying this time not the Passion itself but a typical procession of Roman Catholic pilgrims. With greater room for maneuver, the treatment is much more ribald and, with its moralistic genre enrichments, approaches a kind of Rabelaisian "Rakes' Progress." The male clergy are depraved drunkards, the nuns frivolous gluttons and harlots as well. Flötner, whose *oeuvre* as a whole reveals a penchant for the grotesque and scatological, was condemned by a contemporary writing a year after the artist died, in poverty, in 1546: "What this Flötner did on his own account however, had to be foolish, horrible and atrocious figures and pictures, which he designed and printed in the form of a long pilgrimage of monks, nuns and clergy." Flötner's fellow-townsman Beham, too, was castigated for his addiction to "obscene" pictures, for which he was eventually banned altogether and for which he excused himself on the grounds that "Madonnas did not sell." [5]

Flötner's treatment of the Roman Church is actually milder than that officially sponsored by Luther and Melanchthon themselves, although Luther would have disapproved of the attack on nuns. From the 1520s through the 1540s the Cranach and other Lutheran presses poured out vitriolic, often obscene anti-Papal imagery. There was,

5. Cf. Waldmann, p. 39ff.





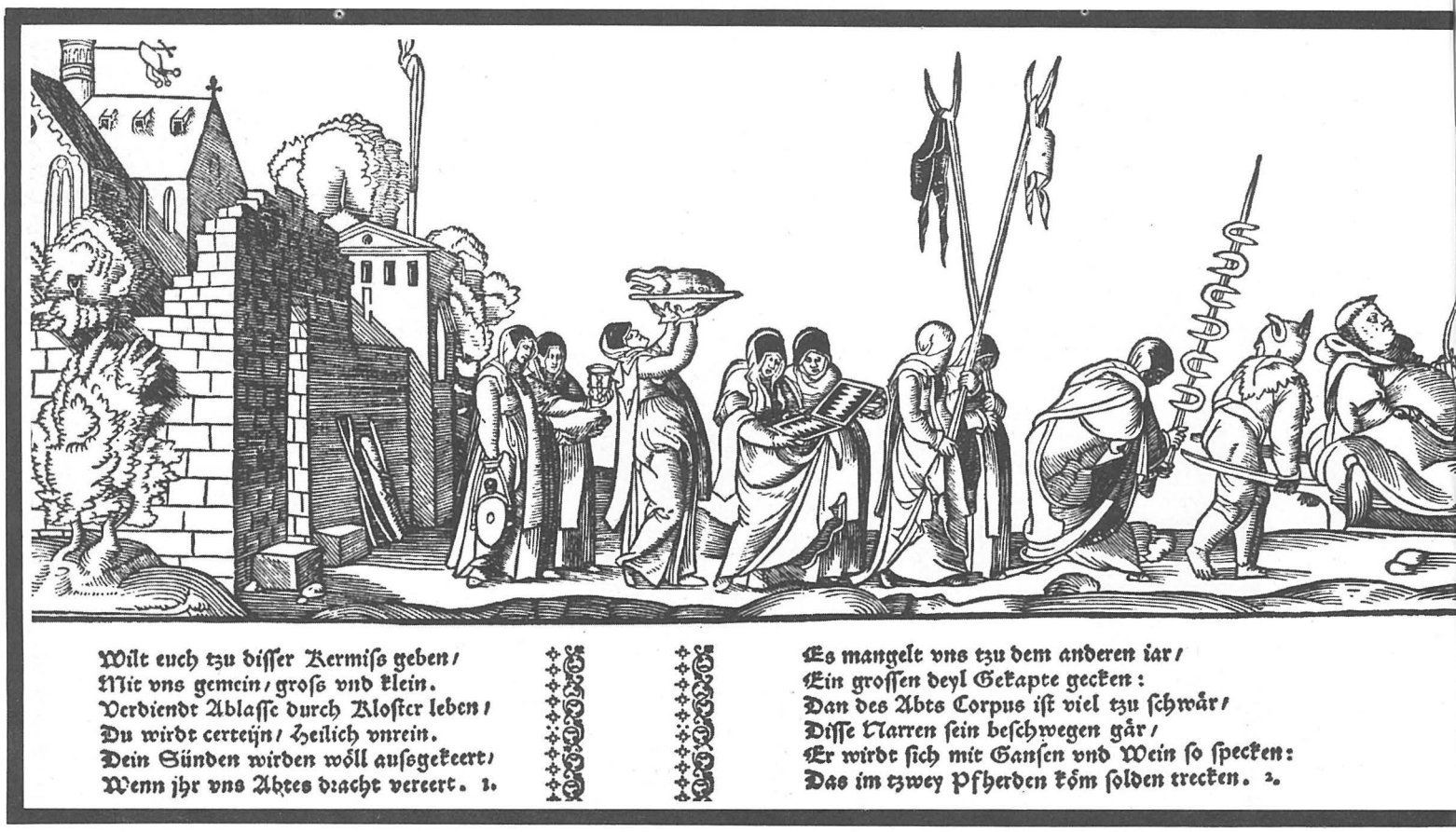
1–22. Hans Sebald Beham (Nürnberg). *Peasant Dance* (1537). The dance is introduced to the tune of fat rustic musicians, who stand by to watch the ever-increasing tempo of the dancers. The peasant-couple stride out along the meadow, fling each other around, set off again with even greater abandon, turn once more, are joined by a more sedate-looking pair of burghers, who contrast with the comic rustic pair behind them (8) bearing their homely distaff and flail as if they were some Terpsichorean or Bacchic attribute. Later, the physical joys of movement turn to vulgar, sensual excess, as the wife drags home a husband who is still dancing but has now reached the stage of vomiting, and as another wife threatens her husband, caught in the arms of some wench ("So I find you here!"). Finally, an old woman envies a younger pair at their crude love-play ("I want a go too!") and a man laments ("You really are too vulgar.") over the woeful state of his friend who pays dearly for his gluttony, symbolized by the pig just visible between them.

1–23. Lucas Cranach. From the *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (1521). "Christ pastured his flock himself—Antichrist lives in debauchery and luxury. A crown of thorns for Christ was made—the Pope wears a triple crown of gold."



1–24a. Peter Flötner. *Christ Recrucified* (c. 1530). Monks, in the role of Roman soldiers, bring Christ to a bishop, in the role of Pilate. The Flagellation by monks is directed by the Pope as is the Crowning with Thorns and the Crucifixion. Christ rises from the tomb, while the monks sleep.

1–24b. Peter Flötner. *Crusade of Monks, Nuns and Priests* (c. 1530).
1. "Won't you come to the fair along with us, all of you, large and small. Earn indulgences with cloistered life, you will no doubt be holy impure (sic). Your sins will be fully forgiven if you revere our Abbot's vestments." (Besides food, wine and games, the nuns carry the breeches of their lovers on pitchforks.)
2. "All we lack for the next year is a good bunch of capped fools, for the Abbott's corpus is much too heavy. These fools are absolutely flabbergasted—he tends to stuff himself so much with goose and wine that two horses would scarcely be able to carry him." (The boys preceding the fat abbot hold lanterns containing dungheaps, such as the artist used as a punning signature [*Flade*=dung.]
3. "We give an *exemplum*, but *taceatis* (you keep quiet). *Perinde* (just) as we live, so *faciatis* (you should do). We are still *lux mundi* (light of the world), but everything *improbitatis* (depraved). Yet we are *Nazarei*, but *ne credatis* (do not believe it). *Omnia* (all) is permitted to us, *evulgatis* (published) by Bulls, *idcirco* (therefore) we bear *sanctitatis* sanctity (Holy of Holies).
4. "We raise our voices in song so the very notes pop out of our throats. But we can make it all good again with holy water and other things that we get through dispensation, so the pigs we slaughter for the Abbott are pure." (A liquor bottle replaces the censer.)

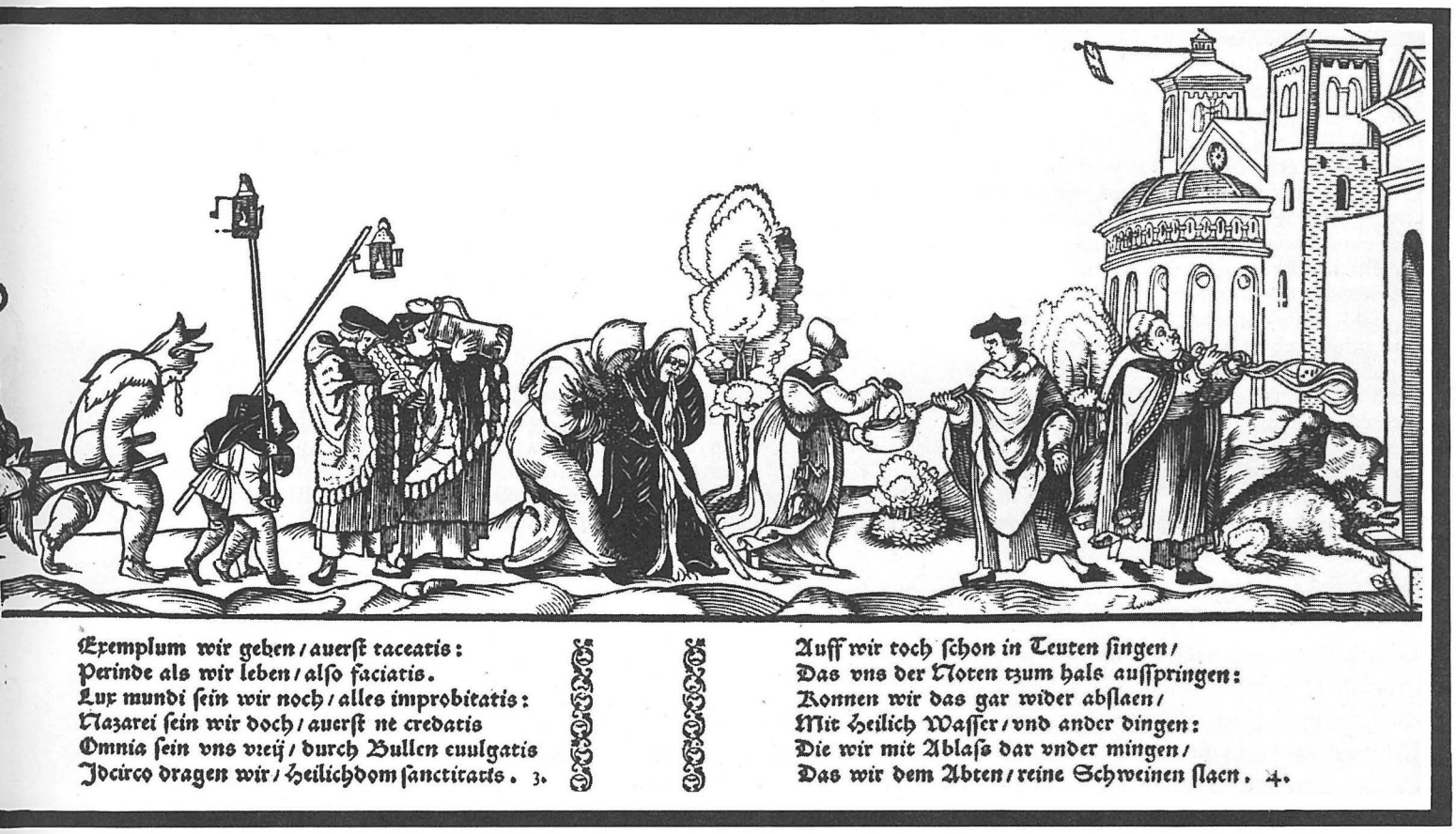


Wilt euch tzu diſſer Kermiſs geben/
Mit vns gemein/ groſs vnd klein.
Verdiendt Ablaſſe durch Kloſter leben/
Du wirdt certeijn/ Heilich vnrein.
Dein Sünden wirden wöll auſsgekeert/
Wenn jhr vns Abtes dracht vereert. 1.

Es mangele vns tzu dem anderen iar/
Ein groſſen deyl Gekapte gecken:
Dan des Abts Corpus iſt viel tzu ſchwär/
Diſſe Narren ſein beſchwegen gär/
Er wirdt ſich mit Ganſen vnd Wein ſo ſpecken:
Das im tzwey Pfherden kŏm ſolden trecken. 2.



however, no attempt to connect the broadsheets in sequence, even when they were collected in little bound volumes, so that Lutheran pictorial propaganda never again achieves the sustained, quasi-narrative attack of the *Passional.* In later broadsheets, one can only find a characteristically vulgar attack on the Jesuit order (1-25), which, since the foundation of a Collegium Germanicum in Rome 1552, had rapidly laid hold of Bavaria, spearheading the Counter-Reformation in Germany. The Jesuit "Progress," which does not observe true strip form but zigzags haphazardly down the sheet, starts by identifying the hated reactionary Pope Paul IV (1555–59) with a disgusting old sow in labor, on the model of an old Lutheran visual wisecrack about the Papal sow begetting clergy. Here, as in the latter cartoon, the Furies act as midwives. The father is a wolf-dog; wolves and dogs are the instructors of the little pig-dogs in the art of making vicious attacks on other animals. This refers to the indoctrination practiced in the Jesuit College of Ingolstadt and in other schools opening up all over Bavaria under the leadership of Petrus Canisius (Peter Dog), chief religious adviser to Emperor Ferdinand in the suppression of Protestantism. The engraver has not attempted to represent realistically the persecutions themselves (the verse describes how Protestant adults were expelled wholesale, their children having been wrested from them for purposes of indoctrination in the Catholic Filth), but merely shows pig-dogs eating this filth and desecrating Luther's tomb and Lutheran churches. Their crimes are punished in truly biblical fashion: the swine are identified with the Gadarene herd which Jesus sent to its destruction. The "fable" ends with a personal



diatribe against a fellow-poet who had become a Jesuit apologist and who was threatened with the same end as that which befell "that wicked sophist," the Greek satirical poet Lucian. The engraver illustrates his supposed death, torn to pieces by (Jesuit) dogs. It must be admitted that this mixed method of narrative, conducted partly by allegory and partly by biblical and historical allusion, has little future in the wider context of the development of the strip cartoon. *The Jesuit Swine* seems to be a reply to an anti-Lutheran cartoon called *Ecclesia Militans* which is an extraordinary hodge-podge of a satire, defying all narrative analysis.



1–25. Bavarian. *The origin and character of the Suiten (Swine) who call themselves Jesuits* (1569). [Summary of long poem printed below:] The Caraffa Pope (Paul IV) was a disgusting old sow, who lived in luxury and wore the triple crown in mockery of the whole world. I've read that this lascivious old sow copulated with a dog. (Now keep still and just listen to what I tell you.) A. When the time came for the delivery of her cursed burden, the sow stretched herself on a lovely cushion and grunted and groaned most horribly. B. The dog was anxious for the sow to be delivered of her pains. C. The dog's mother, a she-wolf, paid a sympathetic visit. D. The whole gang of bishops, monks and priests set up a wailing prayer. E. Then came the three Furies to help as midwives. Finally the little ones emerged, trisubstantial: head of dog, round bristly back of pig, and tail of wolf; but they were called Suiten (from Latin *sus*, German *Sau* = Swine) after the mother (this is the wicked gang who make a mockery of Jesus' name by calling themselves after Him, whom they never knew). The three Furies, as is the custom, suckled these little monsters, who drank poison and gall from the snakes hanging around the nurses' necks. The proud parents sent their offspring on an educational tour to learn their arts. An excellent cynic and an epicurean philosopher undertook to instruct the piglet-puppies, for whom the best pig-sty was cleaned out and turned into a school (Jesuit College in Ingolstadt). The piglets dutifully listened to Dog, Professor of Cynics, who told them what wild animals they might meet in the forest, and how to attack them and tear at them furiously, even when they were engaged in weddings and happy occasions. Pig, Professor of Epicurean philosophy, recommended they live in filthy luxury. (The poem continues with a description, in the manner of the medieval bestiary, of the character of deceitful mad Dog, cruel rapacious Wolf, and, scene H., filthy Pig, which snuffles in dirt and blood.) I. The *schweinehunde* have desecrated churches, disturbed Luther's tomb, and defamed him in picture and word. K. The devils which Jesus sent into the Gadarene herd have entered them, so that they will plunge over the precipice into the sea. (The poet ends by attacking a personal enemy, an epicurean poet and great flatterer of the Jesuits, and exhorts him to repent, or else, scene L, he will be torn to pieces by *schweinebunde*, as happened to Lucian of old.)

5. *Catholic propaganda*

Many, perhaps most, of the German engravers and painters working after 1517 were engaged in some form of religious propaganda, whether on the one side or the other. Even the Bavarian painter Albrecht Altdorfer found himself involved, although he specialized in the new apolitical art of landscape painting. In 1519 the people of Regensburg expelled their Jews (not for the first time) and destroyed the ghetto and synagogue. A Christian church was built on the spot and named *Zur schönen Maria* after an old statue of the Virgin placed before it, an object which soon earned sensational fame as a miracle-worker. Altdorfer, who as a local civic dignitary had much favored the expulsion of the Jews, made a brisk trade in prints showing the church and statue standing on the ruins of the ghetto; but no print has survived recounting the miracles themselves, the enthusiasm for which reached maniacal proportions. At this very moment, however, an unknown engraver further north, in Saxony-Brandenburg, was preparing a narrative strip relating *in extenso* a Catholic miracle, which was used to promote the sale of indulgences for a local church, and can therefore claim considerable topical value (1-26). It appeared, moreover, at a time when Luther had already succeeded in stirring up controversy over miracles, sacraments and indulgences. The subject here, like that of the *Passau Profanation*, concerns the Holy Sacrament, and there is a remarkable similarity in the appearance of the two broadsheets. The *Miraculous Blood of Wilsnack* is also composed of neat rows of square scenes; the captions are rather briefer but adequate as explanation, despite the lack of further commentary below. Under the impact of such men as Dürer and Altdorfer, German art had made great strides in the depiction of space and landscape, so that even the hack engraver of the Wilsnack miracle feels the need for circumstantial physical surroundings, which detract from the immediate human action. Both the cutting of the block and the narrative itself seem less disciplined; the sequence drags in the middle, and is concerned less with the climactic rhythm of crime and punishment than with rendering the traditional sequence of miracles. Crime and punishment there are (the burning of the town by soldiers, the striking blind of a non-believer in the miracle), but these episodes are incidental, not central. The whole story refers to an event long past, but one can well imagine a ballad-singer of the time, opening each stanza with a "Here . . ." (as in the caption) as he pointed to a backcloth of these designs, in order to promote the sale of indulgences for the church; and one can equally well imagine the clergy "selling" the miracles assiduously in the teeth of the neighboring town, newly Protestant Wittenberg. In Wittenberg, Luther was not only engaged in his protracted campaign against indulgences in general, but also found occasion to complain that even such small local enterprises as the selling of religious prints from churches went to the benefit of some wealthy absentee cardinal. The print of the Wilsnack miracle does not seem to have functioned as a letter of indulgence in itself, but was surely sold in conjunction with one; it remains a unique document testifying to a traffic which was widely felt to constitute a popular scourge of Germany. (We have already considered a religious strip, 1-7, carrying the promise that the pious Christian, by the mere act of purchasing the holy image, would be "indulged," that is, relieved of x number of days in Purgatory; and it is interesting to note how this idea of "buying and selling" salvation offended the English Protestant into whose hands the print fell: he tried to obliterate this part of the inscription.)

There appear to have survived no other miracle-strips such as this from a whole century of intense religious controversy. We must move forward as far as 1580 to find anything remotely comparable, and even this print gives very short measure as a piece of story-telling (1-27). The miracle is a more personal one, rather different in kind as well as in its treatment, and seems to suffer from the engraver's ambition to raise the artistic level of his broadsheet. He has eliminated captions, reduced the number of scenes and increased their size, in order to acquire more freedom of design. He elaborates the landscape effects and exploits them for an "illegitimate" narrative purpose: that of fitting several phases into one composition—four in the second, two in the third, and three in the fourth. He lingers over the intercourse of girl and messenger (who is of course Christ) and, surprisingly, abandons the story before her arrival in the town. We have to discover the rest in the lengthy commentary: how people were offended at her indecent appearance in a skirt now become too short for her straightened knees; the incredulity with which her tale meets, until she reveals the divine mark on her knee; and the exhibition of her person to the pilgrims.

The Lutheran *Passional Christi und Antichristi* is the first major work of graphic political satire, but not the first major work of graphic political propaganda. The Holy Roman Emperor of the German nation, Maximilian of the House of Habsburg, was the first to appreciate the potential of the woodcut for the glorification of a ruler and his reign. During the ten years preceding his death in 1519, as he himself proudly admits, he spent enormous sums of money on autobiographical monuments. From the presses of Augsburg printers, and from the hands of Germany's most distinguished artists, there poured forth huge series of prints commemorating Maximilian's ancestors, his virtuous life and patronage, his entertainments, and even (in two hundred and fifty plates) the adventurous wooing of his bride, this last conceived in the style of the medieval romances of chivalry. Yet all of these projects, together with the immense woodcut triumphal arch (ninety-two sheets) and the triumphal procession (one hundred and thirty-seven sheets long), are notable for their lack of narrative coherence. The life of the Emperor appears as a hodge-podge of scenes—dynastic, romantic, imperial-ceremonial, military, artistic, sportive. The political moralist might see here a reflection of the irrational ambitions and personality of the Emperor, of his chaotic policies, of the confusion he created in pre-Reformation Germany; meanwhile we are left to ponder the reason for an almost total lack of straightforward pictorial political biography during the Renaissance, a period often considered the apogee of art in the service of personal fame. Had the Imperial throne earned itself as much hatred as that of St. Peter in Rome, the absurd pretensions of Maximilian might well

De hystorie vnde erfindinghe des hillighen Sacraments tho der wilsnagk.



1–26. Magdeburg c. 1520. *The Miraculous Blood of Wilsnack.* "1. Here the little town of Wilsnack is totally destroyed and burned by enemy soldiers (1383). 2. Here the priest comes with his parishioners, and sees his church burned down. 3. Here the priest John, with his rustic flock, goes to the Groten Luben in the greatest despair. 4. Here the priest sleeps with his flock, but hears a Voice (telling him to) say Mass in Wilsnack. 5. Here the priest John and the peasants clean up the altar and look for the bell-metal. 6. Here the priest finds three pieces of the Holy Host, covered with blood, by the altar, and says Mass. 7. Here they carry the Holy Sacrament to the Groten Luben with burning candles. 8. Here the priest John is called by the bishop. 9. Here priest John informs the bishop of all that has happened. 10. Here the bishop rides with all his retainers via Innicheit to Wilsnack. 11. Here the bishop says Mass, and witnesses a remarkable miracle in one of the pieces of Host (which is evidently bleeding again). 12. Here the bishop rides to the Plattenborch and publishes the miracle with great pomp. 13. Here Diderick Wenckstern mocks the Holy Sacrament and is immediately struck blind. 14. Here the Holy Sacrament (now placed in a glass-windowed monstance) is publicly displayed to all the people. 15. Here the church in Wilsnack is granted great privileges and indulgences."





1–27. South German or Swiss. *A wonderful true story of an 18-year-old crippled girl at Einsiedeln, April 9, 1580.* Summary: The girl, lame from birth, is determined against all reason and advice to crawl alone the many miles to the famous pilgrimage center of Einsiedeln in Switzerland. She crouches by the river screaming until 2. she is ferried across. She crawls on, to the amazement of passers-by, until she meets a noble bearded man in a white gown, who marks her on the knee. 3. Healed, she thanks her Benefactor, who 4. sends her on her way. She disappears into the distance toward the shrine, still looking over her shoulder to the scene of her miraculous cure.

1–28. Hans Brosamer (attr.). *Seven-headed Martin Luther.* "Doctor – Martin – Luther – Ecclesiast – Fanatic – Visitor – Barrabas" (1529).

have been satirized in the form of a parody of the woodcut sequences he conceived.

It was not the policy of Lutheran propagandists to focus their attacks upon the lives of specific Popes, but rather to reveal the iniquity of the Papacy as an institution. The Catholic party, on the other hand, concentrated upon alleged personal vices of Luther. Anti-Lutheran cartoons sometimes rival the enemy's in crudity, but are much weaker both numerically and artistically, seldom rising above the conventional defamatory image (e.g. 1-28). There is no Catholic sequence comparable to the *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, or to the collection of cartoons published in 1545 under the title *Abbildung des Papsttums* (*Portrait of*

C

Luthers Spies Gesell wird ihme an-
der seithen vom Donner erschlagen.

D

Luther tritt in den Orden der
Eremiten S. Augustini.

E

Luther nimbt zu an gelehrtheit /
nimbt ab an Tugend.

F

Luther hadert mit seinen Ordens
Brüderen umb verschidene Aembter.

B

Luther wird in Röm: Catolz Glaub-
en Lehr Unterwisen.

Portraits Luthers ein
Ehemann, der Ur-
heber der Schmalkaldischen Krieg Gottes-
lästerlicher Apostata ein
Gottlosigkeit, ein Erstmachte der Schalck-
heit, ein schändlicher

G

Luther wird das Vorsteher Aembt ab-
geschlagen: verlasst also das Closter.

A

Luther wird von Catolische:
Eltern gebohren.

H

Luther führt ein Vatterbübisch
Leben.

O

Luthers Cörper wird von Eisleben
nach Wirtenberg geführt.

P

Luther wird begraben
A. Dasmab

Luther endführet S. Gott geweyh-
te Jungfrauen.

K

Luther ganz Berauschet stirbt
an der Collic.

Luther entzweyet sich mit Calvino
u. Melanchton in ihren Glaubens Sätz

Luther verkehret die wahre Lehr
und streitet seine Lehrsätz aus.

L

Luther begibt sich mit Catharina de
Bora in eine Gott-raubrische Ehe.

1–29. Augsburg, 1630?. *Martin Luther, Doctor of Godlessness, Professor of Villainy, shameful apostate. God-robbing husband and author of the Augsburg Confession.* (This title reads around the portrait in the center. The narrative begins in the center left-hand scene.) "A. Luther is born of Catholic parents (1483). B. He is instructed in the Roman Catholic Faith. C. Luther's crony is struck by lightning at his side (1505). D. He enters the order of the Eremites of St. Augustine (1505). E. Luther increases in learning and decreases in virtue. F. He quarrels with his fellow-monks for various offices. G. He is refused the office of Prior, and therefore leaves the monastery. H. Luther leads a dissipated life (still in his professorial robes, he is about to enter the 'Ram' brothel, accompanied by lascivious music). I. Luther abducts eight maidens dedicated to God (nuns). K. He joins with (the nun) Katherine von Bora in a God-robbing marriage (1525). L. Luther perverts the true Gospel and spreads his heresies. M. He splits from Calvin and Melanchthon over matters of faith. N. He dies of the cholic in a drunken stupor (1546). O. Luther's corpse is carried from Eisleben to Wittenberg (accompanied by vultures and airborne devil). P. (center) Luther is buried (*nota bene*) down below."

1–30 German, after 1577. *John Calvin of Noyon suffering persecution in the name of chastity*. "A. Calvin seeks out a means of chastity. B. Calvin practising his chastity. C. The adulteress chastised by her husband. D. Calvin becomes a monk (the engraver seems to be depicting his commitment to prison). E. Calvin's chastity is consecrated to the fire. F. By intervention of the bishop, Calvin's fire (sentence of burning) is commuted to the lily. G. Calvin's back is decorated with the lily."



1–31. French c. 1585. *The Crimes of Calvinism: Murder, Sacrilege, and war by land and sea.*



the Papacy). There survive no contemporary or near-contemporary picture strips directed against Luther, for the nearest in time seems to date from the seventeenth century (1-29). The print embodies the tradition of the early personal diatribes at the same time as it echoes the cruel intolerance characteristic of the Thirty Years War, in the midst of which it was probably published. The rabid title gives a good clue to the tone of the narrative: *Martin Luther, Doctor of Godlessness, Professor of Villainy, shameful apostate, God-robbing husband, and author of the Augsburg Confession.* It starts, factually enough, with the boy's birth and education; but then, in a crescendo of mendacity, the monkish rake treads the fatal downward path, is expelled from the monastery, becomes a haunter of taverns, abductor of a nun, perverter of the Gospel, and finally dies of drink.

While we lack a contemporary strip-biography of Luther, the enemies of Calvin have left a broadsheet which must be near-contemporary, and is related to the bitter religious wars in France during the last third of the sixteenth century (1–30; cf. 1–31). Four small scenes, depicting Cal-



1–32. Netherlandish, late sixteenth century. *Picture of the branded Sodomite, Jean Calvin.* Left: Calvin branded with the fleur de lys. Center: He aids in the burning of Servetus. Right: Calvin (or Theodore de Bèze, French Protestant theologian) seducing a woman and a young boy.

vin's lechery and escape into a monastery, flank three larger ceremonial scenes of his sentence and punishment by public branding. To give credence to these absurd allegations, the author adds a feature exceptional to so crude a lampoon: a brief bibliography, at the head of which we find reference to the *Life of Calvin* (1577) by the notorious turncoat Catholic pamphleteer Jerome Bolsec. He is the source of most libels against the Genevese reformer, whom he knew personally. The author of our print, however, has given a very very confused reflection of Bolsec's allegations, making the crime punished by branding to be adultery, not sodomy.

1–33. Roman 1555. *Execution of Eighteen Carthusian Monks under Henry VIII of England* (1535–7). 1. After arrest and imprisonment, 2. the monks are dragged on hurdles to the execution ground, and 3–6. executed.



He also includes an irrelevant scene, not in Bolsec, of the adulteress' chastisement by her husband, and the obscure one following, where engraver and caption-writer are in obvious disaccord. Bolsec's principal accusation, that of sodomy punished by public branding, was much popularized by separate prints (1-32).

Most of the strips originating north of the Alps seem to be matter-of-fact, unsensational graphic statements, due to the very limited engraving style employed. The final print in this chapter provides a contrast: it is Italian, and it records a specific political event (1-33). It comes from Rome, where engravers rarely descended to that "base" form of art, the political cartoon. The grandiose Roman style, applied in broadsheet format to a broadsheet theme, inevitably gives it a sensational physical quality generally lacking in narrative strips. The result is an impressive indictment of barbarities under Henry VIII of England, who had eighteen Carthusian monks executed between 1535 and 1537 for refusing to recognize him as Head of the English Church. Each of the six scenes is conceived as a monumental, tragic composition, with much Michelangelesque detail in the attitudes and in the modelling of the nudes. The hideous embellishments on the execution are justification for the extended sequence of pictures; they follow a fairly natural order, as if for a single event, from the arrest to the final "Calvary." The scenes are not individually captioned, but the propagandist makes the major criminological point, which historians bear out, that the Catholics, purportedly executed as traitors, received the shameful treatment (mutilations, disembowelling, etc.) usually reserved for the most unpopular criminals. This fact, which was calculated to arouse particular anger, is also stressed in the first atrocity album of Richard Verstegan, whose work is to be considered in the following chapter. Verstegan presents a much more complete dossier for the prosecution by including scenes of interrogation which are lacking in the Roman engraving.

Chapter Two

FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS

1. Huguenot dissent and royal censorship

Although Reformation ideas quickly caused civil unrest in France, there was at first little interest in pictorial propaganda campaigns. Under Francis I savage press-laws were enforced—Louis de Berquin was burned in 1529 for distributing heretical books, as was the illustrious scholar and printer Etienne Dolet in 1546. We also find reference to an "imagier (i.e. maker of pictures) Denys de Poitiers" who was executed by the Chambre Ardente; but no pictorial satires or propaganda broadsheets survive from this period preceding the mid-1560s.[1] It was only when civil war actually erupted, and when the royal authority started to break down, that the cartoonist came into his own. Anti-press laws become directed specifically against imagery, against "prints and paintings," and "diffamatory posters and portraits" (*cartes et peintures, placards et portraits diffamatoires*").[2]

French Protestant dissent was centered in Lyons, a city which enjoyed very close economic and cultural links with Calvin's Geneva. The French Protestants, or Huguenots as they were called, found it safer to publish in Geneva, where a French version of the *Passional Christi und Antichristi* appeared with the cuts redesigned by the Genevan-Lyonnais engraver Pierre Eskrich (1558). In 1566 Eskrich produced the *Papistical Map of the World* (*Mappemonde Papistique*), a set of prints which must represent, in physical terms at least, the biggest anti-Catholic satire of the century.[3] The allegorical map, very dear to the later Middle Ages, is not a likely vehicle for ordered narrative. A more promising enterprise was that of two Protestant engravers of Lyon, Jean Tortorel and Jean Perrissin, who in 1570 (again from Geneva) launched a collection of thirty large woodcuts documenting a decade of civil war. The subjects, for the most part very violent, are selected to reveal the extent of Huguenot suffering. In these recurring scenes of execution and massacre the engravers avoid subdivisions and narrative within any single plate. The significance of the Tortorel and Perrissin album lies in the fact that it represents an early attempt (the first in France) to illustrate in proper historical order a series of current events bearing upon a single theme. At the same time, these events do not appear chronologically tightly-knit nor causative. It was left to a Catholic rather than a Protestant, to an Englishman in exile rather than a native Frenchman, to produce a sequence relating to the French religious wars in which the narrative chain is so forged as to convey the successive phases of a single event.

2. "But an execution set out in print, a common thing" (Richard Verstegan)

The year 1583 presented an opportune moment for the Catholic propagandist to make trouble for moderates and Huguenots alike. King Henri III was investigating the possibilities of an alliance with his Protestant neighbors across the channel; there was even talk of the King's brother and heir to the throne, the Duke of Anjou, marrying the English Queen. The extreme Catholic and Jesuit party, called the League, detested the King and his policy of religious compromise, and sought Spanish alliances. Queen Elizabeth had recently been excommunicated by the Pope, who thus made treason on the part of her Catholic subjects a kind of religious duty. Accordingly, in 1580 two prominent Jesuits, Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, landed in England to launch a campaign of subversion against the Anglican church. Campion was arrested and executed along with many other priests. Parsons escaped and resumed his plotting in France with the leaders of the League and their Spanish allies. He published in several languages illustrated accounts of the martyrdom of his English fellow-Catholics, which was also depicted on the walls of the recently-founded Jesuit English College in Rome.[4] For the spiritual improvement of the Jesuit novices, the painter performed the notable feat of devising about seventy distinct forms of martyrdom which stretched historically from the earliest to the most recent times. For the delectation of the general public, these designs were engraved by the Roman Giovanni Battista Cavalieri in the form of a big twenty-three-plate picture book.

1. At the time of the outbreak of the first religious civil war (1562), one can detect among certain politically minded and art-loving French noblemen a sudden taste for paintings and engravings of the famous massacres of antiquity, which were intended as warnings against future massacres of Protestants (see Ehrmann).
2. See Blum, p. 156ff.
3. See Rondot.
4. The painter was Nicolo Circiniani, known as delle Pomerancie. The commission was no doubt awarded to him in 1583 for his proven ability in this kind of subject: the previous year he had devised a cycle of a hundred different martyrdoms for the walls of San Stefano Rotondo in Rome.

In the year 1583 the blood of the Jesuits was up. An obscure English Catholic, Richard Verstegan, part-time engraver and free-lance political agent, had fled to France and was working with the League and its leaders, the Guise. Verstegan determined to reach a wider audience than Cavalieri by resorting to the broadsheet rather than the costly album, and by abandoning the ancient martyrdoms in order to concentrate upon the recent ones. His story of the English persecution is spread over five large engravings (2–1) preceded by an introductory page of text in French, entitled *Briefve Description des diverses cruautez que les Catholiques endurent en Angleterre pour la foy (Brief description of the various cruelties which the Catholics in England endure for the faith)*.

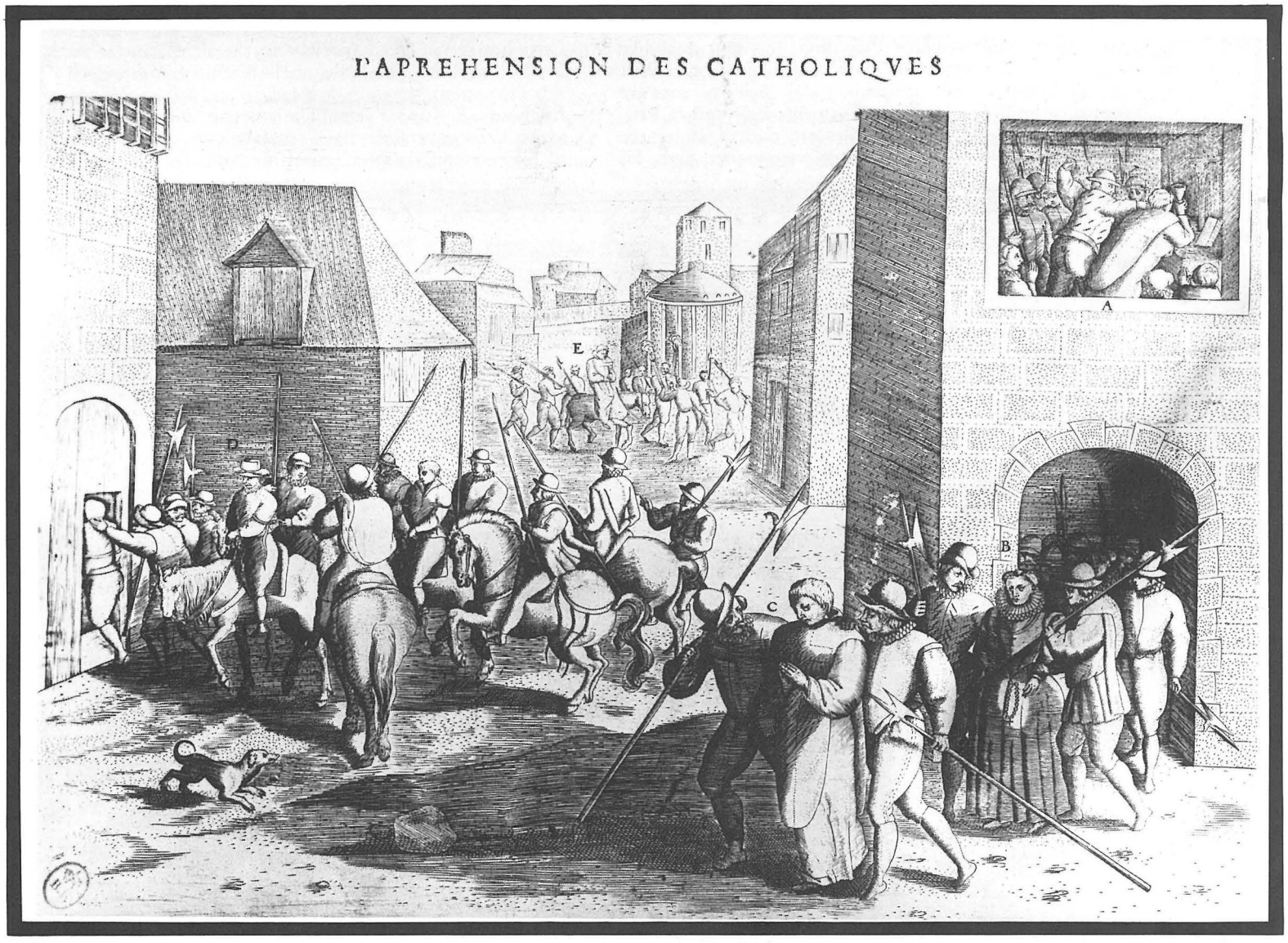
Verstegan was being watched by that extraordinarily efficient organization, the English Secret Service, and before he could publish his work, he was seized by French police. Moderate Frenchmen, however, interceded in his behalf on the grounds that his engravings did not touch the honor of the English Queen, since they represented "but an execution set out in print, a common thing both in France and in all places." Verstegan must have considered himself lucky to be released after a few months, for the King soon issued a special edict declaring it a criminal offense to incite public disorder, and ordered the hanging and burning of a prominent satirical writer. The original copper-plates of Verstegan's *Brief Description* were lost to him, probably through confiscation, so that when he escaped to Rome he had his designs re-engraved by Cavalieri, the author of the *Trophaea* mentioned above. The only known copies of this Roman version of the *Brief Description*, with its Latin text, are bound together with the *Trophaea*, to which it thus provides an up-to-date supplement.

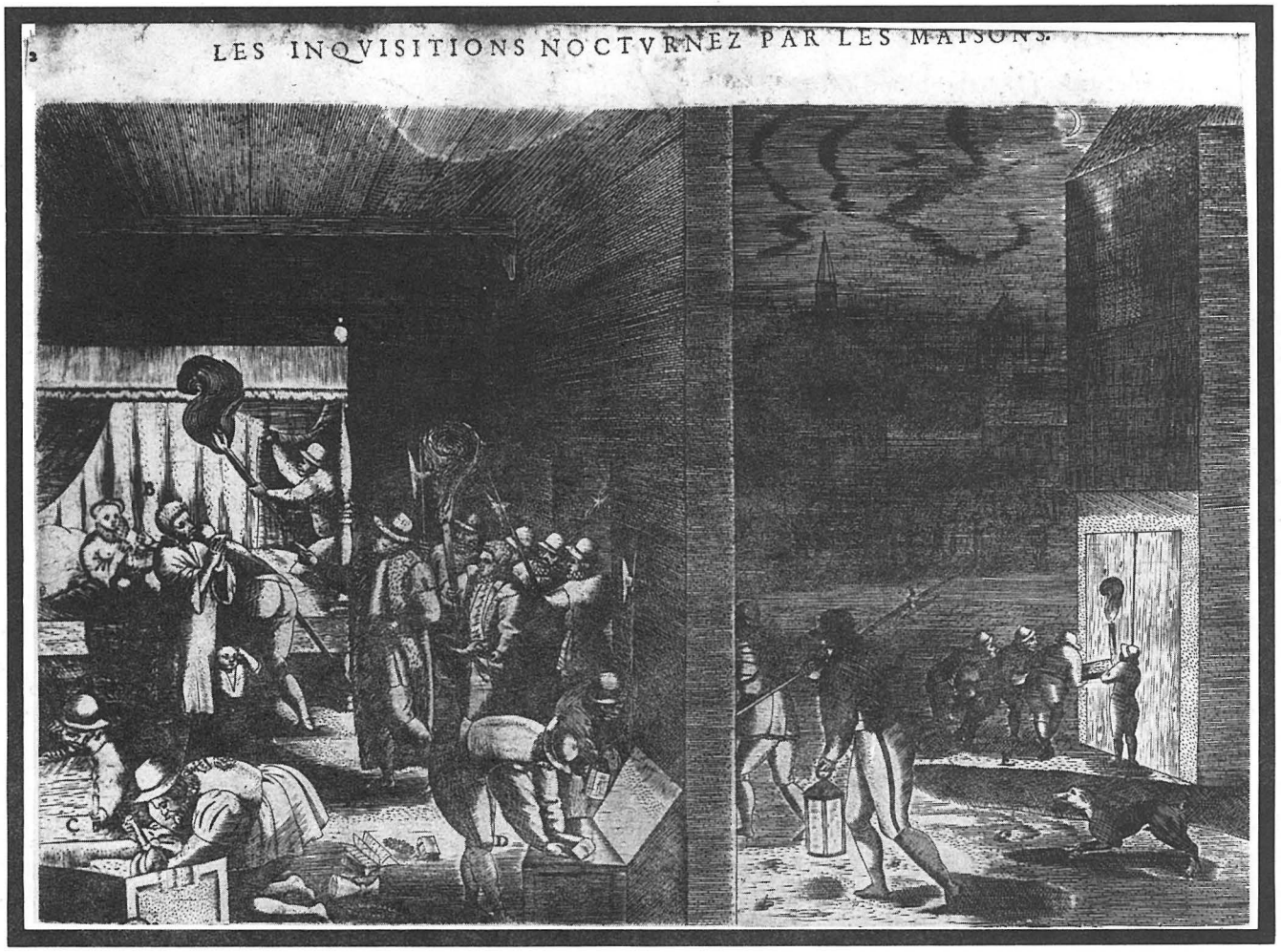
Verstegan returned to Paris late in 1584 and probably tried again to print and distribute his work; but we do not find evidence of his success until 1587, when the League had tightened their grip upon the city. The famous diary of the contemporary chronicler and political moderate, Pierre de l'Estoile, contains the following entry:

"Thursday July 9, (1587), a picture (i.e. Verstegan's prints) was removed from the cemetery of St. Severin,

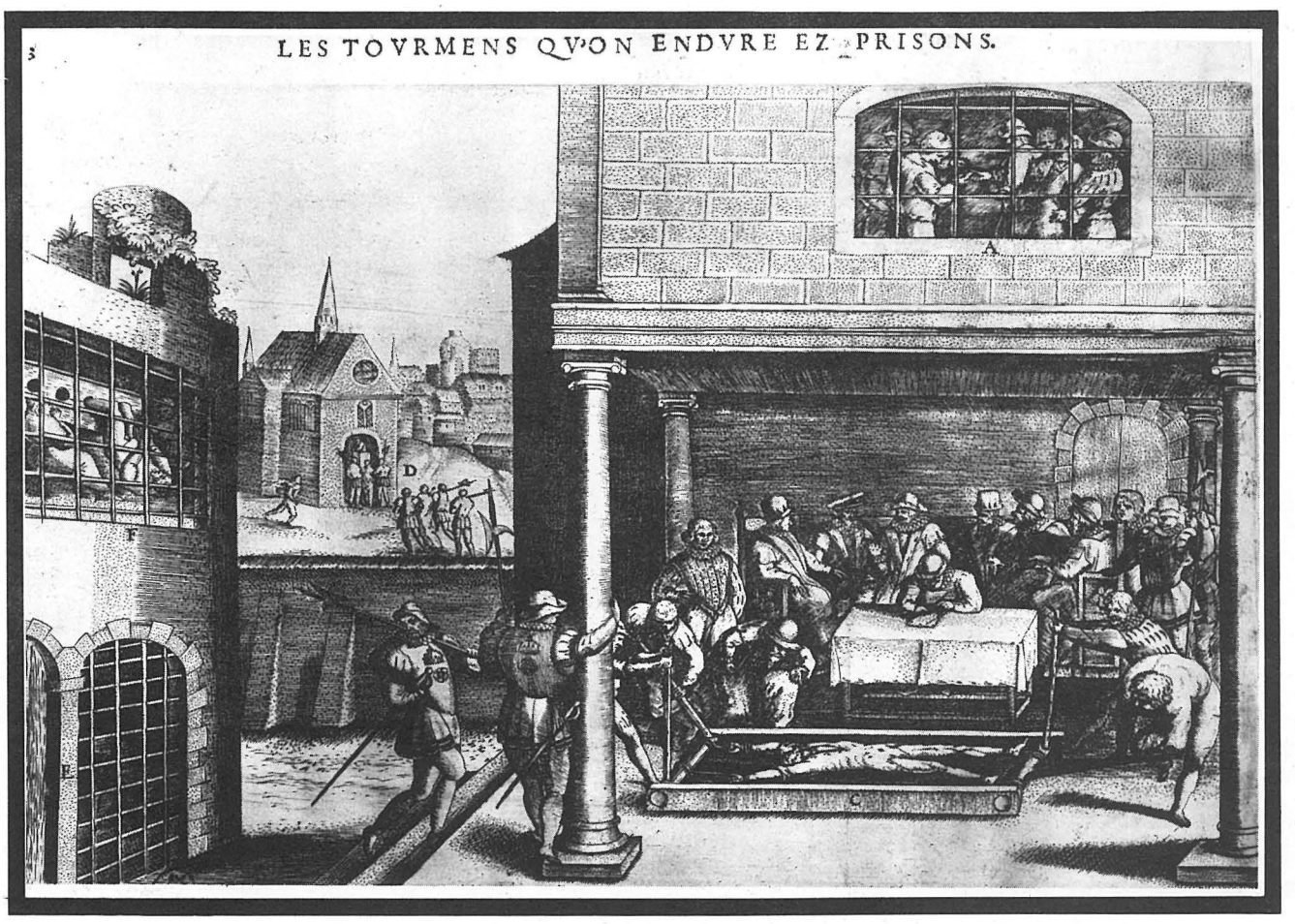
2–1. Richard Verstegan. *Brief Description of the various cruelties which the Catholics in England endure for the faith.*

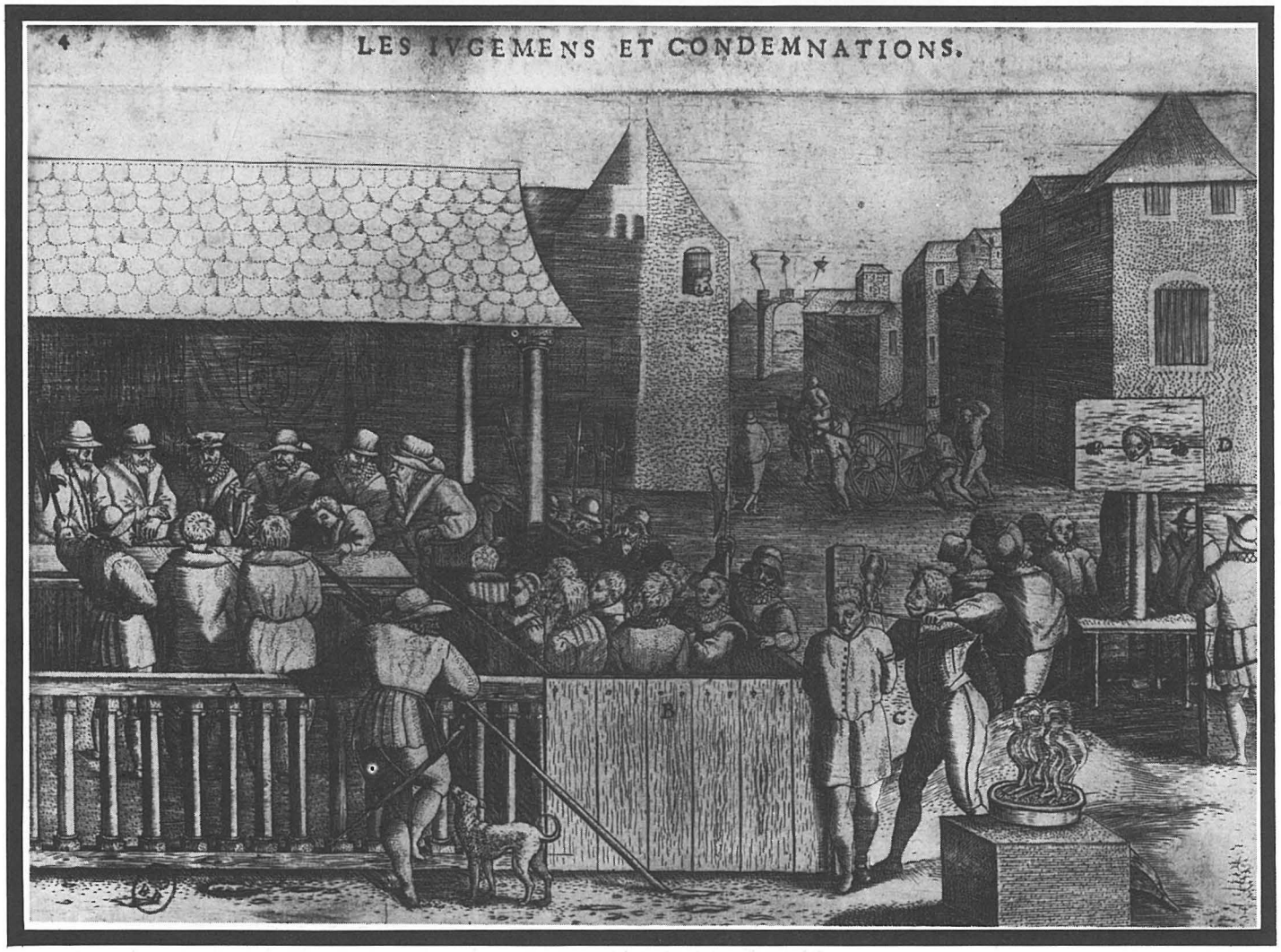
(2–1)1. "The Arrest of the Catholics." A. (top right) The priests secretly celebrating mass in private houses are often discovered by hired spies of the heretics, are seized and torn violently from the altars by executioners. B. Noble, virtuous and Catholic women are taken from their houses with insults and contumely, and are led to prison for having lent moral and material support to the priests, and for being found at their masses. C. & D. The priests are also dragged to prison, some being taken ignominiously and exposed to public outrage in their holy habit, others being bound and placed on horses; several gentlemen are treated the same way. E. The priest, taken while he was celebrating mass, is forced to ride to prison on horseback, dressed as he is in his holy accoutrements, bound with ropes, accompanied by burning torches in broad daylight.





(2–1)2. "Nocturnal Searches of the Houses." A & E. The night officers break down the doors of the Catholics. B. They drive from their beds men, women and little children. C & D. They break into the cupboards and chests, and not only pounce greedily upon any chalices, books, crosses and ecclesiastical objects which they find, but also steal like common thieves silver and all the money which comes their way. Background: The gentlemen and their servants are taken to prison. (2–1)3. "The Torments Endured in Prison." A. (top right) Sharp needles are pushed under the fingernails. B. Norton, the master executioner, uses his authority and that of his underlings to rack the Catholics. C. This cruel wooden machine (the rack) . . . was never used by our ancestors even against the most wicked men in the world, as it is used today by our enemies against good and innocent Catholics. D. (background) The imprisoned Catholics are dragged forcibly to the Protestant services. E. (bottom left) The limbs of the Catholics are pressed in this instrument, they are doubled up and left in this agony for hours. F. (upper left) The priest is hung by the feet in stocks for several days and several nights, until the stench of his excrement almost causes him to surrender his soul.





(2–1)4. "Judgment and Sentence." A. The judges who condemn Catholics to death or other punishment, for their faith and conscience. B. Catholic gentlemen and women of good birth are presented before the judges together with common thieves, murderers and killers. C. The ears of priests and other Catholics are pierced with a hot iron. D. Others have their heads put in the stocks and their ears nailed to the boards. E. Others are attached to the cart's tail, and whipped through the open places and thoroughfares of the town. (2–1)5. "The Cruelties used in putting the Catholics to death." A. The Catholics, placed on hurdles and harassed by the various insults and blasphemies of the ministers, are dragged through the mud to the execution ground. B. Once there they are mounted on a cart, and a whole book's worth of lies is read out so as to provoke the hatred of the people against them. Having been prevented by the Ministers of Satan from declaring their innocence or professing their faith, in the midst of their most fervent prayers they find the cart driven away from under them, and they remain some time hanging in the air. C. Once the rope is cut, they are disembowelled while they are still full of life and feeling. Having been stripped, they are carried to a fire prepared in the vicinity, where the executioner first cuts off the shameful parts and throws them on the fire, opens up the belly, and tears out the entrails, which he similarly throws on the fire; he finally cuts off the head and divides the body into four parts. D. Their heads and limbs are thrown into cauldrons to be cooked and parboiled.



which the 'politiques' call 'le tableau de Madame de Montpensier' (the sister of the Duc de Guise) because it was put there by M. Jean Prevost, Curé, at her request, so they say, . . . and at the urging . . . of some of the asses of the Sorbonne . . . bold counselors of state who spend their entire life locked up in a college, devouring the poor novices with pedantry. This picture depicted with graphic detail the cruel and inhuman tortures of the Catholics by the Queen of England. . . . It had been put there for the purpose of stirring up the people more and more to make war on the Huguenots . . . and even against the King, who the people (led by preachers) say favors them secretly. And, in fact, the stupid people of Paris went in great numbers every day to see this beautiful picture and were moved by it, crying out that all 'politiques' (i.e. moderates like l'Estoile himself) and heretics must be exterminated. For this reason the King had commanded the Parliament to have it removed, but as quietly as possible . . . to avoid a disturbance. . . ."

Pierre de l'Estoile must have rescued the prints from some royal official and added them to his growing collection of League anti-Huguenot and anti-Moderate propaganda. This eventually numbered about three hundred items, including some fifty engravings. Such a collection of pictorial satires is unique in its time, and was given an ironic title by l'Estoile himself: *Les Belles Figures et Drolleries de la Ligue*. The collector clearly felt a special affection for Verstegan's work, which his prompt intervention had saved from destruction (no other copy survives) and which figures so conspicuously in his diary. It is significant that l'Estoile refers to the *Brief Description* as both *tableau* (picture) and *livre* (book), for the five plates and text do constitute a kind of book, though designed to be spread out in a frieze for purposes of public exhibition. This gruesome modern *Danse Macabre*, appropriately placed like the fifteenth-century Dances of Death upon a cemetery wall, is the largest picture story we find until Hogarth, a century and a half later. Its artistic impact is all the more remarkable for its authorship by a part-time engraver, and its public success is well-attested by l'Estoile.

With the police again on his track, Verstegan retired to the security of Antwerp in the Spanish Netherlands; here he printed an even larger atrocity sequence, thirty plates bound this time in book form, and published in simultaneous French and Latin editions by the famous house of Adrian Hubert under the title *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum nostri Temporis* (*Théâtre des Cruautés des Hérétiques de nos temps*), 1587. What Cavalieri in Rome had done for all the English martyrs down the ages, Verstegan did for the modern Catholics throughout northern Europe—martyrdoms under Henry VIII (i.e. the subject of 1-33), crimes of the Huguenots in France and of the Protestants in the Netherlands, and finally the English persecution. The last group of plates borrows heavily from the *Brief Description*, with changes rendering the mood even fiercer, accenting less the preliminaries of search and capture and more the physical barbarities of torture and execution. As so often happens with such propaganda, the later embellishments tend to be unhistorical inventions. The *Theatrum* went through many editions, but Verstegan soon abandoned the engraver's burin for the pen. His work for the League extended to some very complicated prints contrasting the virtuous and united Catholic Church with the divided and vicious Protestant Church, and roundly condemning Calvinist religion in theory and practice (cf 1-31).

3. *Henry III and Henry IV*

The *Brief Description* was intended to warn the French Catholic majority what massacres would be perpetrated if the heir to Henri III, the Huguenot Henri de Navarre, was allowed to ascend the throne. Bloodshed there was in the following years—not because Henri de Navarre did ascend the throne, but because he could not. In the later 1580s the League propaganda in Paris reached a venomous intensity. A relatively objective work could no longer satisfy the passions of the Catholic party, which turned to the most scabrous of personal polemic against Henri III, caught unhappily between opposing extremes. Satire had never been so personal, nor so massive. The number of separate libels upon the King is calculated to have approached a thousand. There was merciless exploitation of his (very real) addiction to feminine dress (2–2) and of his (fictitious) practice of sorcery. As the tempo increased toward the moment of his assassination in August 1589, there appeared a pamphlet in which even those vices are considered unworthy of illustration. He is accused of great public cruelties—political perfidy and arrogance, sacrilegious lechery, and wholesale slaughter of enemies. The woodcuts illustrate a tract attributed to that great butcher of Henri's reputation, the preacher Jean Boucher; I have reason to suspect that they were also (or originally) issued as a broadsheet strip, which I have reconstructed (2-3). The centerpiece shows the result of the most heinous



2–2. French. *King Henri III dressed as a woman.* Illustration to Tabourot, *Les Hermaphrodites* (c. 1588).

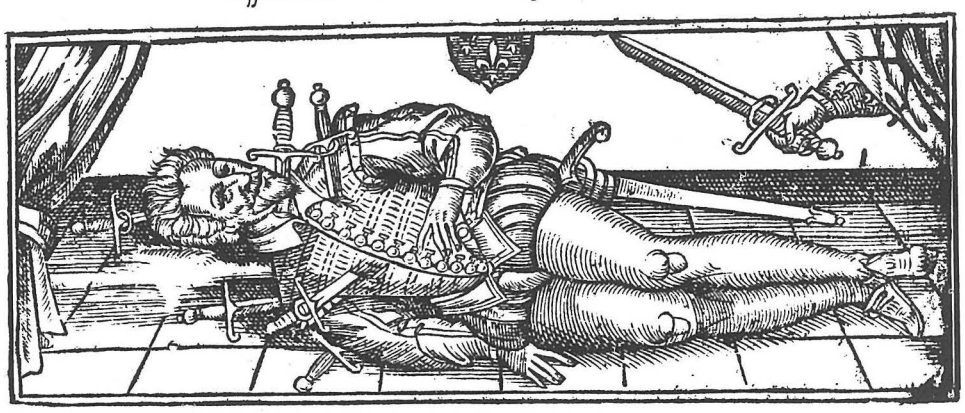
REPRESENTATION DE L'ORGVEIL
de Henry de Valois, enuers la Noblesse de France, au commencement de son retour de Pologne.

POVRTRAICT DV COVRONNEMENT
de Henry de Valois, lors que par sa petulence & orgueil la Couronne luy roula deux fois de dessus la teste: qui estoit vn mauuais presage à l'aduenir.

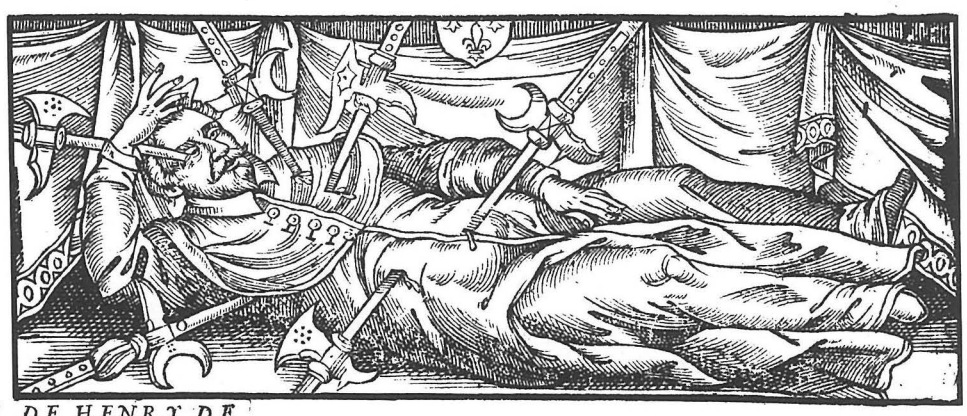
POVRTRAICT DV SACRILEGE FAIT
par Henry de Valois, en la saincte Chapelle à Paris.



REPRESENTATION DE LA CRVELLE ET BARBARE
recompense, pour tant de bons offices qu'ont faict ce magnanime Duc & ses predecesseurs à la Couronne de France, par vn Henry de Valois.



REPRESENTATION DE LA CRVELLE MORT COMMISE
en l'innocence de Monsieur le Cardinal de Guise, personne sacree & dediee à Dieu: par Henry de Valois.



LES ARMOIRIES DE HENRY DE
Valois, trainees par les boües, & brisees par vn executeur de Iustice, en plain marché, à Cracouie: pour auoir par luy vsé de perfidie enuers les Poulonnois.

FIGVRE DE LA VIERGE
Religieuse, violee à Poissi par Henry de Valois.

FIGVRE DES CRVAVTEZ QVE
Henry de Valois à fait executer enuers les gens de bien, qui ne trouuoyent bons ses mauuais deportemens.



2–3. French. *Life and principal actions of Henri III* (1589). "1. Representation of the arrogance of Henri de Valois towards the French nobility, soon after he returned from Poland. 2. Picture of Henri de Valois' coronation when his petulance and arrogance twice caused his crown to fall from his head—which presaged ill for the future. 3. Portrait of the sacrilege committed by Henri de Valois in the Sainte Chapelle in Paris. 4. The arms of Henri de Valois are dragged in the mud and broken by the public executioner in the square at Cracow, because he had betrayed the Poles. 5. Picture of the virgin nun violated by Henri de Valois at Poissy. 6. Picture of the cruelties which Henri de Valois committed against people of quality who disapproved of his evil excesses. Center: Representation of the cruel and barbarous reward given by Henri de Valois for so many good offices rendered by this magnanimous Duke (de Guise) and his predecessors to the Crown of France. Representation of the cruel death committed by Henri de Valois on the innocent Cardinal de Guise, a holy person dedicated to God."



2–4. French 1589. *Henri III of France murders the Duc and Cardinal de Guise* (December 23, 1588). "In this picture Henri de Valois can be seen presiding over the States General in the town of Blois, being assisted at that time by Messeigneurs de Guise, true supports of the Catholic Church. Holding this session, the perfidious "politique" (i.e. compromiser) masks his true self with holy and Catholic actions, partaking of the body of Jesus Christ Our Lord, together with the Duc de Guise, hater of heretics. Afterwards they dine together, (the King) showing him many pretended signs of friendship (inset right). This good prince was then killed and massacred, as was the Cardinal his brother, who had consecrated him King (background)."

crime of all: the mutilated corpses of the Duc and Cardinal de Guise, leaders of the League, ruthlessly slain by the King.

The death of these illustrious conspirators provoked a separate narrative, this time within a single, ecclesiastical setting (2–4). The King's exercise of power, the right to which he has forfeited through his vices, and his fake piety, are contrasted with his true nature and "background" activities—treachery and murder. The publisher of this print is able to give his full name and address without fear of reprisal, for Paris had, since the time of Verstegan, passed entirely into the control of the League.

Murder by the King was quickly followed by murder of the King. Egged on by the League, and literally with the blessing of his ecclesiastical superiors, the Jacobin monk Jacques Clément plunged a dagger into the belly of the King. Immediately hacked down by overzealous guards, Clément was fortunate enough to be a corpse when he underwent his execution as regicide. Of the numerous prints relating this sensational event, the two most comprehensive adopt opposite narrative methods: single setting and strip (2-5 and 2-6). Both are German publications. The more ambitious and technically-skilled artist chooses the single setting and, pushing into the background preliminary phases of the blessing and quartering of the assassin, attempts to maximize the impact of the assassination itself. The designs of the strip derive from a sequence of twenty-eight little drawings. The existence of these drawings suggests that a really extensive strip was intended, celebrating in full the heroism of the assassin down to his canonization as martyr of the Church, a move which was seriously discussed at high level. As they stand, however, both broadsheets appear impartial.

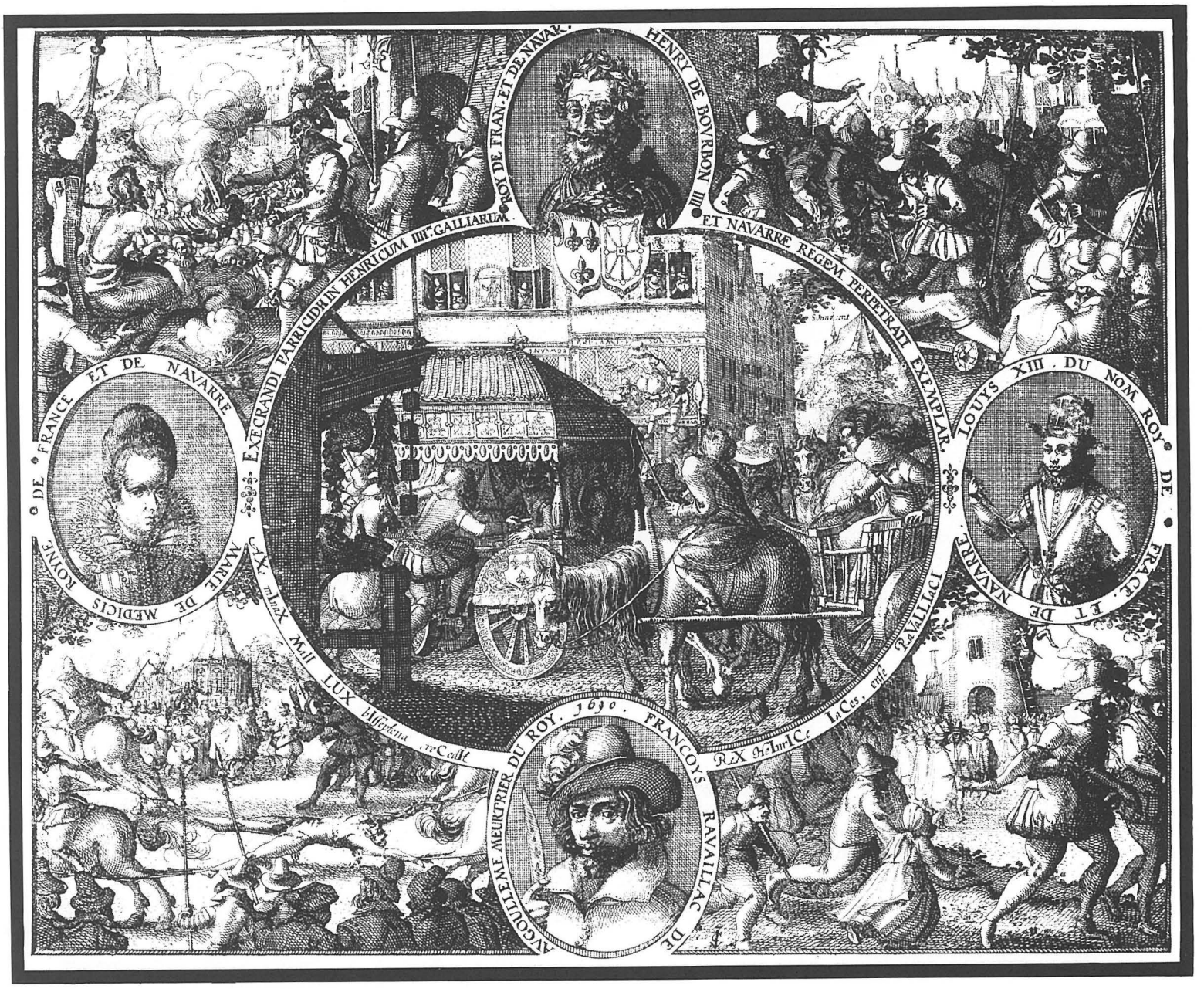
If any execution lent itself to narrative elaboration, it was that of a French regicide, who plays so prominent a role in French history throughout the period under review. In 1594 there was an unsuccessful attempt upon the life of Henri IV, but the punishment of the criminal is not depicted in full. In 1610 a similar attempt upon now beloved King was successful, and the almost universal horror felt by the public in France and Protestant Germany is reflected in the rash of illustrated French and German broadsheets on the crime and the men involved. There is no room now for preliminary or



2–5. German/French. *Assassination of Henri III and the execution of Jacques Clément* (August 1, 1589). "King Henry, third of this name, ended his life without issue at St. Cloud. A Jacobin monk of Sens stabbed him with a poisoned dagger on August 1, 1589. The guard struck him down immediately, then he was quartered and burned. The next day the King died, and Henry of Bourbon obtained the crown, as next in line of succession. God give him grace, happiness, health and peace."

2–6. German (Hoogenberg). *Murder of Henri III* (1589). "On August 1, 1589, Henri de Valois was at Saint-Cloud besieging Paris. A monk called Jacques Clément, pretending he had secret matters to convey to the King, gains admittance through the Procurator-General. Clément brings a knife instead of a letter out of his sleeve and thrusts it into the King's belly below the navel. When the King cries out for help, his guards rush in and immediately strike Clément dead. He may thank God for so merciful and quick an end. His dead body was dragged through the castle, harnessed to four horses, torn into four pieces and burned to ashes."





2–7. Claus Visscher. *Assassination of Henri IV of France, with the execution of Ravaillac* (1610). The central scene depicting the moment of the assassination is surrounded by scenes showing some of the various phases of the execution (May 27, 1610): burning of the hands (which still hold the dagger), disembowelling, quartering, the furious crowd seizing fragments of the corpse. The portraits show the King and his assassin, his nine-year-old son, who succeeded him as Louis XIII, and the Queen Mother Marie de' Medici, who became Regent.

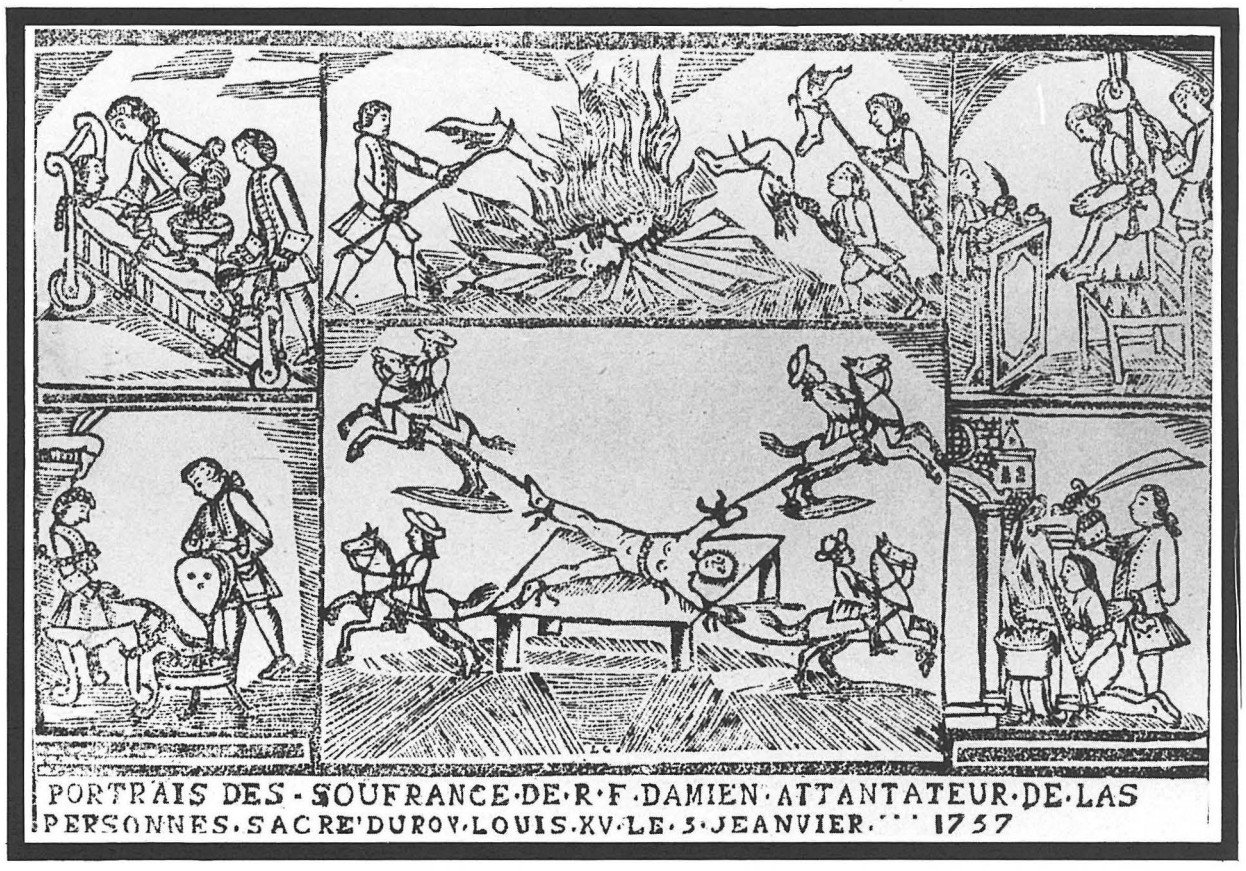
intermediary non-violent scenes such as in the Clément print, but only for the moment of the assassination and the execution of the assassin, François Ravaillac. The details of the execution provided material enough for all the border scenes in the strip reproduced (2-7), which is the most elaborate of several comparable prints, and material enough for the whole background of an impressive "portrait" print (2-8). These engravings convey the aura surrounding a crime of such magnitude. Occupying the fourth place in the group of royal bust portraits in the strip is Ravaillac, bearing the dagger, symbol of office, in the same manner as the young Louis XIII bears his scepter. Acting upon a Jesuit doctrine of justifiable regicide, which was anathema to the people at large, Ravaillac assumed the sacral character of Antichrist.

The refined cruelty of the punishment apparently assuaged the anger and grief of the people of Paris; it also served the purposes of the new government in helping to drown out any suspicion of a conspiracy. At this point let us consider the iconographic reaction to an execution, one hundred and fifty years later, very similar to Ravaillac's. Jean-Francois Damiens had managed to slightly wound the King, Louis XV, in an attack which, unlike Ravaillac's, was wholly lacking in political motivation. Now there is not a single respectable engraver prepared to document his punishment; a woodcut strip of the cheapest and crudest kind was perhaps hawked around the provinces (2-9), but the atrocity print proper had died out long ago and the interest of artists centered upon Damiens' physiognomy, that is, upon the character of a man deranged enough to commit such a deed. The aristocratic "connoisseurs," who paid high prices for good seats around the place of execution, had no finely engraved souvenir programs to take home; the engravers, representing the enlightened bourgeoisie, no longer catered to the barbaric taste of aristocrats who feasted upon such a spectacle, or of the "patriotic" lawyers who planned it.



2–8. Cristoffel van Sichem. *François Ravaillac* (1610). Background right, the murder of the king; left, the execution of the assassin.

2–9. French. *Execution of Damiens* (1757).





2–10. German 1617. *Realistic and complete Representation and Description of the Marquis d'Ancre, otherwise called Concino Concini, his very harmful and disgraceful Life, from beginning to end.*

(Summary of the Commentary) 1. The Father was a poor Florentine craftsman, so untalented that he was reduced to the meanest form of carpentry. (In fact, Concini was the son of a notary.) 2. Unable to stand the poverty, his son makes for the Florentine court, starting as a scullion and turnspit. 3. Having taken advantage of his office in the kitchen to feed himself well and grow big and strong, he is promoted by the Cook to be mule and ass driver, a duty which he performs with such dignity that 4. he comes to the attention of one of the maids of honor, who recommends him to Princess Marie de' Medici for the post of room-valet. 5. When the Princess moves to France as the bride of King Henry (seen embracing her on the right), Concini improves his connections by marrying the confidante of Marie, her Florentine lady-in-waiting, Leonora Galigai (seen left). 6. After the "cursed Jesuit" (Ravaillac) had murdered the King, Concini rises daily higher by means of fearful corruption, extortion, and flagrant expropriation of royal funds and jewelry; with the conspiratorial aid of the Papacy and Spain, he tyrannizes the French nobility, and generally provokes a national decline. (All this and more we learn from the commentary, for the engraver contents himself with a reminder of the death of Henry by placing his bier in the foreground of 6., and passes immediately to) scene 7, the murder of Concini upon the "divinely inspired heroism" of the young King Louis XIII (standing near pillar) while the royal guards (seen riding out in 6.) shoot down and transfix the tyrant "like a dog." Remainder of bottom strip: the corpse is buried secretly in the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois by Concini's kitchen boys, but dug up again by the mob who reckon him unworthy of a holy resting-place. They drag his naked body through the town to the Pont Neuf and hang him from the gallows upside down like a Jew, so that he can see neither the statue of the King (extreme left), whom he tried to murder, nor the town he tried to ruin. These gallows had been erected by Concini himself to hang his slanderers. The subsequent butchering is depicted in the fore- and middle-ground in its various stages (precise details of the total dismemberment are given in the commentary). Finally the remnants are roasted, and the ashes scattered in the stream. Extreme right: Concini's wife, Leonora Galigai, is arrested for sorcery; the execution of this "arch sorceress" is depicted on another strip which was added below.

4. *Master Coyon*

The French cartoon, born in the heyday of the League, fell into abeyance in the early years of the seventeenth century. The happy reign of Henri IV had increased patriotic, anti-Spanish, or xenophobic sentiment, which after his death was exacerbated under the Regency of the Queen Mother Marie de' Medici, a foreigner with an entourage of Italian favorites and Spanish Jesuit advisers. In 1617 French pictorial satire revived suddenly and angrily, with the fall of the hated Concino Concini, native of Florence and ruler of France. The popular press poured out innumerable vitriolic pamphlets and broadsheets against him. Among the latter we find at least three different narrative strips, the most comprehensive of which is a German publication (2-10). The engraver begins by alleging, with scant justification, the vile origins of the upstart, describes his rise at the Medici Court in Florence from scullery-boy to valet, and his arrival and further intrigues at the French Court when his mistress Marie de' Medici marries the French King. At this point the commentary gives a long description of the crimes and corruptions which marked Concini's acquisition of power; but the engraver, unequal to the imaginative effort which this part would have required of him, omits the crimes and passes on to more traditional iconography, the circumstances of the arrest and murder. The barbarities inflicted upon the corpse unfold in an undivided composition.

The engraver has placed the arrest of Concini's wife so that she appears to be led toward the pyre on which her husband's remains are burning. This anticipates events

2–11. French/German. *A remarkable story of how Conchine Marquis d'Ancre was shot in Paris April 24 (1617), buried, disinterred, and burned, with illustrations of the most important circumstances. Dedicated to the honour of all Concinists.*

(Scene 1). "1. On the King's orders, Sieur de Vitri seized the person of Concini, as he was entering the Louvre accompanied by several of his creatures. Concini prepared to defend himself, shots were fired, and Concini was killed. 2. The King, watching from the window, called out that this was done on his express orders.

(Scene 2). 3. The King released the birds from their cage in the Louvre, saying that since God had granted him *his* freedom, he wished to render the birds theirs. 4. The corpse of Concini is taken by some of the Marshal's kitchen-boys and hastily buried by the organ of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois.

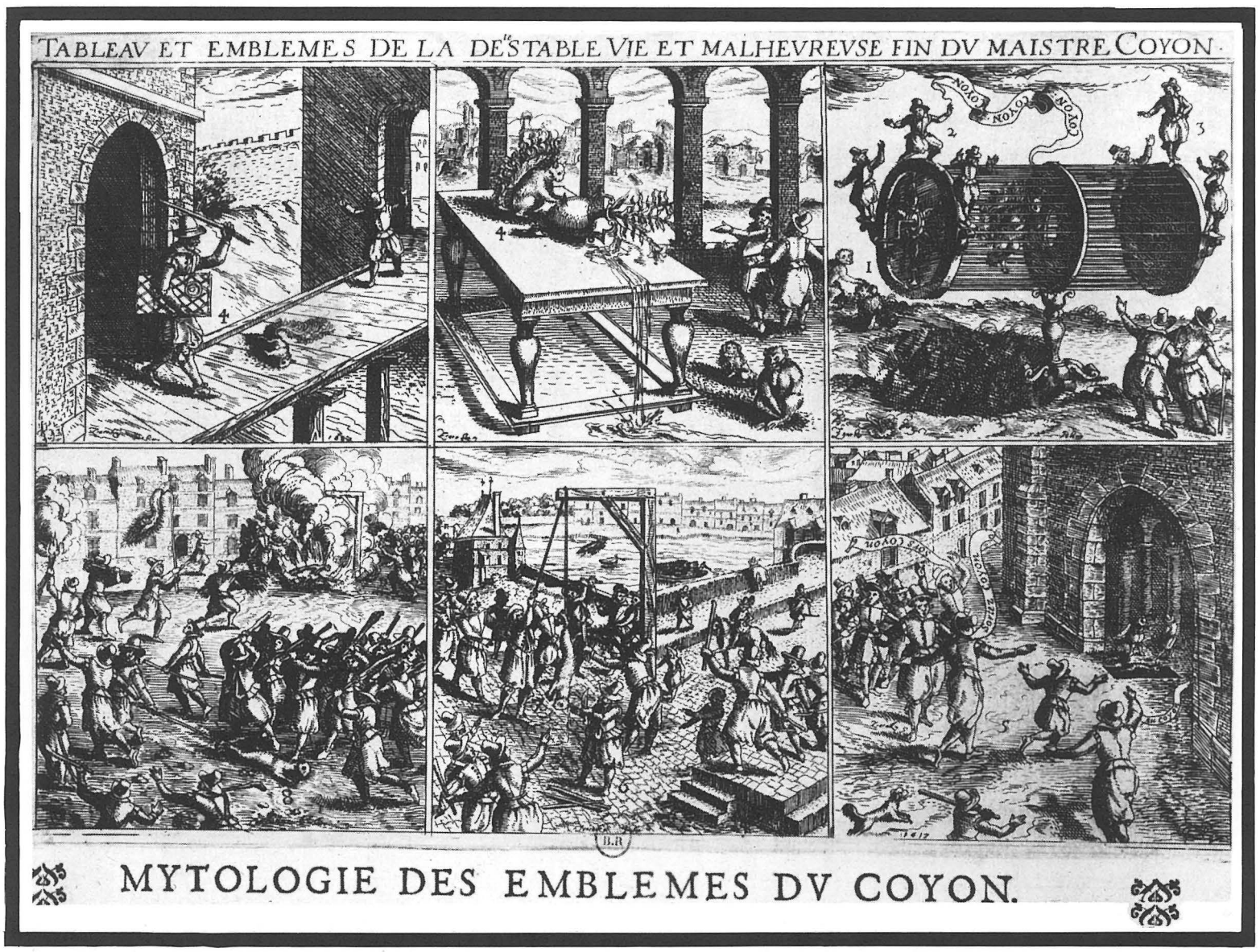
(Scene 3). 5. (left) The common people disinter the body and drag it naked to the end of the Pont Neuf. 6. They hang him up by the feet on a half-gallows which had been erected here, as in many other places some time previously, on the Marshal's orders, so as to hang those who spoke ill of him.

(Scene 4). 7. The crowd, now some thousand strong, pulls out his beard and hair, beats him about the head, cuts off his nose, lips, tongue, ears, genitals and fingers, one part of the body after another, hands and arms, and thrusts stakes through the chest, shouting all the while 'Vive le Roi, le tyran est mort.' 8. The mob cuts down the corpse, and drags it through the suburb of Saint Germain.

(Scene 5). 10. Arrived in front of the Bastille, they tear out his heart and burn it; they place the body on its knees, so as to make it debase itself before the Prince de Condé and beg his pardon; they shout for him to come out and watch. 9. In front of Concini's own house, they burn the heart and the body; they also make a bonfire before the dwelling of the Queen Mother, so that she smells the smoke.

(Scene 6). 12. The mob returns to the Pont Neuf, knocks down the gallows, makes a bonfire of the pieces, and finally burns the body. They force all the passers-by to join in their cries of 'Vive le Roi.' After scattering the ashes in the wind, they go to the public executioner, and, threatening to plunder his house if he refuses, demand payment for performing a service which he should have rendered four years earlier. The executioner gives them nine Crowns. Such is the horrible end of this extraordinarily arrogant foreigner."





somewhat, for it was not until later that "La Conchine" was executed. This sequel was recorded by the simple addition of another strip below the existing design. These three scenes however depict only phases of her death, without reference to the fantastic crimes of which she was accused.

Another strip (2-11), the title of which promises illustration of the villain's crimes, is concerned however only with the circumstances of Concini's death, which is rendered in great detail, from the arrest, killing, and hiding of the corpse, to its retrieval and savage destruction by the mob. The third narrative strip on this subject (2–12), with its satirical title *Maistre Coyon*, differs from the preceding two by virtue of its elaborate system of symbolism. Although allegory seldom appears to advantage in strip narrative, and although it is often hard for the modern reader to understand the puns and allusions, there is nevertheless an appeal in this curious example. We are at last given some graphic insight, if only obliquely, into the nature of the villain's crimes, which are punished with satirical fury. The pernicious animal maneuvers within the cage which entraps him, is treated like vermin for the damage he causes, and is finally killed in complete ignominy.

The popular print, the imagery of social and political satire, flourished in France throughout the seventeenth century, expiring during the latter half of the reign of Louis

2–12. French 1617. *Picture and Emblems of the Detestable Life and Miserable End of Master Coyon* (April 1617). (Reading from right to left):
"1. Fortune rises and falls, as this Coyon shows, but when he thought himself all-powerful, he fell himself into the pit. 2. Ape, Lollipop, and Chops are all on top of the wheel, and below, when the Coyon climbs, Old-Faith, Truthsome, and Dwarfy. 3. Truthsome, Old-Faith and Dwarfy are now on top. The Coyon no longer works the cage, down with Ape, Lollipop and Chops. 4. The Coyon broke the glass which held the three lilies; but passing over the drawbridge, Glazier cut him down. 5. This time the beast is caught, come out Coyon; for by our laws those who attack our king find no asylum in church. 6. Coyon, you shall be hanged for it, this is no way to behave; setting yourself up as king, making and unmaking—is this not forbidden? 7. At least spare my tail, and ears and nose, and don't drag my body about the streets like carrion. 8. For your arrogance you shall be dragged about, torn to pieces and burned—and even this seems too slight a vengeance for the people of France. In these pictures the Concini woman may recognize that the French have a great master, and they are not all coyons. If the pictures appear back to front, this is no accident, for the coyon who aimed for absolute power turned the universe upside down."

XIV. I have found, however, no picture stories or narrative strips from this period. The indications are that most of those we have reviewed originated with German or Dutch publishers and were distributed, copied or adapted by the French, who were never, at this time or later, much concerned with graphic narrative.

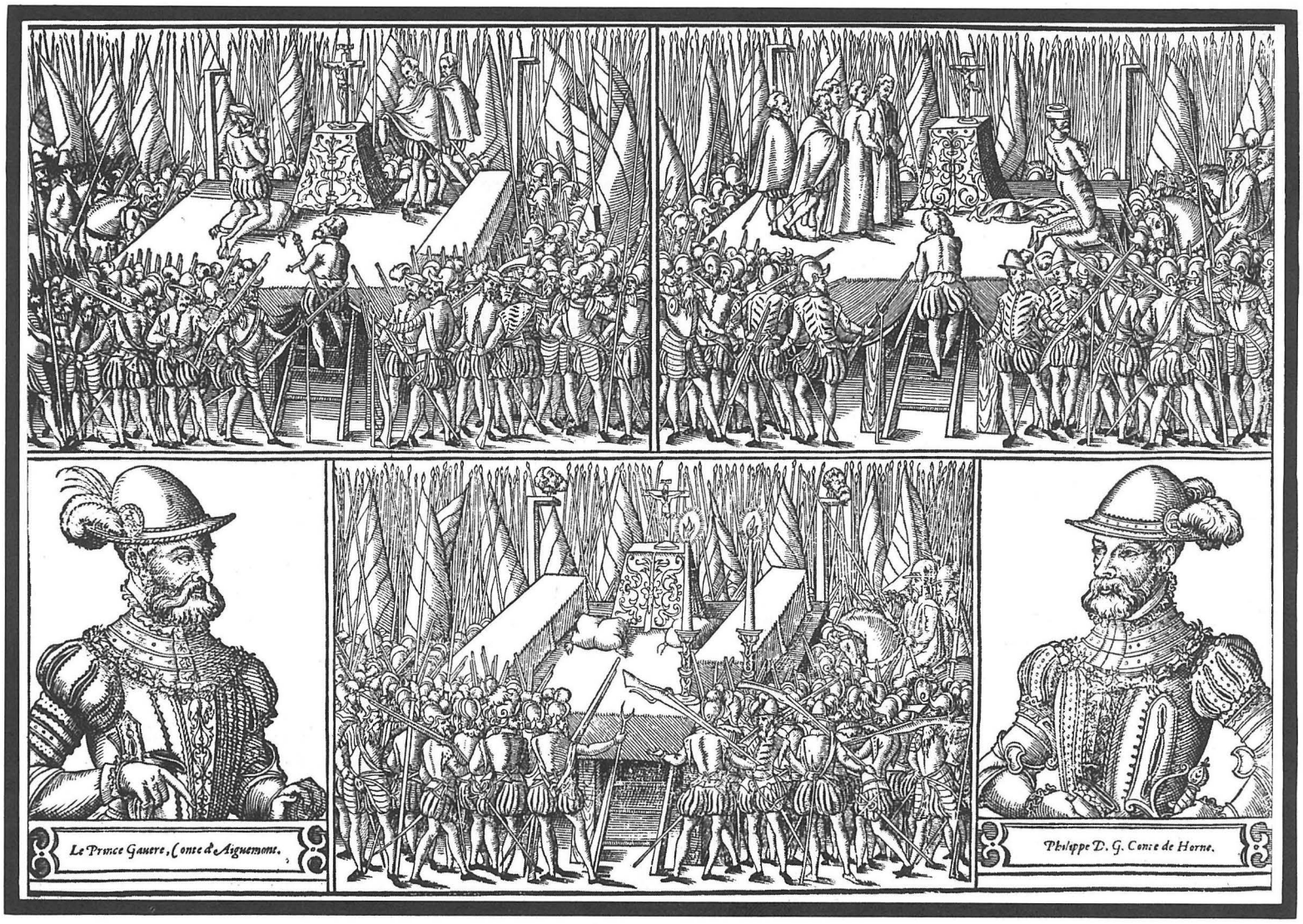
5. *Spanish fury 1568 and 1576*

With Spain as the common enemy to all Protestant Europe, the Netherlandish Calvinists had political and nationalist objectives distinct from those of the Huguenots in France. The resistance in the Netherlands, which started as a struggle for freedom of worship within a Catholic state and for restoration of traditional autonomy in local government, became a revolutionary drive for national liberation from Habsburg Spain and for the creation of an independent Protestant state. The role of the cartoonist in this part of Europe during the first generation of the war is not very impressive, certainly less so than would be expected in a culture outstanding for its popular art and genre painting. The moralizing fantasies of the illustrious Netherlandish painter, Hieronymus Bosch, provided ammunition for artists in Lutheran Germany, but were turned to relatively little political use by the Calvinists of his native land. The great heir to Bosch's artistic tradition, Pieter Bruegel, whose work dates from the 1550s and 1560s and thus coincides exactly with the first resistance to Spanish rule, was concerned more with general allegories of human folly and conflict than with open attacks upon the governing authority. We shall later discuss Bruegel's satiric exposure of human "morality" and "justice," Spanish style. Here it is enough to mention that despite a great deal of scholarly research, it has not proved possible to link Bruegel's great depictions of Netherlandish popular life with specific historical events.

It may be that the example of Bruegel inclined artists to scorn or evade too blatant a political involvement. It may also be that the great painting and printing studios in Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam or Leyden were too dependent upon official patronage to risk open dissent; or it may be that Calvinism, less tolerant of religious imagery than Lutheranism, saw no role for pictures in the cause of religious reform.

Journalism was far less developed in the Netherlands than in Germany. The German engraver, who as we have noted kept a watchful eye upon events in France, had even greater reason to observe the Netherlandish situation; Spanish success there would be a prelude to the suppression of Protestantism and civic liberties in Germany at large. With considerable entrepreneurial skill, a family of engravers based in Cologne, the Hoogenbergs, established a network of contacts which permitted them to gather and distribute information on an international scale. Newssheets at this time were poorly illustrated, if at all; but the firm of Hoogenberg showed a unique tenacity in procuring engravings of all important events, leaving us with an invaluable graphic history of the period from the 1560s to the eve of the Thirty Years War. Unlike Tortorel and Perrissin, from whom he borrowed compositions, Frans Hoogenberg seems

2–13. Netherlandish or German. *Execution of Counts Egmont and Horn by the "Council of Blood"* (1568).





2–14. Dutch c. 1570. *The Duke of Alva, and the three headed Beast of the Cardinals de Guise, Granvelle and Lorraine.* "He has forcibly seized the riches of the land, and has burned and hanged many innocent people. He killed Egmont and Hern and infamously destroyed the whole nobility; burgher and peasant complain of him."

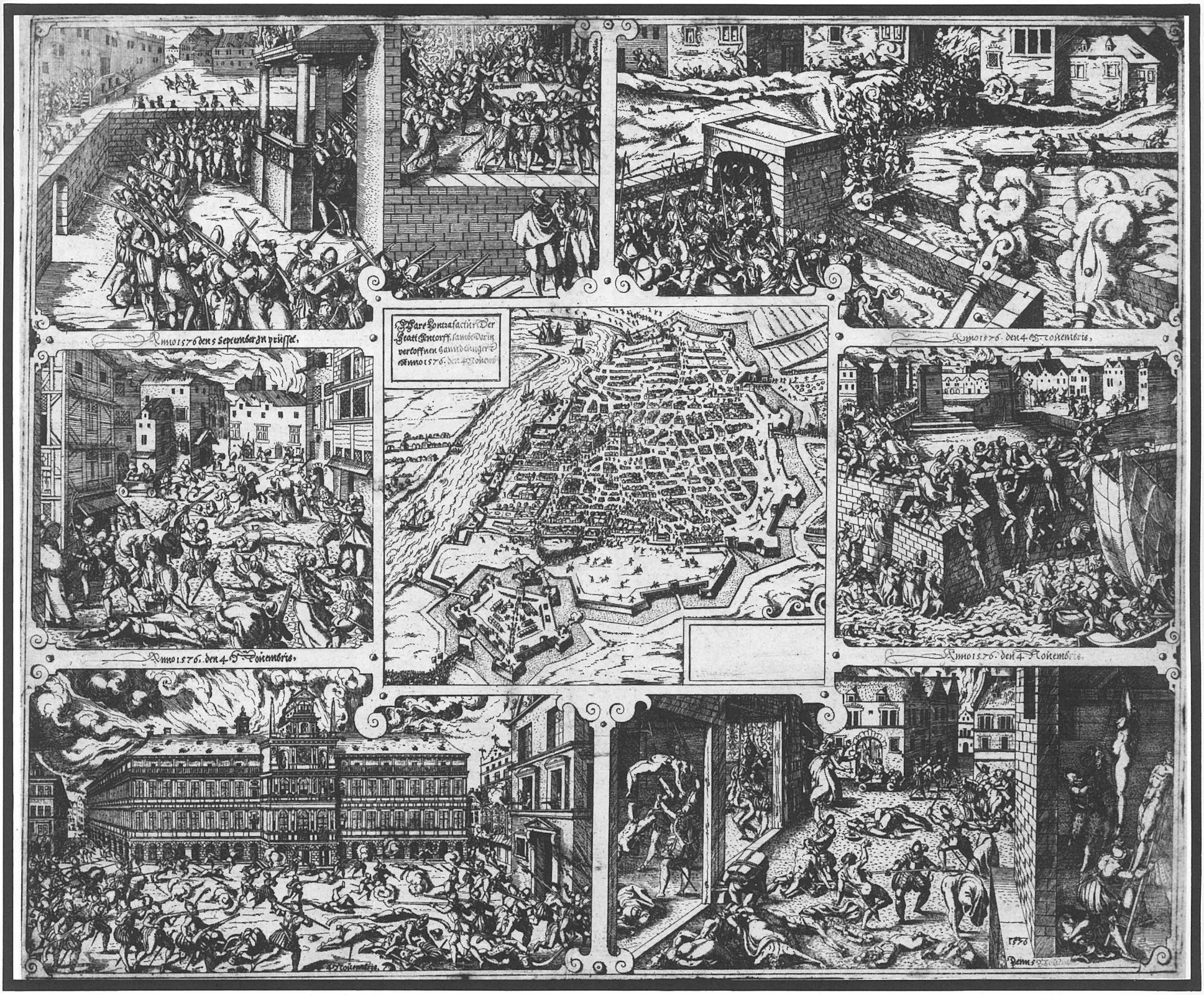
to have been more concerned with regular issue of single-picture broadsheets than with the accumulation of prints and their publication as collections; he may, however, have done both, depending on the market of the day. Like Tortorel and Perrissin, Hoogenberg usually prefers a large composition with a single setting revealing a single sanguinary event; there are only two surviving exceptions to this rule.

It is not until 1568 that we find the first signs of a topical, and implicitly tendentious political sequence (2-13). This very year, this very event, is considered by historians of the Dutch people to have sparked off the first organized resistance, and to mark the opening round in the epic eighty-year war with Spain. In 1566, religious and political unrest had found its most drastic outlet in iconoclastic riots throughout the Netherlands; the following year, King Philip of Spain sent the Duke of Alva with an army to crush the recalcitrant people. Alva's first act, one of the most infamous treacheries in modern history, was to lure into his clutches the great popular nobles, Counts Egmont and Horn, who had in fact sympathized very little with open rebellion. They were the most illustrious of the victims to be murdered by Alva's Courts, known as the Council of Blood; simultaneously, large numbers of lesser Netherlanders were executed. The bloodbath aroused desperate hatred, which expressed itself in the very first patriotic pictorial satires (2-14). Such openly hostile prints can only have circulated in the most clandestine fashion; but the authorities could not censure documentary engravings on the execution of the nobles, although these, too, were intended to arouse public sympathy for the victims. Counts Egmont and Horn, after long months of confinement, were executed as traitors, but since they were of noble blood, they enjoyed the privilege of dying by the sword. Alva's lawyers, amid all their fiendishly cruel travesties of the law, were unable to inflict upon the great noblemen any other indignities that might have justified a more extensive broadsheet strip. The Council of Blood pursued its work relentlessly throughout the following years; the persecutions, and the brave resistance led by William the Silent, were sympathetically documented by Hoogenberg. After the murder of Egmont and Horn in 1568, however, eight years elapsed before there occurred a single event so dramatic and appalling as to elicit narrative analysis.

In 1567 the Antwerpers had already witnessed, almost within sight of the city walls, the wholesale massacre of some two thousand Calvinist insurgents. Less than a decade later, the unarmed citizens within the walls were to suffer themselves from the cruelty of foreign soldiery, in a sack and massacre which has gone down in history as the "Spanish Fury." Since all business, including that of printing, was thrown into disorder, the Netherlanders had particular reason to be grateful to Hoogenberg for making their sufferings known to the world (2-15). The print appears to have no letterpress explanation attached to it, which is in itself unusual, and there are no captions to the individual scenes, but only the date "Anno 1576 4 Novembris" repeated over and over again. Perhaps the engraver was struck dumb by the incredible news of so much horror transpiring upon a single day. The Spanish soldiers had been allowed to loot the city of Antwerp as a punishment for the iconoclastic riots, which had particularly angered the pious, art-loving King Philip. It had become customary to avenge the insults to holy images with the lives of heretics. It was the official view that damage to material property constituted a greater crime than damage to persons.

George Gascoigne's verbal description of the sack (*The Spoyle of Antwerp*, 1576) serves as comment for the otherwise captionless pictures reproduced. The German artist is concerned only with human suffering, seeing nothing but bloody confusion; the English writer, on the other hand, regales his fellow-Protestants at home with repeated compliments upon the discipline, skill and "courage" with which the soldiers achieved their "great victory," and even implies that the Spaniards were simply executants of God's will.

The "Spanish Fury" may not, in fact, have caused more suffering than the other famous sacks and massacres of the '70s—Malines, Zutphen, Naarden, and Haarlem—but the injustice of it appeared all the greater in that, while these towns had sought the protection of the rebel leader, William of Orange, Antwerp had remained loyal to Spain.



2–15. German (Hoogenberg). *True Representation of the town of Antwerp together with the events which took place there Anno 1576 November 4th* (*Spanish Fury*).
(top left) Three members of the Council of State are arrested in Brussels. (center) Early in the morning the cannons of the fortress (bottom) manned by Spanish mutineers bombard the town and cause the people to flee in panic. (top right) The Spanish soldiers enter the town by the Windmill Gate, at the Counterscarfe of the Castle Yard, in "good order which wanted no direction, in their greatest furye." (middle left) "Executing all such as they overtook . . . in this good order they proceeded: and in this good order their lackeyes and Pages followed with firebrands, and wyldfyre, setting the houses on fire." (middle right) "huge numbers, drowned in the new Towne: where a man might behold as many sundry shapes and formes of mans motion at time of death: as ever Mighel Angelo dyd in his tables of Doomes day" (i.e. Last Judgment fresco in the Sistine Chapel). (bottom left) "the wylfull burning and destroying of the stately Townehouse . . ." (bottom right) "their shameful rapes and outragious forces . . . they spared neither age nor sex . . . they slew great numbers of young children."



2–16. Antoine van Leest. *The Rape of Antwerp* (1577).

2–17. German. *Description of the Happy, Good and Desirable Offer and news which the worthy Father Johann de Neydem proclaims and announces with great joy to all the Netherlands, but particularly to the United Provinces* (c.1605).
(center) "O well-fed Holland, accept the much desired Peace, which will be of such commercial profit to you." "O Monk, I trust you and the whole Spanish race no longer, for you do no good to any Christian." (upper left) Former Regent of the Netherlands, Margaret of Parma, has bound the Netherlandish Lion to the column of the Inquisition. The lion is freed by the Goose (*Geus=Gueux de mer*=Sea-Beggars) which gnaws through the rope. (lower left) "Envoys of the Pope carry noose and trap to catch you with, O Belgian Lion; trust them not." (upper right) "The murderer sells his body cheaply, cries peace but plots only vain wars" (attempts on the life of Prince Maurice 1594). (lower right) "This trap was set, and miserable murder attempted (1598) when everyone was talking of peace." (in background) A young girl, Anneke van Wttenhove, is buried alive in Brussels (1597).



6. *Piramis Pacifica 1608-1621*

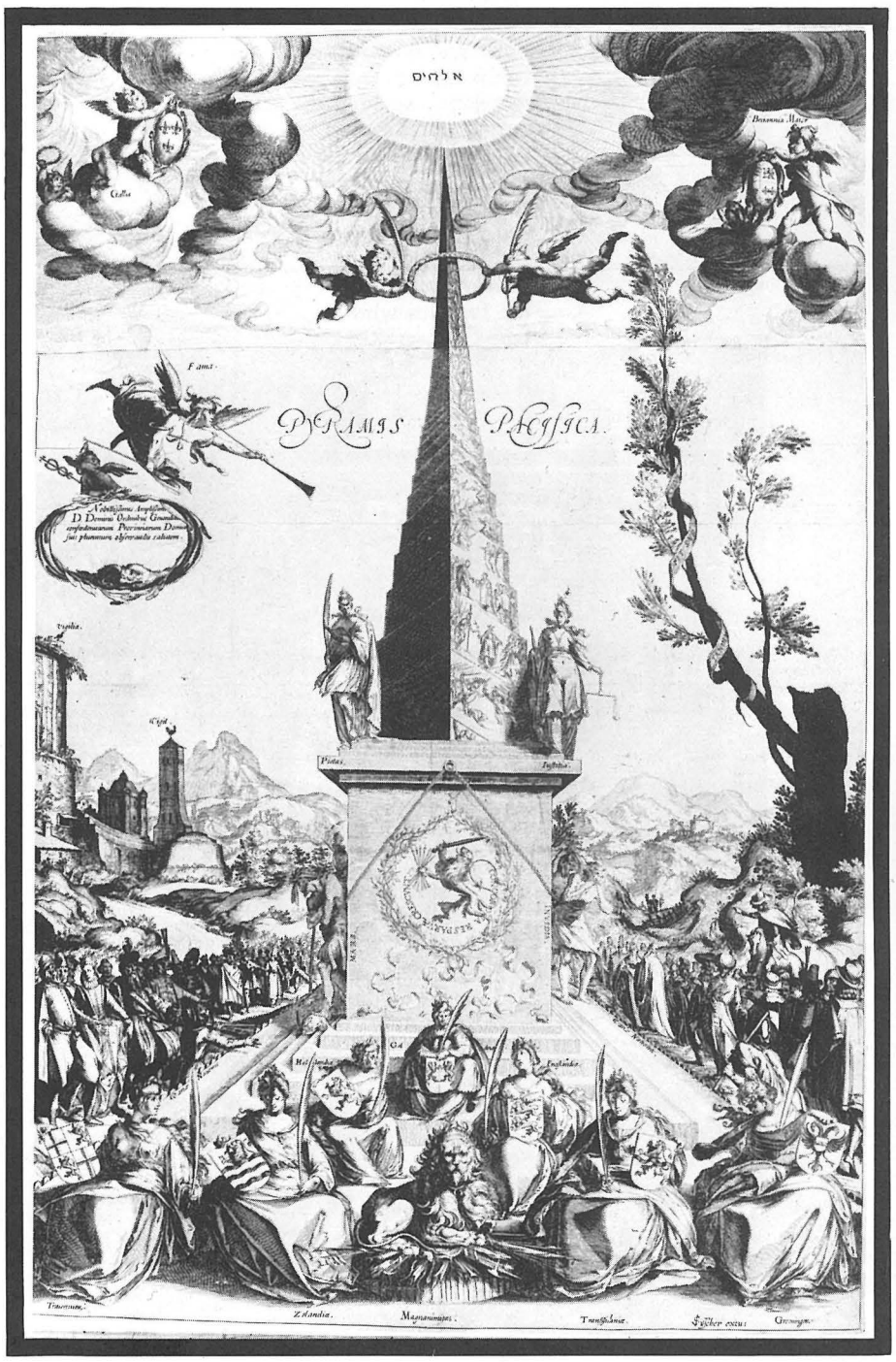
In the year of the Antwerp disaster, the center of gravity in north European culture began to shift from the southern to the northern provinces of the Netherlands, from Antwerp to Amsterdam, from a Catholic to a Protestant community. Many of the best artists migrated northwards in search of political and religious liberty, among them the engraver Antoine van Leest, who allegorized the "Spanish Fury" in his moving little illustration to a patriotic Orangist poem (2–16). Another refugee from the holocaust was the greatest printer-publisher of his age, Christophe Plantin, who specialized in beautifully illustrated books and who by that fateful year employed some twenty-two presses in the city. Plantin returned to Antwerp in 1585 after fruitful years as printer to the University of Leiden, but a fellow refugee, Louis Elzevir of Louvain, settled permanently in Leiden to inaugurate the "Golden Age" of publishing in the Northern Netherlands. The high artistic standard of engraving and book-production set by the Dutch during the seventeenth century is reflected even in the propaganda broadsheets with which we are dealing in this and following chapters.

The founder of the Dutch Republic, William the Silent, became a legend in his lifetime; "Vader Willem," as he was called, was in the truest sense of the word a "popular" leader. Did some cheap broadsheet illustrating his exploits circulate among the towns and villages of the Dutch countryside? If so, it is lost. William's son and heir to his task, Prince Maurice, was indeed celebrated in a kind of broadsheet biography, but this is composed of little more than a tedious series of military episodes.[5]

The victories of Maurice brought the Northern Provinces virtual independence, which Spain was forced to recognize unofficially in the Twelve Year Truce concluded in 1609. The prince himself, however, neither trusted the Spaniards to observe the truce, nor was he inclined to do so himself. His pro-war party fought against the conclusion of the Truce with a semi-allegorical strip, heralded by an ironic and elaborate title *Happy News of Father Ney* (2–17). The sequence does not narrate continuously, but attempts a comprehensive review of Spanish deceit, treachery and murderousness. The Dutch burgher depicted in the center is not tempted by the bribe of free trade, having learned his lesson from the surrounding scenes. History however proved otherwise, and the businessman celebrated the peace, with its promise of commercial profit, with a monumental print called *Piramis Pacifica* (2–18). The engraver shows various nations of the world, East and West, man and woman, old and young, flocking about a pyramidal obelisk. The spectator is to be impressed with the pomposity of the design, not the details of the narrative of historical events which supposedly occupy the steps of the pyramid, and actually vanish from our view in ever-receding steps. The hastily-sketched scenes seem to represent aspects of war and peace, but they are not intended to be read in any specific way. The Dutch war-party had predicted that *Father Ney's Happy News* meant war, not peace; and when the Truce expired in 1621 they triumphantly buried it inside the Pyramid to Peace itself. Mocking his own publication, Claus Visscher shows the Dutch preparing for the renewal of war (2-19 foreground left), while the Catholic enemy, in the role of chief mourners, follow the coffin of the Truce towards its sepulchre, the old pyramid.

But is this the same pyramid? Superficially, yes; closer inspection however reveals miniature scenes of plunder and treachery, and allegorical enrichments previously absent. These all refer to Spanish crimes, of course; but the monument as a whole bears a suspicious resemblance to a

2–18. Simon de Vries. *Piramis Pacifica* (commemorating the Dutch-Spanish Truce 1609). The seven northern provinces sit beneath a base onto which War and Envy are chained, while above them Piety and Justice guard the pyramid on which are inscribed designs evocative of war and peace. Angels crown the pyramid, and two other angels, marked France and Great Britain (the intermediaries in the Peace), stand nearby on clouds. In the landscape, the nations of the world gather around, and birds of vigil stand perched atop the buildings.



5. Van Stolk 1287.



2–19. Claus Visscher. *Burial of the Truce* (1621).

2–21. Simon de Vries (et al.?). *The Arminians' Testament, and Inventory of property, to be left to those who are entitled to it* (1618).

"Popish figure crouching on top: Faulty Reason, from which all else flows.

Shields (and spectacles, symbols of blindness): A few slight fallen and mistaken saints, most of whom however returned to the right path.

Kampen: expelling the teachers of the town and declaring strong edicts against repugnant religion.

Alkmaar: when the little band tried out of necessity to preach in the town, and had 'filth and sand beggars' shouted at them.

Hoorn: when the gates were slammed shut in front of their Excellencies' noses.

Schoonhoven: which gave a reward of a barrel of beer to the fanatics who helped pull down the house where they (the Counter-Remonstrant Calvinists) had preached the religion.

Gouda: which expelled the teachers who would not follow the Vorst Catechism.

Rotterdam: where the cannons were placed in front of the Town Hall and on the town walls, and the barn where the adherents of the Religion were preaching, was boarded up.

Haarlem: where the ships were searched for dissident persons and 'waardgelders' or levies.

Leyden: where a hay-wagon was unloaded, and barriers suddenly appeared to everyone's amazement.

Utrecht: and the edict against the true religion March 1617. Right—the expulsion of pious burghers; left—the white, or new-style oath, sworn by the levies and others; center background—the burghers have to lay down their arms."

(Figures bearing emblems at sides of pyramid): Top: Vices-Lies, with evidence of crimes; Fickleness-Treachery, with emblems of war; Center: Levies (chained). Bottom: Envy and Deceit.



2–20. Dutch. *The Remonstrant Snake*. "Every evil brings its own punishment" (1619).

t'Arminiaens Testament.

Twist
Tyt
Gewelt
Bedroch.
Rauck appel.
Weech Schael.
K. Wechwijser.
Vragal.
Naespoor
Sedich d'slock
Tels
Ketfslok
Onderl. ver.
Posthoe
Blixvt.
Quelgeest
Brantclock.
Laster leugen
Lichtverley
Fama
Werrighlers wapen
der Vromen hulp.
Gouden Slock
Leevendich dryaen
Prachtich va Spanjen
Tandem fit Surculus
Proufijt ouer openbr.
Geeftel.
Die noch tou sach
1. gulden S. Jans
WAERT
GELDERS.
Ie Main Tiendert
HOOCH NOORT
Weifelars.
Verscheyden
Natien
Nijdt.
Bedroch.
Plackaet va Utrecht tegen de Religie A. 1617.
Nieuwen Leer
Eedlijf bril
Schoo houen
Vorst
Armínius.
Gouda
Rotterdam.
Schiedam
Harlem.
Leyden.
Alckmaer
Campen
Hoorn.
DEN BANDT DER VRYE-
VERLEENDE NEDERLANDEN
Oranjen

slightly earlier version of the old design, a travesty calculated to ridicule and shame not the foreign enemy but the peace-party at home. Here is one of those curious situations where a single design has been adapted several times over to fit the changing political circumstances: the story of the design is the story of the times.

The burial of the Truce took place only two years after the Dutch had themselves been on the verge of civil war. Since the conclusion of the Truce, Maurice had grown more and more estranged from its instigator, the great minister Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. At the same time, Calvinism in the independent provinces was suffering from an ever-widening religious split. The party of religious tolerance and moderation was called the Remonstrants or Arminians. The party opposing them, standing for ultra-Calvinist orthodoxy, became known as Counter-Remonstrants, and eventually acquired the leadership of Prince Maurice and the support of his army. Throughout 1617 trouble simmered, exacerbated by complicated problems of provincial and civic government. Lampoons poured from the press, principally in Amsterdam, whose Burgomaster took the lead in vilifying the cause of the Remonstrants and the personal character of their leader, Oldenbarnevelt. The cartoonist likened the movement to a dung-cart, a monster[6] and finally a snake, whose joints are made up of the portraits of the "conspirators," coiled venomously about the Orange-tree flowering within a halo (2-20). The severed head is designated as that of Oldenbarnevelt himself, who was judicially murdered early in 1619. The militant Counter-Remonstrants also revamped the old *Piramis Pacifica* under the title *The Arminians'* (i.e. Remonstrants') *Testament* (2–21). The nine steps of the pyramid now clearly depict various conflicts which occurred in the nine towns where the Remonstrants were strong enough to repress the Counter-Remonstrant preachers. Chained as abject prisoners to the pyramid are the much-satirized Waertgelders,[7] or local levies raised by the Remonstrants as a counterpoise to the regular army units of Maurice. At the base of the monument the "Envy" of the *Piramis Pacifica* is more prominent and desperate-looking as she gnaws at her own heart, accompanied by a much more vicious and martial companion. Envy is seized by the spirit of Mars, and Mars is replaced by Deceit. Despite all the allegorical trappings, the *Arminiaens Testament* does preserve realistic narrative on the pyramid, which stands out literally larger, sharper and squarer to the view. The "various nations" are pushed far into the background, and reduced to the role of distant onlookers rather than active participants in the erection or unveiling of the monument. This change accurately reflects the consciousness that while certain non-combatant nations had helped to bring about the Truce, they had no business interfering with the civil dissensions of an independent people. It is significant that the publisher sold this version with a German legend attached. Another significant change involves the Belgian (i.e. Dutch) Lion, which in the *Piramis Pacifica* had sat glaring fiercely but impartially at all comers; in the first version of the *Arminiaens Testament* he wears the same expression, but has acquired a thin swath—the banner of the House of Orange—which he holds beneath his claws; in the final version he has seized the swath, now a broad fringed drapery, savagely between his teeth. Thus does the engraver convey, unconsciously perhaps, the violence which Maurice employed to overthrow his enemies.

7. *Prelude to terror*

With the resumption of the war Prince Maurice realized that he would now atone for his judicial murder of Oldenbarnvelt. He did so with military failures, the greatest of which, the surrender of Breda, was immortalized by Velazquez in a world-famous painting. All is chivalry for the Spanish painter as the vanquished Dutch governor hands over the keys of the town to the victorious Spanish General, Spinola, who bends graciously to receive them. Even during the Truce, Spinola had been represented by the Dutch satirists as a seven-headed dragon,[8] and the chivalrous tone of Velazquez' painting stands in stark contrast to the mood of the Dutch cartoonists. They were closer to historical realities than the Spanish court painter, and saw eighty years of Spanish world-wide imperialism as a succession of the most dreadful crimes against humanity (2–22). After their spate of domestic satire, the Dutch returned to the enemy of old. The catalogue of horrors depicted in this beautifully engraved broadsheet is actually a selection in miniature from the illustrations to two historical works published as companions at this time, the *Spanish Tyranny in the Netherlands* and the *Spanish Tyranny in the West Indies*. The Dutch text to the latter is based upon the account (1552 ff.) of the Spanish friar Bartolomé de las Casas, who became Bishop of Chiapa in the West Indies, and recoiled in horror from the barbarities of his countrymen. Las Casas' little work proved a century-long best-seller among the enemies of Spain. The editions in Dutch and French (1578, 1596 twice, 1607, etc.) testify to a lively demand among those European peoples oppressed by Spanish rule; the English brought out an edition at the moment of the Jesuit "invasion" (1583, cf. above, p. 40); and the Frankfurt press even produced Latin editions (1598, 1599) which were for the first time enriched with illustrations by the famous engraver Theodor de Bry. These editions were followed the next year by a German translation with all the illustrations concentrated at the end in easily accessible album form, and supplied with captions to save the reader the trouble of turning his eyes from the horrendous image. The Dutch imitated this format in 1609, clearly offering the new publication as a token of resistance to the Truce of that year, and even repeating it a few years later. As the Truce drew to its close two Amsterdam publishers[9] independently re-issued las Casas' work; when hostilities were actually renewed, a sequel was added, the above-mentioned *Spanish Tyranny in the Netherlands*, embellished with twenty large illustrations. It also occurred to some publisher to weld together the persecutions old and new, foreign

6. See Van Stolk 1379, 1380, and 1384.
7. Cf. Van Stolk 1352.
8. Cf. Coupe, pp. 81 and 139.
9. Ian Evertsz Cloppenburg (1620, and again in 1638), and Cornelis van der Plasse (1620 and 1621).

and domestic, in the single broadsheet reproduced here (2-22), where an allegory of the impending fall of Spain is surrounded with sixteen narrative episodes. The latter are apparently selected to give the widest historical and geographical sweep, and offer the greatest variety of setting and action with a succession of judicial executions, civic massacres, murder and torture of individual men and women in street, church, quayside or open country.

Thus opens the period of the bloodiest war which Europe suffered until the twentieth century. The Dutch had been predicting it for years with numerous allegorical prints upon the Jülich-Cleves conflict.[10] Many parts of the German Empire were already aflame and devastated, but the worst fears of the Dutch were not realized upon themselves. While their well-disciplined soldiers kept the Spanish at bay outside the heavily fortified frontiers, and while they defeated the enemy again and again on the sea, they were able at home to enter into a Golden Age of art, science and letters, to become a model of internal stability, religious tolerance and relatively peaceful commercial expansion throughout the world. Patriotic engravers and painters kept a watchful eye upon Dutch frustration of Spanish aggressions; by 1638, when the las Casas account was republished once more, the Spanish atrocities in it can have been only a distant memory to the older generation. Nevertheless, it is the engraver of Holland, ever alive to Protestant suffering beyond his borders, who will project so vividly one of the most appalling aspects of war.

There remains for us only to notice a pair of prints from the 1630s, the heart of the "Golden Age." These fine engravings constitute a remarkable testimony to Dutch freedom of expression, for they were published in a Protestant country at war with a Catholic power, and yet they condemn crimes of Protestants against Catholics. The one print revives a tale of atrocities committed in 1572 by a pirate fighting on behalf of William the Silent; the other, in an identical disposition of the scenes, describes an unprovoked attack by some ruffian upon a Dutch Catholic priest, the callousness of the authorities and the subsequent death of the victim (2-23).

10. Van Stolk Catalogue for years 1610-14.


A
B
C
K
L
M
MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIM
N
O
P



2–22. *Vision of the fall of Castile.* (Spanish atrocities throughout the world, c. 1620.)
A. Execution of Egmont and Horn (1568). B. Murder at Naarden (1572). C. Murder at Haarlem (1573). D. Murder at Oudewater (1575). E. Murder at Antwerp (1576). F. Burning alive in the West Indies. G. Indians thrown into pits. H. One hundred Indian Kings burned in a hut, and the Queen of Xaragua hanged. I. Indians eaten alive by dogs. K. Inquisition in Spain. L. Lisbon taken by Alva (1581). M. Expulsion of the Moriscos (1570). N. Philip murders his son Don Carlos (1568). O, P, Q. In Catalonia, a priest is murdered by the altar, and various atrocities are committed in homes and churches.
(center) 1. Dolphin of France. 2. Swedish ram. 3. Tower of Castile-Spain. 4. Hares and rabbits=rebels of Granada. 5. Mice=Moors, Turks, and Portuguese rebels. 6. Geese=Dutch. 7. Popish clergy bewailing the fall of Castile. 8. Nordic bear swallowing Catholic property. 9. Spanish Armada destroyed by English 1588. 10. Flight of Spaniards, defeated everywhere. 11. Storming of Castilian Tower by various powers.



2–23. Dutch. *The Persecution and death of the Catholic Priest, Martinus van Velde* (c. 1639). "See here a priest of God who offered his body and life before God and the Faith. . . ."
Left side:
"1. On Shrove Tuesday 1639 the Reverend Martinus van Velde was seized at the altar of his church in Middelburg near Gouda, by Nicolas Vermeyde and furiously struck upon the head by ruffians. 2. Still dressed in his bloody surplice, he is led over the head by ruffians into the dungeons at Gouda. 3. The next day he is taken to a prison in the Hague, but when the surgeon sees that the wound is not properly healed, he is obliged to open it up again, at considerable pain to the patient. 4. After a week he is released upon payment of 1300 gulden, but the wound is still not healed."
Right side:
"5. Before he could come to his home town of Leyden, he is banned by the magistrates of the town. 6. Taking no notice of the ban, he comes to his parents' home and is tenderly embraced by them. 7. He sickens, becomes feverish, and is attacked by the thrush, erysipelas, hiccups, and various other diseases. 8. There follows a glorious death, and burial, at which many of the older spectators contemptuously assail him with insults."

Chapter Three

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR (1618-1648)

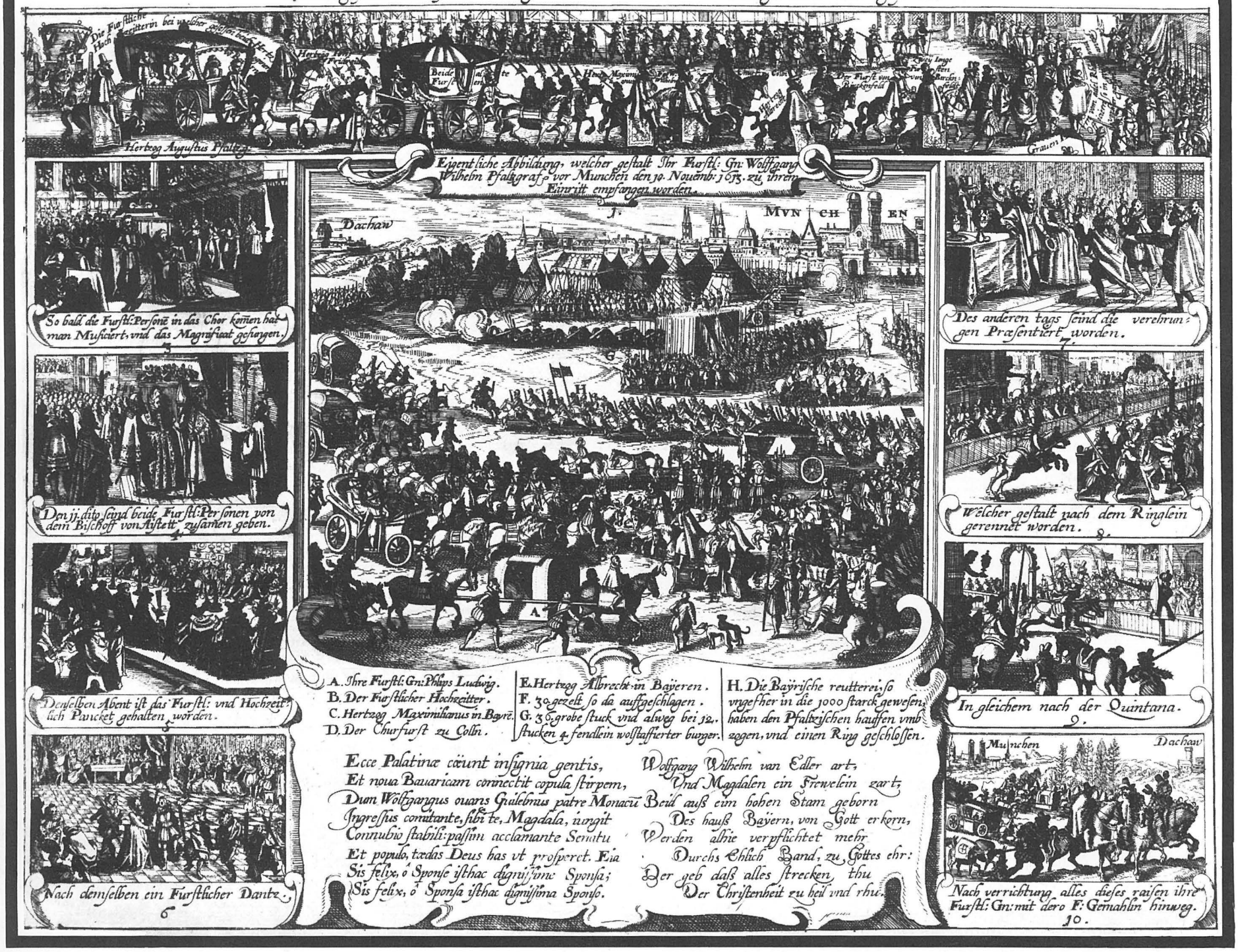
1. The struggle for the Bohemian crown

From Spanish Habsburg oppression in the Netherlands, we move to Austrian Habsburg oppression in the heart of the so-called Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. This huge, amorphous and fragmented organization had not been stable since the Reformation; and in the early years of the seventeenth century, when Europe at large was enjoying comparative peace, the innumerable independent powers constituting the Empire were in a state of increasing exasperation. The prelude to the great war was enacted on the lower Rhine, where a dispute developed over the vacant succession in Jülich and Cleves. These two minor interlocking duchies lay under the influence of the Empire, and bordered upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Two Protestant German princes, of Brandenburg and Neuburg, had been encouraged by the French and Dutch to divide the territories between them and govern them jointly. When Spanish troops seized the fortress of Jülich for the Emperor, and the intervention of Henri IV was cut short by his assassination (1610), the Protestant position became seriously imperilled over a wide area. The princes of Brandenburg and Neuburg then quarrelled, the latter converted to Catholicism and married the daughter of the arch-Catholic Duke of Bavaria (3–1). The duchies were thus jointly governed by a Catholic convert prince who fell immediately into the arms of Spain, and a Calvinist prince who was promised the aid of the Dutch under Maurice.

While Protestants trembled in the north, they suffered systematic erosion of their rights in the Habsburg dominions of the south. The Habsburg heir to the Imperial Crown, the young archduke Ferdinand of Styria (Austria), was intent upon the Bohemian crown, which was legally elective, to secure it not only to himself for his lifetime, but also for his family as a hereditary possession. His object was both political and religious, for he wished to stamp out heresy in Bohemia, which since the age of Huss in the early fifteenth century had been a stronghold of unorthodox, nationalist religion. In 1610 the Bohemian Protestant Estates, or Parliament, had chosen as their King the Emperor Matthias, who granted toleration to all non-Catholics; but in 1617, as the aged monarch declined in strength, the Estates were forced to accept as a successor his younger cousin Ferdinand (3–2). As Ferdinand tightened the Catholic screw upon his people, the Protestant revolt gained rapid ground, culminating in the famous "Defenestration of Prague" (1618) when the Catholic ministers of Ferdinand were hurled from the Hradschin palace window. The Bohemian Estates then elected a king of their own religion and in their own national interests, the choice being a German prince from the Rhineland, the Elector Palatine Frederick (3–3). Frederick was son-in-law to the English King James I and enjoyed the reputation of being the principal German opponent of Habsburg expansion and of the Habsburg monopoly upon the Imperial crown. Meanwhile, Ferdinand acquired the crown of Roman (or German) King, a curious and empty title accorded to the heir presumptive to the Imperial Crown, which crown he finally attained in August 1619. But two days before this Imperial election was announced, the Bohemian Estates formally ousted him from his Bohemian throne. He soon regained the latter, with the help of Spanish gold and Bavarian troops who routed the Bohemian Protestant forces (1620). This victory was sealed by a mass execution of the rebel leaders (3–4).

The above account, outlining the events of 1610-20 which surrounded the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, is fully documented in narrative picture strips—one wedding, five coronations, and one mass execution. As a group, the seven broadsheets present unity of format (central image, depicting the important moment, surrounded by a number of subsidiary border-scenes), and considerable journalistic novelty. Until this time, princely weddings and coronations, triumphal entries and funeral processions, had been rendered in long, expensive friezes such as those mentioned above (p. 33), the propaganda vehicles of an earlier Habsburg Emperor, Maximilian. The tradition was continued through the sixteenth century by Habsburgs and by lesser German princes alike, with the difference that the prints usually reflected actual processions rather than fantasies such as Maximilian's. They lent permanent visual form to ceremonies which were intended to impress the subject people with the divine origin of their princes' power, and were thus accorded a visual extravagance equal to that of the most sacred ecclesiastical rites. In the imagination of post-Renaissance man the state entry or coronation of a secular prince had begun to take the place of the medieval religious procession. In no part of Europe was it considered more important to publicize the "divine" fitness of a marriage or coronation than in the German Empire, where the political disorganization encouraged disputed successions. Among German dynasties, there was none more conscious than the Habsburg of the pleasures and usefulness of court ceremony, and there was none more skilled in the manipulation of the European power-structure by means of matrimonial alliances, which were celebrated with all magnificence.

The inventive journalist-engraver in Germany developed a new type of ceremonial print—one much cheaper and handier than the long elaborately engraved frieze, and



3–1. German. *Marriage of Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuburg, Count Palatine, to Magdalena, daughter of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria* (1613).

"Wolfgang Wilhelm of noble stock, and Magdalene a tender maiden, both high-born members of the house of Bavaria and chosen by God, are now bound to each other in matrimony to the honor of God, who provide that all contribute to the good and peace of Christendom.

1. (center) His Princely Grace Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm is received on his entry into Münich Nov. 10, 1613.... the Bavarian cavalry, 1000 strong, form a ring around the Palatine suite.

2. (top) The Princely Bridegroom and Bride proceed to the Church.

3. (left) As soon as the Princely Persons have arrived in the choir, music sounds and the Magnificat is sung.

4. Bride and Groom are joined together by the bishop of Aistett.

5. That same evening the princely and nuptial banquet is held.

6. After which a princely dance (the Flambeau).

7. (right) The next days, homage is paid.

8. The Tournaments—running for the ring, and 9. for the Quintain.

10. After all this, his Princely Grace with his Princely Wife depart."

yet reflecting something of the full pomp of the occasion. The Neuburg-Bavaria wedding broadsheet (3-1) may be a chance survivor from many similar ones of this period, produced to mark the multiple dynastic bonds by which the Habsburgs sought to tighten their grip upon the Empire. The father of the bride, Duke Maximilian, enjoyed a triple family relationship to the Emperor Ferdinand—as brother-in-law, son-in-law, and first cousin.

There were very strong reasons for the broadsheet industry to focus upon the Bohemian Coronation (3-2 and 3-3). There lay at stake the control over a prosperous nation, but the crown was legally disposed of by the people, by a popular assembly. This unique situation invited public controversy. It was, moreover, an irregularity for a coronation to take place while there was still a reigning king, albeit an old and feeble one (the Emperor Matthias). All Europe watched as the crown was wrested from the Habsburg who had himself so deftly appropriated it, and as the European war which pamphleteers had been fearfully predicting finally erupted.



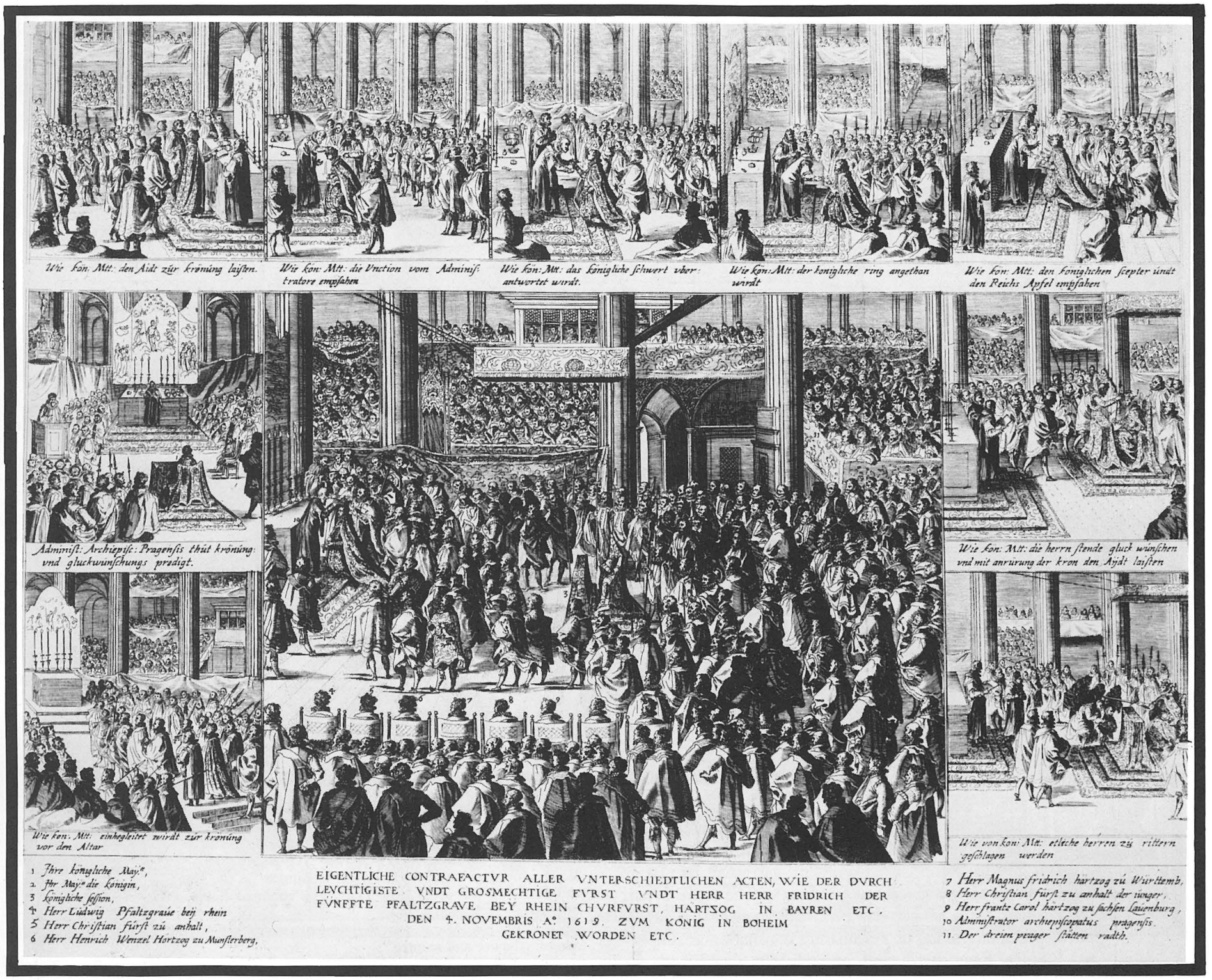
3–2. Georg Keller (Frankfurt). *Actual Representation of the most noble acts by which the most Serene Prince and Lord, Lord Ferdinand Archduke of Austria was crowned King of Bohemia June (sic) 19/29 1617* (July 19, 1617).
"Left: How His Royal Majesty lays his fingers on the book and performs the oath. How H.R.M. is anointed King of Bohemia.
Right: How H.R.M. receives the royal sword. How H.R.M. receives the orb and sceptre."

The print recording Frederick's coronation appears superior to that of Ferdinand's, both in quality of engraving and in comprehensiveness of narrative; the latter represents, among the variant versions of the same event, the cheaper form of popular print (there exists an unbelievably bad engraving of Ferdinand's coronation as Emperor).[1] Since King Ferdinand immediately established the strictest censorship of the press, the engraver may well have been subsidized and otherwise encouraged to seek the widest possible distribution. These wedding and coronation strips are visually uninspiring and monotonous. It is not surprising that this should be so, for both setting and actor remain basically the same. Visual variety might have been achieved by focusing upon the symbolic object constituting the factor of change—scepter, sword, ring; but the element of pictographic narrative, such as we saw in its most perfectly developed form in the late medieval Passion strip (1-7), was no longer acceptable to an age which demanded narrative realism. The reader must rely on the caption to pinpoint the episode, while the pictures simply convey the grand atmosphere enveloping the occasion.

The documentation of the ceremonies attending the royal Bohemian coronations is far from complete; separate sheets could have depicted the popular, as opposed to the ecclesiastical, festivities: the fountains running with red and white wine, the public roasting of the ox, and (in the case of Frederick) the decoration of the whole city with blue and silver hangings and the provision of a guard of honor dressed in the costume of the "heroic" age of Huss and Zischka. All this would have assured popular assent to the formal ceremonies enacted in the Cathedral and (again in the case of Frederick) conceal for the moment the miseries of a city already crowded with refugees from the war. For both Frederick and Ferdinand, the symbolic bonds between King and people expressed in the Coronation were to prove tragically fragile.

There is a certain irony of historical justice in the way this group of prints opens with a peaceful, happy nuptial alliance, passes through the solemn pomp of rival coronations, the emptiness of which is then exposed in a ceremonial letting of blood. The more truthful view of the Bohemian situation is contained in another pair of prints. Behind all the celebration of Frederick as King of Bohemia and Ferdinand as Emperor of the Germans, fear and disorder reigned, as our pair of strips shows.

1. By Zimmerman of Augsburg; print in Ulm Library.

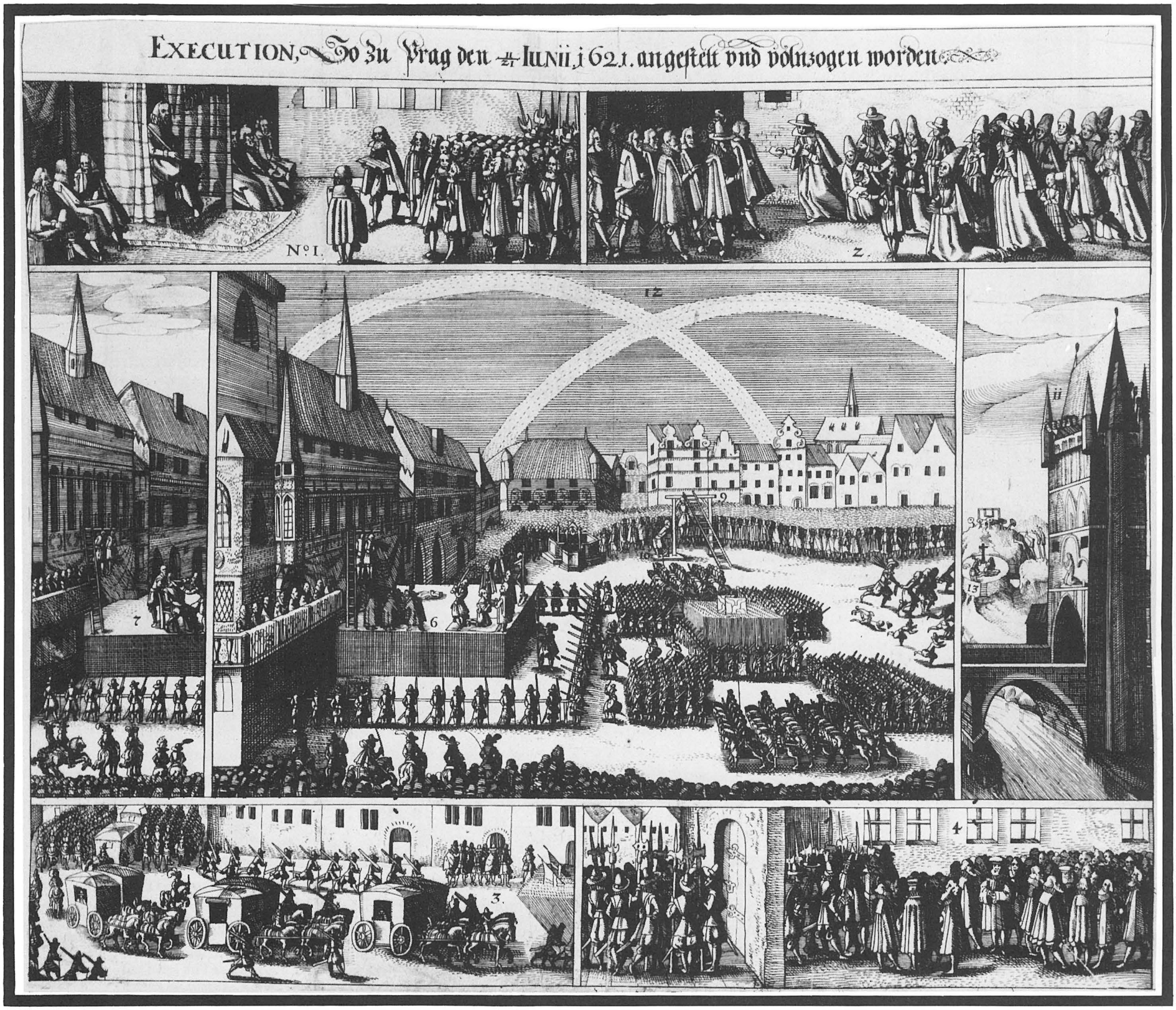


3–3. German. *Actual representation of all the various acts by which the most Serene and Mighty Prince and Lord, Lord Frederick the Fifth Count Palatine on the Rhine, Prince Elector, Duke in Bavaria etc. was crowned King of Bohemia Nov. 4th, 1619.*

"Top: How His Royal Majesty performs the coronation oath. How H.R.M. is anointed by the Administrator. How the Royal Sword is entrusted to H.R.M. How the Royal Ring is put on the finger of H.R.M. How H.R.M. receives the royal orb and sceptre.

Left (bottom and top): The Procession to the altar for the coronation. The Administrator of the Archbishop of Prague gives the Coronation and congratulatory sermon.

Right: The Estates congratulate H.R.M. and perform the oath by touching the crown. H.R.M. raises several Lords to the Knighthood."



3–4. German. *Execution of the Protestant Rebels in Prague 11/22 June 1261, at the order of the Holy Roman Emperor.* (Summary of Commentary) 1. The sentence, after mitigation by grace of his Imperial Majesty, is read out by the *Prince of Liechtenstein*, presiding in the Imperial Council chamber. 2. The women, children and friends of the condemned plea for mercy, but are refused. 3. Midnight procession from the castle, in eight carriages, into the Old Town. 4. The condemned however had spent the night cheerfully singing and praying. 5. (center) Imperial Judges and Council. 6. Erection of the Crucifix over the podium where the beheading took place (over twenty victims are named) in the presence of the massed Saxon soldiery. 7. (left) University *Professor Jessenius*, famous orator and physician, has his tongue torn out. (Not depicted: the beheading, quartering, and impaling of his limbs on four stakes by the Ravenstein.) 8. (center, left of podium) Two councillors and the Captain of the Old Town (whose population was entirely Protestant) hanged from the Old Town Hall. 9. (center background) The Bohemian Procurator hanged in the Old Town Square. (To the right, others are seen being whipped out of town previous to their banishment for life.) 10. An official is nailed by the tongue to the gallows; he dies the following day. 11. (right) Twelve heads stuck up on the Bridge Gate. Shortly afterwards two beautiful rainbows are seen (12). 13. (right) Dismemberment of bodies outside the town, where the limbs are impaled.

2. *Jesuit intrigue in Bohemia*

A government bent upon progressive reform usually started by expelling the Jesuits; Henri IV had done so in France, the nationalists did so in Bohemia. Not unlike the preceding ones in layout but of much greater dramatic potential, the strips give insight into the situation at Prague between the two coronations. The *Bohemian Jesuit Broom* (3-5), probably produced shortly after the expulsion of the Jesuits which followed the Defenestration (April 1618), celebrates the "clean sweep" as a just punishment with historic origins. It is defended moreover by all the great Christian figures, up to Christ and God the Father Himself. The first result of the expulsion is comic and imaginary: the Jesuits decide to rasp wood in a Dutch prison. The story soon passes however to more serious matters, as the enemy carry their complaint to the fountainhead of evil, the Pope (sic—in reality the Emperor). Finally, the engraver suggests various ways of meeting further danger, emphasizing the necessity of tolerance, and the securing of unity at home and good allies abroad.

The tone is monitory, but optimistic. Within the year, however, the situation in Bohemia had darkened, and Frederick's acceptance of the crown was widely rumored as a folly presaging the worst disaster. A note of editorial desperation underlies the second print, the *Bohemian Mirror of Disorder* (3-6). Events turn uncontrollably violent, and the patriotic warnings of the first strip prove to have fallen on deaf ears. We are shown first the Jesuit threat prepared insidiously, vengefully, and abetted from within; then the overt threat of war, and the courageous attempts to meet it (or instructions on how to meet it); but war engulfs the land nonetheless. The relatively relaxed, mocking tone of the earlier print has given way to passionate urgency. The scenes of violence in this print may be regarded as the conventional element; there is greater novelty in the many semi-allegorical depictions of conference and conspiracy which cannot be visually self-explanatory like scenes of war, and which, until the admission of speech balloons (which become general only toward the end of the century) must rely heavily upon letterpress explanation. This explanation takes the form of a long verse dialogue, in which the very division into twelve "Actus" (affecting the pictures no less than the verse) reveals the underlying theatrical convention. These relatively sophisticated prints appealed perhaps less to educated burgher or landowner than to the higher powers in the state. The journalist is not merely addressing them, he is instructing them, and in visually-expressed editorial asides, lamenting their failure to heed his advice. In the last scene the figure of "Fama" might almost represent the press itself, replacing God in the clouds of the preceding scene, and now presiding over a war which she had predicted. Already in the fourth scene, the newsman declares that if the public spurns his advice he will carry it to Europe at large: and this is just what happens. The eyes of the capitals of Europe are soon fixed upon Bohemia, whence the war will rapidly spread.

All these strips represent merely one peculiar wave in a flood of pamphlets and broadsheets. We have arrived at a landmark in the history of journalism. Never since the Reformation had there been so great a concentration of prints upon a single event or series of events closely connected in time and character. By the early years of the seventeenth century the German publisher had succeeded in placing the issue of newspapers on a regular basis. The weekly "Relatio Historica," characteristic by this time of most major German cities, is the true ancestor of the modern periodical press.[2] The Dutchman may be the better artist, but the German is the more sophisticated journalist. The *Mirror of Bohemian Disorder* shows the newsman to be remarkably conscious of his role as arbiter of public opinion, and prepared to engage in solemn defenses of it. One broadsheet of this same period (3-7) shows the newsman refuting a charge of bias levelled against him by an "opponent" (i.e. the skeptical public, or the author of a rival newssheet), who is told to buy the newsman's back numbers if he wishes to learn the truth about the various incidents depicted symbolically in the background. Impartial analysis was not lacking, despite the religious prejudices heightened by events leading to the war. In reviewing a generation of strip cartoons, we find that the furious polemic of the Dutch has become, via the simple documentation of coronations, an ambitious attempt to trace the complex origins of a disaster. In a word, we are being shown the inner causes rather than the outward results.

3. *Gustavus Adolphus and the war game*

Having warned the public against the dangers of a Catholic resurgence, the German pamphlet press was loud and prolific in its mockery of the dispossessed "Winter" King of Bohemia.[3] Thereafter, the flood of journalistic comment receded before the relentless progress of Catholic-Imperialist arms through Germany. The war seems to have cowed the lively spirit of German journalism, for I have found no native picture stories dating from the 1620s. One might expect atrocity sequences, such as the Dutch had produced in 1620 to condemn the Spanish tyrannies, for the war was conducted with mounting ferocity; the nearest approach to the narrative strip, however, is the image of war as a kind of game—military ducks and drakes. The irony of this form is immense, for never can a war have appeared less playful to the European public. The terrible lightning career of the general serving the Spanish, Ambrogio Spinola, through Frederick's dominions in the Rhenish Palatinate[4] is depicted in a table of fifty-six squares, containing a neat little

2. See Schottenloher, Ch. 7.

3. See Beller. Even the Dutch poured ridicule upon the head of the fellow-Calvinist and ex-King, who sought refuge among them at the Hague (cf. Van Stolk 1485-1496).

4. The home territory of Frederick, now "under the ban of the Empire," had been given illegally but effectively by the Emperor to Duke Maxmilian of Bavaria as a form of compensation for expenses incurred in ousting Frederick from his Bohemian throne. Habsburg forces overran it in 1620.



3–5. German. *Bohemian Jesuit Broom and German Alarum* (1618). (Summary of verses) I. The Jesuits are expelled now (i.e. during the Protestant seizure of power in 1618) just as Romanist priests were once expelled by the Hussites under the great King Wenceslas (standing left). II. The Virgin blames the Jesuits who appeal to her for help, and as the good Protestant Lady she is, scorns their flatteries. (The picture shows them spurned by the Christ Child as well.) III-IV. The Apostles and Martyrs, and even Christ Himself as Judge, repudiate the treacherous Jesuits. V. St. Christopher (patron saint of travellers) offers to ferry the refugees elsewhere; they refuse any such aid in the name of Mahomet, preferring (comically) to move to Amsterdam. VI. The Dutch "Saints" Raspinus and Ponus, tools and whip in hand, welcome the exiles into the prison, the *Rasphuis*, where they will join the other inmates in rasping wood. VII. One Jesuit, having escaped to Rome, lodges his complaint with the Pope, who arrogantly declares his omnipotence over the fate of kings. VIII. (Back in Prague) the old Bohemian hero John Zischka (right) warns the Bohemian Lion to preserve his alliances (the lute below symbolizes unity), while King Wladislaus Polonus (who died in 1516) exhorts him to exercise religious tolerance. IX. Applauding his own extortions, the Pope lovingly fondles his profits from Indulgences, while Luther (holding a book *Contra Calvin*) and Calvin (with a book *Contra Lutherum*) seize him ignominiously by the ears. "Luther and I have never been one, but now we play the same tune." Faith, isolated, looks heavenward for help. Providence, in the center, threatens to put a ring on the nose of the Bohemian "ally." X. Bethlen Gabor, Protestant ruler of Hungary (right), is admonished for modelling himself upon Attila and warned against making an alliance with the Turk. XI. Four model rulers from recent history, representing resolute but peaceful Protestantism.



3–6. German ("F.R.C."). *Bohemian Mirror of Disorder, with all the events and the revolt of the past year 1618, to date.*

(Summary of Verses) I. The Bohemian Lion sits in Majesty, but is threatened by the advances of Fox (Cardinal Klesl) and Jesuit Wolf. II. Klesl and the Jesuits (D, E) plot to make King Matthias restrict religious freedom. Simultaneously, a Calvinist (F) tries to filch the Royal Seal. III. The Jesuits conceal from the King the document brought by messenger from Bohemia. IV. (Editorial interjection) The newsman tries to sell cartoons on the Jesuit oppression, but the peasant is unimpressed. The newsman will nonetheless press forward in his attempt to warn the world of danger. V. (After the defenestration) The victims lodge their complaint at the Imperial court and swear revenge. VI. Jesuit preparations: Representatives of nine different political vices are helped by a devil to stoke a furnace, which belches forth emblems of war in all directions. John Huss and Jerome of Prague (who were burnt as heretics at the Council of Constance in 1417) stand by, lamenting. VII. Four typical Bohemian burghers meet to deplore the interference of undesirable Calvinist and Jesuit aliens, while behind them a crowd has gathered to deplore the perversion of the King (now presumably Ferdinand) by Jesuits, and hear promises of revenge uttered by the old Bohemian hero Zischka, risen from the grave. VIII. The three Bohemian Estates, representing three political virtues, swear to unite while in the background the newsman hurries to spread the news of the conflagration. IX. Accompanied by appropriate animal symbols (Lion of Fortitude, Sheep of Patience, Dove of Peace), the Estates proclaim their innocence, unity and pacifism. X. Christ himself appears with promises of punishment for the evil-doers, and sends signs of his displeasure (meteor, storm). XI. (Editorial conclusion) Vesting himself as prophetic "Fama" the newsman warns of the terrible slaughter (depicted below) which is to come or will continue.



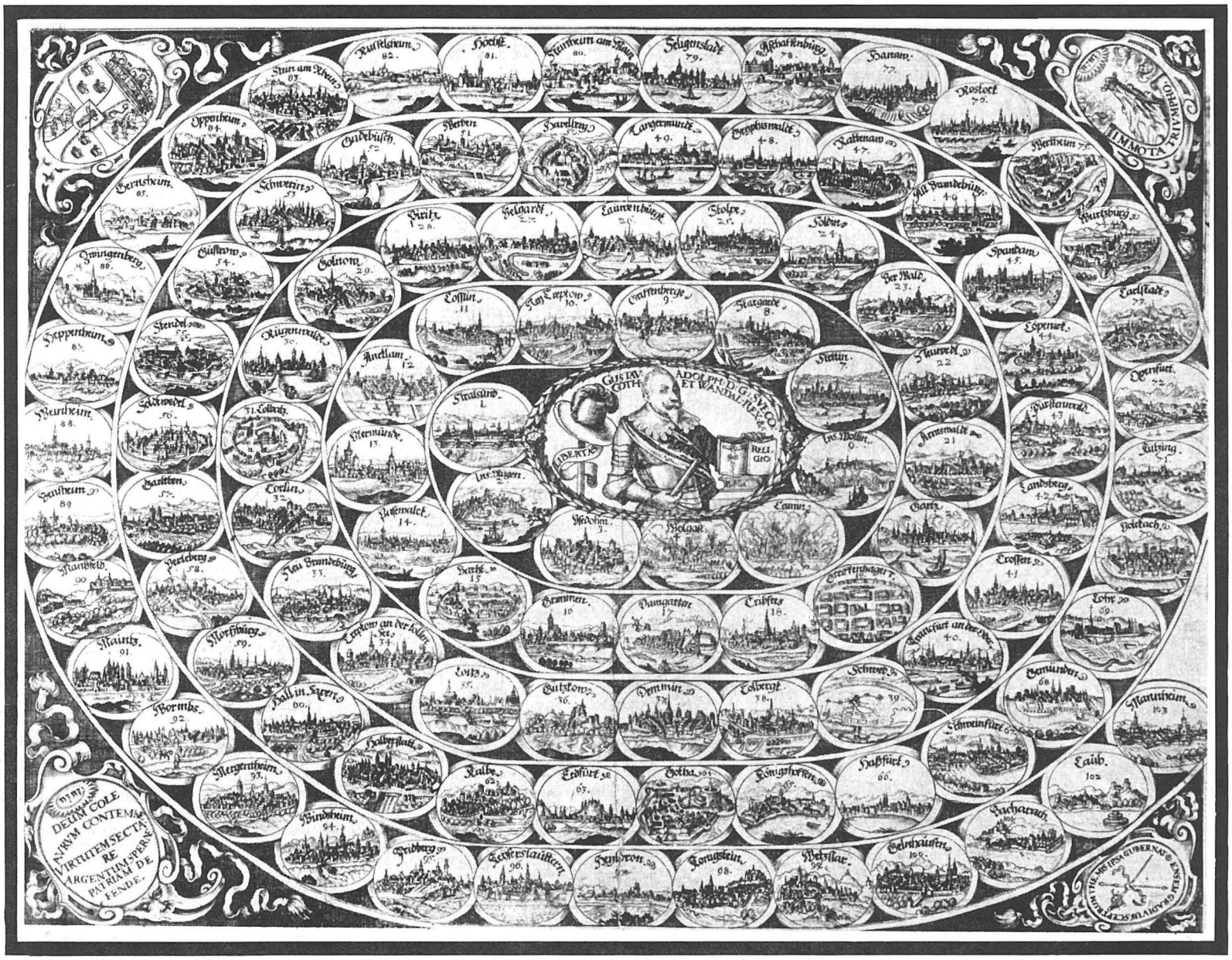
3–7. German. *Proposal and Reply, or, A Dialogue Between the journalist and his opponent* (1620).

view of each of the towns or fortresses he seized. At the end of the tables the engraver often leaves blanks[5] which could presumably be filled in as future successes demanded. This, in conjunction with the general arrangement of the design, lends an air of facility and inevitability to the idea of military conquest. We are shown which towns are captured, but not what the captors do to their prize or to the countryside between. The underlying moral character of such a career could however be rendered symbolically by making the grid of rectangles coiled like a snake; such was the more subtle

5. As in Van Stolk 1475; also Marburg Ya 7506 1996. Is it by chance that in a comparable print (in Braunschweig) celebrating the less numerous successes of the Protestant mercenary leader Mansfeld, two whole rows (twenty squares in all) are left blank—in vain hope?



3–8. German. *Assembly of various great German and foreign warrior princes* (1625).



3–9. German. *The Victories of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, in Germany* (1631).

response of a Dutch publisher to the threat of Spinola,[6] who elsewhere appeared as a spider weaving a web about Europe (*Spinne* is the German for spider—upper lefthand corner of 3-7). The general also set his traps on the board of the war-game, with the innumerable divisions spiralling away to total victory. This metaphor is skilfully "quoted" in an allegorical print (3-8) which shows the interior of a commander's tent before battle, with a conference centering upon a board game spread out like a map on the table. About it stand the players, the opposing generals, Frederick Henry for the Dutch and Spinola for the Spanish. The Dutch prince rises, hand on sword-hilt, to move forward his counter, while Time beckons to further conflict.[7]

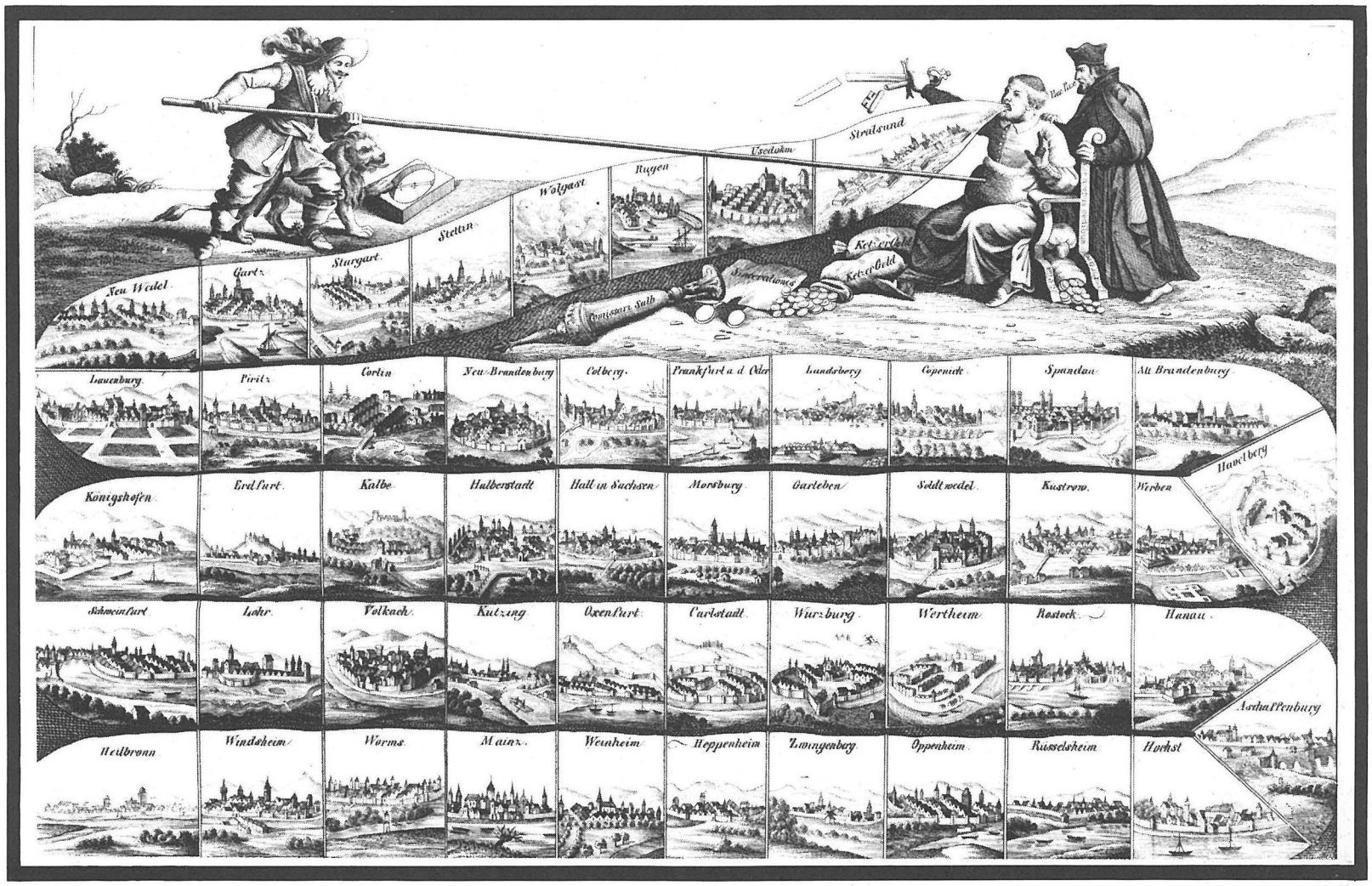
Frederick Henry's play is characterized as aggressive by the inscription "Ira." In reality, his counters moved but slowly forward. In Germany, on the other hand, the game was being played much faster, with a century of Protestant progress annulled in a decade. The counters of the Habsburg Counter-Reformation, pushed remorselessly by Albrecht von Wallenstein, stood as far north as the Baltic, where the Imperialist General finally besieged Stralsund. There at last, in the summer of 1630, he was blocked by a player new to the German board, although very familiar with the rules of the game, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden.

The career and personality of Gustavus surprise even the most objective historian. The attractiveness of his personal character is matched only by his diplomatic and military genius. The Germans made heady puns upon his country of origin (*Sued=Deus inversus*) and awaited his coming, as Richelieu tells us, like that of a Messiah.[8] Allegories upon his felicitous intervention abounded, but the only strip designs are military records, harking back to the earlier board-games. Their sheer number and variety is unparalleled: they are tabulated in oblong, upright, and spiralling form (3-9). From Stralsund on the Baltic in mid-1630, to Mannheim on the Rhine by the end of 1631, Gustavus wound his way through the heart of the Empire without so much as a single major setback despite the loading of the dice against him by the jealous German Protestant princes. The spiralling print is suggestive not only of continuity and

6. Van Stolk 1474.

7. The character of military operations between the Spanish and Dutch —the interminable sieges, the mining and countermining—renders the metaphor particularly apposite. It is used again in 1635-36, when the Prince of Orange dices with the Cardinal Infant for the Schenkenschans fortress (Van Stolk 1774).

8. Cf. Coupe, pp. 81 and 139.



3–10. German. *Spew out what you have gobbled up . . .* (Gustavus Adolphus and the Pope) 1631–2.

ease, but also of the almost mathematical precision with which the King moved, delaying neither for the foe who tried to evade him nor for the plunder which should have tempted him. The Protestant press, in its exultation over the success of the "Lion of the North" (as he was called), turned a relatively sober and impartial strip-design into an aggressive physical metaphor long familiar to the political cartoon: the disgorging of ill-gotten gains (3-10). Gustavus drives his lance into the swollen belly of the Pope (i.e. the Catholic Emperor) to purge him of all the places he has illegally seized.

The major occasion for Protestant rejoicing was the battle of Breitenfeld near Leipzig,[9] the greatest of Gustavus' victories. The circumstances, in which the enemy was totally humiliated after an orgy of plundering in the rich Saxon city, brought a flood of satires upon the defeated Catholics. Several cartoons mock the Imperialist troops disturbed at their feast, and many ridicule the unfortunate enemy general, Count Tilly. Among the latter, there is one narrative strip describing Tilly's sins (pride, wrath, luxury) and the punishment he received for them (3-11). The engraver does not consider defeat in battle a sufficient punishment, but seizes upon the famed austerity of Tilly's character to parody the Catholic ritual of repentance, confession and satisfaction. The verse-writer dwells at length on Tilly's terrible feelings of guilt; but it is the engraver, taking his cue from the title but working independently of the verse, who imposes the rhythm of the crime and the punishment. He lingers in sympathy over the plight of the general, whose dwindling physical dimensions seem (whether deliberately or not) to symbolize his dwindling reputation. He is offered the final solution of retirement to a monastery, which is very unlike the violent and sordid deaths wished upon most criminals and rakes of this period.

4. *The murder of Wallenstein*

The rise of that mysterious figure, Albrecht von Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, passed unnoticed by the cartoonist and political journalist. Born of noble Bohemian stock, Wallenstein had grown wealthy on land confiscated by the Emperor from the Bohemian rebels, had raised a whole army at his own expense, and enabled the Imperial power to stretch as far north as the Baltic. Afraid of his immense influence, the Emperor had dismissed him in 1630, at the very moment when Gustavus descended upon Germany. From his palace in Prague Wallenstein calmly watched his colleague Tilly retreat before the onslaught of the King of Sweden, and was only persuaded to return to his Imperial command after much begging by the Emperor. He finally met Gustavus in battle at Lützen (November 1632) where

9. Curiously, this city is not listed in our 3-10. Perhaps the print was issued by a Leipziger, who did not wish to remind his public that their own town had to be rescued by the foreigner.

his army was defeated, but the King of Sweden was killed. During the following year, the Emperor realized that Wallenstein was prone to make private negotiations with the Swedish and French enemy. The Emperor determined to destroy his generalissimo, who was despatched by some of his army officers. Accounts of the murder poured from the German presses. There are no less than eight original and independent narrative strips (and ten times as many written accounts), representing a most unusual density and simultaneity of journalistic enterprise at a time when many publishers of broadsheets were content to copy each other and to adapt old designs to new purposes. There was after all no lack of old murder broadsheets which would have served.

Since the circumstances of the murder were not extraordinary, we may assume that the many broadsheet strips were a spontaneous expression of the importance of the event, a sudden understanding of Wallenstein's role in European affairs and his relations with the Emperor. Perhaps the press, having been so long denied anything more than contradictory rumors about the intentions of the General, attempted to make up for the silence by reporting the minutest circumstances of the great man's death. The murder also represented a shift in Protestant fortunes, compensating in some degree for the grievous loss of Gustavus. The strips vary greatly in design; comparison of them reveals to what extent a fixed method was lacking for the narration of historical events. Most of the prints are anonymous, but all show some originality. Although the murder was known to have been performed at night, it is only Matthäus Merian (3-12), perhaps the most proficient engraver in Germany at this time, who illuminates the episodes with torchlight, and who manages to invest the sordid action with tragic grandeur. Two principal phases tended to receive equal emphasis: the slaughter of the officers loyal to Wallenstein in a room of the for-

3–11. German. *Tillius Poenitens, that is, Tilly's Penitence and subsequent absolution according to all three popish ceremonies, i.e. repentance, confession, and satisfaction made and received at the defeat of Leipzig* (Battle of Breitenfeld, September 18, 1631).
(Summary of Verses) A. *Iactobunda superbia* (Pride). Tilly boasts of his victories over Frederick at the White Hill and in the Palatinate, over the old Margrave of Durlach, the young Christian of Brunswick, and the Danish King, but recognizes his mistake in trying to sharpen his thirsty sword upon the Swedes. B. *Raptus et Crudeltas* (Rape and Cruelty). "But I wanted to play him another trick and tear the bride of Magdeburg out of his hands (1630) and quicken my sick heart in the heretics' blood." C. *Voluptas* (Luxury). "Then, to revive my spirits completely, I made for the Saxon Sweetmeats, those marvellous delicacies which my loyal soldiers had been waiting for after their long journey. But the lovely sweetmeats turned sour on me. The Swedish water-spaniel had taught the Saxon huntsman the art of war, and the old hare-hunter attacked me by Leipzig with the help of the Swedes and led me such a dance." D. *Contentio* (Repentance). "My fine soldiers were nearly all killed, and I barely escaped on a peasant-cart and my face now lies in the mud. But I should have foreseen the fickleness of fortune. The fault is only mine and I am punished for my illegal and immoral life! O no more Magdeburgs! I conquered you with the sword, and suffer for it now. I see before me the walls curtained in fire, and the Emperor Otto's house smoking, but this did not stay my blood-drenched hand." E. *Confessio* (before a priest, with a figure representing the Thousand Pricks of Conscience). "The town was sacked from end to end, the streets were filled with corpses: old people, young men and women were cut down, and I didn't care; only now do I repent the disaster, I know of no earthly way of ridding myself of this horror, unless I observe the proverb: if a monk's hood fail to drive out despair, better to hang oneself forthwith." E. *Satisfactio*. "My fear is such that I do not know which way out to choose. The priest described the fine cloistered life of the Monastery, while my conscience speaks to me of the rope which has so often cured despair. I vacillate: finally I decide to take this path to escape the devil, and nurse my wounds in a monastery. If I don't like it, I am ready for the rope."



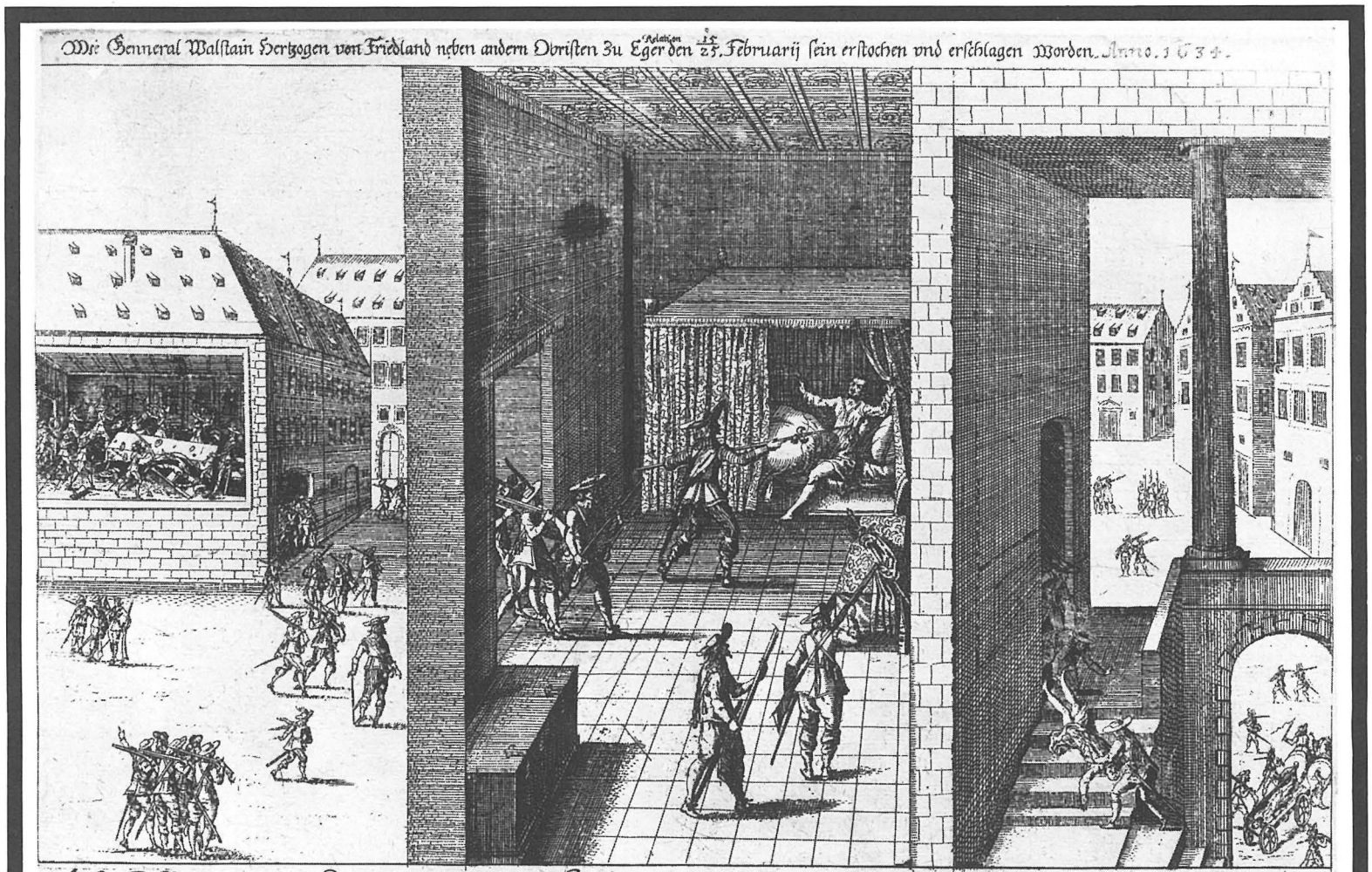


3–12. Matthäus Merian. *Murder of Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, and his officers at Eger* (February 15, 1634).

tress, and the killing of Wallenstein in a house of the town. One broadsheet (3-13) attempts to tell the whole story in a single setting by means of an unnaturalistic section through two separate houses in a street; another (3-14) simplifies matters by showing officers and General present in adjoining rooms of the same house. The remaining strips range from two to five scenes, which in one version are oval-shaped. The scene of slaughter about a banqueting-table, as we have already seen imagined in the print on Tilly, was fully justified by the historical circumstances; the engravers make the most of it, spreading a confusion of men armed with muskets and swords, shooting, slashing and dying, among falling furniture and tableware. Only one broadsheet denies this moment any prominence, while another (3-15) extends the sequence in time to open with a map of Eger where the murders took place, and a view of the banquet before the disturbance. There must have been contradictory reports concerning the position of the general at the moment of his death, for in the various versions he is standing at the window, sitting on the bed, lying in the bed, or writing at a table.[10] Most engravers linger over the fate of the corpse, always a matter of superstitious concern, which is shown being dragged ignominiously over the steps and loaded into a dung-cart to join the dead bodies of the officers. A final broadsheet (3-16) declares its partisanship by laying particular emphasis on these post-mortem humiliations (which are not quite accurate historically), and by including satirical captions. Many of the accounts of Wallenstein's death reproach the Emperor for cruelty and ingratitude; it is, oddly enough, the engraver Matthäus Merian from Protestant Frankfurt who sides most openly with the Emperor.

A historian of journalism sees in the reactions to Wallenstein's death a significant development in the power of the popular press—and, we may add, of the illustrated press in particular: "It would be hard to find an earlier example which shows us so clearly the interweaving of press and public opinion. . . . One has only to watch the attitude of the Emperor and his advisers, to see how they recoil before the power of world opinion, how they modify their original position."[11]

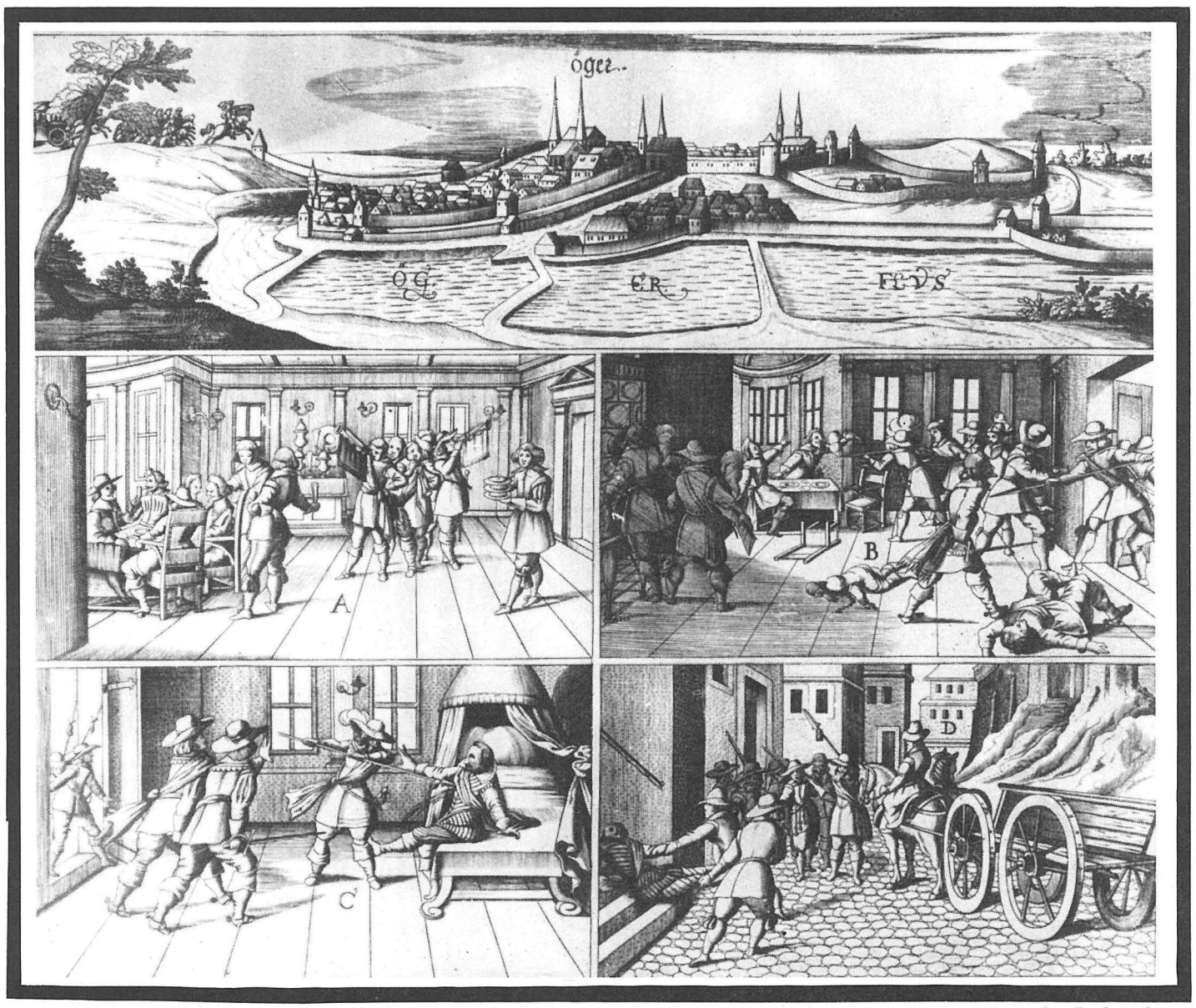
10. In a print at Ulm, signed by Daniel Manasser of Augsburg, there is even an open conflict between picture and text, the former showing Wallenstein turning suddenly away from the window, the latter describing him as immobilized in his bed by gout.
11. Bauer, p. 192, Cf. Coupe.



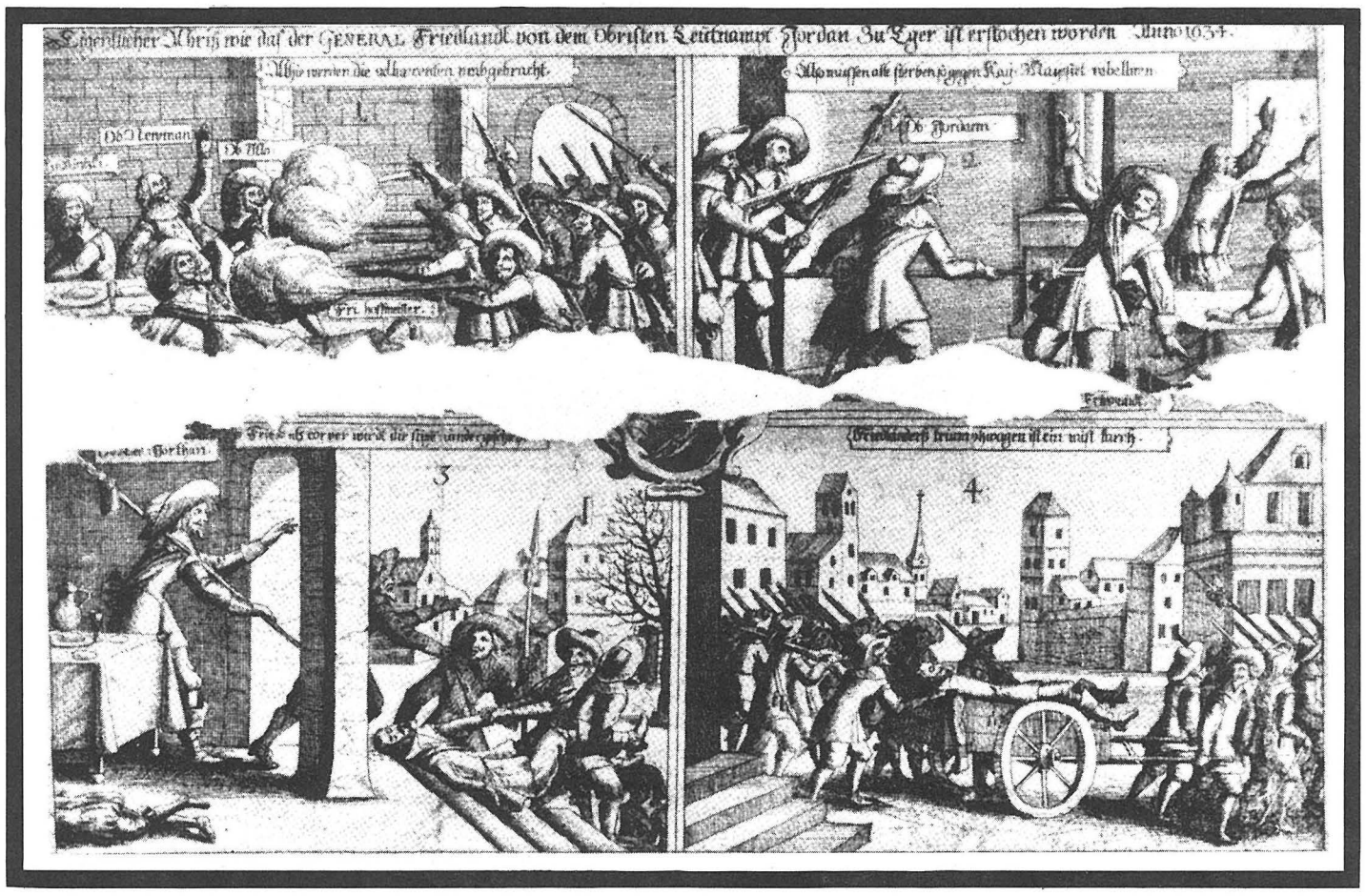
3–13. German. *Murder of Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, and his officers at Eger* (1634).



3–14. German. *Murder of Wallenstein* (1634). "Now lies Friedland, struck down by Spanish murderous cunning . . ."



3–15. German (anon). *Murder of Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, and his officers at Eger* (1634).



3–16. German (anon). *Murder of Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, and his officers at Eger* (1634).

5. *Horrors of war (Callot's Misères)*

About this time the war returned to the Palatinate with a vengeance. Heidelberg, the stronghold of German Calvinism and the once-prosperous home of Frederick V before he became King of Bohemia, suffered most acutely from the war and in particular from famine. First captured and plundered by Tilly in 1622, the town remained in enemy hands until the Swedes took it in 1633. The whole area had been terribly ravaged by the Imperialists, but in the process of reconquering the town, the Protestant forces "did more damage in the country than any enemy."[12] Then it was again the turn of the Imperialists to destroy whatever was left. During the years 1634–5 three principal cities of southwest Germany, Augsburg, Hanau and Heidelberg, were subjected to long sieges; but no German press was able to print pictorial reports of the desperate state to which starvation drove the inhabitants. It is a Dutch engraver who tells the Heidelberg tale (3–17). The first scene leads us to expect a Callot-like series of atrocities inflicted by soldier upon civilian; but we soon realize that the engraver, who probably took his reports from refugee townspeople rather than peasants, is concerned with atrocities caused by hunger, and inflicted by civilians upon each other. Unlike Callot, the engraver limits each scene to one specifically-rendered incident. There is a methodical precision about the compositions, reminiscent of the peaceful interiors and landscapes at which the Dutch painters of this period were so expert. Considering the difference in subject matter, the shock effect is all the greater. The action is not repetitive and the settings are skillfully shifted from farmyard to hillside, street-market, riverside, domestic interior and church vault. Although the sequence of scenes may appear haphazard, there is a certain progression: the cruel soldier is identified as the source of all evil; then the actions of the famished escalate in horror, from the eating of grass to the eating of domestic animals, and finally to murder and violation of the tomb.

The Dutch print must have been published shortly after Callot's *Misères et Malheurs de la Guerre*. I have discussed it first because it documents a specific historical event, while Callot's work is a reaction to the war as a whole. The *Misères* etchings are placed at the end of this chapter to summarize it and the public attitude to war. They are not only more profound than any broadsheet we have considered so far, they also present a longer and much more inflected narrative. The Dutch engraving provides an excellent vantage-point for study of the *Misères*; at the same time it is an epilogue to them. Callot shows successively how soldier kills civilian, soldier kills soldier, and civilian kills soldier; the Dutch engraver shows civilian killing civilian and committing cannibalism, an atrocity eschewed even by Callot but one commonly reported and resulting directly from the kind of life Callot depicts. The print on the Palatinate famine is an immediate reaction to a momentary horror; the *Misères* are the outcome of a lifetime of thought and observation upon the state of the world. They reveal a depth of concern for the tragedy of war which no Dutchman could have encompassed, for he was unable to view the military profession with the same simple loathing as the citizen of Germany, France or Lorraine. The Dutch knew two kinds of soldier, the enemy kept at bay outside and the patriotic troops within his frontiers. The latter, whether he be a native career soldier or a foreign mercenary in Dutch pay, had come to be accepted after two generations of successful warfare as an integral part of society. The work of Callot, on the other hand, depicts a way of life which threatened to destroy all social organization, by attack from without and by disruption from within.

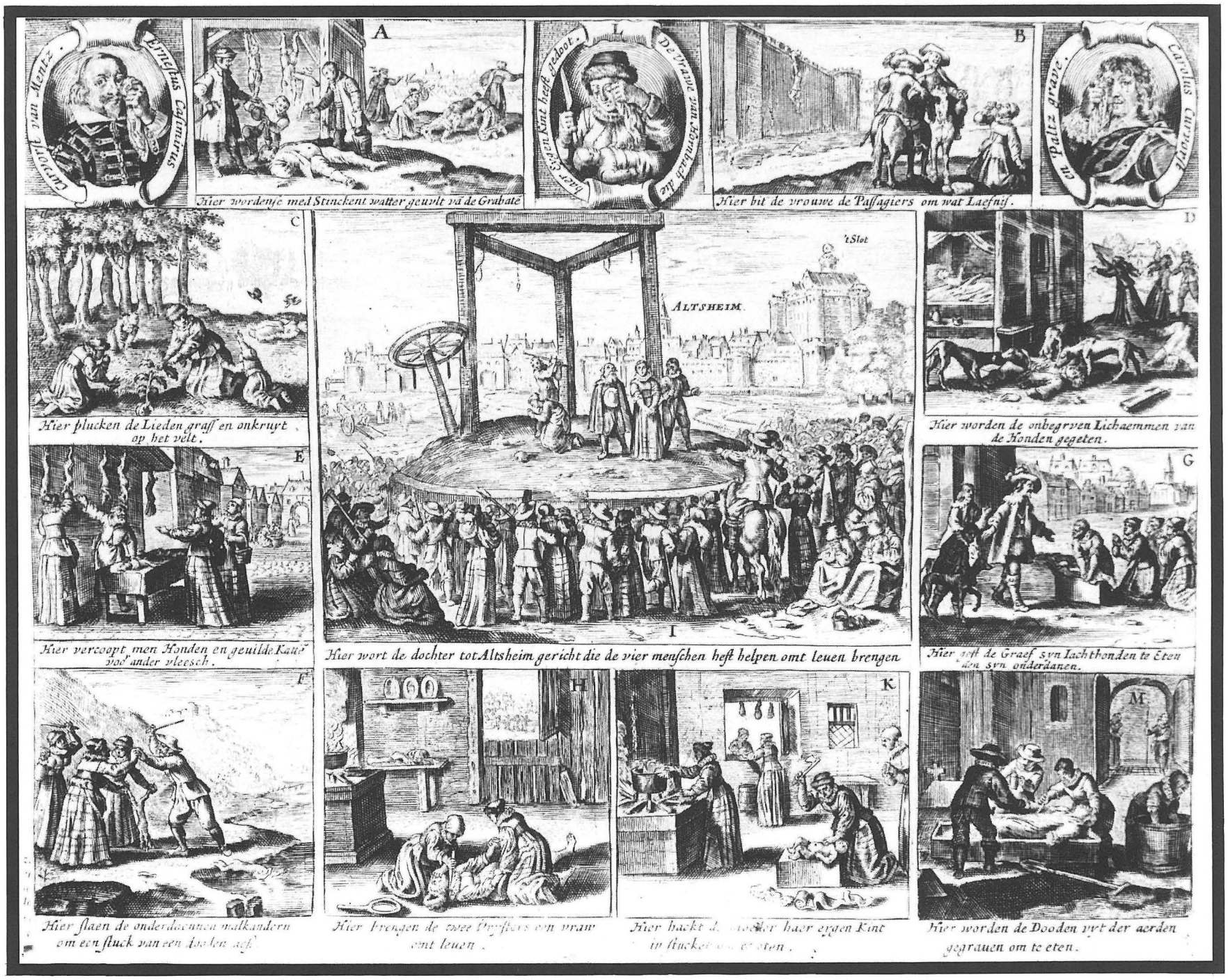
Though there are many German cartoons protesting the war, which appears as every kind of monster (3-18), there is nothing remotely comparable to the *Misères* of Jacques Callot of Lorraine. Two historical circumstances may explain this fact: Germany was economically exhausted, and the arts lay at their nadir; and she was psychologically prostrate with no hope of a peaceful settlement. The Protestants could no longer identify their cause with Gustavus, who was dead; with the French throwing their weight increasingly into Germany in support of the already-omnipresent Swedish influence, the moral confusion and political impotence of the Germans reached a new height. To what power or what cause would protest be directed?

The center of gravity of the war in the 1630s was shifting towards the Rhineland; nearby, the ancient Duchy of Lorraine, caught between Habsburg Germany and France, was suddenly caught up in the European conflagration. Appropriately, it is a Lorrainer who gave us what is regarded as the most moving pictorial comment on the war—indeed, on any war before Goya. The *Misères* are in no sense broadsheets in style or quality, but rather among the most beautiful etchings ever produced; they must therefore be approached with due care, to determine how much they were shaped not only by historical forces but also by the etcher as man and artist.

The *Misères* were published in 1633, a highly significant date. It stands at the exact midpoint of the war as a whole, and between the deaths of Gustavus, killed in November 1632, and Wallenstein, killed in February 1634. With them, Europe lost two great figures who, being comparatively tolerant of religious liberty, might have brought the carnage to an end. The death of the king of Sweden, as much as Richelieu's invasion of Lorraine the same year, may be the historical key to the *Misères*. They appeared at a moment when a new hope was raised, dashed—and perhaps raised again—a hope for a "clean" war to end the war. Fire, famine, extortion and murder had been the pattern from the outbreak of war to the moment when the King of Sweden set foot upon German soil. For the first time, Europe witnessed the progress of an army remarkable not for the terror it spread through the countryside, but for the sheer military efficiency with which it drove back and defeated enemy troops. Through all his conquests the King forbade, with great success, plunder and other crimes against the people. His famous discipline relied on the fact that his army was well-led, well-fed, well-clothed and punctually paid. Gustavus' death caused not only a decline of Protestant fortunes, but also a sudden return to military brutality on both sides.

Europe was impressed by Gustavus. Richelieu and France, in deepening hostility to the Habsburg powers, profited by Swedish efficiency and discipline as they helped to

12. Ambassador Rusdorf quoted by Häusser, pp. 524-25.



3–17. Dutch: *Famine in the Palatimate* (c.1635). Portraits in top corners: Ernest Anselm Casimir, Electoral Prince of Mainz; and young Charles Lewis, Electoral Prince and Count Palatine.

"A. The peasants are filled with filthy water from the ditches. B. A woman (outside the walls of the besieged town) begs for refreshment from passers-by. C. The people gather grass and weeds from the fields. D. The unburied corpses are eaten by dogs. E. Dogs and cats are sold for meat. F. The people fight each other for a piece of carrion. G. The Count gives his hunting-dogs for food to his subjects. H. Two girls murder a woman (for food). K. A mother chops up her own child for food. M. The dead are disinterred for food. I. At Altsheim, a girl is executed for helping to murder four people. L. (top) The woman of Hornbach who killed her own child."

ensure it with financial subsidies. France herself was not yet formally able to enter the German war, having barely recovered from the Huguenot revolts of the '20s. Since the return of the Jesuits in 1617, the official attitude to the Huguenot minority had hardened and brought about encroachments upon the rights assured them by Henri IV in the Edict of Nantes. There was a series of revolts which persisted sporadically until the surrender of the Huguenot port at La Rochelle (1628). In the course of this war, the King and his minister observed the advantages of relatively well-paid and disciplined troops, and the dangers of excessive repression and indiscriminate vengeance by the soldiers.

Richelieu and Louis demanded some record of their domestic victory, and called upon the Lorrainer Callot, already famous for his beautiful etching of the Siege of Breda. There is a premonition of the *Misères* in the vast panorama of the *Siege of La Rochelle*, with glimpses of civilian suffering and military punishment. Callot had had ample opportunity to observe the effects of war as he journeyed across France to Paris and La Rochelle, and across the Netherlands to Breda. As a youth the artist had emigrated to Florence, en-

joying great success there until 1621 when he was obliged to return home to Nancy. The very different political and social climate of Lorraine encouraged a new stylistic and thematic development in his art. He abandoned the gay fairs, courtly festivals, series of picturesque beggars and weirdly humorous "Capricci," all of which are characteristic of his work at the Medici court of Florence. In Nancy he turned more toward dramatic and violent religious themes (the Passion, martyrdoms) and topical, realistic military scenes (the Sieges). The grim theme of social retribution began to fascinate him (cf. *Les Supplices*, uniting ten varieties of judicial punishment). The parable of the Prodigal Son, that favorite cautionary tale of sin and expiation, he extended far beyond the usual length (eleven instead of four scenes). Pessimistic themes of war, retribution and cruelty enter more and more openly into the artist's work. There may be a connection here with a decline in the artist's health (he died at the age of forty-three, two years after the *Misères* were published), but I am inclined to relate this development to a change for the worse in the temper of Lorraine society. The upper classes, among whom Callot counted his patrons, were spurred on the one hand to an ever-increasing religious fanaticism by the omnipresent Jesuits, and on the other hand to an extreme militaristic belligerence by the reigning Duke. Charles IV had been dreaming of martial glory ever since his exploits as a fifteen-year-old at Prague in 1620, when he followed his uncle Maximilian of Bavaria to the rout of the Bohemian Protestants. Since attaining the throne in 1624, he had been itching to lend his country's military support to the Imperial cause and to obstruct the policies of his neighbor, Richelieu.

When Gustavus Adolphus invaded Germany, Duke Charles obliged his little country to man and equip a large army, and boasted loudly of redeeming the failures of Tilly against the Swedes. He had not long to wait for his chance, for Swedish soldiers were soon upon his frontiers. Meanwhile, Charles had allowed his sister to marry Gaston d'Orléans, who had rebelled against his brother King Louis XIII. The pretext for invasion thus provided, Louis also advanced on Nancy, and during the year 1632 matched the Swedish successes against the Imperialists with French successes against the Imperialist allies from Lorraine. Between them, Richelieu and the King strenuously tried to enforce a military discipline comparable to that of the Swedes, and while the peasantry had little complaint about the conquering French army, they suffered from the typical excesses of a defeated and disoriented Imperialist army under the command of their own Duke. The war was by now thoroughly unpopular at home; Charles continued to levy troops, however, which should by treaty have merged with the French forces but which were ordered to disperse through Germany. In August 1633 a body of ill-disciplined Lorrainers was heavily defeated by the Swedes at Hagenau, and toward the end of September Nancy itself, after a month-long siege, surrendered to the French King.[13]

There is an old patriotic legend that Callot was asked by Louis to etch this siege as he had etched that of La Rochelle, and that he proudly refused to commemorate his country's shame. But he had already done so—indirectly. We do not know the precise month of the *Misères*' first appearance, but it was clear to any observer before the year had opened that Lorraine was to suffer disastrously for the martial folly of the Duke. It is this, ultimately, that Callot condemns.

Richelieu had not yet made a formal declaration of war upon the Empire of Spain. Among other reasons, he wished to broach the idea of another war gently to a people weary of strife and high taxes. He knew what terrors had been spread through France during the last decade by licentious soldiery, he knew how the the people feared that their land would become another Germany. Richelieu was therefore concerned with lending dignity and legitimacy to the concept of *his* war—a just war. He had been personally involved with the founding of France's first regular newssheet, the *Gazette*, which appeared in May 1631 and became a potent medium for the education or propagandizing of the public. By 1632 the *Gazette* was giving full coverage to Louis' campaign in Lorraine. Callot was frequently in Paris during these years, though we do not know how far the minister maintained contact with him over the *Misères*. One is tempted to use the word "diplomatic" to describe Callot's exploitation of popular apprehension over the conduct of soldiers, first by justifying it in a general way and then by attempting to allay it. The crimes of the Imperialist and the Lorrainer are apparently punished by the discipline and justice of Louis. Callot wields a double-edged propaganda wea-



3–18. German 1620's (?). *The Symbol of War, that is, the horrible effects of war, presented as an allegory.*

13. For the best account of Lorraine at this period, see Haussonville.

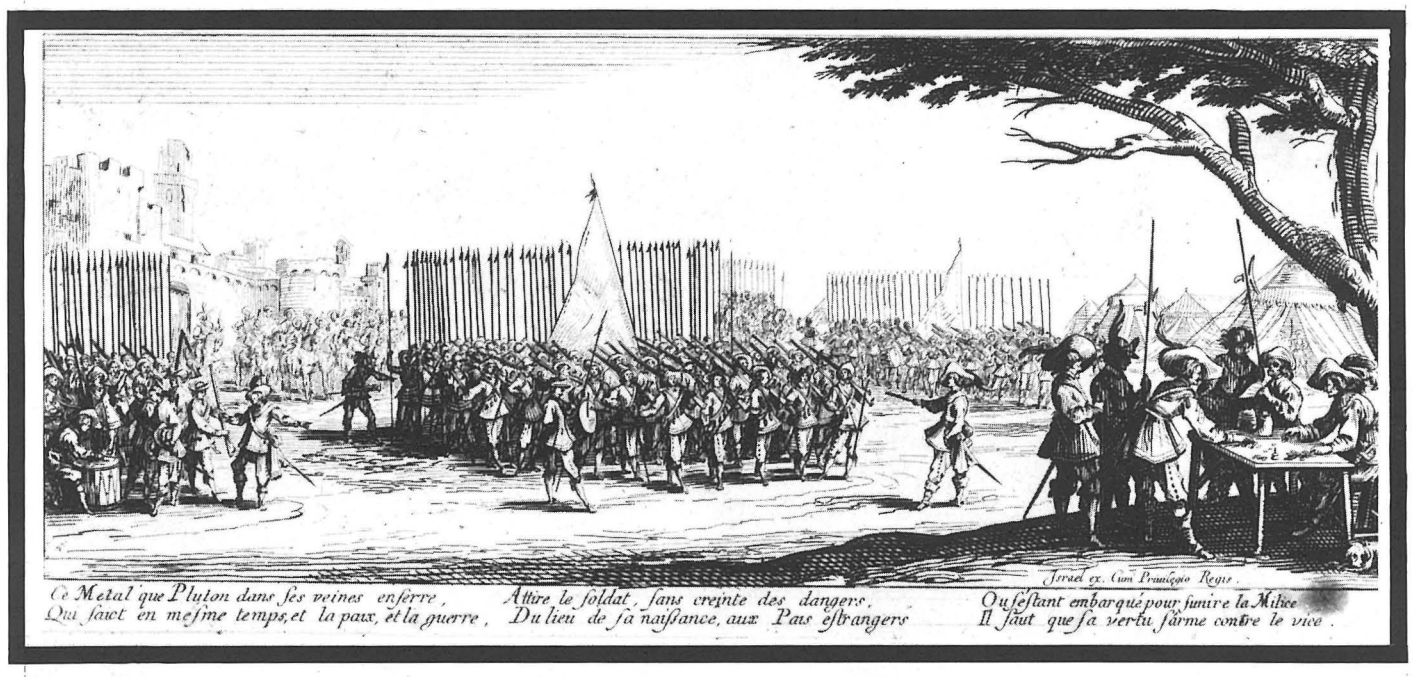
pon, warning his own people against an inhuman and self-perpetuating war, and preparing the French for a just war which will quickly bring peace to Europe. Richelieu himself would have viewed the *Misères* in such terms; but Callot's ultimate purpose is more far-reaching. The deeper significance may be revealed by a brief description of the etchings themselves.

In the first three plates (3-19) the verses,[14] and to a lesser extent the designs, pompously herald a victory which is soon to prove hollow. The very titlepage plays upon this irony, for traditional personifications and emblems of glorious conquest surround a banner which states that war brings misfortune. The first narrative scene (2) shows the recruitment of troops, always a rush measure in an age where no government could afford the expense or risk the danger of a standing army. The group transacting business to the right suggests that the only attraction a soldier's life holds for the peaceful citizen is material gain; it is in pursuit of this goal, with regular pay surely failing after the initial bounty, that subsequent crimes will be committed. The true nature of war, in accordance with a centuries old aristocratic concept, is epitomized in the heroic battle (3), in the depiction of which painters and engravers of the courtly baroque excelled. Callot's battle, however, in defiance of the banal verses, is unheroic—a senseless mêlée typical of the actual battles of the Thirty Years War, with neither victors nor vanquished, but only the fighting, the dying and the dead, knotted in hopeless confusion. Claiming victory even in defeat, the army turns to its true vocation and searches out its true enemy, its true vengeance, its true reward—the peasant. At first (4) the offenses are mild, the plunder consisting of household equipment and perhaps some cattle. Relatively little violence is offered; the peasants are able to protest, and some superior officers (far right) seem able or eager to curb the irregularities of their men. But severer atrocities are at hand. The full panoply of crime, with which we are by now familiar, takes on a new vivacity in Callot's composition. In a wealthy farmhouse (5) the offenses against property are the least, for we witness various forms of torture and murder, various stages of sadistic rape. The soldiers then move on the city (6), and having perhaps stormed the fortifications, exercise their "right" of plunder upon the richest place, the Church, the very institution which they have been hired by Their sacrilege extends to outright theft of precious objects their Catholic employers to protect, enrich and enlarge. and the abduction of nuns. The officers, who during the plunder of the cottage (3) may have attempted to intervene, now look on in satisfaction, standing guard against any remonstrance or resistance on the part of the citizenry. Having exhausted the city, the military scourge turns to another part of the countryside (7) where a whole village is fired and sacked by a platoon of soldiers, and that part of the population which survives murder is enslaved—man, woman and child. Such an operation required some organization, now put to advantage (8) upon a merchant's wagon travelling the open highway. A carefully prepared ambush results in the destruction of the guards and the capture of the passengers, who will doubtless be held to ransom. The soldiers have become a band of brigands under the direction of a chief who guards against any escape. But the war of the military against the civilian, having reached its climax at exactly the halfway point of the story, is now to meet its protracted retribution. The military criminals are outlawed by choice or circumstance from their regular army units, who are sent to hunt them down (9). A few—a paltry few, given the number engaged in the previous operations—have been caught, to be led back to their various punishments. Preceded by no form of trial, these start (10) with the relatively mild, non-capital chastisement of the wooden horse and the strappado (*estrapade*), executed upon soldiers selected by lot (center left) before the eyes of garrison and civilians in the city square. These punishments would be appropriate for petty looting such as we saw in scene 4. As common murderers, the soldiers deserve worse, and the mass hanging (11) takes place in a waste spot near the encampment. With their corpses left as carrion for the crows, they die with Catholic comforts but in greater ignominy than those who suffer the normal punishment for disobedience, cowardice or desertion—the firing squad (12). The work of the arsonist or pyromaniac, sufficiently displayed in earlier plates as well as in the background of the next one (13), is rewarded as befits the crime: he is burned alive. Brigands or men guilty of the worse kind of common murder were generally broken upon the wheel (14), a death often more agonizing than being burned alive.

The five stages of crime and the six stages of punishment reveal a certain progression within themselves, and there is a certain matching of crime to punishment. Callot may not have worked too consciously at either the progression or the matching. His compositions are artistically self-sufficient, and their order of succession may have been the product of instinct rather than premeditation. There is however a certain subtle logic, based partly on the character of the locale involved. It is hard for us to imagine outrages worse than those committed in the farmhouse (5); in a religious age, however, crimes against personnel and property of the Church, even if they cause little bloodshed, would be considered particularly heinous, as crimes against God himself. From the city square, the army retreats to the countryside whence it came, this time to destroy on a massive scale—a whole village is involved, and the numbers of the attackers have increased correspondingly. In the soldier's path of infamy are the wrecks of buildings of ever-increasing significance: cottage, farmhouse, city church, and then a large village with its church. Petty crime has grown into grand imperialistic endeavor; but from this point the criminals seem to lose their impetus, as the scene of their crime shifts decisively away from civilization to a remote corner of a forest. They now resort to common brigandage, a civil or peace-time crime rather than one typical of war. They are outlawed even from their own military society, they have lost all hope of readmission to the main body of the army, and the uncertainty of their future is symbolized by the remoteness of the place in which they now live. Here they are finally caught. The ninth scene makes a perfect fulcrum in the balance of the narrative, for some of the criminals are still in hiding and can therefore continue in their vicious life, while the less fortunate are led away to their punishment. The sequence of punishments is established according to an as-

14. Written by the Abbé de Marolles, himself a collector of popular prints.







3–19. *The miseries and misfortunes of war represented by Jacques Callot, noble of Lorraine, and published by his friend Israel* (Paris 1633).

2. *(The enlistment)* "This metal which Pluto molds with his sinews and which makes both war and peace, attracts the fearless soldier from his birth-place to foreign lands where, having embarked upon a military career, his virtue must take arms against vice.

3. *(The battle)* However hard the blows which the arm of Mars deals in all directions, they do not perturb the invincible courage of those whose valor can brave the storm and who, in order to win the title of Warrior, nourish their laurels with the blood of enemies."



Ces courages brutaux dans les hostelerics.
Du beau nom de butin couurent leurs voleries

Ils querelent expres ennemis du repos
Pour ne payer leur hoste, et prennent iusqu'aux pots.

Ainsi du bien d'autruy leur humeur saccommode
Quand on les a soulez, e seruis a leur mode, 4



Israel ex Cum Privil. Reg.

Voyla les beaux exploits de ces coeurs inhumains
Ils rauagent par tout rien nechappe ti leur mains

Lun pour auoir de lor, muente des supplices
Lautre à mil foy faicts anime ses complices;

Et tous d'un mesme accord commettens mechamment
Le vol, le rapt le meurtre, et le violement. 5



Israel ex, Cum privil Reg.

Icy par vn effort sacrilege et barbare
Ces Demons enragez et d'une humeur auare

Pillent, et bruslent tout, abattent les Autels
Se mocquent du respect qion doit aux Immortels

Et tirent des saincts lieux les Vierges desolées
Quils osent enleuer pour estre violées. 6

4. *(Looting an inn)* "Their brutal spirit prompts them to thefts in the wayside inn, which they cover with the fine name of booty. These disturbers of the peace deliberately quarrel in order to avoid paying their host, and even steal his pots and pans. When they have been properly primed with food and drink, they become prone to help themselves to other people's property.

5. *(Atrocities in a farmhouse)* There you have the brave exploits of these inhuman souls. Nothing escapes their hands as they devastate everything. One invents tortures to extract gold, another spurs his accomplices to a thousand crimes, and of one accord they all wickedly commit theft, rape, murder and violation.

6. *(Looting a ctiy church)* This is the barbarous and sacriligious behavior of those furious demons who greedily pillage, knock down altars, make a mockery of the respect due to the Immortals, and tear from the holy places the unhappy virgins whom they brazenly abduct and seduce."



Ceux que Mars entrient de ſes acter meſchans
Accommodent ainſi les pauures gens des champs,
Ils les font priſonniers, ils bruſlent leurs villages,
Et ſur le beſtail meſme exercent des rauages.
Sans que la peur des Loix nomplus que le deuoir,
Ny les pleurs et les Cris les puiſſent eſmouuoir. 7



A l'eſcart des foreſts, et des lieux ſolitaires
Bien loing de l'exercice et des ſoings militaires.
Ces infames Voleurs viuent en Aſſaſſins
Et leur bras tout ſanglant ne ſe plaiſt qu'aux larcins
Tant ils ſont poſſedez d'une cruelle enuie
D'oſter aux Voyageurs et les biens et la vie 8

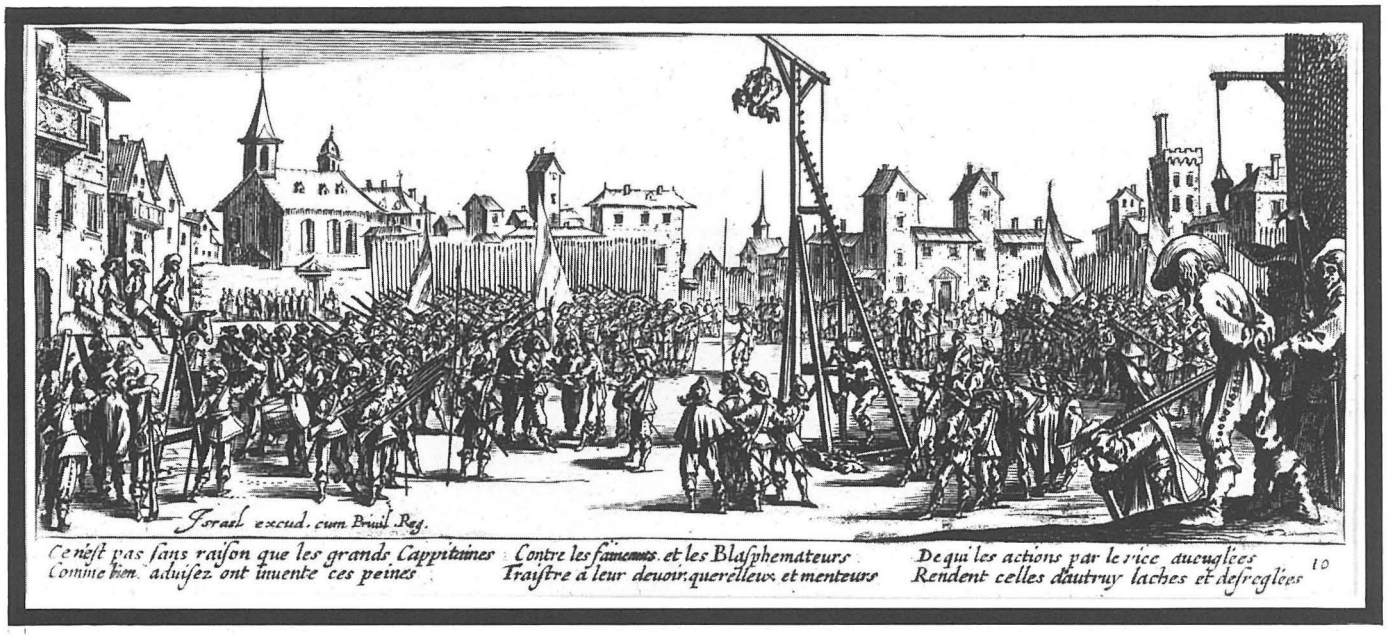


Apres pluſieurs excez indignement commis
Par ces gens de neant de la gloire ennemis.
On les cherche par tout auec beaucoup de peine
Et le Preuoſt du camp au quartier les rameine.
Affin d'y receuoir comme ils l'ont merité
Vn chaſtiment conforme a leur temerité 9

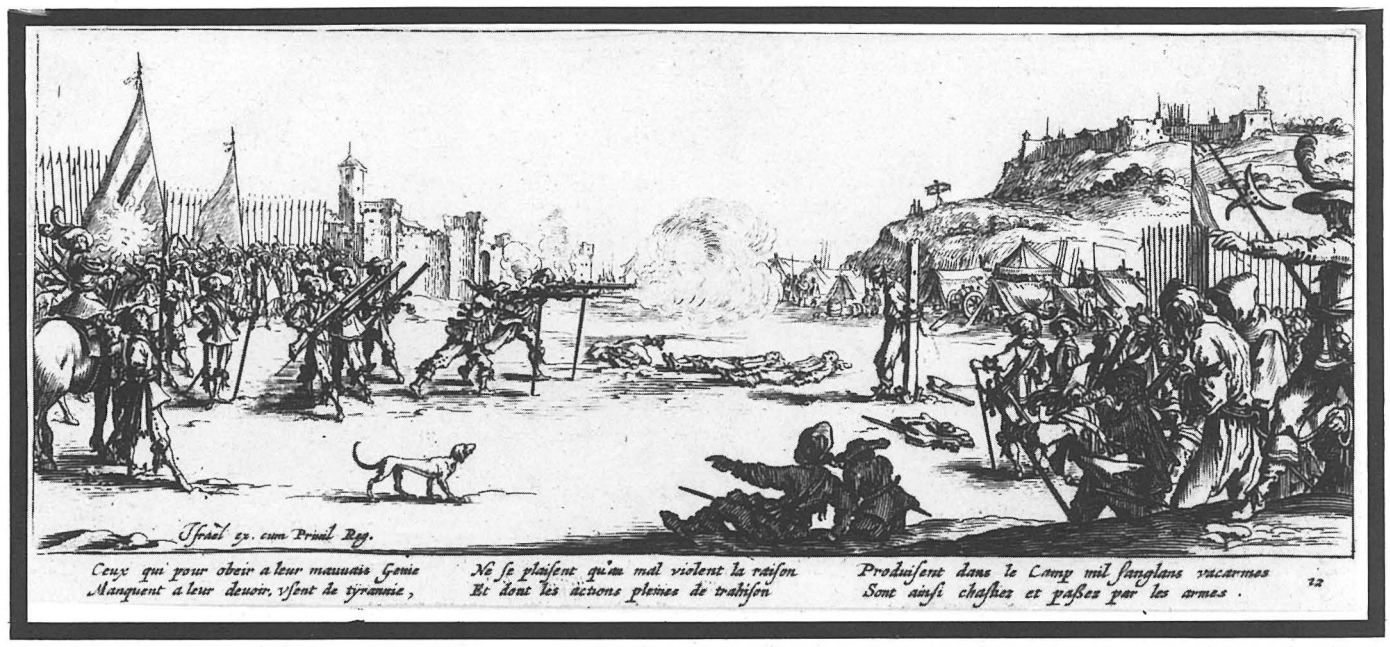
7. *(Enslaving a village)* "Those filled with the evil spirit of Mars thus treat the poor peasants. They take some prisoner, burn their villages and even destroy their cattle, unmoved by fear of the law, by duty, or by tears and cries.

8. *(Ambush in the forest)* From distant forests and solitary places, far removed from their military duties, these infamous thieves take to murder, with their bloody hands itching only to steal, such is their cruel desire to deprive travellers of property and life.

9. *(The arrest)* After several ignoble atrocities committed by these worthless, dishonorable people, they are most diligently hunted down everywhere, and the company Marshal brings them back to the camp, to subject them to the punishment their folly deserves."





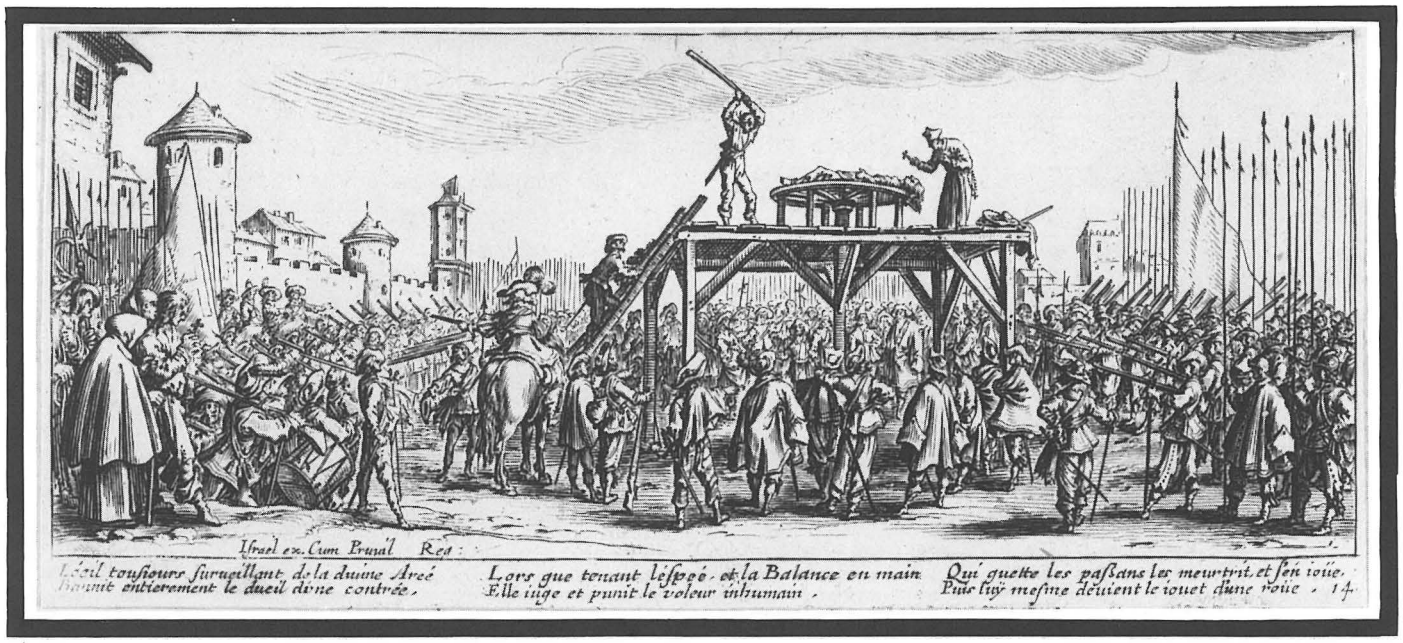


10. *(The strappado)* "The great and wise Captains had good reason to invent these punishments for the idlers and blasphemers, the quarrelsome, lying traitors to duty, whose actions, blinded by vice, encourage others to licence and abandon.

11. *(The hanging)* These damned, infamous robbers, hanging like miserable fruit from the tree, prove in the end that horrible crime and evil purpose is itself an instrument of shame and vengeance, and that it is the destiny of vicious men to undergo sooner or later divine justice.

12. *(The firing-squad)* Those who obey their evil instincts fail in their duty, behave tyrannically, enjoy doing wrong and violate reason, and those whose treacherous deeds provoke endless bloody brawls in the camp, are thus despatched by the firing-squad."







13. *(Burning alive)* "These enemies of heaven who sin a thousand times against Holy Decree and Divine Law, take a wicked pride in pillaging and destroying with their idolatrous (sic) hand; but they are punished for arson by being themselves immolated in flames.

14. *(The wheel)* The ever-watchful eye of the divine Astraea banishes the grief of a country for ever, when with sword and scales in hand, she judges and punishes the inhuman thief who ambushes travellers and merrily breaks their bones, to be himself broken on the wheel.

15. *(Cripples and beggars)* See what a crowd, and what ill-luck unceasingly pursues the children of the God Mars. The crippled crawl along the ground, while others, more fortunate, rise in their profession. Some die on the gibbet, and others leave the camp only for the hospital."







16. *(Dying in the street)* "How lamentable is the luck of the poor soldier! When the war is past, his misery starts all over again. He is compelled to become a vagabond, and his beggary provokes laughter from the peasant who curses his approach and feels insulted to be confronted with the author of his sufferings.

17. *(The peasants' revenge)* "When the soldiers have committed so much damage, their enemies the peasants finally ambush them and kill them, stripping them to their shirts. Thus they revenge themselves on these miserable men for the loss of their property, for which the soldiers alone are to blame.

18. *(The justice of Louis)* "This example of a grateful Master, who punishes the wicked and rewards the good, should prick the soldier with the spur of honor, since all happiness depends on virtue, and vice brings shame, contempt and the death penalty."

cending order of severity, which would have appeared logical to the legal and popular mind alike. There is just one anomaly; the hanging and shooting scenes (11 and 12) should be reversed, for hanging was considered a more shameful, as well as a more painful, death.[15]

Callot is not content with the simple antithesis of crime and punishment within the military system. He adds a vengeance of another kind, to enrich the narrative with greater moral nuance and greater historical cogency. To the civilian who viewed all soldiers as the foreign oppressor, military punishments must have seemed more an internal purge within the hierarchy than a vengeance on behalf of the victims. Only the victims themselves could mete out the final, the true punishment.

The last three narrative scenes are no mere epilogue, but a substantial climax in which the tables are turned—a classic literary artifice. Persecutor meets persecuted again, with the roles reversed, and the crimes are visited upon the criminal. Crippled in every possible way by war and disease, transformed into barely living personifications of the plague and havoc they spread among the people, the soldiers are reduced to begging (15). The hospitals, such as they were in this age, were duty-bound to serve soup to the wretched; but the simple citizen, oppressed for so long, could give free rein to his anger by beating and throwing water at a crippled soldier. Another soldier is already dying in a dark corner, and the terror of the final hours is richly evoked in the next plate (16), where emaciated bodies lie stretched out upon filthy piles of straw. The maimed veteran begs for mercy in the very village, perhaps, which he had once ruined, but only "provokes laughter from the peasant who curses his approach and feels insulted to be confronted with the author of his sufferings."

This melancholy scene, which would seem to offer an appropriate end to the story, is followed by the final retribution. This can only be exacted with a violence comparable to that attending the crimes themselves (17). These are no defenseless ex-soldiers begging in the aftermath of war, but the criminals in their heyday, ambushed by their rustic enemy at the very moment when they are making good their escape from the scene of the crime. The peasantry has at last organized into guerilla bands and exchanged its passive role of witness or judge for the sweeter one of executioner, adding captured arms, sword and musket, to the traditional rustic armory of scythe, pitchfork, flail and club. The suffering peasant is now become murderous and brutalized by his own revenge, and will soon be glad to fill the ranks of the mercenary army depleted by death. Peasants and soldiers have become indistinguishable, not unlike the pigs and humans at the end of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, to the point that it seems idle to ask whether the figure hanging starkly against the sky is a soldier or a peasant. The cycle can begin over again.

Justice is done. But in order to clarify his official purpose and to declare himself, as the subject of a defeated nation, unequivocally on the side of the victor, Callot closes with a scene of Justice personified by King Louis XIII exhorting his soldiers to virtue. The King, as Judge, appears rather late, for it is not a higher justice which has condemned the soldier to his brutal death but his crime alone; it is not the law which exacts due revenge but the victim himself. This and the title scene, together with their verses, reveal a dichotomy springing on the one hand from Callot's desire for total damnation of the military, and on the other hand, from the official requirement that he propagate the idea of the just war and the virtuous soldier. But for the ordinary citizen like Callot, the virtuous soldier, if he had ever existed (in Gustavus Adolphus perhaps), was no more.

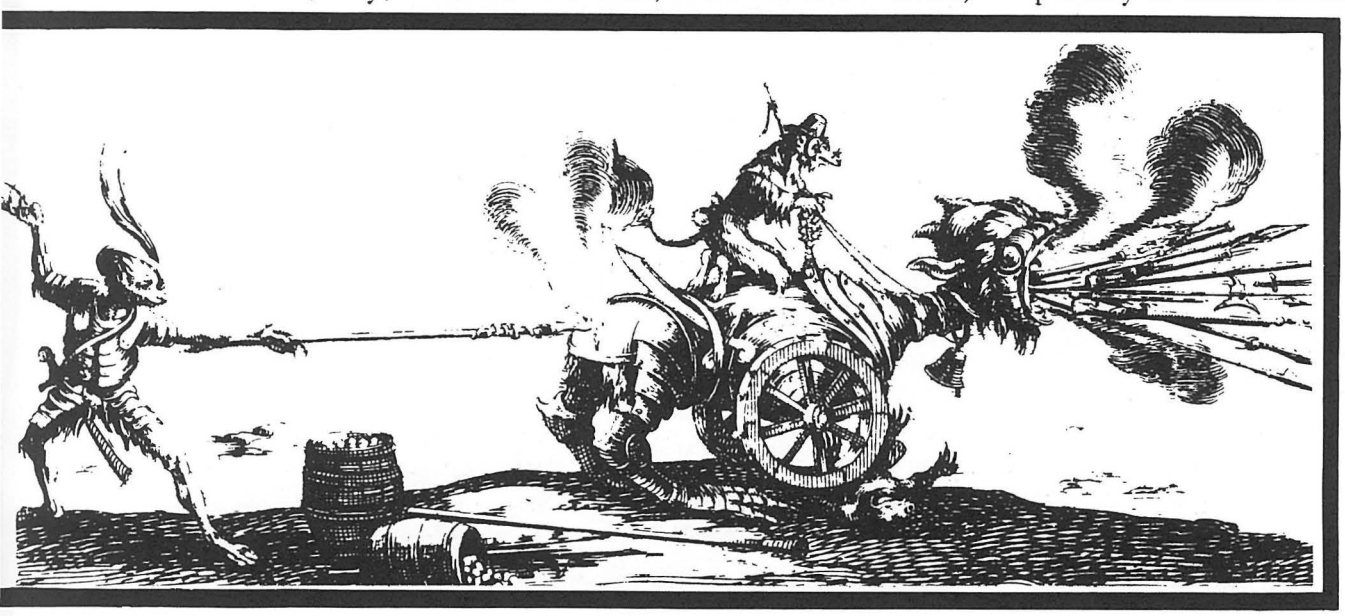
The unique role of Callot's *Misères de la Guerre* can be further illustrated by considering, briefly, the baroque iconography of war and the warrior. In the course of the strife-ridden sixteenth century, the mercenary soldier, or *Landsknecht* as the Germans called him, became a favorite subject for the artist, especially north of the Alps. In paintings and engravings executed for the Courts, he appears in the context of great battle-scenes and triumphal processions, a heroic and glamorous figure. In the popular broadsheet he appears in fearful isolation, a grotesque bird of prey, the braggart and the butcher. Callot was first of all a court artist, working for the Medici in Florence and then for the courtiers of Lorraine and the King of France. He would have felt pressures from two sides, corresponding to his roles as propagandist and artist: the military advisers on the one hand, and a long artistic tradition on the other, would have encouraged him to include more—and more heroic—battle scenes[16] and examples of justice and clemency. Equally fitting from both points of view would have been some attractive, "typical" scene of military life: the repose at the campfire, caring for the horses, quiet foraging in the countryside—all those subjects so dear to seventeenth-century Dutch art, which the Dutch, unfamiliar with the horrors of war, could afford to paint with such complaisance. This kind of representation was false to Callot's purposes. The passionate baroque style, however, was not, so he could lean stylistically upon the great masters of the Italian or Italianate baroque, a Caravaggio or a Rubens or any of the lesser painters who specialized in the gruesome martyrdom or the furious battle. The violent subjects for which was created a violent style were usually historical or religious, whereas Callot's theme is topical. Imbuing the sufferings of his own age with baroque passion, Callot leaves us with no religious sense of optimism or of what served, by contemporary standards, for moral purpose. In the lessons from biblical or ancient history men looked for the Christian solution whereby right can, and must, ultimately triumph over wrong. Callot's modern tale, by its very length and explicitness, excludes an implicit triumph of right. It is a bitter, hopeless account of one kind of brutality punished by other kinds of brutality, of violence engendering more violence, of relentlessly escalating class-war.

Callot died in 1635, two years after the publication of the *Misères* but not before completing a grim fantasy which is, in its own way, as topical and prophetic as the *Misères* themselves: the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, a design he revised from a much earlier version in order to

15. Since the numbers on the plates appear by the verses, the specialist calligrapher who etched the verses would also be responsible for the numbers. Might he have made a mistake?

16. As he had already done in his youthful work illustrating the life of the Medici Duke Ferdinand I (1615-19).

render it more nightmarish and militaristic (3-20). The inhuman machine of war was unleashed afresh across Europe, and all contemporary accounts testify to its increased barbarity from 1633 onwards. France soon had armies in the Pyrenees, Italy, and the Netherlands, as well as on the Rhine; and the once-orderly Swedes had degenerated into a gang of licensed robbers kept together only by ferocious discipline. There was mutiny in the army and despair in the countryside; in Germany and in France, the peasant rose and fell repeatedly in violent revolt.



3–20. Jacques Callot. Detail from *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (1635).

6. *Glorious rule (Rubens: Life of Marie de' Medici)*

Callot died before he could witness the full realization of his prophecy; but in Antwerp there lived an older and even more famous artist who was showing increasing despair over the spectacle of human suffering. The personal character of the two artists, and the historical circumstances in which they worked, could hardly be more different. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, "prince of painters and painter of princes," is the very antithesis of the humble broadsheet artist; yet his work as a political propagandist for, rather than against, the war introduces a fitting contrast at this point.

Rubens' life and art, as those of no other contemporary artist of his stature, are embedded in the highest social strata of his age; at the same time, the great court painter frequently touches upon frankly popular themes. Only once, however, does his propaganda assume that intensely topical color, that situation-bound urgency characteristic of the broadsheet, and it is scarcely a coincidence that on this occasion alone he imposes a strict narrative principle upon the cyclical form he always favored. The famous *Life of Marie de' Medici* (3-21) is a unique account of a controversial political figure active at the time of the painting; yet it must be stressed that the sequence was executed not in response to public curiosity, but in order to satisfy the inordinate vanity of the patron and, to a lesser extent, the personal affection felt for the subject by the artist. With its sumptuous display of courtly illusion and rhetoric the *Life* provides a bizarre foil and a paradoxical historical background to Callot's *Misères*. Rubens places the life of the ruler over that of the subject, power and riches over impotence and poverty, the ideological cause over the material result, the impossible dreams over the grim reality.

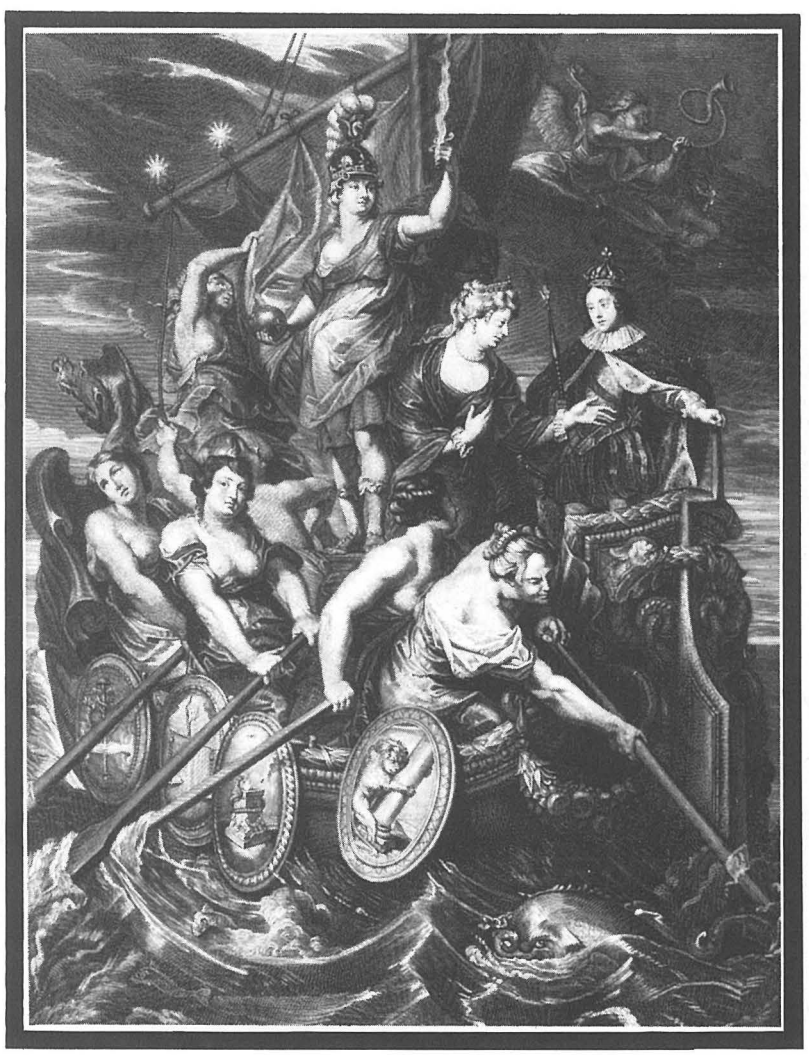
Even by contemporary standards, Rubens' flattery is fulsome; compared with the real career and character of the woman, his treatment is grotesque. Marie de' Medici, whose personal and political life proved a monument to failure, is shown to be born under a fortunate constellation of Jupiter. Her education by Minerva and the Three Graces did not prevent her from growing up greedy, ignorant and bigoted. The artist goes on to paint her future husband gazing in amorous rapture at her lovely, youthful portrait (scene 4); in reality the plain twenty-seven-year-old woman was chosen as his bride because her family was rich and France impoverished and indebted to it. Even at the marriage (as of course thereafter), the King remained preoccupied with his mistresses. The Queen is painted tenderly watching Justice hand over the infant Dauphin (Louis XIII) to the God of Health, while in fact the child grew up fretful and morose, receiving from his mother not love but beatings excessively severe and frequent even by the standards of the age. In the scene of Henri's Apotheosis, the artist distorts truth to the extent of showing the King carried off by Time, not daring or caring to hint at an assassination known to have been welcomed by the Jesuits on whom the Queen relied so much. The government of the Queen-Regent (1610–1617) is depicted again and again as glorious, prudent, generous and attended by infinite prosperity; yet under the actual reign of this irresponsible and capricious woman, the country fell rapidly from the wealth and stability achieved under Henri, into poverty, discontent and confusion. Rubens shows the Queen graciously handing the rudder of government to her son Louis (scene 16); in fact, he snatched it against her will, first by having her favorite Concini assassinated in 1617 (cf. 2-10 and 2-11), later by helping Richelieu to oust her altogether. The sordid quarrel with her son is suggested first by a romantic rendering of her escape from the Castle of Blois where she had been held a virtual prisoner (1619), and then



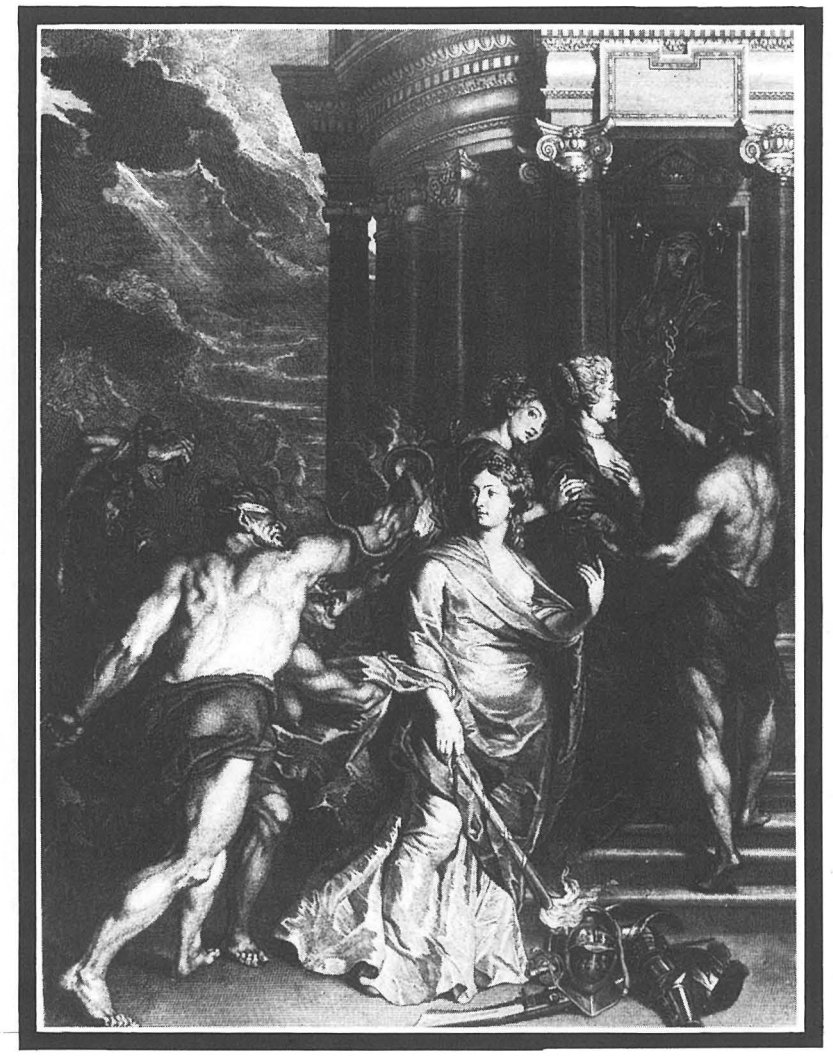
Scene 4 (Marriage). Henry IV receives a portrait of Marie, in the presence of Amour and Hymen, and to the approbation of Jupiter and Juno.



Scene 15 (The Blessings of the Regency). Under the auspices of Minerva, Love, Abundance and Prosperity, rewards are distributed to representatives of the Arts.



Scene 16 (Majority of Louis XIII). The Queen gives to her son the rudder of the Ship of State, which is driven by Power, Religion, Justice and Good Faith. Fame publishes the good conduct of the Queen.



Scene 19 (Conclusion of Peace). Pressed on by Innocence, the Queen Mother is led by Mercury to the Temple of Peace; Peace prevents Fraud, Fury, Envy and other vices from entering.

3–21. Rubens. *From the Life of Marie de' Medici* (1620–1625).

by no less than three paintings applauding her virtuous role in the reconciliation, which in fact signalled a defeat accepted without grace and upon which she soon reneged. Rubens paints the Queen pressed on by Innocence to the Temple of Peace, while Fraud and Envy attempt in vain to enter (scene 19); then, surrounded by Virtues she is blissfully united with her son in the clouds, and Truth finally triumphs. In fact, if any Truth triumphed, it was the truth of her enemies which did so; and the wretched old woman continued, throughout her eleven years of exile, to intrigue against the French government.

In the scene of Louis' majority (scene 16), Fame is broadcasting the excellent conduct of the Queen; but Rubens' propaganda was not engraved. This departure from the artist's usual practice was surely due to the intervention of Richelieu; for while the whole project served the useful purpose of distracting the Queen Mother from active participation in politics, the minister, newly arrived to power, could not afford the actual dissemination of propaganda justifying the intrigues against him.

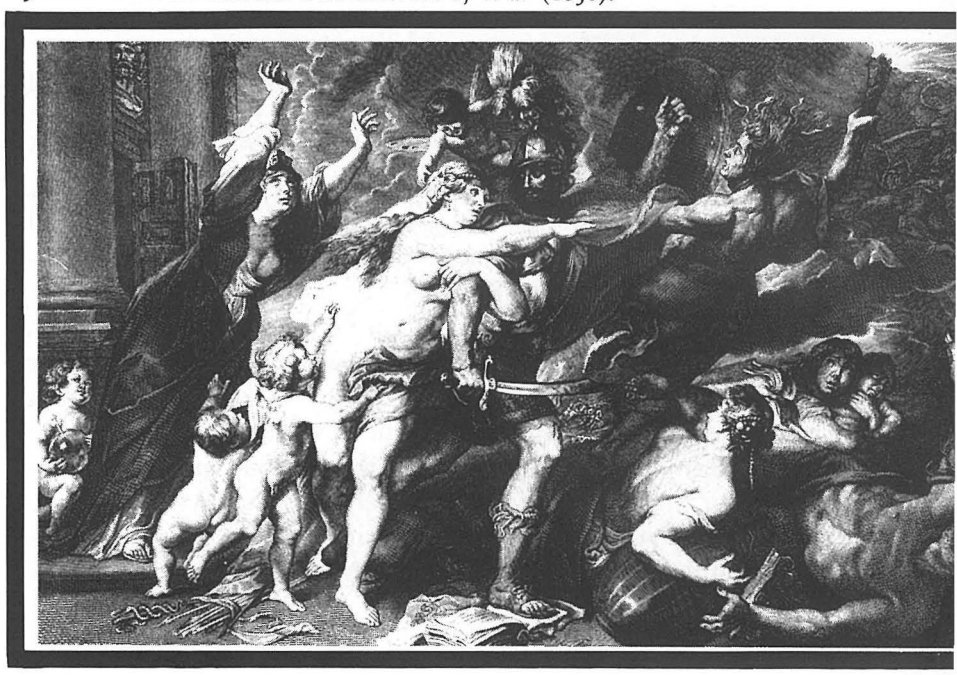
The Medici paintings not only reflect French history to the year of their conception in 1621; the circumstances of their execution, the lasting personal friendship between patron and artist, and the other artistic projects which their success inspired, are embedded in the political scene of the 1620s and early '30s. Rubens worked with his customary speed, and despite slow payment (funds were more urgently needed by Richelieu to subsidize the Protestant enemies of Rubens' Habsburg patrons), all twenty-one of the huge paintings were installed in the Queen's residence by May 1625, in time for the wedding of the King's sister to Charles I of England. This alliance with a Protestant power seemed to negate the fateful Spanish marriages contracted under the Regency, as depicted by Rubens in the fourteenth scene of the *Life*.

The beginning of Richelieu's dictatorship and the final ouster of the Queen Mother coincide with ironic precision with Rubens' completion of his painted eulogy. At this time a parallel project which was also very dear to Rubens, the *History of Henri IV*, was obstructed by the Cardinal who feared not only a rehabilitation of the Queen Mother's reputation but also the political machinations of the painter, now actively engaged in diplomatic negotiations on behalf of Spain. Rubens however became gradually disillusioned both with French patronage and with Spanish politics. In 1631 we find him "disgusted" with the procrastination over the Henri IV story, and vainly urging the Spanish minister Olivares to provoke civil war in France by means of military intervention on behalf of Marie de' Medici, now publicly repudiated by her son.

During these years when Gustavus Adolphus was all powerful in Germany, the Spanish Netherlands were themselves on the verge of rebellion, and Marie de' Medici, in concert with her son Gaston d'Orléans, was urging the Duke of Lorraine to a policy which was to ruin all three. By 1633 (the date of the *Misères*) Rubens was completely disillusioned with court life. He had come to realize that all his efforts for peace and all his diplomatic journeys were in vain, that greater powers than his were determined on further conflict, and that the distress of the people of Antwerp (upon which he comments in his correspondence) weighed heavier than the pride of his Spanish patrons.

The *Life of Marie de' Medici* lies at the center of an *oeuvre* dedicated to ideas which were largely defeated in the Thirty Years War. Gory battles and animal hunts, allegories of glorious conquest, are typical of Rubens' youthful work. Near the beginning of the war he became heavily engaged in Jesuit propaganda for the Neuburg prince, whose dramatic conversion to Catholicism we noted *à propos* the marriage documented in 3-1; he painted the terrible *Last Judgment*, the *Fall of the Damned*, and the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (all now in Münich), as if to presage the violent suppression of heresy in Germany. He worked ceaselessly for the glory of the Jesuits at home as they prepared for victory over their Protestant neighbors, the Dutch; and for the Carmelites in Madrid he designed a series of tapestries on the theme of the Triumph of the Eucharist (over Heresy, Science, etc), which in terms of the military realities of the day meant the awful triumph of Wallenstein. For most of his career Rubens seems preoccupied with scenes glorifying authoritarian violence; but a marked change in mood occurs toward the end, when he turns more to peaceful subjects—erotic mythologies, portraits of his family, and landscapes. His lifelong service to the warmonger seems to be unconsciously repudiated in the painting of 1638 (3-22), which shows the tragic figure of an "unhappy Europe, which for so many years has suffered pillage, outrage and misery" ("l'infelice Europa, laquale per tanti anni soffre le rapine, gli oltraggi e le miserie"). The words are his own, and the picture expresses his deepest personal sentiments. With this moving version of a theme so dear to broadsheet artists, Rubens seems to draw a somber veil over a life devoted to the illusions of grandeur.

3–22. Peter Paul Rubens. *The Horrors of War* (1638).



Chapter Four

DUTCH REPUBLIC (*1653-1689*)

1. Cromwell's coronation, piemontese persecution

The Peace of Westphalia (1648) brought an end to the Thirty Years War and secured official recognition of the independence of the Dutch Republic. The pamphlet presses of Germany, France and the Dutch were at last awakened. Since the numerous broadsheet strips celebrating the Peace are purely ceremonial in character, we will not dwell on them.

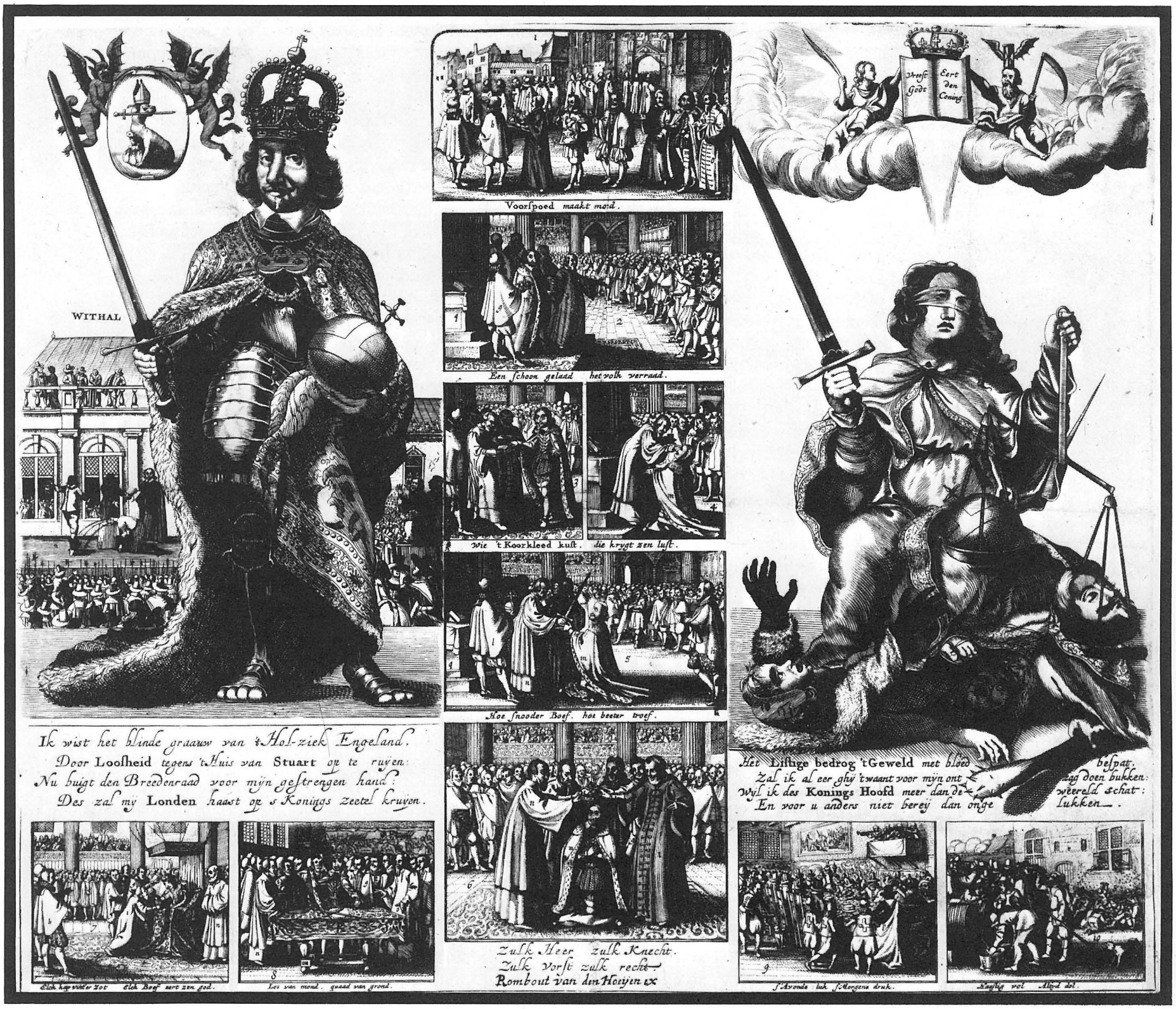
The Dutch had become perhaps the most prosperous people in Europe; but commercial competition with the English soon caused trouble. The English Parliament, having rid the country of the royal tyrant Charles Stuart, sought to cement the revolution by means of an aggressive foreign and commercial policy, one of the first manifestations of which was the passing of the Navigation Acts. These were aimed at wresting the very lucrative carrying-trade from the Dutch, and led to the outbreak of war in August 1652. Dutch popular opposition to the English Republican régime was fanned by the pro-Stuart Orangist faction, which after the sudden death of the young Prince William II (himself married to a Stuart princess), found itself excluded from a government controlled by the merchant oligarchy. When war was declared, it was logical for the satirists to vent their hatred upon the person of Oliver Cromwell, the apparent master of English policy. In one of many such cartoons (4-1), he is shown brutalizing Europe and disembowelling a Dutchman, while the narrative insets carry factual depictions of his crimes.

The Protector's arrogance is symbolized by the peacock feather in his crown, and it was confidently expected by the Dutch (as by many Englishmen) that Cromwell would have himself crowned King of England and thus void the recent coronation of Charles II in Scotland. The Dutch satirist acknowledges this expectation with an account of the coronation as if it had actually happened (4-2). The ceremonial detail rendered by the engraver must have appealed to the Dutch public, which had never witnessed such an occasion; so convincing is the treatment given to this imaginary event that we must focus upon the comic face of "King" Oliver, with its exaggerated bulbous nose, before we detect the satire. The commoner who becomes King would stand as an example of that "topsy-turvy world" which occasions so many moral broadsheets in this period; and it is in this spirit that the engraver has reversed the usual "centerpiece layout," running the narrative strip down the middle to make Cromwell appear instigator of the ceremonies rather than their subject.

Ironically, it was the absolute powers gained by Cromwell in December 1653 under the title of "Lord Protector" which hastened the peace. He had from the start opposed the war-like parliamentary party in their provocation of the Dutch and dreamed of an England united with the Dutch in a great anti-Catholic crusade. The fierce naval war which ensued between the two Protestant powers seemed to make a mockery of this idea, but shortly after peace was reached in mid-1654, a Catholic persecution of a Protestant minority in Savoy aroused identical passions on both sides of the channel. The two republics united in pressuring the French Minister Mazarin to persuade the Duke of Savoy to



4–1. Crispin Van De Pas. *Portrait of the Haughty Republic of England . . .* (c. 1653). Cromwell tramples on a Scotsman, holds an Irishman and a Frenchman imprisoned between his legs, and disembowels a Dutchman. The griffin, symbolizing Avarice, evacuates gold coins and crowns the Protector. The narrative insets depict: G. the execution of Charles I in 1649, and H. the subsequent sale of royal property; K. Dutch fire-ships destroying the English fleet, and I. the Dutch lion, aided by Scotch, Irish and French, overpowering the tyrant.



4–2. Rombout van den Hoeyen. *The Coronation of Cromwell* (c. 1653).

(left) Cromwell as King, before the Palace of Whitehall, and a scene of the execution of Charles I; satirical coat-of-arms above.

(right) Justice, treading upon deceit and violence, with scales in which the head of Charles outweighs the usurped royal orb.

(center) 1. Procession to Westminster Abbey (King Oliver second from right). "Prosperity gives courage" (proverb). 2. Presentation to the cheering people from the steps of the altar. "A fine face betrays the people." 3. & 4. The oath and the anointing. "Whoever kisses the surplice will have his way." 5. Presentation of the sword. "The baser the villain, the better the trump." 6. Placing of the crown. "Like Master, like servant; like prince, like justice." 7. (left) Receiving homage of the peers (?). "Each cap finds its fool. Each rogue honors his god." 8. Taking the oath before the Privy Council. "Loose of mouth, evil at heart." 9. Banquet. "Evening success, morning failure." 10. Popular festivities (free wine, coins scattered from the window). "Gluttony brings on madness."

end the persecution, and naval hostilities were threatened against the tyrant. There can be no doubt that Jan de Witt for the Dutch Republic, and Cromwell for England, were speaking on behalf of an inflamed public opinion, which expressed itself in the art-forms for which each country was so distinguished: a Dutch etching and an English sonnet. Milton's famous sonnet on the Vaudois persecution is reprinted on p. 441; and although one cannot pretend that the etching (4-3) is worthy of Rembrandt, the cultural commensurate of the English poet, it surely has something of Rembrandt's vivacity of lighting and action.

Unlike the religious persecutions of the Habsburg in the past, and those of Louis XIV which lay in the future, the action of the Duke of Savoy is not accorded a central place in European seventeenth-century history. Despite intermittent excursions, both military[1] and diplomatic, into international politics, this small Franco-Italian state and its ruling family did not play a major role until the Risorgimento. The domestic policy of a small state, affecting only remote Alpine valleys and provoking no lasting international repercussions, would not seem likely to arouse passions as far away as England and the Netherlands; but the historical perspective of a later age often fails to do justice to the popular preoccupations of the moment. Although the innocent Vaudois suffered a persecution which is eclipsed, historically, by the more famous ones of medieval times when their ancestors, the followers of Peter Waldo, were butchered by the thousand as heretics, the Dutch, pursuing their policy of giving shelter to the religious refugee, had no need to recall tales from so distant a past. The present horror was enough.

There are first the milder scenes of coercion, followed immediately by scenes of murder as terrible as any in Callot. By the eighth scene and throughout the remaining half of the story, Callot has been left far behind. In letting the most atrocious tortures follow each other in no particular order, and in crowding several episodes into each space, the engraver conveys the breathless, unstructured delivery and perhaps exaggeration which one would expect in the tale of a recently arrived refugee still suffering under the impact of events. There is noteworthy stress upon the suffering of women and especially children, whom Callot had virtually ignored. The ingenious variety of composition throughout the sequence may be said to match the ingenuity shown by the soldiers themselves.

The worst of the persecution was over within four months; but despite the subsequent peace treaties, pressure remained upon the surviving inhabitants, so that eight years later the revolt flared anew. The Dutch polemicists again rallied to the cause, but the second print on the subject is altogether less impressive (4-4). Since all but the bottom row of scenes refer to events from the earlier persecution, we can compare versions and observe how the later engraver sacrifices directness of approach to his artistic ambitions. Little is gained from the allegorical centerpiece or the awkward scene of the Inquisition above. In the first panel showing the winter expulsion into the mountains, the violent physical confrontation between soldier and civilian is replaced with a mournful, sentimental rendering of the arrival at a mountain cave (the scene is altogether reminiscent of a *Flight into Egypt*, or a *Nativity*). Biblical iconography is apparent too, in scenes 2 and 4, which recall a *Massacre of the Innocents*. Here and elsewhere, there is much circumstantial description of snow and fire, of buildings and landscape, so that we are less struck by the human action which the earlier strip exposes so cruelly. All in all, the atrocity motifs correspond very closely; but in this second print they suffer from being grouped in fewer, larger and busier compositions, each of which tries to display the persecution in its totality rather than a phase at a time. The bottom strip of panels covers the recent persecution and is obviously an addition to the plate. The sufferings here seem comparatively mild (they could hardly have been worse) and end in a regular battle.

The Dutch had also had a massacre of their own to commemorate—not at home, but in their most distant Asian settlement of Formosa, where in 1661 Chinese pirates under "Coxinga" annihilated some of their missionaries. We shall pass over this strip,[2] in which the heathen is cast in the role normally reserved for European Christians.

2. *Jan de Witt and William of Orange (The art of Romeyne de Hooghe)*

The last third of the European seventeenth century was dominated politically by King Louis XIV, his efforts to increase the power of France, and the measures taken against him by the various European nations. The opposition was led by the Dutch Republic under Jan de Witt and William III, Prince of Orange and later King of England. The actions of these two great statesmen, and the major events of their reign, are preserved for us in pictorial record surpassing that of any comparable period down to the Napoleonic era. This is due chiefly to the political insight and artistic genius of Romeyn de Hooghe of Haarlem—writer, painter, sculptor, medallist, goldsmith and etcher. His etchings, which alone concern us, describe with passion and infinite patience the military glories, the lives and virtues of Jan de Witt and of William of Orange, the cruelties and vices of their enemy Louis, and the great suffering of the people during these troubled times.

The Republic's political power, and its reputation as an arbiter of international disputes, reached a peak at the Peace of Breda, which concluded the Second Anglo-Dutch naval war in 1667, and the Peace of Aachen of the following year. With the Dutch warships wreaking havoc in the mouth of the Thames, the satirists could well afford to depict England as a bellowing bull, or as a dog chased out of the Dutch garden by the Dutch sailor. All the engagements of this war were pictorially documented in full by various artists,[3] but

1. A treacherous, abortive attack on the city of Geneva is documented in a narrative strip (1602/3), *Vraie représentation de l'escalade entreprise sur Genève par les Savoyards et sa belle délivrance* (Hennin 1250).

2. Van Stolk 2291; cf. also an obscure German anti-Dutch strip of c. 1656 (Van Stolk 2255) and a curious Dutch allegorical strip of 1663-64 protesting the internecine warfare of Christian nations, while "The Turk sharpens his sword" (Van Stolk 2303).

3. See the book of M. Doornick, the illustrations for which were collected onto one plate to form a pictorial review of the whole war. (Van Stolk 2380, Hennin 4450, repr. in van Rijn, *Historieplaten*, pp. 88-89.)



4–3. Jodocus Hondius. *Horrible Cruel Murder and Persecution of the Vaudois in Piemont* (1655).

"1. On January 25, 1655, several dozen Vaudois are driven into the hills, by order of the Duke of Savoy. 2. All their property left behind is plundered and destroyed. 3. The constant supplications, instead of being heard, are met with more taxes. 4. After a short respite, soldiers invade; those who would not be coerced, are tricked into taking to the countryside. 5. On April 21 in the Angrogne, Bricheras etc. the invasion is complete; endless murdering, raping, arson, robbery. 6. On April 22 a Franciscan and others set fire to and shoot at the Church of St. John (the official Protestant church in La Tour) and other places. 7. In the village of Tillaret, a dozen different atrocities are committed upon 150 women and children; they cut the throats of all. 8. Others they roast, and eat their hearts. 9. Others are cut into pieces. 10. Many women are raped and the children thrown naked down the rocks. 11. Many hanged, torn apart, cut in two down the middle; gaping bodies filled with salt and gunpower, and set alight. 12. Others are trussed up and thrown down the rocks; many are burned alive, others have their breast carved open. 13. Others are impaled through the seat like Turks, or staked to the ground through the chest, and hung up by one leg. 14. They cut off the children's heads before their parents' eyes and play bowls with them. 15. Some have molten lead poured into their throat and ears, others have their hands and feet burned."



Hier vluchten de vervolghde in't felste van den winter



Hier braden de Vyanden de breinen der Kinderen op roosters.



Hier rollen sy de hoofden op de vloer.



Hier is den Raet van d'Inquisitie. Icy se void le Conseil d'Inquisition.



Voy la Religion, qui pleure incessament, qu'on repand, sans pitié, le sang de l'innocent!



Religie beschreyt in tranen door t'vergieten van t'onnosel bloet.



A. Hier worden se uyt haer woninge verdreven, vluchten int gebergte 1663



B. Hier plunderen de Soldaten het vleck S. Ian de la tour. 1663



the most accurate and beautiful account of the final, stupendous victory in the Thames was produced by the young etcher, only twenty-two years of age, Romeyn de Hooghe. He further celebrated the glory of his country at the subsequent peace treaty with a strip-design (4-5) unsurpassed, even in a country of outstanding etchers, for its richness and complexity. Gone is the coldness and relative sobriety of earlier ceremonial prints. For Romeyn all is pomp and splendor, fantastic elaboration of costumes and liveries, rich accoutrements of carriages and horses, extravagant festivities for ambassadors and populace alike. Each scene is bustling with human life against an ever-shifting background: landscape, city square, and riverside. There are changes in scale, so that the minutely-composed lateral scenes are relieved by the long sweep of the ambassadorial entry and departure and the closeup view of the conference-chamber in the center. The print bears all the marks of a youthful assiduity which extends even to the beautiful calligraphy of the letterpress. Title and captions are exquisitely proportioned and positioned, and the identification of buildings and persons is precise to a degree which appears excessive even to the modern reader unfamiliar with all the circumstances.

A few years later Romeyn had occasion to document in some detail the achievements of the statesmen, Jan and Cornelis de Witt, who had brought the Republic to such heights; but it was to be in the most tragic of circumstances. In 1672 the country was thrown into a state of panic by the aggressions of Louis upon her frontier, and a simultaneous declaration of war by Louis' puppet across the Channel, King Charles II of England. Civil dissension broke out between the Witt government oligarchy and the popular Orangist party which, not content with forcing Witt's resignation from office, murdered him with his brother in the Hague and mutilated the corpses in the most fearful manner. Romeyn de Hooghe was presumably an Orangist sympathizer from the start (if we may take our cue from the Orange flag flying from the rooftops in scene D of the Breda Treaty print); but it was with an acute sense of the tragic fickleness of popular opinion that he outlines the career of the Witt brothers: "First risen to high honor, then thrown down . . ." (4-6).

4–4. Dutch 1655 and 1663. *Piemontese Persecution.* "See Religion ever weeping for the pitiless shedding of Innocent blood."
(top) "The Council of the Inquisition. 1. (1655) The persecuted flee from the fiercest winter. 2. The enemy roasts the brains of the children upon grills. 3. They roll the heads upon the floor. 4. They throw the children against the rocks. 5. They plunder La Tour and burn the church. 6. They fill the women's sex with stones. A (1663). They are driven out of their dwellings, and flee into the mountains. B. The soldiers plunder the town of Saint Jean De La Tour. C. The Protestants stand up to their enemy and win a victory."

1. De Compagnie Ruyters van d'H.r Lofekoot
2. Trompetters van d'H.rs Engelsse Ambassadeurs
3. Hare Exc.ie d'Ambassadeurs van Engelant
4. Mons.r de la Grandiere die hare Exc.ie vereerdelout

't Lieshos

't Speelhuys

A

6

C

7

3

5

2

1

1. Ruytery. 2. Soldaten. 3. t Casteel na de syde vande Stadt. 4. syn Exc.ie Bevernig seyn. gevende van Salvo. 5. t Huys van M.r d'Estrades. 6. t Huys van M.r Courtin. 7. Vlag met d'oragne Streep op den Toren.

D

5

2

1

1. De Revier de Marck. 2. De Muer van 't Casteel. 3. De Wapen Toren. 4. De Haven. 5. 't Salvo Schieten met t Canon.

3

4

1

2

E

1. Alle de Heeren Ambassadeurs. 2. De Magistraet der Stadt Breda.
3. Trompetters en Musicanten. 4. De Kamer der Doelschutters.

VREEDE-HANDELINGH TOT BREDA, GESLOTEN OP DEN XXXI IULY

inde Kamer van Conferentie, door de Gevolmachtighden van hare Koninckl: May.:im van Groot Brittannien, Vranckryck, Deenmarcken en hare Hoo

B

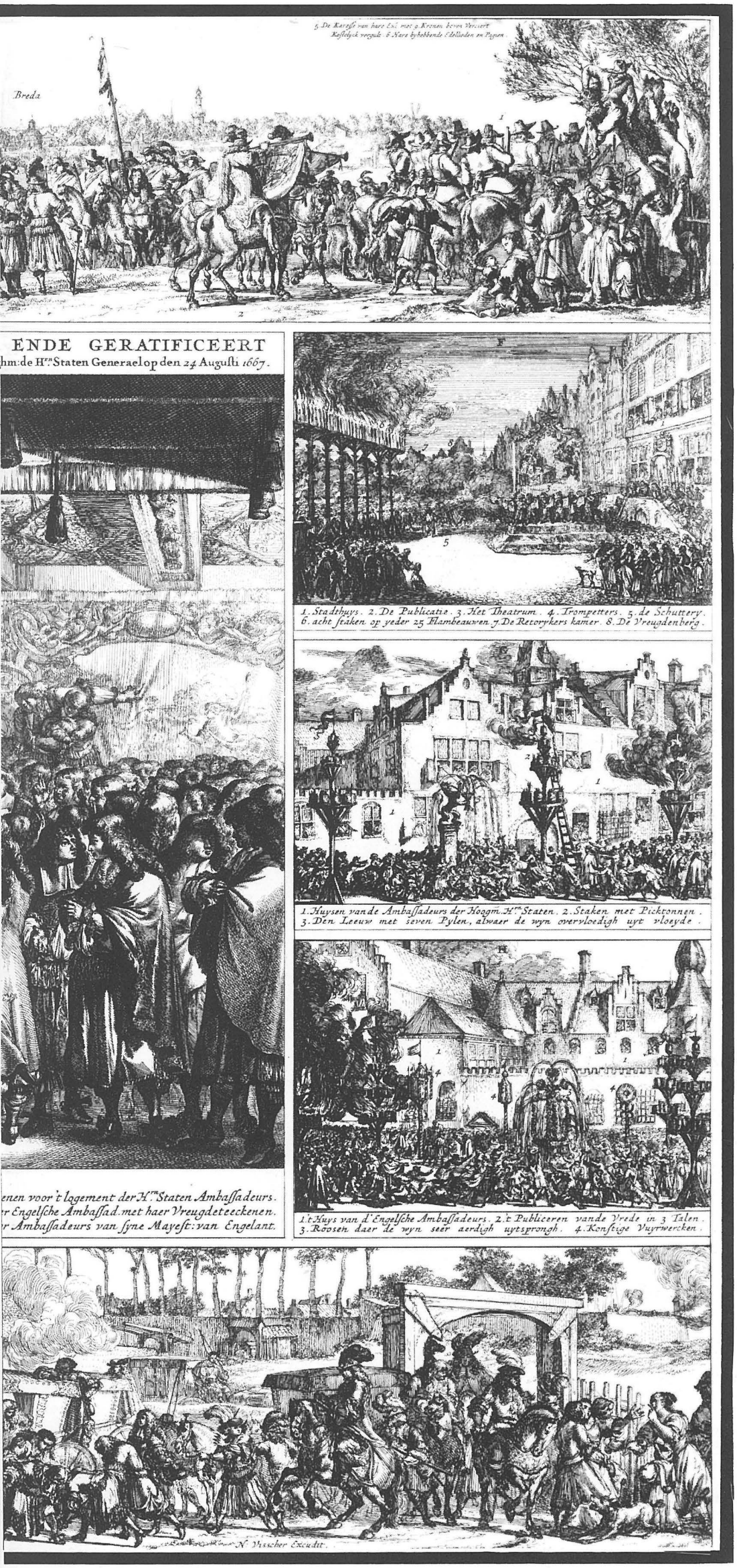
R. de Hooghe f. et inv.

B

Verklaaringh der Letteren die gestelt syn in yeder Figure.

A. De Publique Intrede van de H.re Engelsche Ambassadeurs.
B. De Conferentie Kamer alwaer de Vrede beëdight wert.
C. 't Salvo Schieten voor't Casteel na't wisselen der Ratificatien.
D. 't Casteel van Breda soo 't sich vertoont aen de Waterkant.
E. De H.re Ambassadeurs werden alle op 't Raet Huys getracteert.
F. 't Publiceren vande Vrede en Vreughdeteeckenen op de Marckt.
G. Vreughdeteeck
H. 't Logement d
I. 't Vertreck d

I



4–5. Romeyn de Hooghe. *Peace Negotiations at Breda, Concluded July 31 and Ratified Aug. 24, 1667, in the Conference Chamber, by the Plenipotentiaries of their Royal Majesties of Great Britain, France, Denmark, and their High Mightinesses the States General* (i.e. Dutch Republic). "A. The public entry of the English ambassadors. B. (center) The Conference Chamber where the Peace is sworn. C. The salvo fired before the castle after exchange of the Ratification. (N.B. 7. Flag with the Orange stripe.) D. The Castle of Breda as it appears from the river Marck. (5. Cannon firing a salvo.) E. The Lords Ambassador are all regaled at the Council Hall, in the Chamber of the Civic Guard. F. Publication of the Peace before the Town Hall and festivities in the market-place. G. Festivities before the lodging of the States' ambassadors. (3. The Lion with the Seven Arrows—emblem of the Dutch Republic—each spurting wine.) H. Festivities before the lodgings of the English ambassadors. (3. Fountain of roses, out of which wine most ingeniously flowed.) I. Departure of the English Ambassadors."



4–6. Romeyn de Hooghe. *The Wonderful Mirror of the Witts, Showing Jan de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland etc. and Cornelis de Witt, Burgomaster of Dordrecht etc.* (1675). "The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken." "First risen to a high level of honor and respect, then thrown down to the deepest degradation."
1. (top) "The father of the Witts, having recommended the disbanding of the militia, is put with other lords into the Loevenstein (Prison). 2. Cornelis de Witt marries into the Berckel family. He is made 'Ruwaert' (Governor) of Putten, and Burgomaster of Dordrecht. 3. Jan de Witt is made Pensionary of Dordrecht and gains freedom and restitution of offices for his father. 4. Jan de Witt marries into the Bicker family, is made Grand Pensionary of Holland, and holder of the Great Seal. 5. Jan de Witt persuades the States General to make peace with the Protector (Cromwell), and to exclude the King of Great Britain (future Charles II) who is departing with his brothers. 6. (left) Cornelis de Witt is appointed to deal with the Bishop of Münster on the Yssel, which is safeguarded by his presence. The Bishop sues for peace. 7. Jan de Witt pilots the warfleet away from the Spaniards into the Texel, accompanies it to Norway, convoys the returning East



enſionaris van Dordrecht
Vryheyt en reſtitutie in



Ian de Wit getrout aen den Huyſe van Bicker,
wert gemaeckt Raet-Penſionaris van Hollandt
Groot Zeegel bewaerder.



Ian de Wit perſuadeert de Heeren der Regeeringh tot
de Vreede met den Protector, en Secluſie der Maj: van
Groot-Brittannien, die met ſyn Broeders vertreckt.

E HEER HEEFT GENOMEN.



DER SPIEGEL,
NENDE
CORNELIS DE WITT
Burgermeeſter van Dordrecht, Ruaert van Putten en
e trappen van Eer en aenſien
verneederingh afgeworpen.



Cornelis de Wit doet attacqueeren het Eylandt van
Chattam, wint fort Shyrenaſſe ruineert de Magaſynen
der Konings van Engelant



Doorbreeckt de keetens op de Rivier van Rocheſter, raſeert de
bateryen, ſteckt in brant of verovert de grootſte Koninghs
Scheepen, en allarmeert Londen en heel Engelandt.



Ian en Cornelis de Wit formeeren het Eeuwich Edict,
[illegible]



t-Penſionariſchap, en
ring de plaets van Raets;

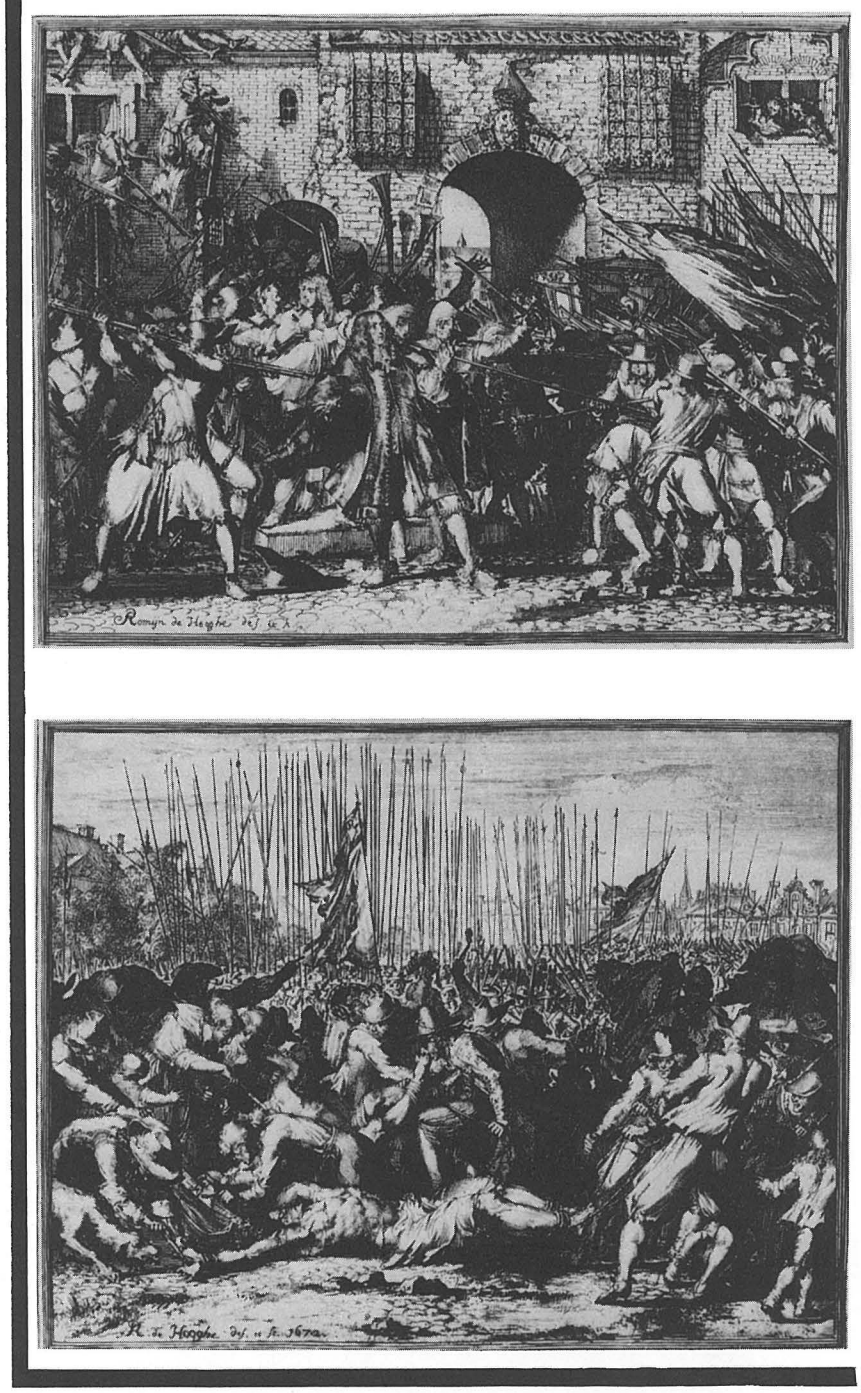
R. de Hooge f



Corneelis de Wit uyt Dordrecht gebracht op de Caſtelenye,
door Tichelaer beſchuldicht van toelegh op't Leven
van ſyn Hoogheyt en ghepynicht.



Ian en Cornelis de wit van de gevange poort gedooten
werden van de Borgers in den Haeg gedoot, en van't
gemeene volck op een ongehoorde ſchriklyke wyſe
miſhandelt



4–7. Romeyn de Hooghe. *Riot in the Hague Saturday August 20, 1672, with the Death of Messrs John and Cornelis De Witt.* (Summary of the French and Dutch text below): On July 31, Cornelis de Witt was put in the Castelnye prison at the Hague, accused by a barber-surgeon called Willem Tischelaer of having offered him money to kill the Prince of Orange. The Court condemned Cornelis to banishment and permitted his brother Jan to fetch him away. As they were leaving, sentinels of the militia forced them to return, called up the Guard, sounded the alarm and summoned other militia units to surround the prison. After about five hours they broke down the doors, seized the Witt brothers, and killed them with their own muskets (1). They stripped Cornelis of his Japanese coat (2) dragged the corp-

The first scene of this strip serves as a warning of the mutability of fate; thereafter, the lives of Jan and Cornelis unfold in a glorious succession: the contraction of illustrious marriages, the acquisition of the highest offices of state, the direction of national and international affairs, and the preservation of the Republic through victories on land and sea. The Dutch contemporary would see the tenth scene, with the enactment of the Perpetual Edict, as the turning point. The Perpetual Edict abolished the Stadholdership in the Province of Holland, by far the most powerful in the Union, in order to prevent it from falling again under the domination of a Prince of Orange. The decline of Witt power begins with the forced withdrawal of the Edict and is rapidly climaxed in the attempted murder of Cornelis, his sentence of banishment as a traitor, and the resignation of Jan. The murder and incredible disgraces inflicted upon the corpses occupy the final scene.

This episode, one of the most lamentable in Dutch history, had already been recorded by the same artist, with fuller and even grislier detail, in a four-part plate published on the day following the massacre (4-7). Lest we accuse Romeyn of a morbid curiosity (though he is certainly to evince throughout his career an exceptional preoccupation with obscene and cruel behavior), we must remember that this terrible event would have had much more "novelty" value among the Dutch than in any other part of Europe, where civil dissension was endemic and the ever-full gallows was a focus of public entertainment. Romeyn reacts with a thrill of horror, but he is not exulting over the fall of the tyrants in the fashion of the Parisian mob who desecrated the corpse of Concini in 1617 (2-10 and 2-11). The Dutch pamphlet-press observes an awe-struck silence over the fate of the great ministers,[4] and other Orangist writers besides Romeyn were moved not to applause but to reflection upon the inscrutability of Fate. No one condoned the murders even though they signalled the absolute victory of the popular young prince.

There may be a sense of foreboding, too, in a print

4. Cf. Kuyk, p. 23.



which undoubtedly met with a ready response in a country facing the most terrible threat to its security within living memory. The French had already overrun the eastern provinces, and within months of the Witt massacre, Romeyn had to report the atrocities of French soldiers upon the defenseless Dutch population.[5] This sequence, which was even copied in Germany, helped to stimulate a fanatical resistance; it was later re-issued, in a very much simplified strip "digest," as a children's chap-sheet, with the date 1690 marking it as a recruiting poster for William's Grand Alliance armies.

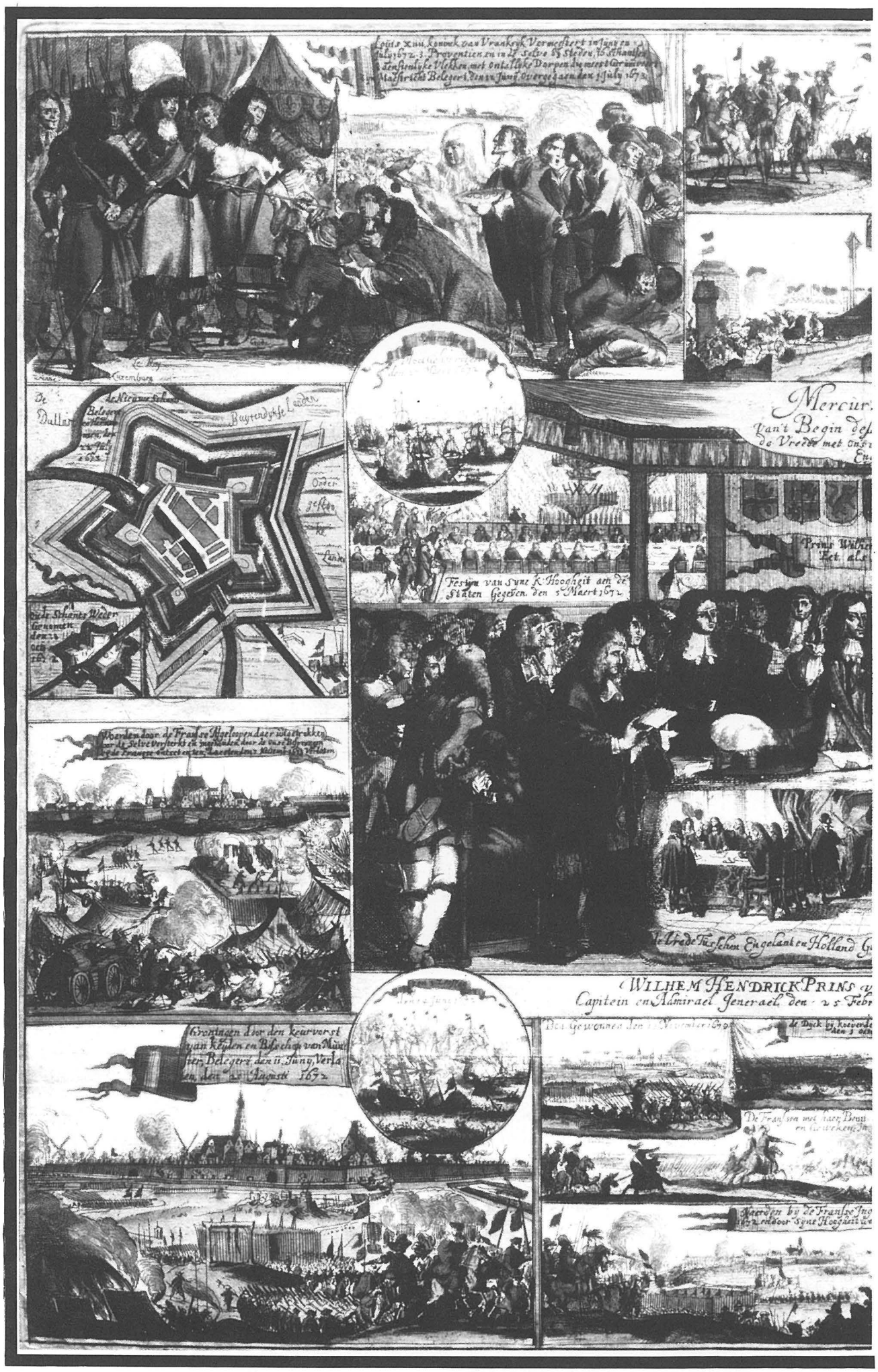
The Dutch citizen was soon able to contemplate not only the sufferings of his compatriots on the frontiers, but also the military successes of his young leader. The decisive check to French aggression, and the more-or-less successful end to the naval war with England (1674), placed William at age twenty-four at a pinnacle of domestic power and popularity. His iconographer promptly brought out an

5. Eight quarto plates all devoted to the massacres at Bodegraven and Zwammerdam (Van Stolk 2491).

ses by the feet to the town scaffold, stripped them bare, tied them by the feet to the gibbet, spat on them, kicked them and insulted them in a hundred ways. The militia then left the bodies, and stood by in order (4) while the dregs of the populace maltreated the corpses afresh. They cut off their noses, ears, fingers and toes; they opened up the bodies and tore out the hearts and entrails; and not content with that, started to traffic in the mutilated limbs, selling a finger joint for as much as twelve sous, a whole finger for fifteen sous, a piece of ear for twenty-five sous, a toe for ten sous; and many took or bought pieces of their clothes, which they kept as a relic of so tragic an event. An East Indian traveller (background left) tied the lungs and liver onto a post and displayed the other parts in great jubilation. When the rage of the people had been thus slaked, the bodies were removed at midnight without any opposition.

extensive review of his military achievements (4-8). The etching is once again extraordinarily elaborate and at first sight rather confusing; on closer inspection, however, it shows the most careful visual balance between the variously-shaped designs and their contrasting subjects, and a precise dovetailing of inscriptions and pictures. The four large corner-scenes, all of which represent events from the very beginning of the war, have been chosen for their political importance and sensational character. Panels illustrating episodes from the land-war are pinned to the centerpiece by roundels depicting sea-battles. One might expect the centerpiece to show the signing of the peace treaty (which appears only on the table-hanging); but since Romeyn is more concerned with the personal glory of the Prince, and since the war with France continued unabated, he reminds us that the Stadholdership is irrevocably secured to the Prince, and with it, almost dictatorial powers.

Not content with merely documenting his hero's military prowess, Romeyn decided that the moment was ripe for a fuller biography. It was in 1675 that he produced two companion prints, the *Mirror of the Witts*, described above



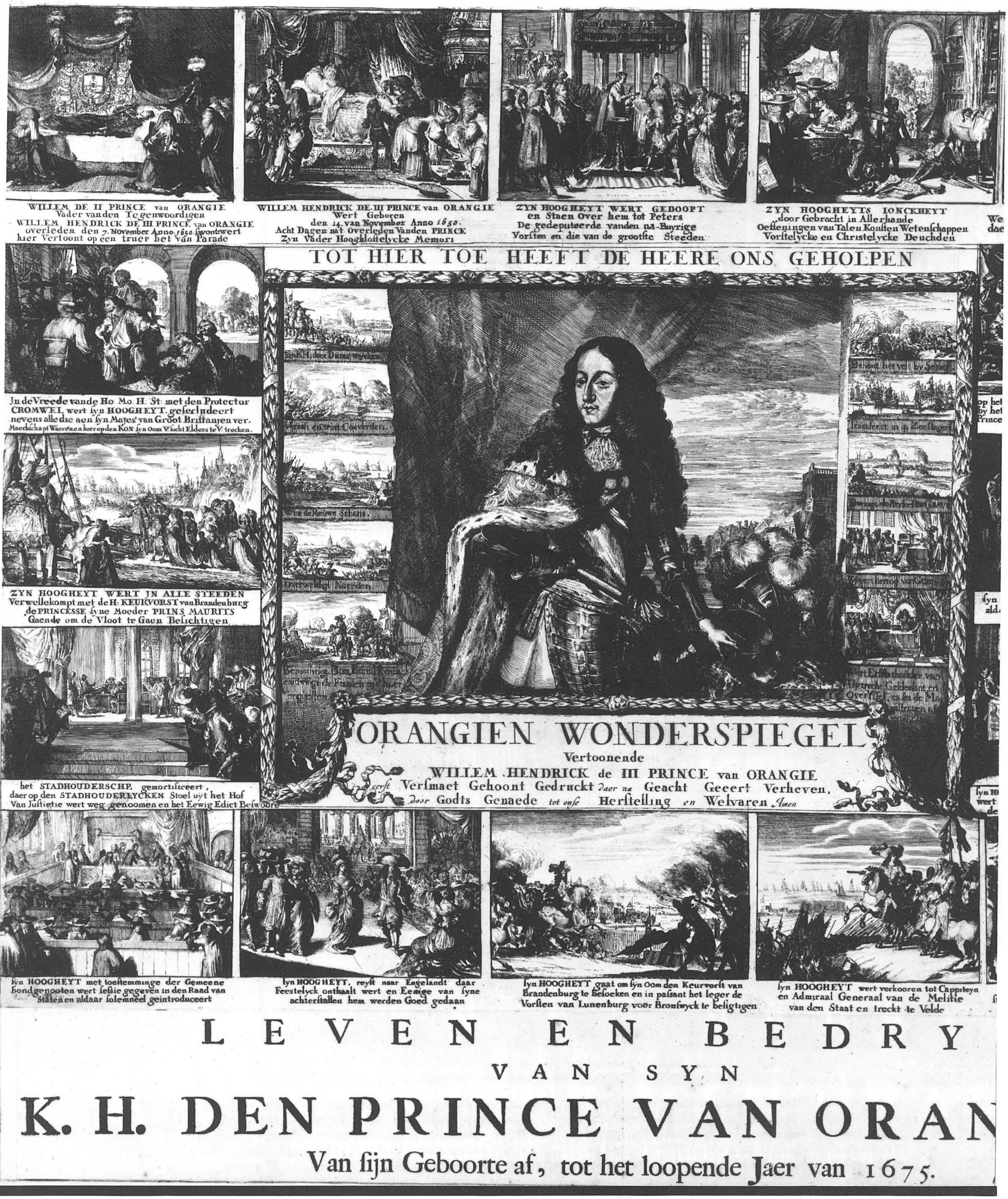
4–8. Romeyn de Hooghe. *William of Orange and the French War* (1672–5).

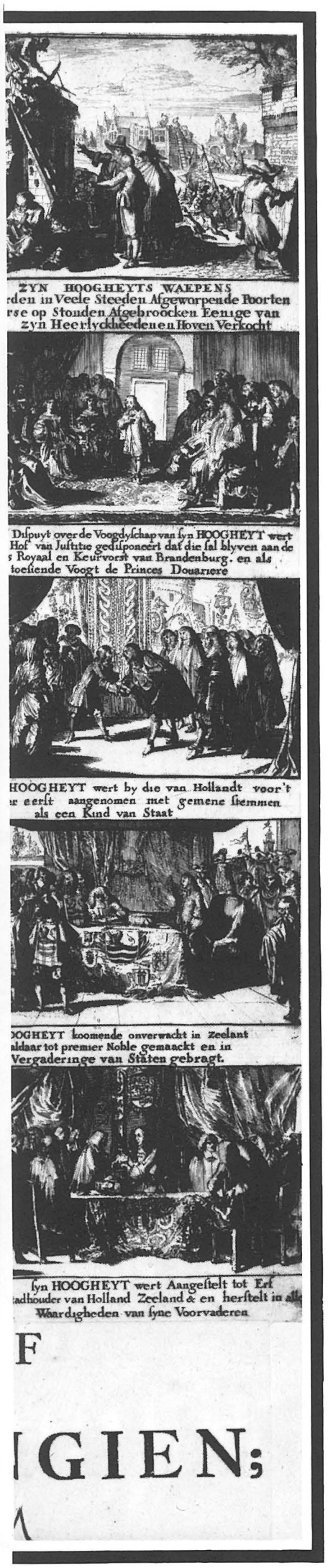
"(top) The keys of Maestricht offered to the conqueror Louis XIV (June 1672). Poudroye taken. Aerdenburg and Kroonenburg defended. Mombas hanged in effigy, and the Witt brothers killed (July 25, August 20, 1672).

(bottom) Groningen besieged and abandoned by the Elector of Cologne and Bishop of Münster (June-August 1672). Taking of Bonn (November 1673), breaking of Dykes by Coeverden (October 1673). Taking of Brühl and Rhynbach (October-November 1673). Naerden taken by the French (June 1672), recovered by William (September 1673). Massacres at Bodegraven, etc. (December 1672).



(sides) New fortress recovered (July 22, 1673). Battle by Werden (November 1673). William's attempt on Charleroi (December 2, 1672). Coeverden lost (July 1672) and retaken (December 1672).
(roundels) Four sea-battles with the English fleet.
(center) Prince William Henry takes the oath as hereditary Stadholder in five provinces (February 1674). (behind) Reception by the States (March 1672), execution of the traitors D'Ossery, Pain-et-vin, Hiniossa, etc. (1673)."


WILLEM DE II PRINCE van ORANGIE
Vader vanden Tegenwoordigen
WILLEM HENDRICK DE III PRINCE van ORANGIE
overleden den 7. November Anno 1650. Ghyntwert
hier Vertoont op een truer bet van Parade
WILLEM HENDRICK DE III PRINCE van ORANGIE
Wert Geboren
den 14. van November Anno 1650.
Acht Dagen nat Overleden Vanden PRINCE
Zyn Vader Hooghlofelycke Memori
ZYN HOOGHEYT WERT GEDOOPT
en Staen Over hem tot Peters
De gedeputeerde vanden na-Buyrige
Vorsten en die van de grootste Steeden
ZYN HOOGHEYTS IONCKHEYT
door Gebracht in Allerhande
Oeffeningen van Talen Konsten Wetenschappen
Vorstelycke en Christelycke Deughden
TOT HIER TOE HEEFT DE HEERE ONS GEHOLPEN
Jn de Vreede vande Ho Mo H St met den Protector
CROMWEL wert syn HOOGHEYT. gefeesteerdeert
nevens alle die aen syn Majes van Groot Brittanien ver.
Maechschapt Waeren en hier op den KON syn Oom V.lucht Elders te V. trecken.
ZYN HOOGHEYT WERT JN ALLE STEEDEN
Verwellekompt met de H: KEURVORST van Brandenburg
de PRINCESSE syne Moeder PRINS MAURITS
Gaende om de Vloot te Gaen Belichtigen
het STADHOUDERSCHP. gemortificeert,
daer op den STADHOUDERLYCKEN Stoel uyt het Hof
Van Justitie wert weg genoomen en het Eewig Edict Beswoore
ORANGIEN WONDERSPIEGEL
Vertoonende
WILLEM HENDRICK de III PRINCE van ORANGIE
Verstaet Gehoont Gedruckt Daer na Geacht Geeert Verheven,
Door Godts Genaede tot onse Herstelling en Welvaren Amen
Syn HOOGHEYT met toestemminge der Gemeene
bondgenooten wert sestie gegeven in den Raad van
Staten en aldaar solemneel geintroduceert
Syn HOOGHEYT, reyst naar Engelandt daar
Feestelyck onthaalt wert en Eemige van syne
achterstallen hem werden Goed gedaan
Syn HOOGHEYT gaat om syn Oom den Keurvorst van
Brandenburg te Besoeken en in passant het leger de
Vorsten van Lunenburg voor Bronswyck te beligtigen
Syn HOOGHEYT wert verkooren tot Cappiteyn
en Admiraal Generaal van de Melitie
van den Staat en treckt te Velde
LEVEN EN BEDRY
VAN SYN
K. H. DEN PRINCE VAN ORAN
Van sijn Geboorte af, tot het loopende Jaer van 1675.



4–9. Romeyn de Hooghe. *The Wonderful Mirror of Orange Showing William Henry III Prince of Orange –Despised Mocked Oppressed, and then Respected, Honored and Elevated Through the Grace of God for our Preservation and Well-Being* (1675).
"1. William II Prince of Orange, father of the present William Henry, dies Nov. 7 1650. Here represented on his bed of mourning. 2. William Henry III, born Nov. 14 1650, eight days after the decease of the prince his father of much beloved memory. 3. His Highness baptized, with princes from the greatest states acting as godfathers. 4. His youth spent in the acquisition of all manner of languages, arts and sciences, and princely Christian virtues. 5. His coat-of-arms struck down in many towns, the gates on which they stood broken, and some of his mansions sold. 6. In the Peace with Cromwell (1654), his Highness is excluded together with all those allied to his uncle the British King (future Charles II), who is exiled from the country. 7. (right) In the dispute over the guardianship of His Highness, the Court of Justice disposes that it remain with the Princess Royal, and the Elector of Brandenburg in conjunction with the Dowager Princess. 8. His Highness is accepted by universal vote of the States of Holland as a Child of State (1660). 9. (left) His Highness is welcomed in all places, in company of the Elector of Brandenburg, the Princess his mother, and Prince Maurice. He visits the fleet. 10. (left) The stadholderate is abolished, the Stadholder's chair is removed from the Court of Justice, and the Eternal Edict sworn (1667). 11. (right, below) His Highness arrives unexpectedly in Zealand, is made First Noble and brought into the States of Zealand (1668). 12. (bottom) By vote of the States General His Highness is given a seat in the Council of State and solemnly introduced there (1670). 13. His Highness travels to England, is entertained sumptuously, and some of the injuries done him at home made good (1671). 14. His Highness goes to visit his uncle the Elector of Brandenburg, passing by the camp of the Prince of Lünenburg before Brunswick (1671). 15. His Highness is appointed Captain and Admiral-General of the Militia and takes the field (1672). 16. His Highness is installed as hereditary Stadholder of Holland and Zealand and in all his ancestral dignities (1672)." (On the columns behind: victories against the French 1672–4.)

(4-6), and the *Mirror of Orange* (4-9). At this time, when factionalism at home had subsided and the Orangists stood secure at the helm, Romeyn could afford to praise the achievements of the fallen Ministers. Faced with the two intertwined, overlapping careers, Romeyn is nevertheless able to treat each on its own merits and also to dramatize the rise of the one against the catastrophic end of the other. There are, to be sure, anomalies in the Witt print, and the text indulges in some routine accusations, none of them serious; but the etcher does not lay undue stress upon the true "crimes," that is, those moments when Witt legislates the political exclusion of the Prince and his Stuart ally. Nor does he conceal the fact that despite the subtitle "despised, mocked, oppressed," Jan de Witt secured to the Prince the best possible education at government expense. The narrative rhythm in both the Orange and Witt prints is that of a continuous rise, a gradual grooming for power; only the endings are different. Given the novelty of the task and the difficulties inherent in the political situation, Romeyn has managed a remarkably clear historical narrative. He has at the same time responded to demands for visual variety among so many ceremonial or quasi-ceremonial scenes. While such continual attention to detail of costume and setting may appear to us fussy, it also helps to imprint each composition with a character of its own. Note, for instance, how various is the treatment of the scenes following William's installation as First Noble of Zealand (11), and how distinctly conceived are the scenes in the respective sequences depicting substantially the same event.

The year 1672 marks the beginning of the greatest cartoon-crusade since the Reformation, one which lasted for more than an entire generation. Under the leadership of Romeyn de Hooghe, one invective after another was hurled at Louis XIV, the Sun-King whose scorching rays only the Dutch dared face down with their unremitting scorn. Again and again the French Cock is humiliated by the Dutch Lion, who was accompanied on occasion by the Imperial Eagle and the English Dog. Fénelon, in his *Letter to Louis*

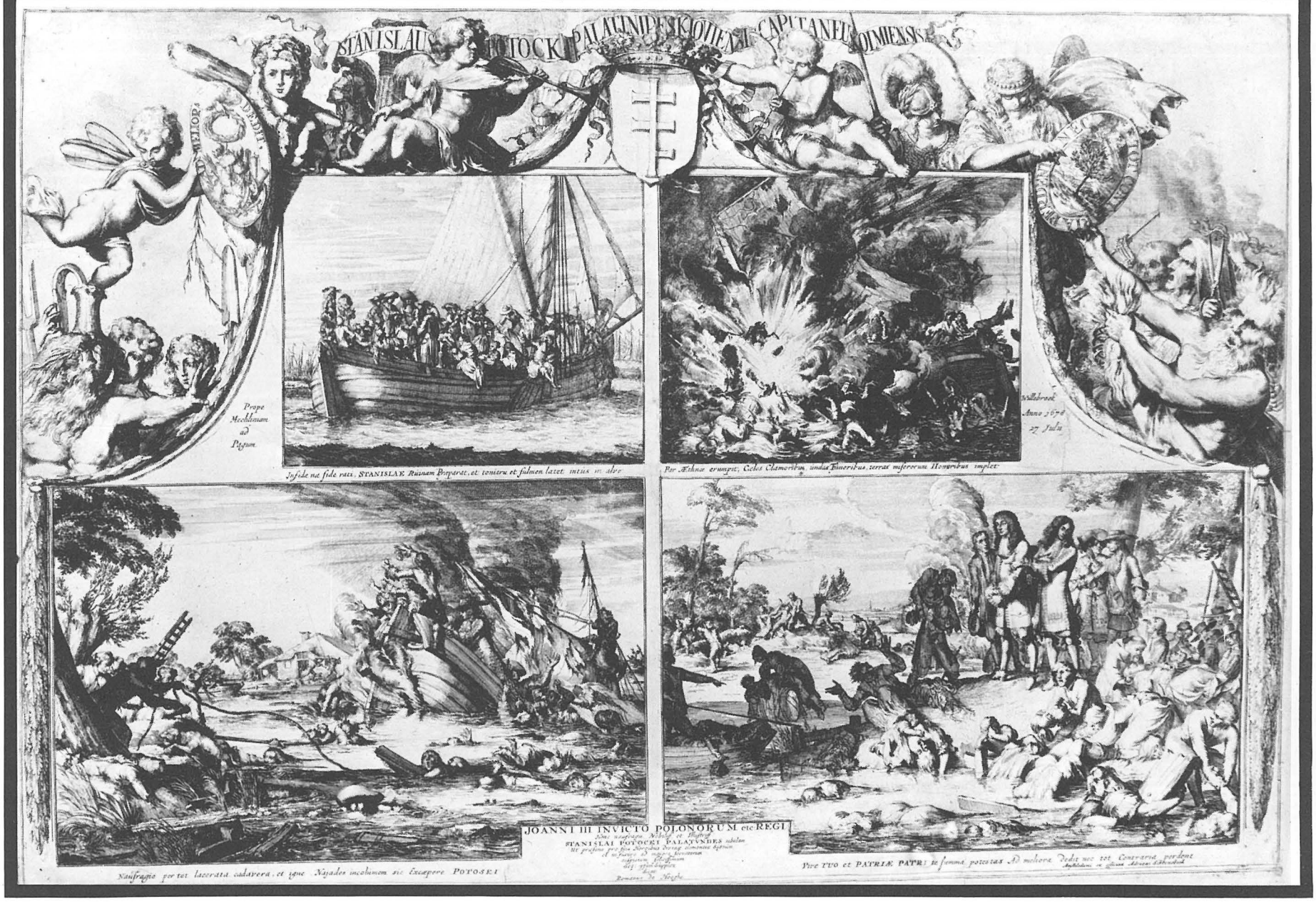
XIV, accuses the King of having undertaken the war for no better reason than "your glory, and the humiliation of makers of (satirical) pamphlets and medals in Holland." Again and again Louis is personally assailed for his hypocrisy, lechery, cruelty and treachery, as are his evil henchmen, his mistress Madame de Maintenon (4–10), and his allies the Bishop of Münster, often shown astride a pig, and ex-King James II, usually riding an ass.[6] This group of satires, of which Romeyn claims the better part, is a milestone in the history of pictorial polemics; never before had the world seen so continuous and sustained a campaign against the person of a public figure. The Lutheran campaigns had been directed against the Papacy, not the Popes in person; the attack of the League against Henri III was relatively short-lived; the satires of the Thirty Years War appeared in response to particular situations and changed in target as the situations changed. Romeyn's achievement, then, is noteworthy for its single-mindedness and for its scope. Whether it will stand up to closer inspection on an artistic level is another matter. Since no one has ever studied the art of Romeyn, it would be rash to dismiss the satiric broadsheets, which occupy so important a place in his graphic work, as monotonous, contrived and turgid, although this is often their first impression. They represent, however, only one weapon in his polemical armory; at key moments in the history of the period, the offensive is always sustained by the narrative strips which, being both documentary and accusatory, possess perhaps more devastating fire-power. At the same time, they seem to be artistically more satisfactory than the cartoon broadsheets. Ultimately, their superiority as propaganda may rest on the fact that at the most crucial stage of all, with the Revolution of 1688, they assume a creative as well as a destructive role, exposing not only the infamy of the enemy but also the virtue of the savior.

There is a certain ebb and flow in Romeyn's attacks on Louis, which faithfully reflects the relative intensity of political fears. After the heavy anti-French fire of the early and mid-70s, the etcher turns his attention to the Scandinavian wars and the exploits of the Poles against the Turks. In 1678, ennobled by the Polish King, John Sobieski, for his services as military iconographer, he had an opportunity to document a more personal Polish adventure, one which offered greater visual possibilities (4-11). Romeyn's style nowhere appears to better advantage than in these strongly contrasting designs, united on a sheet which, with its Latin inscriptions, was clearly intended for an international market. Such a work offers us some respite from the artist's usual scenes of political violence. He does not venture, like some of his followers (5-8), into the English domestic arena, now thrown into bloody confusion by the Popish Plots. But in 1685, Romeyn launches a great new offensive against Louis, whose arms had been relatively quiescent since the Peace of Nymegen in 1678.

6. Satirical medals were also widely used; cf. the monumental "Metallic History" of van Loon (1732).



4–10. Romeyn de Hooghe. *Louis XIV, as a crippled Apollo, driven by Mme de Maintenon in a broken chariot over the terrestrial globe, while the Dutch lion springs forward to tear down the horses* (1701).



4–11. Romeyn de Hooghe. *Shipwreck of Marshal Stanislas Potocki at Willebroek* (July 27, 1668).
"1. Known to the perfidious, and unknown to the friends, thunder and lightning was smuggled into the hold of the ship, and prepared the ruin of Stanislaus. 2. Like Etna it erupted, thundering into the sky with streams of smoke, covering the earth with parts of the Horoibus of miseries. 3. The naiads thus rescue Potocki unharmed, amongst lacerated corpses, shipwreck and fire. 4. Glory to you and to the fatherland of the fathers, to you Highest Power, who disposed it for the best, that they should not perish in the adversity."

3. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes (Romeyn de Hooghe)

When Louis settled down to consolidate his conquests abroad, he transferred his policy of violence to the domestic front. Here the religious issue was becoming paramount. His military failure against the Dutch in the 1670s had increased his contempt and hatred for that little nation's Protestantism, as well as for its Republicanism; after the death of his queen in 1683, he fell more and more under the influence of his Jesuit Confessor and his pious mistress Madame de Maintenon. Egged on by the court ecclesiastics and by the ever-present horde of most-Christian flatterers, Louis revoked in 1685 the Edict of Nantes, by which his grandfather, Henri IV, had guaranteed free exercise of religion to the hundreds of thousands of Protestants in the realm. "Conversion" of this powerful, prosperous minority was effected by force; the recalcitrant were tortured, murdered and enslaved. The cruelties which had first been unleashed by the Duke of Luxemburg upon the Dutch in 1672 were practiced upon the French Huguenots throughout the 1680s in the form of *dragonnades* (billetting of soldiers upon private homes). These cruelties were now officially condoned by the Minister for War, Louvois, and the King himself. Although any Huguenot laymen caught attempting to leave France were sent to the galleys, and the women were "confiscated in body and goods," large numbers of refugees managed to escape to friendly Protestant countries—England, Brandenburg (Prussia) and the Dutch Republic. Tales of horror were carried everywhere and a popular outcry was aroused which extended even to Catholic Germany and Italy, where the Pope "shed tears" over the action of His Most Christian Majesty. Louis had hoped to unite France in a crusade against the Protestant Netherlands; he succeeded in uniting Europe against himself.

Among all the Dutch satirical medals, and the pamphlets in various languages which poured forth during the '80s and '90s, there is no more terrifying indictment than that made in two exquisitely etched broadsheets by Romeyn de Hooghe (4-12 and 4-13). Romeyn lets the verbal propagandists search for the wider causes and further implications of


A
B
C
TIRANNIEN TEGEN DE GEREFORMEERDEN IN VRANKRYK
E
N
ANNO 1686
I
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L



Louis' action, and invent personally insulting motives for it.[7] He is content to record, in the crassest way, the cruelties themselves. In the first version (4-12), the preamble, the preliminaries to the physical coercion, are restricted to the top strip: Proclamation of the Edict, the sealing and destruction of the temples, ridicule and expulsion of the pastors' families. A regular battle (D) is followed by awe-inspiring scenes where chronology is irrelevant and the most "refined" tortures climax in the martyrdom of none other than the Dutch Consul—at Nantes itself. This finale was obviously designed to spark particular anger in Romeyn's public. It connects with the central scene exemplifying Dutch charity and calling for emulation of the generous Prince and Princess who are helping the refugees start life afresh.

This etching, which may well have been issued with William's personal blessing, must have enjoyed considerable popular success; we find another version from Romeyn's studio of almost identical layout and very similar substance (4-13). Much of the execution of the strip may have been left to lesser hands, but the compositions show the fertile inventiveness and the brash vigor of the master. This second version opens a wider historical perspective, placing greater emphasis on the origins of the persecution, and dwelling more upon the destruction of material property and other lesser humiliations. The blame has now shifted somewhat from soldier to priest, who appears exceedingly bloated and cruel. In the centerpiece, in an overloaded allegory typical of Romeyn's satires, the Jesuits are squarely blamed for having corrupted the King. The Lady to whom the obese clergy and noblemen pay homage is Persecution herself, engaged in sharing the spoils, while in the background lurks the old Lutheran motif of the Pope on the Seven-headed Beast of the Apocalypse, amid typical scenes of martyrdom. The most grotesque of the narrative border-scenes (6) features priests at their work of conversion: one is seated admonishing a haggard old man in the most sinister fashion, the other is gazing up at a woman suspended, naked. Further on (8) we see a priest pointing benignly to his written orders, while a mother shrieks to high heaven and her child is threatened with a crucifix. In the following scene a little Catholic girl drags along a dead cat to join the group mocking the expelled pastor. In the first version, too, the best (or worst) episodes focus upon the participation of the priesthood: in F, holding the instrument of torture or of alleged salvation more or less interchangeably, or in I, directing the massacre like Herod of old—from a human throne. Romeyn reached a new intensity and richness of incident, lending an explosive quality to compositions fusing pomp and fiendish cruelty. Although at

7. Cf. Malssen, pp. 43ff.

4–12. Romeyn de Hooghe. *Tyrannies Against the Protestants in France* (Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685–6. Commentary translated in full on page 442).
A. Agents sent into the provinces to close the temples and expel the pastors. B. The temples sealed. Harrassment of people. C. Temples demolished. Families split up. D. Protestants gathered in the countryside, charged by dragoons. Pillage, arson and murder. E. Protestants sent to the galleys as slaves. Some die on the way. F. Dragoons, billetted upon Protestant families, torture them. G. Tortures inflicted even on those who submit. H. Rape, torture and murder. I. A captain of dragoons and a Jesuit Father torture men and women. K. More tortures. L. Fleeing men and women fight their way past soldiers barring their way. M. Torture of the Dutch Consul and his family at Nantes. N. The Prince and Princess of Orange give succor to the refugees, and build new churches for them.

this distance of time we may suspect Romeyn of excessive credulity, there is a certain artistic credibility in his rendering of so much unreasoned savagery, which commands our respect. We recognize something of the passion of Rubens, spiced with Hogarth's intense powers of human observation. In this sense Romeyn is a vital link between those two great painters who were also involved in the social and political life of their age.

In Dutch pamphlets Louis figured as Hannibal, Nero, the Great Bastard, and the Beast of the Apocalypse; in the French almanacs he was acclaimed as the pacifier and liberator of Europe, and the Revocation was applauded by such refined spirits as Madame de Sévigné as "the greatest and finest thing ever conceived and executed," or by so exquisitely reasonable a moralist as Bossuet, who made the triumphant appeal on behalf of his "second Constantine": "Let us not fail to publish this miracle of our days." The appeal is answered by Romeyn de Hooghe.

4. *The Glorious Revolution (Romeyn de Hooghe)*

As European opinion, spurred on by the Dutch, consolidated in opposition to France, the Dutch grew closer to the English, their erstwhile foes. In 1685, months before Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes, King Charles II, a crypto-Catholic and secret puppet of Louis, died; he was succeeded by his brother James, an avowed Catholic and open puppet of the French king. Opposition mounted in England to James' tyrannical rule, and the English Parliament began to look across the Channel to his son-in-law William of Orange; the Dutch public became increasingly conscious of the fact that the destiny of their country was bound to that of England. Adriaen Schoonebeck, a former pupil of Romeyn, tried to emulate his master's success with the narrative broadsheet strip, and to exploit the current interest in the English ruling family. His elaborate picture-biography (4-14) is clearly based on the principle underlying Romeyn's biography of William (cf. the title *The Royal House of Stuart, oppressed by disaster, glorified . . .*), but it is equally obvious that neither the artist nor subject can com-



4–13. Romeyn de Hooghe (studio). *Picture of the Persecutions Suffered by the Protestants in France* (1685–6).
"1. Massacre of Admiral Coligny and many other Protestants in Paris, Saint Bartholomew's Day, 1572. 2. Request of the royal clergy in 1656 to exterminate the Reformed Religion, then refused by Cardinal Mazarin. 3. Cruelties committed upon the people of the Vivarais upon a false report of sedition. 4. The Intendants obliging the Protestants to abandon either their property or their religion. 5 & 6. (left) All sorts of illegal methods are used to force the Protestants to go to mass. Barbaric and diabolical torments are invented by the dragoons to force people to change their religion. 7. (right) La Rochelle taken and sacked by dragoons. 8. The dragoons sell off cheaply all the Protestants' furniture to the Papists. 9. (bottom) Pastors with their families are expelled, and the temples throughout France are destroyed. 10. Several ladies of quality try to escape, but are caught, have their noses cut off and are immured in cloisters. 11. Noble action of the Protestants of Metz, who courageously cut their way through a wide garrison. 12. Barbarous and unheard-of cruelties are practiced at Nantes upon the person of Jacob de Bye, Dutch Consul."



Requête de Louys au Roy. 1626. pour obtenir permission d'aller prescher la religion reformée, mais empêchée alors par le cardinal mazarin.

Doorgetelijkheyt levert een requeste in aen Pabren 1626. tot uijt vryheyd der gereformeerde religie derwaerts te gaen predicken, doch alles door den cardinaal mazarin afgeslagen.



Cruautez exercées contre le peuple du Roy. sur un faux rapport de sedition mutinerie par luy pour cette cause executez par les bourreaux.

Godloose grimmigheyt bedreven aen de lieden int Roomsche gedoente door een valscheyt gegeven aen de Koning als oock aen de opstant door beuls handen uijtgevoert.



Les Jesuites dans cet intervalle font leurs efforts pour obliger le Roy a abandonner tout leur devoir, et a quitter ou abandonner tout leur devoir religion.

De Jesuiten doen in dese tusschentijt alle moeyten om den Koning te bewegen dat hy de gereformeerde godts dienst soude laten varen.



TAFEREEL DER VERVOLGINGE TEGEN DE GEREFORMEERDE IN VRANKRIICK.

TABLEAU DE LA PERSECUTION CONTRE LES REFORMEES EN FRANCE

Tableau pour servir de memoire touchant la cruelle persecution exercée contre les pauvres reformez en France, depuis l'an 1660. jusques à l'an 1685.

Les pauvres eglises mais tourmentées par les bourreaux en ruinées, et jusqu'aux abîmes plongées par la fureur des persecuteurs.

Vermomde pape list breekt Vrankrijck oppermagt haar zetel, wijd haar vuyl godts kerke te bedervé bij haar en kan geen deught, die andere rijken bragt tot haar gebiet nog wijd, de minste guist perwerre godts kerk raakt onder 't jok en wrijgt de laatste slag



La Rochelle pillée et saccagée par les troupes du Roy.

Rochel wort wreedelijck geplondert, verwoest en geschonden.



Les dragons rendent et livrent aux jesuites et aux papistes a bon marché tous les biens meubles des reformez.

De dragonders stellen ter koop, en verkoopen huijs raat tot een prijs, berck van de Jesuiten en de papisten, voor het rooven en deelen van de waerdy der gereformeerden.



Les habitans de la ville de Metz, qui se sont ouvert le 10. Sept. 1670. pour le Roy, et ont receu garnison.

Het Borgerlijck ende ommegaende volck der stadt Metz, die haar den 10. Sept. 1670. voor den Koning overgegeven, en een garnisoen in haar selven ontfangen hebben.



Les Huguenots habitans de la ville de Nismes, qui ont été forcés par les troupes du Roy, de recevoir garnison dans leur ville.

De Hugenoten inwoonders der stadt Nismes, die door de troupen des Konings gedwongen zijn geweest een garnisoen in haar stadt te ontfangen.



4–14. Adriaen Schoonebeck. *The Royal House of Stuart, Oppressed by Disaster and Glorified . . . Honoured, Disgraced, Oppressed and Elevated* (c.1685–6).

C. (on left hand column in centerpiece) Execution of Charles I. G. Destruction of the royal images during the Commonwealth. H. The future Charles II hides in an oak-tree after the battle of Worcester (1651). I. He escapes in disguise. K. Charles II proclaimed King of England (1660). L. The king at Breda is requested to return to England. M. He departs from the Hague. N. He lands at Dover, and General Monk kneels before him to ask pardon. O. He travels to London, where he is well received by the people. P. His brother James, Duke of York, fights against the Dutch. Q. His illegitimate son the Earl of Monmouth defeats the Scots at Bothwell Bridge (1675). R. Death of Charles II (1685). S. Coronation of James II. T. The rebel Monmouth, claiming the throne, lands at Lyme Regis. V. The Duke of Argyll (acting for Monmouth) is captured in Scotland. W. Monmouth is defeated at the battle of Sedgmoor. X. Execution of Monmouth (July 1685).

pare with Romeyn and William. After a promisingly picturesque opening, the story peters out in a series of conventional ceremonial and battle scenes. Neither Charles nor James emerges as "hero" of the strip, but rather the Stuart bastard, the Earl of Monmouth who was executed after a hopeless rebellion, as we shall see in a strip discussed later.

Romeyn, faithful to the cause of William, would never have ventured upon such doubtful propaganda. It was not long before he could seal his hero's success with another outburst of prints. With the so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688, James fled the country in the most abject humiliation, and William arrived from Holland to be acclaimed as King by consent of Parliament and people of England. Romeyn rose to the occasion with a series of allegories ridiculing James' discomfited ally Louis (who had just declared war afresh upon the Republic and was overwhelming the nearby Rhenish Palatinate); but his narrative prints at this time are reserved for James and William, to the degradation of the former and the glorification of the latter. The ignominious flight of the King is the sole subject of the one print (4-15), which clearly shows that James' abandonment of his country was voluntary and not the result of forcible expulsion by an invader. The second print (4–16) juxtaposes the recent tyrannies of James to the popular arrival of William, suggesting the latter to be the remedy for the former. It would however be wrong to view William simply as an instrument of justice, and to see in the print merely the "crime-and-punishment" pattern which marks so many of the early strips. Romeyn is more subtle. "Punishment," that is, the depiction of James as the vicious but defeated criminal, was left to Romeyn's allegorical satires; his narrative strips are concerned more with tracing the bizarre and picturesque, the unexpected twists of human destiny. True, King James' arrogance is graphically displayed in the fifth scene of the *Flight* sequence, and his tyrannies are depicted with characteristic exaggeration in the opening scene of the other strip; but on the whole the "crimes" are merely preludes to what follows. The picturesque elements in these prints remind us of compositions by Dutch landscape and marine painters more famous (today) than Romeyn de Hooghe: in the story of the flight, there are the lovely Thames-side views; little barges overloaded with people and departing in the dead of night (a scene of almost Rembrandtian enchantment); storm, shipwreck, and adventures on the beach; finally the reception by Louis, where all, by contrast, is Franco-Popish pomp and stiffness. In the story of William's arrival we are also encouraged to forget the political implications and reflect upon the personal drama: the tearful leave-taking from the Dutch officials assembled on the pier, trembling at the departure of their Prince, with the entire army and navy, to a foreign land; the enthusiastic greeting of the English peasants as William lands in a simple barge, and is invited to spend the night in a fisherman's hut. This scene is surely placed in conscious opposition to that episode in the story of James' flight, where the King's unpopularity is proved in his casual abuse by the mob; similarly the final central scene of William's reception by a cheering London populace contrasts with the traitor King's reception by the foreign enemy.

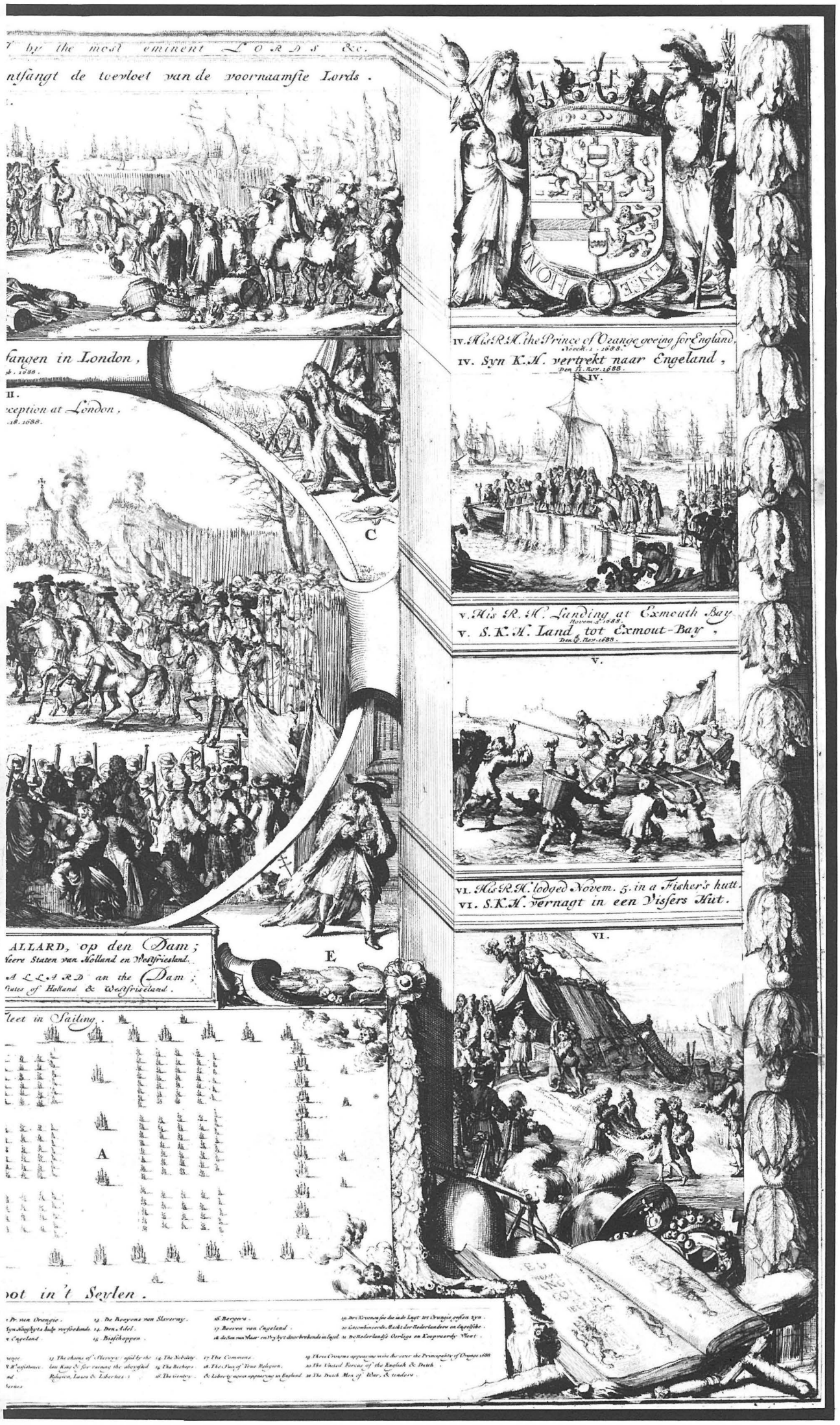
As in 1672, events had provided Romeyn with the chance to heighten his hero's triumph against the background of a rival's defeat. Romeyn's art, maturer now, speaks with a greater vivacity and greater human sympathy.

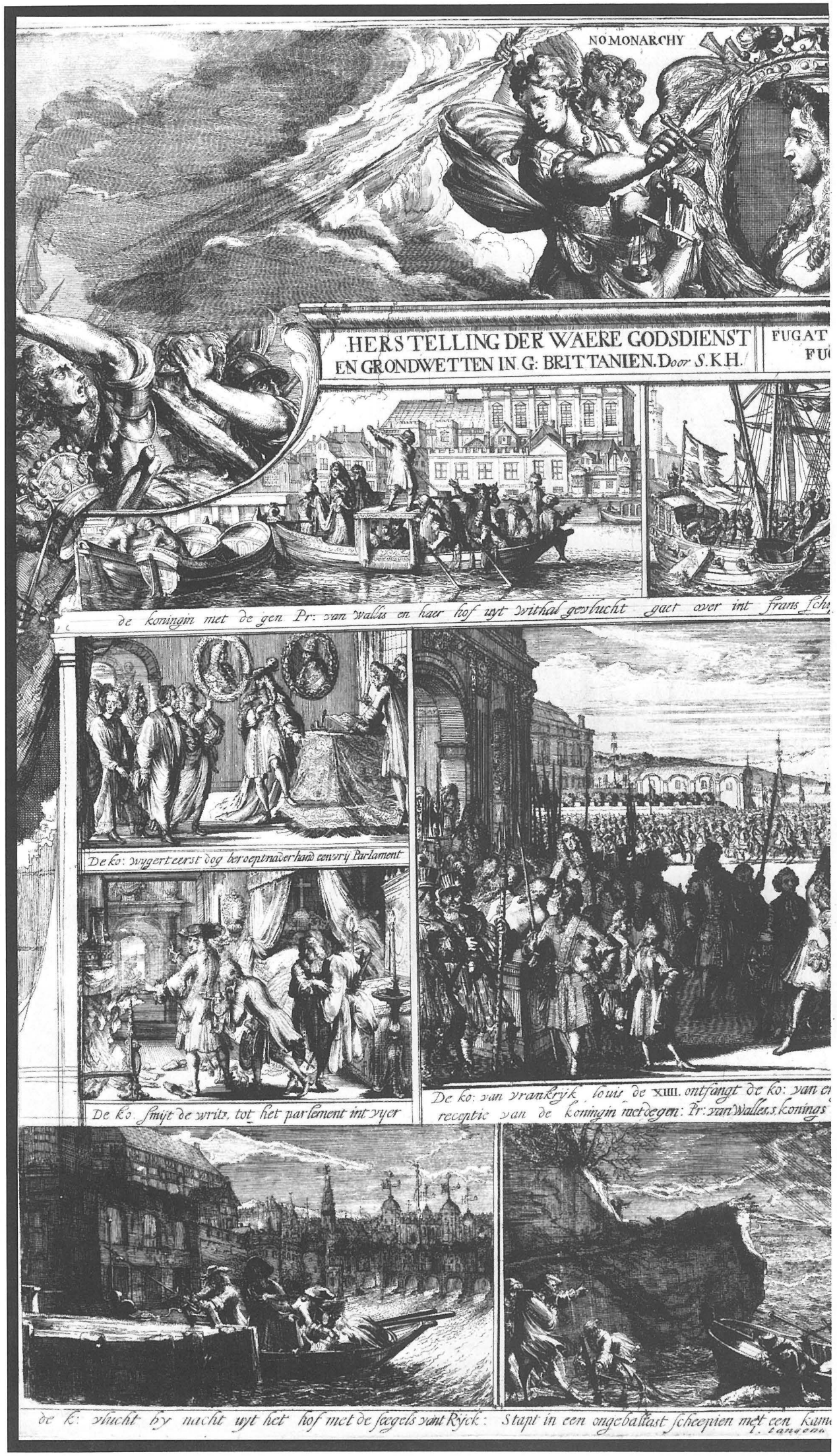
The Glorious Revolution of 1688 seems to have swung quietly into place, unaccompanied on the English side by any such war of picture and word as was provoked by the Cromwellian revolution or the Popish Plot scare a decade earlier. There are no English satires or narrative broadsheets, nor does any publisher seem to have thought of providing the Dutch plates with English captions. This fact is surprising, but may be taken as proof of the unanimity of popular opinion in favor of the new King. There were, of course, both English and Dutch prints relating the festivities and ceremonies attending the Coronation, but we cannot include them here.

Romeyn continued his work as pictorial polemicist for the Grand Alliance against Louis; his faithfulness to the domestic cause of William is reflected in his participation in a bitter paper war with the Town Council of Amsterdam. (Throughout their lives both William and Romeyn were subject to bitter satires from the factious Dutch.) During the '90s the Dutch became increasingly confident that the aging French King could no longer threaten the existence of the Republic, and Romeyn never again has occasion to display his talents in historical narrative. This would seem to confirm our supposition that he reserved this class of print for moments of extreme crisis. He did later attempt to give continuity to his satires by starting what amounted to a periodical (anti-French, of course) which he called *Esopus in Europa* and which ran to forty issues during the years 1701–2 (cf. 4–10); and he did produce in 1692 a large album of plates relating William's visit that year to Holland. But in both these works the emphasis is upon the emblematic learning of the artist rather than upon his narrative skill; and with the posthumous publication of his imposing work on *Hieroglyphics, or Symbols* (1735), he was certain to be remembered as emblematist rather than as the greatest pictorial narrator of political sagas of his age.



4–15. Romeyn de Hooghe. *The Crimes of James II, The Arrival of William III in England* (1688).
"I. Death and ruin of the Lords and Commons (i.e. both Houses of Parliament). II. The Seven Bishops taken to the Tower. III. Birth of the so-called Prince of Wales. (Bottom: the order of sailing of the Dutch fleet.) IV. H.R.H. leaves for England. V. H.R.H. lands at Exmouth Bay. VI. H.R.H. spends the night at a fisherman's hut. VII. H.R.H. arrives in England and receives a deputation of the most prominent nobles. VIII. Reception in London."


by the most eminent LORDS &c.
ntfangt de toevloet van de voornaamfte Lords.
fangen in London,
II.
ception at London,
C
ALLARD, op den Dam;
Heere Staten van Holland en Westfriesland.
ALLARD on the Dam;
States of Holland & Westfriesland.
E
Fleet in Sailing.
A
oot in't Seylen.
IV. His R.H. the Prince of Orange goeing for England, Novem. 1. 1688.
IV. Syn K.H. vertrekt naar Engeland, Den 1. Nov. 1688.
IV.
V. His R. H. Landing at Exmouth Bay Novem. 5. 1688.
V. S.K.H. Land tot Exmout-Bay, Den 5. Nov. 1688.
V.
VI. His R.H. lodged Novem. 5. in a Fisher's hutt.
VI. S.K.H. vernagt in een Visfers Hut.
VI.



4–16. Romeyn de Hooghe. *Restoration of the True Religion and Constitution in Great Britain; with the flight from England of the Court and Family of King James II and his Queen* (1688).
"1. The Queen, fleeing from Whitehall with the Prince of Wales and her court, 2. changes into the French ship the 'Assurance,' 3. lands at Calais, and travels to the King of France at St. Germain-en-Laye (Jan. Ist 1689). 4. The King at first refuses, then calls a free Parliament. 5. The King throws the writs for the Parliament into the fire. 6. (bottom) The King flees by night with the Great Seal. 7. The King steps into an unballasted ship at the mouth of the Thames, with one chamberlain and one nobleman. 8. The King is stranded at Faversham in Kent, plundered and abused. 9. (lower right) The King escapes from Rochester and arrives at Ambleteuse. 10. The King goes by Boulogne to Paris and St. Germain. 11. (center) Louis XIV receiving the King of England, James II, at St. Germain-en-Laye, the day after the reception of the Queen, with the so-called Prince of Wales the King's bastard, many Romish Lords and Priests."


NO POPERY
PARCITQ:
GATIS.
MET WEGVLUCHTEN VAN HET HOF ende familie
Van de k: Iacob de II en koningin van Engeland. etc.
n c Asseurance. . land tot Calais en reyst na de koning van vrankryk tot St: germain en lay. A 1689 den 1 januarii.
de k: gaet over boulange na Parys en: St germain.
gelant Jacob den II tot St germain en laje daegs na de
bastaerden, veele Roomse lords en Paters.
de k: ontspant uyt Rochester en arriveert tot Ambletense.
ed: en een Edelman inde mont vande Teems. de k: wert by Sevenham in kent opgeworpen. geplundert en mishandelt.

Chapter Five

ENGLAND (*c. 1605-1710*) POPISH PLOTS

1. Elizabethan and Jacobean plots

During the sixteenth century, the English, unlike the peoples of the Continent, had little use for pictures in the service of religion and politics. Henry VIII had established a national church independent of Rome without resorting to the pictorial polemics of the Lutherans, and the great literary renaissance under Elizabeth was not accompanied by a comparable movement in the figurative arts. The English attitude toward the arts was more Calvinist than Lutheran; only portraiture flourished to a degree, and political propaganda was limited to pictures of the monarch. Even English book-illustration lagged far behind that practiced across the Channel. It is a curious fact that the illustrated emblem-book, which provided the pictorial satirist with his basic vocabulary, was used more by the writer than by the artist, and it is only very gradually that a tradition develops in allegorical, polemical imagery. But the seventeenth century in England was marked by a series of popular revolutions and revolts; at these moments of crisis the pamphleteers sought to reinforce their viewpoint with the help of the engraver's art. As on the Continent, there is an occasional picture story among the sporadic outbursts of single cartoons; but it is not until the great Popish Plot of the late 1670's that the narrative strip becomes firmly established as a distinct category of broadsheet art.

In art, as in politics, the destinies of Dutch and English were intertwined. Just as the English nobility relied heavily upon foreign portrait painters, from Holbein to Van Dyck, and from Lely to Kneller, so the popular press drew upon foreign engravers, particularly Dutchmen. I have included a print which may be taken as a prelude to that line of broadsheets, narrative and non-narrative, reflecting the century-long love-hate relationship between the two nations



5–1. Pieter van der Heyden. *Queen Elizabeth as Diana discovering the lewdness of the Papacy, as Callisto* (c. 1585).



(5-1). The engraver, a Netherlandish Protestant, is inviting Queen Elizabeth to give him active aid in his struggle against Spain. From the eggs hatched by the lewd Callisto, identified as the Papacy, come the reigning Pope (the heretic hunter Gregory XIII), the Inquisition, the Saint Bartholomew massacre, a Spanish general and the murderer of William the Silent. In 1585, then, the Dutch engraver helps uncover a nest of Continental plots and plotters; but there survives no contemporary pictorial description, by either Dutch or English engraver, of the series of plots hatched in England against the Queen.

The Gunpowder Plot of 1605–6, at the beginning of the reign of King James I, provokes the first elements of narrative in a strip showing phases of the execution of the Pope's "saltpeeter Saints," as they were called (5-2). The plot aroused considerable concern abroad, so that one is not surprised to find the Dutch engraving supplied with a German text. Despite the pacific policy of James in England and Oldenbarnevelt in the Protestant Netherlands, popular suspicion of Spain remained intense. As opposition mounted against James' plan of marrying his son Charles to a Spanish princess, the Dutch engraver collaborated with the English pamphleteer to produce an allegorical print called the *Double*

5–2. German or Dutch. *How various English noblemen decide to destroy the King and the whole Parliament with gunpowder* (1605/6).

"How some of the most notable English traitors are sentenced from life to death. . . . The plot was betrayed by a letter. Some were killed in flight, others were caught and put into prison. . . . They were hanged from a rope, but immediately cut down, and the corpses placed on a bench, where their bellies were opened, and the entrails thrown into a fire. The heart was placed in their godless mouths, and then their heads were cut off, and finally the body was quartered and displayed in various places. The heads were impaled on iron stakes and thus presented publicly to the world. This is the reward of traitors, this is what will happen to all others."

Deliverance. This celebrates the failure of two great plots, the Spanish Armada of 1588 and the Gunpowder Plot of 1605.[1] A more extensive review of Popish crime, however, came a few years later, in 1624, when James was finally forced to abandon the Spanish marriage project (5-3). Once again Dutch engraver and English writer collaborate, in a design which is clearly reminiscent of the *Arminiaens Testament* (2-21) published in Amsterdam a few years earlier.

1. This print (reproduced by George, E.P.C. I, Pl. 3) became famous when its instigator, the preacher Samuel Ward, was arrested on the instance of the Spanish ambassador, who called it "lewd and profane" (1621).

In Nomine Domini incipit Omne Malum.

1 The Rebellion of Northu: & Westm:

2 The treacherous practise of Don Io. of Aust.

3 Slucely encouraged by P: & K: of Sp: rayseth rebell.

4 Desmonds bloody practise approued

5 Rebellion the effect of Monasteries

6 Somerviles hast to Kill the Queene.

7 The Spa: Embas: thrust out of England

8 Iorne Papers blowne into the ship

9 Parry not able to Kill the Queene

10 Babington with his Complices

11 Stafford clearing himselfe

12 the Inuincible Armado

13 Lopas compounding to poyson the Queene

14 Tyrones false Submission afterwards rebelling

15 Watson Seducing Noblemen

16 The Powder Plot

A THANKFVLL REMEMBRANCE OF GODS MERCIE by G.C.

VLS SICVT TV DOMINE IN FORTIEVS

Lift up harts and hands and praise ye Lord

Deo Liberatori

Deo Reduci

Malignant Church

Are to bee sold by Iohn Garrett at the Royall Exchang in Cornhill

Ph: Iaven: Corn: Danckertsz sculp

It is less allegorical and more purely narrative than its prototype, and thus more readily comprehensible. The engraver has devised a literally monumental, mock Papal Bull, which promulgates the *Popish Plots and Treasons*: "First are described the Cursed plots they laid, and on the side their wretched ends display'd." Crime is clearly contrasted to punishment, the latter being depicted on the banners affixed to each step of the monument, or as it were to each article of the Bull. The action of the plotters, and their several forms of death or discomfiture, is rendered with great animation and with more variety than one would expect with so repetitive a series of subjects. The fact that the most recent event depicted is the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 (twenty years earlier) would hardly have prejudiced the relevance of the print, for Englishmen had only to look to the Continent for frightening examples of current Catholic tyranny. In the words of the chief historian of English caricature, this monumental catalogue gives "the background of Civil War emotions as well as of the achievements of Oates and Bedloe"[2] (of the Popish Plots).

2. *The Civil War*

Of all the plots during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, only those in Ireland rise to the status of rebellion. From the sixteenth century down to our own, the Irish Catholic has proved a perennial threat to his Protestant oppressor from England; so it is not surprising to find one of the first and perhaps the bloodiest of conflicts in the English Civil War taking place on Irish soil. Ireland had, however, been relatively peaceful for over a generation, and the English public, accustomed to regard the religious massacre as a Continental phenomenon, was caught completely unaware. The strip on this subject (5-4) reveals cruelties as great if not greater than those of the Thirty Years War. This alphabet of horrors does not claim to generalize, but merely to illustrate carefully documented (though no doubt exaggerated) reports of specific incidents. There is not a single representation of an "ordinary" murder, and the diagrammatic style throws the naked cruelty into even greater relief. It is however made clear that the Catholics engaged in the massacre are neither soldiers nor priests, but well-dressed gentlemen performing private acts of vengeance upon single persons or families. The strip reunites the illustrations to a pamphlet called "The Teares of Ireland," which was also translated into Dutch. This pamphlet was clearly intended not only, as it claims, to "animate the spirits of Protestants against such bloudy villains"; more particularly, it was an attempt to arouse opposition to Charles' plan of bringing over to England Irish soldiers to quell his rebellious Scots and his uncooperative English Parliament.

The year 1641 saw a flurry of polemical prints—some hundred and fifty are extant. This first English cartoon war is a very one-sided affair indeed, for almost all the prints are pro-Parliament and pro-Puritan. The chief, obsessive target of the satirists was Charles' favorite, Archbishop Laud. The cartoonist shows him dining off the ears he had (in reality) cut off three members of Parliament; with his nose held to the grindstone; as the Beast of the Apocalypse; and as the Papist devil. He was blamed for all the country's ills, in particular the horrors of the Irish rebellion which figure prominently, in the company of his other tyrannies, in a Dutch allegory-cum-strip published to celebrate his execution in 1645 (5-5). In the center Laud appears dreaming, plagued by memories of the crimes which are on the one hand personified in the figures by his bedside, and on the other hand re-enacted in the border strip.

By 1642 the pamphlet war in England had turned into a fighting war. The broadsheets do not atempt to follow the military events but focus upon obnoxious Royalist leaders and certain dire threats to security, such as the abortive plot to hand over the City of London to the Royalists (5-6). This sheet is important because it gives the most analytical, sustained account of a single event which we have encountered thus far. Instead of a catalogue of various plots discovered over a period of years, such as we saw in the *Popish Plots and Treasons* of 1624, we are offered a clear and simple projection of the various stages planned in a single conspiracy. Surprisingly, there are no accusations of popery, nor are the conspirators even identified by name; the story reads in a rather impersonal fashion, with accent upon places and strategy. The technical crudeness of the print, which we know to have been produced at top speed, stamps it as native English work rather than a Dutch import.

The greatest engraver working in mid-century England was Wenzel Hollar, to whom we owe the finest satires of the age. He was in no sense primarily a political cartoonist, but his life had been much affected by the vicissitudes of war. In his childhood, in 1620, his family was apparently ruined when the Habsburgs seized back his native town of Prague; he was in Germany during the Thirty Years War, and in England during the Civil War. As a protegé of the royalist nobility he was forced into exile, and did not return until 1652 when the war was over. He celebrated the peace, and his return to his adopted country, with a print (5-7) which is so curious in appearance as to warrant special explanation. Part map, part battle-scene, and part political strip narrative, this plate reveals the extent of the artist's amazing technical virtuosity and versatility. Cartographical devices were used at this period in the context of political allegories, some of which are very large and ambitious,[3] but at no time do we find an attempt to combine map and narrative strip. Such a combination leads to confusion since, in order to read the story in chronological sequence, we must begin on the right side, then move toward the left, at which

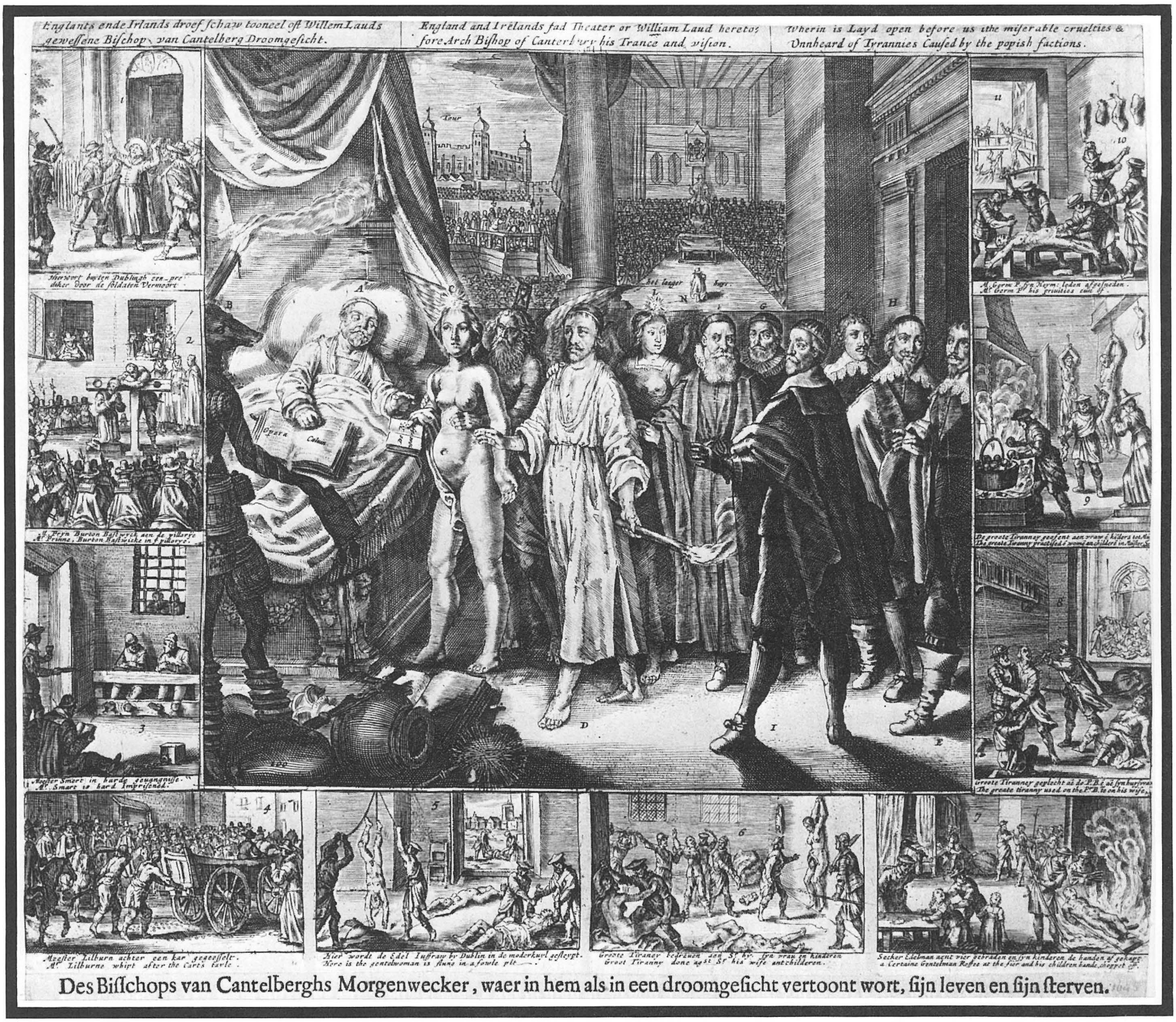
5–3. Cornelis Danckertsz, *First are described the Cursed Plots they laid, and on the side their wretched ends display'd* (1624).

2. George, E.P.C. I, p. 17.

3. Notably B. M. Sat. 143, *Magna Britannia Divisa.*



5–4. English. *The Teares of Ireland* (Irish Rebellion, 1641).

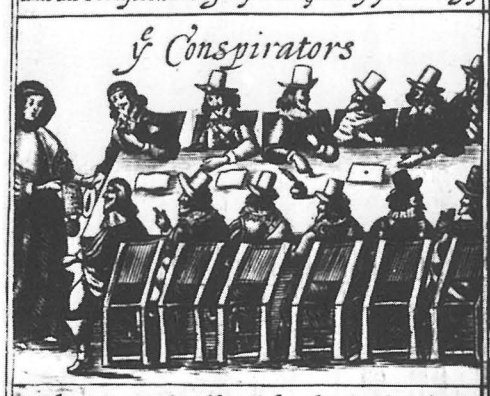


5–5. Dutch. *The (Arch)bishop of Canterbury's Cock, whereby his life and death is revealed to him as in a dream* (1645).

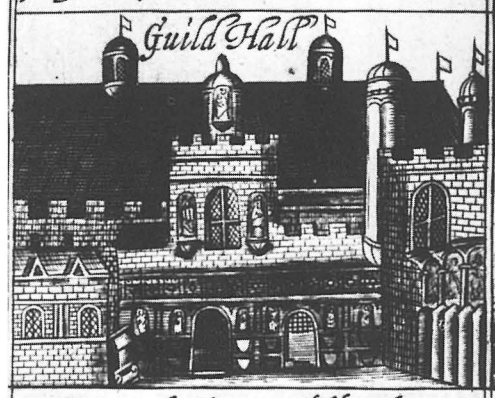
point we are obliged to pass back and forth between map and narrative border. Hollar has not made his political purpose clear, for while he is documenting the course of the Civil Wars and celebrating the Puritan victory on the one hand, he has on the other hand laid equal accent on the Bohemian wars of thirty years before. There must be autobiographical reasons for this. Memories from childhood jostle with those of the recent war, and the connection between the two, involving a strange misapprehension of the French involvement, is very strained indeed. There are curious anomalies of arrangement, upon which it would be tedious to elaborate but which suggest either that Hollar's memory was confused, or that he did not care about putting the scenes in the right order and coordinating them with the verses below. Whether regarded from the propagandist or artistic point of view, this print is far from satisfactory but is interesting enough to make one regret that the exquisite art of Hollar was so seldom devoted to the narrative strip.

The Malignants trecherous and Bloody Plot againſt the Parliament and Citty of Lo: wch was by Gods Providence happily prevented May 31. 164

The Conſpirators conſulting togeither of ye fine Deſigne and the Comiſsion brought from Oxford by ye La: Aubigny



Within the Citty at Guild Hall they thought a fitt place for ye Magazine alſoe at Alderman Foukes and Leadenhall



At St Iameſes the Kings two Children they nomi-nated to have ſeized vpon



Michaell and Sathan each with each, Revl 12. 7.
For Sions ſafety, Sions Breath
Her Rice, Her Fall, Her Weale, Her Woe, Contends,
The doubtfull Victory at laſt
Doth Sion Raiſe, and Sathan Caſt.
Whoſe Hartned Socials, Whoſe faint harted freinds;
Theire Praiſe to God, theire feares euen to diſpaire extends.

Noe Inſtrument Sheild, Sword, or Speare. Iſa: 54. 17.
Noe Curſe from Pisgah, or Mount Peor. Numb: 23. 14.
Which Balaacks wrath, or Balaams wit can frame,
Noe Ammon, Edom, Amalecke,
Noe Iabin, Zeeb, noe Midianite,
Shall once prevaile to roote out Iſraels name Iſa: 62. 1
Sion ore Conquerd heaps ſhall Victory proclaime:

In the Citty of London the Lord Major with all ye Comittee for the Militia were to be ſeizd on.



Heere the Kings Army ſhould have bynne, neare att hand to enter the Citty.



Succeſsion of all Ages tell
And Witneſses in Hraven and Hell,
Cryes Woe to all, that Sions fall endevour;
The Maſters of this Portrayd Plot
Sayes nothing but a halters got.
To ſtuffe braith, all joyes on Earth togeither
Perpetuall ſhame and blemiſh name (poore grime) for ever.

Seaſe, ſeaſe Malignants dor not ſtrayne,
Your witt, your ſtrength, your ſelues in vayne,
You ſtrive againſt the ſtreame, once you ſhall ſee,
That though Philiſtines gett the day,
And carry Iſraels Arke away,
Dagon ſhall fall, and Aſhdod, men ſhall flee
Nought is their gaine but woefull payne and miſery.

The Cheiſe place for the Magazine without the Citty was the Tower to be ſeiz'd vpon.



In ye Lords Houſe they nominated 2. members to be ſeized vpon. Viz: the Lord Say and Lo: Wharton



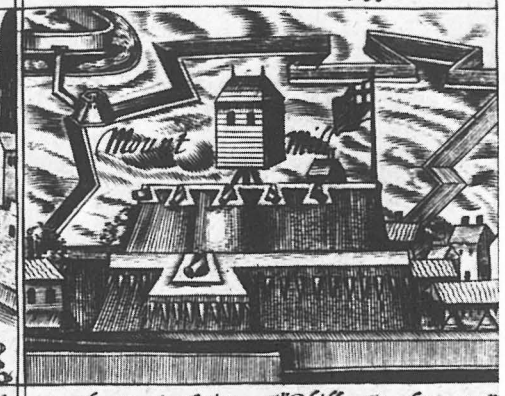
For ye diſcovery and happy prevention of this wicked Plott was kept a ſolemne day of Thanksgiving, June 15 and a Covenant to be taken by the Parliament and whole Kingdome.



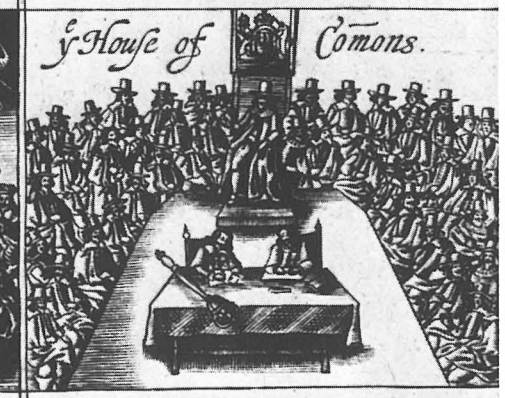
God is in Sion, Shee in God,
On Earth, in Heaven, except your Rod
Drives him from hence; and her from thence aboue,
Sion ſhall ſtand when you ſhall fall,
And live, when you ſhall periſh all,
Moſt ſafely in the Rocks this turtle Dove,
Shall feede with Cheere, her Mana theirs Gods love.

God and your Countrey ſhall deſie
Your Name your Race, your Memory
Shall Rott and Stinke, your owne Poſterity
With anguiſh eake ſhall Curſe the day
Wherein you Baſely gave away
Theire Native Rights, their Lawes and Liberty
Subdud their Necks to th' iron Yoke of Slavery.

In the next place they intended to ſeize the Forts and Out Workes to preuent all ſupplies.



In the Houſe of Comons Sr Phillip Stapleton, Mr Hambden, Mr Stroude, Mr Pym ſhould be ſeized vpon.



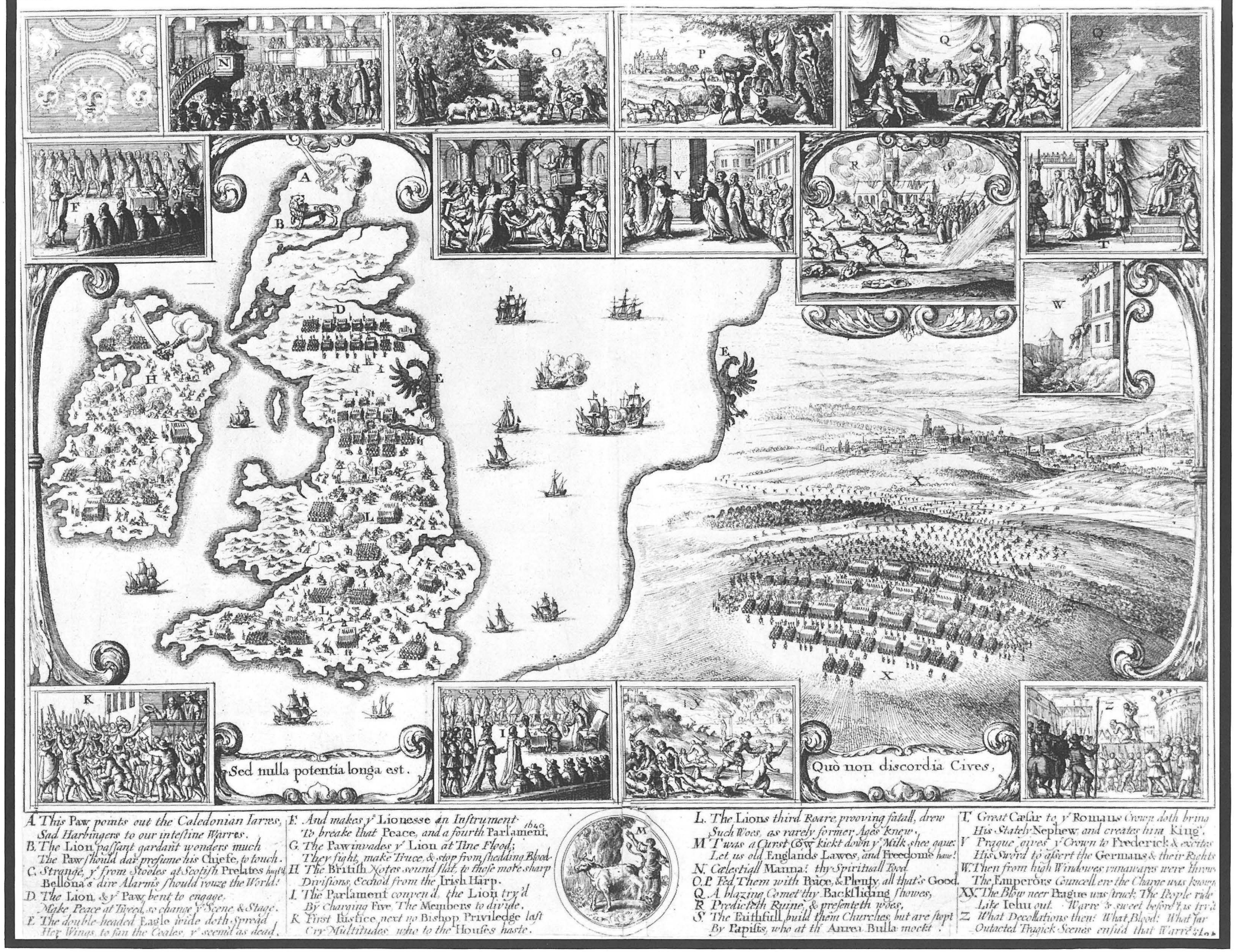
Laſtly heere followeth the maner of the Conſpirators Executio at ſeverall times which they acknoledged was juſt



You may Succeede and proſper heere
Awhile, but this ſhall coſt you deere
In future times, the Lord ſhall all invite
To witnes how you doe deſtroy
His Saints, which doe not ye annoy.
Your Epitaph in Aſhes men ſhall write
And theirs in Marble, thus ſhall men ye praiſe Recite

Deare was their God and Countreyes good,
God and their Countrey hath their blood
Their Soules with God, their Blood for Vengeance cryes
Corruption turnes there Corps to droſſe.
The Reſurrection ſhall that loſſe
Returne with gayne, and wipe their watry Eyes
And ſhall for ayé, with Vengeance pay their Enimyes.

5–6. English. *The Malignants trecherous and Bloody Plot against the Parliament and Citty of London (May 31, 1643).*



5–7. Wenzel Hollar. *The Bohemian war, and the English Civil War* (c. 1652).

(map) A-B. Scottish rebellion against King Charles' episcopacy. C. Scotch Covenanters hurl stools at the Archbishop (Edinburgh, July 23, 1637). D. Peace between English and Scots concluded at the Tweed (June 1639). F. Charles dissolves Parliament (May 4, 1640). G. Scottish invasion; Peace made at Ripon (August 1640). H. Irish rebellion and massacre (1641). I. Charles seizes five members of Parliament (1642). K. Popular outcry against episcopacy and privilege. L. (map) Battles between Parliament and Royalists (1642–9). N. (top) True preaching restored. O-P. England at peace (from 1649). Q. Riotous living in Prague. R-S. Repression of Protestants (1617). T. (probably) Coronation of Ferdinand King of Bohemia (1617). V. Crown of Bohemia offered to Frederick V (1619). W. Defenestration of Prague (1618). X-Y. Battle of the White Hill (1620). Z. Execution of the rebels (1621).

3. *The Horrid Popish Plot (Barlow's playing cards)*

"The truth of my story if any man doubt, We've witnesses ready to swear it all out."

The imagery of political satire in England dies down with the establishment of the Cromwellian peace, and it remains dormant, except for momentary outbursts against the regicides and then against the Dutch, after the bloodless Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Public participation in political issues under Charles II was discouraged by the Press Licensing Act. This was due to expire in 1679, but the pressure of circumstances swept it away the previous year, one marked by a popular anti-papal hysteria known to historians as the Popish Plots, and to contemporaries as the Horrid Popish Plot.

Parliament had been for some years in a state of nervous tension in its relations with the Court, which was suspect for its pro-French, papist leanings; the heir to the throne, moreover, the King's brother James, Duke of York, was a practicing Catholic. All the internal divisions in England were carefully nurtured by the French ambassador with gold from Louis. The envenomed anti-Catholic atmosphere of London in the later '70's was expressed in a Dutch print which summarizes a century of religious tyranny in Europe, and closes on the recent "conspiracy" in England (5–8).

Now follows a deplorable and fascinating episode in English history. In August 1678 an obscure Roman Catholic convert, Titus Oates, used his alleged familiarity with Jesuit intrigue to denounce a vast conspiracy against the life of the King and against the Protestant religion in England. His sensational accusations led to the arrest of large numbers of Catholic priests and Jesuits.

In October a very popular Justice of the Peace named Godfrey, with whom Oates had left a copy of his denunciation, was found murdered. To the alarmed populace this seemed to represent the first blow in a wholesale massacre of Protestants, and panic swept the country. King Charles' chief minister fell, upon the (justified) charge that he had been bribed by Louis to dissolve Parliament; and truly treasonable correspondence with France was found in the possession of the Duke of York's private secretary, Edward Coleman. It was however on perjured evidence that three men were convicted and executed for the murder of Godfrey, who was treated by the pamphlet press as hero and martyr. One of the most enthusiastic publishers was a certain Thomas Dawks, who calls himself "his Majestie's British Printer." Bypassing the professional draughtsmen such as he normally employed, amateur that he was, he rushed himself to work (5-9). It is not without an evident sense of pride that he identifies himself "as the designer of these emblemes," and although his story seems to be thrown together rather haphazardly, the careful numbering of scenes and the labelling of persons and events result in a clear and logical reading. Dawks surrounds the portrait of the martyr with references to the fires which had plagued London in recent years and which were popularly blamed on the Papists; he outlines the plot against the life of Charles, as revealed by Oates (scene 3); and reconstructs the story of Prance, the principal informer on the Godfrey murder, with considerable circumstantial care. After the scene of the Papists faking the murder as suicide (10), we witness the executions of Godfrey's murderers and of those accused of conspiring to kill the King, who were disembowelled as traitors. Dawks adds a long letterpress narrative which is deliberately synchronized with the pictures, as if he wished his joint accounts, pictorial and verbal, to act as correctives, to stand as the definitive version of a story ridden with conflicting testimony.

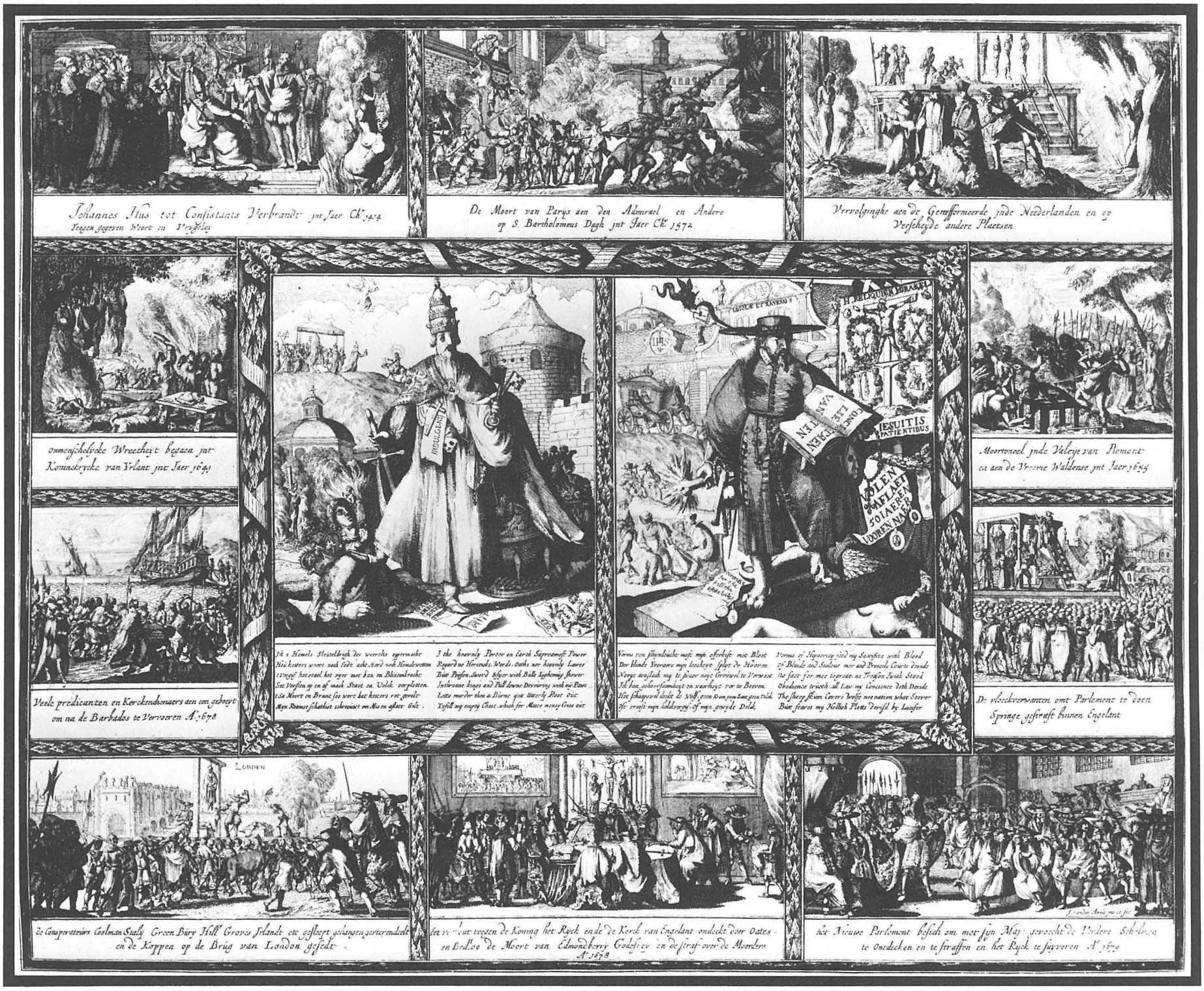
Finally, Dawks dedicates his work to the Earl of Shaftesbury, President of the Privy Council, and recommends that his "monument to Papistical Treachery and Cruelty is to be kept in Private Houses, as well as in Public Places." Shaftesbury, leader of the Whig opposition to the King's party, zealously promoted investigation of the plots, true and false, and unscrupulously exploited the popular press in order to fan suspicions among the people at large. Propaganda was spawned at a coffee-house which became the premises of the Whig "Green Ribbon Club," that illustrious ancestor of so many political clubs which continue to flourish in London today. One can imagine the coffee-house walls covered with broadsheets such as Dawks' and all those others which we are to encounter shortly. The fantastic plots could hardly have gained credence but for the massive propaganda drive organized by Shaftesbury, whose demagogic skills provoked the fear and admiration of contemporaries: the Whig journalists are characterized as "the libelling Garrison in *London* (who) had in Charge the Train of Artillery (if I may so term it) the Tongue and Pen Managery . . . Besides, there was a magazine provided for Ammunition, Libels, Lampoons, Satyrs, Pictures and Sing-songs . . . Some adapted to deceive Men of Fortune and Education, well penned, and, perhaps, in Heroic Verse, others for the Rabble and drunken, sottish Clubs, in Ballad Doggerel, with witty Picture affixed, in dainty Conceit and Proportion; notable eloquence for the eye!"[4] The Whigs were nothing if not flexible and in their search for novelty devised an entirely new sort of narrative strip, one of most "dainty conceit and proportion."

I have presumed Dawks' to be the earliest of the Popish Plot strips, issued very shortly after the execution of the Five Jesuits in July 1679. It may have served the immediate need, but the same publisher was soon selling the story in a different format—that of playing cards. Here was an entirely new fashion in broadsheets, a new vehicle of political propaganda which was quickly established with all the marks of journalistic professionalism, and was to survive for a generation.

Why such a development at this moment? It undoubtedly occurred to some publisher or engraver that the Dutch historical strip, such as that by Aveele (4-14), resembled an uncut sheet of engraved playing cards arranged in neat rows. The next step, to unite playing card and political narrative, seems fairly logical in a city notoriously fond of gambling. Playing cards had, since the Reformation, been put to educational and didactic purposes. In Puritan England the card-maker served virtue instead of vice by producing "scientiall" packs;[5] and in France we find that Louis XIV him-

4. Roger North, quoted by George, E.P.C. I, p. 58.

5. Benham, p. 159.



5–8. Jan van Aveele. *Popish Plots 1414 – 1678* (1679).
(top) "John Hus burned at the Council of Constance 1414. Massacre at Paris and murder of Admiral Coligny, Saint Bartholomew's Day 1572. Persecution of Protestants in the Netherlands and elsewhere." (sides) "Inhuman cruelty in Ireland 1641. Murder in the valleys of Piemont 1655. Many preachers and servants of the church deported to the Barbados 1678. Execution of the Gunpowder Plotters (1606)."
(bottom) Great Popish Plot, 1678–9. "The conspirators Coleman, Staley, Green, Bury, Hill, Groves and Ireland hung, drawn and quartered and their heads placed on London Bridge. A plot against the King, country and church of England discovered by Oates and Bedloe; the murder of Edmund Bury Godfrey (inset right) and the punishment of the murderers (inset left). The new Parliament is bidden discover and punish further criminals and cleanse the realm (March 1679)."
(center) The cruelty, avarice and arrogance of the Pope. Hypocrisy, corruption and sexual perversions of the Jesuits.



5–9. Thomas Dawks. *The Murder of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey* (September 1678).

self was taught French history with the aid of cards, which were specially engraved for him by the famous Stefano della Bella. Such packs, however, were neither purely pictorial nor were they intended to stand as independent narratives. In Germany, there was an old tradition of grotesque, obscene and socially satirical cards; but nowhere in Europe, not even in Holland, do we find evidence of political polemics being disseminated by such means. The English under Charles II, who himself embodied the dual and simultaneous pursuit of pleasure and politics, discovered that the most exciting (and dangerous) games could be played with cards where the Kings, Knaves and Aces represented real people, where to lose the game was to lose one's life, and where the Court card could be powerless before the lowest card of a Parliamentary trump suit.

The Popish Plot game first appears in an advertisement "concerning a new Pack of Cards, containing a History of all the Popish Plots that have been in England; beginning with those in Queen Elizabeth's time, and ending with this last damnable Plot . . . : wherein are an exact account of the Spanish Invasion in 1588 . . . The Conspiracy of Dr. Parry . . . the Horrid Gunpowder Plot . . . and lastly, a true account of . . . the Murdering of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey . . . All of them so contrived, that a Child that can but read English will be acquainted with a Chronicle for above 100 years past of all the bloody purposes and devilish designs of the Papists against the Protestant Religion . . . the like not extant."[6] A pack answering this description has survived and shows, in roughly correct chronological order when the cards are arranged Ace to King, the story of the Great Armada of 1588, Parry's and the Gunpowder Plots (5-10) and finally the murder of Godfrey.

A rival publisher was soon advertising another pack, which was not only cheaper but which claimed greater topicality since it represented solely, and therefore at over four times the length, "the several consults for killing the king and extirpating the Protestant religion, the manner of murthering Sir Edmonbury Godfrey, the tryals and executions of the conspirators, and all the other material designs relating to the contrivance and management of the said horrid Popish Plot, with their attempt to throw it on the Protestants. These have something more than the first (pack) have,

6. *Mercurius Domesticus*, December 19, 1679. The advertisement hopes to refute certain "malitious, libellous aspersions" cast upon the pack, which according to W. H. Willshire, p. 243, had been on sale since October 21; it was to be bought from Randel Taylor.



5–10. English. *Preparation of the Spanish Armada 1588, and the Gunpowder Plot 1605/6* (1679).



5–11. Francis Barlow. *The Horrid Popish Plot* (1678–9).


Knave
Pickerin attempts to kill ye K. in St. Iames Park.
IIII
Coleman giveth a Guiny to Incourage ye 4 Russians.
Knave
The Irish Russians going for Windsor.
King
Dr Oates discovereth ye Plot to ye King and Councell.
II
St E.B. Godfree takeing Dr Oates his depositions.
IX
The Seizing severall Conspirators.
VII
St William Waller burning Popish books Images, and Reliques
VII
Coleman examind in Newgate by severall Lords
VI
Coleman drawn to his execution.
II
Irland and Grove drawn to their execution.
IIII
Whitebread made Provintiall.
VII
Whitebread writeing letters concerning the state of Ireland.
X
Mr Langhorn deliuering out Comissions for severall Offic.rs
X
Gavan inform the Fathers of the affairs in Staffordshire.
III
Dr Oates discovereth Gavan in the Lobby.
King
Mr Dugdale in Staffordshire reading several letters relating to the Plott.
VI
Pickerin Executed.
V
The Execution of the 5 Iesuitts.
King
Capt Bedlow examind by ye secret Comitee of the House of Commons.
Queen
Redding endeavouring to Corrupt Capt Bedloe.
Knave
Reddin standing in ye Pillory.
I
The Consult of Benedictine Monks & Fryers in the Savoy
III
Ashby receiued instruction of Whitebread for the society to offer St George Wakeman 1000
Queen
Mr Ienings examind by ye Privy Councell.
IIII
The Tryall of St G. Wakeman & 3 Benedictine Monks.

and yet nothing left out that was in them, nor any old impertinent things added; . . . sheets fit to adorn shops, houses and studies"[7] (5-11 and 5-12). Memories of the old Popish Plots are swept away in the onrush of new fears. The historical perspective is narrowed so as to unfold in all its phases a single plot which was alleged to have transpired over a span of mere months.

The new sensation brought forth a new form of art. For the historian—of politics, of public opinion, of comic strips—it proves a fascinating, and in a way vexatious one. The engraver offers us no clue as to the order in which the cards are to be arranged. Playing cards were normally engraved one or two suits per plate, in the sequence determined by the value of each card. After printing, the paper was pasted onto a board which was cut up, and the individual cards were stacked—presumably still in sequence, as they are when offered for sale in our own day. But in order to make any sort of historical sense out of the *Horrid Popish Plot* pack, I have had to rearrange the cards entirely. Only in one respect has the engraver helped us at all: he has placed all the episodes relating to the Godfrey murder in one suit. The remaining episodes, relating the plot to kill the King, and the trials and plots of Coleman, the Five Jesuits, and Wakeman, are distributed completely haphazardly. Given the highly irregular nature of the plot trials, there is a certain historical irony in the fact that in a "normal" (i.e. suit-and-value) arrangement of the cards, executions appear to precede, and testimony to follow, the crime; execution of one party follows the trial of another.[8] In throwing the cards out of order, Francis Barlow (of whom more in a moment) departed from the practice established by the unidentified artist of the prototype pack, the *Old and New Popish Plots*. Is this departure deliberate? If the year of publication were 1682 rather than 1679, one could speculate that the confusion of the pack was designed to convey the publisher's personal disbelief in the plot, and the feeling shared by many sensible people at that later date that it was a farrago of improbability and contradiction. But to express doubts as to the veracity of the plot at this earlier date was to risk arrest as a crypto-papist. Barlow's cards, then, must be considered part of the great Whig campaign to promote the credibility of the plots. If the cards were not put into any good order, it was perhaps because the artist was unable to make sense of the multitude of information contained in all the pamphlets showered upon him (in 1679 they were appearing at the rate of two per week); or else, if the content of each scene, with its caption, was actually dictated to him, the artist found himself lacking a list of the sequence in which they were to appear. Again, the engraver may have been at fault in carelessly shuffling Barlow's designs, and when he came to cut the suit and value marks, found the recurrent name of Godfrey to be the only reliable guide to the grouping. This at least enabled him to tell the Godfrey story in the right (or nearly right) order. The reader would have to sort out the rest of the pack for himself with the aid of an explanatory booklet.[9]

I am not sure that any arrangement of the cards could really enlighten a reader unfamiliar with this extraordinary political situation. The Godfrey story, being the most factual, is probably the least confusing and the easiest to separate from all the other allegations which seem to be inextricably intertwined. With the murder of the popular Justice, the Whigs were able to call the trumps, and the Godfrey suit is in a real sense the trump suit. There was a clear, specific motive for the murder—the suppression of Oates' evidence; and Oates himself was not, for once, a witness in the trial of the alleged murderers. History has not uncovered the murderer of Godfrey, and the whole affair has the making of a fine detective story. Barlow is equal to the task, following the most widely-believed, best-supported and probably least-perjured of the witnesses for the prosecution, a Roman Catholic silversmith called Prance. The artist observes the plotters' secret meetings, the way they trail the Justice and trap him on the pretext of his settling a quarrel among them. There is a mounting sense of mystery as the murder is committed and the body disposed of. The final scenes of Godfrey's funeral, and of the execution of the alleged culprits, represent historical events which aroused the passionate participation of the London populace.

The remaining cards, with their problematical sequence and apparently arbitrary selection of episodes, can give us only an impressionistic view of the subsequent history of the plots. On the Nine of Clubs (fourth row, second scene) we arrive at the plot year 1678, when all English Catholic priests were supposed to be preaching against the Oath of Allegiance, studying at Jesuit colleges abroad, corresponding with foreign agents, stirring up rebellion in Scotland and Ireland, and holding an endless series of secret meetings. The actual assassination attempt on the King, allegedly instigated by Coleman, secretary to the Duke of York, occupies three cards (opening the second part of 5-11); the scene of Oates revealing the plot and deposing his testimony with Godfrey is logically placed to precede the scenes showing some official countermeasures: arrests, examinations, executions. The plot of the Five Jesuits, who were tried and executed in June 1679 on the evidence of Oates and another informer called Dugdale, occupies eight cards in three different suits (third and fourth rows)—there are treasonable designs, treasonable letters, chance discoveries, and, of course, the inevitable executions. Finally, seven cards relate to a trial which misfired. Despite all the false testimony of Oates and Bedlow,[10] the principal defendant, the Queen's physician Sir George Wakeman was acquitted, a fact omitted in the pack of cards, perhaps because it marked a decided setback for the plotmongers. Executions of Jesuits and Catholic priests continued throughout the country, but Barlow could afford to ignore them since it is evidence and more evidence for

7. *True Domestick Intelligencer*, December 26, 1679; the advertiser is Robert Walton, selling his pack at eightpence, as opposed to Taylor's price of one shilling.

8. In the Four and Five of Clubs, for instance, the trial of the Benedictines is "followed" by the hanging of the Jesuits—a supreme irony, considered the enmity between the two orders.

9. Dawks, advertising the pack at the foot of his portrait of Titus Oates (B. M. Sat. 1078), mentions a "book to explain each figure" which I have been unable to trace. The confusion of the cards may have been started in an ill-advised attempt to match the value of the court cards with the content of the design, e.g., king to King, knave to Knave. There is evidence of this practice in some of the other packs.

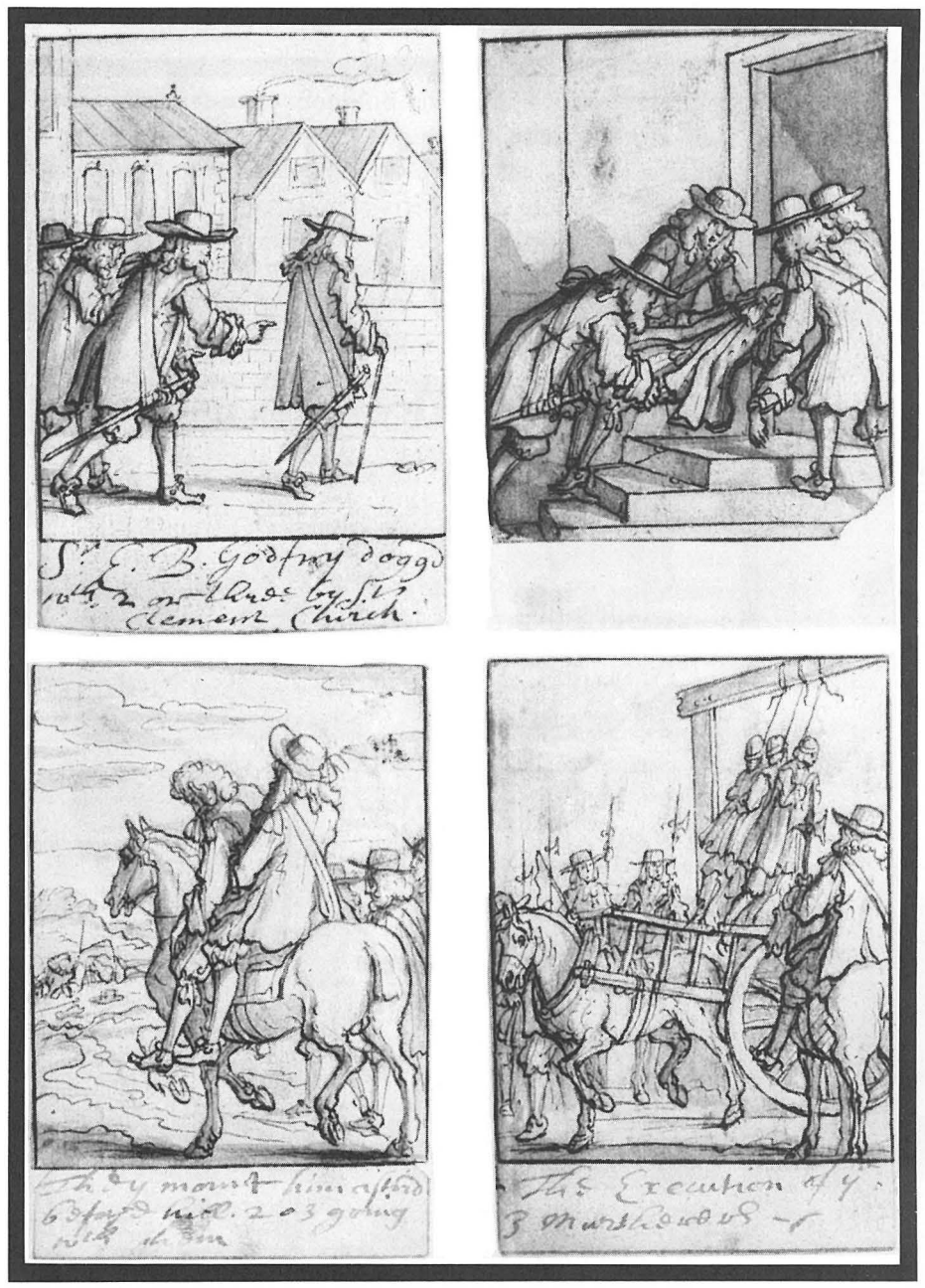
10. It is a measure of the incredibly tangled nature of the trials that the arch-perjurer Bedlow managed to obtain a conviction for attempted subornation to perjury against a lawyer named Redding (Queen and Knave of Clubs).

plots which the Whigs needed to feed the fire of their propaganda.

Let us look briefly at the artist to whom these cards are confidently attributed. The painter Francis Barlow, born some time in the 1620's, had long been famous for his highly decorative canvasses of animals and birds; it is surprising therefore to encounter his name in connection with the political broadsheet. Although he had made his mark as a book-illustrator with over a hundred designs for an edition of Aesop's *Fables*, he was not as far as we know regularly employed by the popular press. He was not an engraver himself and, unlike Wenzel Hollar, avoided political commissions. The artist of the *Horrid Popish Plot* cards, and many of the packs to follow, seems to have had little prior practice in the depiction of the human figure. Yet he performs his difficult task very deftly, avoiding monotony in the many narrow compositions showing from two to three persons in conversation. (At roughly 3½ by 2 inches the cards are comparable in size to those in use today.) There are slight, but calculated shifts in the scale of the figures; the background contains a minimum of information. Above all, Barlow is never tempted to say too much in one composition; his unemotional, economical style is in marked contrast to that of his contemporary Romeyn de Hooghe, whom one can hardly imagine settling down to such discipline. Ironically, the political event which generated such a popular hysteria is documented by the most sober of narrative strips, and the sobriety of the pictures is matched by that of the captions.

Barlow's designs for the Horrid Popish Plot became extremely popular, judging from the fact that they were widely copied and that when the original copperplates wore out, they were recut for further publication. After the temporary setback of Wakeman's acquittal, the plot mania revived with the so-called "Meal-Tub Plot" of 1680, by which the Catholics appear to have tried to pay back the Whigs in their own false coin by concocting evidence for a Whig plot against the King. The sham was exposed when the chief agent, a notorious criminal called Dangerfield (who may have been a Whig infiltrator) turned informer, and the alleged inventor of the whole scheme, a Catholic midwife named Cellier, was tried and condemned to the pillory. Barlow was again set to propagandize the Catholic machinations, but the engraved cards—the whole pack was devoted to this one plot—have recently disappeared, so that we now have only some of the original drawings (5-13). There is also a broadsheet strip (5-14) which attempts to summarize the recent plots and includes a section on the "Meal-Tub Plot" (scenes 4-9). Much is made of the farcical attempts to murder Shaftesbury himself, and of the more serious attempt on a Whig Justice called Arnold. With its large, inchoate designs, thrown together on one plate in haphazard fashion, the print has at least the merit of narrative clarity, which fades only in the obscure episodes toward the end (scenes 9-10). The chief political result of the plot was the subsequent execution of Viscount Stafford (scene 12), one of the Catholic Lords who had languished in prison since the scare first erupted two years earlier.

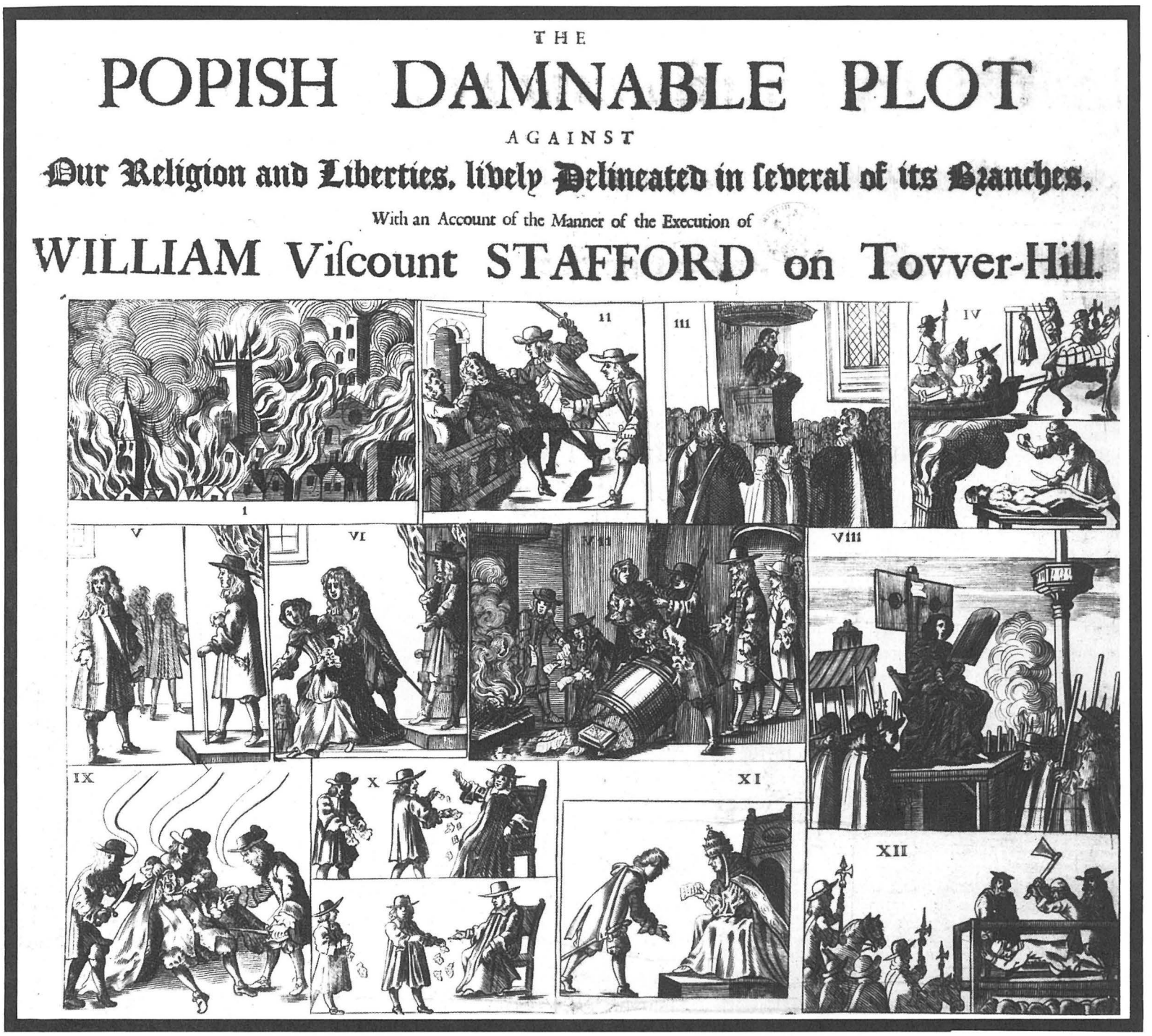
This execution seemed to mark an apogee in Whig fortunes. But the credibility of the plots, to which was tied the influence of the Whigs, was already on the wane. The year 1681, especially after the King dissolved the Whiggish



5–12. Francis Barlow. Drawings for The 'Popish Plot' Playing Cards (see 5–11) c. 1679.

5–13. Francis Barlow. Drawings for The 'Meal-Tub Plot' Playing Cards (1680).





5–14. English. *The 'Meal-Tub Plot,' and execution of Stafford* (1680).

Parliament in March, saw a rapid reaction in favor of the pro-Catholic, royalist and Tory party. To counteract the massive propaganda machine of Shaftesbury, the Tories had found a skilled pamphleteer in Roger L'Estrange, who used two lines of approach: one was to throw doubt on the plot witnesses, the other was to accuse the Whigs of republicanism, or of "turning all to '41."[11] These twin points of attack, as revealed in so many pamphlets and cartoons, are focused in picture strips. By 1682 we find that Barlow has been swept along with the changing tide of public opinion, and is able to travesty, as it were, his own "straight" version of the plot in a strip of illustrations to a satirical ballad (5-15). The first three scenes depict the entrapment and murder of Godfrey, and the showing of the corpse to the informer Bedlow, much as we have already seen it in the artist's playing cards. But the verse invites us to note particularly the three distant passers-by in the background of scene 1: "This place for the murder most fitting did seem/For thither much people does freely resort." The burlesque intention becomes graphically clear in scene 4, where the presence of a devil obscuring the sentry's view of the outgoing sedan suggests that the witnesses' tales require supernatural explanations. The following scene relies upon a minor point of medical evidence. The remaining ones try to discredit various accusations, especially the notion that Oates—now recognizable by his enormous chin—was given a formal commission to kill the King, and that the least military-looking English Lords were to command the Irish hordes lying incognito (!), and were to bring over an army of Spaniards without any ships. A continuation sheet in the same style begins with Oates' alleged personal role in the affair. Picture strip and ballad pour scorn upon his declarations that he infiltrated a Jesuit college as a Protestant spy, that the assassins had hidden armaments in tombs and cesspits, and that the would-be murderer of the King had only failed

11. Cf. George, p. 54.

because of an unlikely mechanical failure in his gun. Two scenes are devoted to a particularly farcical contention—that the plotters' bungling earned them a thorough whipping at the hands of the Jesuit Provincial. The bottom strip re-enacts Oates' more obvious perjuries, and closes on the martyrdom of the Five Jesuits.

In this pair of prints the letterpress plays a varied and insistent role. For the first time, speech balloons are consistently used, in conjunction with "notes on the pictures to prevent Popish cavils," and bibliographical references arranged in columns on either side of the verses. All is slanted to ridicule the informers' massive documentation of the plots. "I do imagine," states the author with heavy irony, "some will say there never was such another strange *Ballad*, with marginal Notes and Quotations. But I answer, there never was such another *Plot*, and I am afraid, that if I did not cite very good Authors, and bring Witnesses of untainted reputation, the next Generation might be so far deluded by *Popish Shams*, as not to believe it."

Thus did the Tories try to discredit the Plot witnesses. The second line of counterattack, as remarked above, was to "turn all to '41," that is, to accuse the Whigs of republicanism and attempted usurpation of royal prerogatives. There can be no doubt that after 1679 the Whigs countenanced armed insurrection and civil war in the event of the King's death and the succession of the Catholic James. In this sense, therefore, the Whigs involved in the "Rye House Plot" (1682–3) were justly condemned. This plot was the subject of strips in both playing-card (5-16) and broadsheet format,[12] and provoked various diatribes against republicanism and old Cromwellians. There appeared also a pamphlet adorned with a frontispiece showing the Commonwealth as a fearful dragon excreting taxes and devouring laws and liberties (5-17); it is in this spirit, and probably at about this time, that Barlow produced his satirical pack of cards called *The Knavery of the Rump* (5-18). The "Rump" was the contemptuous label given to the Commonwealth Parliament after it had been purged of all its Royalist members, and it appears in the title of a collection of satirical verses published after the Restoration in 1662. The introduction states that "the whole carcase is so odious and bloody a monster, that every man has a stone or rotten egg to cast at it."

12. B. M. Willshire (E.189 cards), and B. M. Sat.1123 (broadsheet, printed for Randolph Taylor).

5–15. Francis Barlow. *The Horrid Hellish Popish Plot*—The First Part, The Second Part (c. 1682).



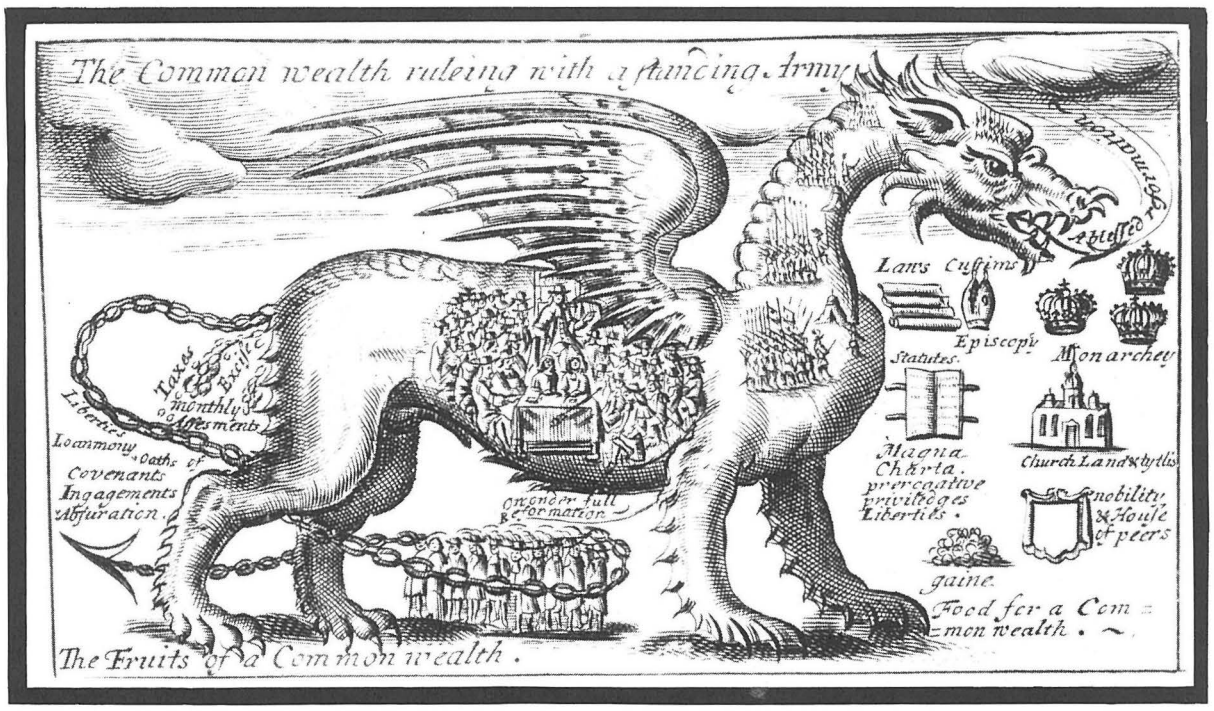
A True Narrative of the Horrid Helliſh Popiſh-Plot.

Twenty years later, more stones and rotten eggs are placed in Barlow's hand. Again we are faced with an apparently complete confusion. In the relation of events long past, however, there is less call for clearcut narrative, and there is in fact no question of a strictly chronological arrangement. The cards are concerned only to convey the general character of the Commonwealth government, the iniquity of which emerges through a series of glimpses into various situations, events and personalities. I have arrived at a grouping of the cards which will seem arbitrary, but according to which the first nine scenes depict in fairly straightforward fashion the major alleged crimes and maneuvers of Oliver Cromwell's new government. The next six scenes show contacts and intrigues with the Covenanters in Scotland and rebels in Ireland (King of Hearts). Puritan preachers and Commonwealth lawyers are represented in polemic fashion in a further sequence of six and four cards respectively. The remaining cards offer a portrait-gallery of prominent soldiers and statesmen, most of whom are satirized for alleged personal vices such as lechery and cowardice, or ridiculed for their low birth. I have placed near the end two cards depicting events datable to the eve of the Restoration (December 1659), and intended to epitomize the military tyranny of the regime; and I close with the "Burning of the Rump" which reflects an actual custom popularized by the Royalists at the Restoration, and given an immortal literary form in Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*. The third part of this immensely popular satirical poem had been published as recently as 1678, and may even have acted as the indirect inspiration for the Rump cards, to which it bears a superficial resemblance. *Hudibras*, like the work of Barlow, is disorderly in arrangement and personal in its polemic, attacking Puritans rather than Puritanism. By the standards of Butler's verse, however, and of the numerous satirical songs in the "Rump" collection of 1662, Barlow can hardly be accused of excessive vulgarity.





5–16. English. *The 'Rye-House Plot,'* 1683 (playing cards).



5–17. *The Commonwealth ruling with a standing army* (1683).



5–18. Francis Barlow. *The Knavery of the Rump* (c. 1682/3).


Queen
Ioane hold my Staff Lady Protectoresse.
VIII
Lambert K.t of ye Golden Tulip.
Queen
The Lady Lambert and Oliver under a strong Conflict.
V
S.r W. Waller looses two Armys yet getts by ye bargaine
VII
Nathaniel Fines whereby hangs a tale.
VI
Desbrow Olivers Champion having a Cannon in each Pocket.
VIII
Don Haselrigg K.t of ye Codled brwine.
VI
Worsley an Inckle Weaver a man of Personal Valor.
VI
Kelsey a sneaking Bodice maker a Gifted Brother
VIII
Pride Oliver.r Drayman
VII
Harrison the Carpenter cutting down ye horne of ye Beast in Daniel
VIII
Scot Olivers Clerk or Tally man.
VI
Skippon a Waggoner to S.r F. Vere one of Olivers Hectors.
III
H. Martin defend.t Ralph who designd to kill the King.
II
Owsley Father and Sonne
IX
Lenthall runns away With his Mace to the Army.
II
Lenthall Father and Sonn.
Knave
S.r H. Vane finds a distinction betwixt a Legall & an Evangelical Conscience
III
S.r Gibert Gerard and his two sonns.
V
S.r H. Mildmay beaten by a foot: boy a great breach of Priviledg
V
The E. of Pem: in ye H. of Comthanks ye Speaker for his Admission.
King
S.r H. Mildmay solicits a Cityzens wife for wch his owne Corrects him
IX
Huson the Cobler entring London.
IX
The Army entring the City persuing the Apprentices.
IIII
The Rump roasted salt it well it stinks exceedingly.

4. *The Glorious Revolution (playing cards)*

When King Charles died in 1685, he left behind a political structure much stabilized after the convulsions of earlier years, and a people relatively united and prepared to accept James II, Roman Catholic as he was. The new king had no difficulty in crushing a rebellion led by Charles' illegitimate son the Duke of Monmouth, and the popular prints at this time tend to be loyal, celebrating for instance the cruel punishment of Titus Oates, convicted at last of perjury. Even the influx of Huguenot refugees after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (which James had heartily approved) failed to tip the balance of opinion, and it was not until 1688 that dissatisfaction with James came to a head. The Revolution of 1688–9, known to historians as the Glorious Revolution, provoked a revival of polemical playing cards. There survive two packs upon the events leading up to the flight of James, and one upon Monmouth's rebellion. I consider the latter to date from the Revolution rather than from 1685, for it was not until later that full publicity was given to James' bloody reprisals, and that open condemnation was made of his anti-Protestant tyranny. The *Monmouth* pack (5-19) gives much more than conventional episodes of military operations. There are signs of the Duke's popularity among the staunchly Protestant preachers and people of Western England, curious incidents during skirmishes and battles, and the capture of prominent prisoners; all of which is interspersed with scenes depicting declarations and searches. Full treatment is given to the savage Judge Jeffrey's mopping-up operations and the special punishments he devised, which could only elicit sympathy for the victims. I have placed at the end the picturesque episodes relating to the capture of the Duke himself. The Revolution which was successful justified the rebellion which failed; but it was at the same time impossible to condone entirely a movement which had lacked both popular and parliamentary support. The engraver of the *Monmouth* pack is thus able to condemn implicitly both the rebellion in itself and its indiscriminate punishment.

Of the two Revolution packs, both of which must have appeared early in 1689, one is probably by Barlow (5-20). The designs are livelier and clearer than in the first Revolution pack, the selection of episodes is more imaginative and at the same time more satirical. Barlow now numbers the scenes in an attempt to spare us the previous confusions. The tyrannies of '85 in the West, and those of '87–88 (Magdalene College, the Seven Bishops) are followed by sensational murder and execution; and scenes of the tyranny and folly of the Popish religion merge into representation of an event of the highest political import, the birth of the Prince of Wales, which is treated with considerable irreverence. The cards relate with gusto the subsequent discomfiture of James and his adherents, interspersing this part of the narrative with representations of William's arrival and popular welcome. Certain of the later episodes—the singing of Orangist songs, the auctioning of relics ("Thos. A. Beckets Old Stockins 5s an ounce") reveal a satirical gaiety; but the narrative ends (50-52) seriously with the capture and imprisonment of James' hated henchmen, his confessor Petre and chancellor Jeffreys.

The other pack on the Revolution (in my own arrangement 5-21) is dry and stiff in design, and aims not at satire but at a kind of legalistic chronicle. The engraver emphasizes minor but politically significant circumstances, such as those relating to the controversial birth of the Prince of Wales; and he stresses the fact that William was invited by prominent English noblemen and that King James fled in the most cowardly fashion. The crudity of the engraving, as well as the unusually bad spelling (Oring for Orange) mark this as a hack production, probably intended as a cheap rival to Barlow's pack.

The reigns of King William III and his successor Queen Anne were rich in party strife, but underwent no violent domestic crises like those under Charles and James Stuart. During the reign of William (1689–1702) there are neither political playing cards nor broadsheet strips.[13] The press had little occasion to exploit pictorially the unwonted liberty granted to it by the new regime. The expensive Continental wars of William provoked relatively little comment at home; engravings giving the current foreign news were imported from Holland, and the old playing cards on the crises of earlier reigns were advertised anew.[14] Even the glorious continental victories of Marlborough (1702–1710) during the reign of Queen Anne aroused much less comment than the native conflicts of past years. There is however a rather tired revival of the fashion for topical playing cards, with two packs, the later and more interesting covering the war of the Spanish Succession and the victories of Marlborough through the year 1706. A full description of military events is combined with a number of satirical insights which are confined on the one hand to the Knaves and Aces and on the other to the Spades suit as a whole (5-22). These allegorical scenes cannot be considered a chronological sequence, but deserve notice as novel angles of attack upon the foreign potentate and his enslaved people. Both the form and the spirit of Dutch cartooning thus entered English graphic journalism, though in a somewhat attenuated form. While no native artist of the period aspires to the dreadful passions of Romeyn de Hooghe, the English littérateur expresses his regard for the power of the graphic satirists about him in words which would provide a fitting epitaph to the art of the Dutchman:

> Swifter than heretofore the Print effac'd
> The pomp of mightiest monarchs, and dethron'd
> The dread idea of royal majesty;
> Dwindling the prince below his pigmy size
> Witness the once great Louis in youthful pride . . .[15]

But to the English, Louis never appeared as great a threat as the Popish King James, and on the whole the French King got off lightly.

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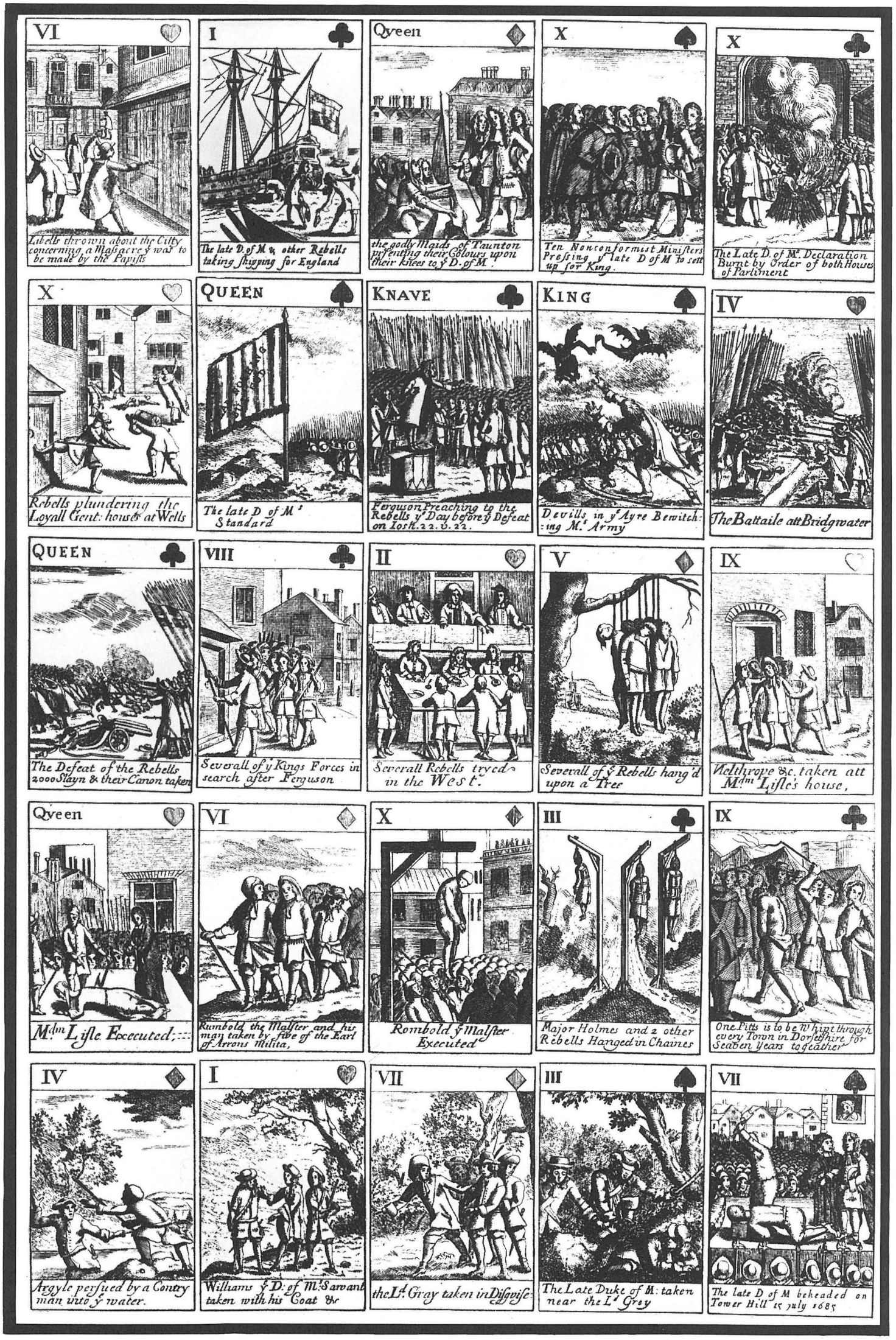
13. The only exception is an undistinguished little print celebrating the failure of a plot to assassinate William in 1696 (B. M. Sat. 1296). There is also a curious pack of cards satirizing the lives of the saints, which is however not narrative (B. M.–E.R.C. 75 Add.).

14. In the *Post-Man* for December 30, 1703, under the title "Orange cards" and "Horrid Popish Plot." A Spanish Armada pack was still being advertised after 1714.

15. Quoted in George, E.P.C. I, p. 66.



5–19. English. *The Rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth 1685* (c.1689).



5–20. Francis Barlow (?). *The Revolution, with the crimes of James II and the arrival of William* (1689).


27 KING
Prince of Wales giving Audience
28 X
Capt Tom
The Mass house at St Jones's pulling it down &c.
29 VIII
Mortar Peices put upon the Tower
30 IX
The Prince of Orange landing.
31 KNAVE
Singing of Mass thinking that the French had landed.
32 QVEEN
The Queen & Prince of Wales making their escape.
33 VI
Father Peters burning his Papers.
34 V
The Prince of Orange coming to London.
35 IIII
Bucklers Berry Popish Chapl burnt in the Stocks market
36 VII
The Fight at Redding.
37 III
Burning of Popish Chapple in Lincolns Inn Fields.
38 II
Lime Street Chapple pulling down and burnt
40 X
The Army going over to ye Prince of Orange.
41 IX
Cry of Prince of Orange's third Declaration.
42 VIII
Singing of Lilly bul lero
43 QVEEN
Singing O brave popery delicate Popery Oh.
44 KING
My Ld Mayor & Sheriffs wait on ye Prince at Windsor
45 VII
Tho. Becket's Old Stockins 5 a Once
A Priest selling of Relicks by Auction.
46 VI
A Priest hard very hard at Work.
47 V
A Priest marching off with Bag and Baggage.
48 KNAVE
Tyrconel arming ye Papists in Ireland.
49 IIII
A Papist in disguise taken at ye Tower.
50 III
A Papist of quallity taken at Wapping
51 II
L. P. Taken in disguise going to Sea.
52 I
My Lord Chancellor in the Tower



5–21. English. *The Revolution, with the crimes and the flight of James II* (1689).



5–22. English. *Satires upon the French* (c.1708).

5. *Henry Sacheverell, John Law*

It was not foreign affairs, but the complex maneuverings of party factions at home, which now occupied the pamphleteers. The reign of Queen Anne marked a huge stride forward in journalistic endeavor. There is a sudden increase in quantity—by 1709 there were a daily, a weekly and no less than sixteen thrice-weekly journals.[16] Literary quality rose correspondingly, with the active participation of such stylists as Jonathan Swift, Daniel Defoe and Joseph Addison. And yet, deep as was the popular involvement in political life, the absence of a large body of cartoons during the first decade of the century indicates that the Londoner at large remained untouched. It was not until 1710, when a combination of war-taxes, press-gangs and bad harvests had caused widespread distress among the people, that political controversy again engaged the lower classes. The Whigs, who had been continuously in power since the Revolution, rashly attempted to shore up their weakening influence by impeaching an ultra-Tory clergyman called Henry Sacheverell who had acquired a sudden fame through his sensational sermons. His trial resulted in polarization of opinion, with Whig principles of moderate, parliamentary Protestantism bitterly opposed by a rising tide of Tory authoritarian, Royalist Anglo-Catholicism. In ecclesiastical terms, the two parties were called Low Church (Whig) and High Church (Tory). The Low Church party had Daniel Defoe on their side; but the High Churchmen seemed to control the print-sellers, to judge by the heavy preponderance of Tory imagery. If Sacheverell was depicted composing his sermons under the inspiration of Devil and Pope,[17] the Tories reacted fiercely, and so managed their propaganda that every sentimental Miss could affix a picture of the "bright and beautiful" Doctor into her prayer-b. ok, or onto her fan, or even into the seal of her letters; every discontented apprentice could carry the preacher's image on his pipe-stopper, on his coatbutton or on a medal around his neck.[18] And in every Tory household or alehouse, enthusiasts could play at cards with the story of the hero and martyr (5-23). The emphasis throughout the pack is less upon the outward events of the arrest and trial, than upon the popular passions surrounding them. We are shown how the famous sermon attacking the Whig government was delivered, printed and hawked around (40,000 copies were distributed in a few days); how a special scaffold had to be constructed in order to enable as many people as possible to hear the trial proceedings; how the audience was moved by the Doctor's eloquence; and how he was mobbed by a ravished London crowd during the trial and again, after his sentence, on his journeys through the country. Meanwhile, riots had broken out in London, and the engraver lingers gloatingly over the damage caused to the churches of the Non-Conformists, or Dissenters, who had been protected by the Whigs and who are now (Ace of Clubs) safely ridiculed as "fickle Tubsters." Carried on the wave of Sacheverell's "martyrdom" (he actually received only the mild sentence of a three-year ban from the pulpit), the Tories swept into Parliament in the 1710 election (King of Diamonds) and maneuvered the Queen into a complete change of ministers, which even resulted in the dismissal of the great Duke of Marlborough from all his offices (the Six of Hearts shows the dis-

16. See Morison.
17. B. M. Sat. 1498; cf. George, E.P.C. I, p. 67.
18. Wright, 1868, pp. 5-7.



5–23. English. *The Trial of Rev. Henry Sacheverell* (1710).

missal of his Duchess, for so long a dominant influence upon the Queen).

The compositions evince more gusto than clarity of design, but they are based upon an imaginative selection of episodes and may have done more than any number of pamphlets to keep alive the memory of the fiery preacher. The cards could, moreover, be more readily used for play, with the miniature reproduction of a regular playing card in the upper corner; they were probably in service twenty years later, when Hogarth testifies to the sentimental appeal Sacheverell held for a thoughtless young woman such as the heroine of the *Harlot's Progress* (10-10).

Once again the English political cartoon dies away; when it revives ten years later, it is as part of a phenomenon new to the history of the European cartoon. For the first time, identical passions are simultaneously stirred in three different capital cities. Considering the international character of the seventeenth-century political picture story, it is appropriate that we should close this Part with a sensation which convulsed the three chief commercial centers of Western Europe, Amsterdam, London and Paris. The economic catastrophe of the South-Sea and Mississippi Bubbles (1720) was, as Mrs. George puts it, "a public madness made for caricature."[19] Print-shops in all three capitals vied with each other in mockery of the unfortunate speculators and their ambitions. As the schemes crashed, satire boomed. In Amsterdam, the boom was something of a bubble in itself, for it was shortlived and inflated. Publishers resorted unscrupulously to the time-honored practice of issuing impressions from old plates, some of which they did not even bother to adapt to the new circumstances. More originality was shown in London, where the young William Hogarth contributed his first moral satires. Among the welter of other imagery, there are playing cards,[20] which may represent the last in a long line of topical, satirical packs but which are in this instance completely lacking in narrative. In Paris, the engravers took time off from their anti-Jesuit campaign to celebrate the crash, and produced one print which unfolds the elements of narrative within an ingenious architectural setting (5-24). It traces the rise and predicts the fall of the low-born speculator accused of avarice and vain ambition. The satire gives us valuable comment on social movement during the French Regency, which saw the rise of so many men of obscure birth and the creation of a new, influential merchant and banking class. There is an added piquancy in the fact that the engraver of the print, Claude Gillot (like most other French artists of the period including his famous pupil Antoine Watteau), was himself ruined when the bubbles burst.

The Dutch narrative satires, which were also exported to London and Paris, are both more sweeping and more specific. One, for instance, includes scenes of the suffering inflicted by the American schemes upon the local slaves, as well as scenes of the debauchery resulting from sudden capital gains.[21] The most telling and extensive strip, however, is that attacking the *bête noire* of the ruined speculator, John Law, who had come from his native Scotland to persuade the French Regent to promote his financial schemes (5-25). The life of Law is told with characteristic stress on his allegedly low origins (actually he was the well-educated son of a wealthy banker), and is interspersed with an account of the rise and fall of his scheme. Financial chicanery is not the best-fitted subject for a picture story, and it is a measure of the artist's concern with the causes of the débâcle that he has

19. George, E.P.C. I, p. 73.
20. Schreiber, I, 43.
21. B. M. Sat. 1659.



5–24. Claude Gillot. *The Speculator raised by Fortune to the Highest Degree of Abundance* (1720).
(lower left) "At first, lackeys perform the most menial and vulgar tasks."
(lower right) "Alone in an antichamber, he instructs himself in arithmetic, knowing that riches are acquired through studious calculation."
(upper right) "Having advanced from lackey to cashier, he achieves so much by swindling that he sees himself as a big financier."
(upper left) "(He lies in luxury but) Fortune throws off her erstwhile favourite from her Wheel onto that of the pillory."
(center) "Fraud makes Violence and Cruelty serve her malice."


OPKOMTS, MIDDEN, EN GEEN EYNDE
Als sy de Zebers braef maßeren
Moet monsieur Law te vöet völleeren
Hier toont Heer Law sin woeste aard
Terwyl hy voeder geeft het paard
Om Heer en Juffrouws sin te doen
Toont Law zyn yver met satzoen
Hier spuit hy Zig int bloed verdieten
Om lugt vrat duyten te genieten
Hy vlugt van hier en gaat ter zee
Met een pakket boot over zee
De Koffer van hem aangenõmen
Doet hem tot in Venetie komen
Wint groote schat terwyl hy speelt
Wort hem de buyt ook toe gedeelt
Hier gaat hy bi den Koning treden
En geeft van syne saken reeden
Nu Lauw ziet dat de Goude schyven
Verminderen en agter blyven
Haat hy parys gelyk de pest
En neemt syn afscheyd op het lest
Hy denkt myn maag is vol gelaaden
Myn haaring wil hier niet meer braaden
't Is best dat ik van hier vertrekt
Eer dat men my met slage dekt
Vervloekte Geltzugt fel gebeeten
Om wees en weeuwen bloed te eeten
Vervloekte vond die snel en gauw
Bedagt is van den booswigt Lauw
Had hem de Duyvel ingeswolgen
Wanneer dien deügniet heel verbolgen
Syn list bedagt soo had de staat
Nu niet geseten desolaat



5–25. Dutch. *The Beginning, Middle and No End of the Crafty John Law* (1720).
(portrait at top) "Spider, snake and crown of thorns is the reward of John Law."
(starting left of portrait, and reading counterclockwise) "1. Law works as a mean stable-boy. 2. In the army Law has to go on foot while the others ride. 3. Serves the rich and fashionable. 4. Kills an enemy in a duel (1694). 5. Flees to Holland. 6. (bottom row) Moves to Venice. 7. Wins heavily at the gaming-table. 8. In Paris, he persuades the Regent to adopt his financial system (c. 1716). 9. The highest dignitaries of the land pay him homage (January 1720; also central scene). 10. 'Gold is flowing to promote the wind-transaction.' 11. The traffic in shares begins (Mississippi scheme). 12. (right side) The shares are closely examined and suspicions of cheating are aroused. 13. Fishwives and the raging mob give Law a rough time. 14. But he manages to escape. 15. Shares are split, and rapidly descend in value from one thousand to one hundred. 16. Here the money is mixed up like pancakes (by the government)."

abandoned the tedious metaphors deployed by his colleagues —the emblems of avarice and vanity, the wind and bubble imagery—in order to render a realistic account of events. He leaves the moralizing to the verses on the print, but pictorially his is still a laborious-looking construction, involving imitation of Romeyn de Hooghe and probably others as well.

The financial collapse was an event with considerable political repercussions, but its long-term impact is best viewed as social and economic. Our last "political" strip, dating from the early eighteenth century, is a pointer to the predominantly apolitical, and above all areligious, character of the eighteenth-century picture stories. The age of political heroes and villains had passed; England had entered the age of the merchant, and the attention of the pictorial satirists turned more and more from ideological issues to the personal scandals and corruptions of public men suspected of commercial exploitation of the people. These may provide a continuous barrage of cartoons, but they are not pictorial narratives. The role of the picture story in the eighteenth century is to show that the vices of a hated statesman are shared by society as a whole. The subject of William Hogarth is Everyman.

Eighteenth-century Europe, entering an era of comparative peace, produced no pictorial sequences of massacre or political atrocities, which return only with the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The American Revolution in the 1770's provokes a revival of the familiar accusations, which are reflected to a certain extent in pictorial satire but not in the narrative strips. It is true that there were still "Popish Plots"—two forlorn risings in 1715 and 1747 on behalf of the descendants of James II. The sequences relating these risings are hardly political at all, but rather picturesque; human curiosity is substituted for religious passion.[22] English eighteenth-century broadsheet art reflects a great ideological change, in which men were no longer prepared to accept evils such as war as an essential part of a God-given universe but searched to eliminate them by discovering their roots in social conditions and in the attitudes resulting from these conditions. In earlier centuries the broadsheet was preoccupied with the surface manifestations of evil; the eighteenth century examines the psychological motivations for it, and the popular prints become critical of human nature itself. The key name here is of course that of William Hogarth, whose earliest satires coincide, as we have seen, with the last political strips. Behind Hogarth stretches a long, complex and very international line of antecedents in the realm of private and social morality. Part II will begin with an investigation of this other type of narrative broadsheet dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

22. B. M. Sats. 1296 and 1594, the latter recounting romantic episodes in the flight of the "Young Pretender" around the edges of a sheet apparently intended for calligraphic exercises—a purpose truly far removed from political propaganda, unless it represents a subtle form of indoctrination of English Catholic children.

Part II

PERSONAL MORALITY

Chapter Six

PRIVATE CRIME, PUBLIC EXECUTION

1. The concept of justice (Dutch Republic)

The political tyrants whose actions filled the first part of this book were accused, morally, of cruelty, and also, legally, of injustice. While people were taught to believe that princes derived their power from God alone, there were occasions when they, the people, decided that the princes' use of that power became godless and unlawful. The godless and lawless tyrant ruled through corrupt judges. The concept of justice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was very strict in principle and very arbitrary in practice. The judge was expected to accept bribes from litigants in lieu of salary, and to remember in his judgments favors received and the value of friendship.

Nowhere were just laws and their proper application considered more important than in the Dutch Republic, which had deposed its lawful overlord for having broken faith with the people. The legality of the revolution was defended by Hugo Grotius of Leiden, whose treatise on law (published in 1625) was at the time considered the finest work on the subject, and is recognized today as a pioneering model of learning, good sense and tolerance. After a generation of bloodshed the Dutch came to appreciate the value of order in public life, and they revived an old tradition, the use of pictures to inculcate the importance of just administration. In medieval Italy allegories of Justice were painted upon the inner walls of civic buildings (as in Siena, with its famous fourteenth-century frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti);[1] but it is in the Netherlands that we first find realistically conceived and painted examples of historical justice. In mid-fifteenth century Roger van der Weyden, the most illustrious painter of his age, executed for the Town Hall in Brussels a series of panels with judicial subjects from ancient Roman and modern Brabantine history; these much-praised works were destroyed by fire in the seventeenth century, but anyone who has seen those terrifying panels by Gerard David, showing the exposure and flaying of the unjust judge Sisamnes (painted in 1498 for the Town Hall of Bruges and now in the Communal Museum there), can imagine how such imagery might impress officials charged with administering justice. (Note the terrified-looking figures in the background of the central scene in 6-1).

When the Dutch achieved de facto independence in 1609, historians set to work instructing the people about the origins of their country. Popular narrative prints on the subject of historical justice began to appear, under government sponsorship, suitable for fixing to the walls of private homes and of the small-town courtrooms (the larger towns could afford paintings). Three stories from the history of medieval Holland are recorded in this form, the most popular being that of William the Good and the cow-thief (6-2), which survives in at least three or four versions dating from the years 1613 to c. 1650. (One of the later ones was still being printed at the end of the century.) Despite considerable stylistic differences, these prints undergo only a slight change in format, and no change at all in the narrative content. We learn how a bailiff of South Holland was executed for having forcibly exchanged cows with a peasant, an offense which seems trivial enough but results in a stern sentence calculated to appeal to the unprivileged classes who suffered under laws usually twisted to favor the rich and strong. In the print on Charles the Bold (6-1), the capital sentence seems more fitting to the crime, which involved murder of a husband and rape of his wife. Common to both stories is the punishment of a highly-placed, but corrupt, legal official.

Finally there is the story which, unlike the others, proved of considerable political significance: the bloody feud between a Count of Holland and one of his nobles, Gerrit van Velsen (6-3). The unjust execution of van Velsen's brother, and the rape of his wife, are revenged with a conspiracy to murder the Count, for which, in turn, van Velsen is punished with a peculiarly atrocious death. Although the print was apparently published as a pendant to the other two, the judicial moral here is hard to determine. The central scene, which in the other two prints depicted the moment of justice, seems to be filled with the most suspicious-looking individuals. The murderer of the Count, Gerrit van Velsen, is condemned to a punishment which looks like a martyrdom. The subject matter of this strip, unlike the other two, was never painted, and does not represent officially approved material. The editor gives us a clue to its wider meaning in the last paragraph of the commentary. He informs us that although the story has been discredited by modern historians (writers in the early seventeenth century dismissed the alleged motivation for the conspiracy to murder the Count, that is the rape of van Velsen's wife, as a popular fabrication), the "pure truth" is more likely to be found in popular ballads than in official records, which are always written to propagandize the powers-that-be. If there is a moral to the print it seems to be that, as justice can be twisted in favor of a reigning prince (or reigning house), so can history.

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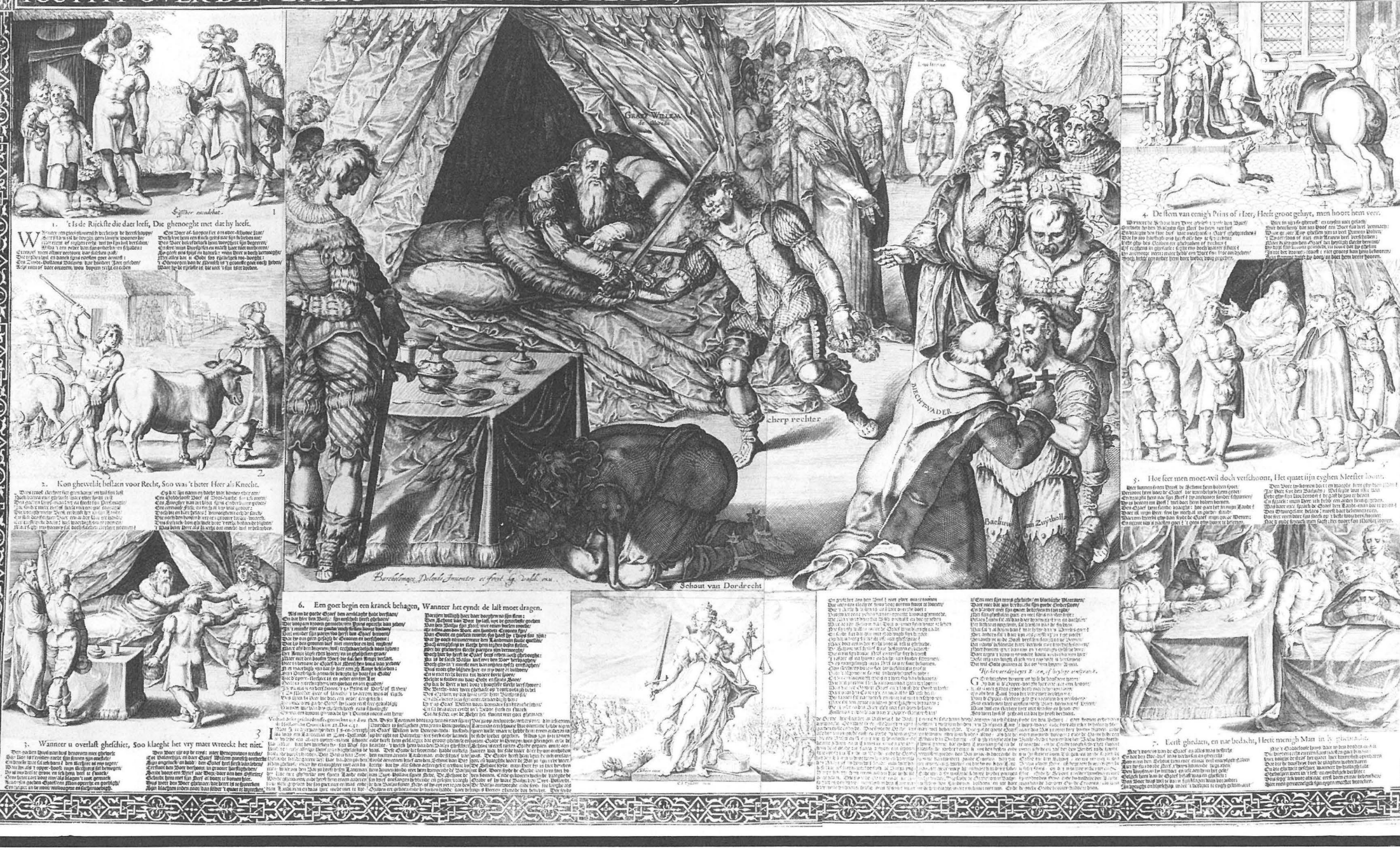
1. Some much-ruined frescoes in the Town Hall of San Gimignano (Sienese School, mid-fourteenth century) depict the story of a Podestà who succumbs to the wiles of a harlot, sins with her, is robbed by her, and finally thrown out of the brothel (see Li Gotti). Such realism is however unusual.



6–1. Dutch. *Judgment of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy etc.* (c.1650).

(Summary) 1. In the time of Charles the Bold (c. 1474), the Governor of a town in Zealand became inflamed with the wife of a burgher, who spurned his advances and money. 2. The Governor had the husband unjustly accused of treachery. 3. The wife entreated the Governor for mercy, but was forced to yield to his desires in the hope of obtaining it (top left). 4. Visiting her husband's cell, the wife was shown his severed head. 5. She complained to Duke Charles. 6. The Duke obliged the Governor to marry the widow. The Duke asked if she was satisfied, and she assented. 7. (center) The Duke cried out that *he* was not satisfied, and ordered that the Governor be executed; the widow then inherited his property.

IUSTITI OVER DEN BÆLIUW VAN ZUYT-HOLLANT, DOOR WILLEM DE GOEDE, GRAEF VAN HOLLANDT etc.



1. 't Is de Rijckste die daer leeft, Die ghenoeght met dat hy heeft.

2. Kon ghevelt beflaen voor Recht, Soo was 't beter Heer als Knecht.

3. Wanneer u overlast gheschiet, Soo klaeght het vry maer wreeckt het niet.

4. De stem van eenigh Prins of Heer, Heeft groot gheluyt, men hoort hem veer.

5. Hoe seer men moet-wil doch verschoont, Het quaet tijn eyghen Meester woont.

6. Een goet begin een kranck behagen, Wanneer het eynde de last moet dragen.

7. Eerst ghedaen, en nae bedacht, Heeft menigh Man in 't graf gebracht.

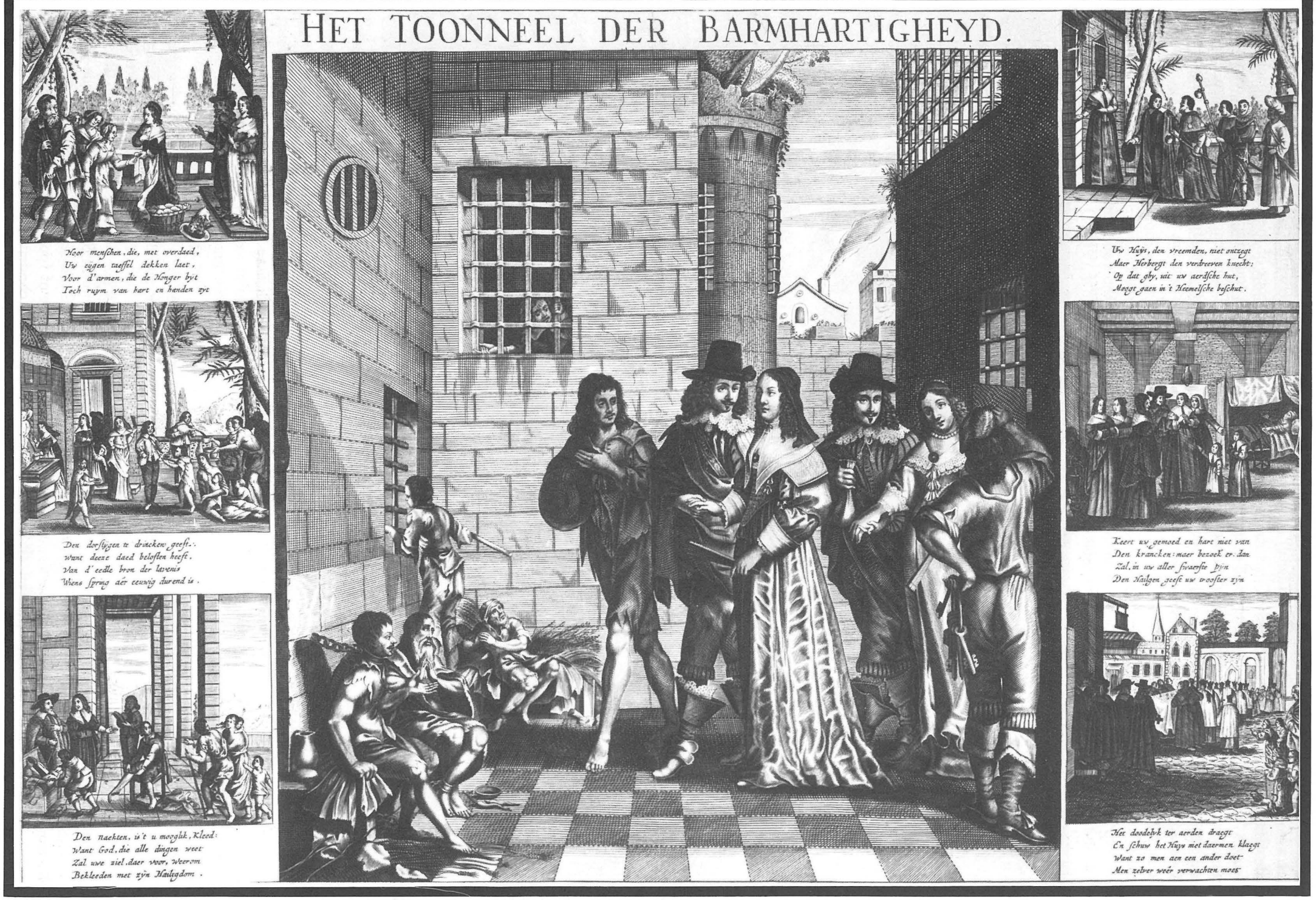
6–2. Dutch. *The Judgment of William the Good, Count of Holland, upon the Bailiff of South Holland* (1613).

"1. In the year 1336 there was a peasant in South Holland with an exceptionally beautiful, fat and beloved cow. The Bailiff of South Holland wanted to buy the cow, but was refused. 2. At this, he seized it by force, exchanging it for an inferior animal. 3. The angry peasant went to Henegouwen and complained to Count William, who lay ill in bed at the time. The Count immediately wrote to the Sheriff of Dordrecht, ordering him to come at once with his nephew the Bailiff. 4. The Bailiff explained to his uncle that he had nothing to fear, since he has merely exchanged cows with a peasant. 5. The Bailiff was well-received by the Count, who inquired after the state of affairs in South Holland. The Bailiff replied that all was well. The Count then asked, if all was well, why he had forced a peasant, one of his (the Count's) subjects, to exchange cows? The Bailiff was confronted with the peasant, and the Sheriff instructed to return home and pay to the peasant a compensation of one hundred gold crowns, to be taken out of the Bailiff's estate. Both parties pronounced themselves satisfied, with this verdict. 6. (center) The Count then said to the Bailiff 'You have satisfied the peasant, but not me!' A confessor was sent for (right), and the Count handed his sword to the executioner. 7. The Sheriff returned with the body of his nephew, and paid the hundred gold crowns as he had been bidden by the Count."



6–3. Dutch. *Death of Floris V, Count of Holland, and the demise of Gerrit van Velsen* (c. 1645).

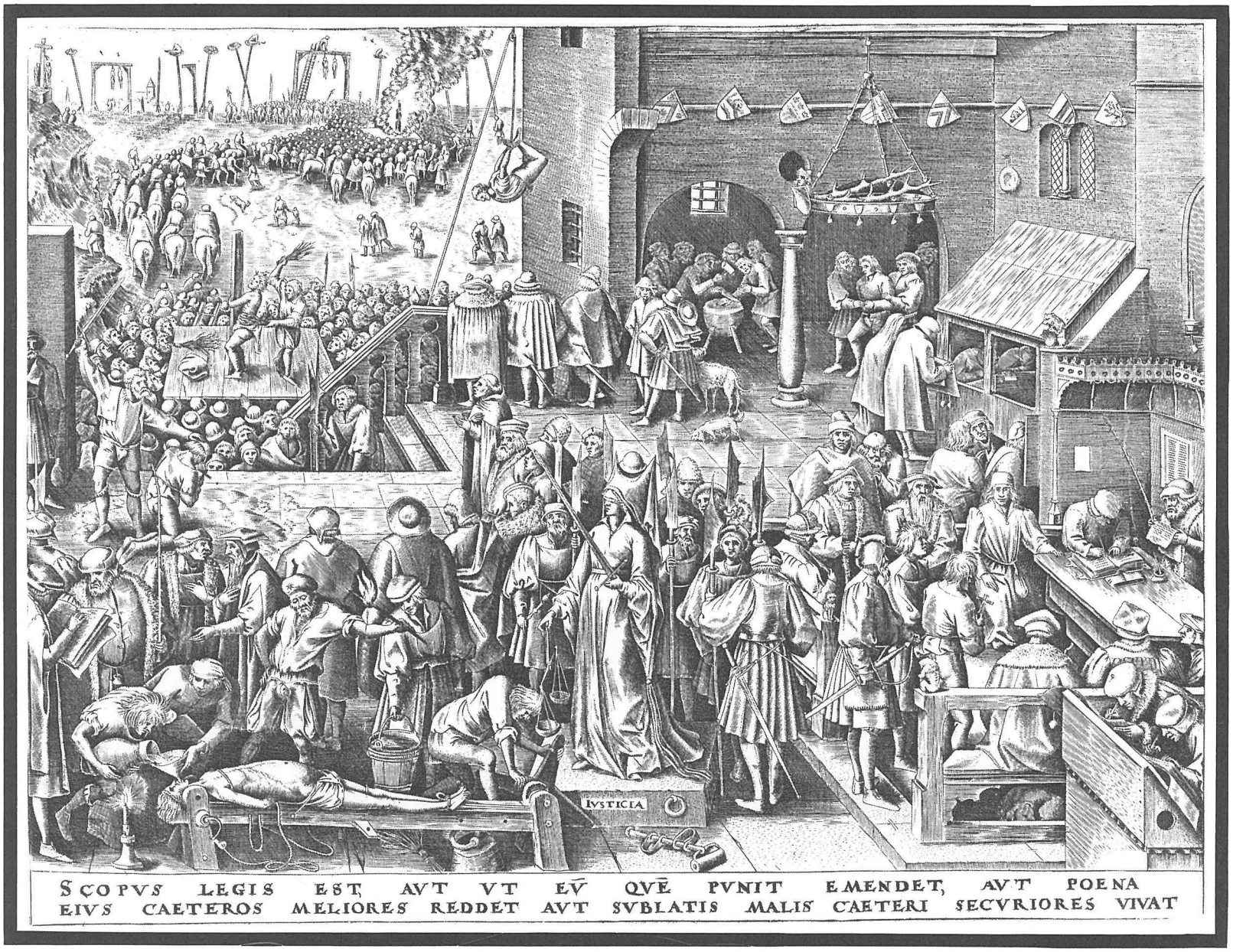
(Summary) 1. Count Floris V, on the advice of his counsellors, beheads the innocent brother of Lord Gerrit van Velsen, who is himself imprisoned (June 1296). When the Count discovers his error, he tries to compensate Gerrit van Velsen by offering him one of his mistresses as a wife. Insulted, van Velsen marries the daughter of Herman van Woerden instead. 2. The Count revenges himself for this rebuff by sending van Velsen abroad and raping his wife. 3. Van Velsen swears to revenge himself, and engages some other nobles in his cause, hoping for help from the English king. 4. Count Floris is ambushed during a hunting expedition. 5. He is taken prisoner and led away, bound. 6. The local peasantry try to rescue him, and in the ensuing battle Gerrit van Velsen kills Count Floris. 7. (center) Gerrit van Velsen is sentenced at Leyden to be rolled about the streets in a spiked barrel.



6–4. Dutch. *The Theatre of Mercy* (c. 1650).
1. Feeding the Hungry. 2. Giving Drink to the Thirsty. 3. Clothing the Naked. 4. (right) Giving shelter to the Traveller. 5. Comforting the Sick. 6. Burying the Dead. 7. (center) Visiting and Releasing the Prisoners.

Another print, called *The Theatre of Mercy*, would seem from its format to belong to this "judicial" group (6-4). Since judges were prone to perform the Christian duty of mercy only on behalf of those with money and influence, our engraver reminds them that it is the poor who need their mercy, and particularly the poor prisoner. Representations of the Seven Acts of Mercy, such as we have here, were subject to a fixed iconography based on the Gospel Text; but it is noteworthy that while Catholic painters of the period tended to place Succour of the Prisoners in the background of their single-setting compositions, the strip-and-centerpiece format enables the Dutch engraver to emphasize, and thus express particular sympathy for, the lot of the impoverished criminal languishing in irons.

6–5. Pieter Bruegel. *Justice* (1559).



2. *The social role of public executions*

Scopus Legis est, aut ut eum quem punit emendet, aut poena eius caeteros meliores reddet aut sublatis malis caeteri securiores vivat (The aim of the law is either to correct the man punished, or to improve others by his example, or to protect society by overcoming evil).

These words, inscribed below the engraving of Bruegel's famous *Justice* (6-5), summarize an attitude toward deviant behavior which still obtains theoretically in our own century. It may be, however, that the conventional phrases used by the publisher obscure Bruegel's personal view of the law. His *Justice* is one of a series of Virtues, and stands out as the only composition of the series to be treated with complete realism. In the original drawing, the faces of the legal officials are less sober than the engraver has made them, and expressive of foolish curiosity. Considering Bruegel's propensity to condemn all sorts of men and all sorts

of follies equally, and given the hints he scatters about his *oeuvre* suggesting that he was opposed to the actions of his Spanish rulers, it is likely that he is condemning not only the crowd gathered greedily about the places of execution, but also the legal officials capable of administering barbarities under the name of justice. Bruegel was a philosophical "libertine," one of a select group of Flemish thinkers who saw human conflict as the result not so much of a clash between good and evil, as of equal folly on both sides. Bruegel's print might have illustrated Montaigne's chapter on cruelty from the *Essays* (1580, Bk. II, Ch. 11) where the deliberate infliction of pain in the name of Justice is absolutely abhorred. Our broadsheets reflect the attitude of men considerably less sophisticated than Bruegel; but it cannot be assumed that they are necessarily and always condoning or celebrating the action of the law, though it often provided entertainment for the populace. We can gauge from the first Part of this work to what extent the public attitude to political executions depended on local historical circumstances; and we can conclude with some certainty that the political broadsheet often reflects a public opinion opposed to the punishment. With non-political, private crimes, however, it is more difficult to determine the likely reaction of the public, which could vary from one extreme to another and include all shades in between. In order to assess the role of our crime and punishment stories, which are all German, we must first look at the social circumstances surrounding the execution in Germany.

An execution was of course essentially a public event. While most social historians describe it as a form of public entertainment, it may be more useful to think of it as popular drama, tragic drama in fact, for the public lacked the light-hearted spirit which they brought to the fairground farce or the carnival play. The public was concerned less with the criminal's previous history, or the motivation for his crime, than with his and the executioner's comportment in the judicial drama. In these real life dramas, as so often in literary tragedy, the outcome is never in doubt, since the punishment is known in advance; it is the interaction of the three parties, two on the podium and the third gathered about it, which provided for the dramatic conflict. The role of the victim was of course the determinant one: he could appear terrified or just morose; he could be penitent or defiant; he could shout obscenities and blaspheme, or he could joke with and bless the crowd, who reacted accordingly. The executioner, for his part, must allow his victim full freedom to speak and to establish his relationship with the crowd, on the scaffold as well as during the journey there. The dying speech was sacred; it was, in its purest form, an incantation spoken by the victim before the sacrifice; the crowd blessed him, the victim forgave the executioner, and, as the blow struck, all of one accord commended his soul to heaven, whither it was confidently expected to ascend. This is assuming, of course, that the crowd was favorably disposed, and that the criminal behaved in a courageous or worthy manner; in these conditions, woe betide an executioner who failed to sever the head from the body with a single blow of the ax. An attractive victim, backed by a sympathetic crowd, made the executioner nervous; and it is a matter of record that in Nürnberg in 1641 the executioner barely escaped from being stoned to death by the crowd, and was subsequently relieved of his office, after he bungled the beheading of a beautiful child-murderer.[2] Popular wrath was even capable of reforming the law itself: no more women were buried alive in Nürnberg after one occasion in 1497, because of the horror the victim's struggles inspired in the bystanders.

There were three principal forms of capital punishment—the ax, the rope, and the wheel, each of which we see in the final scene of 6-6. The basic form was beheading, after which the body would be either buried or burned, according to the character of the crime and the influence of the relatives. Hanging was considered a much more shameful death, since the body was normally left to rot upon the gallows, fodder to carnivorous birds. Prisoners are frequently recorded to have been wild with joy when their punishment was commuted from hanging to beheading. Worst of all was the wheel, which figures prominently in most of the narrative broadsheets reproduced, and thus testifies, in general, to the heinousness of the crimes being punished. Breaking on the wheel probably originated as a sacrifice to the Sun-God, and was the most ritualized of all punishments. It could be precisely graded according to the number, strength, and placing of the blows (breaking *with* the wheel as shown in 6-7 and 6-9 was less common, and seems to have died out in the sixteenth century). Since the wheel is the constant factor in the crime broadsheets, it is worth quoting the chaplain of the Nürnberg prison, Magister Hagendorn, as he observed the procedure on one occasion: "He showed great fortitude up to the moment of his death and watched it approach with unfaltering gaze, carrying himself the while like a Christian knight. I hope, therefore, that through his protracted sufferings and the breaking of his limbs he attained to everlasting life. He received twenty-one blows, the first two on the neck, then six or eight over the heart, and finally his four limbs were broken. May God grant him a happy resurrection."[3] The victim, a twenty-five-year-old robber who had fought bravely against the Turks, was accorded the privilege of receiving the first blows on the neck, which might be mortal or nearly so; he could have been *gerädert von unten auf*, that is, broken from the legs upwards as is shown in 6-43. The pinching with red-hot pincers (6-7, 6-9, 6-26) was a peculiarly German embellishment performed at various strategic points during the journey to the execution ground. The final impaling of the body (6-7) was unusual punishment even in Germany, one apparently imported via Vienna from the Turks, who are invariably shown doing this to Christians in the German sixteenth-century broadsheets.

The corpse of the hanged or broken man was not only fodder to the crows, but served also the superstitions of the citizenry. From time immemorial the blood of the executed criminal was supposed to cure epilepsy and other diseases, and was carefully doled out by the executioner's assistant; fingernails and teeth were snatched in the dead of night, being particularly prized for their magical properties. We have already noted (p. 105) how the Witts' finger joints were auctioned off, and the traffic in gruesome relics survives in milder form in our own day.

2. Hampe, p. 136.

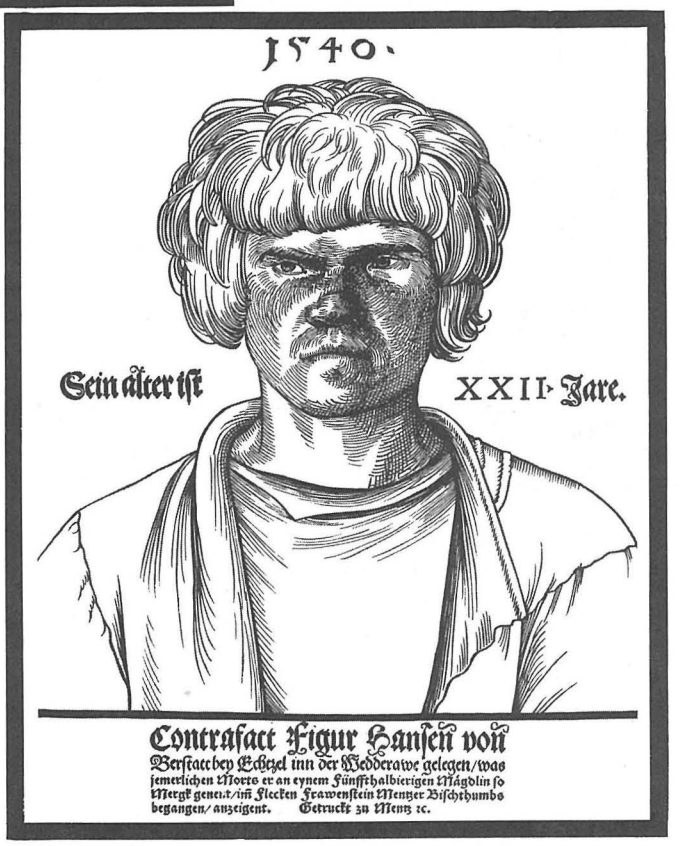
3. Hampe, p. 63 (German ed., p. 27).



6–6. French. *Legal procedure against the criminal* (c. 1600). 1. Ambush, and murder. 2. Discovery of the body. 3. Lodging the complaint. 4. Proclamation of the crime. 5. Arrest of the criminal (through the window, he is taken to prison). 6. Preliminary interrogation of the accused. 7. Testimony of the witness. 8. Pleading in the Grand Chamber. 9. Water-torture. 10. The Spanish Boot. 11. "Amende Honorable." 12. Execution by beheading, hanging, or breaking on the wheel.



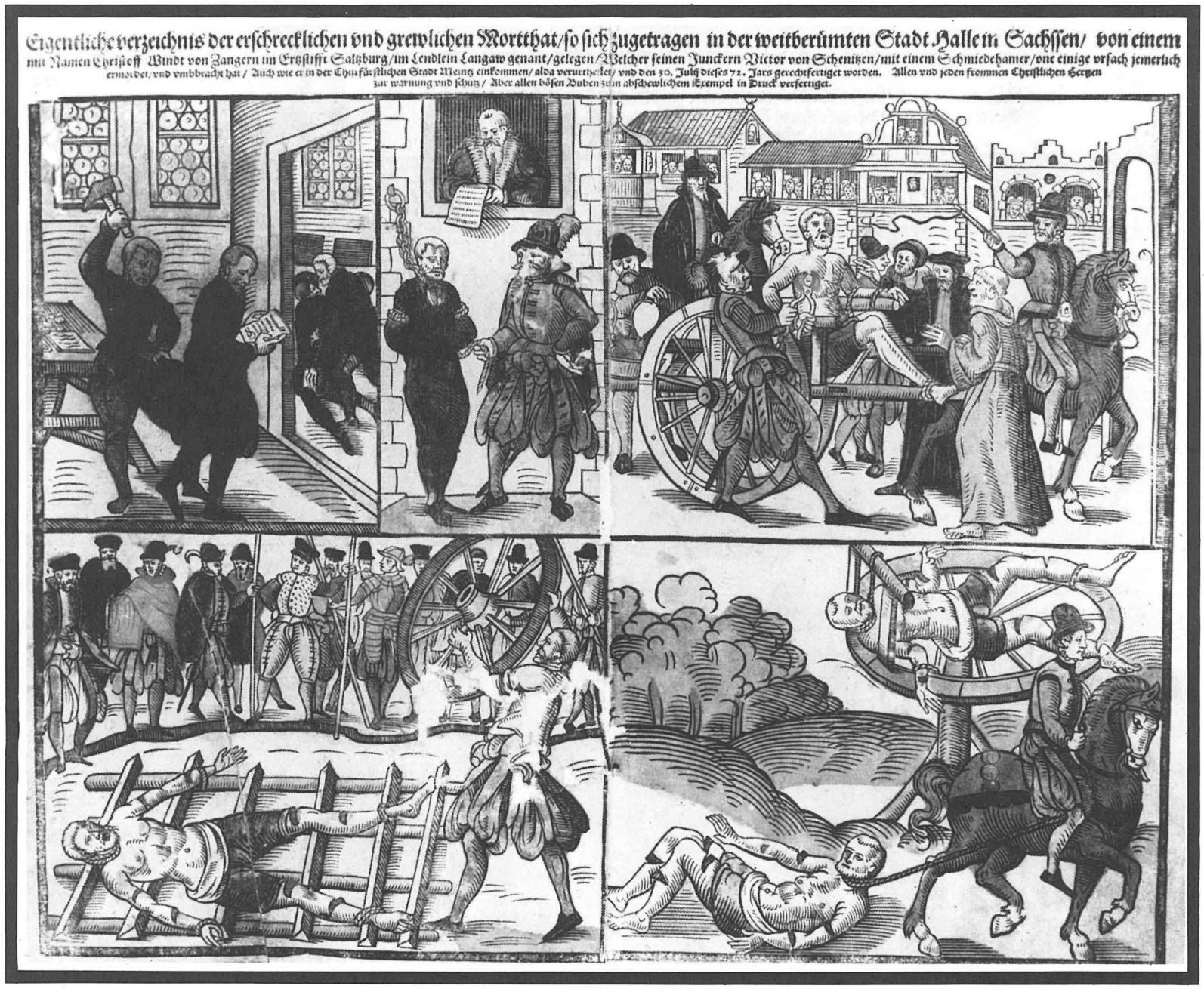
6–7. Erhard Schön (Nürnberg). *In the year (15)34 on the Friday after Judica Sunday, Hans Reichart Glaser* (glazier) *of Dietfurt, a citizen of Regensburg, duly confessed upon torture as follows* (he had, among various lesser crimes, shot a priest, with whom he had been gambling, and cut his throat; shot another priest, and his cook, cutting the latter's throat.)



6–8. German. *Representation of the figure of twenty-two-year-old Hans von Berstatt . . . who murdered a five-year-old child* (1540).

3. The role of the broadsheet on crime and punishment (Germany)

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the broadsheet industry should be preoccupied with executions. The first newssheets were as full of horror as the popular papers of today. As early as 1548 criminal physiognomy was studied in a portrait broadsheet—a class of print normally reserved for famous political figures (6-8); but this is a rarity, for it was violent imagery which appealed most. The really remarkable crimes and their appropriate punishments were illustrated with crude woodcuts and engravings, for the purchase of which the crowd on the execution ground offered a virtually captive clientèle. Multiple or particularly heinous crimes, and lengthy punishments, which might appeal to the Germans at large, could inspire the broadsheet artist to improve upon the single image of the murderer at the height of his crime, or at the moment of his death, and to narrate more fully the circumstances involved. At first, in the sixteenth century, it is the elaboration of the punishment which makes for narrative; in the seventeenth century, both crime and punishment are depicted; finally, in the eighteenth century, it is the crime alone which counts. The earliest surviving broadsheet of a private, non-political crime, executed by the well-known Nürnberg artist Erhard Schön (6-7), does not



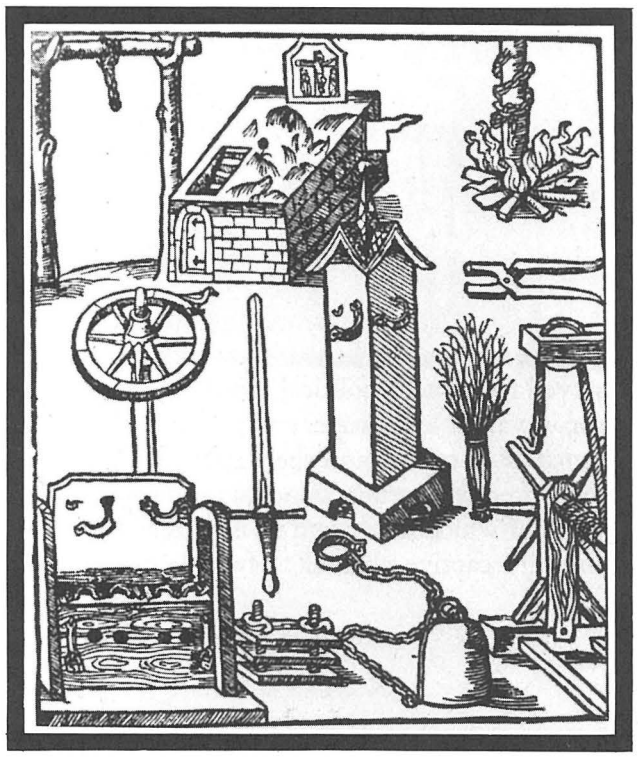
6–9. German. *The Horrible Murder committed in famous Halle, Saxony, by Christoph Windt from Zangen* (Salzburg), *who miserably killed his master Victor of Schenitzen with a smith's hammer, for no reason; how he was brought to electoral Mainz, sentenced there, and executed July 30 (15)72.* (Secretary to a gentleman, Windt thus revenged himself for a slap on the ear, which he received for a mistake in writing.)

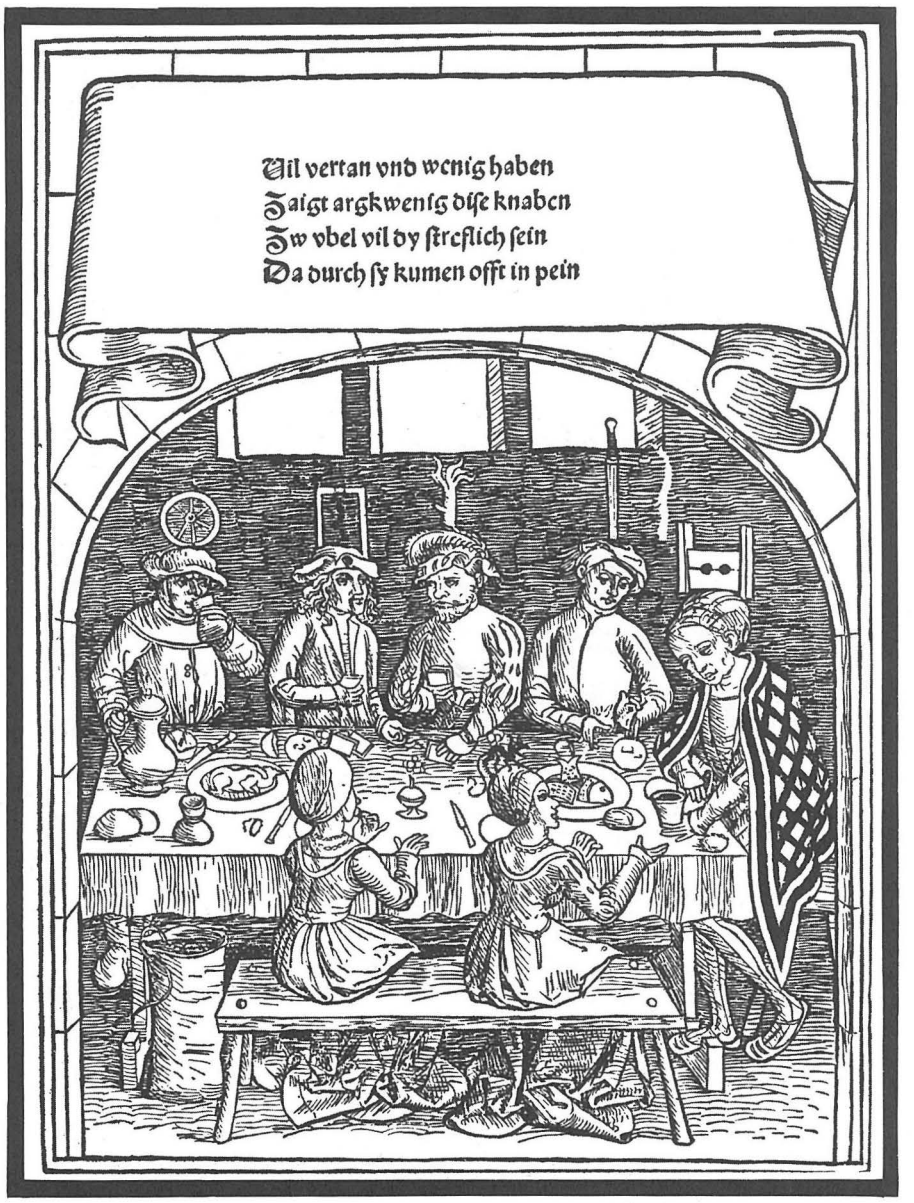
depict the crime at all, although it is described in the prose commentary; in another print (6-9), from the latter part of the century, it is still accorded less than one space in four.

It has become commonplace for social historians to marvel at the brutality of punishments throughout Europe, from the extraordinary mutilations of the Middle Ages down to executions of a Damiens or Calas in the eighteenth century. Procedure on the scaffold only consummated torments already suffered during interrogation. The revival of Roman law in twelfth-century Italy resulted in the spread of torture as a normal part of interrogatory procedure. Italy during the Renaissance and post-Renaissance period was renowned for the severity of its penal code, and this was one Italian fashion which we have every reason to regret passing northward. In the course of the sixteenth century, Germany, France and the Netherlands all adopted Italian law and used torture mercilessly; Spain had always known it. Only England, and in the seventeenth century the Dutch Republic, were exempt from this curse.[4] From early seventeenth-century France there survives an unusual printed strip recounting typical legal procedure, from the commission and discovery of the crime, through interrogation, down to the execution (6-6).

4. Procedure in England was "accusatory" not "inquisitorial"; see Esmein for an analysis of this distinction.

6–10. German. *Instruments of torture and execution* (1508).





6–11. German. *Gamblers in a brothel, and the various punishments which await them* (1508).

I would however hesitate to call this a popular broadsheet (no specific crime is involved) for it appears more like a set of instructions for lesser or provincial legal officials who were notoriously ignorant of the law. The use of the water-torture and the *brodequin*, or Spanish Boot, were but two of the favorite Parisian devices, drawn from an endless list, from which the judge and his executioners could select entirely at their discretion. It is significant that most of the designs and motifs derive from illustrations to Flemish, and ultimately German law books. The famous—or infamous—German penal codes, such as the *Carolina* or the *Bambergensis*, which were used all over the German Empire, and which carry woodcut cult-images reminiscent of our martyrological and Passion cycles (compare 6-10 and 6-11), forbade judges to dispense with torture, even when a manifest fact was at issue; no confession was valid except when extracted under torture, and no execution could be performed without confession, which was always termed "free."

Interrogatory torture and pre-execution torture were both applied in the belief that the pain would drive out the devil present in the criminal. During interrogation, the devil supposedly prevented the accused from telling the truth, and during the execution, the devil might prevent the criminal from repenting; a proper show of repentance was considered essential by the authorities. We have already noted the omnipresent priests in Callot's famous etching (3-19, scene 11); the monk in scene 2 of 6-9 seems to be smiling as the devil is tweaked out of the man on the cart. Prison chaplains were tireless in their efforts to teach the elements of Christianity to some illiterate wretch during his last hours on earth. Officialdom was not in the least interested in the motivation and circumstances of the crime.

The role of the crime-and-punishment broadsheets cannot be dismissed as merely satisfying the sadistic curiosity of the public. The social role of the execution itself, as judicial drama, is of a sophistication surpassing such a crude function. The chief source for the imagery of torture, such as that illustrating modern works of social history, is found not in the broadsheet, but in the illustrations to criminal codes, such as the *Carolina* and *Bambergensis* already mentioned, and to the works of the Flemish jurist who served under Philip II, Josse de Damhoudere (cf. Catalogue note to 6-6, p. 446). The broadsheets do not celebrate interrogatory torture, which was not normally open to the public.[5] Insofar as most of the early broadsheet narratives attempt some illustration of the crime and often describe (in words) some motive or pretext for it, it could be argued that they serve what we today would consider a useful social purpose: that of fixing attention on the circumstances in which the crime was committed, which is the first step toward study of the origins of crime. By the eighteenth century, the balance had shifted decisively from the celebration of the punishment to the analysis of the crime, and although executions were still public, the broadsheets were increasingly curious about the character not only of the crime but also of the criminal. It is not until the age of Hogarth in England, however, that criticism is openly made of excessive punishment (I discount the special case of Bruegel's *Justice*, which was made for the connoisseur of art rather than the popular print market).



6–12. Nürnberg. *Women transformed into pigs, and devouring each other* (1627). Impression from a wood block confiscated by the Nürnberg City Council.

Most civic authorities approved of broadsheets depicting the punishment of malefactors, since such prints recorded ceremonies whose avowed purpose was deterrence from crime. But not all authorities felt this way. The city fathers of Nürnberg, which is surely the greatest center of the broadsheet industry in the whole of Germany, seem in the course of the sixteenth century to have virtually banned the crime-and-punishment print, as well as other sensational subjects like misbirths, natural miracles, and magical transformations[6] (cf. 6-12), deeming them a poor reflection upon the intelligence of the local citizenry. It is

5. Compare, however, the casual proposal of Racine's Dandin to Isabella (*Plaideurs*, III, 4—1668) to "pass an hour or two" watching the administration of torture.

6. Schottenloher, pp. 147ff.



6–13 and 6–14. Augsburg. *Terrible unprecedented news of a cruel murderer called Blasius Endras, an important innkeeper and landowner at the Black Eagle in the Imperial town of Wangen, who killed his own flesh and blood and his whole household. Took place August 9th 1585 at 12 o'clock midnight.*

Endras, after a trivial quarrel with his wife, slit her throat, and the throats of his son, two little daughters, two maidservants, and one manservant. At his execution, he was pinched seven times, broken on the wheel, and impaled, with his severed right hand placed above his head.



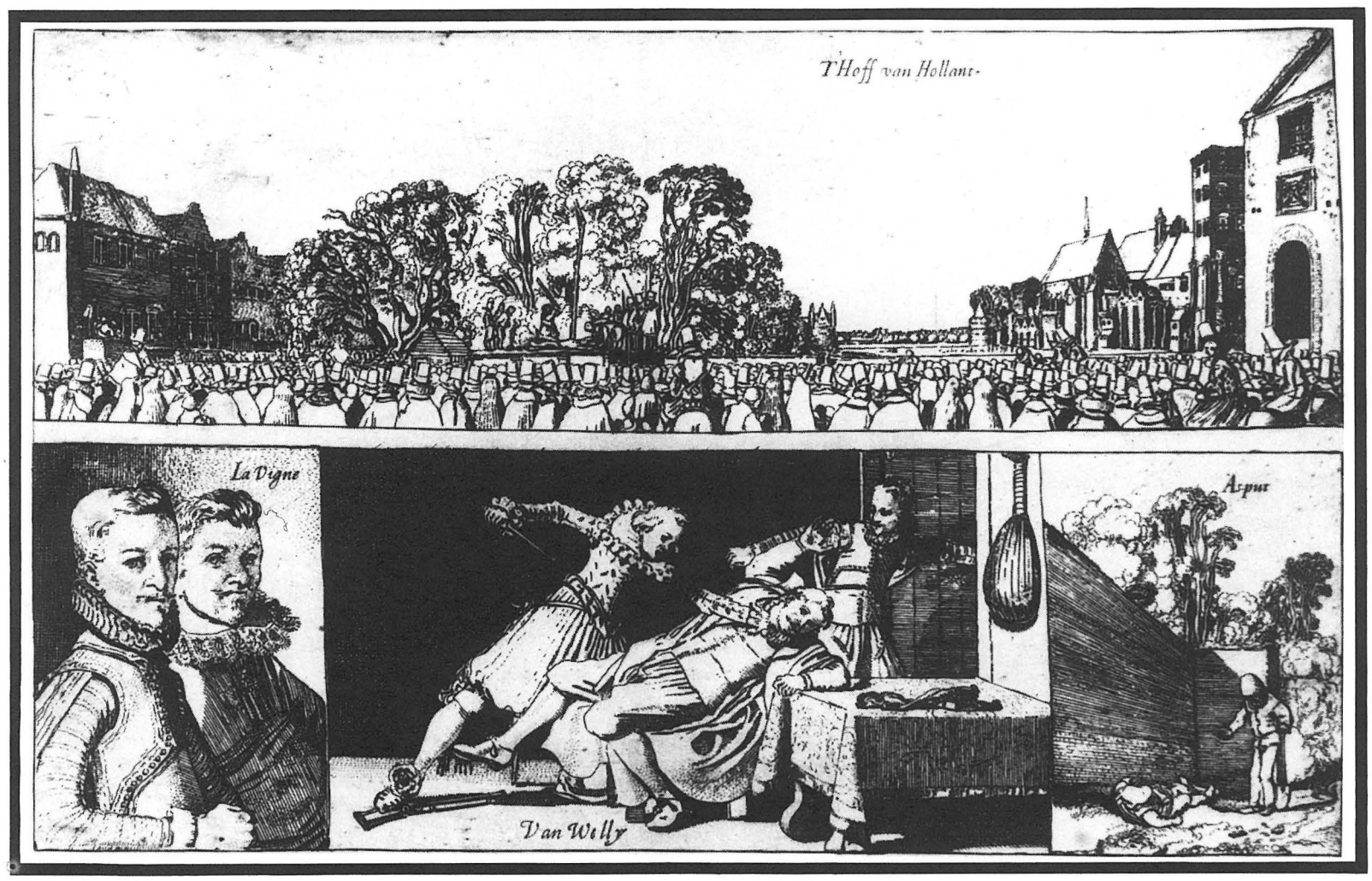
ironic, and surely significant, that the city which banned the crime print but which has left us a uniquely full official or semi-official record of criminal procedure during this period, actually conducted fewer capital executions than other German towns. From the memoirs of the executioner Meister Franz Schmidt, who is unlikely to have underestimated the extent of his labors, we learn that during his period in office (1573–1619) Nürnberg averaged eight capital executions per year, as compared with Bamberg where 285 persons were executed in the years 1627–30 alone. The presses in Bamberg and other Catholic bishoprics of Southern Germany printed many crime-and-punishment *Bilderbogen*, but about half of our strips bear addresses of publishers in Augsburg, the second center of broadsheet production in Germany. Augsberg was noted at the time for the extreme severity of its legal system. It is something of an irony that most of the prints originally published in that city are now preserved in Nürnberg, the one city which disapproved of such material.



6–15. German. *Factual, true and thorough report of the sentence and execution suffered by Friederich Kersten on the open marketplace of Halle, Saxony, on August 2nd 1605, how he was torn with two redhot pincers, and then broken to death upon the wheel from the feet upwards, and thereupon his corpse set up on the wheel and his head fastened to the gallows; because of the fearful, unprecedented and inhuman manner in which he personally and alone murdered Jacob Spohr . . . a citizen of Frankfurt-on-Main, a jeweller (whom he had sent for and) whom he struck down with a hammer and mutilated; he then carried the pieces on his own person out of town and scattered them around.* (There follows a list telling where and when each piece of the body was found.)

4. *The character of the crimes depicted*

Our evidence indicates that it was extraordinary acts by extraordinary persons, often of some social quality, which tended to provoke comprehensive narrative broadsheets. Among murder stories there is that of a wealthy innkeeper slaughtering his whole family and household for no apparent reason, a crime found so shocking that it elicited more than one version (6-13 and 6-19); a secretary who kills his irascible master with a sledgehammer (6-9); and a man (presumably a debtor) who uses the same instrument to murder a jeweller and who mutilates the body with sadistic thoroughness (6-15). In stylistic contrast with this extremely crude woodcut is a fine Dutch engraving showing the murder of a jeweller by two young noblemen (6-16). The most significant aspect of this latter strip is the way in which the engraver has rendered the execution almost invisible in the background, and dramatized the crime with sudden changes in perspective. From Silesia came an account which embodies some of the most absurd and pernicious superstitions of the time. The broadsheet (6-17) was printed in Augsburg; it would surely have been suppressed by the authorities of Nürnberg, who would have recognized the origins of such a story in the effects of a plague and marauding wolves in that remote part of Germany. A most curious tale concerns the executioner who, during his off-duty hours,



6–16. Dutch. *The murder of the jeweller Van Welly by two young noblemen, the discovery of his body, and their execution at the Hague* (1616).

overhears conspirators plotting to rob him (6-18). There is an element of bitter comedy to the scene where he displays his professional arts in the single-handed massacre of nearly a dozen men. The reader is to assume that the executioner overheard correctly, and that the slaughter represents an impromptu act of justice; but some drawings by Pastor Wick suggest that executioners were far from being always on the right side of the law (6-30).

Elements of the monstrous underlie most murder strips, which can hardly be viewed as deterrents to crime in the ordinary sense of the term. The common people do not normally need to be reminded of the penalties attached to murdering their own children; and if the more outrageous family murders warrant recording merely because they happened (6-19), the same cannot be said of the strange and very improbable folk tale, a strip unique of its kind, about the children who imitate their father slaughtering a pig by cutting the throat of their baby brother (6-20). There is no indication that the print had any topical bearing; such a gruesome chain of homicide, accidental death, and suicide is clearly embedded in ancient German folklore.

The highwaymen, the thieves and common robber-murderers who infested the roads and public places of Europe did not yet really stir the popular imagination. Being an accepted phenomenon, they failed to shock. On the other hand, any crime against God, such as blasphemy or sacrilege, was always sensational, especially in the sixteenth century. Blasphemy was usually the result of gambling, and in all those paintings showing how the soldiers diced for Jesus' garment as he hung upon the cross, the sordid avarice of the gambler is contrasted with the Supreme Sacrifice itself. Gambling, the source of blasphemy and murder, must meet its due reward, as is expressed so succinctly in the frontispiece to a book on the origin of this particular evil, published in Nürnberg (6-21). Broadsheets were full of the terrible fate which awaited the gambler. The picturesque tale of the gamblers of Willisau in Switzerland set more than one popular press of nearby Strassburg in motion (6-22 and 6-23); and the fate of a Florentine gambler, a nobleman whose sacrilegious action is recorded in the famous diary of Landucci, inspired a curious, prettily-painted panel with no parallel as far as I know in the history of Renaissance art (6-24).



6–17. Augsburg. *News of the unprecedented, horrible and unnatural actions and crimes of certain grave-diggers in the principality of Silesia, and how they were executed on September 20th 1606.*
"1. In Frankenstein, Silesia, eight gravediggers (six men and two women) confessed under torture to having prepared poisoned powder and spread it on door thresholds, knockers, handles, etc., in order to kill people. They also robbed houses, corpses and churches. 2. They raped corpses, cut open pregnant women in order to extract the foetus, and ate the raw hearts of babies. 3. They were punished by having their breasts and thumbs tweaked off; an eighty-seven-year old man had his right hand severed and tied to a post, while he was slowly burned alive; the necrophiliac was castrated. 4. The remaining four (including the women) were thrown on the pyre." (Unfortunately the Frankensteiners continued to die from the effects of the poisoned powder, until about 1,500 had perished.)

6–18. Prague. *True and unprecedented news from the Bohemian forest between Vienna and Prague . . . to the tune "God help me to succeed"* (1609).
1. A butcher and an executioner meet by chance in the street. 2. They go together to an inn, where the innkeeper's wife unwillingly allows them to spend the night. 3. The innkeeper, who had been absent, returns with some friends and guests, and they all plot to murder the newcomers. The executioner being, like most men of his profession, an excellent linguist, overhears them, and at a suitable moment starts to lay about him with his instrument of office, displaying consummate dexterity in lopping off heads and limbs. The toll is six dead and four wounded. 4. The survivors are woven upon the wheel, having confessed to ten years spent murdering over two hundred individuals.



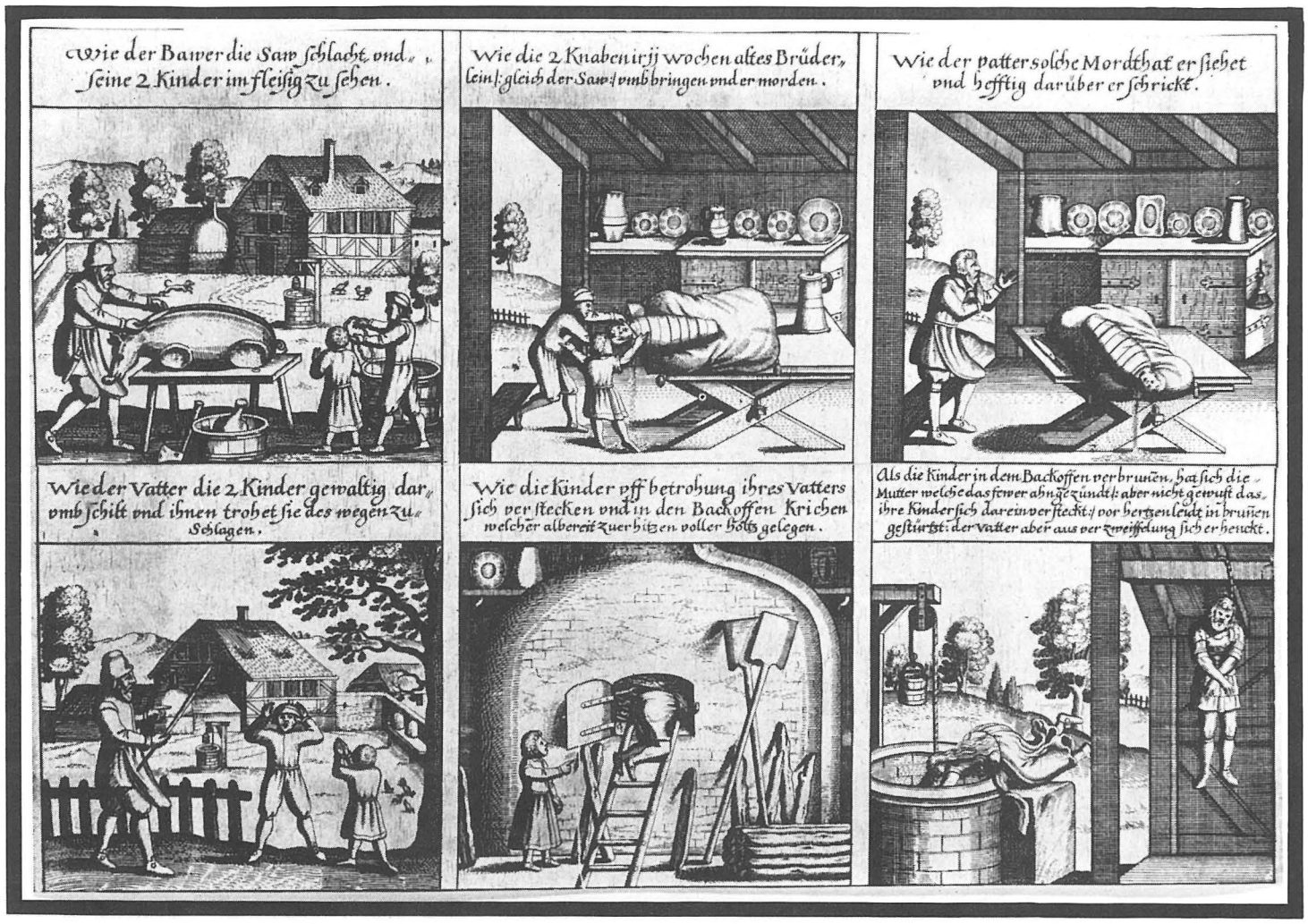


6–19. Augsburg. *Recent news and true account of the way in which a rich farmer named Bernard Kuntz miserably killed three of his sons at Itzenhausen (near Jagsdorff, Mergenthal) November 2nd 1602, and how he was executed on the wheel for his crimes.*

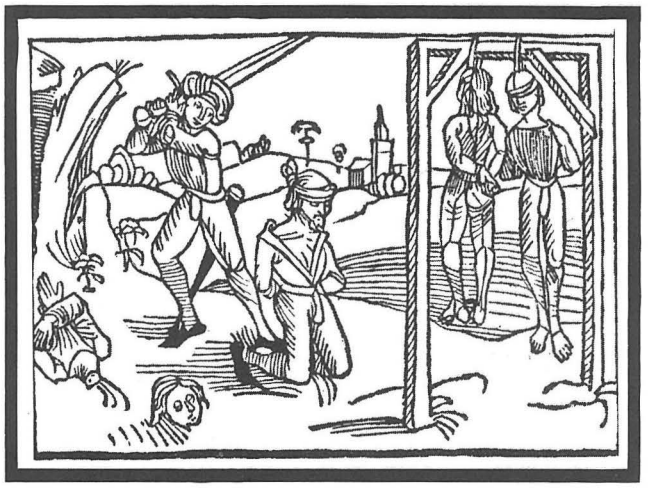
Kuntz had buried some money which he intended for the three children of his first marriage, but a devil suggested to him (left-hand section) that he murder his sons in order to cheat them of the money (which was presumably due to them from their mother's estate). He had postponed this plan for three years before finally succumbing to the devil.

6–20. German. *The tragedy of the Baker and his Family* (seventeenth century).

"1. How the farmer kills his pig, and his children watch him carefully. 2. How the two boys kill their two-week-old baby brother, just like the pig. 3. How the father sees the murder and is horror-struck. 4. How the father violently upbraids his two children, and threatens to beat them. 5. How the children hide themselves at their father's threats, and creep into the baking oven, which was full of wood and ready for burning. 6. The mother lights the fire and unwittingly burns her children hidden in the oven; overcome with horror she throws herself into the well, and the father hangs himself in despair."







6–21. Albrecht Dürer (??). Frontispiece to *The Origin of Dice* (1489).





6–22 and 6–23. Strassburg. *A Wonderful, absolutely true story which happened in Switzerland, in a town called Willisau, three miles from Lucerne, involving three apprentices who gambled together . . .* (1553).

One of the three gamblers, who were playing on a Sunday, had been losing heavily. He was finally dealt a good hand, and swore to stab God if he lost that round. He did lose, and threw his dagger heavenwards. It disappeared, and caused five drops of blood to descend upon the table. The devil roared up to the scene and carried off the blasphemer forthwith; his two accomplices, after watching in terror, ran to the river with the table and tried to wash off the bloodstains. The more they rubbed, the more clearly the stains showed. Some townspeople, attracted by the diabolical roaring, arrived on the scene, saw the men washing the table and heard them confess what had happened. Both surviving gamblers were arrested; one fainted while being led towards the town, and was rapidly consumed by lice; the other was beheaded.



6–24. Florentine. *Crime and execution of a nobleman* (1501).
"1. On the 21st July 1501, Antonio di Giuseppe Rinaldeschi, a Florentine nobleman, gambles at the Fig Inn, and having lost his money and clothes, is seized with anger. 2. At the behest of the devil he gathers horse-dung. 3. He throws the dung at the Blessed Virgin with a curse and flees to his villa. 4. The man is caught the same day. Repentant, he thrusts a knife into his breast. 5. They take him to Florence (to the Bargello prison). 6. They remove him from prison for interrogation. 7. Examined before the Eight Lords, he confesses, and is sentenced at midnight. 8. The executioner leads him to his death. 9. At seven o'clock at night he is hanged from the windows of the Town Hall (crying) My Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on my soul, and he is buried on St. Mary Magdalene's Day." (Sympathizers hold out candles to the dying man, and angels defeat the devils in their battle for his soul.)

5. *Female crimes*

The most common serious accusation against women was that of witchcraft. The infamous *Malleus Maleficarum* (1488) was the first printed book to popularize the notion that certain calamities, such as poisoned water, blighted crops, a cattle epidemic, mysterious death and losses of property, or even childlessness and impotence, could be the result of a written pact and sexual intercourse between the devil and some local woman. The floodgates were thus opened to witch-hunting which became, with its concomitant mania heretic-hunting, the greatest judicial scourge in Europe. War and social disturbances in seventeenth-century Germany brought the persecution to a furious pitch. Yet it is surprising to find that amidst the (literally) thousands of witch-trials in the Germany of this period, there is only one surviving picture story on the subject (6-25). Typically, the execution takes place in reactionary Augsburg; typically, the victim is a midwife, and her "voluntary" confessions involve the typical activities of the witch with typical embellishments: the pact with the devil, the dance and perversion of Catholic rites at the Sabbath, the seduction of children. She is lucky to suffer decapitation before she is burned, for it was considered that only fire or water (by drowning) could purge the devil from a woman's body. It should be added that the editor's unusual stress upon the "honorable" character of the court which sentenced the woman indicated a need to dispel readers' doubts on the subject.

The most common real crime of women at this time was infanticide, which was also punishable by fire or water. The law was heavily weighted against any woman with whom a man may have sinned, and for a woman of the lower or lower-middle classes the illegitimate child was a fearful stigma. A very extreme case, and one probably exaggerated by the poor woman herself to please her torturers, involves no less than seven distinct, successive murders of infants (6-26). The publisher has found a competent versifier to sing the gruesome tale, to the tune "Come here to me, bids the Son of God," but in his haste to capitalize upon the sensation, has not bothered to find a professional engraver, although Frankfurt abounded in them.

The Devil and Woman were proverbially cunning, and fraud was considered a diabolically feminine vice. One of the most famous frauds of the sixteenth century, perpetrated by a girl from Esslingen with a monstrous belly (6-27), deceived for four years the most highly placed and intelligent people, including even the Emperor's own physi-

6–25. Augsburg. *Report or Description of what happened on March 23rd 1669 in the Imperial Roman town of Augsburg, of a woman who was mercifully sentenced by a very honorable court to be torn three times with red-hot pincers, before being beheaded with the sword, and her body burnt to ashes, for her most cruel and horrible witchcraft and crippling of people, and other misdeeds.*
"E. (right) Anna Eberlerin, former midwife born in Augsburg, freely confessed to the following crimes. A. About thirteen or fourteen years ago she made a pact with the devil, who came to her in the form of a man inviting her to dance at a wedding, and then entered her home, and made her deny the Holy Trinity, etc., and sign a paper to that effect in her own blood; since then she often copulated with him. She also received a white powder from him with which she killed at least five people, including four innocent children, and injured her own brother and many other people and cattle, made two women barren, and caused bad weather. B, C, D. She appeared at nocturnal witches' dances and gatherings, where the holy rites were performed backwards and whither she brought a young girl and young boy whom F. she had seduced. G, H. The sentence was mercifully commuted by the very honorable court from burning alive to beheading."





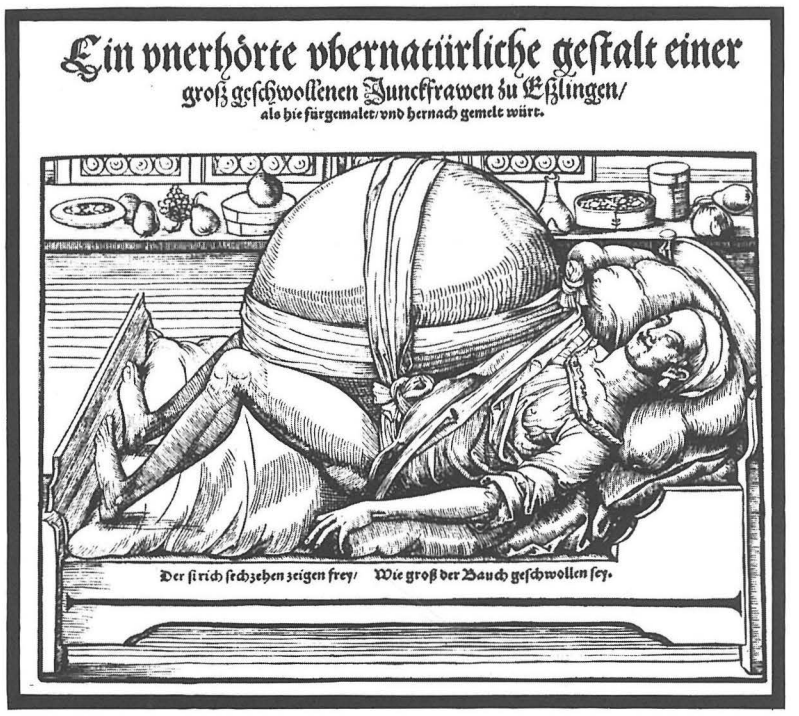
6–26. Frankfurt. *True and Horrible News of what happened and took place in the town of Limburg, with the daughter of a rich baker called Catherine, who bore seven illegitimate children and murdered and killed them all (March 11th 1626). To the tune "Come up to me bids the Son of God etc."*

(Summary of ballad-text) First scene: In the good town of Limburg there lived a baker called Hans Kropff who brought up his children in virtue. But one of his daughters, when she grew up, fell into evil ways and left home. 1. She murdered her first child in a barn, where she had been delivered of it, and buried it there. 2. The second child she stuffed into a pot which she threw into a ditch. 3. The third one she buried in a field. 4. The corpse of the fourth she hid in a dung-heap. 5. Frightened, she fled to Mainz, where she strangled her fifth baby. 6. She returned to her parents in Limburg, where she beheaded the sixth baby, and was caught when the seventh (its twin) howled as she suffocated it. 7. Her breasts were torn off with red-hot pincers, her guilty hands were amputated, and she was then burned. (The ballad ends on the lament that even the worst earthly punishments no longer deter people from sin.)



cian (cf. 6-28). The people of Esslingen, a prosperous Free Town, became the laughing stock of Germany, and the town council attempted in vain to prevent broadsheets upon the fraud from circulating. (The authorities in Nürnberg were prompted to deny that a print upon this fraud "or any of its kind" could have been produced in their city.)[7] The subject of natural miracles, whether it be Siamese twins, a deformed piglet, a monstrous ear of corn, or a meteor, was a staple of the broadsheet industry, although, for obvious reasons, it seldom went beyond the single image. Only the rare exposure of a fake miracle inspired narrative (cf. the Tofts rabbits story, 10-2). The ignorant, superstitious public and churchman alike were disposed to believe that such miracles, in the words of the verse below our 6-28, were "made paternally by God as a warning to a heedless people of his impending wrath, as he has always done."

7. Schottenloher, p. 148. The best collection of broadsheets on natural miracles is to be found in Hollaender.



6–28. German. *An unprecedented miraculous figure of an immensely swollen girl in Esslingen. . . . Sixteen of these lines* (marked on the bedstead) *show how big the belly was swollen* (c. 1549).

6–27. German. *Complete Revelation of the Devilish and scandalous fraud of the false woman and girl of Esslingen with the artificial belly, from beginning to end, 1551. From the lawcourts.*
1. The mother, Margareta Ulmer, exhibits her monstrous child in the streets. 2. Finding the traffic hard to regulate, she moves the exhibit indoors, where the best people in Esslingen come to view her (1546–50). (Not illustrated, but fully described in the letterpress: the farmyard sounds emitted by the belly, and the snakes and worms and other vermin which crept forth; the wonderful patience with which the girl bore all the suffering; the medical examinations.) 3. The fraud is revealed to us (it actually came to light through a final medical examination) while its perpetrators make merry at the table behind. 4. Mother and daughter are carried out to execution. 5. The mother, as a witch and the instigator of the fraud, is burned alive at a pyre fed with wood taken from her own house, which is destroyed; the daughter is merely mutilated and sentenced to life imprisonment.

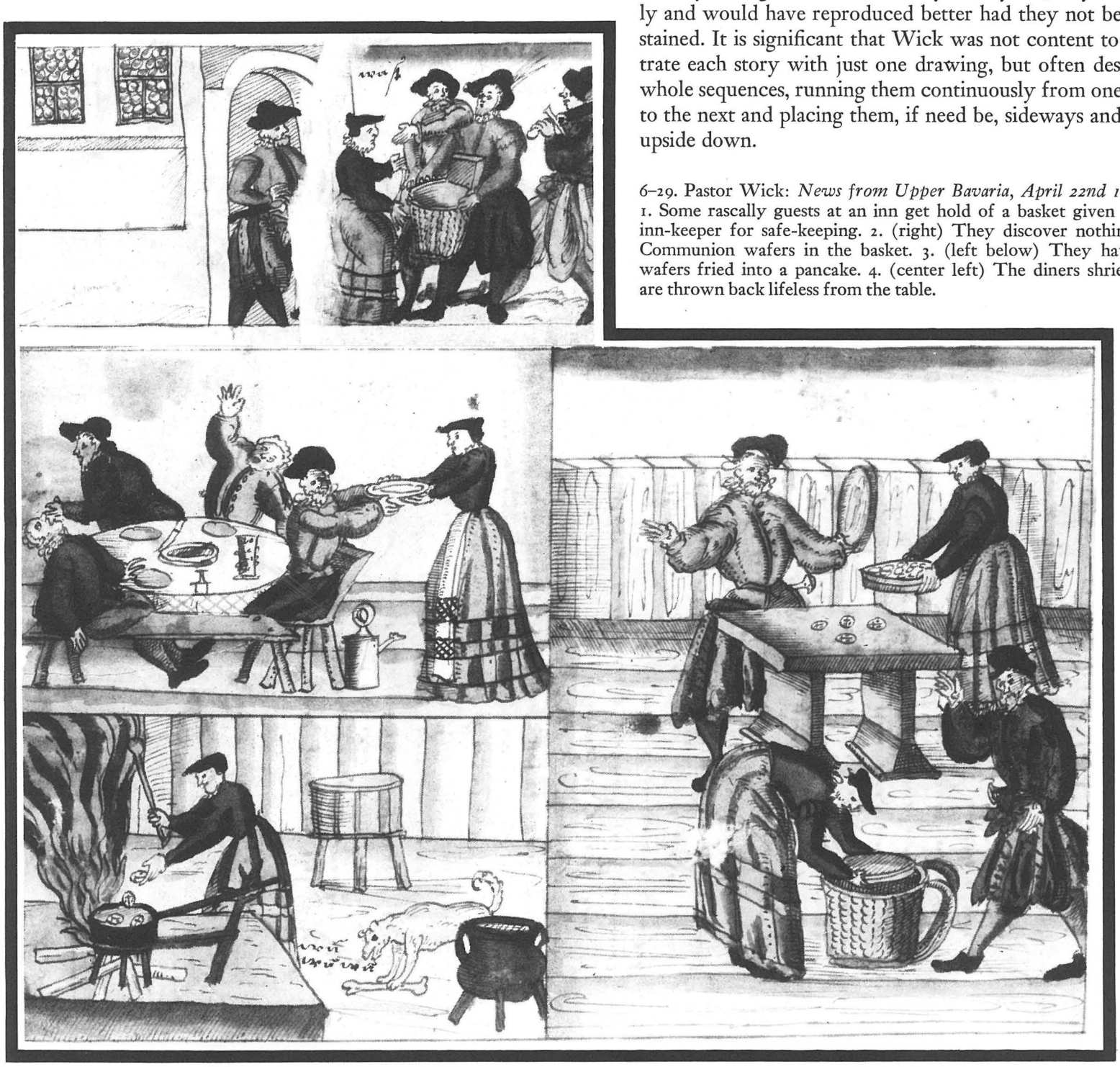


6. *Wickiana*

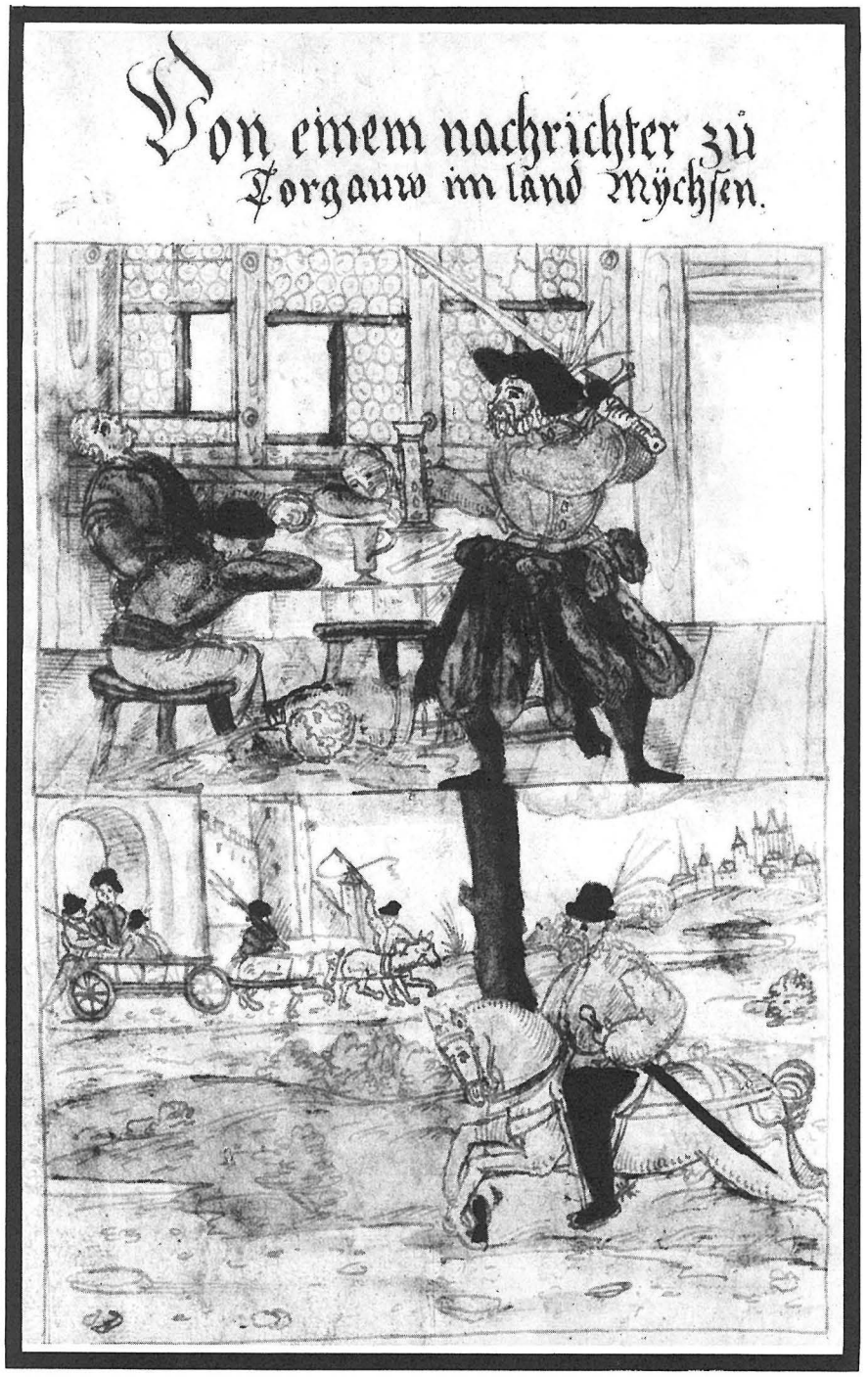
It is easy to understand why crime-and-punishment prints were produced and bought; it is harder to understand their being carefully preserved, once the sensation had passed from memory. Yet collectors there were, and at least two collections have survived *in toto* in their original form. A clue to the collector's psychology may be gauged from the following words of Dr. Markus zum Lamm, a consistory at the court of Heidelberg who failed to obtain the desired picture of a forger hanged by the Venetians, despite "assiduous, repeated inquiries in many places, including several Frankfurt fairs, since the original copperplate no longer exists."[8] The *Thesaurus Picturarum* of Dr. Markus zum Lamm (now in the Darmstadt library) though including many crime broadsheets, is primarily a collection of portraits of famous contemporaries.

A collection concerned solely with topical *mirabilia* is that of Johann Jakob Wick (1522-1588), a Protestant pastor in Zürich. He kept a diary, known as the Wickiana and still preserved in Zürich, which retails day-by-day news and gossip chiefly from Switzerland and Southern Germany. The result, running into twenty-three thick quarto and folio volumes, is an astounding, bizarre mêlée of scandals, crimes and executions, frauds, miracles and natural disasters. Wick loved pictures, and when he could not get hold of an original woodcut, he made a copy himself or invented a design of his own. Plates 6-7, 6-9, 6-17, 6-18, 6-22 and 6-23 all represent woodcuts he preserved; 6-29 and 6-30 reproduce pages of his pen-and-wash drawings, made to illustrate characteristically outrageous stories. Clumsy as they are, they are lively and would have reproduced better had they not become stained. It is significant that Wick was not content to illustrate each story with just one drawing, but often designed whole sequences, running them continuously from one page to the next and placing them, if need be, sideways and even upside down.

8. Quoted by Schottenloher, pp. 174–75; there is an article on Lamm and his collection by Eduard Otto.



6–29. Pastor Wick: *News from Upper Bavaria, April 22nd 1582.* 1. Some rascally guests at an inn get hold of a basket given to the inn-keeper for safe-keeping. 2. (right) They discover nothing but Communion wafers in the basket. 3. (left below) They have the wafers fried into a pancake. 4. (center left) The diners shriek and are thrown back lifeless from the table.



6–30. Pastor Wick: *The executioner of Thorgau in Mychsen* (in part) (1583).
1. A rich, prosperous man, the executioner of Thorgau and a good surgeon, was gambling and drinking with four friends, who got so drunk that they fell asleep at the table. Furious at their being unable to continue the game, he seized his sword of office and cut the heads off all four of them. 2. He put on his best clothes and rode off. (Betrayed by a carpenter, he was arrested, and quartered).

7. The Jewish criminal

We have seen in an earlier chapter (p. 21) that the Jews were considered particularly liable to commit crimes of a religious nature. Strictly speaking there is no such thing as "private crime" on the part of a Jew, whose alleged misdeeds were usually fraught with the gravest religious and political repercussions. Anti-Semitism was of course common to a greater or lesser degree throughout Christian Europe; but the anti-Semitic cartoon was always a German specialty. The broadsheet relating alleged Jewish crimes against Christianity was peculiar to Catholic Eastern Europe: Habsburg Germany, Bohemia, and Poland. Broadsheet anti-Semitica fall into three categories: accusation of traditional crimes (murder of a Christian child, piercing the Host); the tale of the rise and fall of a powerful Jewish individual; and satire exposing Jewish vices in general.

A print of the latter class reproduced here (6-31) represents an unusually comprehensive attempt to analyze, in metaphoric terms, the process by which Christians are fleeced by the Jewish financier. The theme of the Jewish bath-house was a favorite of the popular theatre, and dates back to a poem published in 1535 at Frankfurt. Our strip probably originates in that town, which in the early seventeenth century suffered from serious riots involving the Jews. In 1612 the burghers of Frankfurt appealed to the Emperor, who for political reasons was supporting the Jews there: "Where else do they take their sustenance, than from our sweat and blood, so that they become parasites, leeches upon us, who do not cease until the marrow in our bones is consumed, and we are fit only for the beggar's staff."[9]

9. Liebe, p. 44.

Behüt lieber Gott, behüt all frommen /
Das sie nicht in dis Badstub kommen

Der Juden Badstub.

Da man eim so den Schweiß austreibt
Das weder Gelt noch seckel bleibt.

Bock weck geiß, ich lauff dz ich schweiß /
Kompt her, die Badstub ist sehr heiß /
Ein solcher Bader ist der Jud /
Erzeucht euch aus eur schweis vnd blut /
Er hat ein Laug sehr herb vnd scharpff /
Ach wehe dem der ihr bedarff.
Wer ihm damit wil zwagen lon /
Der kompt gemeinlich kaal darvon /
Darumb hüt dich für solchem Bad /
Da man eim laugt mit schand vnd schad /
Doch thut der Jud solchs nicht allein
Sondern all Wuchner in gemein.



Ja blieb dich wol vnd eben fast
1. Vielleicht der Badstub nötig hast.



Nun geh hin ein du armer Schweiß
2. Was gilts die Zween machen dir heiß



Ihr liebe Freund mein gbrechen ich /
3. Euch hab gesagt / verlast mich nicht.



So wollen wir nun wasser schöpffen
4. Mein gspan / zu baden disen Tropffen



Zeuch du, ich blas das ich schwitz /
5. Mein Sohn das wird geben grosi hitz



Wir beyde vnser best auch thun /
6. Machen den Offen heiß vnd schon



So machen wir die stuben rein /
7 Was gilts, es wird sich schicken fein.



Krauw du den Rucken / ich die Füs /
8. Mein GOTT ist das Bad nicht süs.



Wolan kom ietzund her zu mir /
9. Auff das ich lustig schrepffe dir.



Ich aber wil dir also zwagen
10. Das jederman von vns wird sagen.



Nun wesch ihn aber ist gantz rein
11 Hat behalten weder grosi noch klein.



Ich hab verbadet all mein Gelt
12 Geh hin / dan vns solchs wol gefelt



Gott gsegene euch das Bad mein Herr
13 Wo kompt ihr so fein sauber her.



Im dem Bad bin ich worden blind
14 Nirgends das mein zu sehen sind.



Im wasser schüt die Sünden aus /
15 Der Teuffel fischts doch wider draus.



Ein andr Badstub euch ist bereit
16. Zuschwitzen da ihn Ewigkeit.



So lang Orient vnd dis Kind wird gnant
Der Juden Schelmstück bleibt bekant.



Saug du die Milch fris du den treck
Das ist doch ewer best geschleck



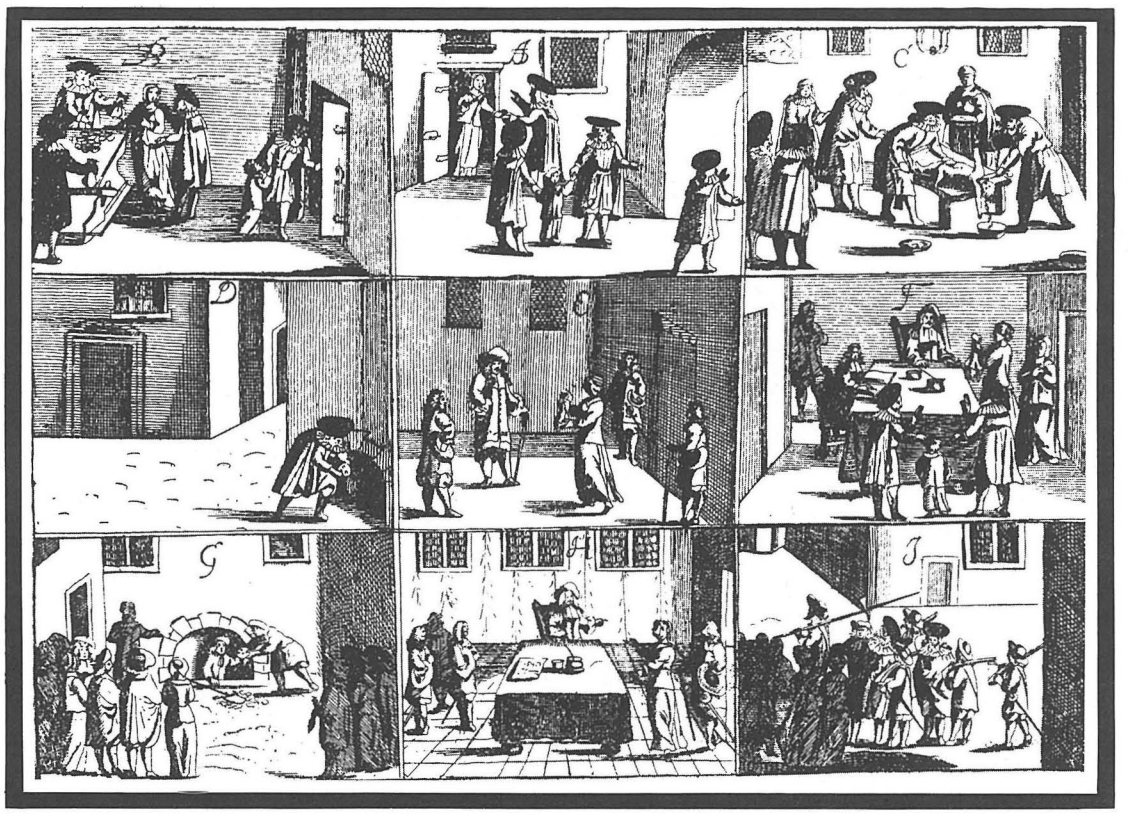
Sara den Bock treib nicht zu schnell
Daß er dich nicht stos in die hell.

In der Ersten Figur stehet ein Kauffman der grossen Handel wil treiben / 2. schlagt sich zu den Juden / vnd wird von ihnen in die gas geführt / 3. handelt mit ihnen / 4. sie wöllen ihn baden / darumb schöpfft der Teuffel vnd Judt wasser / 5. heucken den Keßel vber / 6 schüren das fewer / 7. Keeren die Badstub / 8. Reiben ihn / 9. schrepffen ihm / 10. Zwagen ihm / 11. weschen ihn ab / 12. Er beklagt sich seines schadens / 13. kompt aber Arm wider zur gassen heraus / 14. siehet das er umb das sein kommen / 15. die Juden weschen die sund ab der Teuffel fischet sie wider auff / 16. vnd führet sie in die hell.

6–31. Frankfurt (?). *The Jewish Bathing House* (c.1600). "Dear God, prevent any pious man from finding himself in this bath-house, where one is so sweated out that neither money nor purse remain. 1. Yes, have a good look at yourself, perhaps you need the bath-house. 2. So go along inside, you poor sweat, what's the betting that couple will warm you up. 3. My dear friends, I have told you of my weakness, do not fail me. 4. Let us now draw the water, colleague, and bathe this fellow. 5. You stoke and I'll blow till I sweat; this is going to give a fine heat, my boy. 6. We both do our best to make the oven nice and hot. 7. We'll clean up the room, it's sure to be just right. 8. You scrape his back, and I'll do his feet. My goim, isn't the bath sweet. 9. Come along to me now, and let me cup you merrily. 10. And I will tweak you so hard that the whole town will know about it. 11. Now wash him down, he is quite clean, nothing at all is left in him. 12. I have bathed all my money away—Off you go, that's what we want. 13. God bless you in your bathing, Sir, how come you look so clean? 14. I have become blind in the bath, I can see nothing of mine at all. 15. Wash away the sins in the water, and the devil will still fish them out downstream. 16. There is another bath-house ready for you, where you can sweat it out in eternity. 17. As long as Trent and this child (St. Simon) are on men's lips, the villainy of the Jews will be remembered. 18. You suck the milk, and you gobble up the filth you find so delicious. 19. Sarah, don't ride the goat so fast, or he will carry you into hell."

6–32. German. *Alleged Murder of a Christian child by Jews in Mies* (Bohemia) 1675.

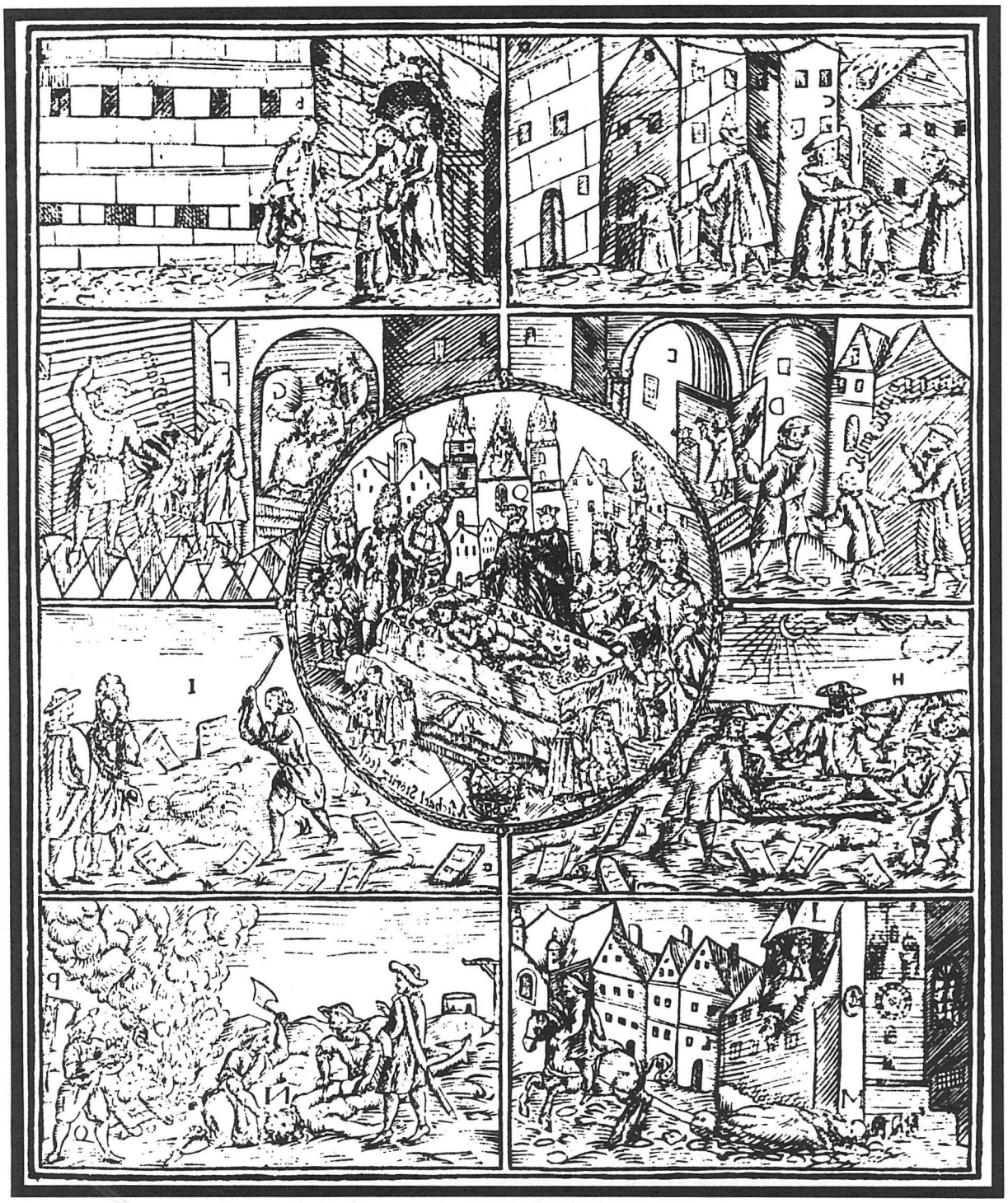
A. (top center) The Jews' first attempt to steal a child in the absence of the mother is foiled by a woman. B. The Jews bribe a woman to bring them another child. C. The child is "mercifully" killed by beheading. D. The corpse is thrown into the river. E. The kidnapping is declared. F. The Jews produce a different child. G. The first child's head is discovered. H. An eyewitness appears to confirm the story. I. The Jews are arrested.



Lest the metaphor appear far-fetched to us, we must remember first that while hygiene in the rest of Europe had declined markedly since the Middle Ages, bathing was still a very common habit among Germans; second, that ritual washing was a well-known feature of Jewish life, and that every Jewish community had to have its own bath-house; third, that the medical profession, with which bathing and leeching are obviously connected, was one of the few open to Jews. (I do not know however that they were actually in charge of Christian bath-houses.) Finally, it is a fact that the satirist's armory was and is always full of medical terminology. The final three scenes of the strip form a kind of satirical appendix, giving the old favorites which, as an inscription tells us, were painted on the Brückenthor of Frankfurt as a reminder to returning residents, and as a warning to visitors to the Fair.

Accusations of traditional crimes, such as murdering a Christian child at Passover time and piercing the Host (cf. 1-20) continued unabated throughout the seventeenth century, surviving even into the twentieth century. Oddly, a French strip dated to the year 1752 revives a miracle of the Host which supposedly took place in 1290.[10] Another French strip, dating from the early seventeenth century, revives the story of an attack made by a Jew upon a holy image in 1326.[11] The Germans however had no need to rehash medieval tales. In 1574 two Bohemian Jews were accused of murdering a child;[12] exactly a century later, also from Bohemia, we find a strip (6-32) recounting a similar Jewish crime, but at this date it is the crime alone which is represented (the execution may have inspired a separate print). There is a certain sophistication to this narrative, as for instance in scene D, where the Jew hides the child's head in an apparently deserted street; but in scene H an eye-witness

10. Hennin 8740.
11. Reproduced in Varennes.
12. Fehr, Pl. 36.



6–33. Prague. *True Representation of a horrible Murder which took place in the Royal Old Town of Prague, the 21st day of the month of February, of this 1694th year, on Sunday Quinquagesima . . .*
A-C. A Jewish child secretly goes to some Christians in order to be instructed in the Christian religion, and to be converted to Christianity. D,E. At home, he is thrashed by his father, and cries out "Jesus Maria." G,F. Since he proves unrepentant, the father takes a knife and cuts the child's throat, while he once again cries "Jesus Maria." H. The corpse is secretly buried at night. I. But it is discovered. L,M. The murderer is dragged through the streets to his execution. N. The hanging, mutilation and burning of the body.

testifies to having seen this happen, so that we look back to the earlier scene and note a face faintly visible in an upper window. Twenty years later, from the Bohemian capital, a similar tale is told (6-33), with the variation that the murdered child is not a Christian kidnapped for the purpose but a Jew who had wanted to convert. The execution is omitted in this strip, which culminates in the exhibition of the miracle-working corpse of the child, strewn with roses.

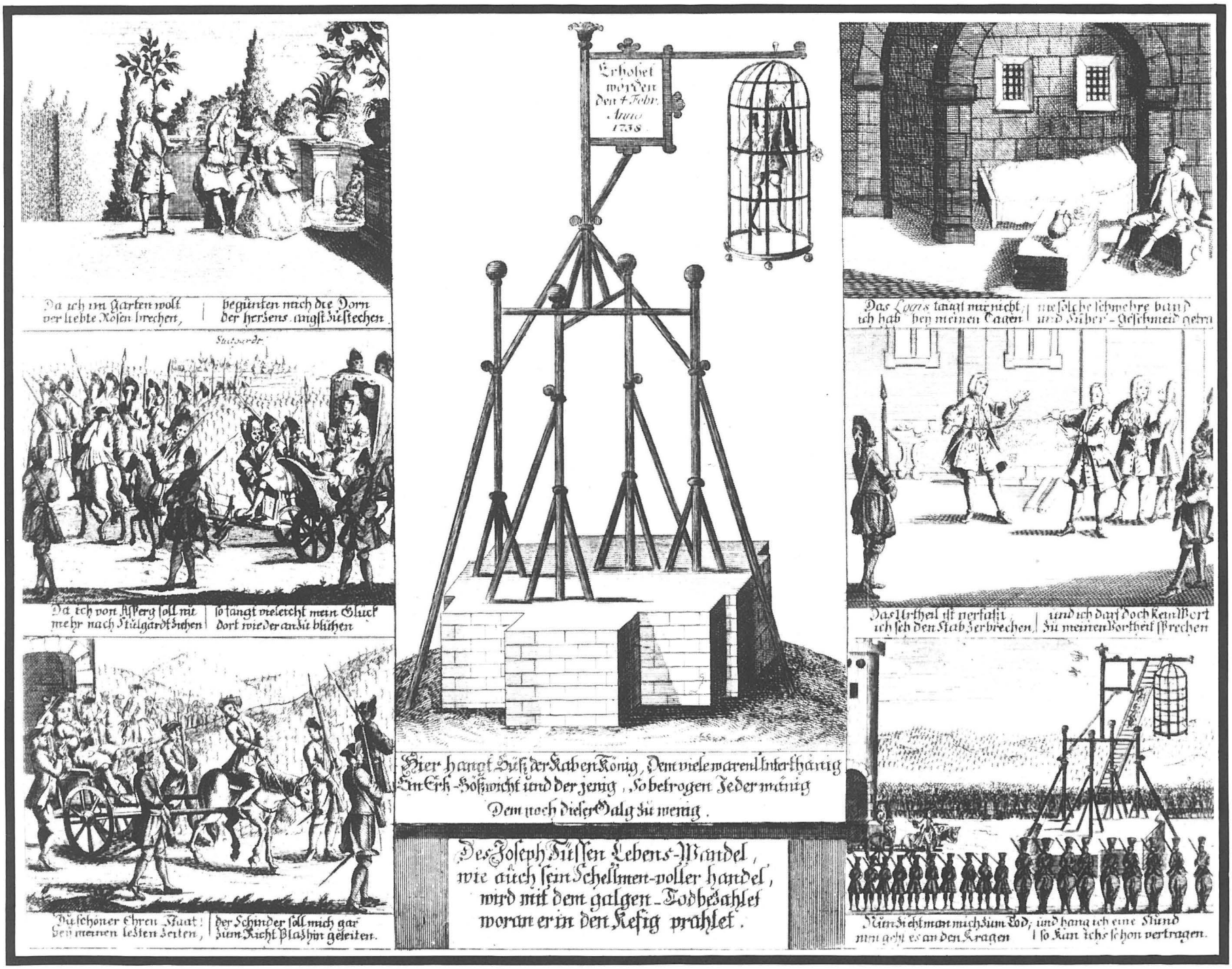
Vienna, the seat of the Empire, produced a story in which the crime (or a terrible aggravation of the crime) was committed on the place of execution itself (6-34). This may explain the fact that the print preserves the old-fashioned single setting, within which are crowded all the stages of the torture. It may be of some criminological interest to observe the very special punishments reserved for Jews, although from the strictly legal and traditional point of view the execution could be regarded as lenient, since it lacked the consecrated punishment of cats and dogs hung by the leg upside down beside the Jew to tear him to pieces as he roasted over the fire. After describing this unusual exhibition of Christian charity, the print ends on the pious hope that God may have mercy on all infidels, and that they be converted for Christ's sake. The Jew's crimes provided the Jesuits with a pretext for instigating anti-Semitic riots through the town.

Our third and last category of anti-Semitica recounts the rise and fall of the prominent Jew. Substantial picture stories survive in only two instances, but in both the sensation had elicited multiple versions. In 1738 Joseph Süss Oppenheimer was convicted of swindling in Stuttgart, where he was finance minister to the Duke of Württemberg (6-35). The various strips on this subject are of some criminological, but little narrative or visual interest, for at this date one expects elaboration upon the crimes, and not upon the imprisonment and execution.

The earlier, and more interesting set of strips concern the fate of the greatest of the false Jewish Messiahs, Shabbatai Sewi, or Sabbatai Zebi B. Mordecai (6-36, 6-37, 6-38). The year 1666 had been widely predicted to signal the end of the persecution for Jews, and the establishment of a kingdom of their own under the Messiah. In 1665 Shabbatai, a mystic of Smyrna, had declared himself to be this Messiah, and early the following year arrived in Constantinople where he was joyfully hailed by the Jewish community. The city was however soon in ferment, and Shabbatai was placed for his own safety in a castle where prisoners of state were kept. At this point contradictory rumors started to fly over Western Europe, according to one of which the Messiah had been executed, and to another that he was being

6–34. Vienna. *A very remarkable story of a Jew who was baptized, but lapsed from Christianity, was arrested for theft and executed with two other Jews* (1642).
(A Jewish rabbi had converted to Christianity with the name Ferdinand Franz Engelberg. He enjoyed favor for his anti-Semitic work, but was arrested in the course of a long career of theft.) On the place of execution, he made a great show of piety, kissing the crucifix, etc., but finding that this failed to move the authorities to clemency, he suddenly hurled the sacred object to the ground and (motif No. 1, left middleground), trampled on it like a mad dog, cursing, raging, blaspheming most horribly (*wie ein rasender Hund darauf gesprungen, geflucht, getobt, und gelästert*), and cried that since he was to die by Christian justice, he would do so as a Jew. The sentence of simple hanging by the neck, suffered by his accomplices in theft (2), was accordingly rescinded, and he was placed on a high carriage as a public blasphemer to be (3, right) pinched in the breasts, to have (4, background right) a strip of skin cut from his neck down his back, to have (6, left foreground) his blasphemous tongue torn out, and (7) his oath-breaking hand cut off, before being (8, center) hanged by the feet and burned alive as a devilish Jew.





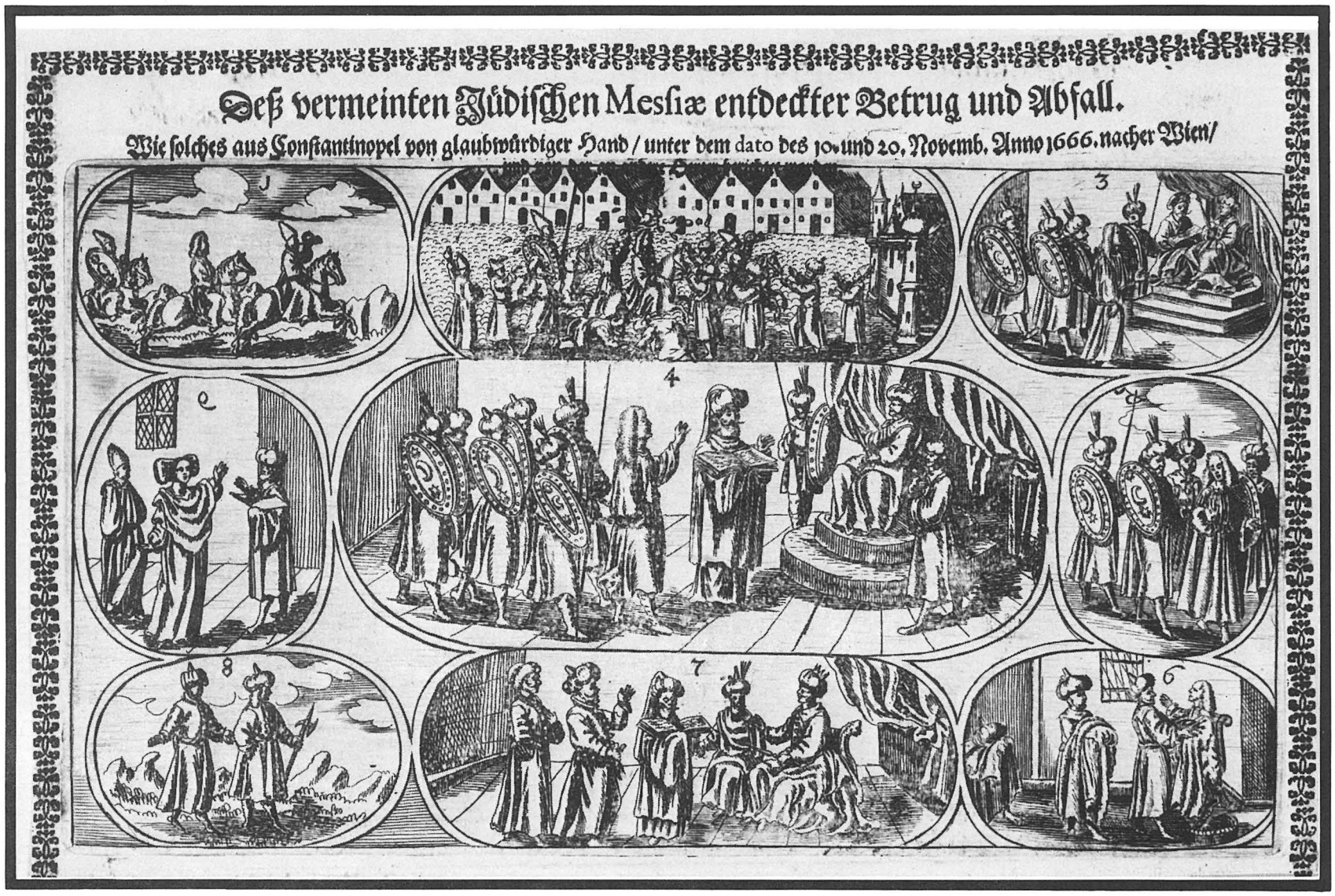
6–35. German. *The career and wicked activities of Joseph Süss Oppenheimer are rewarded with death in the gallows-cage* (1738). "1. I was about to pluck amorous roses in the garden, when the thorns of apprehension began to prick me. 2. (left) Since I can no longer drive from Asperg to Stuttgart, perhaps my luck will return to me there. 3. (right) I do not like this lodging, never in my life have I worn such heavy silver-ware. 4. (right) Sentence is passed, the stick broken, and I am not allowed to say a word in my defense. 5. (left) What an honorable procession! For my last hours I am accompanied by the executioner. 6. (right) Now I am drawn to my death, I am seized, and can put up with hanging for an hour. (center) Here hangs Süss, King of the Ravens, the arch-villain who defrauded and oppressed so many. Even these gallows are too little for him."

6–37. German. *Newly arisen King or Prince of the Jews, i.e. more news of the elevated Josuehel Cam (Shabbatai Sewi), how he came to Constantinople, was at first imprisoned there, but eventually freed again by the Great Turk, and raised to great honor.* From Constantinople March 7th 1666, confirmed from Smyrna and other places.

"A. The Janissaries rebelling over the entrance of the Jewish King. B. The Jewish King taken by some Turks to prison, at which the Jews complained bitterly. C. The Jewish King goes for a walk on the prison roof. D. The Jewish King, surrounded by a wonderful radiation (as in E), is to be seen in the entrance to his locked prison, with the locks and bolts lying broken on the ground. E. The Jewish King prays on the prison roof of the prison, which appears surrounded with flames (as in D). F. The Jewish King is led to a magnificent pleasure palace, and is shown every honor by the Turks and Jews. G. The Jewish King comes at night into the Great Turk's bedroom."

6–36. German. (*The supposed execution of Shabbatai Sewi* (1666). 1-2. Miracles performed by a prophet (Nathan Levi of Gaza?) as testimony of the coming of the Jewish Messiah. 3. Shabbatai Sewi crowned King of the Jews. 4. Shabbatai presented by the prophet to the Sultan. 5. Shabbatai arrested. 6. His throat cut by the Turks. 7. Disembowelling of the body. 8. Hanging upside down to the lamentation of the Jews of Constantinople (9).





6–38. German. *The exposure of the deceit and apostasy of the pretended Jewish Messiah.* From an authoritative source in Constantinople under the date November 10th and 20th 1666, via Vienna. "1. Here the false Messiah is taken by post to Constantinople. 2. Here he is mocked and pelted with rotten fruit. 3. He is presented to the Turkish Emperor. 4. (The Sultan demands a miracle of the Jew, failing which the executioner would perform one on the neck of the imposter. The Jew denies he ever worked miracles, and even denies his claim to be the Messiah. The Sultan gives him the choice between Islam and death). Shabbatai denies the Jewish and swears to the Turkish faith. 5. (right) Here he is taken to the Lord President. 6. Here his clothes are removed, biscuits with which he had secretly relieved his "miraculous" fasts are found on him, and he is dressed in Turkish clothes. 7. The Polish ambassador for the Jews turns Turk and renounces his faith. 8. Here the defected Messiah stands with his servants in Turkish clothes. 9. (above 8) Here is the Messiah's wife, who also became a Turk."

received with honor by the Sultan and was performing miracles. Our first strip (6-36) reflects both these rumors, showing the miracles on the left, the Sultan's honorable reception of the Jewish "King" at the top, and the latter's arrest and execution by the Turks on the right and in the center. Then another print (6-37) followed on the authority of dispatches dated from Constantinople March 7, refuting the story of the execution and showing in greater detail some of the alleged miracles and the supernatural appearance of the "King" in the Sultan's own bedroom. "So much for now" the editor ends, "more in the future."

Not many months passed before the truth came out, and a third strip appeared, dated November 10, 1666 (6-38). It ignores all the rumors of miracles, and reveals the real reason for Shabbatai's favorable reception by the Sultan: the Messiah had turned Turk. It is not hard to imagine the malicious satisfaction felt at this outcome by German Christendom. This quick succession of narrative strips, each published as a corrective to the preceding one, testifies to the intensity of the popular excitement over the issue, and constitutes a unique episode in the history of pictorial journalism.

6–39. German (Augsburg). *True Representation of the arch-robber Claudii Cartouche copied from the French original . . .* (1721). 1. Cartouche steals a pocket-watch at one of the aristocratic festivities which he frequented. 2. Having changed clothes with his comrade, Cartouche leaves the comrade to be arrested. 3. (Portrait, surrounded by emblems of deceit or masks and instruments of punishment). 4. Cartouche drinks with officers of the law, suddenly reveals himself as the famous robber, and runs off. 5. He is pursued and shot at, but in vain, for he is supposedly bullet-proof. 6. The wood where he was hiding is surrounded, but he has already escaped. 7. Cartouche has notices posted up all over Paris stating his ambition to perform some useful service for France. (He visits England and Holland.) 8. He murders a comrade who has become suspect (tearing out his heart and cutting it in four pieces). 9. Betrayed by another member of his band, he is arrested in an inn. 10. Cartouche in prison.

8. *The crime cult (eighteenth century)*

"You cannot conceive the ridiculous rage there is of going to Newgate, the prints that are published of the malefactors, and the memoirs of their lives set forth with as much parade as Marshal Turenne's."[13]

Up to the eighteenth century, legislators were preoccupied with the infliction of punishment, which was based on the premise the greater the punishment, the greater the deterrence. Savage punishments remain during the Age of the Enlightenment, especially on the Continent, but the course of the century is marked by a gradually awakening concern among intelligent men about the crime problem, their attempt to understand it, and by understanding it, eradicate it. The crime strips reflect this all-important change of viewpoint. Popular journalism dwells not so much upon the punishments, which being less harsh, are less interesting, as upon the minuter circumstances of the crime, and, more important still, upon the character of the criminal. The intelligentsia were worried about the apparent increase in crime; the lower orders were attracted to its sensationalist and romantic nature. The journalists tried to meet both demands. The ballad upon the life and death of the criminal, whether he be old or new, a Robin Hood or a Dick Turpin, lent him a romantic aura in the popular imagination, which was stimulated all the more if amorous exploits were mingled with common roberies, and feats of physical prowess with crimes of violence. In the aftermath of the War of the Spanish Succession, as Europe entered a prolonged period of political peace, the highways and cities were plagued with rogues—often ex-soldiers—who worked in gangs. As they organized against society, society began to organize against them. While civic authorities were making increasing efforts to arrest and hold criminals, the admiration of the public went to the corresponding efforts on the part of the criminals to avoid capture and to escape from prison.

All the above is reflected, in one way or another, in the crime strip of the period. The "crime-cult" was recognized as an English phenomenon by contemporary foreign observers; the strips indicate that, although predominantly English, it was not exclusively so. There are German and Dutch (although no surviving French) strips on the most famous French criminal of the age, Cartouche, who was executed in 1721. He very soon became a legend, a "virtuous rogue," *le scélérat sans reproche*.[14] The German strip (6-39), while recounting some of his crimes, stresses the mental agility of the robber-chief, admires the games he plays with the police, and ends on a note of regret that he did not use his talents to better purpose. His gory punishment on the wheel is not even depicted, only mentioned in the commentary. Even the very crude Dutch strip (6-40) pays due homage to his skill in cheating the prison-guards, and to the picturesque adventures of his escape and re-arrest. There is a comprehensive and wildly exaggerated German strip (6-41) on the alleged murders, robberies and frauds of Christian Käsebier, who was convicted in 1749, and there are several accounts of the deeds of lesser men. The accent is usually upon documentation of the crime, as in the relatively sophisticated engraving (6-42) showing the inveiglement of the victim, the murder as committed, and the means of detecting the murderer; or in the very crude woodcut (6-43) which makes an extraordinary attempt, by means of copious reference figures, to diagrammatize the scene of the crime, the condition of the corpse, the escape of the murderer, and the manner of his subsequent confinement.

In England, famous criminals had long been the object of particular veneration. There was Claude Duval, who in the reign of Charles II successfully combined high-

13. Horace Walpole, 1750, quoted by Christopher Hibbert, p. 293. Cf. also R. J. Mitchell, p. 229.

14. The title of a life of Cartouche published in 1733; a film has recently been made on his story.



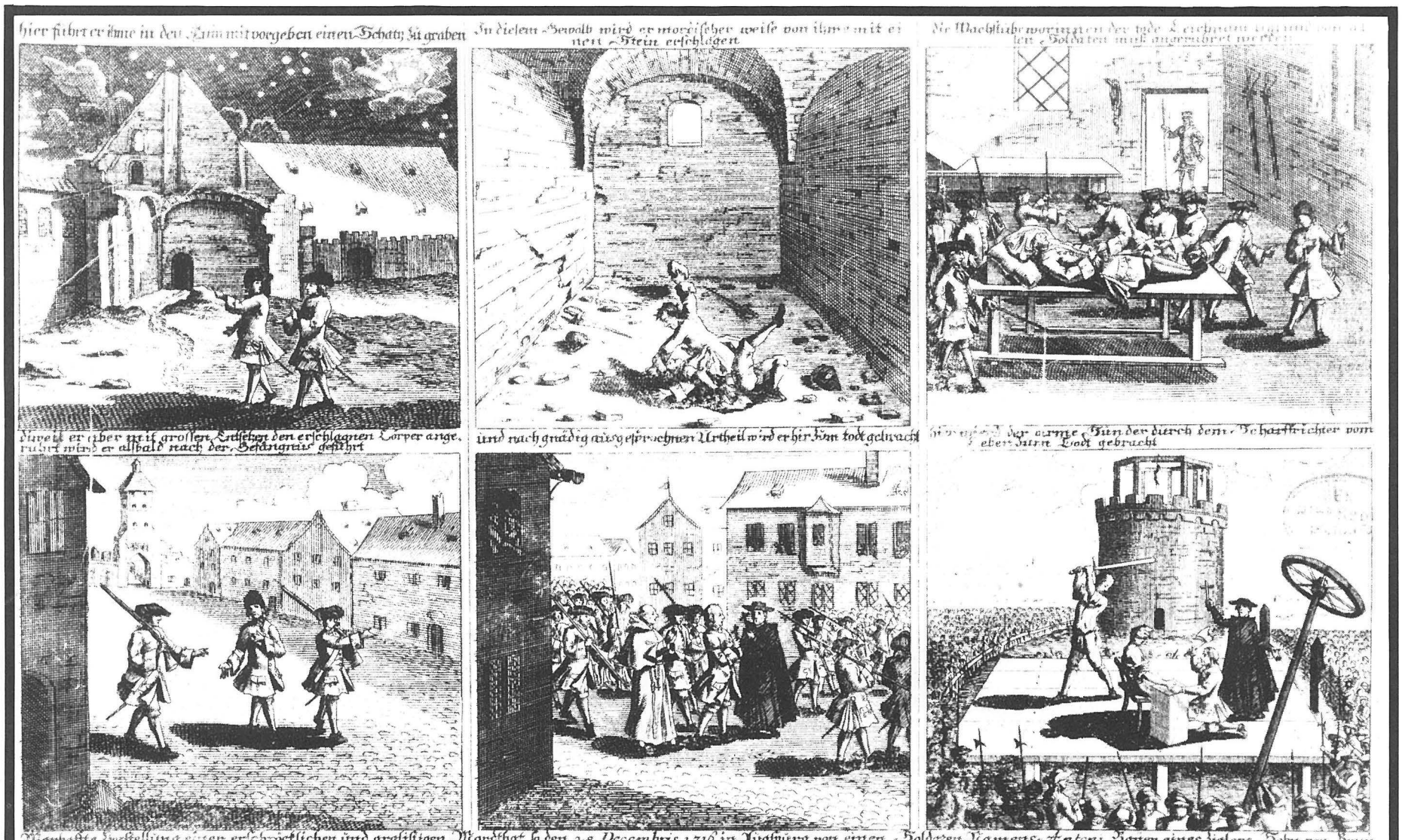


6–40. Dutch. *The Life and career of the infamous thief and murderer Cartouche, broken on the wheel November 28th 1721.*
"1. Friends, don't be afraid to look, here is Cartouche in person. 2. Here Cartouche becomes chief of a band of vicious, shameful rogues. 3. Through wily practices and cunning tricks, Cartouche takes to breaking into houses. 4. While they force their way in, Cartouche strikes down the guard. 5. Here the robber band steals and murders as though there were neither justice, nor law nor God. 6. Through knavery and violence Cartouche acquires goods and money. 7. Cartouche is hotly pursued at night by the guard. 8. After his robbery and pillage, Cartouche goes to sell his stolen goods. 9. Cartouche is seized and put into the Châtelet prison. 10. Here he is watched by two guards and bound hand and foot. 11. Here he drinks brandy with the jailer. 12. Cartouche tries to escape death, and with his fellow prisoner digs a hole into the sewer. 13. Here they struggle anxiously and painfully from the prison through stinking sewage. 14. They reach the adjoining house but are betrayed by the dog. 15. The noise brings up the guards who catch them both. 16. The fear of death finally makes him name his accomplices. 17. Cartouche here confesses to the court his evil and wicked doings. 18. Cartouche and his accomplice stand full of fear as their sentences are read. 19. With iron powder and rope, how disgracefully is Cartouche (illegible). 20. Now the surgeons can amuse themselves with the soulless body of this rogue."



6–41. Augsburg. *The life and capture of Christian Käsebier (1749).*

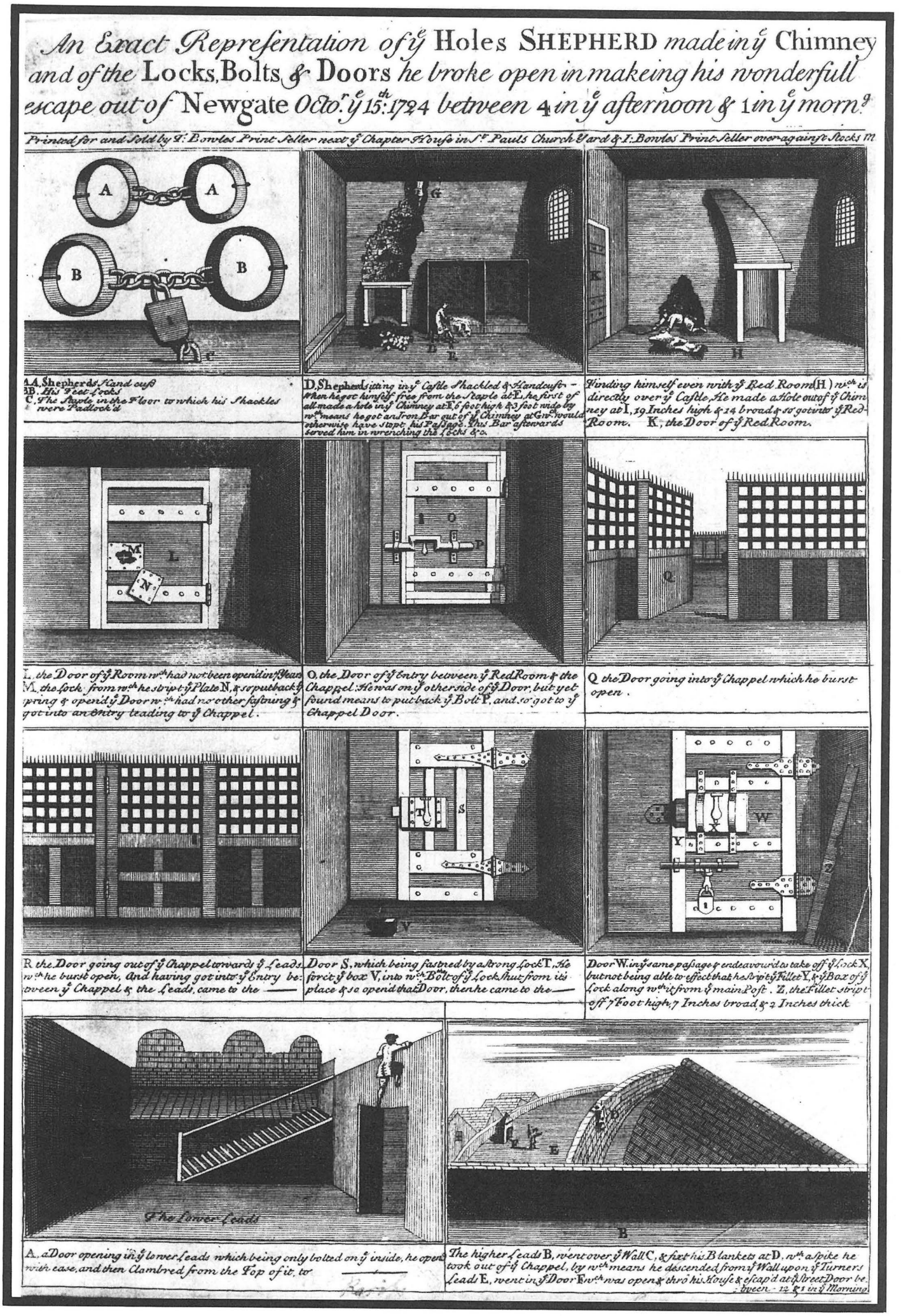
"1. Thus Käsebier began his godless life, and gathered around him some fifty men. 2. He committed his first cruel murder on his wife, and cut out the fruit of her tender womb. 3. Upon which he turned to trickery and deceit, and one evening presented himself to a lady as a Count. 4. Another evening he gains admittance to a clergyman, but takes a liking to him and commits no robbery. 5. In Liegnitz a Jew brings him 2,000 louis d'or, and as he bends over them, is struck dead from behind. 6. In the Spree forest he hangs a tailor's apprentice in an ants' nest, which kills him. 7. In foreign lands he kills a gentleman, his wife and two servants for their jewelry and money. 8. In Pressburg, he presents himself as a baron to the Commandant, and suspecting an impending arrest, quietly withdraws. 9. He desperately defends himself with his two pistols, when the guards try to arrest him. 10. Now he cannot possibly escape, for he is suspended in the air as you can see."



6–42. Augsburg. *True representation of a horrible, malicious murder committed December 28th in Augsburg by a soldier called Anton Bayer, on his corporal called Philipp Kayser . . . (1716).*
"1. He leads him towards an old ruin on the pretext that a treasure is buried there. 2. In this vault he attacks him murderously with a rock. (He robs him of the little money he has on him, and returns to the barracks.) 3. In the guardroom, the corpse is laid out and must be touched by all the soldiers in turn. 4. Since Bayer evinces great horror as he touches the murdered man, he is immediately taken to prison. 5. After the sentence is graciously read out, he is led to execution. 6. Here the poor sinner (has his right hand cut off) and is brought by the executioner from life to death."



6–43. German, early eighteenth century. *Where robbery and murder took place, and how cruel they were, and also how the criminal fled and lay in prison, are here displayed to view; truth itself surpasses fiction, as this report reveals. The sentence of death is here declared; the murderer's body shall be (broken on the) wheel from bottom to top. The deed is revenged as befits it, and thus ends the career of the sinner.*



6–44. English. *The Escape of Jack Sheppard* (1724).

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION *of the* Celebrated Mr. IONATHAN WILD Thief-taker-General *of* Great Britain *&* Ireland; *together wth a list of ye principal* Priggs, *Hanging in* Effegie, *who were taken by him, and Convicted & Executed upon his Information. To which is Annex'd, his Lamentation in Newgate &c.*



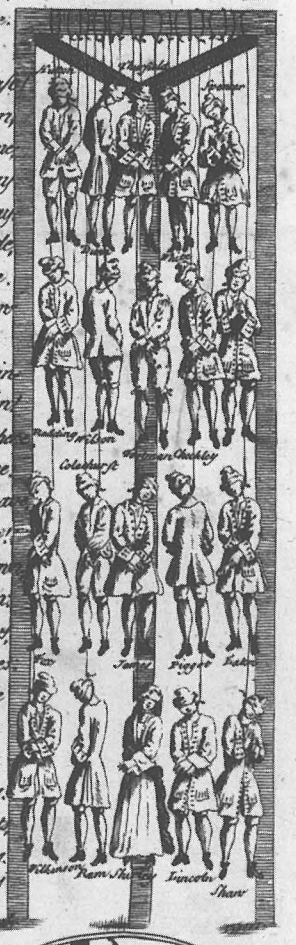
A list of the principal Priggs hanging in Effegie, whom honest Jonathan has sent to Tyburn before him.

The Complaint of Jonathan Wild. A Poem—

Within the Confines of ye dreary Cell,
Where terrors reign & where no Comforts dwell
Where ghastly Visions, wretched souls affright
And paint a dreadfull Tyburn to ye Sight;
Where some in tears lament; & others swear,
While Learned Purney makes a pious prayer,
Or while his partner fill'd wth holy qualms,
Devoutly hums o'er one of Sternholds Psalms
Of Life despairings, Conscious of desert,
Sad Wild thus vents ye Anguish of his heart
Thus, of his inauspecious fate complains,
As he wth gloomy brow surveys his Chains.
Ingratefull Country, Zealous for thy good
How often have I hazarded my Blood?
Nor have I Arms alone, but Arts employ'd
Sword, Pistols & Damnation have defy'd
Warm in thy Cause, of Dangers not afraid,
How great a Slaughter has by me been made
Witneslye Records of this horrid dome!
Nor let it be forgot, in days to come!
By me thrice twenty have in halters dy'd
I Seiz'd 'em & in vain t'Escape they try'd:
'Twas I that Evidences did prepare,
And to ye purpose, taught them wt to Swear
Ye Britons! Curst with an unthankfull mind
For ever to exalted Merit blind!
Is thus your constant benefactor spurn'd
Are thus his faithfull Services returnd!
This Dungeon a reward of labours past!
And Tyburn my full recompence at last!
More Generous Blenykin! O'y thy design
Had ended this unhappy Life of mine!
O that Success had Crownd ye Stroke you gave!
Then had I gone with honour to ye Grave!
How will ye Crouds that I have sent before
Triumph to meet me on th'Infernal Shore.
At me wt looks insulting will they cast,
And Sneering cry,—Old Friend is come at last
But sure, e'r long ye time will come again,
When Watches shall be lost in Drury lane
Snuff-boxes finely painted, miss their way
And Rings & Pocket-books shall go astray
When Phillis, at the Ball or Masquerade,
Shall lose a present; by some Lover made.
Then you, unthinking Monsters! you'll no more
Exult at my unpitied overthrow:
Then you'll repent too late, you then, in vain
Will Wish to have your Jonathan again
But you, my hopefull Servants, every one
Whom I have trained up wth a fathers care.
Sure you some Gratefull Sentaments will have
And drop a tear upon ye Masters Grave!
From Rags & staunting bare legg'd up & down
With Pockets never bless'd wth a Crown
From Selling Save-alls, pimping at poor sizes
From raking kennels, & from blacking Shoes
Twas I that rais'd ye you by me were made
Successfull Artists in a thriveing trade.
I taught ye to live comfortable lives,
To keep a train of Whores & starve ye Wives.
Go on & prosper: bravely Play your part
Nor leave unpracticed any of your Arts.
Be Rogues renonn'd, & trample on ye Laws
Then Nobly you'll revenge ye Masters Cause

A list of the principal Priggs hanging in Effegie, continued. N.B. several of those mention'd in Jonathan's Catalogue, are omitted here, for want of room.







Here Jonathan a Gipsey King
Is doom'd to Dye, with Trumpets ringing



Blenwkin alias Blake
Believing ye Dog, thus Life's at Stake



Thus may all Villains meet their fate
From lighter Rogues to Thieves of State



Here Devil take thy Darling Wild
Has been thy Servant from a Child

1754

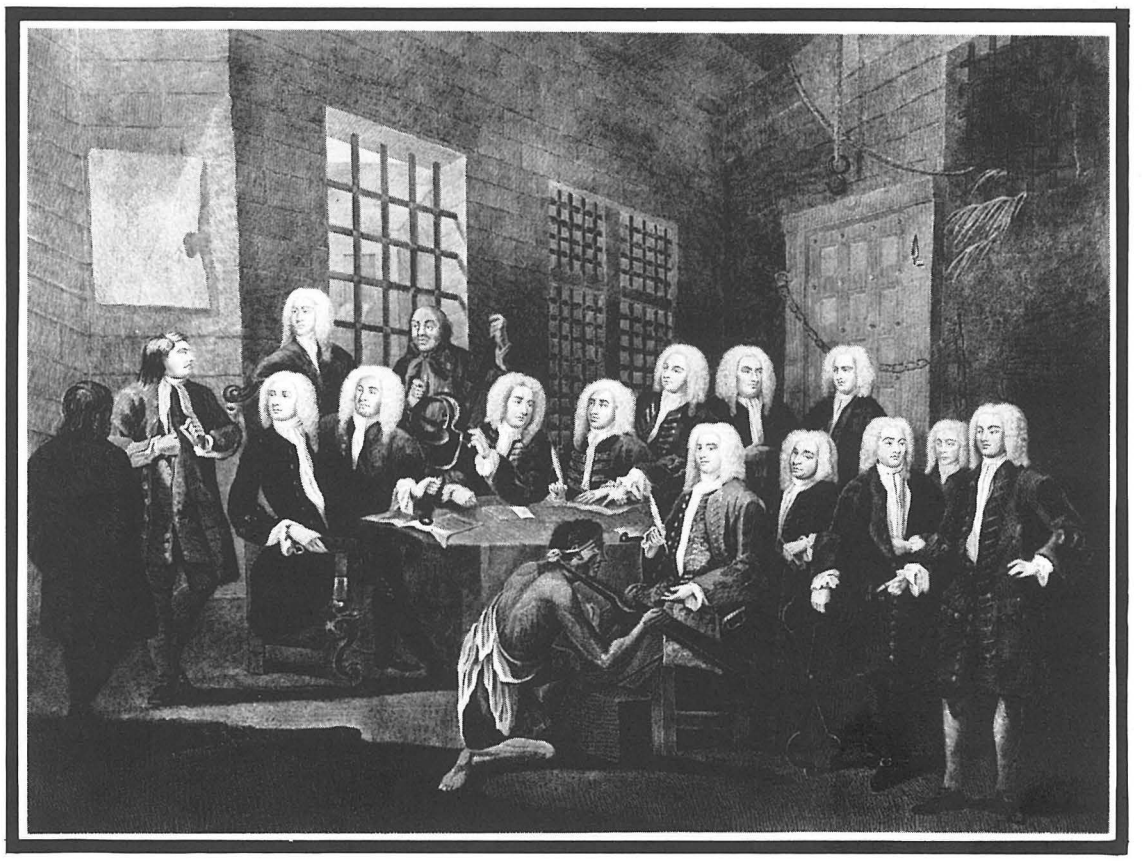
6–45. English. *Life and Death of Jonathan Wild* (1725).

way robbery with the violent courtship of ladies of fashion; and Colonel Blood who stole the Crown Jewels, but caught the popular imagination and was pardoned by King Charles. In November 1724 the captive thief Jack Sheppard became one of the sights of London; thousands of people paid four shillings each (a huge sum—a portrait-print of him might cost only threepence) for the privilege of viewing his person; 200,000 people are estimated to have lined the route leading to his execution, and on the scaffold he recommended everyone to read the book of his adventures, written for him by Mr. Daniel Defoe. So excellent a criminal deserved no less excellent a "dying speech." His brief, year-long career of robbery was actually less remarkable than his series of escapes; and it is as an escapologist that he is remembered by the historian of crime, and the contemporary engraver (6-44). He had escaped from prison twice during the first six months of 1724; after having been exhibited to the public in July, he escaped again, with the help of his mistress. When he was caught again (November) he was chained to the floor of his cell. Our engraver recounts with painstaking precision what chains, locks, bolts, doors and walls Sheppard broke in the course of this, his fourth and final escape. The print is of the most impressive, diagrammatic clarity in word and image, and could have provided a model for the Criminal Record Office, the government agency which was only to appear, in embryo, under the magistracy of Sir John Fielding a generation later. The story starts with a close-up view of the shackles and ends with a panorama of the prison-roof, with the figure of Sheppard so small as to be almost invisible (he is omitted altogether, again in the interests of circumstantial clarity, in most of the previous scenes).

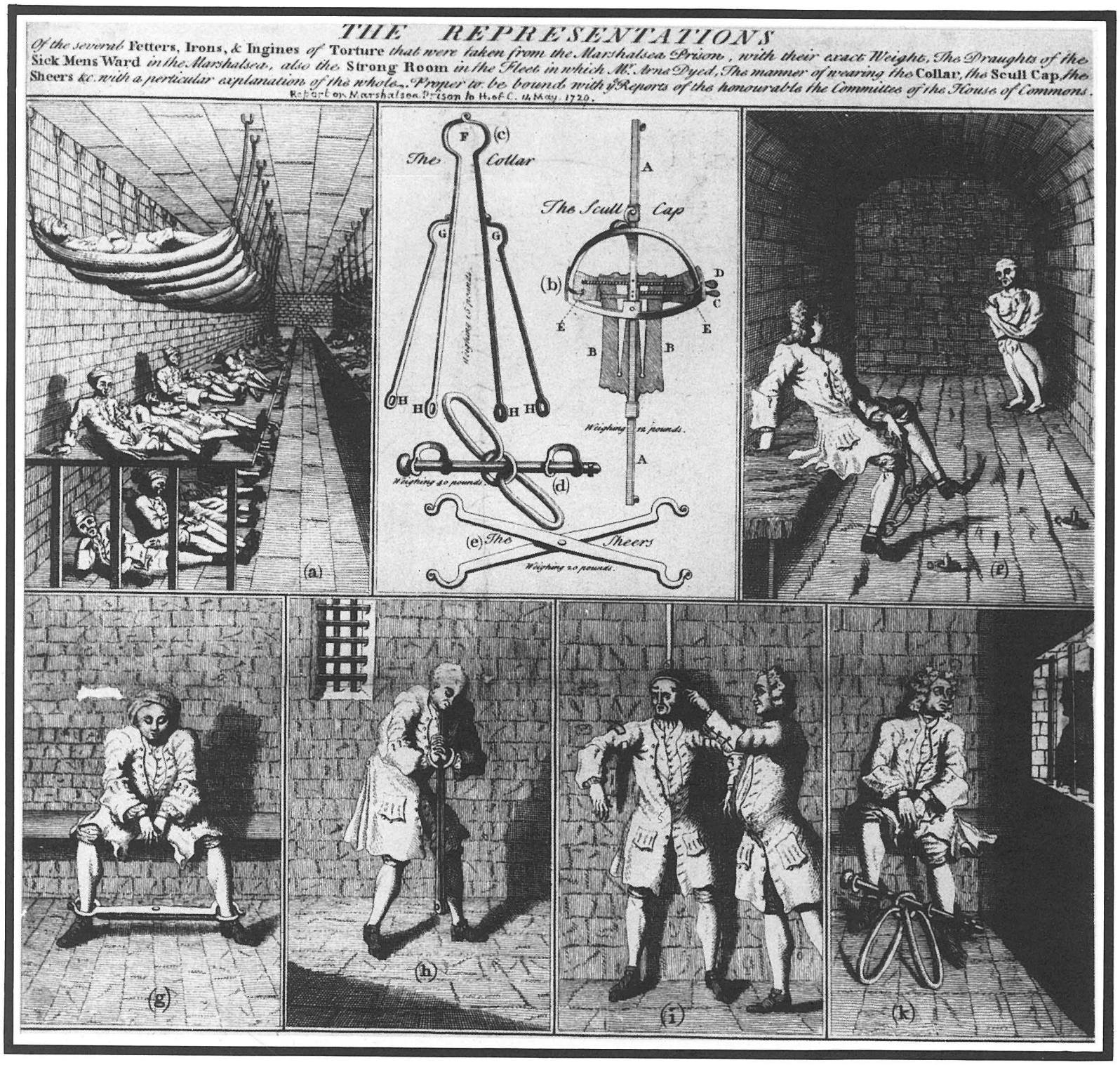
Sheppard was arrested—and betrayed—by one Jonathan Wild, who was both police-chief and king of the underworld. The following year Wild himself was arraigned, and hanged before a jubilant crowd. The immense increase in crime during the early years of the century had opened up to the fence, or receiver of stolen goods, a lucrative trade. Jonathan Wild, an organizational genius, perfected the technique of mediating for the return of property between the thieves and the victims, and got himself paid by the government for turning in those robbers who did not co-operate with him—such as the unfortunate Sheppard. The best engraving on Wild (6-45), without entering into the niceties of the situation he exploited, combines a ballad with pictorial satire and narrative. The latter consists of two incidents, fictitious and real, from Wild's life, and two phases, fictitious and real, of his death.

There were also at this time serious attempts to reform legal procedure and to improve the lot of the criminal in prison. In 1729 William Hogarth painted his *Committee of The House Of Commons Examining Bambridge*, which makes a forthright accusation of the cruel jailer. The prisoner, kneeling before the committee encased in his heavy fetters (6-46), is pathetic enough; but another engraver analyzed, in all its horrific detail, the actual instruments in use, and the condition of the cells (6-47). After so many strips recording uncritically the barbarous punishments of their age, it is with relief that we meet at last a popular print which roundly condemns them.

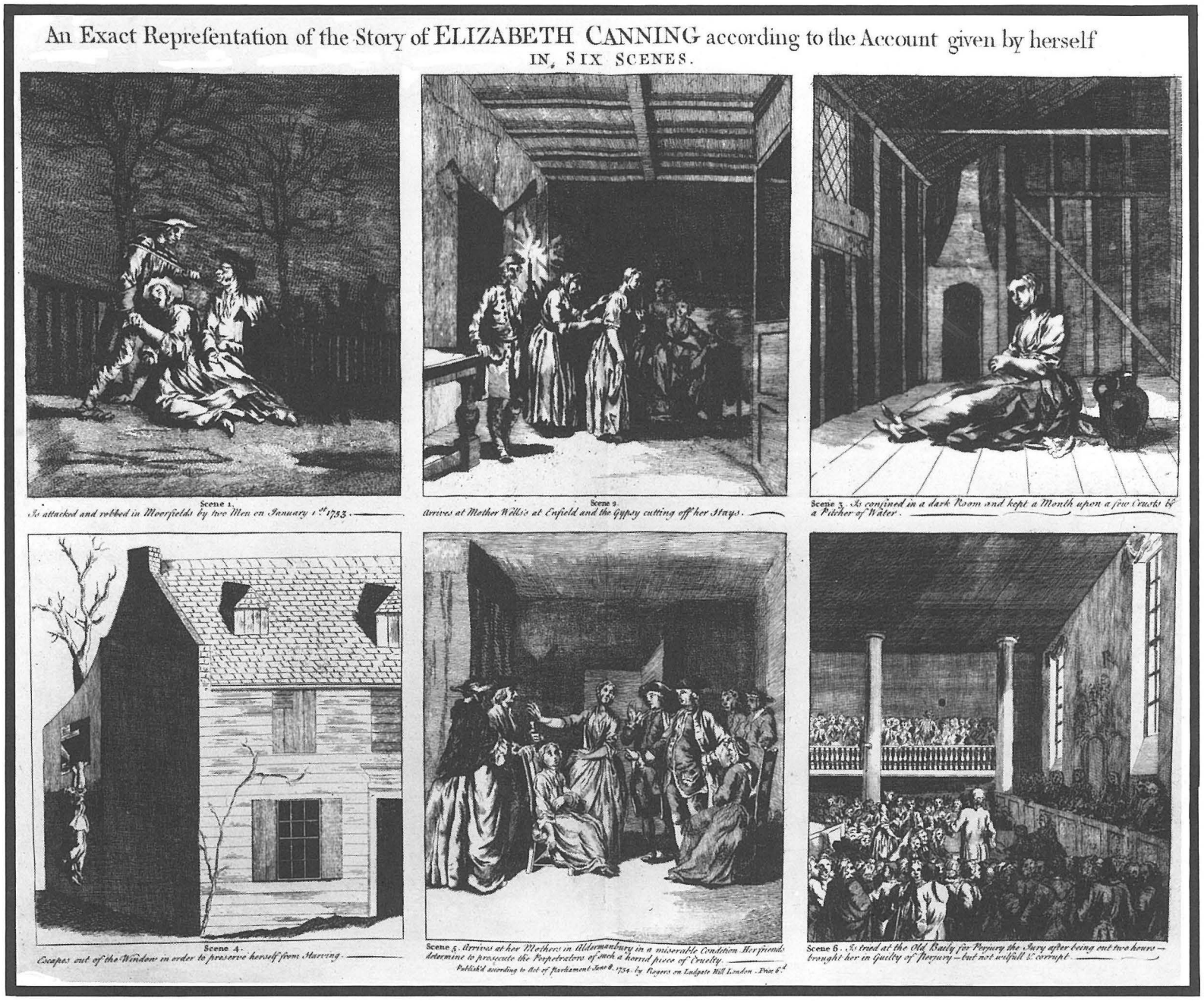
The most significant English crime-strip of mid-century (6-48) is concerned not so much to sensationalize the action of the criminal, as to arouse sympathy, in a humanitarian way, for the plight of the victim of the crime. The Elizabeth Canning story, which remains to this day a mystery, aroused considerable judicial controversy at the time and the impassioned participation of pamphleteers and cartoonists. The engraver of our strip, conscious that the affair had been confused with conflicting testimonies and per-



6–46. William Hogarth (after). *Bambridge on Trial for Murder by a Committee of the House of Commons* (c.1729).



6–47. English. *Fetters, Irons, Engines of Torture used in the Marshalsea Prison* (1729).
(Summary) "a. The Sick Men's Ward at the Marchalsea, the sick men crowded in a very affecting and melancholy condition.
b. The iron scull cap . . . a hellish engine that Thos Bliss, a carpenter, was tortured with (i) till the Blood started out of his Ears and Nose.
c. (2) The collar, GG the Cuffs for the wrists, HH the holes through which the instrument is screwed close, as worn by Acton (h), who was so pressed that his Eyes were ready to start out of his head, the Blood gushed out of his Ears and Nose, he foamed at the mouth . . . after which (g) he was confined for many days in the strong room, loaded with heavy irons called the Sheers.
d. (2) Heavy fetters, used as in scene k. Scene f (3) A view of the very damp and cold strong room in which (various named persons) have been confined, and where one died."



6–48. English. *The Adventures of Elizabeth Canning* (1754).



6–49. English. *A True Draught of Elizabeth Canning* (1753).

juries, scrupulously stresses in his title that he is representing "the account given by (Elizabeth Canning) herself"; at the same time his documentation is clearly designed to elicit pity for the girl, whose sinister and sordid fate he so vividly portrays. Another engraver (6-49) is openly Canningite and "anti-Egyptian," satirically casting her alleged oppressor, an ugly old gypsy bawd, in the role of a witch flying through the air to establish her various conflicting alibis. Public opinion tended to see Elizabeth as the martyr of justice, but the following year she was convicted of perjury and sentenced to transportation. The eight-day trial involved a dissection of evidence far superior to what had passed for justice during the Popish Plot trials in the previous century; the affair as a whole falls into a period marked by a critical re-examination of legal procedure, and the extraordinary efforts of magistrates Sir John and his half-brother Henry Fielding, the novelist, to reduce criminality by studying its causes and eliminating judicial corruption. This was the moment, too, when Henry Fielding's friend Hogarth combatted anti-social liquor legislation with his *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane*, sought the origins of crime in his *Cruelty* sequence (which we shall consider in Part III of this work), and exposed the corruptions of the law in the *Election* series.

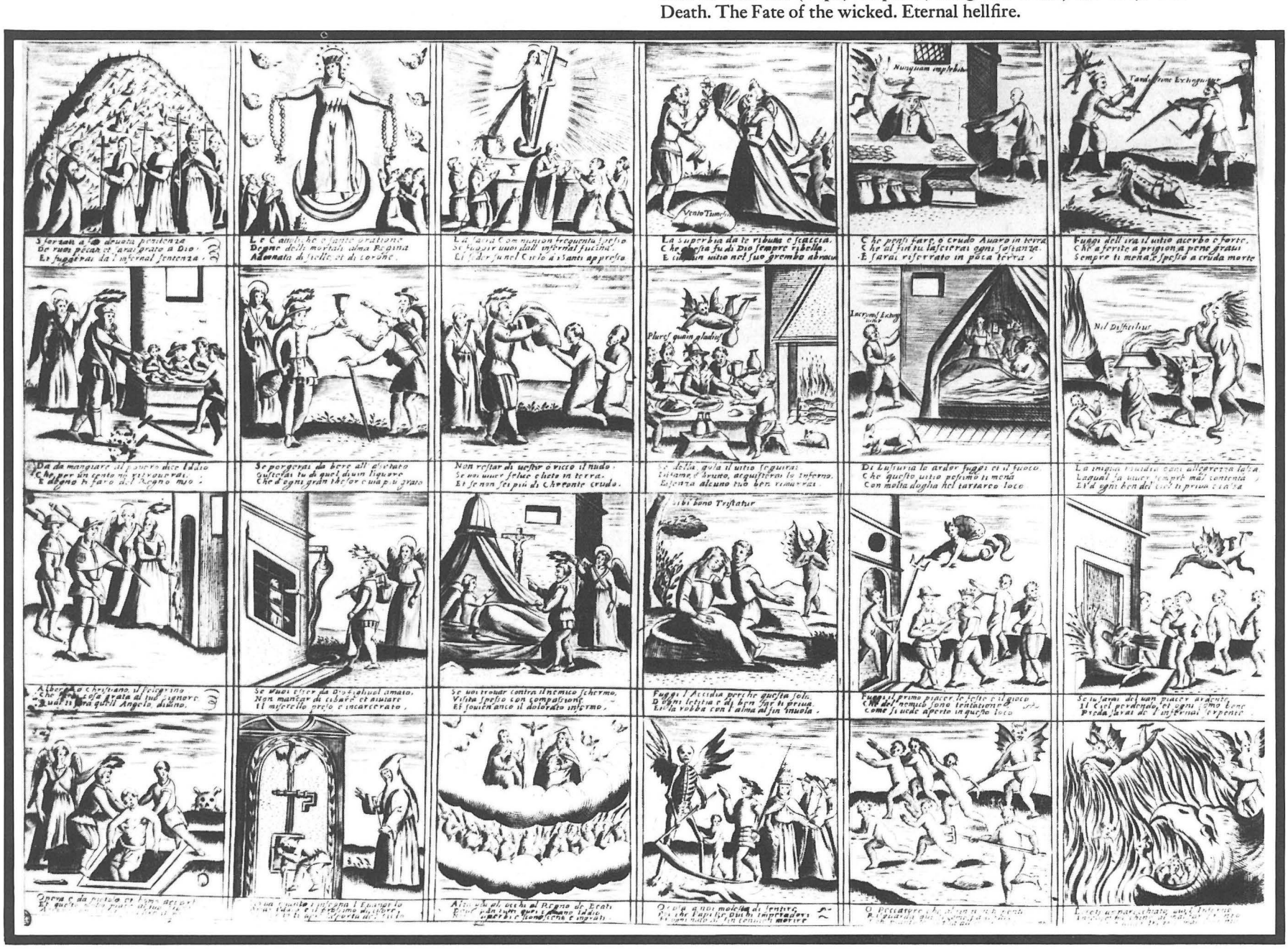
Chapter Seven

VICES AND FOLLIES

1. The seven deadly sins

Though the illustration of specific private crimes is very much a preserve of Germany, representation of vices and follies in general occupies the European broadsheet. I have already commented briefly upon the role played during the latter Middle Ages by the illustrated sequence of the Ten Commandments and the Seven Deadly Sins (1-6 and 1-4.) As a theme of broadsheet art, the former seems to disappear, and the latter to decline in popularity during the sixteenth century. Bruegel, who gives us the best-known series of engravings on the Seven Deadly Sins (the *Justice* mentioned above p. 162 forms part of the complementary series of Virtues), is not concerned with realistic analysis so much as with a Bosch-like display of formal fantasies. His Sins reign in a spiritual nightmare, rather than in a recognizable social context. (It is paradoxical that Bosch himself in his *Tabletop*,

7–1. Italian. *The Seven Acts of Mercy etc. contrasted with the Seven Deadly Sins etc.* (c. 1600).
Twelve scenes on left: Penitence–Salvation–Sacrament. (The Seven Acts of Mercy): Feeding the Hungry–Giving shelter to the Traveller–Comforting the Prisoner–Comforting the Sick–Burying the Dead. The door of heaven opened to the pious. The Blessed in Heaven.
Twelve scenes on right: (The Seven Deadly Sins): Pride–Avarice–Wrath–Gluttony–Lechery–Envy–Sloth. Musical entertainments lead to hell. All (Pope, Emperor, King and Duke) are subject to Death. The Fate of the wicked. Eternal hellfire.

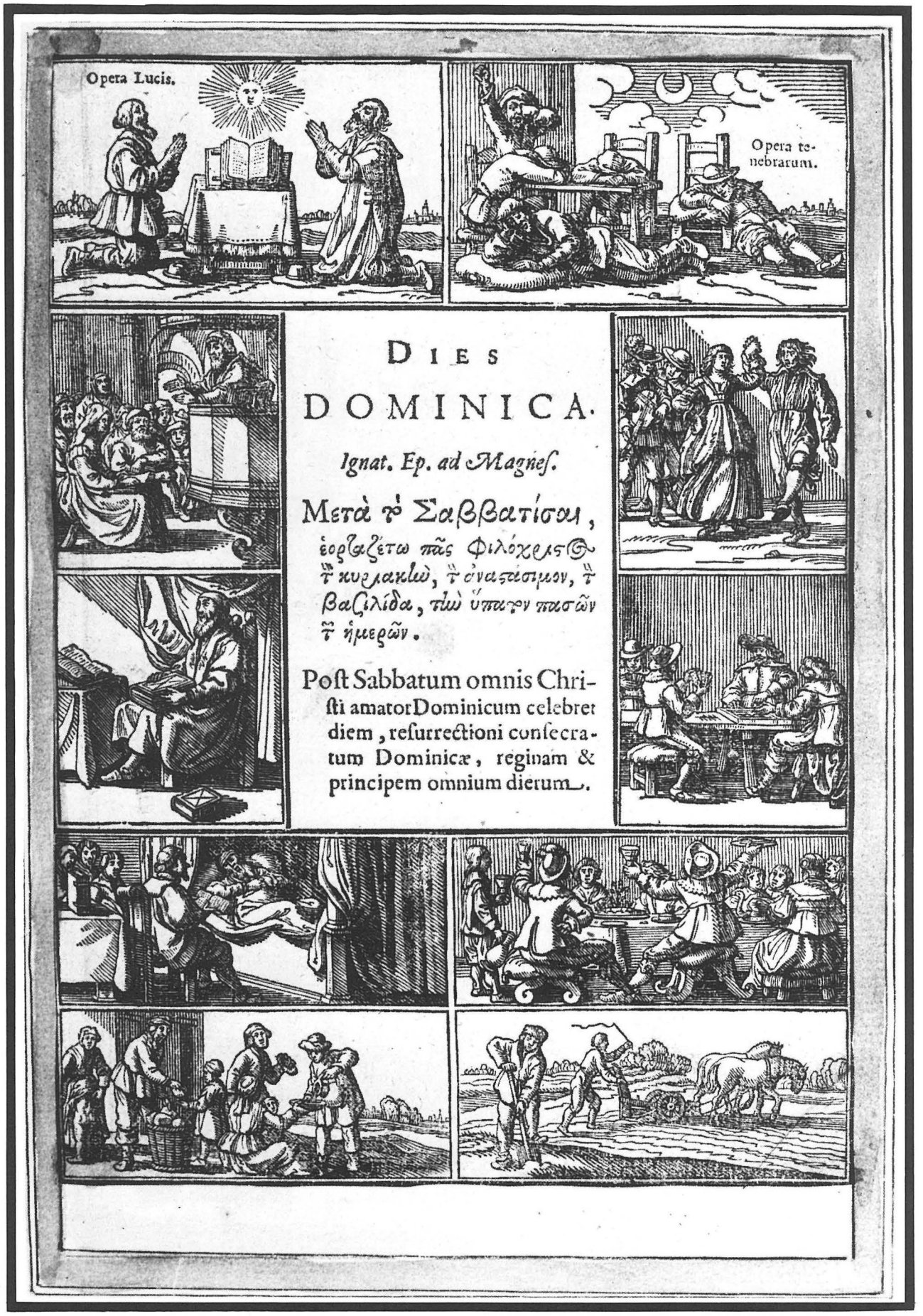




EMBLEMATA,
Welche das Leben/die Thaten/Sitten/vnd wunderbare verwandlung deß Signor Spangniols deutlich erklären/
zuvor in Castillianischer/darnach in Niderländischer vnd Frantzösischer/vnd jetzt in hochteutscher Sprach beschrieben.

7–2. Dutch/German. *Emblems clearly explaining the life, actions, customs and wonderful transformation of the Spanish Señor* (c. 1600). 1. *An angel in church.* The Spaniard is a hypocrite, for he practices transports of piety before the altar, and plots his seduction of a beautiful woman (the figure background right is a fleeing angel).
2. *A Devil in his Lodging.* He struts about, arrogantly demands all the best for himself in the tavern, terrorizes wife and daughter, and insults all nations in the name of glorious Spain.
3. *A Wolf at Table.* He tears at the meat with his hands, and throws away what he cannot manage. (At home, however, he will have to dine off black bread and water and go hungry to bed.)
4. *A Hog in his Chamber.* In his bedroom the wolf turns into a hog, and the room into a lousy hog-sty, stinking so much that the doctor who comes to cure him of his syphilis hurries away for fear of fainting.
5. *A Peacock in the Street.* "Make way, you people, here comes the swine which is now turned into a peacock fine." He preens himself, looking round to make sure he is observed. He claims to have travelled all over the world.
6. *A Fox in deceiving Women.* The Spaniard can deploy all the cunning charms of the womanizer in order to achieve his dishonest ends, but if this does not succeed, he resorts to the Procuress, falsely promising money.
7. *A Lion in a place of Garrison.* The fox turns lion in the safety of a garrisoned town, where he insults all and demands royal attentions.
8. *A Hare in a besieged place.* He becomes a cowardly fugitive.
9. *A Lamb when caught.* He pretends humility and innocence, and complains bitterly at the hanging of such as him, a knight and hidalgo.
10. *Rapacious.* The miser clutches his moneybags which are never sufficient for him. "So the Indian (of South America) says contemptuously, Gold is the Spaniard's God."
11. *Arrogant.* The Spaniard (who might be the son of a negro or native of Barbary) passes haughtily before a cringing burgher.
12. *A Bloodthirsty Tyrant.* He has murdered thousands on all continents.
13. *Vindictive.* He persecutes in America, Aragon and Navarre, and the Netherlands, where he murdered Horn and Egmont (cf. 2–13 and 2–14).
14. *Perfidious.* The simple burgher walks suspiciously away from the Spaniard who raises his hand in solemn oath, for he knows that Spaniards never keep faith with "heretical" enemies.
15. *A Tyrant over his Subjects.* Life is better under the Turks than under the cruel, godless yoke of the Spanish.
16. *Happy State of Delivery from the Señor's Yoke.* The victorious subject, a Dutchman, bestrides the slain body of his former master.

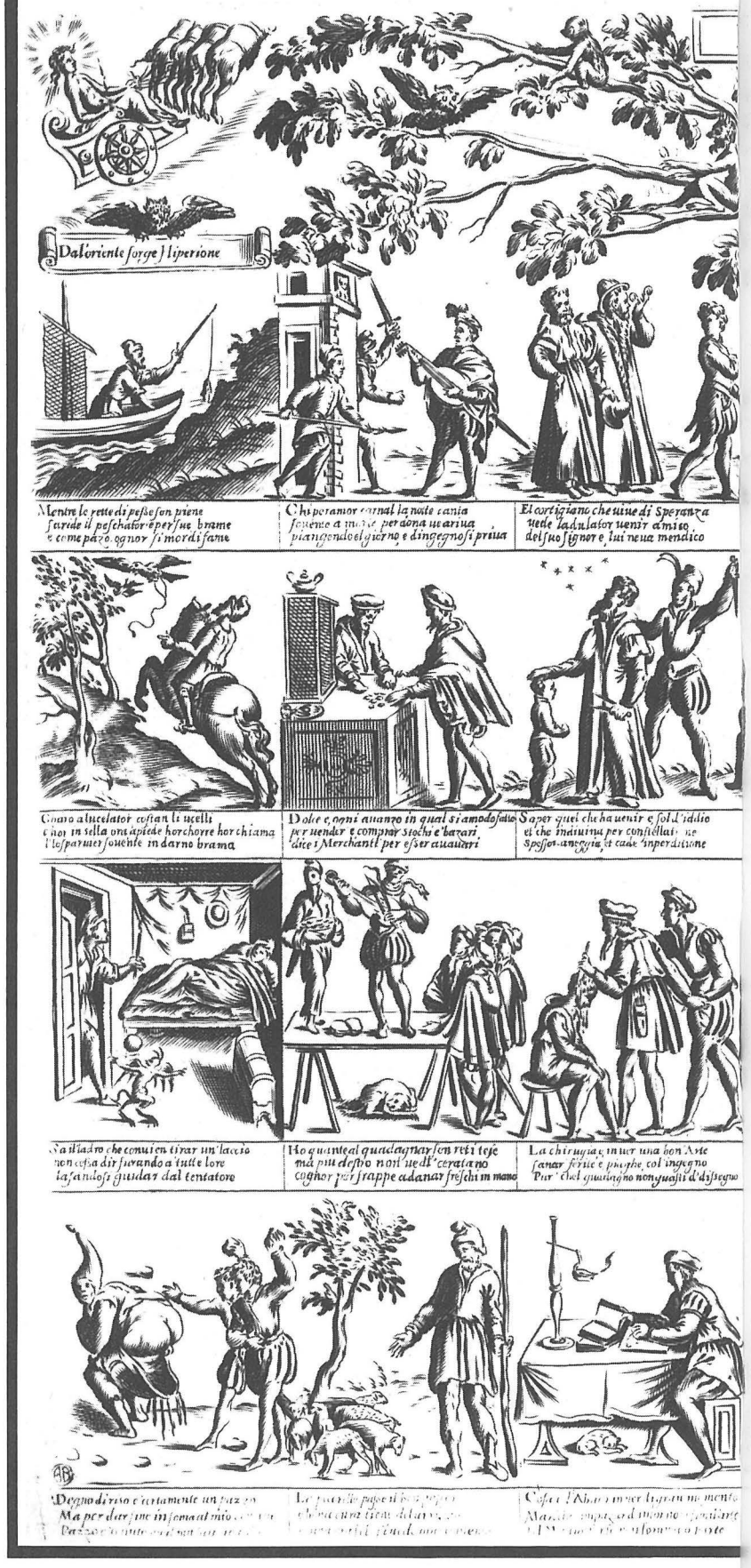
1-5, should approach the same subject with so much more realism.) The Sins were frequently arranged in friezes of allegorical figures (cf. 7-12) and sometimes in true strip format, with neat genre illustrations. In each European country where the theme assumes this form, it received a stamp characteristic of the national culture. In Catholic Italy, although realistically illustrated, the Seven Deadly Sins appear rooted in a traditional religious iconography (7-1), with a devil present in each scene and a final composition showing the mouth of hell; the sins are contrasted on the left-hand side, in medieval fashion, with the Seven Acts of Mercy which culminate in Salvation. In the Netherlands and Germany (7-2) the theme is directed against the Spaniard, for whom seven sins are insufficient; he is successively accused of Hypocrisy, Arrogance (three times in all), Rapacity, Gluttony, Pride, Lechery, Cowardice (twice), Cruelty (twice) and Perfidy. (The fifteenth-century broadsheet, 1-4, reminds us that the animal symbolism is a traditional appurtenance of the Deadly Sins.) In an English broadsheet (7-3) the illustrations of Sloth, Lechery, Avarice and Gluttony culminate in a scene showing the infringement of the Third Commandment—laboring on the Sabbath. This, evidently the most heinous sin of all, picks up the inscription in the center ("Dies Dominica") which marks the broadsheet, and the tract to which it may also have served as a frontispiece, as a typical product of Puritan morality.



7–3. English. *Dies Dominica* (c. 1650).
(left) "The works of light": prayer, listening to the sermon, private meditation, visiting the sick, distributing food and drink to the needy.
(right) "The works of darkness": sleeping, dancing, gambling, carousing, laboring on the Sabbath.

2. *Folly*

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries apparently found the traditional cycle of sins too restrictive for moral analysis of an increasingly complex society. The didactic writers of the period tend to take a sweeping and flexible view of human folly, and the broadsheets maintain a wide perspective in illustrating the mixture of viciousness, ignorance and stupidity which characterize mankind. The prints reflect a growing moral secularization: vice is not only wrong in the eyes of God, it is also ridiculous in the eyes of man; and if the medieval moralist threatened the sinner with eternal damnation, the fool of the post-Renaissance period is made to fear loss of wealth, health and social reputation. What Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* (1494) did for the earlier period, the emblem book and the illustrated broad-



7–4. Venice. *The Tree of Folly* (1568).
Row 1: "1. The fisherman has his nets full, but fishes on although he is dying of hunger. 2. The serenader in his folly may end up dying for a woman. 3. The courtier sees himself supplanted in the favor of his Lord by a flatterer. 4. The fleecer is one who wastes a litigant's time, hoping to win all round. 5. Justice today is correct, but the bad judge will be called before the court of Beelzebub. 6. The life of the ruler is bedevilled by enemies, against whom he must arm. 7. The soldier is crazy to expose himself to death. 8. He who prefers to travel by sea rather than over land is a fool."
Row 2: "9. The hawker spends money on expensive birds, and his energy on the chase, often to no avail. 10. The merchant does business out of avarice. 11. Only God can foresee the future, and the astrologer is oblivious of the present danger. 12. Music was once highly respected but nowadays, who knows. Great musicians (*brandi =grandi?*) are often treated as madmen. 13. Poetry is a celestial and worthy gift, unless the poet hopes to enlighten others, in which case he is believed as mad as they. 14. The astronomer counts the stars above his head, but does not see the ditch at his feet. 15. Nowadays no-one succeeds in freezing mercury, but gets only ashes and smoke. 16. The huntsman who confronts the wild boar is out of his mind."
Row 3: "17. The thief is guided by the devil in his crimes. 18. There is none more skilled in cheating than the charlatan, who always has ready cash about him. 19. Surgery is a fine art, as long as it is not vitiated by avarice. 20. The eloquent orator embraces all with his fine phrases, but often leaves dejected (*come se Athene insieme e arpino?*) 21. The philosopher who aspires too high, goes mad or falls into heresy. 22. The curing of illness is glorious, but woe betide the physician who looks more to financial profit. 23. The business man tends to listen to the rich and not to the poor. 24. The gambler who loses injures himself, and repents too late."
Row 4: "25. A fool is certainly ridiculous, but the fool is he who is reputed wise. 26. The good shepherd tends his flock, but is happy only for an hour. 27. The abacus is truly of great importance, but why go crazy over such an invention, if the master cannot add or divide on his own? 28. Surveying the land is all very well, but the geographer should measure his own work first, or he will fall from the summit. 29. The peasant labors, but cannot get ahead, because the landowner keeps him oppressed. 30. The drunkard loses his mind and damages his body."

sheet did for the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Italian popular prints attempt to rival Brant in compendiousness, while keeping the verse-captions entirely subordinate to the pictures (in Brant verse and picture occupied equal space). In Venice and Rome we find such titles as the *Mirror of Human Life* (*Lo Specchio della Vita Umana*), the *Cage of Fools* (*La Gabbia dei Matti*) and the *Tree of Folly* (*L'Arboro della Pazzia*) (7-4). In such prints the allegorical device of cage or tree is incidental, and the series of twenty to thirty little vignettes unfolds in regular order across and down the sheet. As in Brant, there is no attempt at a narrative sequence; the catalogue is drawn up haphazardly, each folly is self-sufficient and has a habit of turning up again in other prints different in title but of similar intent. In the *Tree of Folly*, there are proverb illustrations, as in Bruegel's famous painting, but here strung flat across the surface without any unifying background; there are emblems, such as we find in the numerous emblem-books



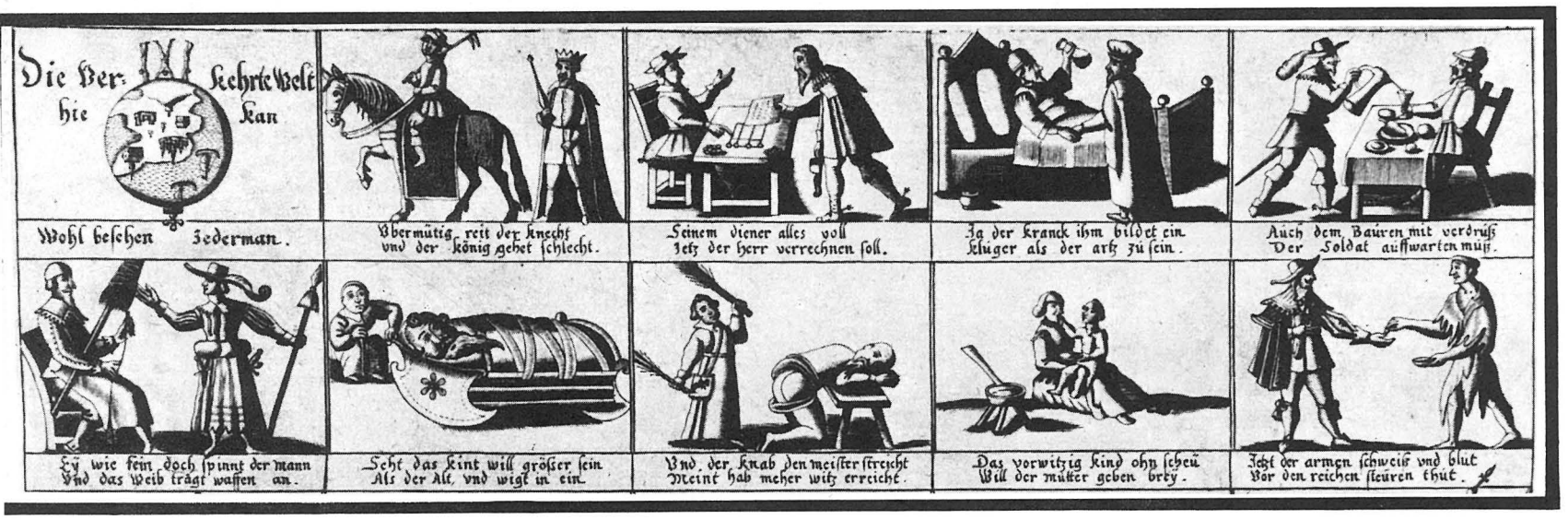
of the period, but designed here for simple people rather than the educated; and there is a hodge-podge of motifs which satirize obvious follies or point up the hidden dangers in apparently innocuous behavior. We are solemnly warned against corrupt justice and the folly of litigation; against the vanity and pitfalls of various professions, not only those popularly considered vain and unproductive, such as soldier, alchemist, astrologer or philosopher, but also those normally found useful, such as merchant or physician. Interspersed with these are illustrations of the Deadly Sins and motifs from another, distinct broadsheet theme, which tends to infiltrate all folly prints: the *Topsy-Turvy World* (*Verkehrte Welt*), *Mondo inverso* (or *Mondo al Rovescio*), *Monde à renvers* (or *Monde à rebours*), *Mundo al reves.*[1] The moneylender who gives to the rich and ignores the poor (23) is a classic example of a topsy-turvy society.

The Topsy-Turvy World broadsheets almost always appear in strip format (7-5) because they can hardly appear amusing or convincing except in a large accumulation of motifs. Their moral impact however is frequently prejudiced by an admixture of reversals derived from nonsense rhymes, which are humorous or fantastic rather than moral in intent.[2] At the same time, whenever human beings, or man and animal, have exchanged social roles—when the hare hunts the huntsman, the wife dominates the husband, or the child teaches the master—a satirical judgment is implicit. Such themes, adapted to (or from) folk sayings and proverbs, underline some of the compositions in a characteristic German folly print, a pure strip called simply *The Foolish World* (*Die Närrisch Welt*) (7-6). The image of the fool carrying water to the well (8) is of course meant figuratively, but there is also a realistic representation of the invincible hero falling for a mere woman (10) and of the alchemist who tries to turn silver into gold and loses both (7). The customary scenes of revelry and ambitious, avaricious or vain behavior are not lacking, but the engraver opens with a motif denoting pitiless rationalism: the peasant is stupid to pray for good weather.

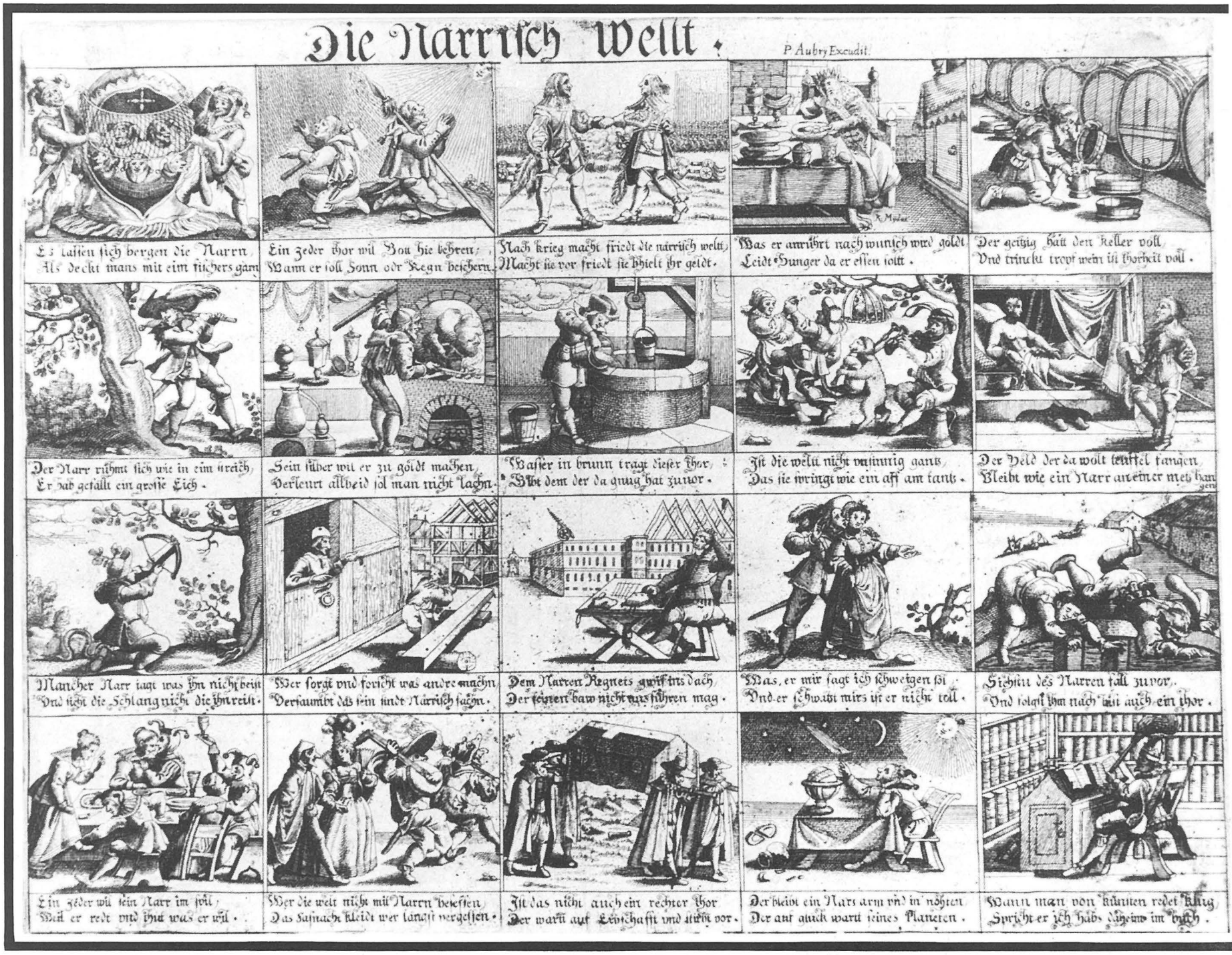
The German *Foolish World* is spritely in design, humorous in invention, and precise in its *mise-en-scène*, in all these respects superior to the Italian Folly broadsheets. It is surpassed only by the most ambitious of all Folly broadsheets, in which several of the same motifs reappear in more sumptuous guise under the title *Precious Protection against Poverty* (7-7). The number of scenes has been reduced by half, and each composition (about 7½ centimeters high) is enriched with a fully descriptive background. However, the moral attitude of this print is radically different. Traditionally, the verses and pictures would stress the folly of pleasure because it is short-lived, and the danger of vanity because it provokes shame and misfortune; pleasure and vanity are now condemned on mercenary grounds alone. The hard-bitten cynicism of this print borders on outright selfishness, for not only are we to avoid entertaining others in our homes because of the expense, but we are even advised not to bail out a friend caught in a lawsuit (8). The moralist also wishes to have his cake and eat it, for in one scene (10) we are told to steer clear of business dealings, which usually involve risk, and in the next scene we are warned against living idly off accumulated capital.

1. See Cocchiara, *Mondo alla Rovescia*, for this theme.

2. Cf. Coupe, pp. 197–202.



7–5. German. *The Topsy-Turvy World* c. 1630 (top two rows of a five-row strip). The servant rides while the king goes on foot. The lord shows the accounts to his steward. The sick man thinks he knows more than the doctor. The soldier angrily serves the peasant. // The husband spins while the wife bears arms. The child wants to be bigger than the old man, and rocks him to sleep. The boy birches the tutor, because he thinks he is more clever. The precocious child wants to feed the mother. The poor man pays sweat and blood to the rich man.



7–6. German. *The Foolish World* (c. 1620).

Row 1: "1. Fools allow themselves to be caught as in a fisherman's net. 2. Every fool wishes to teach God when to send sun or rain. 3. The foolish world makes peace after war; if peace were made beforehand, the expense would be spared. 4. Whatever he (King Midas) touches turns to gold, so that he goes hungry. 5. The miser has a full cellar, but foolishly allows himself only a drop of wine."

Row 2: "6. The fool boasts how with one stroke he felled a big oak. 7. The ridiculous alchemist tries to turn silver to gold, and loses both. 8. This fool carries water to the well. 9. Is not the world quite crazy to prance around like a dancing ape? 10. The hero who boasts of catching the devil, is himself caught by a whore."

Row 3: 11. Many a fool hunts harmless creatures, oblivious of the snake about to bite him. 12. The busybody fails to observe his own folly. 13. Rain falls into the house of the fool who cannot finish the building. 14. The fool whispers into my ear things I should not repeat. 15. The fool follows the fool who falls ahead of him."

Row 4: "16. Every man plays the fool in his babbling and licentious behavior. 17. If the world were not full of fools, carnival costume would be long forgotten. 18. He is a real fool who expects to inherit, and dies first. 19. The man who believes in astrology is a fool and lives in poverty. 20. In scholarly discussion, the fool defends his opinions by saying 'I have it at home in a book.' "

Ein todtentantz Figuratiua

Diß Zwölff Figürn so hie thun stan,
Im, dern baldt wern zeigen an,



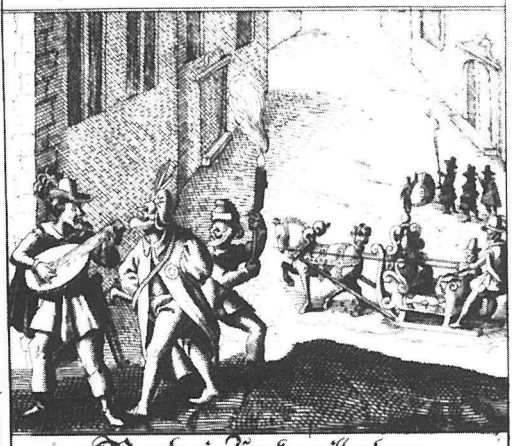
Wer lüsten hat zu grossem Spiel,
Vnd solches treibet offt vnd viel.
Auch tag vnd nacht sitzt in dem stich,
Dem wirt die katz das beste viech.

Zwölff Regeln dardurch manchr. Arm wirt,
Der solche täglich Practicirt.



Wer sich der Bůberey ergibt,
Vnd vnehrliche Weiber liebt.
Der nimmet ab ahn ehr vnd gůht,
Vnd endt sein leben in armůht.

Derhalb so lern hie Jung vnd Alt,
Das er maß in allen dingn halt.



Wer als ein Juncker will gebarn,
Mit můmerey vnd schlitten farn.
Mit dantzen vnd des nachts hofiern,
Den thůt offt nach der Doñen frirn.



Wer will Rennen stechen Türnirn,
In Fatzung sich vor andern Ziern.
Mit köstlicher Kleidung vnd geschmuckn,
Den stost die Armuht mit der truckn.



Wer Jagen, Hetzn vnd Baißen will,
Den kosten Hundt vnd stöcken viel.
Der gwin den vnkost nicht kan tragn,
Zu letst thůt ihn die Armuht iagn.



Wer täglich Bawt vnd nit leßt nach,
Vnd will durchziern alle gemach.
Den vberweltigt der vnkost,
In schuldt vnd Armuht er sich stost.



Wer gehzornig ist vnd stützig,
Vnversöhnlich, verwegn trützig,
Der bringt sich offt in kürtzer zeit,
Daß armůt ihn sein lebtag reit.



Wer vor andre Bürg werden will,
Ihn leihen vnd borgen viel.
Derselb muß offt für gericht stan,
Dardůrch verdirbet mancher man.



Wer Essen tůcken will das best,
Auch täglich haltn wirtschaft vnd gast,
Vnd Bůrlieren mit Jederman,
Der muß zů letst offt mangel han



Wer kauffmanschaft treibt in die Landt,
Vnd hat auff die wahr kein verstandt.
Ist nicht auff all ohrt abgericht,
Der verdirbt ehe er sichs versicht.

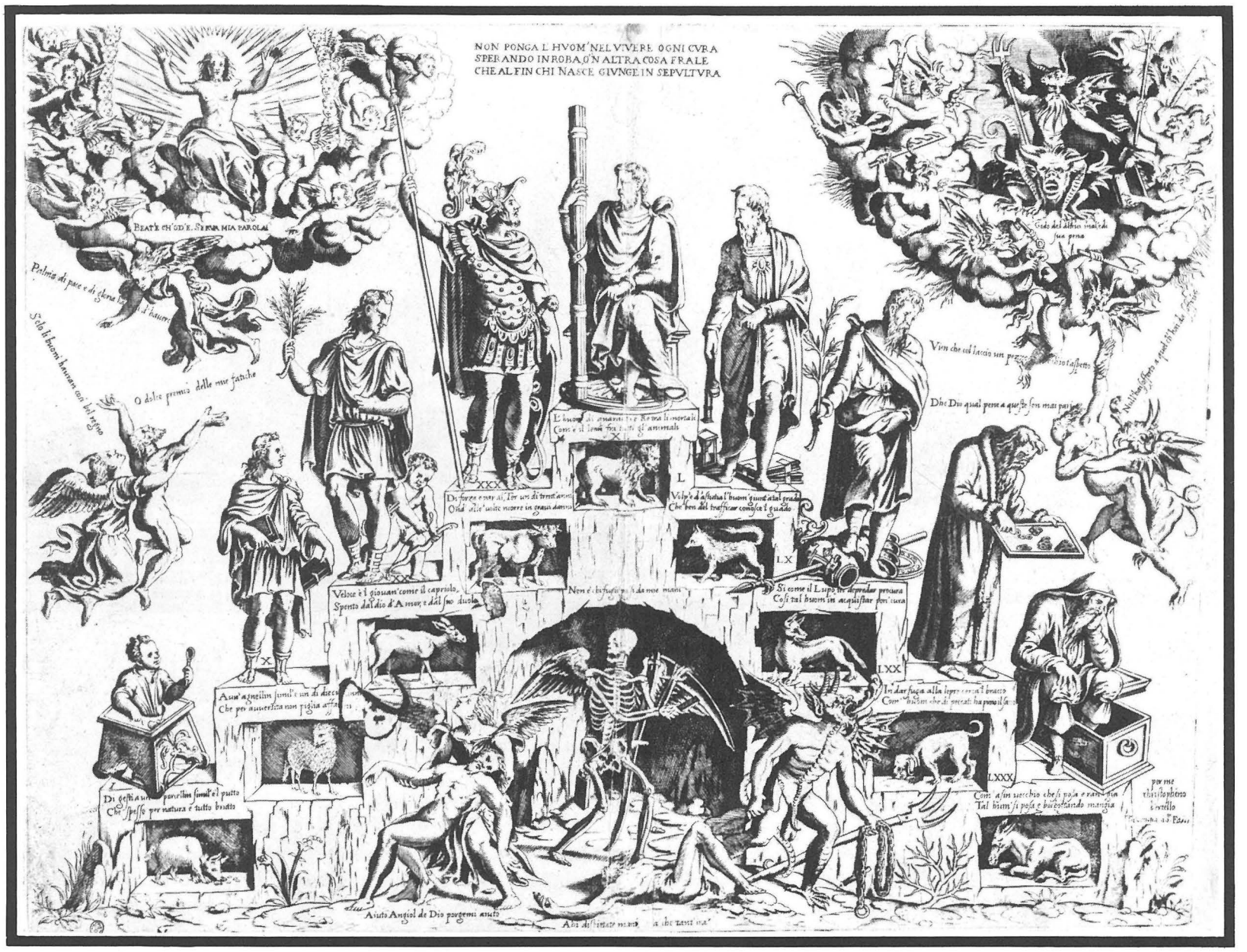


Welcher ein grosses gůht vermag,
Liegt doch im faulbeth alle tag,
Vnd zehrt allein von dem Hauptgůt,
Den erschleicht zů letst die Armůt.



Wer vmbgeht mit der Alchimey,
Zů Boldt will machn kupfer vnd Bley,
Der schmeltzet ein sein hof vnd hauß,
Dan ist dem schimpf der boden auß.

Im anfang bedenck das Ende.



7–7. German. *A Precious, hallowed Preservative for protection against Poverty* (1619).

"These twelve pictures show twelve customs which, practised daily, will reduce many a man to poverty. Therefore, young and old, seek moderation in all things.

1. For those who habitually strive, day and night, after the big win at cards, the cat will prove the best animal (Proverb?). 2. Those who abandon themselves to lechery and dishonorable women will end up in poverty and shame. 3. Those who ape the aristocrats with their festivals and sleighrides, their dancing and nocturnal courtships, will freeze after their summer.

4. Those who go in for tournaments and dressing up in fine armor and clothes will be smitten by the crutches of poverty.

5. Those who go hunting with expensive dogs and falcons will find the costs outstrip the results, and will eventually be hunted by poverty. 6. Those who ceaselessly erect and decorate buildings will be overwhelmed with costs and end in debt and poverty.

7. Those who are irascible and vindictive will soon find themselves in lifelong poverty (left). 8. Those who bail out and lend large sums of money to others must often themselves be ruined in the law-courts. 9. Those who would eat and drink only the best, entertain guests daily to dinner, and carouse, will often end up in want.

10. Those who engage in commerce and do not know the ropes will be ruined before they know why.

11. Those who possess a large property, but lie idly in bed all the time living off their capital, will eventually be overtaken by poverty.

12. Those who meddle with alchemy, trying to make copper and lead turn to gold, are melting down their house and estate; then their fun is over. Think of the end at the beginning."

7–8. *Venice*: *The Ages of Man* (c. 1580). "Let man not concern himself with this life, nor put his trust in frail, material things; for he is born to end in the tomb."

The 1-year-old baby behaves like a piglet, which is naturally dirty. The 10-year-old boy is like a lamb, untroubled in adversity. The 20-year-old youth is as quick as a goat, and spurred by the pains of love. The 30-year-old man is as strong as a bull, which often runs into great dangers. The 40-year-old is king among mortals, like the lion among animals. The 50-year-old is cunning as a fox, and knows the tricks of the trade. The 60-year-old is like the predatory wolf in his lust for possession. The 70-year-old is full of (miserly?) vices, like the bloodhound chasing the hare. The 80-year-old is like the ass who lies down and mutters as he eats.



3. *The path of life, the ages of man*

While the vice and folly strips are obviously very moral, they are completely lacking in narrative cohesion. They give a haphazard cross-section through society, and impute to each man his sin, and to each profession its vice. The notion that an individual can be subject to a succession of vices, that one vice or misfortune necessarily leads to and is caused by another, was not firmly established before the eighteenth century. The static conception of man's earthly existence may be due partly to a lingering belief in astrology, and partly to simple Christian fatalism. The idea of change was not however lacking; it was recognized that just as summer turned to winter and day turned to night, so the life of man underwent a predetermined cycle of changes, which were not only physical in character, but also, to a certain extent, moral. I do not know that the Seven Deadly Sins were commonly conceived as a causative chain of successive moral states; I have found only one example which implies such a chain, and that is predicated upon wealth and poverty (7-11, discussed p. 211 below).

The idea of progress through life was often expressed, in popular prints as in popular literature, by means of travel imagery and cartographical allegories. The Renaissance, the age of travel, resurrected from ancient texts the Table of Cebes, or *Tabula Cebetis*, a theme often illustrated by engravers who showed man passing along a spiralling path strewn with pitfalls, up a mountain or toward the center of a labyrinth.[3] Then there was the biblical metaphor of the straight, narrow and rocky path of virtue, opposed to the winding, broad and lush path of vice. These alternatives were rendered in various ways, some of them tremendously elaborate in design—veritable *mappamundi* (maps of the world). Like Bunyan's Pilgrim, who himself might have stepped straight out of a popular print, man is destined to pass before innumerable temptations on his progress towards the Celestial City. Another device familiar from late medieval iconography was the Ladder to Heaven, in which the rungs are made up of various Christian virtues,[4] and the corresponding Ladder to Hell, marked with vices. During the sixteenth century this device became fused with the concept of man's life divided into equal stages—usually four, seven, nine, or ten. The upwards ladder reaches an apex of maturity, whence we descend downwards into the tomb. The Venetian engraver Christopher Bertelli (7-8) published a sophisticated version of this idea, cutting nine steps and nine alcoves containing various animals, into a rock which forms man's sepulchre. With the animals, the print becomes moral. As he stands on the step corresponding to his years, man is associated with a different animal, and thus with a different moral quality. Only the powerful leonine forty-year-old at the top enjoys a wholly satisfactory period of life; he started as a piggish baby, and grew into a caprine, amorous youth; after passing his peak, he will resort to foxy cunning, and degenerate into vulpine rapacity, before lapsing into asinine senility. A companion print shows woman progres-

3. Cf. Gombrich, W. J.

4. Cf. Coupe, p. 170.



7–9. Tobias Stimmer. *The Ten Ages of Woman* (c. 1570).
"Ten Years a child, 20 years a tender maiden, 30 years woman and housekeeper, 40 quite a matron, 50 a grandmother, 60 years burdened with age, 70 years shapeless, 80 years horrid and chill, 90 years in agony, 100 years fills out the grave."

sing from the gracefulness of the Indian fowl to the senseless chattering of the parrot. There are many seventeenth-century German versions of the *Ages of Man* and the *Ages of Woman*, complete with the pyramidal arrangement and the animal symbolism; and it is, as one would expect, Germany which produced a political adaptation, in which the Ten Ages of the Calvinist Union stand for the ten times ten months which it managed to survive.[5] Even the career of Napoleon was to be arranged upon the pyramid of life (12-35).

The pyramidal arrangement enjoyed the advantage of providing visual metaphor for beginning, climax and end. But it also suffered from the disadvantage of severely restricting the movement of the individual figures. When the Ages of Man or Woman were arranged in a straightforward strip or frieze (7-9), there was room for enrichments, and it was possible to pair off the figures, make past and future interact, and thus heighten the sense of continuity. Even though he omits the moralizing animals as unrealistic, the artist, the Swiss Tobias Stimmer, has been able to use the bush behind to express the passing of the seasons; and by placing a little child as a companion to the ninety-year-old, he suggests that the cycle of life, like that of the seasons, will begin over again. Above all, he is able to lay stress upon physiognomic change, from youthful beauty to haggard old age. Our strip cartoonists and narrative engravers are slow to seize upon this opportunity; there are only a few seventeenth-century picture stories which manage to convey degeneration in the physical appearance of the protagonist. This is attempted, not quite successfully, by our big Venetian Harlot story, which is fiercely moral but artistically much inferior to the work of Stimmer. Physiognomics is very much a preserve of the eighteenth century as far as popular art is concerned, and we must wait for Hogarth and Chodowiecki to express the perfect fusion of progressive moral and physical decay.

4. *Avarice: Money and the law*

Money was held to be the root, if not of all evil, at least of several of the Deadly Sins. Avarice, the quest for money, is often mixed with Pride and Envy, which combine in a man to raise him to wealth and power—and combine against him suddenly to throw him down again. The proud city of Augsburg excited the envy of all the trading towns of Europe; and her avarice was roundly condemned on all sides, whether by great theologians such as Luther or by the broadsheet moralist living within her own walls. Augsburg was the city of the Fuggers, the most successful of the several commercial families which between the years 1470 and 1520 made her a symbol of advanced capitalist enterprise and the financial hub of Europe. Jakob Fugger creamed his profits

5. Coupe, p. 172.



7–10. Hans Burgkmaier the Elder. *How the Poor Man Becomes Rich and the Rich Man Poor* (c. 1527).
The missing captions (cf. 7–11) would have read:
1. Poverty brings Humility, Humility 2. brings Improvement, Improvement brings Rich - 3. -es, Riches bring Arrogance, 4. Arrogance brings Envy, Envy brings 5. Discord, Discord 6. brings back Poverty.

from a massive traffic in indulgences and in the copper and silver of Central Europe; he was banker to the princes of the world, maintained Pope Leo in luxury, and placed Charles V upon the Imperial throne. All the old medieval inhibitions about usury and free markets were swept away as the various Augsburg families scrambled for commercial profit, and obscure men rose to momentary wealth and influence. The most famous artist of the town, Hans Burgkmaier the Elder, who had acquired fame as a book-illustrator and as the principal propagandist of the Emperor Maximilian, traces such a rise and fall of the *nouveau-riche* (7-10). Each scene constitutes a link in a circular chain in which the virtues attendant on humble labor are rewarded with wealth, the wealth attracts envy and discord, and the former pedlar returns to his original poverty. The moral of the story seems to have appealed to the public, if we may judge by the existence of another version by another Augsburger, Jörg Breu (7-11). Here the expressive pantomime of Burgkmaier is gone, and we are left with a series of isolated half-length figures placed within what seems to be an exercise in fancy column design. Using figures apparently left over from some previous commission, Breu has not bothered to turn them towards each other so as to suggest a dialogue between pedlar-merchant and client; and he leaves us wondering whether in fact (or at what point in the sequence) the pedlar-merchant is represented continuously. The faces however are amusing, and the expressions somehow more apt than in the graver work of Burgkmaier. This is true especially toward the end, where the stage between the forlorn war-stricken figure and the pathetic old pauper is filled by a comic emblem of mental confusion.

It was however not in the banker city of Germany, but in the less pretentious port of the northern Netherlands,

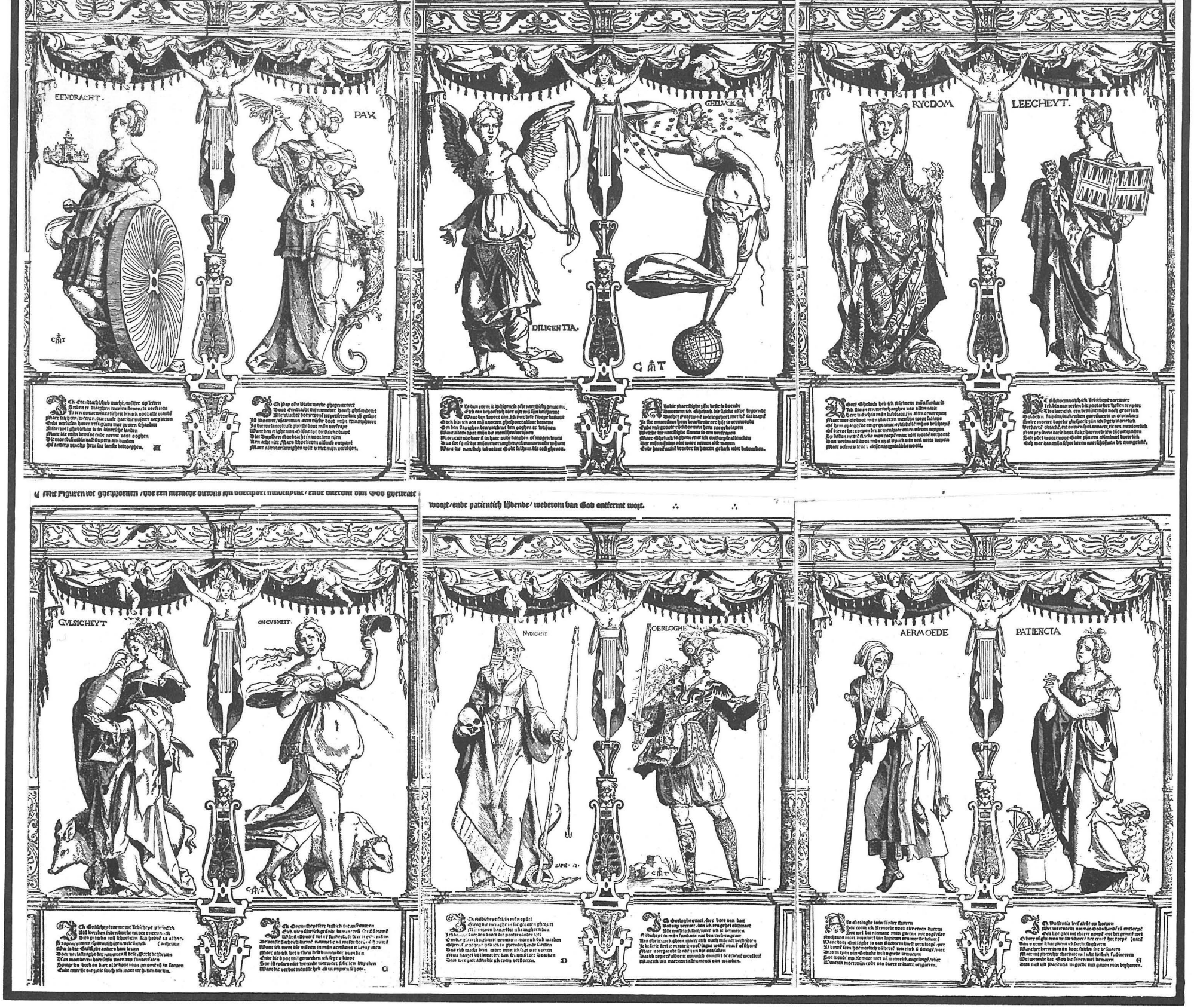


7–11. Jörg Breu the Elder. *From Poverty to Riches back to Poverty* (c. 1530). "Poverty brings/ Humility/ Humility/ brings Improvement/ Improvement, brings/ Riches, Rich/ es bring Arrogance/ Arrogance brings/ Envy, Envy brings/ Discord, Discord/ – – / brings back Poverty."

Amsterdam, that the chain of poverty and wealth achieved its greatest moral extension by means of a full admixture of Virtues and Vices (7-12). Teunissen's sequence runs in a frieze of single, allegorical figures, but the change in character from one to the next is expressed with vigor and clarity. We are shown how the humble virtues of Unity, Peace and Diligence promote Good Fortune and Wealth, and how this leads inevitably to various vices, including Gluttony and Lechery, which in turn provoke War, and a return to Poverty. This state induces Patience, so that the cycle can begin over again.

Neither Breu nor Burgkmaier nor Teunissen reveal the process subsumed under the term "War" by which the rich man descends into poverty. This task is undertaken by a third Augsburger, Heinrich Vogtherr the Younger, who is much less well-known than Burgkmaier, but who specialized in the moralizing woodcut. His tale of litigation between brothers, who allow their inheritance to be frittered away in lawyers' fees (7-13), could be that of any number of families at this time. Fratricide was as common (metaphorically) in business as it was in Renaissance politics. Partners belonging to the same family made every effort to prevent the entry of non-family members, with resultant conflicts between brothers with different interests and dispositions, and different connections through their wives. That this did not happen in the Fugger family itself was due only to the fact that the two older sons surrendered sole dictatorship of the company to their younger brother Jakob, a man as ruthless in business as he was skillful. The elder Fugger, like the father in Vogtherr's story, gave equality to his offspring in his will. Had the sons reacted like the elder brother in the broadsheet, and taken to the lawcourts in order to preserve their "rights," the Fugger empire would probably have destroyed itself.

Like Burgkmaier's story, Vogtherr's is basically a dramatic dialogue. It is heavily dependent upon the extensive caption-verses, and does not attempt visual variety, especially as regards the staging. With their rich architectural framework, however, these large, beautiful woodcuts would have made fine decoration for any merchant's dwelling. They are unique of their kind, for there is no strip from this, or even the following centuries, which can compare in sheet size and luxury of format. Yet one canot help suspecting that some of the individual scenes were designed with another aim in view, for there are many inconsistencies, particularly in the dress of the protagonists. It is, after all, in the costumes that one would look for evidence of the progressive impoverishment of the brothers, and the progressive enrichment of the lawyers. At the beginning the brothers appear very expensively dressed, and by the seventh scene the younger brother has acquired a tear and a patch in his clothes; the elder brother, on the other hand, is better dressed in the tenth than in the eighth scene, and in the latter, moreover, he has temporarily lost his beard. Finally, the seventh scene shows the lawyer holding up a rich cloak which, according to the verse, is not exchanged until the ninth scene; once our suspicions are thus aroused, a quick glance reveals that both designs are



7–12. Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen. *These pictures show how a man who misuses his prosperity, and is punished by God for it, after patiently suffering is mercifully forgiven by God again* (c. 1535). *Unity* leads to *Peace*, Peace to *Industry*, Industry to *Good Fortune*, Good Fortune to *Riches*, Riches to *Frivolity*, Frivolity to *Gluttony*, Glutton to *Lechery*, Lechery to *Envy*, Envy to *War*, War to *Poverty*, Poverty to *Patience* again.

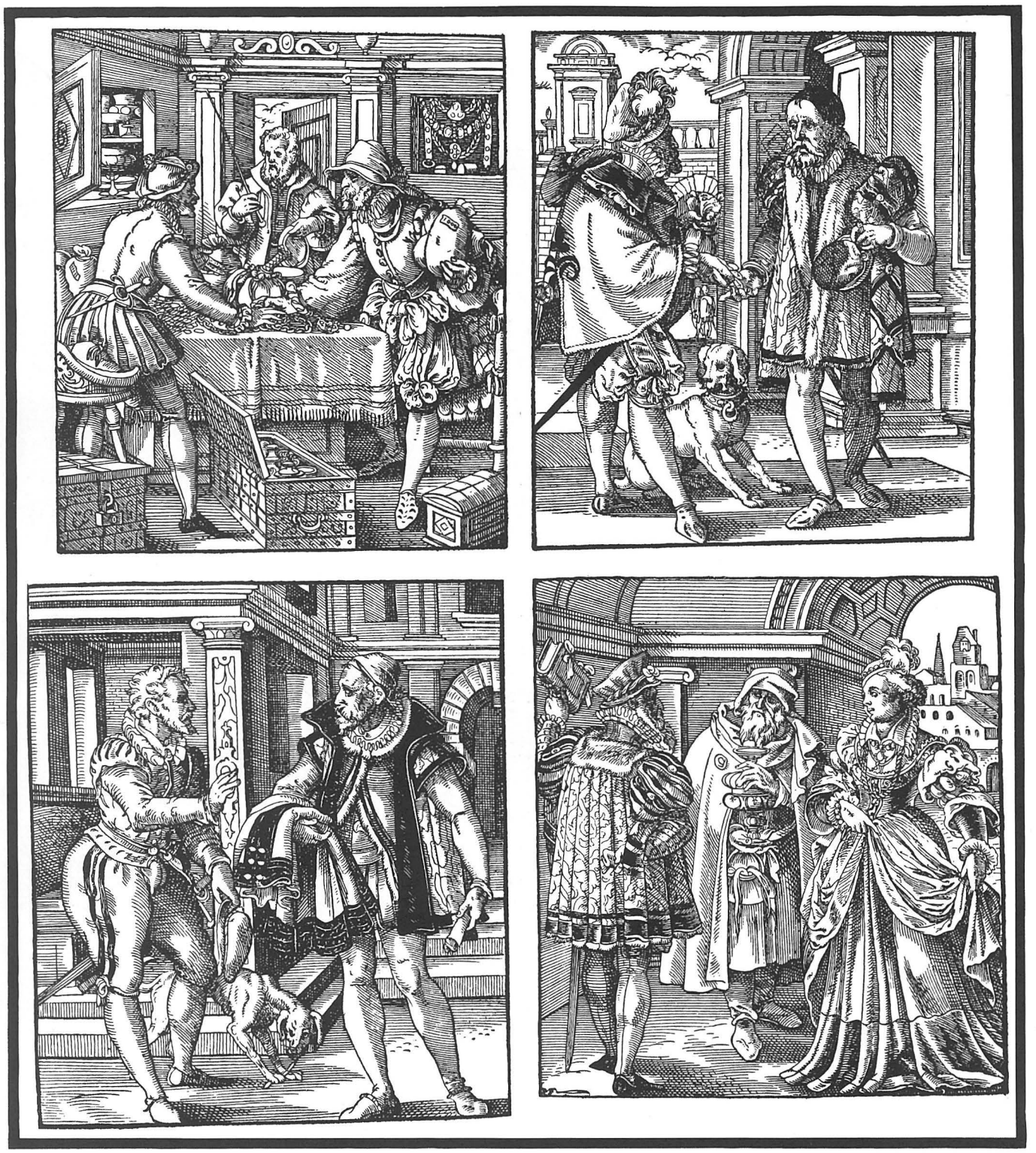
7–13. Heinrich Vogtherr the Younger (Augsburg). *The Brother's Lawsuit* (c. 1537).
(Summary of dialogue, translated in full p. 449) 1. The dying father leaves his money equally to his two sons. 2. Since the elder brother claims precedence, the younger takes him to court. 3. The elder brother hires a lawyer. 4. The younger brother does the same. 5–6. The Judge urges the brothers to settle amicably. 7. The younger brother is prevented from compromising by his lawyer, who promises total victory. 8. The elder brother is similarly forestalled by his lawyer. 9. The younger brother tries in vain to withdraw, surrendering his cloak as a final payment. 10. The elder brother also tries to withdraw, while the lawyer again promises an imminent victory. 11. The two brothers share regrets that they have wasted their whole legacy on lawyers' fees. 12. "Learned Lawyer, cunning Female, and usurious Jew are the three great dangers to Society" (proverb).

printed from the same block.[6] Sloth or avarice seem to have overcome the artist himself at this point. (It is ironic that the publisher of these sheets, David Denecker, or his son, was himself involved in a very serious and painful lawsuit—not over an inheritance, to be sure, but over an anti-Papal satire, for which he was imprisoned in 1559. In his petition for release, Denecker claimed that he had only sold such "humorous" prints in order to free himself of debt.[7])

Vogtherr is condemning not only the foolish avarice of the propertied classes, but also the villainous avarice of the lawyers who egg on their clients and deliberately drag out their cases. The verse-writer appeals to the burgher to seek the advice of some personal friend, and urges the judge to make litigants settle amicably. The final image, in which the lawyer shares with Woman and Jew the blame for social disorder, unites the three favorite targets of German satire. In a later version of this same story, by the Nürnberg artist Jost Ammann (7-14), this "punch line" is visually strengthened: Jew and Woman, gazing at the lawyer with his aggressively raised book, seem to be paying homage to an actual superiority in evil cunning.

The most succinct expression of popular hatred of the corrupt lawyer (a type we remember from Holbein's *Dance of Death*, 1-12) is found in a strip familiar in French and English versions, known as *the Four Alls*, which shows quite simply a row of four figures: the peasant who says, I feed you all; the priest who says, I pray for you all; the soldier who says, I defend you all; and the lawyer who says, I eat you all. Folklore is full of the foxy lawyer and of the miseries of the poor and innocent before corrupt judges. By a strange coincidence, there is an eighteenth-century Russian strip in very much the same format as the sixteenth-century German one (7-15). The point of departure (a quarrel be-

6. Yet there are, mysteriously, tiny differences in the state of the block.
7. Schottenloher, pp. 210–218.



7–14. Jost Ammann (Nürnberg). 1. Division of the inheritance. 2. The elder brother pays his lawyer. 3. The younger brother pays his lawyer. 4. The three evils: Lawyer, Jew and Woman (c. 1580). cf. 7–13.

7–15. Russian. *Shemyach's Court* (mid-eighteenth century).
1. A poor brother approaches his rich brother in order to borrow a horse. 2. Having been lent a horse without the harness, he is obliged to tie his load, a bundle of firewood on a sledge, to the horse's tail. 3. When he tries to return the horse, he finds it refused because the tail has been torn off. The rich brother determines to take the case to the court of the infamous Shemyach. 4. On the way, they spend the night in the cottage of a rich muzhik. The poor brother, lying in a bunk on a gallery, peers sadly at the rich brother feasting below, and accidentally falls on the muzhik's baby who was lying below. The muzhik accordingly joins the party on their journey to court. 5. On crossing a bridge the poor brother despairs, knowing that he will never get out of Shemyach's court alive, and throws himself into the river. Unfortunately he lands on a sick old man passing beneath on his way to the baths, and kills him. The old man's son (shown pulling the sled) thus has reason to join the rich brother and the muzhik on their journey. 6. The four stand in the courtroom presided over by Shemyach. While the rich brother makes his accusation, the poor brother brandishes a bag filled with stones in imitation of a heavily laden purse. This causes Shemyach immediately to swing the case in favor of the poor brother. In his sentence he orders the rich brother to give the horse altogether to the poor one; the muzhik to lend his wife to the unwitting assailant in order to replace the dead child with a new one; and the fatherless son has the option of taking a flying leap at the "murderer" of his father. 9–11. Faced with this absurd verdict, the three plaintiffs settle out of court by buying off the poor brother in cash and in kind. 12. In the courtroom again, the once poor, now rich brother brings the stone out of the cloth and shows it to the judge, telling him that he would have killed him with it if he had not judged in his favor. Shemyach (shown in the picture wiping his brow?) congratulates himself on his wisdom in not condemning the man with the secret deadly missile.

tween brothers, and the determination of the one to take the other to court) is similar, although the story as a whole is very different in character. The Russian tale is as absurd as the Vogtherr story is solemnly realistic; and while the former has parallels in Western European folklore, I have never found it illustrated in a Western strip. The moral could hardly be more different. *Shemyach's Court* ends in unexpected victory for the poor peasant, while the Augsburg *Lawsuit* gradually grinds down the burgher in defeat. Even after the unspeakable series of disasters which befall him, the Russian peasant can still outsmart the corrupt judge, by exploiting his own native wit and the judge's cowardice.

German broadsheets are full of advice on how to avoid lawyers. The basic rule was to avoid getting into debt and living on credit. An engraver from Cologne devised a curious method of recounting the progressive pressures in the relationship between lenders and borrowers (7–16). The stage is taken by four representatives of the various attitudes to the problem of credit, a Mr. Lendall (Herr Lehnard), Mr. Trustem (Herr Burghardt), Mr. Warner (Herr Mahnart), and Mr. Contright (Herr Penthard). While the exact relationship between these four persons is not altogether clear, they appear to represent the gradual hardening in the attitude of a once-generous merchant who never gets paid, and the various social types with whom the persistent borrower must deal. Lendall is a private citizen who lends cash and property from the goodness of his heart; Trustem is a merchant (or series of merchants in the various commodities) who is wont to give credit; Warner represents a kind of collection agency,

7–16. German. *Lendall–Trustem–Warner–Contright* (c. 1650).
I. The Helpful Mr. Lendall: "I am called the tender-hearted Lendall, who lends money and household equipment freely to everyone." 1. "Mr. Lendall, my husband sends me to borrow a hundred dollars or more. He will pay you back soon." 2. "It's a pleasure of course to make you this loan, which you can have for a year without security." 3. "Mrs. Lendall, lend me a loaf. My husband is an absolute wastrel, and I dare reveal our poverty only to you." 4. "Maid, go and ask Mrs. Lendall to lend us a bucket." 5. "Mr. Lendall, help me redeem my cloak." 6. "Mr. Lendall, lend me two or three hundred dollars, I'll act as your assistant for a month or three." 7. And whatever is left in Lendall's house will go to help out others.
II. The Willing Mr. Trustem: Lendall has left us, we must turn to Trustem. "Yes, I am a kind man alright, who obliges all who keep their faith with me. But woe betide him who deceives me." 1. "This must be my favorite Holland cheese, I think, let me try a few." 2. "Yes, madam, it's very good indeed as you can see." "Mr. Trustem, I'd just love this cheese, I don't happen to have any money with me, but I will have it sent round to you." 3. "Maid, run to Mr. Trustem the brewer and tell him I am out of beer, and 4. also to the baker and tell him not to worry about the money; and also to the 5. beef-butcher, and to the 6. pork-butcher, in case a nice guest arrives and finds our larder wanting; we'll pay later." 7. "I'm ashamed of my tattered shoes and 8. worn-out clothes, I must find Mr. Trustem and 9. get some fine rings from the goldsmith, and have them charged to Mr. Trustem, 10. he is a man who can afford it."
III. The Prudent Mr. Warner: If you are in the habit of doing business with Mr. Trustem, Mr. Warner will change all that, give you warning, and expose you to ridicule. "I now regret my former generosity, I have been too trusting." 1. "Listen Madam, I am sent by Mr. Warner who begs you earnestly to (pay for) the butter and cheese you ordered from him." 2. "Tell Mr. Warner to be patient, I admit that I am in debt to him." 3. "To avoid trouble, you must pay Mr. Warner for his beer and 4. bread. He's waited long enough. 5. The wine-merchant and 7. fishmonger must have their money, you seem to have forgotten that, after all you've gorged and swilled." 6. Warner's purse is empty. 8. The Cattle Counter looks sour, for Mr. Warner cannot pay him. How they've cheated me with their fine promises! I have to pay for the beef they've eaten. My household equipment is all worn out, my jewellery gone, and all my barrels are bottomless. 10. The shoemaker demands his shoes, and good Warner has no peace. The cheat hides himself away in an upper window. We must all take our complaints to Mr. Contright."



Ach Lehnard ist vns ab gegangen
wir müssen vns all an Bürghart hanaĉ.

Ja Ich bin zwar ein guter Mann:
wer mich allein thüt sprechen an

Der Williger 2 Burghardt.

Vnd welcher mir ein glauben helt
Bekompt von mir was ihm gefelt

Vnd wer mich ein mal thut betrie[gen]
derselb soll mich nicht mehr betriege



1. Herr Bürghart habt ihr gute waar
so lasset mich prüffen der Kes ein paar
Ob es ist recht Hollendisch Guth
dasselbige mir gefallen thut
2. Ja ma dam es ist gut waar
wie ihr hie sehet offenbahr
Herr Burghardt sie gefallen mir garwol
zu danck Ich euch bezahlen soll
Ich hab Zet und kein gelt bey mir
doch nehm ich der mit ein oder Vier
Das gelt wil ich euch lassen senden
mit danck zu ewern eigen Handen.
3. Magd gehe eylent bey den Breuer
dis befehl Ich dir gar Hoch vnd theuer
Vnd sag es Recht Herrn burghart an
das Ich kein bier im Keller Han
4. Eylents auch in das Backhaus lauff
ehe das die Kinder stehen auff
Vnd sag Herr Burghart in der eil
das er mir Brodt vnd weck ein theil
Schicken wolt ein wenig zu borgen
sag für das gelt soll er nicht sorgen
5. Fraw mir haben kein Fleisch im Haus
deswegen muß ich gehen auß
6. Vnd lassen schreiben ein Ochsen vnd fercken
daß wir den Haußhalt widerumb stercken
Wen sonst vns kam ein Ehrlich mann
so musten wier in Schandt bestahn
Herr Burghart gonnet vns gern die zeit
zu bezahlen nach gelegenheit
7. Ich scheme mich auch sehr darzu
verschlissen sind mein Stiefel vnd Schue
Mein Kleider sind auch worden Kahl
8 vnd tugen wenig all zu mahl
Ich muß gehen bey Herrn Burghart
ob ich den finde auff dem Marck
Vnd nehmen alle sachen auß
9. auch schone Ring ins Goltschmits Haus
las es all schreiben Herrn Burghart an
10. Er ist ein Mann deres Gelten kan

Wolt ihr also mit Burghart handeln
so soll der Mahnhart dis ver wandeln

Vnd Mahnen euch nun alle tag
zu Schimpff unspott vnd groser schmach

Der Sorgsaltige 3. Mahnhart.

Ob ich gleich zu uor war gutt
jetzunder mich es Rewen thut

Das Ich hab euch ver trauet viel sache
doch Mahnhart solls euch wol machen



1. Dört (Fraw) Herr Mahnhart schift mich her
vnd ist sein Ernstlicher begehr
Was Ihr geholt an Butter vnd Kes
vnd was es mehr für dis vnd deß
2. Sagt Mahnhart das er hab gedult
ich bin gestendig dieser Schult
Mahnhart wil durchaus alhier
3. bezahlet haben auch sein bier
Da thut euch ernstlich Richten nach
das euch nit wiederfehrt ein schmach
Mahnhart fordert auch gar Keck
4. was er ihn geborgt ahm Brodt vnd weck
Es hat gestanden also lang
für die bezahlung ist mir bang
5. Der Weinwürtt hett auch mechtig gern
sein geldt er kan es nicht entbern
Den Wein habt ihr Ihm ab gesoffen
jetzt hat sich Eure sach verloffen
Des seid Ihr alles nun vergessen
was ihr ver soffen vnd gefressen
Ich guter Mahnhart Xicht wenig auß
6. ich sehe kein gelt noch Gut im Haus
7. Für Hering fischwerck in gemein
da fordert Mahnhart auch daß sein
8. Der Bich Schreiber sieht gar sauer ins felet
dem bringet Mahnhart auch kein geldt
Sagt wie haben mich die Krog betrogen
ihr gutte wort sind all erlogen
Den gefressen Ochsen muß ich allein
Zu bezahlen binden an mein Bein
Es ist verlauffen werck im Haus
ja alles Klennot ist dar auß
9. Vnd alle fasser sind Bodemloß
10. den Schumacher dis auch verdroß
Er fordert seine Stiefel vnd Schue
der gute Mahnhart hat wenig ruhe
Ruhn wil sich der trug nicht lassen sehen
thut Oben in dem fenster stehen
Wier mussens sämptlich anders machen
vnd Klagen Penthart alle sachen.



acting on behalf of the creditor and threatening public exposure of the debtors; and when even this proves of no avail, Strict Contright resorts to seizing their property and having them punished by the law with imprisonment and loss of civic status. The four prints are full of incident which is ingeniously distributed about the street in the background, while the symbolic figure commands the front of the stage and appeals directly to the spectator. One wonders whether German tradesmen pinned up such broadsheets in their shops; we know that their French counterparts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries used posters showing a personification of Credit in his death-throes, with the inscription "Credit is dead, killed by the bad payer" (*Crédit est mort, le mauvais payeur l'a tué*).

IV. Mr. Strict Contright: "Strict Contright is my name, and I'm familiar with all the tricks. That man has everything on credit, and I tell you straight, I'll seize everything in his house. Mr. Lendall was kind, but is now fed up. He has learnt his lesson and will no longer make loans. So the borrowers go to Trustem, and cheat him as well. 1. They live it up, dress well, all at the expense of Trustem, although he gently warned them. If Warner is unable to bring them to heel, 2–3. Contright will seize the lot, and return it to Trustem, with damages. If the debtors have absconded, they will lose all their status, or 4. be taken to the debtors' tower, having lost all credit. The honest pious man may beware of me, but has no cause to condemn my actions."

5. Gluttony: alcohol and tobaccco (Germany, Russia)

Of all the Deadly Sins, Gluttony offered the most ready target for simple ridicule; the other sins might be morally more dangerous, but there was none which made a man look so immediately comic and foolish (in the Bosch *Tabletop*, (1–5), the Glutton is by far the most laughable figure). In the popular literature of the Middle Ages the utopia of glutton and idler was known as the Land of Cockaigne (*Paese di Cucagna, Pays de Cocagne, Schlaraffenland*), which in broadsheet illustrations was rendered in a map dotted with such landscape features as the tree laden with hams, the lake filled with milk and honey, etc—and human figures engaged in appropriate activities.[8] This immensly popular theme, with its approximately twenty distinct motifs, could easily have been distilled into strip form, but as far as I know never was. The unified vision of some spacious, far-off land, best expressed in cartographic form, was never sacrificed to

8. See Cocchiara, *Paese*, for this theme in art and literature.

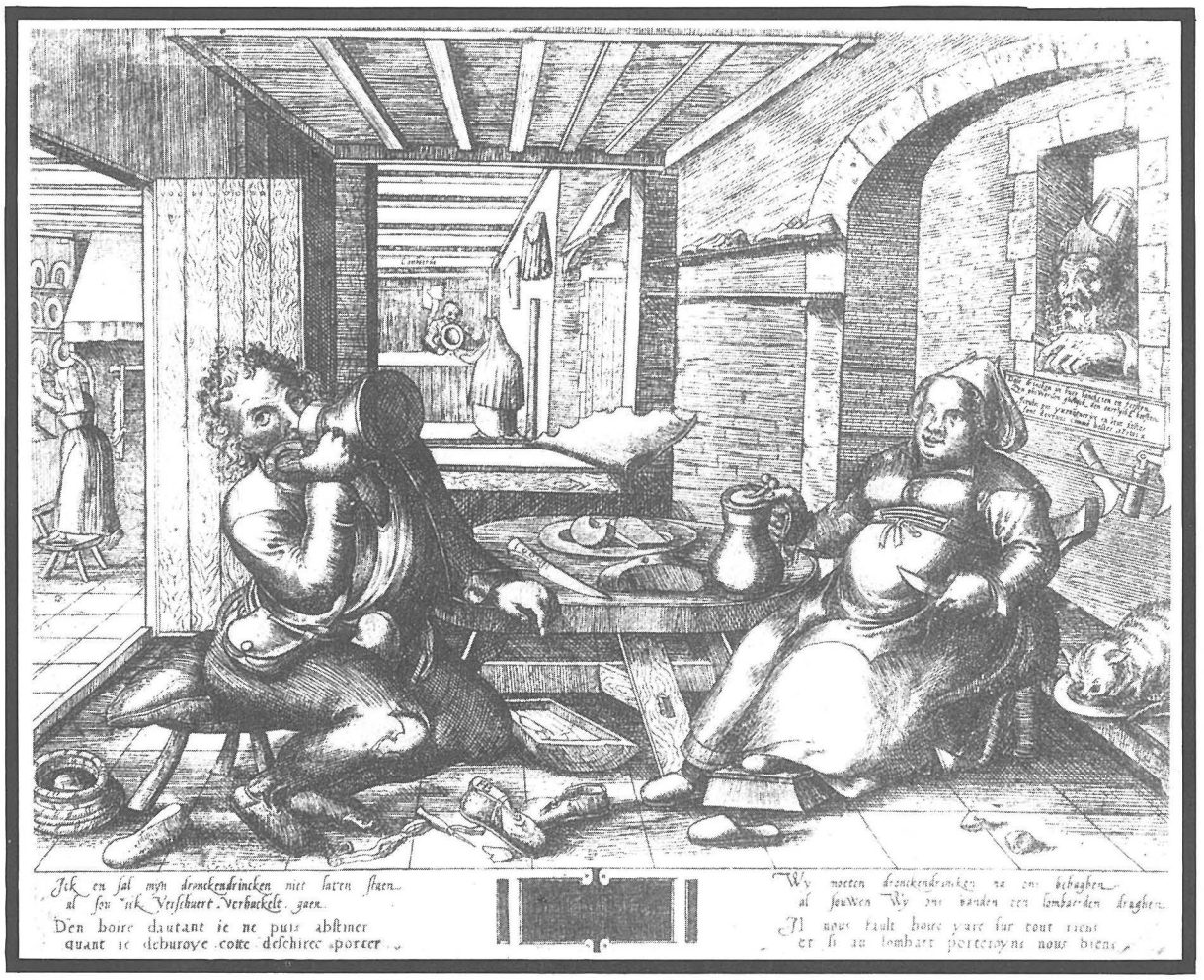
the greater "narrative" clarity of the divided strip. Only Mitelli (cf. below p. 293) went so far as to eliminate the landscape backgrounds, and he did so without actually subdividing the print into strips. In broadsheet satire, the only rival to the Land of Cockaigne was the mock-triumphal procession of the King of Gluttony and Sloth, a popular Carnival figure who was made to do battle with his great enemy, Lent.

Despite a huge body of broadsheet satires on gluttony, then, there are no strips on the subject. This applies, however, only to excessive eating; excessive wine-drinking, which is obviously more dangerous, did elicit a few pictorial narratives, or semi-narrative analyses, distributed somewhat at random in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Germany, and in eighteenth-century Russia. According to the popular astrological and medical systems, by which all mortals inclined toward one of the four temperaments, one's chances of using wine properly were slight—one in four, to be exact. A broadsheet (7-17) illustrating Hans Sachs' poem on the *Four Characteristics of Wine* shows how the various temperaments react to alcohol: the sanguine, or moderate, drinker remains as gentle as a lamb, the choleric drinker becomes violent, the phlegmatic vomits like a pig, and the melancholic degenerates into simian madness. A Netherlandish genre print (7–18) exposes the dangerous financial outcome as well as the disgusting physical results of alchoholism. In the seventeenth century Wenzel Hollar went further, and engraved a kind of altarpiece of the *Three Schools of Wine* (7-19): the wine of the Holy Ghost must be drunk to excess, that of Health requires proper medical supervision, and that of the Devil must be avoided altogether, since it results (predella below) in illness, violence, lechery and premature death. Such language would have satisfied even the nineteenth-century Temperance Society. The aim of the broadsheets was to discourage the middle classes from aping the vices of the German aristocrat, who was famed the world over for his incredible feats of gluttony and drunkenness. John George of Saxony, a leading figure in the Thirty Years War, was seldom sober, even— or especially— when engaged in political negotiations. In 1610 his elder brother, the Elector Christian II, thanked the Emperor, his host in Prague, for having been so well treated that he was not left sober for one hour. In the castle of Riegersburg in Austria chairs were specially constructed to prevent a man from falling off them when drunk.[9]

9. Erlanger, *Courts and Kings*, p. 114.



7–17. Erhard Schön. *The Four Characteristics of Wine* (c. 1530).



7–18. Antwerp Monogrammist FB (or FHB) mid-sixteenth century. "I must drink even if it means wearing rags and taking our property to the pawnbroker" (background).

7–19. Wenzel Hollar. *Three useful Schools of Wine, for the Preservation of Body and Soul* (c. 1630).
Left: Wine-School of the Holy Ghost—drink to excess; center: Christ on the Vine; right: Wine School of Health—drink to moderation; below: Wine School of the Devil—drink not at all. The effects of drunkenness: 1. Illness 2. Discord and War 3. Lechery 4. Brevity of life.



7–20. Russian. *The Great Head of Drunkenness* (mid-eighteenth century).
Left-hand scenes: 1. Prince and boyar are affected by drunkenness and fritter away their estates thereby. 2. Priest, deacon and simple monk succumb, and become a laughing-stock. 3. Merchant and 4. simple craftsman are also affected. Right-hand scenes: 5. Anyone can turn to drink and become lecherous and godless. 6. Young and old suffer from the symptoms of drunkenness, such as 7. vomiting. 8. Drink leads to lustful behavior. 9. (lower center) Women get drunk as well, for which they earn the mockery of the neighbors of both sexes. Drink makes women grotesque and lecherous (right).

In more recent times, the reputation of the Russian for drunkenness has come to rival that of the German. A Russian eighteenth-century strip (7–20) is even more thorough in its analysis, describing how the typical drunkard becomes slothful, disgusting and lecherous, and how all classes are vulnerable, from prince and priest to tradesman and artisan. Among the most curious aspects of this print are the repeated use of figures with raised sticks as an expression of the contempt we should feel for the drunkard, and the survival of speech scrolls held in the hand. Another Russian broadsheet, ironically entitled *The Pharmacy to cure Drunkards* (7-21) combines the various aspects of the problem in a single setting.

The Christian era has always been obsessed with the evils of alcohol; but there were moralists in the seventeenth century who found that evil surpassed by another—tobacco. Tobacco arrived on the Continent via the English mercenary fighting in the Dutch army of liberation at the end of the sixteenth century, and became extraordinarily popular among civilians and soldiers alike during the Thirty Years War. Dutch artists such as Jan Steen, Adriaen van Ostade, and the Fleming Brouwer exploited pictorially the comic physiological and physiognomic effects of tobacco-smoking, without making any overt moral judgment; while the German broadsheets of course condemn the habit, they still enjoy the farcical side of it. The *Tabacologia* published by Paulus Fürst of Nürnberg (7-22) first reveals the origins of the exotic weed, and goes on to remind us of the fraudulent nature of the medical claims made for it by quacks. (It was even believed to cure syphilis.) There follow demonstrations of the effect of tobacco upon various kinds of people—the young blood, the husband, the peasant, the wife. Truly pathetic is the motivation of the poor (D) who smoked to kill their hunger. The final scene tries simply to evoke our physical disgust. Another strip (7–23) concentrates rather exclusively on the grosser physiological aspects. The pictures are frankly comic and the verses parody the medical jargon used to defend the plant's alleged prophylactic properties.

7–21. Russian. *Pharmacy to cure Drunkards* (mid-eighteenth century).
Lower left: The publican sells his "cures" to the soldier. right: Brawling muzhiks, who are ordered (in the caption) to go and fight in the streets instead. Nearby, "Old Savoska" vomits on the stairs. top: "Old Savoska" plays cards with his mistress. The muzhik softens up his woman with wine. The gentleman does the same with his lady.



7–22. German (Fürst of Nürnberg). *Tabacology, or praise of the noble and world-famous herb, petum or tobacco, its origin and arrival, various applications with different people, together with its true power and effect* (c. 1640).
"A. I come from far away, from Brasil, Peru and America, which is why I am so respected. This picture shows how the natives use me. Bentzo calls me the devil's smoke, and wonders that I should be so popular, when I only make people foolish, drunken and lacking in all desire. The sensation is new, but the effect is bad. B. My medical practice is unprofitable, for the healthy flee me and the ill find other regular physicians. But I must live, so I'll try a new line, and plant tobacco, which is bound to sell. If I sell people stench and feed them with smoke, that is, after all, what happens everywhere. C. I have just returned home after three-and-a-half years abroad. The only thing I have learned is how to drink tobacco. Both my mother and sister are sickened by it and wonder how I can soak up all that smoke. Stop worrying, mother, and remember that if I didn't do this I wouldn't be a fashionable young blood (*Alla-modo Stutzer*). D. I stand here drinking tobacco, if only I had some bread and cheese instead. You claim I don't need this luxury, well, I'm told that tobacco is good for hunger, which so often plagues me. I hope it's true, for I cannot enter an inn without money, and begging is too painful. Like this, at any rate, I maintain my dignity. E. Tell me confidentially, cousin Margaret, does your husband drink tobacco at home? Mine soaks it up all the time, and stinks of smoke like a chimney (I'd rather he drank Spanish wine). Then he sleeps the whole night through. Tobacco is the invention of the devil. I wish the man who brought it from the West Indies had been drowned. F. In this war the peasant has acquired foreign tricks. I have learned foreign languages and Latin, even at the cost of my land. Now I'll try the taste of tobacco. Help, Velten and Kyrein, what lovely grub! I think people must be fools, though we peasants are now imitating them; which is why we are plagued with foreign disasters. G. Although I may be only a weak little woman, what's wrong with my drinking tobacco like a man? Look how expertly I do it, just like a soldier or an errand-boy. Like apes, women imitate everything they see around them. H. Although you may ridicule tobacco, it does have its virtues; it empties my purse, it purges my brain, which is why I hawk and grunt like a pig; it steams the body clean, and finally, it empties the belly and creates a stink above and below—isn't it a tasteful habit?"

7–23. German. *Power, Virtue and Effect of that highly useful Tobacco, analysed from A–Z, in exquisitely vulgar fashion* (c. 1640). "1. The best tobacco is for sale here, come along and buy your share. 2. I use tobacco and find it excellent, it dries out the fluids and purifies the blood. 3. Give me as much beer and wine as you will, I must have tobacco to drink. 4. They say that too much is not good for you, which is what I am discovering at this very moment. 5. My nose is all stopped up, I must clean it out with tobacco snuff. Tobacco snuff purges excellently, excuse me if there is some discharge.
A-la-mode Aid-Belch Causes Diarrhoea, Effects Farting, Gastric Hawking, Induces Juicy Koffing, Messy Nose, Operates, Purges, Quickens Rasping, Sneezing, Spewing; Tobacco Utilises, Very Well Xercises Your Zygomatics."

TABACOLOGIA.

Das ist/

Lobspruch deß edlen/ vnd in aller Welt berühmten Krauts Petum oder Tabac/ von dessen Vrsprung vnd Ankunfft/ vnterschiedlichem Gebrauch bey aller-handt Personen/ sampt desselben wahren Krafft vnd Wirckung.



Krafft, Tugent und würckung des hochnutzbarlichen Tabac, durchs A. B. C. gezogen, fein gröblich.



Der best Tabac der ist hie feil,
Kompt herbey kauff ieder ein theil.

Ich brauch Tabac und befindts gut,
Trücknet die fluß reinigt das blut.

Wann ich gleich hab Bier oder Wein,
Muß Tabac doch gedruncken sein.

Mann sagt zu viel sey ungesundt,
Das merck ich ietzt zu dieser stundt.

Mein Naß die ist verstopffet seer,
Brauch Schnupff-Tabac daß ich sie leer.

Der Schnupff-Tabac purgiret gut,
Verzeiht, wann was entfahren thut.

Außbündige Alamodo Bauchpürgation, Cautirt Durchlauff. Effectuirt Fartzen, Groltzen, Husten, Iurren, Kotzen, Lufft in hosen, Murmeln im leibe, Nießen, Operirt, Purgirt, Qualificirt, Rotz, Schnupffen, Speyen, Tabac Vertreibt Wüstigkeit, Xantho Yn Zähnen.

Chapter Eight

MARRIAGE

1a. Saint Cudgelman and the taming of the shrew (Germany)

Literary satire on the vices and wiles of women is a world-wide, age-old phenomenon.[1] Our picture stories on this subject are a product in part of the lingering medieval tradition of misogyny, and in part of the domestic revolution brought about in Germany by the Reformation. The later Middle Ages in Europe abounds in the denunciation of women, whether in the writings of celibate priests or popular poets. Humanist literature of the sixteenth century, much of it the work of homeless, wandering scholars, is also full of anti-feminist sentiment, sometimes of the most obscene kind. The German Reformers, on the other hand, by their teaching and personal example demanded respect for women, and raised the status of marriage as an institution, proclaiming it an essential duty for all men, including priests and scholars. Luther, himself a devoted husband and father, attacked the celibacy of the Catholic priesthood as an "unchaste chastity" (*unkeusche Keuschheit*) and "Roman bonds" (*römische Fesseln*). In his more intimate writings he demonstrated how family life is an ideal context for the practice of the Christian virtues. At the same time, the Reformers attempted to render marriage a more viable institution by denying that it was a sacrament which could be invalidated only by death. This view helped correct abuses relating to annulments, which were often obtained through purchase and the post-facto invention of some grounds for declaring the original sacrament invalid. The German Reformers permitted divorce on grounds of adultery and even ill-treatment, with liberty for the innocent party to remarry.[2] The satirists however (and our strip cartoonists) do not entertain the possibility of divorce as a solution to the unhappy marriage: only death (preferably hers) could cure a husband afflicted with a shrew.

Marriage in Protestant Germany had become a basic Christian duty, but the satirists nevertheless (or perhaps for this very reason) launched a massive campaign against it. A large portion of sixteenth-century German literature is occupied with polemics on the pros and cons of marriage, and on the nature of woman in general. The opponents of marriage and womankind indulged in every kind of indecency, creating a genre known as *grobianische Litteratur*, so-called after an invention of Sebastian Brant, *Sankt Grobian* (*grob* means coarse). Such literature, in which misogynistic verse merged with the irreverent drinking-song, was intended as light entertainment, and it is perhaps as such that our *grobianische* picture strips should be viewed. By the turn of the century, however, one is conscious less of the light-hearted intentions of anti-feminist writing than of its downright cruelty, obscenity, and intolerance. The worst, but probably most characteristic, example is the *Malus Mulier* of the pastor John Sommer (editions 1609, 1612, and 1614).

In the continuation (8–1), entitled *Imperiosus Mulier—that is, the wife thirsting for dominion*, Sommer boasts that his *Malus Mulier* has become almost a textbook. The sheer quantity and viciousness of anti-feminist satire shocked one preacher, who in 1617 thus grouped the three favorite satirical targets: "The (Catholic) priests are more

8–1. Frontispiece to *Imperiosus Mulier, that is, the Domineering Woman* . . . 1611.



1. An excellent chapter on this subject is found in Hodgart.
2. See Westermarck, III, p. 334, and Kawerau, p. 4ff.



8–2. Theodor de Bry. *The Young Girls' Dovecote* (1627).

hated in these days in Germany than the Jews, as is abundantly shown by innumerable booklets, lampoons, rhymes and pictures; next to them, however, women are the most detested class, and countless scribblers make it their business to disseminate all sorts of filthy, indecent scandal against the female sex, and to abuse the married state."[3] In Wittenberg, 1595, fifty-one theses were distributed as a (so-called) "new disputation in proof that women were not human beings." Even if this was intended as a kind of academic joke, it was taken in deadly earnest by those who set out to rebut it. We should therefore approach our anti-feminist strips in a serious fashion, as evidence not only of a taste for cruel farce but also as the symptom of deep malaise over an all-important social institution.

Poets and artists devised all sorts of metaphors to express the evil character of women. In England, France and Germany, the rarity of the virtuous wife was conveyed in the *facétie* of the monsters *Bigorne et Chicheface* (Fillgut and Pinch Belly). One monster is fat because it feasts upon kind husbands who spoil their wives, the other is thin because it can only dine off good women. Images of cunning and entrapment abound: man is inveigled into captivity or hunted down in countless ways (e.g. 8–2). The remedy (applicable, presumably, only after marriage) is for the females to be delivered to factories where their various vices (including that of growing old and ugly) are steamed, milled, or ground out of them, or else their heads are forged afresh.

Ancient texts revealed examples enough of the terrors of female power. Art patrons of the Mannerist and Baroque periods never tired of Salome with the severed head of Saint John the Baptist on a platter, or of Judith raising the dripping head of Holofernes by the hair, subjects on which artists lavished all the gory naturalism at their command.[4]

3. Quoted by Janssen, 12, p. 201.

4. A glance through the illustrations in Moir's book on the Italian followers of Caravaggio reveals how obsessed the early seventeenth century was with such subjects.

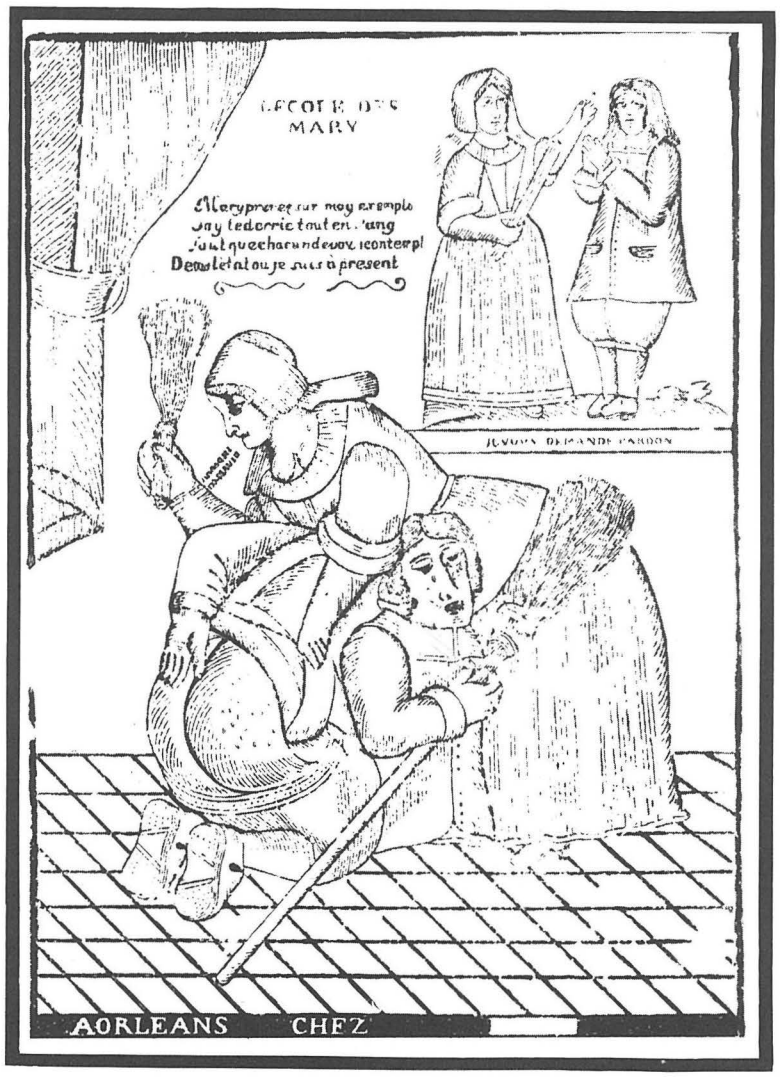
Jael hammers her nail lustily through the temple of Sisera; Juno plucks out the eyes of Argus, and we are spared nothing. The most popular grouping of such examples comprises three stories from the Old Testament (Samson shorn by Delilah; Solomon persuaded by his mistress to worship idols—an incident from the Apocrypha; David lusting after Bathsheba) and the pseudo-ancient (actually medieval) story of Aristotle and Phyllis, or *Lai d'Aristote* (cf. 8-3). Of these four, it is the last which appears most frequently on its own, carved on medieval ivory combs and caskets for the lady's dressing-table, and on wooden misericords and stone capitals in cathedrals—and in the broadsheets. The theme even turns up in eighteenth-century Russia (8-28,cf. also 13-12, extreme right). It is one of the principal points of departure for our strip cartoons, and survives in our own day as a symbol of sado-masochistic pleasure. According to the legend, the boy Alexander was reproached by his tutor Aristotle for dalliance with the courtesan Phyllis, who revenged herself on the philosopher by seducing him and making him carry her on all fours around the palace garden, under the very eyes of his pupil. Second only to Aristotle and Phyllis in popularity was the theme of Women fighting for the Hose, which symbolized the female desire for male authority. I would hazard a guess that "she wears the breeches" is a common expression in any country where breeches are characteristically male garb. The husband literally surrendering the breeches and donning the skirt provides the base for some of our realistic strips (e.g. 8-22, scene 6 and 8-24, scene 3). Such a concept obviously belongs to the Topsy-Turvy World, although in the Topsy-Turvy World strips it is usually rendered by the man spinning and the woman bearing arms (in 7-5 she is in male attire only from the waist up.)

If breeches symbolically invested the wearer with the right of authority, the actual exercise of this authority was depicted in the act of beating. The extraordinary popularity of the image of husband beating wife or vice versa, which we find in the crudest form (8-4) as well as in relatively sophisticated strips, was not apparently prejudiced by a



8–3. Hans Burgkmaier the Elder. *The dangers of women: Solomon worshipping the Idols; Aristotle and Phyllis; Samson and Dalilah; Bathsheba in the bath* (1519).

lack of "historical" example such as lent status to the image of woman riding horseback on man. Common experience no doubt was felt to substitute for ancient or biblical authority on the necessity of beating one's wife, or on the danger of being beaten by her. The latter possibility was pictured in imagery ranging from the humorous playing card (in a pack by Peter Flötner, for instance) to the large, quasi-narrative print dating from 1550 8-5). A woodland landscape is selected as an appropriate setting for preliminary phases—the alleged male crime and the preparation of the punishment—as for the punishment itself, dominating the foreground. Here is the embryo of the longer strip-narratives of the seventeenth century, in which the beating and its preparation become a cult to be performed with the precision with which the pharmacist mixes his ingredients; the wooden pills, in order to be effective as a cure, must be of the right shape and weight.[5] The birch was not merely a property of slapstick comedy; it was the basic symbol for, and practical instrument of, social discipline. The children of prince and pauper alike were constantly thrashed, in the home and at school. The custom was common to all nations, except perhaps the Dutch, and in Germany it had been ratified by none other than Luther himself. In art, the birch was the symbol of the educational process (cf. 7-5, scene 8 and 9-23, scene 2). If knowledge had to be thrashed in, no wonder that ignorance had first to be thrashed out, and with it, all the other vices women and children are prone to. There was not necessarily more thrashing in the life of the German, than in that of Italian or French families; but representation of domestic violence is certainly a characteristic of German drama around 1600, compared with which even the most cruel of our strips seem tame. We have no picture stories after the pattern of *Servius Tullius* by James Ayrer (died 1605), in which a tyrant cuts his wife's throat and leaves her to die in agony on stage. In the most brutal of our strips, when the shrew dies of the bruises inflicted by her husband, at least she dies quietly in bed.



8–4. French. *The School for Husbands* (early eighteenth century). "Husbands, take me as an example; my behind is all bloody . . . (top right) "I beg your pardon."

1b. German marriage strips

Hans Sachs canonized the wife-thrashing husband with the name *Sankt Kolbmann* (Saint Cudgelman), and wrote two anti-feminist *Schwänke*, which were to prove very influential as broadsheets: *The 12 qualities of a wicked wife* (*Die 12 Eygenschafft eines bosshaftigen Weibs*, 1530) and *The Ninefold Skins of a shrewish woman* (*Die Neunerley Heud einer bösen Frawen*, 1539). The latter tells how women has become desensitized with eight skins of viciousness, each of which is likened to an animal, and each of which must be stripped off separately before the sensitive human skin is exposed. This process was illustrated in the later sixteenth century with a strip of figures (8-6) which reveals an almost cinematic progression of violence. While the verse recommends constant repetition of the punishment, the engraving seems to suggest that it should be gradually escalated. Sachs does however try to mitigate the pessimism and cruelty of his *Schwank* by concluding, in a "saving" clause, that beating should be used only as a last resort, and not as a substitute for rational argument. The pro-marriage writers were not to be so easily deceived; Andreas Musculus (1556) reversed Sachs' conceit by suggesting that for every devil beaten out of a woman, nine were beaten back in (*Einen Teufel schlägt man hinaus, ihrer neun wieder hinein*).[6]

The sixteenth century seemed content with traditional examples of the power of famous women, allegories of female wiles, and simple images of marital beating; the early years of the following century, however, saw the rise of comprehensive narrative analyses of marital woes, and the enshrining of female shrewishness in a wider social and moral context. Considering the peculiarly close-knit thematic character of the strips, one is tempted to link them with a single German cultural center. While all but three or four are anonymous, it is a Nürnberg engraver, Peter Isselburg, who gives us the earliest signed and dated strip on marriage; and it is his successor in that city, Paul Fürst, who published the most lively and characteristic of the misogynistic satires. Fürst probably marketed more broadsheets than any other

5. Molière took the logical step when he made his great connoisseur of flagellation, Sganarelle in *Le Médecin Malgre Lui* a woodcutter by trade, and thus a physician who lived surrounded with his raw materials.

6. Quoted by Kawerau, p. 48.

vñ halt in eyner Sum̃ /Wölches weyb hat ein verſpielten liederuchē man/ Der ſol hienfurter jm Reich kein freyheit mer han/ Auch yo eyn yedes weyb yren man ſelbs Reformieren. Wol mit ſtangen /gablen/ſtecken/ Rüren ſchmieren/ Vnd keyn vertrag mer mit jenē machen/ Auch nit auffhörendas loch thü im dan trachen.

Wol her hie iſt kilchwy in diſem tal.
ablaß vor alle ſchand laſter überal/
gibt man vñ gelt wz dir iſt vō nöten/
wan du ſchon wilt haſt mer zu töten
vñ gelt han ich vil ablaß vertriben.
D aller jm 1550 jubel jar iſt überbliben

Her her lieben gſellē jung vñ alt
es iſt kein fryheit allein in dē walt
vns iſt auch dz rych verbottē darū
die weiber verklagtē vf dē cōſiliū

Her der angriff iſt geſchehē ſchon
yede fraw thüt zu irem mā gon/
ſchlahē drin mit ſteckē vnd rüthen
von enſtē möcht eim dz loch blütē

Herzu alle weiber/ vñ ſchawē an:
mun jückern ſie ich dē verſpilē mā:
On ketten dolch en ring vnd Golt:
Darū hym̃ du dein verthientē ſolt:
ja nün ſei dir der teüfel mer holdt

was ſal ich ſingen oder ſagen/
kan nit genūg materi er zu tragē.
da mit man die man̄ thüt erbözen
wölch dz ir ſo ſchērlich thō verzerē

wol her her mit freidigem hertzē dran
nün wöllen wir auch güte kilwey han
vnd ſie vmb jhr böſes leben ſtraffen
friſch her mit ſteckē ſtangē vñ wafen

nit alſo O liebe frawe mein
ich bin nur eimal vß gſein
thü dich auch frünlich bittē
dich fieren jn einē ſchlittē



8–6. German. *Of the Ninefold Skins of Wicked women, and the name and properties of each Skin* (c. 1600).
"I asked my newly married friend how his face had got scratched up like that? Had he been attacked by cats?" "Not cats," said he, "but my wife, who is not like other people, for she has nine different skins, which means that she has nine different characters, each of which must be stripped off separately. On Monday when I returned from the tavern, I was greeted by a stony silence. First, I beat off her *cod-skin* to make her answer my questions. The second blow hit her on the *bear-skin*, and raised a fine bruise. I ignored her grumbling, and gave her another 3. which landed on her *goose-skin* and really made her cackle. 4. When I hit her *dog-skin*, she called me ass, fool, ninny, so I gave her another good one on the head, 5. hitting her squarely on the *hare-skin*. She ran off shouting, you wretch, whore-monger and adulterer, so I 6. lammed her one behind the ears, striking her *horse-hide*, and making her jump like a colt, which angered me even more. 7. Then I hit her *cat-skin*, which made her claw and scratch, fit to tear me to shreds. I nearly cried out in pain, grabbed a really hefty stick, and drubbed her on the *pig-skin* with it, creasing her over the back and arms until I felt sorry for her. As I continued hitting her, I finally reached the *human skin*, and was amazed at the way her screeching noises changed suddenly to sweet words. Dear husband, she cried, falling about my neck, don't kill me, I'll be good from now on. I was misled by a neighbor, but I now promise you wifely devotion. I forgave her, but warned her not to cross me again. Thus peace was finally made, but how long it will last I do not know. The fight cost me telltale wounds.
Take this as a warning, young husbands, even if your wife is not entirely to your liking, remember that you yourself are not always too friendly. Don't tyrannize her, but use reason and gentle persuasion; reprove her in private, not in public. Only if she remain really obdurate, may you take to the stick, and call the tune. But do so always with moderation, or you will regret it later."

German publisher of his age,[7] and stands, fittingly, at the apex of a tradition of broadsheet publication, which since the days of Dürer's childhood was unsurpassed by that of any other German town. Nürnberg society was regarded as a model of social order. There is a temptation to seek a connection between the prevalence of the social broadsheet and the general stability of the society it serves. If the broadsheet on private morality is an instrument of social control, it fulfilled this function in Nürnberg with remarkable success; conversely, it seems that the broadsheet on common crime and punishment, if intended as a deterrent to social delinquency, proved a failure in Augsburg. The marriage strip is as typical of Nürnberg as the crime print is of Augsburg.

An English visitor to Nürnberg at the end of the sixteenth century admired the cleanliness of the streets, the honesty and politeness of the citizens, and the regularity of their lives.[8] The sick were in hospitals, the poor were in almshouses, and there were no beggars roaming the streets. The government of this Free Imperial City, a self-perpetuating oligarchy of wealthy merchant families, maintained a strict watch over the private and social lives of the citizens; we have already noted how they banned sensationalist print-making, and we can only assume they approved of Fürst's activity in the didactic broadsheet, which concerned aspects of family morality and domestic economy where legislation was difficult. As Lutherans, the Nürnbergers would be traditionally addicted to discussion of such matters. Our knowledge that the average citizen of Nürnberg was an outwardly peaceable man does not of course tell us much about the inner workings of his marriage. We have comparative statistics of the number of criminals executed in the various towns of Germany, but not on the number of marital quarrels and divorces. We must remember too that the strips, although realistically conceived, were not necessarily to be read literally. Fürst's own bitter tale of marital misery may be taken more in the nature of a fantasy on the subject of female disobedience, based upon an old literary tradition and reflecting current conservative fears about the status of women. There is certainly no evidence that Fürst, himself a married man, was plagued with marital problems in particular. Finally, it is only just to men-

8–5. German. *Summary of how every woman who has a wretched dissolute husband, shall deny him hereinafter his freedom in this county, and in order to reform him, shall herself lick him with sticks, forks, rods, birches, and have no more to do with him, and continue this treatment until his ass-hole is roaring* (c. 1550).
Top center (Women): "It's carnival time here in our valley, Indulgence (pardon) for all wickedness and vice; give your money now, you'll need to, if you feel like killing some more (husbands). I have sold many Indulgences for cash. There's enough for all, left over from the Jubilee year 1550.
Top left (Men): Come along comrades, young and old, there is no freedom here, and we have been exiled because the wives have lodged an official complaint.
Bottom right (Women): Roll up merrily, now we too can enjoy ourselves and punish the men for their wicked ways; quickly get rods and other weapons.
Bottom left: Let us attack, each woman go to her husband and beat him with sticks and birches until his ass-hole bleeds.
Fool, Center below: What shall I sing or say, I cannot bring up enough material for you to wear out upon your husbands.
Woman with birch: Come and see, all you wives, make your degenerate husbands wish it was the devil rather than you upon their backs.
Husband: Hold it dear wife, I have been out only once, and invite you kindly to go driving with me in a sledge."

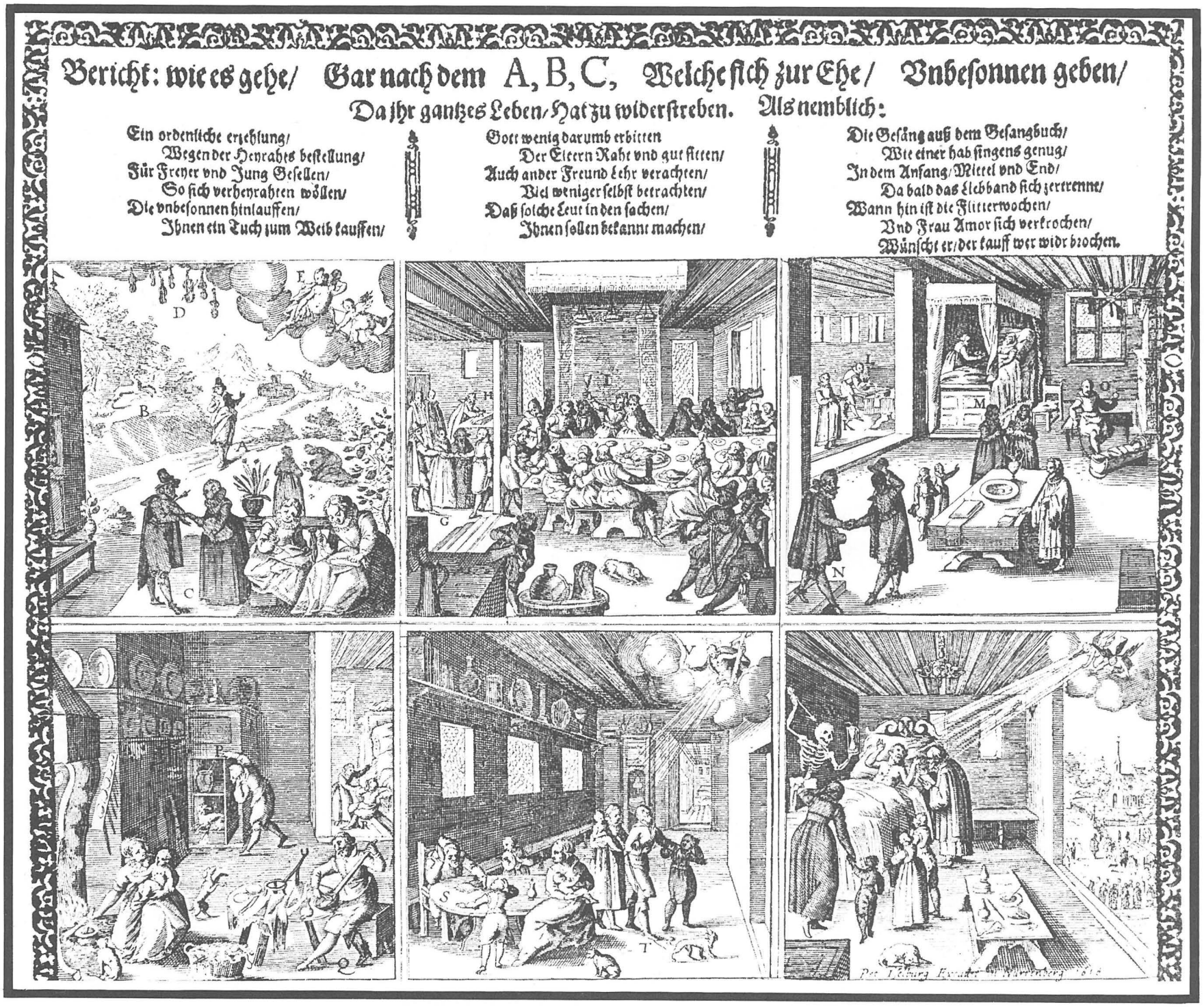
7. Hampe identified 208 popular moral subjects as Fürst publications (see *Fürst*).
8. Hampe, p. 8ff.

tion that there are a few (non-narrative) prints by Fürst celebrating the joys of the married state.[9]

Peter Isselburg, who came to Nürnberg from Cologne, was an extremely versatile engraver of portraits, topography, historical subjects, and broadsheets. His only signed strip, reissued later by Fürst, is entitled *The ABC of the Thoughtless Marriage* and dated 1616 (8-7). Isselburg's complaint is directed not against the wife, however, but against life in general, which is viewed in a totally pessimistic fashion. A wife and children are a part of life, but not necessarily to blame for the emptiness of the cupboard in particular, or the melancholy of the husband's soul in general. The world-weary sentiment of the verse, with its ingenious use of first lines from well-known hymns, and the sacred iconography in the last two engraved scenes, lend the print an old-fashioned religious air, which is offset by the vigorous realism of the figures in their spacious interiors.

9. Coupe, p. 55, and *Fürst*, No. 237 Abb. 16.

Isselburg's successor in Nürnberg was Paul Fürst, whom we find variously referred to as a "merchant" (*Kaufmann*), "tradesman" (*Handelsmann*) and "art-dealer" (*Kunsthändler*). Fürst set up in business by systematically buying up old plates from the heirs of Isselburg and from other publishers in various towns. He employed different artists to engrave for him, and, as an accomplished *Meistersinger*, sometimes contributed his own verses to the broadsheets. He was active at the fairs of Leipzig and Frankfurt from 1639 onwards, and we know that about 1640 he republished the Sachs broadsheet of the *Ninefold Skins of Women*, mentioned above. In 1660–61 he was imprisoned for a private quarrel, and he died in 1666 probably by his own hand. Apart from the Isselburg and Sachs reissues, only two of the marriage stories actually are signed by him. This does not however exclude the possibility that he issued other, anonymous ones, perhaps even the one signed by a Frankfurt publisher (8-11), since he did not always bother to erase the old signatures and addresses from the plates he purchased.





8–7. Peter Isselburg of Nürnberg. *The ABC of the thoughtless marriage which causes a lifelong struggle. Interspersed with first lines from familiar hymns* (1616).

"Scene 1: (A) The proud youth, who has grown up wild like (B) a young stag in the woods, thinks it might be nice to take up Adam's rib; so (C) casting his love upon any girl who catches his fancy, he imagines he holds the whole world in his hands. (D) The heavens are bedecked with fiddles, Venus (E) swiftly poisons his heart, Cupid (F) shoots his arrow. In his amorous anguish he cries *Have mercy upon me O Lord God.* When his prayer is answered, and the maiden granted to him, all pain is gone, and his heart thumps with joy.

Scene 2: (G) The father gives up his daughter, and (H) the dowry is declared. A toast and a handshake seal the affair, the groom's heart leaps for joy, and he sings *In dulci jubilo.* He thinks himself the richest man, and this day the happiest in the world. (I) He sings *When the wedding-day comes* . . . . and his inexpressible joy rings out far and wide. *May my soul praise the Lord* who has granted me a young wife.

Scene 3: (K) But when she becomes pregnant, the trouble starts. *God help us now, as before* he sings, as he attends to the nursery equipment. (M) *A little child so wonderful,* he sings, and (N) the godfather is invited in due course. (O) *O Joseph, my dear Joseph,* he sings, when the child cries.

Scene 4: (P) And when no bread is left in the house, *I call to thee Lord Jesus Christ,* he sings. (Q) O wife, what shall we eat? *I cry to thee from the depths, O Lord, how long shall I be forgotten,* he sings. When nothing relieves his pain and the second year comes round, (R) *By the Waters of Babylon* he sings, my hope grows small, *O God from heaven look down upon us.* With the third year there is nothing to be done, and he sings in the greatest pain *Why dost thou sadden my heart.*

Scene 5: (S) In the fourth year, he cries out for patience *Thy will be done alway, my God.* If I cannot withstand this misfortune, it cannot be otherwise. Thus he sings with his wife and child: *We are in the middle of our life.* He further sings in great anxiety *O Lord God, have mercy upon us.* (T) When welcome old age approaches, he sings *Grant us peace most mercifully.*

Scene 6: (V) To thee alone Lord Jesus Christ, In thee have I put all my hope. Prevent me from falling in disgrace. (W) *When my hour is at hand* he sings, and (X) raising his heart and hand *Lord God my misery is at an end.* I am relieved of my unhappiness, I pass away in peace and joy. Finally the Children sing *Now let us bury the body.* Conclusion: Marriage is full of sorrow. This does not mean that it should be avoided, but rather that one should call upon God and take good advice, and be altogether circumspect. This is the secret of happiness, and the counsel of Cheruspatte Faron."

8–8. Paul Fürst of Nürnberg. *A well-tested and hallowed recipe or cure for the evil disease of disobedient wives* (c. 1650).

"1. A headstrong bachelor decided to get married, and was so happy that the heavens seemed hung with fiddles. 2. But his laughter was dearly bought, for the terrible woman became his purgatory. She addressed him as 'Fool' instead of 'Sir.' If ever he went out for a drink, she cried 'May you be struck down by lightning, you drunken sot, pig-belly, lout, I hope you get murdered . . .' 3. When she filled the table with children, the poor man was plagued afresh, and was not allowed to discipline them, as one should, if they are not to grow up like unpruned trees (cf. picture on wall). 4. His viper-tongued wife never allowed him to take a bite in peace. Finally he asked advice of a neighbor, who gave him a recipe so precious that he would not have exchanged it for the whole town of Nürnberg. He took an old rattletrap, and drove with much screeching of wife and wheels into the nearest wood. 'And don't bother to return' was her parting wish. When he returned, laden with sticks, he was greeted by the friendly angel with a few dozen curses. He sprang down, and replied: 'Here are the pills to cure your bile, you wicked devil.' No sooner said than done. Taking up a stout cudgel, he caught the hedgehog, the hell-hog by the hair. Thwack, splat, crick, crack! twice on every spot. Eight was the number of skins stripped off her, as follows: the Lion, whose ferocity she shared; the Bear, like whom she growled; the Dog, as when she barked at him; the Pig, like which she squealed when stuck in the hunt; the Horse and the Cat, for she struck out behind, and scratched in front; the Ass, because she refused to budge; the Hare, whom she resembled in flight.

The wife died, repentant. The husband rejoiced, and after the burial, sent for the musicians, and celebrated a mass for her soul in many a glass of wine. Let the fate of this wicked wife serve as an example to others. I do not of course refer to the sensible wives, who are Paradise to live with."

Ein köſtlich gutes bewertes Recept/vor die Männer/ſo böſe Weiber haben.

Jr Frum Geſell in einer Stat/
Sich mit ſein Freundn beratſchlaget hat/
Daß er ſich wolt in Eh ſtande geben/
Mit einer Jungfraw ſchön vnd eben/
Bey welcher er in Fre vd vnd Ruh/
Die Zeit ſeins Lebens brächte zu.
Da er dieſelb zu jm bekam/
Vnd sie jn heim in ſein Haß nam/
Vermeint/ er ihr in Sanfftkeit
Zu dienſt/ ohn all Widerſtand vnd Streit/
So befind er gar das Widerſpil/
Dann ſie jhm nicht gehorchen will/
Wie das ein Weib zu thun vnd laſſen/
Derhalb er hoch bekümmert würde/

Vnd klagts ſeim Nachtbarn in Vertrawn/
Vber ſein vnerträglich böſe Fraw/
Daß er kein jhr hett kein gut Stund/
Sondern ſie hett ein giftigen Mund.
Daß jhm endlich jhr wehr/ hatt auch keins/
Das drey oder vierdt jhr Fieber/
So hett er doch je diß vnd jenn Ruh/
Aber das Keiffen vnd Hetzen zuvor zu/
Daß er weder jhr noch keinem Nechſt/
Weder Tag noch Nacht hett ein gut Wort.
Sondern wegen jhrer großen Boßheit/
Möcht ſie zerſpringen vor Arbeit.
Derhalb als weiß ich nicht was ich thu/
Damit ich hab möcht Fried vnd Ruh.

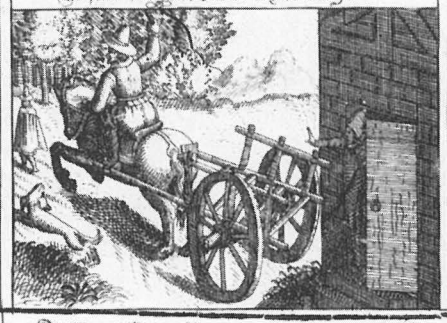
Kom derhalb in Vertrawen zu euch/
Mit mir zuthalten einen Rath ohn ſcheuch.
Der Nachbar jhm bald antwortet:
Jhr habet einen Weib bald zur Stat
Erfunden den Saum zu lang gelaſſen/
Solchs kompt euch nun gar zu Vnmaſſen.
Dann da ſie ſolchs an euch vermerckt/
Jſt ſie dadurch worden geſterckt/
Vnd der Herrſchafft genommen ein/
Vnd euch nicht wol laſſen vnterthan.
Derhalb ſo were diß mein Rath/
Daß jhr hinaus gut vff der Stat/
Vnd folgende Reimen practicirt/
Damit jhr ewrs böſen Weibs loß würdt.

Haſtu ein böſes Weib am Sontag.



Weil ich dann hab gar ein böß Weib/
Welch Täglich plagt mein armen Leib.
Mit Keiffen/ Zanckn/ Murren vnd Beiſſn/
Mit Hadern/ Balgen/ Raufſn vnd Schmeiſſn/
Daß ich bey jhr weder Nechſt noch Tag/
Zu Tiſch vnd Bett/ Ruh haben mag/
Derhalb will ich ein andr Mittel
Mit jhr anfan vnd versuch ſie mit
Muß vnterthan vnd gehorſam ſeyn/
Vnd ſolts gleich koſtn das Leben mein.

So fahr ins Holtz am Montag.



Derentwegn will ich in Wald nauß fahrn/
Vnd an meim Fleiß gar nichts erſparn.
Damit ich ein gut Recept bekom/
Daß meim Weib jhr Boßheit abnehm/
Oder möcht finden ein gut Kraut/
Welches ich meim Weib off jhr Haut
Möcht legen/ damit ſie erweicht/
Vnd freundtlicher ſich gegn mir erzeigt.
Dann in den Kreutern verborgn leit
Groß Krafft/ wann mans braucht zu rechter Zeit/

Vnd haw Bengel am Dinſtag.



Weil ich dann hin im Wald hie bin/
Will ich abhawen mir mein Sinn/
Ein zimlich hauffen Bengel ſtarck/
Mit welchen ich mein Weibe arg/
Will ſchmiren vnd recht ſalben wohl/
Daß ſies gar wohl empfinden ſoll/
Auch jhr bezahlen vnd vergelt/
Jhr böſe Wort vnd grobes Scheltn/
Damit ſie mich gar offt vnd dick
Beleidigt hat/ gar vngeſchickt

Schlag darauff drauff am Mittwoch.



Hör Weib/ weil du mich jederzeit
Geſchendet haſt/ vnd wohl gekeift/
Mich nur geh itzen ſtets dein Narrn/
So will ich dir dein Hut nicht ſparn/
Sondern dein Lenden ſalben vnd ſchmirn/
Vnd dieſe Bengel off die probirn/
Die auch anhencken ein Denckzeichn/
Damit andre Weiber deins gleichn/
Auch ein Scheuel mögn zu ſehn/
Vnd ihren Männern freundtlich vnder Augn gehn.

So wirdt ſie kranck am Donnerſtag.



Jch bin ein kraffts kranckes Weib/
Zerbrochen iſt mir mein Kopff vnd Leib/
Daß ich kaum weder gehn noch ſtehn/
Solchs iſt mir von meim Mann geſchehn/
Derſelb hat mir mit Bengeln hart/
Alſo gefahrt mein Lenden zart/
Vnd mich ſo zum Gehorſam bracht/
Weil ich jhn jederzeit veracht/
Deßh so will ich mit jedultigm Hertzen
Willig leiden ſolch Pein vnd Schmertzen.

Vnd legt ſich gewiß am Freytag.



Jhr mein liebe Nachbawrin all/
Nembt ein Beyſpiel ob meim Vnfall/
Habt vor Martre in höhren Ehrn/
Wie ſolchs die heilig Schrifft thut lehrn/
Seint jhm ghorſam vnd vnderthan/
Dann ich euch vermahnt will han/
Weil auch hiermit vor meinem Ende/
Mein letzten Willn vnd Teſtament
Gemacht han/ vnd mein frommen Mann/
All mein Nahrung zukommen kan

Hör Weib/ will du mich jederzeit

Geſchendet haſt/ vnd wohl gekeift/
Mich nur geh itzen ſtets dein Narrn/
So will ich dir dein Hut nicht ſparn/
Sondern dein Lenden ſalben vnd ſchmirn/
Vnd dieſe Bengel off die probirn/
Die auch anhencken ein Denckzeichn/
Damit andre Weiber deins gleichn/
Auch ein Scheuel mögn zu ſehn/
Vnd ihren Männern freundtlich vnder Augn gehn.

Jch bin ein kraffts kranckes Weib/

Zerbrochen iſt mir mein Kopff vnd Leib/
Daß ich kaum weder gehn noch ſtehn/
Solchs iſt mir von meim Mann geſchehn/
Derſelb hat mir mit Bengeln hart/
Alſo gefahrt mein Lenden zart/
Vnd mich ſo zum Gehorſam bracht/
Weil ich jhn jederzeit veracht/
Deßh so will ich mit jedultigm Hertzen
Willig leiden ſolch Pein vnd Schmertzen.

Jhr mein liebe Nachbawrin all/

Nembt ein Beyſpiel ob meim Vnfall/
Habt vor Martre in höhren Ehrn/
Wie ſolchs die heilig Schrifft thut lehrn/
Seint jhm ghorſam vnd vnderthan/
Dann ich euch vermahnt will han/
Weil auch hiermit vor meinem Ende/
Mein letzten Willn vnd Teſtament
Gemacht han/ vnd mein frommen Mann/
All mein Nahrung zukommen kan

Hörts dann am Sambſtag.



Weil ich dann nun auß dieſer Welt
Abſcheiden muß/ als Gott gefelt/
So bitt ich euch hertzlieber Schatz/
Jhr wolts verzihen mir den Tratz/
Den ich euch als ich bey euch hab/
Dick vnd offt gar freundtlich ab/
Bitt euch nun zu meim letzten End/
Mein Seel/ O Gott in deine Händt/
Wöllt mir die Sünden gnedig ſeyn/
Vnd mich ins Himmels Reich nehmen ein.

Hö begrebſt du ſie am Sontag.



Nach dem nun iſt mein böſes Weib
Geſtorben ab/ vnd ich jhrn Leib
Nach Chriſtlicher Ordnung vnd Brauch/
Statlich vnd ehrlich begraben auch/
Vnd jhr heraus ihr letzte Ehr
Erwieſen thun nach ihrem Begerr/
Damit andre Leut an der Statt/
Mögten ſehen wie ſie lieb gehabt/
Vnd mich ein ſchöne Jungfraw nehm/
Damit ich bald wider ein Weib kem.

Vnd darauff machſt ein gutn Montag.



Weiln nun die Begräbnuß iſt volnbracht/
So will ich hiermit vff dieß Nacht
Mit guten Frunden das Leyd verdrincken/
Daß wir vnter die Bäuch ſincken/
Vnd den Trawrbecher lan rumher gehn/
So lang vnſer einer kan ſtehn/
Darmit meim Weib jhr Seelmeß halt/
Spiele auff jhr Spelleut/ ſo Gott walt/
Seye frölich/ luſtig/ vnter Ding/
All mein Trawren ſehre jetzt dahin/
Dann ich vom Fegfewr erlöſt bin

Proteſtation an alle Ehrliebende/ fromme/ vnd gütige Weiber.

In dieſen oberzehlen Reimen/
Thut man nur böſe Weiber meinen

Von gätzen aber vnd gelimpff
Jſt hierinn kein böß Wort zu finden.

Dann ſolch ſeind aller Ehren wehrt/
Welchm Mann nun Gott ein ſolch beſchert/

Derſelb kann jhm nicht gnug drumb dancken/
Derhalb thut ich ohn alles wancken/

Es wols ein jed zum beſtn verſtehn/
Vnd dencken/ es thet ſie nit angehn.

8–9. German. *A precious, good, hallowed recipe for men who have shrewish wives* (c. 1620).

"A bachelor decided to marry a certain girl who immediately became disobedient. He asked his neighbor what he should do to cure her poisonous tongue and quarrelsome nature. The neighbor replied that he had been much too permissive, and that this had brought out her domineering character; he recommended the following treatment in order to be rid of her:

1. If you have a shrewish wife on Sunday

I am plagued day and night, at table and in bed, with my wife's grumbling and biting, throwing and fighting. I shall teach her obedience, if it cost me my life.

2. Drive into the wood on Monday

I'll drive to the wood and seek the ingredients for my recipe, which shall consist of a good plant to lay upon my wife's back and soften her up; for plants have great healing power, if applied in good time.

3. And cut sticks on Tuesday

I cut a big pile of strong sticks in the wood, in order to give my wife a good licking and pasting, and pay her back for all her wicked insults.

If Isselburg's so-called *ABC of Marriage* sets the pessimistic tone for the whole group of marriage satires, Fürst's *Well tested recipe to cure the evil disease of disobedient wives* (8-8) plunges us straight into characteristic physical and psychological horrors. There is an idyllic opening, however, rather similar to Isselburg's: the choosing of the bride beneath a joyous sky hung with fiddles. Fürst omits the happy wedding banquet in order to pass directly into the first rift. Life with a domineering, nagging wife, amidst the chaos of undisciplined children, is pungently conveyed by the engraver, while Fürst's verses (presumably of his own invention) imitate the eloquent cursing of the "viper-tongued" wife. The husband finally takes good advice and drives off to prepare his only remedy, returning, a true disciple of Sachs, to beat the nine skins of evil off his wife's back. This final scene is truly frightening, for neither the intervention of the maid, nor the repentance of the wife, nor the terrified prayers of her children, can prevent the brutal murder. The verse meanwhile indulges in sadistic onomatopeia worthy of the modern American strip. In the background, the funeral procession files by the tavern where the husband cynically celebrates his liberation. The pitiless conclusion, which is confirmed in both picture and verse, leaves no room for the hope held out by Sachs, that "kindness and reason" might prevail before such violence becomes necessary. The treatment recommended by Sachs was intended to be corrective; that described in Fürst's broadsheet is clearly vindictive.

Fürst's engraver has told his tale with unusual richness and clarity. He has employed two devices which foreshadow the deliberately structured narrative of Hogarth: the placing of symbolic pictures on the wall (in scenes 2 and 4—an imperious portrait of the wife, an allegory of discipline, and a battle-scene), and the insertion of linking incidents in the background—the premonitory funeral procession (1), the husband at the entrance to the Stag tavern (2), and asking advice of a friend (3). The verbal and pictorial references to Nürnberg add a degree of local color rare in the popular print.

A similar story is recounted on the basis of a popular rhyme which suggests that the whole chain of events encompasses a single, nine-day week (8-9). Even the momentary illusion of happiness at the betrothal is now eliminated, while separate scenes are devoted to ominous or painful phases not illustrated in the Fürst print, such as the cutting of the sticks (described only in the verse), or those phases placed in the background, such as the wife's funeral ceremony and the post-funeral revelry. This stress upon the turbulent joy of the widower seems particularly cruel, and his boast that he gave his wife a grand funeral in order to persuade people that he had loved her seems the very essence of hypocrisy; on the other hand, we recognize that the widower's expressed intention to seek a pretty young girl as the next wife represents the height of folly and the surest source of further misery. The husband has not learned the lesson that prevention is better than cure, and the moral of the story may be dual: that if there is no cure, this side of death, for the shrewish wife, neither is there a cure for the folly of men who marry for the wrong reasons.

The English recommended the same medicine on the same terms (daily for a nine-day week), according to a prescription which comes in the single-setting, rather than strip format (8-10). Again in Germany, we find that another engraver increases the dosage, the medicine to be taken once monthly for a year (8-11). In this instance, however, we are shown the symptoms of the disease, which are not dismissed under the general heading of "shrewishness" (*boshafftigkeit*) but rendered in detail: gluttony, malicious gossip, neglect of the house, extravagant clothes, and promenading with

4. Beat her soundly on Wednesday
Listen to me, woman, since you have constantly maltreated me and taken me for a fool. I shall not spare your skin, but lick and paste your backside, and leave a memento on you to serve as an example to other shrewish wives.
5. To make her fall ill on Thursday
I am ill and weak, cannot even walk or stand, because my husband has pasted my tender sides. I will patiently endure the pain, because I have been disobedient and contemptuous.
6. And surely take to her bed on Friday
O Neighbors all, take my plight as a warning; respect and obey your husbands, as the Holy Scriptures command. I now wish to make my last will and Testament and leave everything to my good husband.
7. If she then die on Saturday
Since it is God's will that I leave this world, I beg my beloved darling of my heart, forgive me my insolence. I surrender my soul into thy hands, O Lord, and entreat mercy on my sins.
8. You may bury her on Sunday
Now that my shrewish wife is dead, I will give her a decent and proper Christian funeral, and pay her the last honors, according to her wishes, so that other people will think I loved her well. Then I will find myself a lovely young girl, so as not to remain a widower.
9. And have a happy Monday
The very evening of the funeral, I shall drown my sorrow in wine and drink myself under the table. The cup of mourning shall pass around as long as one of us can still stand on his feet, and we shall sing a mass for the soul of my deceased wife. Strike up, musicians, in godly fashion, be merry, for all my sorrow is gone now that I am released from Purgatory.
Protestation to all honest, pious and gentle wives. The above verses refer only to shrewish wives, not good ones. So I beg that no female reader should imagine that she is intended."

8–10. Thomas Cecill. *A New Yeares guift for Shrews* c. 1630.



Schön/ Köstliche / vnd bewehrte Recept / für die Regier vnd Monsüchtigen böſen Faulen/ vnartigen / Weiber / wie dieſelben Monatlich zu Curiren ſein / zu ſonderbahren Ehren / der nicht viel Tugenden / vnachtſamen Frawen / ſampt jhren geſpielen / zum Meß kram oder kurtzweyl verehret.

Als ich zu meinen Jahren kam/
vnd mich die nehr dann triebe an/
In die hauſhaltung zu begeben.
Zu führen ein Ehrliches leben/
Do mir gelt mir zu meinem leib/
Ein frem/ ehrliches, keuſches weib
Erlöſch mich noch einer vmb ſrem
So ehrlich / weis hübſch vnd.
Tugentſam von ſiten / vnd geberdt
Endlich wirdt ich einer gewerth.

War ſchön / auff der gaſſen Ryſch fürbas/
Für andern / meind ſie hört wachſen das graß/
Da ſie aber zur haußhaltung kam.
Fing ſie vnordenlich zuleben an
Groſſen vbermuth ſie treiben Thudt/
Gutt trincken / gar bißlein ſie ſiets hat.
Das Müſſig / vnd Spatzieren gehn.
Theit jhr zum aller beſten an ſtehen
Wann ſie diſes nicht haben Kund.
Latt ich bey jhr kein gute Stundt/

Vnd hat lange Zeit mitt jhr groß Plag.
Biß Ich mitt mein Nachbarn Rahr pfleg/
Wie ich möcht abkommen den dinger.
Vnd ſie von ſolcher Vnart bringen
Riett / deß Ich folgent Mittel braucht.
Welches mich dann auch Am beſten daucht/
Es deet aber gar Wenig helffen.
Wo nichts guts in iſt / kompt hinein ſelten/
Zu letzt da ſie hett gut gethan.
Nam der Todt vnd nam ſie darvon/



Im Erſten Mond vnd Newen Jahr/
Leſt ſich mein fraw woll an fur war.
Mit Jhren Freunden vnd geſpiellen/
Thut ſie jhren wanſt vnd kragen Fullen.
Ich aber muß vorlieb thun nemen/
Mit vernutzen worden / muß mich deß ſchemen.
Darumb Ichs jhr woll geſagnen will/
Mit eim 5. Pfundigen Beſem Stiel.

Sie ligt beim Fewer / ſchläfft vnd voll ein
Die katz daß fleiſch auſem Haffen frißt.
Der hund jhm Schanck auch thutt dasgleichen/
Sie leſt allen hauß rahr Vmher ſchleichen.
Mitt 6. Pfund vngebrander Aſchen/
Muß ich ſie darvor woll thun Waſchen.
Vnd Zwagen dieſes Vngeheuwer/
Kan ſich woll Wider trucknen beym Fewer.

Es hat die liebe Faßnachts zeitt.
Mein weib auch gehalten mit vollen leib/
Vnd jhr auch noch nichts mangelen leſt.
Soldts koſten / Rock / Wandel / vnd das beſt/
Muß ſehen ob Ichs jhr kan vertreiben.
Mitt dem ein Tretenden Safft von weiden/
Vmgſicht ſie oft damitt geſchmierd.
Vielleicht ſich jhr geyhen verliert/



In diſer Frölichen Mayens Zeitt/
Iſt mein Fraw Luſtig vnnd bereytt.
Mitt ihres gleichen Stets ſpatziern zu gehn/
Es ehn gleich daheimme wis es woll ſtehen.
Ich will Wann ſie kompt ſchön empfangen/
Bey ihren Krauſen haaren ee langen.
Spatzieren auch mitt jhr herumb/
Jhm hauß die lauge / dunger / vnd / krumm/

Meint mein fraw wer nun fleiſſig im hauß.
Steckt ſie den Kopff zum fenſter rauß/
Thut die leitt auß richten vnd nur Zancken.
Mit den Nachtbarn / ohn ſchew vnd wancken/
Diſen Mond den Schaffn man nimbt die woll.
Drumb ich ſie auch beſcheren ſoll/
Zuvor jhr binden hend / vnd Fuß.
Tractirn ſie dann ſeuberlich vnd ſüß/

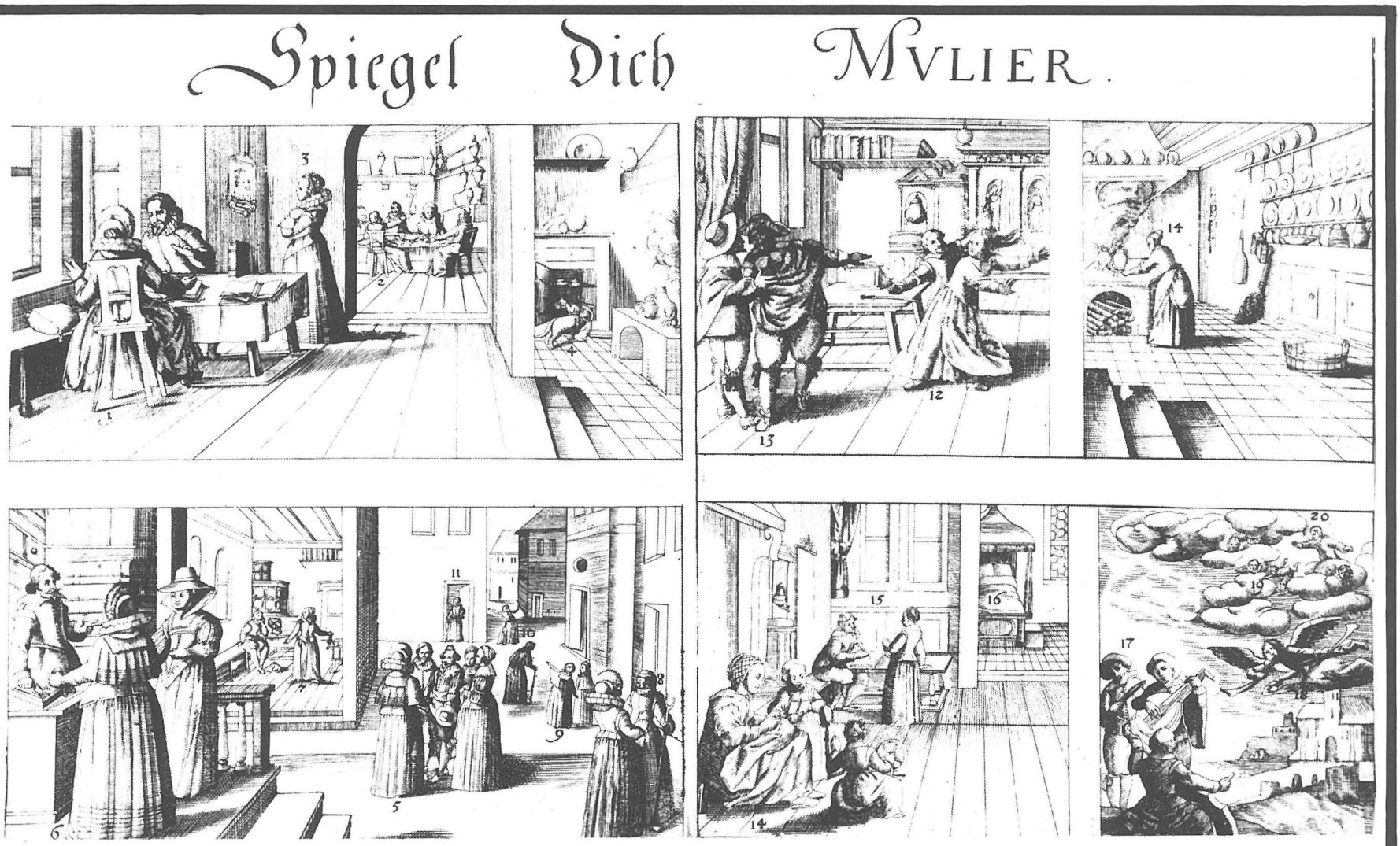


8–11. Frankfurt. *Fine, precious, and hallowed recipe for crazy, domineering, shrewish, idle, wayward wives, to be used as a monthly cure* (c. 1620).

"I married a pretty wife, but once established in the house, she became disorderly—bossy, drunken, idle, often absent from home—I never had a quiet hour with her. But I sought the advice of a neighbor, who recommended the following (actually it helped little, and only death relieved me of her):

1. In the first month of the new year, she feasts and gossips with her friends, for which I bless her with a five-pound broom handle. 2. She sits by the fire and sleeps; the cat and the dog steal the meat, the whole place is in a mess, so I coat her with six pounds of ashes. 3. At Carnival time, my wife dresses up in the most expensive clothes, so I give her a good drubbing. 4. (missing) 5. In May, my merry wife goes out for walks, and abandons the house; when she returns I'll give her a fine reception, and march her by the curly hair about the house. 6. She does nothing but quarrel with the neighbors; I'll tie her up and deal with her good and proper. 7. My fat and idle wife cannot bestir herself, so that I am obliged to prepare my own meals—if only I could find the porridge and water-jug. 8. She lies in bed with the tyrant's disease. I'll relieve her pain with such a clyster, that the blood will flow around. 9. She should be cured by now; if not, I'll starve her. If this doesn't work, I know of no other method. 10. She repents and improves somewhat—if she's not faking—which must mean that she is nearing her end and that my luck is turning. 11. She is dead, God be praised for having relieved me of this plague. 12. Neighbor, dear neighbor, I cannot remain a lonely widower. Find me a more pious woman, if you can.

P.S. I am not of course referring to the virtuous, but the disobedient sort of woman."



8–12. German. *Woman, you are mirrored here* (c. 1630).
"Scene A: 1. Women want to engage in intellectual pursuits. They drivel on in biblical controversy, Latin discourse, and bad verses; they read literary romances, meddle in politics, lap up the news, and turn it to evil gossip. 2. They feast happily all day long without counting the cost, and 3. preen themselves before the mirror, with ever new ruffs and bodices, and other such improper and useless foreign fashions. 4. They neglect the household.

other men. These sins are punished on the spot and along the way, as it were, and are exhausted by the ninth scene, at which point the expiation takes over altogether, gradual but final. Constant beatings and starvation serve their fatal purpose; but immediately after the death of the shrew, the widower is looking for a replacement. The cycle will surely begin again.

A respite from marital murders is a strip in which the punishment has a reformatory rather than lethal purpose (8-12). There is only one beating incident, and a quarter of the space is given over to the behavior of the virtuous wife. The vices themselves are more broadly conceived, including not only nagging, gossip, sartorial extravagance and lecherous behavior, but also intellectual pretensions. The attack on *précieuses ridicules*, and upon "foreign" fashions, is borne in the very language of the verse, which constitutes almost a dictionary of foreign words, and uses the Frenchified ending of "-iren" as a rhyme throughout. All this indicates the influence of a self-contained group of *allamodo* satires of the years 1628-30, which ridicule Germans affecting French language and dress, the *Allamodo Monsieur* and the *Sprachverderber*.[10]

10. Cf. Coupe, p. 99ff.

Scene B (below): 5. They behave provocatively towards strangers and generally go gadding about. 6. They dissipate the family finances, 7. molest and nag their husbands, stir up trouble, swear and fulminate with a thousand curses. 8. They consort with old witches, who teach them coquetry. 9. They mock and insult old people, 10–11. offend or corrupt just about everyone, and (5) encourage the young to indulge their appetites, foul their own nest with lechery, and destroy many a marriage.
Scene C: 12. These women should be given a good punch in the mouth, or have their sides drubbed. 13. The treatment should be continued ceaselessly until they learn to behave, virtuously to obey their husbands—and to keep silence, which becomes a woman.
Scene D: 14. (also in C above) You women should labor in the kitchen, sew, spin, bring up good obedient children in a peaceful and tidy house, set an example of veracity, honesty, modesty, piety and prudence. 15. Try to please your husband, and 16. never cheat on your conjugal duties. If you behave thus, I shall celebrate and honor you with music, and you will earn immortal praise from the angels and from God himself."

Another strip boldly suggests a cure for the disobedient wife other than beating (8-13). The title of the print deceptively promises the female reader a cure for an irascible husband, but we soon realize that the prescription (which again is to be followed daily over a nine-day week) is designed to allay a just anger caused by wifely insubordination. Instead of the husband having to seek advice, it is the wife who does so, spontaneously, from an old witch. The latter recommends her to submit, and takes her fee for this good advice in the form of three hams, by means of a curious trick. The wife decides to become a new woman without any apparent coercion, apart from the evidence she secretly observes of her husband's pious despair. Peace is celebrated at table and in bed.

Weiber Recept/

Das ist/ Kurtzer vnd ordentlicher Bericht/wie sich die Weiber gegen ihre Hitzige vnd geschwind zornige Männer verhalten/auch wie sie derselbigen Jhnen freundlich vnd holdselich machen sollen.

Welch ein schwinden Mann am Sontag hat/ Die brauch am Montag guten Raht/ Se[illegible]man ihr am Dienstag wol/



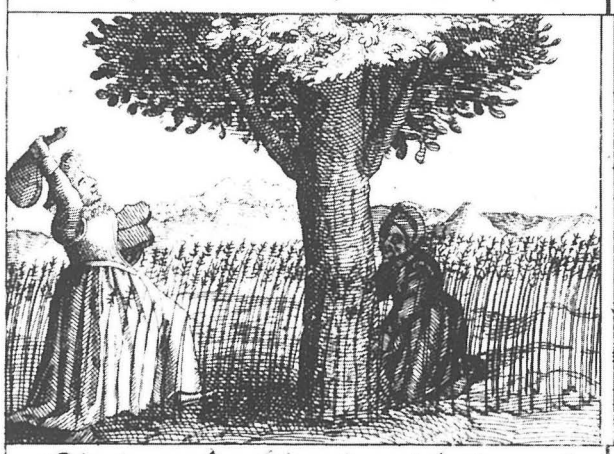
Was sie am Mitwoch brauchen soll.



Das ihr man am donnrstag wend vmb.



Vnd sey am freytag still vnd frumb.



Werd am sambstag freundlich darnebn.

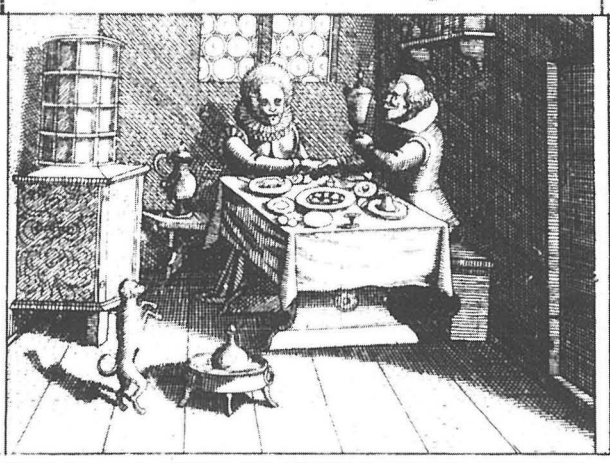


So fans ein frölichen sontag gebn.



Drauf folgt ein frischer montag eben.







8–13. German. *Wives' Recipe—Brief and exact report how women should treat their hot-tempered and irascible husbands, and how they can make them pleasant and friendly* (c. 1620).
"Whoever has a violent husband on Sunday / Needs good advice on Monday / To teach her(?) on Tuesday / What she needs on Wednesday / To cure her husband on Thursday / Make him quiet and pious on Friday / He becomes friendly on Saturday / Which makes a happy Sunday. / There follows a fresh Monday." Prologue: The devil of marriage causes endless mischief, with nagging, quarrels, fighting, murder and plague. Wedlock becomes deadlock (*Ehstand wird Wehstand*). Mumbling and grumbling, fear and distress, that is the husband's daily bread. "1. A woman has an obstinate husband who refuses to submit to her. 2. So she goes to an old witch, who sets up her magical instruments. 3. The witch points to a hemp-sown field with an apple-tree, at which she tells the wife to 4. throw three large hams. The old woman sits behind the tree (i.e. to collect the hams?), then tells the wife to go home and obey her husband in all things. 5. She accordingly returns to her husband whom she finds brooding at home. 6. He retires to another room to beg that God render his wife obedient; she meanwhile watches through a slit in the wall. 7. She thereupon promises never to disobey him again, and they shake hands on the deal. 8. To celebrate the reconciliation, the wife invites her husband to a delicious banquet which she has prepared specially, and the husband drinks a toast to her. 9. Thus peace is made. Henceforth whenever the husband works at home, she stays with him so that he never has cause to be angry with her. She obeys him at the table and in the bed."

2. *Women's privileges*

The most frankly humorous treatment of the theme of the domineering woman is found in a strip with a text based on a mock statute, and entitled *Women's Privileges* (8-14). The solemn pleonasms of legal language were often the subject of parody in the later Middle Ages, just as the visual symbols of the law, coat-of-arms and emblems of power, were turned (by the Lutherans for instance) to satirical purposes. The verse to our strip, which indulges in much Fischartian word-coinage and some simple nonsense, ends with the reminder that the Privileges are valid for only three years, after which time the situation shall return to normal—"normal" being as illustrated in the emblem with which the statutory document is sealed: the man solemnly beating his wife. This "male seal" is an open reassurance to the male reader not to take such a feminist utopia too seriously; after all, if the male has granted the Privileges in the first place, he can always revoke them. The Privileges are presented as an impressively comprehensive package: first, the right to bear arms, then control of the exchequer, which carries with it a veto over the husband's drinking rights. In this Topsy-Turvy World, the male becomes his wife's valet, kitchen-maid and butler, and panders to her sloth, gluttony and lust for entertainment. As a crowning insult, she has full liberty to cuckold her husband with some "smooth priest" (8), and even make him be glad to adopt her paramour's offspring.

Many of the designs of the *Women's Privileges* reappear in a single-setting satire called *Women's Mandate* (8-15a), which illustrates three motifs not engraved in the strip (the husband warming his wife's shift, dusting down her clothes, and undergoing a beating). There is also a print of similar format which seems to have been conceived as a pendant (8-15b), for it shows the male counterpart endowed with all the privileges *he* could crave—all those, in fact, which he had previously granted his wife. Here at last is the satire on the domineering, slothful, lecherous husband, who expects his wife to pander to all his vices. It is probable that if *Men's Decree* (*Männerbefehlich*) is pendant to *Women's Mandate*, there was also a *Male Privileges* strip corresponding to the *Women's Privileges* strip, which I have been unable to trace. This might merely have shown in strip arrangement the motifs already present in the single-setting *Men's Decree*, or else it might have owed something to another strip, which drops the legalistic trappings in text and image and recounts in straightforward fashion the behavior of a "strange woman" supposedly brought over by a merchant from India (8-16). Apart from the usual services as the perfect cook and humble servant, the "strange woman" proves herself something of a specialist in the encouragement of her husband's weakness for gambling. This part of the story is related in an unusually close-knit and very amusing sequence of five episodes, which culminate in her supporting the penniless drunken sot home, and contentedly cleaning up his vomit. Thereupon she proves herself an imaginative accomplice to his debauchery, for she stands in a brothel holding a candle for the drunken reveller, as he dances with a pretty young thing, lest he bang himself against a wall—a charming notion to which the engraver hardly does credit. There is a pay-off which is both amusing and sobering: the strange woman, being possessed of miraculous learning and eloquence, opens a school for instruction in her rare virtues but is spurned by her fellow-townswomen. Which is why she remains unique in the whole wide world, sighs the verse-writer, tongue in cheek to the end. A strip such as this helps to balance the one-sided impression left by so much misogynistic satire. Like the *Men's Decree* and *Women's Mandate*, our last prints on this theme (a pair of single-setting narratives) balance each other exactly, with the difference that the crimes are not masked as privileges (8-17 a & b). The husband should prevent the wife from neglecting the household for the sake of idle gossip, and from dressing up and going out in order to "show off her little breasts to other men"; the wife should discourage her husband from peering down the cards (etc.) of other women at the card-table. The cure for such vices is traditional and becomes the dominant motif in each print, but it is based upon the corrective birch rather than the lethal cudgel. The man delivers forehand upon his peccant wife who leans upon an upholstered chair, the woman demonstrates her skill in the backhand stroke upon a penitent spouse who kneels at a wooden stool. It is he who suffers worst, for he has already caught it in the bedroom from a bunch of keys, which, to judge from the cartoons of the age, made a handy and effective weapon.

The German marriage satires present a view of marital relations composed of three parts bitterness and one part humor. The moral ingredient is hard to measure. The crueller strips usually end with a hollow-sounding editorial disclaimer, which tries to dispel the idea that the vicious shrew depicted represents all women; the gentle female reader herself, who is of course virtuous, has no cause to take offense. The gentle female reader could not but recognize, however, that her sex as a whole was under fire, as was the very institution of marriage, without which, in a Protestant community, she was without honor. The broadsheets do not try to conceal the fact that the Fall of Man was due to the weakness of Adam as well as to the wickedness of Eve. The husband is condemned for marrying without due forethought, and for allowing his wife to turn into a shrew who, once established in power, will never surrender it willingly. But even the obedient wife has certain rights, and in assuming complete license for himself and denying all freedom to his wife, the husband forfeits his right of command. The strips satirizing male fantasies of omnipotence temper those which outwardly seem brutally misogynistic. We observe on the one hand unnatural forms of obedience and on the other disobedience and its due punishment. The theme of obedience which underlies all the marriage strips is not elaborated in a sexual sense. In this respect there seems to be a marked difference between broadsheet imagery and that of the higher forms of moralizing art, with their stress upon the stories of Salome, Bathsheba, and Judith. In the German strips, the marital problem is not so much sexual as economic and social, in the wider sense. The wife's besetting sin is Pride rather than Lust; her husband fears social subjection more than cuckoldry.



8–14. German. *The Privileges and Freedom of Women. A brief report on the procedure by which all wives desirous of ruling their husbands are to be granted and vouchsafed various privileges and freedoms by their commanding officers* (c. 1650).

"Most gracious Foeminarius, Governor of the past and present, Knight of the Narrow- and Broadway, outsize dwarf from head to feet, Prince of Grumble- and Mumblemount, of Chatterton, Washam and Quarrelfort; Regent of the most honourable Company of Wives, Lord of Laundrey, Hereditary Steward of Quarrel-and-Dispute Valley (a fat and thin, tall and short official in the High Court of Females)—We Company of Wives do most humbly petition that since in our inferior position we have had to suffer so sorely from our husbands, we be most graciously granted some statutory privileges, as follows: 1. First: we grant all wives, young and old, desirous of ruling their husbands, the right to bear arms—from dagger to rapier—and to parade thus in the open street; further, the right to elect at all times their own mayor and civic officials. 2. (and 8–15a, extreme left) Moreover: every husband shall show unqualified obedience to his wife. He shall never against his wife's knowledge and desire take wine or beer. He may, however, drink as much water as he likes, day or night. He shall surrender all monies to his wife, who shall be treasurer. If he should require money to buy half a measure of wine, he must ask permission. 3. (and 8–15a, foreground right) Item: when the wife goes out to a party, the husband shall brush her clothes for her, and shall not send for her prematurely. In the late evening, he shall readily fetch her and wait upon her at table until she is ready to return, at which time he must carry the torch to light her way. 4. Further: if it is cold, the husband shall go to bed early and warm up the sheets for her; he must rise early, light the stove and cook her a nice little wine soup, prepare a fried fowl and lay the table. This must be done in silence, lest she waken from her slumbers; he shall check from time to time whether she is ready to rise. 5. (and 8–15a, *Weibermandat*, background left) When the moment comes, he must have her chemise warm and ready for her; he can then announce breakfast. After she has eaten her fill, the husband must gnaw at the leftovers. Meanwhile he must take the greatest care not to offend his wife in any way. 6. Moreover: the husband shall industriously do all the housework without prior instructions from his wife. The wives may go as early as they like to drink brandy and wine (Malmsey, Rhenish or Corinthian), for everything is permitted. They can entertain in bed with dice or cards; the husband meanwhile is at home polishing the benches, chairs, dishes and plates. 7. If she feels like taking a hot bath, or going to some spa—be it Baden, Embser, Wiesbaden, Göppeng, Zell, Wilbad or Schwalbach—the husband shall have her driven there in a carriage, and provide her with plenty of cash, and a maid to take his place. 8. Should she be attracted to some smooth priest, the husband may do nothing to hinder the affair. If an heir result from this, the husband shall be heartily glad. 9. But these freedoms which are undertaken at the grantees' own risk, are valid for only three years. We herewith place our seal of approval upon this document in our castle of Klapperstone near Washam, in the year following the preceding one."



8–15a. Paul Fürst of Nürnberg (1641). *General Women's Mandate, proclaiming and announcing their freedoms, which is granted for a period of three years in one summer, and which shall be observed by men, on pain of punishment, as follows:* (see 8–14 for text).

8–15b. Paul Fürst of Nürnberg. *Recently published, most solemn, highly penal and inviolable Male Decree addressed to all worthless, useless would-be men.*

"We, Grand and Archduke of the brown Indians, of both Asias, Europeans, Aphricans, Prince of Maiden Island, hereditary Lord of Womanland, Manham, Lordcastle etc . . . bid you hear the words of our Chancellor Lord Womanmaster.

First: Woman shall be subject to man, never scold him, never look affectionately upon any child, let alone man, without her husband's knowledge. She shall remain at home like a snail, and not go running in and out like a mousing-dog, gossiping with the neighbors. (*Fine little man behind himself(?) as the hens do scratch, if you women do this you are real fools.*)

Second: The husband shall be left alone on a star-lit night; encouraged to take a walk in the morning; allowed to sleep at night, to lie in bed (in the morning), and if he doesn't feel like working, to go for a drink. She shall wait for him to return, however late the hour, embrace him joyfully, undress him gently, and take him to bed, soothing him with honeyed words of love. (*Fine little man behind himself (?) as the hens do scratch, if you women do this, you are real fools.*)

Third: If the drunken husband, returning late, should strike his wife, she shall say not a word at the time, apologize later, and resolve that next time a delicious dinner shall await him. (*Fine little man behind himself (?) as the hens do scratch, if you women do this, you are real fools.*)

Fourth: Since woman has no greater treasure on earth, she must wait upon him, give him money, pay his debts, feed him and dress him well. (*Fine little man behind himself (?) as the hens do scratch, if you women do this you are real fools.*) Should his chamber-puss be lacking in respect, and draw the sword of her tongue, he may hit her on the sheath. A woman who fails in her duties shall be thumped by her husband, subjected to punishment soups and unburned ashes, which will silence the female's wrath and her rattle-bag. Remember, all men must conquer, and all women must take this lying down; complaints are reserved for day-time, and no woman has yet complained that her husband made marriage a misery at night. *Sealed* with the *Seal of Male Strength* (which is broken by *the Seal of Female Cunning*."



8–16. German. *News of a most amazing woman whom a merchant recently brought over by sea from India* (c. 1620).

"1. A merchant brought home this strange woman, whom he took as his wife. She was always patient, and addressed him modestly "Darling, since you brought me such joy last night, I am bringing you baked eggs and vermouth wine, but if you would prefer Rheinfall, I could refresh you with that as well." 2. After breakfast, the strange woman said brightly "Lord and Darling, I'm sure you feel like taking a walk in the market-place or in the fields, or anywhere. Please don't hesitate to make a trip to Wildbad (baths), or to go shooting, or girl-watching; do just as you like." 3. On the market-place he entertained his friends in a tavern. He gambled away all he had on him, and arrived home very late. He was sitting gloomily when his strange wife came and dissipated his melancholy with soft words. 4. She told him not to worry, but to try his luck again tomorrow, and to let her know if he ran out of stake-money. 5. The next day his strange wife brought him a well-cooked meal, gave him more money, and encouraged him to go out and win back what he had lost the day before. 6. Out he went with a light heart, and lost the lot. He sent for more money, which his strange wife brought personally, with a curtsey and friendly greeting. The husband bade her sit down with him in the hope that she would bring him luck. 7. When he had lost this money as well, he was so drunk that his wife had to support him on his way home (background). She undressed him, put him to bed, and watched over him until he fell asleep. Next morning she comforted him with the promise that a payment would arrive that day. 8. At midday a peasant arrived with his rent. The husband pocketed it, and went off to enjoy the company of some merry ladies; his strange wife arrived later with some good food. 9. In the evening, he became very gay and danced about with a young girl; the wife meanwhile held a candle for him, fearing he might knock himself against a wall. Afterwards, she lit his way home, without any sign of impatience. 10. This strange woman from India was married to the merchant in Candia (Crete). She could speak all foreign languages perfectly. She had a high spirit, and publicly advertised her intention to hold classes in her home in order to teach her own virtues to other women. 11. But the women refused the offer, saying that they had already been to school, where they had learned a different *grammar* and *syntax*, and how to *argue* and *conjugate* thousand of verbs; they knew nothing of *volumus* (we wish) but only of *nolumus* (we do not wish). They could state the *contrarium*, and were not dumb at all. 12. This strange woman was so eloquent that she could have converted Jew, Turk and even the Devil himself to Christianity. But these other women would not listen, which is why she remains a strange woman, unique of her kind in the whole wide world."


Albier hütte sich ein Jder Fraw / Dem langen Schwetzen nicht ver traw.
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
Albier hütt sich ein Jder Mann / Vnd reitz das Weib zum Zorn nicht an.
A
B
C
D

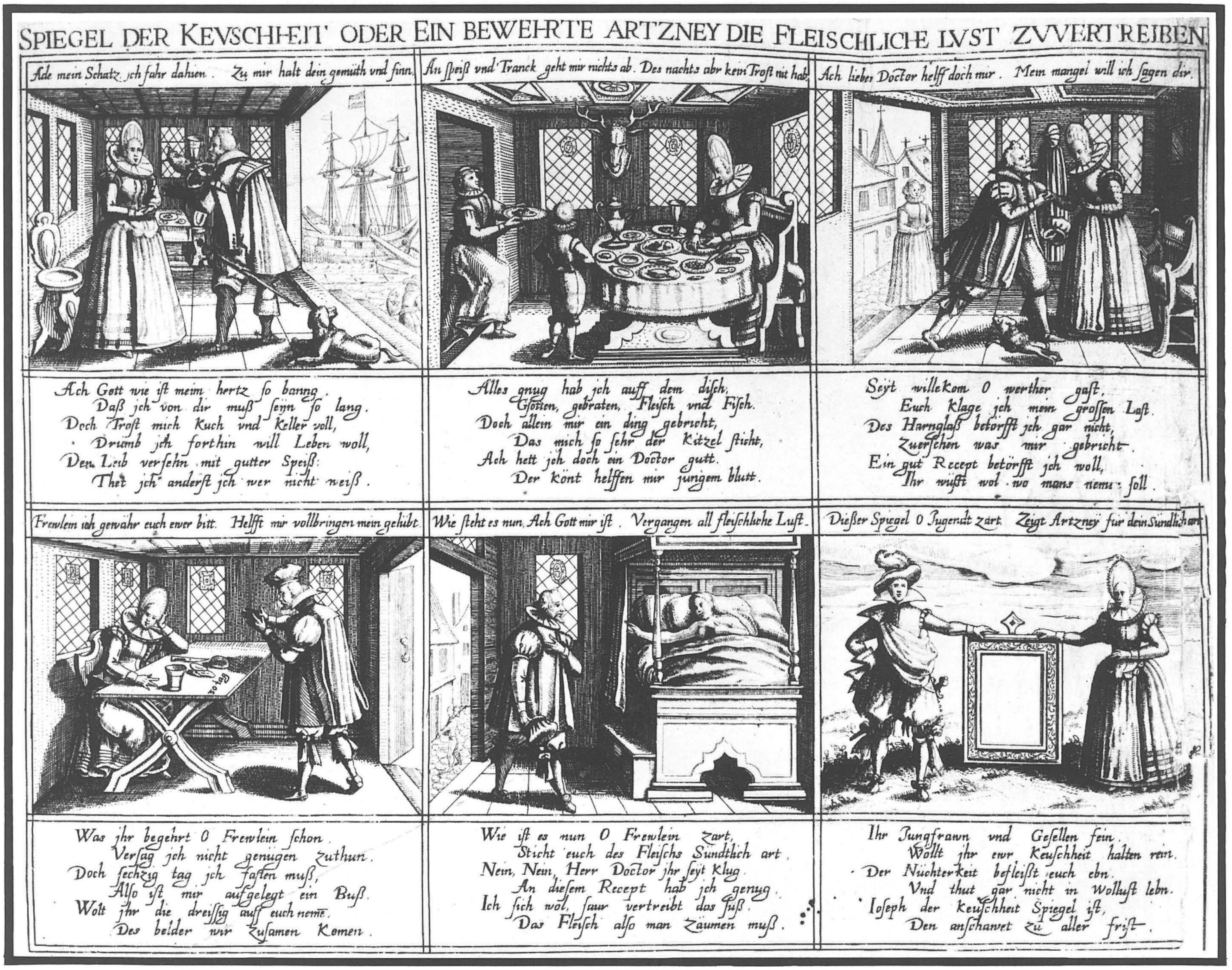
8–17a. German. *Let every wife beware of endless gossip* (c. 1650). The Man: "A. Woman, just look at the mess this house is in, where have you been all this time? Do you expect me to take this lying down? B. The cat and the dog have turned everything topsy-turvy, broken the dishes and jugs. C. The cupboard door is wide open. D. The sow has filled its belly with our food. E. This is the result of your incorrigible pastime of gossiping in the street, and F. paying other people secret visits. G. You deck yourself out in front of the mirror before going out to dinner with them, while I am ignored day and night. I can no longer overlook your infidelity (literally, look through my fingers at you), but must stand up for my rights as a man. H. I'll give you a good hiding and teach you to obey and love me."
The Woman: "O woe is me! Do stop, my beloved, I will be obedient in future and avoid doing anything to incur your wrath. I shall never leave the house before my duties are completed. Would to God, my most beloved husband, you had given me this treatment before, for I now recognize my guilt, I fall to your feet and kiss them. I have been led astray, I have gambled at will, and allowed others to kiss me; I liked to sit in the laps of other men, and to expose my little breasts to them. How light is my heart now that the birch has brought me to confess all this to you!"

If this group of broadsheets seems unusually coherent and tight, it is perhaps because of the complete lack of anything approaching the rake and harlot stories characteristic of the Italian broadsheet during this period. I know of only one strip which threatens to disturb this isolation (8-18). It treats adultery, and therefore marital relations, but hardly comes under the heading of satires on shrews; I reproduce it rather for completeness' sake, and because it is very finely engraved. The moral message, at last, is very plain. The artist of a strip already described (8-11, scene 9) recommends starvation as a cure for shrewishness (like Shakespeare's Petruchio); here the starvation is enforced, by the wit of the doctor, to cure adulterous desire. The antlers loom ominously over the second scene, as the grass widow sits surrounded by gastronomic delicacies; but her absent husband's and her own honor remain as spotless as the mirror held up to "tender youth" at the end. There were few popular moralists with this much confidence in the abstemiousness of women, or for that matter, in the integrity of doctors, whom they loved to depict "curing" their female patients by seducing them.

3. *Dutch marriage*

Contemporaries agreed that there was no civilized country in the world where women enjoyed a greater independence than in the Dutch Republic. The less charitable visitors, such as the French, attributed this to what they considered the natural coldness of the Dutch temperament. The Dutch were open and practical in matters pertaining to the role of women. Marriages were concluded only after the prospective couple had had a chance to get acquainted. Prostitution was well-regulated and to a certain extent officially licensed, and it is instructive to observe how art reflects, indirectly, the Dutchman's attitude to an age-old problem. The native iconography of love shows girls of sincerely innocent appearance reading their love-letters and awaiting their lovers, or else the open flirtation of some lusty woman, of whom it is idle to inquire whether she be a professional courtesan or the wife of a busy tradesman. To the dark Italian tavern scene, redolent of guilty passions and sinister enticement, we may contrast the luminous domestic interior of the Dutch home, where woman is mistress of a household, not of an amorous male. The frontispiece to a guide-book to Dutch

8–17b. German. *Let every husband beware of provoking his wife's wrath* (c. 1650).
"You dissolute man, I'll give you a fine welcome for forgetting to come home so often. A. (inset above) I'll take the measure of your ribs, so that you'll remember it. I'll use the keys on you to cool my anger, and pleading will be of no avail. B. I'll whip your breeches off you, since from now on I will be master here. C. Say, do you promise not to consort with women any more, sit by their side and peer into their cards? D. What were you doing with that woman all alone? Am I to put up with this? Shame on you, you degenerate wastrel, I'll give you another clout if you don't stop your gaming and tippling. Turn over a new leaf, I tell you, or else I'll start afresh."
Husband: "Woe is me, my dearest wife, please stop, although I have deserved it. Do stop, the keys are hurting me, you have beaten me to a pulp, I beg your mercy on my knees. I promise to reform and be your darling for ever. I shall keep out of mischief, leave you in charge of the cash, and really turn over a new leaf. I promise all this, if only you will release me from the punishment stool."



8–18. Cologne. *Mirror of Chastity, or a hallowed prescription for the cure of carnal desire* (c. 1650).

"1. The merchant, parting on a long voyage: 'Goodbye, my darling, I must leave now, be faithful to me. Remember, should you be troubled by sensual desire, confide in some man of learning, such persons are usually discreet.' 'O Lord, how nervous I am, to be left without you for so long. I'll keep my spirits up by nourishing my body, or I don't know what will happen to me.'

2. 'With all these gastronomic delicacies on the table to console me, I am still itching, especially at nights. If only I had a good doctor who would help me, youthful as I am.'

3. 'Good doctor, help me, this is my trouble. I don't need the urine-glass, but a good prescription for you know what.'

4. 'I cannot refuse your request, young lady, but I must tell you of an oath I swore three years ago, which obliges me, before I can show my love to any pretty young lady, to fast for sixty days. However, if you take on thirty of them for me, we'll be through with it and together in half the time.'

5. After thirty days, the doctor returned to the merchant's house, and saw that the wife was ill in bed. "Well now," he said, "shall we make love; I'm ready if you are.' 'I no longer desire your love at all, for my belly is quite hollow; this fasting has cured my amorous itch. You are right, the flesh must be tamed.'

6. So, my dear young readers, if you wish to preserve your chastity, be sober in your living and avoid excess. Remember Joseph, the model of chastity. Look into the mirror printed here, with which I bid you good night."

courtesans (8-19), far from attempting to titillate the reader, shows in sober practical terms the manner (unique to that nation of painters) in which the customer made his choice.

Problems of sexual morality preoccupied the Dutch artist—whether high-class painter or humble broadsheet engraver—less than it did his colleague in other countries. The Dutch did not fear harlots and rakes, and produced no harlot or rake picture stories such as we find in Italy and England. There are however some strips relating to marital morality, and in condemnation or ridicule of feminine power. The privileges of Dutch women astonished foreigners more than the Dutch themselves, who did not nurture anti-feminist satire like the Germans. A Frenchman, visiting the home of a wealthy Dutch bourgeois, describes how the hostess seated herself first, at the head of the table, with her maidservant familiarly next to her; the master and his manservant took what was left, in the matter of food as in that of seating. All was well until the master was rash enough to order the maidservant to get something for him. The mistress told her husband to go himself, since the servant was tired; a quarrel was only averted by the husband apologizing, and the episode ended with his stealing a kiss.[11]

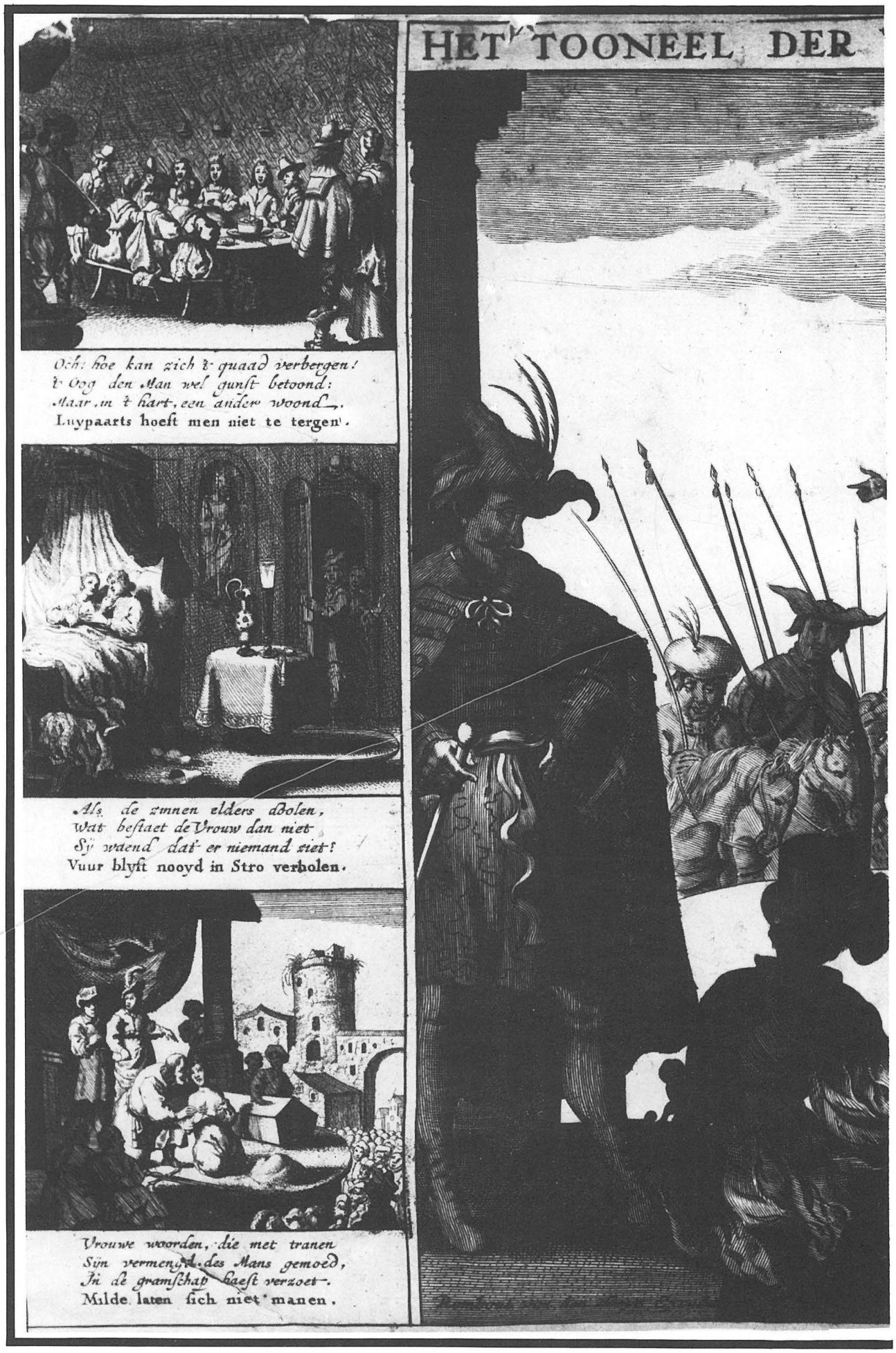
The voices raised against female power did not scream in homicidal anger as in the German strips, but intoned in somber concern, or else chuckled in amusement. Such is the—admittedly rather meager—evidence supplied by one beautiful narrative engraving, and a handful of crude chap-sheets. The former is entitled the *Theatre of Feminine Vindictiveness* (8-20). It ends in a death sentence, like some of the German strips; but it is invested with a sacral and allegorical, rather than bitterly realistic, character. In the arrangement of the scenes, and in its reversion to a medieval legend of a clearly judicial nature, the print is surely influenced by the "Justice" strips described at the beginning of this chapter (p. 157). This, then, is Justice, female-style. The moral hinges not upon the propensity of married people to commit adultery, but upon the contrast between the merciful nature of man and the heartlessness of woman. The husband forgives the infidelity of his wife, but when it is his turn to fall into temptation, the wife knows no mercy.

The Dutch engraver is at pains to render the story with as much dignity as possible. Not for him the vulgar antics of the quarrelling German couples. In defiance of the verses, which describe the wife as a roaring, bloodthirsty lioness, the engraver depicts her gravely setting aside her husband's remonstrances, as she delicately grasps the sword which she would have difficulty in lifting. The staging and the exotic costumes are reminiscent of the theater; it may be that the compositions and the choice of theme are influenced by the productions of the amateur literary clubs, the so-called "Chambers of Rhetoric" (*Rederijkerkammer*). The adultery is also depicted with considerable decorum. The wife is caught in *flagrante delicto*, unlike the husband who is engaged in the amorous preliminaries; but in both instances the engraver preserves the dignity of tone, showing the husband (described in the verse as "wallowing in sin with a filthy whore") seated with a wealthy courtesan in the most august surroundings.

11. Quoted by Zumthor, p. 136.



8–19. Dutch. Frontispiece to *Looking-Glass of the fairest Courtesans of these times* (1630).



8–20. Dutch. *The Theatre of Female Vindictiveness* (c. 1650).
Left: "1. How can the evil be hidden: the eye may look favorably upon the husband, but in the heart another dwells. *Never provoke a leopard.* 2. To what indulgence will not the straying senses of woman lead her? She thinks she is unobserved. *Fire never remains hidden in straw.* 3. Mingled with tears, the words of woman have softened the wrath of man. *Magnanimity is heedless.*"
Right: "1. The eye of man can also wander. The capricious fire of extramarital love makes gall and soot taste sugar-sweet. *No hills without valleys.* 2. Sin brings pleasure at first, then terror. *Thunder*



shakes the rocks. 3. It is hard to break a woman of her hatred. The more the man weeps, the more she hardens her heart. *Tigers are immovable.*"

"Once upon a time in the land of Sevenberg, there was a law which obliged any man or woman who had defiled the marriage bed, to offer up their life to their spouse. Not that a cruel executioner would strike off the guilty head; oh no, the man must slay his lewd wife himself, and the faithful wife must destroy her unfaithful husband (with her own hands).

Observe this strange story here, about a young woman who frivolously broke her faith. In muted tones, with brimming eyes, bound and bowed before the wretched sand, she cajoles her husband so skillfully, that he spares her life, pardons her, and brings her back home from the scaffold, so that she is able to go fearlessly about her business again, as wife and mistress of the house.

Not long after, a prostitute casts her lynx-like eyes upon this good man. He wallows blindly in foul sin, and is caught in whorish filth with this slut. The law thus places the broadsword in the hands of the wife, who is eager to make her husband's blood mingle with the sand. Despite his brave pleas, she is inexorable, ignores his tears, and takes up the naked sword. Although he reminds her of the fact that he had pardoned her infidelity, she craves his death, and roaring like a lioness, strikes him in the neck and cleaves his ineffectual words. She seizes the head by the hair, and gives the corpse over to the necessary grave. Hence the proverb: "Where a woman's blood is brought to the boil, her lust for revenge will simmer until satisfied.' "

From the highest level of broadsheet art, we pass to the lowest: a chap-sheet which was probably known in the seventeenth century, although by the costume the designs would date from early or mid-eighteenth century (8-21). The German strips have familiarized us with the sequence of happy marriage, wedding banquet, and immediate quarrels; but in the Dutch story of Urban and Isabel, the blame is laid squarely upon the husband. It is he who absconds with the household funds and becomes completely degenerate. Meanwhile, poor Isabel is obliged to seek a divorce, and Urban spends some years in abject misery. When he finally returns, a repentant beggar, he is at first unrecognized by his wife. Isabel is overjoyed to take him back, forgives him heartily, and they celebrate an unequivocally happy ending. The moral contrast with the German strips could hardly be greater, and tends to confirm the evidence of the literary sources, that the Dutch adopted a peculiarly enlightened attitude towards women and marriage. Even as late as the mid-nineteenth century it was difficult in most European countries for a woman to sue for divorce on grounds of desertion and adultery; the inclusion of such a notion in a broadsheet from an earlier period is proof enough that to the Dutch, such divorces were a real possibility and a socially desirable solution. The true moral of the story lies of course in the generosity of the wife, and the repentance of the husband.

A less edifying, simply farcical—and more German—view of marital problems is contained in the brief account of Jack and Meg (8-22), whose post-nuptial life consists of continuous war, escalating in six stages. After an initial victory, Jack suffers total defeat, surrendering the breeches and continuing to be persecuted while performing his household tasks. The ending however, though apparently inconclusive (there is no reconciliation here), is notably milder than that of comparable German strips.

Seventeenth century travellers noted, as we do today, the exceptional cleanliness of Dutch houses, even among the poorer classes. The appearance of the Dutch housewife in her gleaming surroundings is preserved for us by the matter-of-fact brush of the painters; but there is ample literary testimony to the Dutch conviction that cleanliness was next to Godliness, and washing as essential as praying. Dutch kitchens were spotless showcases for shining cauldrons and sparkling crockery; the greatest gaffe a foreigner could commit in a Dutch home was to spit upon the floor. It is by no means certain that the washing mania was a source of marital tension. The Dutch husband seems to have accepted without complaint the necessity for weekly spring-cleaning, for the daily round of scrubbing, scouring, washing and polishing—as long as *he* wasn't doing it. One of the names devised in folklore to characterize the subservient husband was Jack the Washer. The longest account of his life (or rather, a typical day in his life) is contained in a chap-sheet with forty episodes, no less than fourteen of which are devoted to the chores of household hygiene—the cleaning of home, street and linen (8-23). The remaining scenes give a charming review of work and play in the simple Dutch home (always allowing, of course, for the reversal of role between husband and wife): the rearing of children, spinning flax, making barrels, selling lamp-wick, gossiping and quarrelling with neighbors, and the occasional row with the spouse.[12] After all the toils of the day, Jack takes a well-earned rest, and in the characteristically Dutch finale, happily embraces his wife in bed.

Another sheet in twenty-four scenes, of slightly more polished workmanship, contains nine scenes of housecleaning, which occupy the space between marriage and the arrival of the children (8-24). The latter event is preceded by a trip to the village of Volewyk, where babies grow on trees. The ever-adaptable Jack the Washer thereupon leaves his washing for child-care—rocking the cradle, feeding and cleaning the baby, teaching it to walk, etc. In the last few episodes, Jack gets beaten for having punished the child and because it has cried, which suggests that the Dutch spoiled their children. This was certainly the view of foreign visitors. "It is partly from this excessive indulgence towards their children that there results the disorder which is often to be seen in their conduct. It is nevertheless surprising that there is not more disorder than there is, and there is perhaps no better proof of the natural goodness of the inhabitants of this country and the excellence of their disposition." A noted modern historian of the Dutch people concludes that "children were adored and spoilt, and lived under conditions of almost total liberty."[13] Dutch democracy evidently extended to the young. Even the wealthy burgher wife cared for her offspring personally. From the genre paintings of the period we can judge to what extent children of all ages formed as natural a part of the domestic interior as the wife, the servant, the dog, and the pewter; from the group portraits of regents of orphanages, we can judge how serious they felt about their charitable institutions, which were renowned throughout Europe for their quality and numbers. Our strips are a third source of visual testimony to the importance attached to the child in society. When the wayward Urbanus finally returns to his Isabel (8-21, scene 15), there stands between them the child, as the victim in the bad marriage of the past, and as the bond in the good marriage of the future. He is present again when his father repents before his mother (scene 21), and yet again at the moment of reconciliation, looking even smaller than before and even more pathetic. He is not omitted, either, from the final banquet. In the German strips, children hardly appear at all. In some, one can well imagine that the husband is too busy beating his wife to allow time for begetting and rearing children; in others, the spouse's subservience is expressed entirely without reference to the wider family context.

The Dutch strips are not only about children; they are for children, as the titles indicate—to look at, read, cut up, play with. Whether or not the Dutch actually invented the idea of light illustrated literature for children, it is certain that there are no comparable strips of so early a date surviving from other European countries. Art and literature designed specifically to instruct and amuse children is a nineteenth-century phenomenon; and there is an altogether nineteenth-century air about another Dutch woodcut strip, an extremely comprehensive narrative of the life of a girl

12. Jack is shown thrashing his wife (row 4); in the context, one would expect the opposite.

13. Zumthor, p. 100; *ibid.* for the quotation above from Parival.

URBANUS EN ISABEL.

Zie hier het Leeven van Urbaan,
Wyst deeze Prent uw duidlyk aan,

3

Hy toond aan Isabel berouw,
En leeven t'zaam als Man en Vrouw.



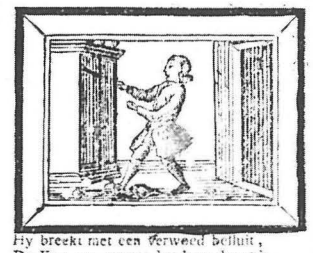
Urbaan en Isabel die twee,
Die Trouwen voor de Dominée.



Als nu het Trouwen is gedaan,
Dan komt voor eerst de Bruiloft aan.



Urbanus heeft nu al berouw,
En disputeerd hier met zyn Vrouw.



Hy breekt met een verweerd beluit,
De Kast op, neemt het best daar uit.



Hier wandeld hy nog obstinaat,
Hy komt al ras tot erger kwaad.



Daar geeft hy aan een snoode Hoer,
Zyn echte Hulsvrouws Paerelsnoer,



Zyn Vrouw beklaagd, haar snood en slegt
Urbanus handeld, voor 't Gerecht.



Het schyden werd haar toegestaan,
Dit doet Urbanus zwerven gaan.



Urbaan door gene lust gekweld,
Verkwist by Hoeren al zyn geld.



Hier zit hy neer, wat nu gedaan,
Verkwisting leerd hem Bedelen gaan.



Het brood der luiheid is zyn deel,
Die eertyds doorbragt schandlyk veel.



Hier klaagd hy haar gantsch onbekend,
Zyn eige Vrouw dit droef elend.



Mejuffrouw, ach! uit hogen nood;
Bid ik uw nedrig een stuk Brood.



Nu hy het alles heeft verteerd,
Werd hy met spot uit 't huis geweerd.



Al wat hy zegt niet helpen kan,
Urbanus word een arme Man.



Zie Isabel geheel ontroerd:
Waar zyt ge Urbanus toe vervoerd?



Maar toond gy Isabel terstond
Berouw, uit uwes hartengrond.



Leeft als een Man van eer bestaud;
Die zig zyn voor'ge onderwind schaamd.



Mejuffrouw! 'k ben een pest van d' aard,
En uw ontferming heel onwaard.



Sta op, Urbanus! echte Man;
'k Vergeef uw alles wat ik kan.



Dit is alzoos het eind 'er van,
Na Bed te gaan als Vrouw en Man



Urbanus leefde gelyk hem voegd;
Met Isabel hier vergenoegd.

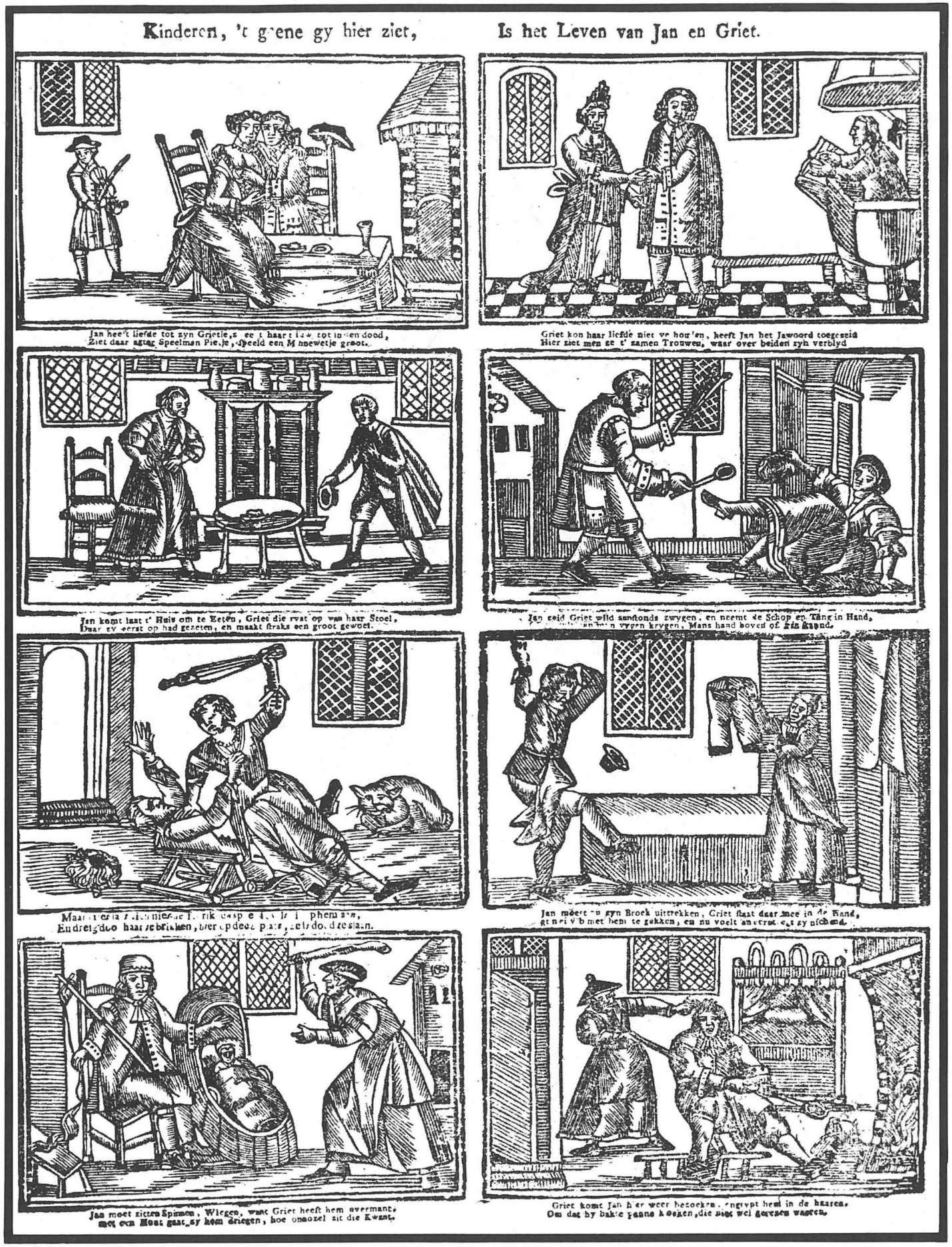


Waarop men aan 't vereenigd Paer,
Geeft Zegenwenschen voor en naar.



Zo wierd het alles bygeleid,
Een tweede Bruiloft toebereid.

8–21. Dutch. *Urban and Isabel* (eighteenth century).
"Observe here the life of Urban which is clearly shown by this print. He shows his remorse to Isabel, and they live together as man and wife.
Row 1: Urban and Isabel get married before the priest. When the ceremony is over, the wedding feast takes place. Urban is now regretting it, and quarrels with his wife. With desperate resolve, he breaks open the cupboard and removes the contents.
Row 2: He obstinately wanders about, and soon gets into worse trouble. He gives his own wife's string of pearls to a filthy whore. His wife complains in the lawcourt of Urbanus' disgraceful behavior. The divorce is ratified, and Urbanus goes roaming off again.
Row 3: Tormented by lewd desire, he squanders all his money with whores. After all this, he sits down to find that dissipation has taught him to go begging. The bread of idleness is the lot of him who used to spend so lavishly. He reveals his miserable condition to his wife, who does not even recognize him.
Row 4: 'Oh Madam, I humbly beg you, in direst necessity, to give me a piece of bread.' When he has consumed all, he is scornfully shown the door. Whatever words he uses are of no avail, Urban becomes a poor man. See Isabel, how moved she is, why do you look so enraptured, Urban?
Row 5: But show Isabel thy immediate repentance, from the bottom of thy heart. Live as becomes a man of honor, who is ashamed of his former vices. Madam! I have been the scum of the earth, and am unworthy of your mercy. Rise, Urban, good man, I forgive you all I can.
Row 6. This is how it always ends, retiring to bed as man and wife. Urban lived as he should, happily with Isabel. Whereupon the reunited pair receive the blessings of friends from near and far. Thus all is settled and a second wedding feast prepared."



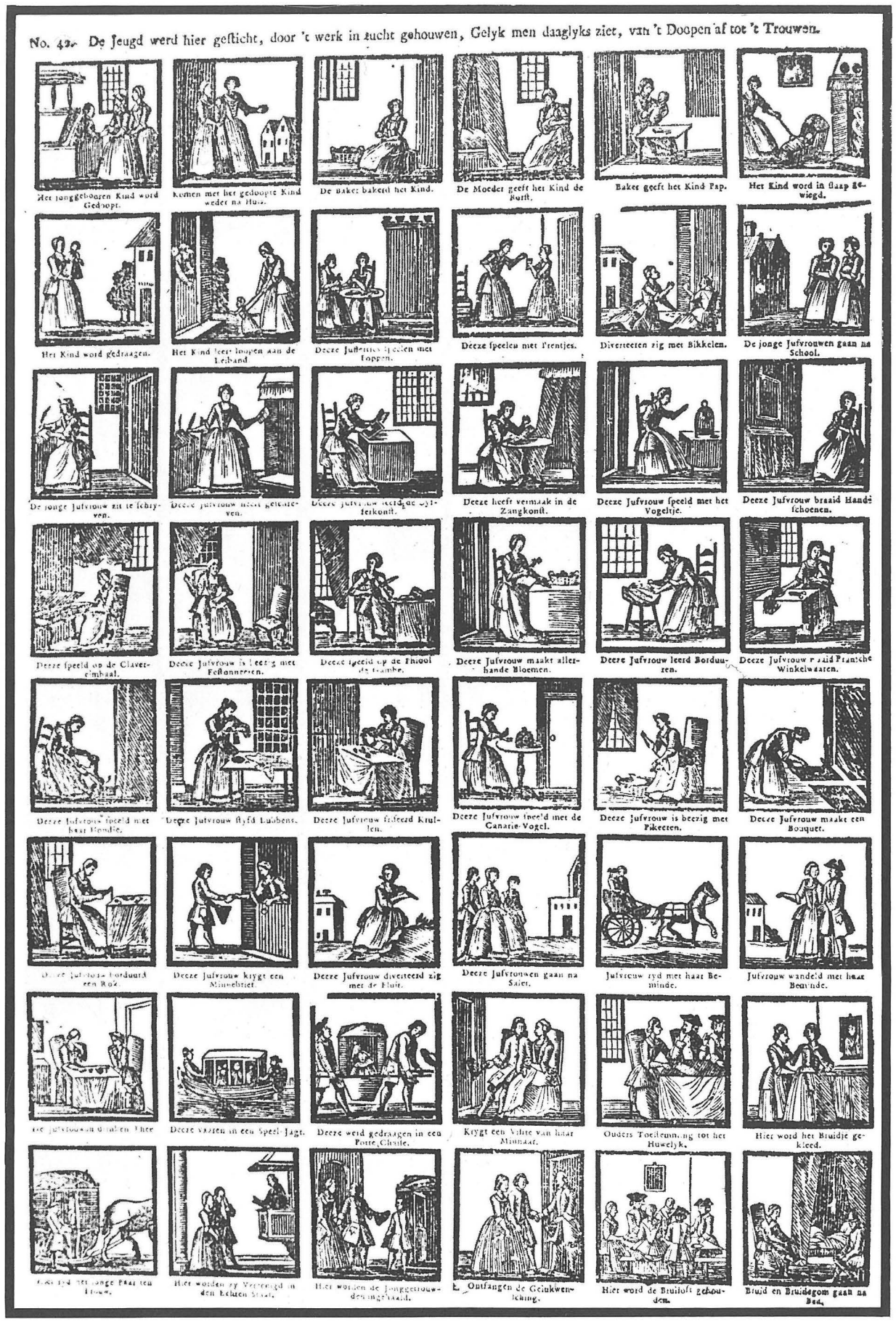
8–22. Dutch (late seventeenth century). *Children, here you see the life of Jack and Meg.*

"1. Jack loves his Meg, and will be faithful to her unto death. See the musicians behind playing a great love-song. 2. Meg cannot restrain her love, and has given her Yes to Jack. Here we see them getting happily married. 3. Jack comes home late for dinner, and Meg jumps up from her chair in a rage. 4. Jack tells her to shut up, takes up the fire-tongs and shovel ... gets beaten .... 5. (illegible) 6. Jack is forced to surrender the breeches, Meg stands with them in her hand, she is not to be joked with, and he feels his shame (?). 7. Jack has to sit and spin, and rock the cradle, because Meg has the upper hand. She threatens the simpleton with a stick. 8. Meg pays Jack a visit in the kitchen, and pulls his hair because the pancakes have not risen."



8–23. Dutch (seventeenth century). *Here young people may view at leisure the career and life of Jack the Washer.*
"Row 1: Here comes Jack the Washer / standing by the wash-tub. Jack the Washer scrubs the street / teaches the child to walk.
Row 2: Jack washes the floors on his own / and scrubs them. He knows how to wash pots / and clear snow from the street. He bleaches like a man / and can wash as well.
Row 3: Jack the Washer hits his wife Because she tried to (illegible) him. How is the wind blowing? / Jack starches the linen. / He beats the boys / and cleans out the ashes like a woman.
Row 4: He hoops the barrel on the street / gossips with the women. He mocks the neighbors / his rattle spins merrily / he birches his wife / cries 'lamp-wick!' loud and clear.
Row 5: Jack wrings out the linen / and mangles like a woman. / He doesn't mind rocking the cradle / Jack makes St. Nicholas' birches / Jack in his apron / washing the windows.
Row 6: Jack wipes the child / who pisses into his pocket. / Jack plays the boss / What does St. Nicholas bring him? (Birches). Jack gives the child a growl / and gets the pussy-cat.
Row 7: Jack gossips with his *susslet* / teaches the child to walk. Jack exchanges his wages for bulbs / comes here with the child's cart. / Jack looks after his child / which he swaddles and hugs.
Row 8: Jack gets the fire going / sends the maid for flax. Jack then spins it / and winds it.
Jack the Washer has done his day / and has gone to bed with his wife."

8–24. Dutch (seventeenth-eighteenth century). *Here is the Career and Life / of Jack the Washer and his Wife.*
"Row 1: 1. Jack the Washer is getting married, but I'm afraid he will regret it. 2. When the marriage ceremony is over, they go to the wedding feast. 3. Jack and Meg boldly exchange breeches for skirt. 4. Meg teaches Jack how to heat the pot and stoke the fire.
Row 2: 5. Meanwhile the dinner is getting cold, and Jack has to make another fire. 6. Jack brings up the food, and Meg sits while he must stand. 7. He scrapes out the ashes after having cooked dinner. 8. It seems that it doesn't suit him, but how skillfully he washes the dishes.
Row 3: 9. Jack hoses down the windows so hard that the panes fall out. 10. Jack the Washer has to scrub, and keeps the water in the tub. 11. Floor and tiles must be kept clean, or he will get beatings. 12. After he has finished scrubbing, he has to stand by the wash-tub.
Row 4: 13. Jack and Meg, the happy pair, take the boat to Volewyk (where babies were found). 14. Jack is here in labor, while his wife can take it easy. 15. Jack rocks the child, and loves it more than his wife. 16. Jack gives the child its broth, which it eagerly laps up.
Row 5: 17. Jack gets whacked on his backside because the child has cried. 18. Jack is more careful, and plays with the doll. 19. Jack teaches the child to walk and goes to buy cakes. 20. Jack takes the child to crawl in the park.
Row 6: 21. See Jack crouch, helping the child shit. 22. The child becomes big and wilful, and gets beaten on the backside. 23. For doing this, Jack gets whipped by Meg. 24. Jack and Meg argue about the profession the child should be trained for."



8–25. Dutch (eighteenth century). *Young people are trained and disciplined by these daily tasks, from baptism to marriage.*
Row 1: The new born child is baptized. The parents return home with the baptized child. The (dry) nurse swaddles the baby. The mother gives her breast to the baby. The nurse feeds the baby. The baby is rocked to sleep.
Row 2: The child is carried about. He learns to run in leading-strings. These girls play with dolls. These play with printed pictures. Amuse themselves with knuckle-bones. The young girls go to school.
Row 3: The girl sits writing. She has finished writing. This girl learns arithmetic. This one has a taste for singing. Here she plays with the little bird. She knits gloves.
Row 4: She plays the harpsichord. She is making garlands of flowers. Plays the viola da gamba. Makes all sorts of flowers. Learns how to embroider. Makes French trinkets.
Row 5: Plays with her little dog. Starches collars. Curls hair-pieces. Plays with her canary. Busy sewing piqué. Makes a bouquet.
Row 6: Embroiders a dress. Receives a love letter. Amuses herself with the flute. These girls go to a party. The maiden rides with her sweetheart. She goes for a walk with him.
Row 7: They go to drink tea. They ride in a pleasure boat. They are carried in a porte-chaise. She receives a visit from her suitor. The parents agree to the marriage. The bride is dressed.
Row 8: The young pair drive to the church. They are united in matrimony. They receive the congratulations. The wedding banquet is held. Bride and bridegroom go to bed.

from baptism to marriage (8-25). The block dates from roughly the mid-eighteenth century, which does not exclude the possibility of an earlier version of the theme. The tone throughout is intimate, but imbued with an eighteenth-century dignity; there are no scenes of toilet-training, nor for that matter of spanking. Old wives tales, such as babies growing on trees in Volewyk, or St. Nicholas bringing birches to bad children (8–23, row 6), are omitted. Instead, we are shown an array of children's games, involving knucklebones, dolls, pet animals—and prints for cutting up, like the present one. The education of the Dutch girl seems to have been relatively progressive, for she is breast-fed and taught useful subjects like writing and arithmetic, as well as the feminine arts of embroidery, music, and flower-arrangement, all of which were of special importance in Holland. The scenes of starching collars and dressing hair remind us that she is receiving a practical bourgeois, and not purely artistic, aristocratic education. At the sixth row her social and love-life begins, during which the parents are conspicuous by their absence. The Dutch maiden even goes out driving alone with her suitor, a singular tribute to the freedom accorded young people in that land. The marriage takes place with the usual formalities, and the story ends in the bedroom—a conclusion so embarrassing to a nineteenth-century Belgian (Catholic) publisher, that he altered the caption so as to turn the nuptial couch into a sick-bed.

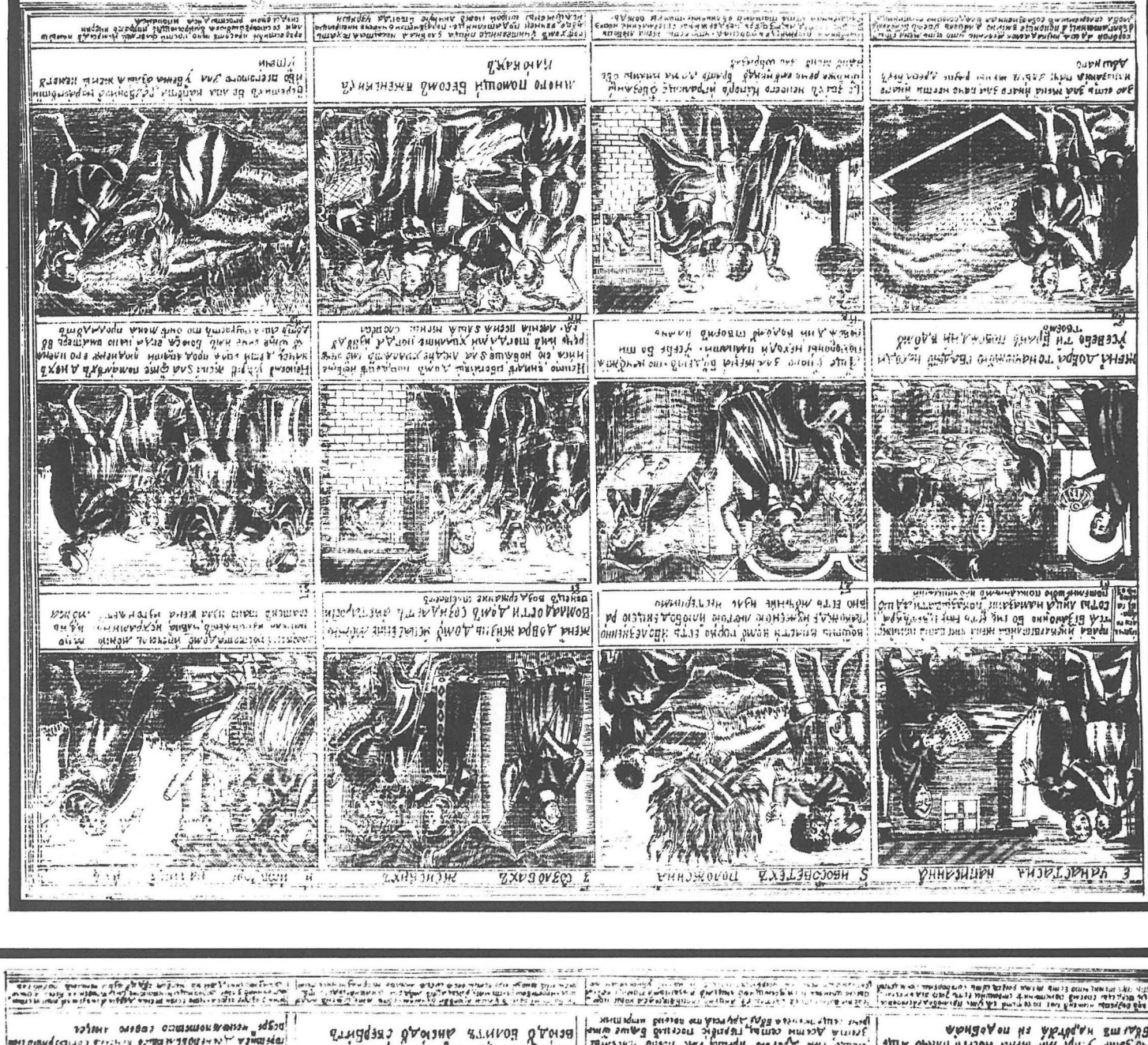
4. *Russian marriage*

The art of printing pictures from wood and metal did not begin to develop in Russia until Peter the Great, in his efforts to westernize his culturally-retarded country, brought artists from Holland and elsewhere. Romeyn de Hooghe's pupil, Adriaen van Schoonebeck,[14] was installed in the Department of Arms in 1698 and entrusted with the formation of an engraving school. We can only speculate on the likelihood of Schoonebeck's desire to engrave (or having actually engraved) a life of Peter, as he had done a strip life of Charles II, or to propagandize the nascent crafts and industries of Russia. None of his "Russian" work survives, nor does that of his colleagues and fellow-immigrants. By mid-eighteenth century, however, it seems that the efforts of Peter had begun to fructify; although it is impossible to date early Russian broadsheets with any precision, some can be assigned on grounds of costume to the period before the 1780s and 90s, while others must antedate 1766, when a Russian collector purchased an identifiable group of prints.

Although the thematic range was of course not very broad in these early times, secular subjects immediately took pride of place. The church discouraged religious prints, the iconography of which was hard to control; the distribution of military and patriotic subjects, on the other hand, must have received official approval. We are not concerned at this time with the strips recounting the stories of legendary heroes, although these constitute a remarkable phenomenon in themselves.[15] There was of course no question of political satire, although the resourceful Russian schismatic appears to have slipped past the censor some animal illustations in which the public could infer hostile allusions to Peter the "Cat of Kazan."[16] We have already considered two examples of social satire, the attacks on drunkenness 7-20 and 7-21; but it was the subject of women which elicited the most numerous and pungent broadsheets. According to Rovinski, a great Russian writer on and collector of old prints, it was a seventeenth-century compendium of the opinions of the church

8–26 Russian. *Examples given by Vassily the Great upon the danger of feminine wiles* (first half eighteenth century).
(Reading across the two sheets) "1. The Book of Numbers says, do not believe your wife when she complains about the servants, because if the husband likes one, she does not. Do not be affected by tears and cunning words. 2. The Book of Bees says, it is unlawful, shameful and wrong for the wife of a Tsar, a knight, a general or common man to rule her husband. 3. The proud man bedecks his wife with jewels and costly dresses, in order to satisfy her vanity, and thus angers God. 4. Orthodox Christians, and god-fearing men and women do not decorate themselves outwardly, but learn purity shameful and wrong for the wife of a Tsar, a knight, a general or and good deeds. 5. Righteous and irreproachable is the woman who does not paint herself, since it is lawless to display facial beauty with make up and not to cleanse the tarnished soul by repentance. 6. To suffer the torments of your wife, and then to take a mistress, is like falling from the frying-pan into the fire. 7. A good woman is the life of the house, and the salvation of the husband; in her youth she keeps the household, and in old age she binds the wreath of moderation. 8. An evil woman makes a lonely house and causes sorrow to the husband and throws man out, just as the *kapel* (?) throws man out of church. 9. (second row) One is as likely to find earrings in the nostril of a pig, as merit in an evil woman. 10. (brothel scene) Evil woman is the eye of the devil, the commerce of hell, and the weapon of Satan; she captures the hearts of the young, and fans the desires of the old. 11. What is an evil woman? An untamable animal, a blacksmith to sin, and a shepherd to gossips; she listens to lies, causes confusion, and blinds the mind. 12. What is an evil woman? A poisonous snake, a savage viper, a merciless scorpion, a young lioness. 13. The good woman does not attend the weddings of others, for every day in her own house should be a wedding. 14. If you have an evil woman, you do not need to weep at funerals, you can weep at home every day. 15. A man married a rich widow, and was praised for it by the foolish; 'You can praise me only when I have got rid of her evil words.' 16. An evil wife died, and the husband started to sell their children. 'I am afraid that they will grow up to be like their mother, and if I don't sell them, they will sell me.' 17. (third row) A man wept when his wife died, not because of the wife, but because there would be another like her. 18. A man cut off his wife's head. The others offered him another wife but said, how can we trust you with our daughters? 'If the second is like the first, I will kill her too, and the third as well.' 19. Evil woman is like *perches*, which (causes?) hurt and itches everywhere. 20. Evil woman should not look into the mirror, for she will cause herself lasting sorrow in contemplating her ugliness. 21. Evil is evil woman, there is no higher evil, no worse punishment, she is worse than the grave. 22. One man invites another to view the monkey in his cage. 'I do not need to go, for I have a monkey-wife.' 23. The devil abets women in their cunning. 24. If you meet a lion at a crossroads, you can flee, but you cannot flee an evil woman."

14. Cf. Duchartre, p. 22, who provides the background information to this section.
15. I hope to reproduce some of these in the second volume of this History, since the adventures of old Russian heroes are imbued with what may be termed an almost Töpfferian fantasy.
16. Duchartre, pp. 164–66.


Е УЧИЛИЩА НАПИСАНИЯ
Ѕ НОВОСТЕЙ ПОЛОЖЕНИЯ
З СЕЗАМ ВАХА ЖЕЛЕЗНАЯ
І ВАЛИЛАСЬ ВЕЛИЧАЙ
А НАЧАЛО ЕВГЕНИЯ
Б ГОСТЬ ГЛУБОКО
В ЦЕЛИТЕЛЬНИЦА
Г ЖЕЛЕЗНАЯ ДВЕРЬ

fathers, known as *The Bee*, which provided the material for most misogynistic satire in the following century.[17] St. Vassily's views on women are codified in strip form in a non-narrative sheet (8-26), which should date from mid-eighteenth-century, if, as I suspect, it reveals a borrowing from Hogarth (compare scene 10 with 10-19). This richly metaphoric and vituperative rag-bag of folk wisdom and biblical sayings not only reflects the traditional suspicions of Eastern clergy, but also constitutes a conservative reaction to the reforms of Peter, who started the emancipation of women in Russia. He opposed the forced marriage of children and ordered that fiancés should be allowed to meet before the wedding day. Judging from a strip entitled *Reflections of a Bachelor upon Marriage* (8-27), it was extraordinarily difficult to satisfy the male. There was always something wrong

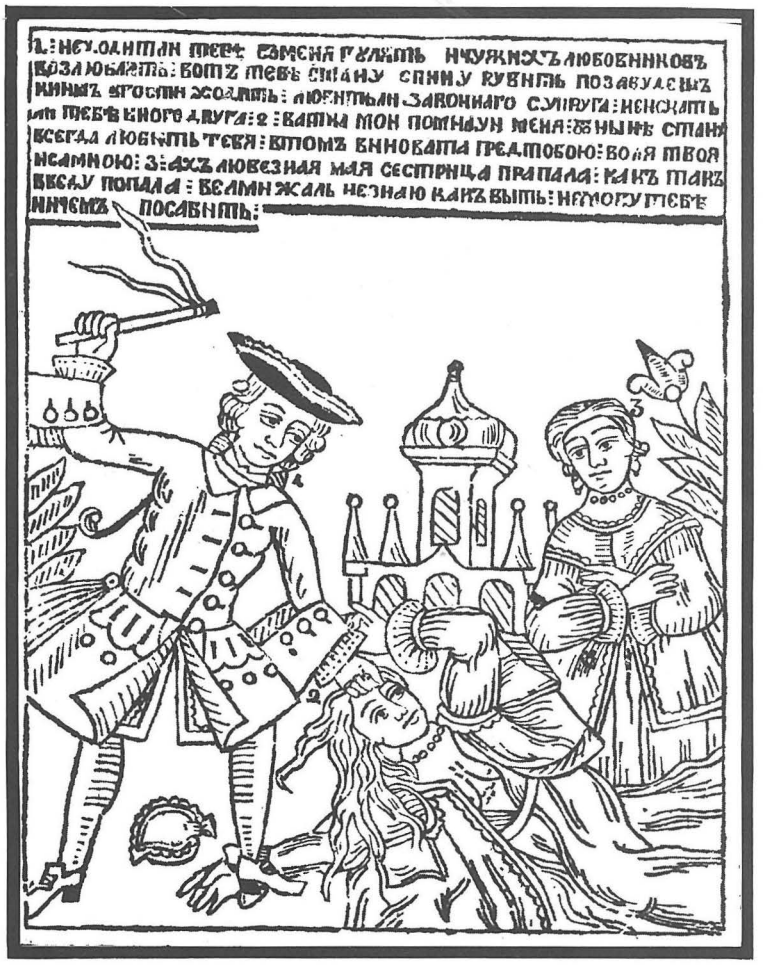
17. Duchartre, pp. 83–96.

8–27. Russian. *Reflections of a bachelor upon marriage* (eighteenth century).
"1. Marry a rich girl—you will be reproached for it. 2. Marry a poor girl—people will know too much about it. 3. Marry an intelligent girl—you won't get a word in edgeways. 4. Marry a foreigner—she won't know rural work. 5. Marry a noble—too expensive to dress. 6. Marry a suburbanite—you'll need too much wine. 7. Marry an educated woman—she will comment on the religious ceremonies. 8. Marry a patriarch's daughter—they'll call you a churchman. 9. Marry a judge's daughter—you'll be laughed at. 11. Marry a peasant girl—that's below you. 12. Marry a thin woman—you'll be ashamed to appear in public. 13. Marry a poor girl—no way of maintaining her. 14. Marry an old woman—she'd need looking after. 15. Marry a blind woman—you'd lose your house and chattels. 16. Marry a drunkard—she'll steal to buy wine."





8–28. Russian (before 1766?). *A German (i.e. foreign) woman is riding an old man, she has promised him a bottle of wine and a pint of beer, but she has spilt it. The dog barks and will not let them enter the courtyard.*

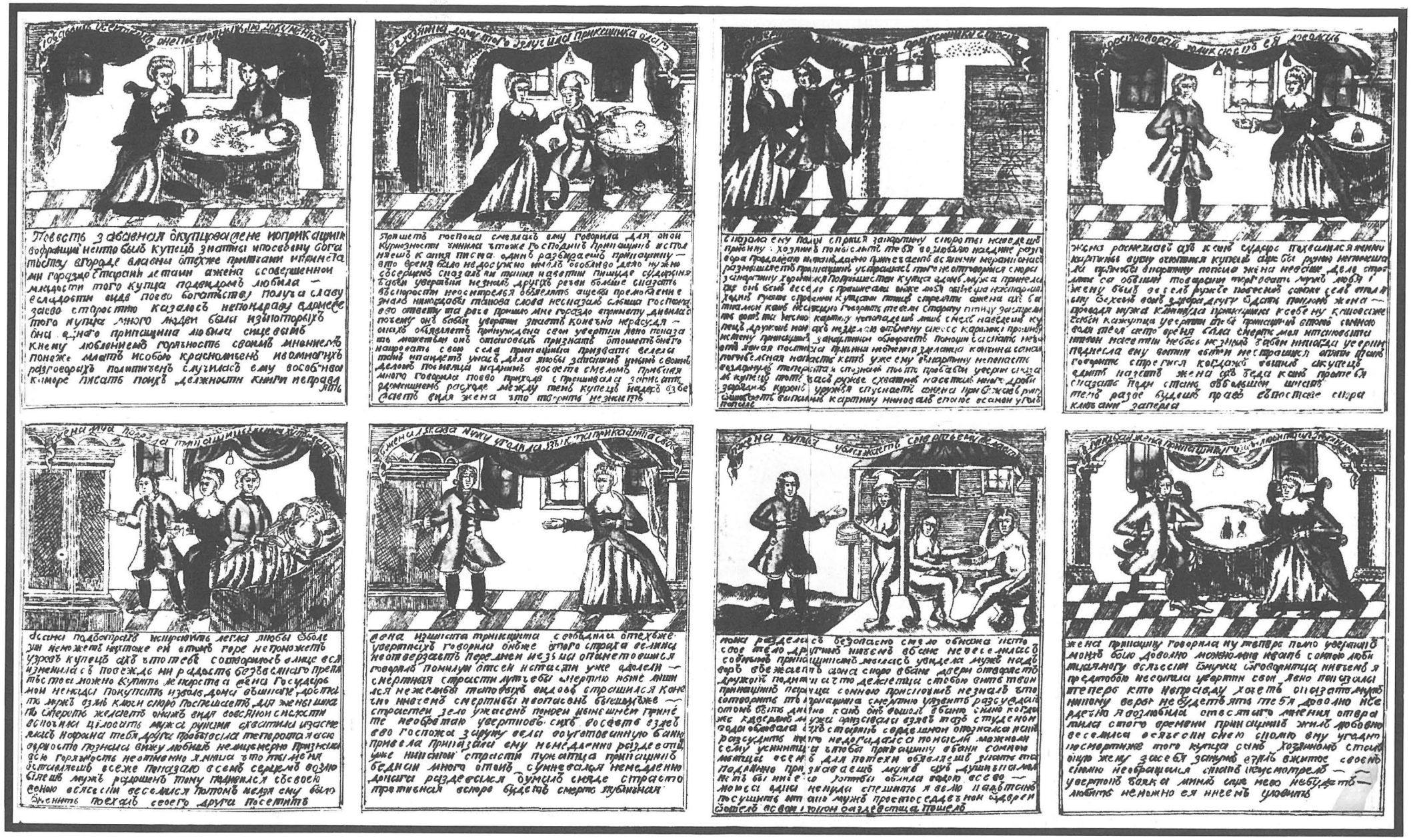


8–29. Russian (before 1766?). *The husband*: "I tell you, I'll stop you chasing after other lovers! I'll stripe your back so that you'll forget to visit them. . . ." *Wife*: "Mercy, little father, I promise to love you in future. I am very guilty, your will be done." *Sister-in-law*: "My dear sister, you are lost, I cannot help you."

with the bride either in her disposition or her family background, and the Russian seems to have been as finicky and fearful as Rabelais' Panurge. As far as the artist is concerned, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. The costume of the prospective bride, and the position of the third party (who could be either the father or a marriage broker), may change slightly from scene to scene, and the suitor's feet may fidget a little, but his gesture of refusal or remonstrance remains always the same. His choice seems ample enough, although it is less than that supposedly provided for Ivan the Terrible, who had 2,000 potential brides arrayed before him on a single occasion before he began his selection.

The knout (leather whip) was of course the Russian's answer to his wife's adultery (8-29); but it is wielded by no rude muzhik or burgher, but by a Frenchified Russian aristocrat. The alternative situation, as it reigned abroad, was terrible to contemplate (8-28). But there was no stopping a wily wife, as we can judge from the burlesque folk tale of the *Merchant, his Wife, and his Steward* (8-30). If the woman exposes her lover to terrible dangers and sets him impossible tasks, it is not to test his mettle as a man, in the fashion of medieval romance, but out of pure malicious caprice. As in the Western marriage strips, the sequence is circular, suggesting that once married to the merchant's widow, the clerk will be cuckolded like his predecessor.

Russian lore, dependent as it is on Eastern folk literature, is full of examples of males subjected to terrible humiliations at the hands of women, who make up in numbers what they lack in individual strength. In a Russian version of some tale in the Arabian Nights (8-31), the harem succeeds, by dint of its influence with the superior powers, in totally subjugating the hapless male. This is a fable, and among all the domestic animals it is the cock and the hen whom the fabulists of the world have chosen to stand for husband and wife. The engraver fails to depict the actual amorous exploits of our avian rake (which would have challenged the art even of a specialist like Francis Barlow), but he makes up for this deficiency by concentrating upon detection, trial and punishment. One wonders whether it is purely chance which causes the audience of hens to multiply as the moment of their triumph approaches.



8–30. Russian. *The amusing tale of the merchant's wife and the merchant's steward* (eighteenth century).

"1. It happened in France that a young woman married a merchant, and loved him well at first because of his fame and wealth. 2. She became dissatisfied with him, however, and fell in love with her husband's handsome steward. Entering his office one day, she asks him, temptingly, what he is writing about. 'About the wiles of women' is his gruff reply. The wife determines to demonstrate some of these wiles, goes to her room, lies down and calls for the steward. 3. The steward arrives, but then they hear the husband returning. To prevent any suspicions from being aroused by the steward's presence, the wife tells him to hide behind a screen in the room. He does so, and the husband enters. The wife asks him what he has been doing. 'Bird-shooting with my friends,' he replies. 'Bird-shooting' exclaims the wife, 'why, you are so old, you couldn't even hit this screen.' Thus challenged, the husband loads his gun, while the steward nearly dies of fright. At the moment when the husband pulls the trigger, however, the wife jogs his arm, causing him to miss (picture). 4. After the husband has left the room, the wife calls out the steward, and asks him what he thinks of the wiles of women. 'Fine,' he says, 'they nearly cost me my life.' She consoles him with a glass of vodka, and hearing the husband return again, hides him in a closet which she locks. 5. The wife lies down on the bed, feigning illness, and tells her husband to fetch the drugs which are in the closet. She hands him the key (right), but just as he is about to open the closet door, she leaps out of bed (left), telling him that she only feigned the illness in order to measure the extent of his concern for her. They are gay together for a while. 6. After the husband has gone, she releases the steward, and returns to the subject of the wiles of women. The steward asks her to leave him alone, because he cannot stand any more such tests. However, she persuades him to accompany her to the paublic baths and orders him to undress in her cubicle. In some confusion, he obeys, forseeing that this third whim of the merchant's wife will make an end of him in public. 7. She boldly undresses as well, and they wash themselves (right). When she sees her husband coming, she opens the cubicle door, and greets him thus: 'Come and look at what's happening to you, your steward is in the bath with me.' The simple-minded husband stands completely bewildered, and is driven away by his wife, who suddenly throws a basin of water over him (left). 8. Having convinced the steward that she could cheat her husband in any circumstances, and that he would believe only her, the wife declares her love for the steward. He becomes her lover and after the death of the old merchant, takes over the business as well. He is left wondering over a glass of vodka when these same wiles will be used against him, but decides that since he has no chance of outwitting his wife, he had best forget about it."

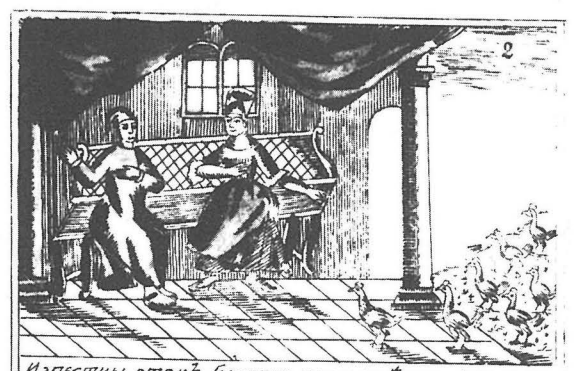


Опетухе и окуре

Господину нашему всякой власти творителю и присносущему благодарно домы хранителю и слюбезною вашею сорителницею приносимъ и мастичное рещение учинить просимъ.

В бытность человѣкъ и писчитца добашен охотѣ. обреталъ имѣяка куры прыданашнем роте: налугва своего куропатку. За непостоянную его ухаатку. дочемъ наше печение слезное. Просимъ учинить милосердие гонезное

Антепелово мы имѣемо ваши пулицы. бобртамадантои пумарсион улицы: а принисъ выщепсанной мушю нашъ петухъ белон. нтоптанню насъ быль смелон. нуверому трети годъ находится. нашъ онъ снамп приошелъ домедодпися: тоимас тутъ отпурицы и раздение имѣлъ гдс низкатнйъ насъ топпать былъ смелъ: чемъ мы зело были отнего довольны. всегда послушны тому строжы и отнего были одолжены. тапъ нашъ послушные сподены и после топтания хвостомъ трясли. давъ отъ того често яица несли. и придоме вашемъ воспитои верности и случаи. имѣютъ напамя детанъ выводили.



Известны отомъ бланания наши сосѣтии. что нынешними детомъ были унасъ три насетпи. нодны тапъ наяица снесть трудилась. что отселиюм прилежность имертвилась. инадое одна бедная попеченне имела. ме осташина наши благополучно досидела. оберности нашем самнъ сами известно. нашъ случаимъ сами известно. всего месяца толю неуплатню татарого унса. онезапу ис нимъ наша етарая курица пришла. и объявила намъ не пристоиныя вести. которые мы сошлисъ слушать имести что пышелсанпои муж в нашъ петухъ. безпедома нашего пропалъ адрузъ. просимъ обретлось всегда сполни ся местн всего числа остаяли насъ одпухъ нанасетри. изпидимое дело издоми нашего безалъ. анзнась нуръ ничто его не видалъ. итако насъ бедны отечали. остались. ве что посвбе тусить заташпов. абезнего нелому насъ бо ло топтать. анарёлому мулю нсиого можемъ пристать и пои тутъ нам немножетъ услушать. ачимъ мы обышли. совсемо сить. безнас. сивлайо. нодну писпать. всехъ писъ всѣдапу полтрупе. ланиде. и аписемъ плать ево вепо бопе. кесой. муб с ним. весело.



Жить небольшая однапоев во особливом примѣте. яко ее нынна отрезвядпыпъ пернете. хвостъ нашъ пасалнпъ ра слышна то пение всякому чюшу. днемъ и нощпю любимом дно перелу. и ноги имѣлъ поротпне и бегалъ скора. вчемъ и ногда находилась и ссора. часто получусь вслишне присытии. спрочими петухсти выходилъ напроеди нии. и поторы дастойлялъ домемалом вегды. разбиваль головы нередвии ихъ дорудья. пресмано ибатсатпи быть смель. апсче ароотпахъ острыхъ престость пачалъ. мы по его недолистое были исчулпы. сапъ нодпъ по улицы предпами опереди. самы искуно сибдуемъ все свзеди. вадпль нашъ строемъ улюрыту. и ему пушать. амы его Поселения готовы был слушато. ни нюжну насъ бедны строемъ ездити. и досолюно пшею полнить того ради сапъ нашему хозяину об вплаемъ. что мы сь дого муса сутпи неидаемо. Соблаговолите обою полнос быть. и изъяспить вышеписанныя его приметы. апсче о быснать досе улица. несыштпсли. где причини пурицы в мсче быть проме насъ полюбпль. по тапъ сведения испутпъ впроеде находилса атаесай доводя. сневсими журсии гоняль

Недопонъ в бородавъ.



Изнась неиоторые адоме старые пёры. присмотрели и запитъ немальи амуры. и вышеписанномъ нашъ репорту в доместе анамъ мушъ нешъ учинилъ бесчестие.

Репорт присланъ отъ пуля того месяца июля:

Мы нижнаго росс. льемъ ав сегда росс. Репорту ру непрущему натопю преподнии. понеже хапнтъ перунамъ нротопшен природ ностии. Натопъ репорте подписано получение. и того петуха бивнение. получечь выщепсанпого чпела и нята добобеге петуха. бумашнаэта. взяов отхратнпнъ написеть ответы. и того пыуха прописать привыти. которые немедленно объявить. дабы опого обвешся лопить. и супрнного рода того легуляротта послеть в погонно нуръ целое. напрасталъ. Пусинна и идевенного петуха свнлетомъ ненимъ. нутно иносемъ его проломить. помнивъ того петуха иначечь неломогеть. азаи в отъ шие слеза запорать. вести хпрорать сивана всю урожу аесть дасисть очень панемногу

приведун апуратнпнъ

всеслезах в посадить.

а отомъ приводе

мне об вярить

посылается облетъ съ индеспимъ петухомъ.

БИЛЕТЪ объявляется Втушисрисон слободе антелямъ. Ти слобады и посторонний сухантелямъ. Что сего месяца нечаянно пароха издому моего бегалъ петухъ. атрнметсимъ. онъ пеизъян белон совсего вилу. аторпусомъ цеселан. ещеров быть пособлиом примете. хахолъ подобенъ яко бы женщина шорнепс пеении отъ прочихъ гораздо поротенний. ростомъ невеликий но маленнь. отъ родв ему нибудетъ обласъ трехъ летъ. у которого еще нородны нетъ сипя ему пурапатною называлса когда в придане моемъ обреталса: невели умово сыщися напасети задомашними пурами амести. тебѣ люди дане усвоя не. держати. немедленно мне обнемъ об вяалян. азатапов пхъ. сирове объявлениъ. дано будетъ немилов напрасленнъ: аче же что выделенное пустое. адорогос лишь спорлупа толстое: сирхъ того что его определенна непрущиласть заобыска чне петухи вместе спуранп понушаетъ. подинои гуми 2. мещанпои сотрубии и почупенъ будетъ предпредпчинлюдии сысиси побѣдаленiи петуха.

Сего месяца нашъ стало быть и известно. пришелъ обыскатель об вявилъ словесно. что белаго петуха вслободе пришелъ. чего ради и объявить обнемъ пришелъ.

Асыпапо де нпчюго боле пиро. а таме улица настроеса протпвъ чего онои петухъ пазепъ. нидо хозяина пришедъ которои спрошпсанъ нрдопросе попадѣлъ. зайсмъ отъ двора своего отъ стали: Вопросные пункты. Вопросъ. 1. Стало тебе петухъ отроду лѣтъ и годовъ. ненадпчъ ты выпалъ прежде рвлопъ. маиноле прпалекъ хозяиномъ обретенпя. и супрами его шпортапп знаешся. 3. Отвѣтп отроухъ мнѣ болѣе трехъ лѣтъ не призпаюю. и стого время супрами превышаю. родпласи я отушпрсион улицы адвне хозяина отвелои пурпцы. выставенъ и пцс изпего пурпцы. пстого времи не отлучюсь при доме находился. Вопросъ 2. Асего месяца пчисла спсполса ипду отлучилса: и хозяина. и доме нестрасился. такоже и двпамо прото необвпралъ. такъ самолюно поступилъ. и начелалъ счетами щрапи вмести. несстоемъ. Лапъ начелатъ насетпи.

ОТВѢТЪ того числа я издому отлучилса. новпшепсиналъ доме напасетпи. пайлса. затетъ хотя того пучить было нендалстало. толпо одна пѣпне пурпца прибегала. позадса. и своб напремя повидеть. хотела сотпон помпанно взыметь. того ради я отѣ резоно. навдущися вместе снѣп пушалъ и повеселился.

Вопросъ. 3

Протпвъ тирен отлучпи немилов ли амуръ нитоптапъ ли чюрпхъ пуръ. и берѣли топтано пашихъ приметомъ нимо гоши оныхъ было шетомъ. : Отвѣтъ. = чюрпхъ пу топтапов что мнс поимны. самомипие стали быть проптаны. когда захочю пропать. то непрпседаютъ молодая меня дасно прочь отвесноть. = ан поворотпии ноги. и немогу. досноть. того ради прпмусаюсь чюрп топтать и оныхъ я нещпталъ. две историю поимаю тутъ что тпаво. чюане верно любятъ меня. обязанъ старые и молодые пуры часто попадалпсь. Вопросъ 4. о плоиъ безпокоепия признанешпся себя пинна. что тапъ учинилъ протпвна. = Отвѣтъ. = я этои си ностии мало признался. рабъ своемъ отлучепи ва несназался. = айтрель того дела нчинить небуду. = чюрп пуръ топтать пазадъ. Вопросъ 5. отомъ тое побѣе безсмпнхъ фигуръ. местпмалъ ли что издолаш нпуъ пуръ. = Отвѣтъ. = Нпито нестпмалъ я самъ тонно ушелъ. нпчюанпмъ пурамъ тесети придель. Вопросъ. 6. : Отомъ сущпю правду спазалъ. = Отвѣтъ Истинно ни единаго слова несолгалъ.

Ахъ мои лапушпи черные. супруги нелицемерные что остапили петушка. любезнаго своего друшка. перестанте наменя нападать. имите цорпать пипасать нотпнну. устали мои ношки. азазобъ нетъ ни порошки. ни бы я чюпмъ пуръ. нетпоптала. тобъ нпкогдашъ нелада хотя ныпъ пуденъ нарвался. отперъ для и того попался.

Определенне посуду.

Настопшпмъ деколѣ. учинить штрафъ наапетухамъ белымъ. зиотлучпу его издому отавпть нурь. и до дъмепий счюанпи амуръ. посадить дпуратнпнъ въ дре полотпи. а напграуле постапить пнуръ. где молотпи. и атомъ пуратпие три. ми пребывать весть ему. ни чего нередать. после трехъ дпеи ве. пиломъ бить. что бъ перестало пчюанпмъ пурамъ гомпть. и напзанне учинить при собрани пуръ обра нападмая пурпца при Эцепции стои. новпспить ецели впредь будетъ пзъ послушать то не такои штрафъ учинять. и пинапихъ определенпевъ не послушаютъ. прпатно опрогс со пушанетъ.

8–31. Russian. *The cock and the hens* (eighteenth century).

(Summary) 1–2. The hens complain to their human masters about the flight of the white cock, who had dominated them so wonderfully and thus encouraged them to lay. They suspect the reason for his departure, since some of them are very old and roostbound. 3. They suggest that a search-warrant be written, and carried by the turkey-cock accompanied by a posse of hens, who will search the town for the defector. 4. The search party is all ready to set off, and 5. arrives in a foreign roost, where the farmer reads the warrant. The fugitive is tracked down. 6–7. He appears before his masters to undergo interrogation as to the extent of his amours during his absence from home. The white cock explains that the hens at his own roost are of no use to him, because they won't settle, and he can't catch them on his short legs. He then gives a few statistics on his illicit love-affairs, which were very extensive. 8. The cock is sentenced to a public beating; a second offense will result in his being eaten in a pie. The sentence is executed before a solemn gathering of the hens.

Chapter Nine

RAKES AND HARLOTS

1. The prodigal son (German Sixteenth Century)
"And he wasted his substance with riotous living"

The Renaissance, which is supposed to have rediscovered the joys of the flesh, also rediscovered the means to depict them realistically in art. The increase in realism focused fresh attention upon sensual pleasure as a moral theme. In his collection of paintings of female nudes and allegories of love, the art patron of the Renaissance and post-Renaissance periods united aesthetic and moral satisfactions. Throughout Europe, but especially in Italy and the Spanish Netherlands, men of culture reminded themselves of the brevity of life, the vanity of earthly pleasure, and the falsity of physical love, by means of allegorical pictures in which surfaces and textures, whether it be of human flesh, draperies, or symbolic objects, were all rendered as sensuously as possible.

While the market for religious art on a domestic scale was rapidly diminishing, there was one biblical subject which increased in popularity—the parable of the Prodigal Son, who became an archetype for the repentant sensualist. The subject was far from new in art; as early as the thirteenth century, it was treated at length in the lovely stained glass of Chartres Cathedral. There, among the twenty-seven episodes into which the story is divided, six alone are devoted to the Prodigal's supposed life with the harlots. I use the word "supposed" because the Gospel text summarizes his sinful life in the phrase "riotous living" (*vivendo luxuriose*); it is the elder brother who, overcome with anger and jealousy when the Prodigal returns, accuses him specifically of consorting with harlots. No modern commentator was disposed to doubt the truth of the accusation, and the iconography of the harlot derives from illustration of this passage in the New Testament. Of all the late medieval versions of the parable, I know of none more relevant to the later transformations of the theme which form the substance of this chapter than a little-known early fifteenth-century tapestry in Marburg (9-1). The "riotous living" is epitomized in the typically German custom of love-making in the bath-tub, and a separate scene is given over to a moment which is to become an iconographic favorite, when the wastrel is finally expelled by prostitutes who have no more to gain from him. A decorative border to this tapestry describes a typical progress through life in nine or ten stages (as it were the "Ages of Man"): from babe in arms, to amorous, pleasure-seeking youth, ending with the old man on his death-bed. (The full panoply of the worldly activities

9–1. German. *The Parable of the Prodigal Son* (tapestry, early fifteenth century).



pursued by man in his maturity would have presumably occupied the bottom border, which is lost.) Spread on the floor of the church when the communicant advances to receive the Sacrament at the altar, the tapestry would remind him to leave sin behind and to accept divine forgiveness.

In 1495 a Franciscan friar published a collection of fifty sermons on the parable, which were richly illustrated with woodcuts (9-2).[1] Such sermons, designed for continuous delivery throughout Lent, the season of penitence, embroidered the plain Gospel text with an immense amount of circumstantial detail, and inspired a number of stage-plays. This is especially true in Germany, where the so-called *Prodigusdramen* were very popular throughout the sixteenth century and were sometimes turned to political purposes, pro- and anti-Luther. Graphic art in sixteenth-century northern Europe, however, full as it is of Prodigals, tends to condense the story into four major episodes—the Departure from the father's house, the Revels with the harlots, the Keeping of the swine, and the joyful Return. The more ambitious engravers united all these within a single setting, spread over several sheets (9-3). Significantly, it is the "riotous living" which occupies the whole of the foreground. In the course of the century the airy palace of the courtesans becomes a low brothel, and the painters of the Mannerist and Baroque periods give to the brothel scene complete autonomy. The identity of the Prodigal of the parable becomes altogether submerged under the merry noise and antics of revellers, such as those familiar to us from Caravaggesque painting in Italy and the Netherlands; the repentance and return to the parents' home are forgotten.[2] If these paintings represent allegories upon the folly of surrender to the senses, the only visible moral lies in the fact, seldom omitted but seldom stressed, that the revellers get their pockets picked by harlot or procuress. That prince of revellers, Shakespeare's Falstaff, refers to the parable as suitable decoration for convivial surroundings, a "pretty slight drollery" on a par with a German hunting scene.



9–2. Illustration to Johann Meder, *Quadragesimale . . . de filio prodigo*, 1495.

2. *Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen of Amsterdam*

In painting, both the religious and the moral meaning of the parable are lost in the secularizing process. The same is largely true of engraving and woodcut. There is only one place in Europe where we find secularized versions of the Prodigal Son story in which the morality survives intact: Amsterdam. This town was, in 1541, still very far from achieving the commercial and artistic supremacy which was to be hers in the seventeenth century; she was overshadowed at this time in both respects by Antwerp.

We have already become acquainted with the art of Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen, who gave us that curious allegorical sequence of vices and virtues, recounting the shift from Poverty to Wealth and back again (7-12). Teunissen, who flourished between 1527 and 1561, is barely known today, but must have enjoyed some fame in his time as a painter (although few of his paintings survive), as cartographer (the authorities of Amsterdam commissioned him to execute a large panorama of the city), and above all as a prolific designer of moralities, which he himself cut in wood. We have from his hand an early example of the *Steps of Life*, simple statements on the vanity of life and fanciful allegories on the various social follies (5-5 and 9-4). His most striking narrative achievement occurs in a six-part sequence, suitable for fixing as a frieze upon a wall, about a Dutch prodigal whom he names Careless (*Sorgeloos*, 9-6). Attired in magnificent costume, accompanied by the gorgeous Mistress Luxury and a companion or parasite called Comfort, Careless charges recklessly through the countryside. Like the German Prodigals, he dines in state with his courtesan and dances with her, little heeding the warning and mockery of the Fool behind him. The moment of reckoning comes at the gaming-table, when Indigence, Poverty and Fickle Fortune interrupt him and cruelly drive him out, thus taking over the role of the harlots who expelled the Prodigal with sticks. Abandoned by his mistress and parasite (who seem to have helped to strip his master of his wealth), Careless is reduced—not to keeping swine like the true Prodigal—but to acting as the meanest domestic servant to the peasant Indigence and his wife Poverty,

1. Sermons of this kind were heard by Erasmus in Paris (J. H. Huizinga, *Waning of the Middle Ages*, 1924, p. 256).

2. Even when the other episodes survive, they are relegated to a subsidiary role in the background, or else (as in paintings by Frans Francken II in the Louvre and elsewhere) to narrow border strips surrounding the dominant central scene of the Revels.



9–3. Hans Sebald Beham. *The Parable of the Prodigal Son* (c. 1530).

A certain man had two sons:

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

And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.

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

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

And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

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

I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee,

And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.

And he arose, and came to his father. But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called they son.

But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet:

And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat, and be merry:

For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry.

Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musick and dancing.

And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound.

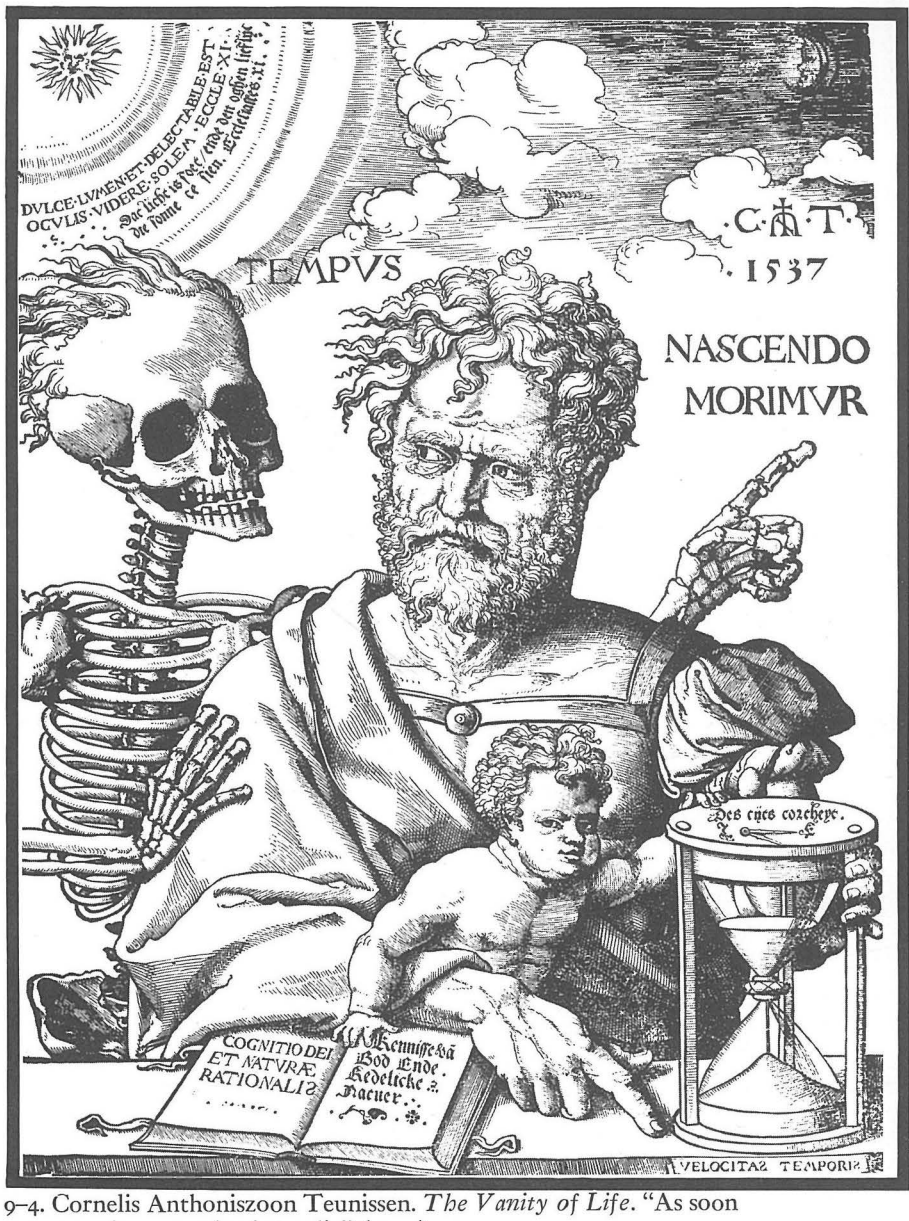
And he was angry, and would not go in: therefore came his father out, and intreated him.

And he answering said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment: and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends:

But as soon as this thy son was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.

And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.

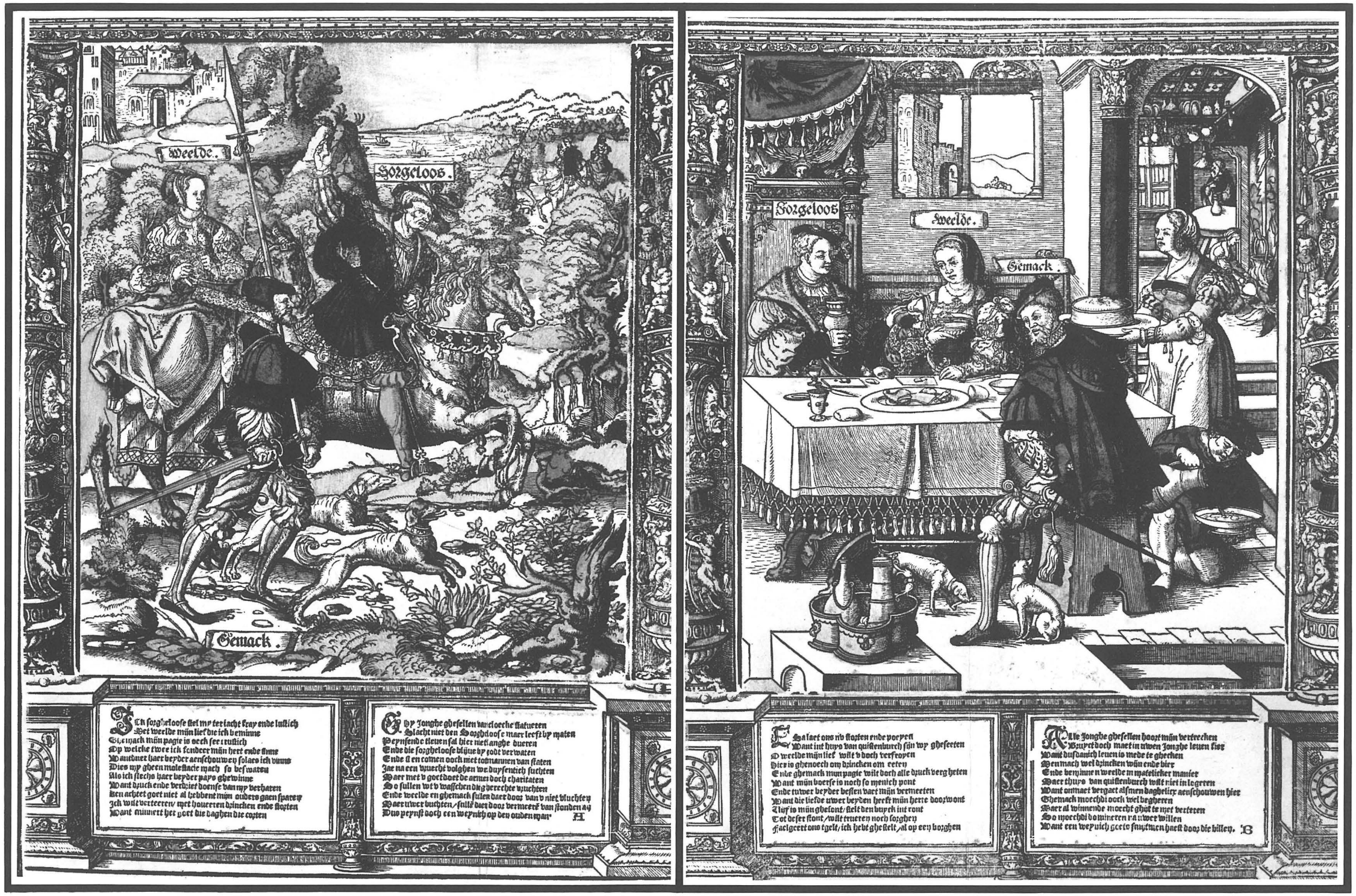
It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found. (St. Luke 15:11–32)



9–4. Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen. *The Vanity of Life*. "As soon as we are born, we begin to die" (1537).



9–5. Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen. *Allegory of Gluttony* (c. 1535).



9–6. Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen. *Careless* (c. 1541).

"1. I, Careless, set off gaily for the hunt, in all my finery, together with my darling Luxury, whom I love; and Comfort, my page, is also spick and span. I believe in these two, heart and soul, and take pleasure in contemplating them. So nothing can trouble me, as long as I am on good terms with them only fear and sorrow can take them away from me. Money is no worry to me, even if my parents have had to save for it. I want to spend it all carousing and tippling. The days shorten even as the money diminishes. 2. Come on! Let's blue the money and drink it away, now that we are sitting in the house of Squanderburg! Mistress Luxury, my dear, be merry, here there is plenty to drink and eat; and Comfort, my page, forget your cares! for my purse is still full of pounds. My recklessness is in the interests of both of you. My heart is filled with the love I bear to you. My body is healthy; round out your bellies, nothing to worry or care about now! If the money runs out, I can pawn everything.





3. Hey there, piper, play us a tune! The meal is over, we want to dance for a while, I'll pay you well. Luxury and I, Careless, will banish our cares by skipping about, and let Comfort my page observe our joy. So play the cobblestone (instrument, tune?) until there's not a penny left in my purse. Disaster to the purse follows the fortune of women. So let us dance, carouse and make merry, even if joy should turn into misery. 4. Oh cruel fortune, why do you treat me thus, for all my partrimony is lost. I am inwardly much tormented, because my beloved Luxury is abandoning me, as is Comfort, for they are proud of heart. Indigence (right), Poverty (center) and Fickle Fortune (foreground right) are beginning to beckon; evil, instead of good, comes over me, for I cannot pay any more. Oh, I have lost my money, my property, and all my fine clothes in a single round. But what do I care, as long as I can dance with Luxury in my under-tunic? (In landscape, upper left: Careless gambles with Fickle Fortune (?), and Poverty drives Careless away.



5. Alas and alack, what shall I do? Luxury and Comfort are escaping from me; I am quite desperate, for I had put all my trust in those two. They wouldn't listen, even if I called them back. It seems that all I have done for them is forgotten, because I can no longer open up my purse. For Indigence fastens his teeth into me, and Poverty even beats me. Oh, how I would eat if I had anything! Not long ago, I could gorge at will, and now I lie down in the straw with the wretched. 6. Oh, how pitifully I carry Poverty, and Indigence pushes me in the back at will (above left). Friends and relatives turn away from me, thus have I spoiled everything with my evil way of life. The dog and the cat feel the same way, the cat sits in the larder, and the dog licks the pot. Poverty cooks something sullenly. We feed the fire with straw, old chairs and clogs, because peat and wood are too costly. Yes, Careless now must be satisfied with a stinking sprat and a rancid herring (Indigence at table, Careless carrying straw)."

who live in an abject Dutch hovel. Literally burdened with Poverty, spurred on by Indigence, Careless has appealed in vain to his friends and relatives (top left), who thus reverse the outcome of the Prodigal Son story. There is no tearful, joyful reconciliation with the father, no generous pardon and celebration. The repentance and pardon are essential to the religious meaning of the parable, since they guarantee not only the Father's forgiveness of particular sins but also the redemption generally of man's state of sin in the sacrifice of Christ (symbolized in the slaughter of the fatted calf).

Teunissen expatiates upon this wider religious meaning at the end of a curious sequence which, although based this time on the parable as a whole, has acquired a heavy allegorical embellishment and a Protestant twist (9-7). The "hero" is now identified as the Prodigal Son himself, who defies the laws of Conscience by demanding his patrimony, feasts with Flesh, Vanity, Heresy and Avarice, while World treads his Conscience underfoot and (paradoxically) Self-Interest runs off with his money. In the third scene he is expelled by harlots, one of whom is marked Heresy, and directed by a Popish female pilgrim called Superstition towards the Temple of Satan. (The commentators identified as Satan the "citizen of that country" who employed the Prodigal as swineherd.) The temple pillar here is labelled Obstinacy (i.e. that of the Papists), and—most significant—the word "disease" is marked upon Satan's throne. "Disease," which must refer to syphilis, appears in the next plate as an old woman with a urine-glass, accompanied by haggard Hunger and Despair. With War, Death, Devil and Hell, no terrors are lacking around the Pharisaic pig-trough from which the Prodigal feeds. After his penitence, and after receiving pardon from the Father, the Prodigal embraces Peace, etc., while the Father reasons with the jealous Elder Brother. The latter is identified, in accordance with the medieval commentators, as the Jewish people, but the Protestant reader would supply the Pope or Roman Church, just as he would recognize in the background Baptism and Communion as the only two sacraments preserved by the Reformers.



9–7. Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen. *The Prodigal Son* (c. 1535). (For biblical text, see 9–3) 1. The Prodigal Son demands his patrimony, which his Father counts out to him; he leaves (background left) disregarding the Laws of Conscience. 2. The Prodigal sits gaming and feasting with Flesh; World, with crown and sceptre (left), treads Conscience underfoot; Avarice, with the goblet, hands a bag of gold to Self-Interest. Behind, (False) Reason plays the bagpipes, Heresy is crowned with a scorpion and holds a fox (?), and Vanity



blows bubbles. Above, the Spirit of Error and Fanaticism. 3. Driven out in rags by the whores, the Prodigal is directed by Superstition (a Catholic Pilgrim) to the Temple of Satan, which is supported by the pillar of Obstinacy. Satan, from his throne of Disease, points into the countryside behind, where the Prodigal must tend the swine. 4. The Prodigal eats the leaven of the Pharisees at a trough surrounded by Despair (suffering the Pricks of Conscience), Disease, Hunger, and War. Death, the Devil and Hell await him on the left.

Teunissen turned yet a third time to the theme of the wastrel, but in very schematic fashion, by means of single allegorical figures (9-8). We see the fledgling, barely out of his shell, demand his patrimony from a bearded figure, obviously his father. With his new-grown wings, he departs with horse, hawk and hound. He is soon losing his fine feathers, however, and is immediately reduced to beggary and infamy. Disease and imprisonment, symbolized in the crutch and shackles, are not normally part of the Prodigal's punishment in the dramatic elaborations of the parable, but will figure



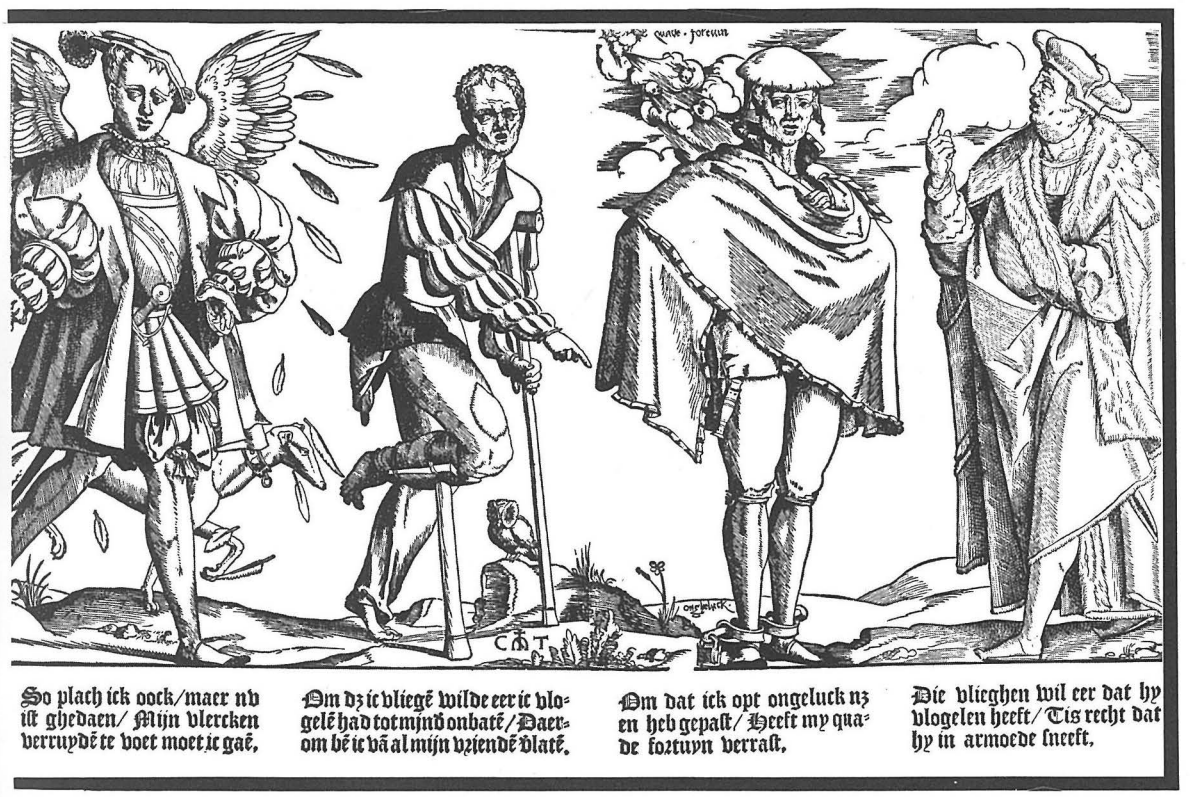
9–8. Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen. *The Rise and Fall of the high-flying youth* (c. 1535, text mutilated). "1. . . . just baptized . . . as begin . . . I . . . . chests (of money) . . . . year. 2. I will ride, fly or wander, and serve no-one.



5. The Prodigal Son kneels before his Father, accompanied by Faith, Penitence (treading desperate Conscience underfoot), Hope, Truth and Love. 6. The Prodigal Son is embraced by Peace, while Justice, Delight and Constancy stand by. Background left, the jealous Jewish People protest the slaying of the fatted calf to the Father. Background right in the Church, the two Protestant Sacraments of Communion and Baptism are administered.

prominently in our seventeenth-century Rake and Harlot stories. By denying to his Careless and high-flying youth the comforts of penitence and forgiveness, and by stressing their humiliation instead, Teunissen becomes an important, if isolated, forerunner of Hogarth.

From the Netherlands, otherwise so rich in moralizing genre, I have been able to find (apart from the work of Teunissen) only a small group of engravings published in Haarlem at the end of the century (9-9). The draftsman does not identify himself, but he may well be the famous artist and art historian of Haarlem, Karel van Mander, who designed a number of elegant allegories on marriage, adultery and cuckoldry. As they stand (the group may possibly be incomplete) the engravings cannot be termed a strict narra-



3. So I . . . . as well, but now it is done, my feathers are falling, I must go on foot. Since I wished to fly before I had wings, ... I am abandoned by all my friends. 4. Since I never provided for hard times, ill-fortune has overtaken me. He who wishes to fly before he has wings, must expect to perish in poverty."



Arte laboriosa cultu decorata superbit.
Foeda cave, foedis quę nequitiis escas incubit
Nuda manet, mens nuda Deo nah turpis egestas.
Quam laudum nesciat subiici tollere cupido

La chair vile en orne et decore, Et lame helas: est sans habit
Vaine gloire en ayme encore. Plus que vertu ont en vn fit
Ionc de lyf eiertmen zeer Dedel zyel ledemen nacht,
Myer waerlmen zyel ier. Dan inwendig die zalich macht



Dum misera fugitiua cupit solamina uitę
Corpus: lętifero pręidam male consia ueneno
Culpa dolore premens Crudeli uerbere terret:
At placidam tristi turbat merore quietem

Quand noistre chair a tout son plaisir Dant quil en blanc baise et
Lame est chassee en desplaisir. Par la mauuaise conscience
Als tuleesch na behagen. Hoovert met genegen
Wert dye zyel geslagen Doort zondelyc Wroegen



Carni delicię mensęque ante ora paratę,
Et uarię genus omne dapis solamina prębent
Faucibus ast animum sicus multumque fatigat
Ardentem sitis, et miseranda fames, dum prima malorū

LEpicure en gensse cuisine. Son ame traite mallement,
Laissant la pouure ame en famine. Ronger vn os pitaysement.
Met vuellust smecken tuleesch, Epicuri iongeren
Tlichaam cryght meer dan teesch Danne zyel moet hongeren



Si cuo pallentis sentit fera spicula morbi:
Mox ut opem properata ferat medicina parato
Astantem uarios tangit pia cura medentis
Pectę laborantis, metuendaque fata timentis.

Si le Corps chet en maladie. On quiert docteur en tout
Mais si lame ijy se desfie, Bien peu en taschet dy penseren
Wil het lijf zeer treffen. Met de doctor dan wesen
Sy die zyel ongesont. Wie zeer zo haer genesen

tive sequence, but they appeal to us for the liveliness of their line, which is more sensuous than the stiff contours and hatching of Teunissen's woodcuts. The harlot in the first of the surviving plates is masked and decolletée Venetian-style, as proud as the peacock accompanying her, but she cannot hide the Dutch squatness of her figure. She dances and feasts with her lover, who in the fourth scene lies sick in bed. The wealth of the revellers is contrasted throughout with the poverty of their soul, symbolized by a ragged, emaciated creature which is neglected or persecuted and finally left to die unattended, easy prey to the devil. It is not actually stated that the man's sickness in the fourth plate is the result of his sexual rather than gastronomic excesses; but a contemporary would surely have inferred that the body was going the same way as the syphilitic-looking soul. Sex is represented as the family killer in a popular emblem book of this period, designed and written by Rubens' master, the painter-engraver of Antwerp, Otto van Veen (9-10). The illustration shows how the brothel leads to beggary for the whole family, and to the premature death of the breadwinner. Syphilis was in fact so much dreaded in the sixteenth century that one of its supposed cures, Guaiacum, or Lignum Vitae, distilled from wood-bark first brought over from America by Spanish sailors in 1508, ranked with gunpowder, the magnet, the mechanical clock, etc., as one of the twenty great discoveries made by modern man (9-11). Embedded in the picture-book in praise of technological invention lies a severe moral warning.

Designed and engraved by artists from Antwerp, the album was produced under the aegis of the brilliant Medicean court, and it is perhaps no coincidence that the Florentine—the Italian—who chose the subjects should pay such an honor to this particular marvel of medical science. None were more conscious than the Italians of the fearful levelling powers of syphilis, which struck down prince and pauper, priest and soldier alike. It was in Italy, the land which nurtured the poetry of love and the iconography of female beauty, that there arose the poetry and iconography of venereal disease.



9–10. From Otto van Veen, *Quinti Horatii Flacci emblemata . . .* (1607).

9–11. Johannes Stradanus. *The manufacture and use of Guiacum* (from *Nova Reperta*, c. 1580).



9–9. Dutch. *The Revellers and their Soul* (c. 1600).
(1–4?) 5. "Base flesh is decorated, but the soul left naked, and vanity preferred to virtue." 6. "When one surrenders to the flesh, and the pleasures of the dance, the soul is expelled is misery by an evil conscience." 7. "The epicure feasts, coddles his ass, and lets his soul starve on a bone." 8. "If the body falls ill, we call a doctor, but the soul we leave to sicken unattended."

6. HYACVM, ET LVES VENEREA.
Grauata morbo ab hocce membra mollia Leuabit ista sorpta coctio arboris .

3. Courtesans and harlots in popular verse and social life (Rome and Venice)

Syphilis was believed to have been brought to Italy with the French armies which first invaded the peninsula in the 1490's; it was therefore known as the *mal franzes*, the French disease (in revenge, the French called homosexuality the Italian love). All sorts of ailments unconnected with venereal disease were laid at the door of sexual promiscuity, and it was the women, already deemed capable of causing illness and death through witchcraft, who were blamed first for entrapping and then for infecting the hapless male. In Italy, prostitute-baiting became carnival entertainment. In Florence the famous macabre *Carro della Morte*, designed in 1511/12 by the painter Piero di Cosimo, and described with such vivacity by Vasari, was accompanied by songs reminding the courtesans that their grand life cannot last, and that they would do better to repent. In Rome 1525 an artist and poet called Maestro Andrea made a cart containing papier-mâché effigies of all the old courtesans of Rome, each inscribed with her name; he accompanied it through the streets disguised as a crippled beggar, and threw the lot into the river before the Pope's eyes. Later, the courtesans took their revenge by beating Maestro Andrea across the town.[3] This occasion was also marked by poems which describe with relish the horrors of the French disease, and the "fearful monsters" (*paurose mostri*) of the Incurables' Hospital in Rome (9-12): "full of scabs from head to foot . . . with their flesh all consumed to the bone, pussing and stenching . . . (*Piena di piaghe dal capo alle piante/ . . . Chi le carne ha consumpte tutte quante / per fino all'osso con marcia e fetore . . .*).[4] The painter Maestro Andrea hailed from Venice and was a close friend of the famous Venetian poet, publicist and pornographer Pietro Aretino, who also contributed a verse *Lamento* on this occasion.[5] With characteristic malice, Aretino dwells upon the courtesan's moment of splendor in order better to gloat over her punishment as she grows old, loses her clientèle, is reduced to letting rooms, taking in washing, and serv- to serve all men equally, and finally imagines her lamenting ing as a cook in taverns. The poet warns her to be less proud, her "pains, and cursed fate, the sores I have, with my head all bandaged" (*ohimé le doglie, oh maledetta sorte / Che piaghe ho io, che va un lenzuol per testa*).

Such was the material used by carnival entertainers and itinerant ballad-singers. We find titles such as *Boast and Lament of the Ferrarese Courtesan* (*Il Vanto della Cortegiana Ferrarese . . . Et il lamento . . . nella sua morte*)[6] published in Florence, Perugia and Siena; the *Life of the poor Harlots, and how they gradually decline* from Bologna,[7] and the *Lament of the Famous Courtesan Signora Anzola* written about 1600 by the Venetian Bartolommeo Bonfante, and issued in an excerpted form as an illustrated broadsheet (9-13). In their preoccupation with the courtesan and the dangers of sexual promiscuity, popular prints and poems faithfully reflect an aspect of society which was felt to be peculiarly Italian.

For the number and personal wealth of courtesans, there were no cities in Italy—probably none in all Europe—to equal Rome and Venice. Rome subsisted on religion, in which the city naturally enjoyed something of a monopoly. This lucrative industry enabled Rome to increase her wealth, even as that of Italy as a whole declined. Visitors to the Holy City were amazed at the omnipresence of poor beggars on the one hand, and rich courtesans on the other. According to a census of 1599, these "honored" (i.e., suitably maintained) ladies numbered eight hundred in an "eligible" female population of about 35,000. Their homes were counted among the holy shrines to be visited, and their adored persons were commemorated in verse, as was for example the famous Imperia, mistress of Agostino Chigi, wealthy banker and patron of Raphael. This was however in the early sixteenth century, and by the following century, which is that of our first picture stories on the subject, the fame of the Roman courtesan had been far outstripped by that of her Venetian colleague. Although at least one early narrative strip must be a Roman publication, the best rake and harlot stories are Venetian, and it is in Venice that the profession reaches its social apogee.

The Most Serene Republic of Venice, under the prudent government of her merchant oligarchy, was politically the most stable city in Italy, and one of the most stable states in Europe. She alone, among the major Italian city-states of the Renaissance, preserved her political independence in the face of Habsburg and Bourbon power. Although



9–12. Roman or Venetian. Titlepage to Maestro Andrea's *Purgatory and Lament of the Roman courtesans* (c. 1530).

3. Kurz, pp. 137–38.
4. The whole poem is reprinted in Kurz, p. 163.
5. Reprinted in Kurz, pp. 164–65.
6. Kurz, p. 141, n.1.
7. *Canzon in Tenor de Sier Herculano Qual narra la vita delle povere puttane . . . come vanno declinando a poco a poco . . . In Bologna, Per Vittorio Benacci* (B. M. Library 1071. g.7.29).



9–13. Venetian. *Lament of the Famous Courtesan Signora Anzola* (verses by Bartolommeo Bonfante, c. 1600).

she passed her commercial peak in the course of the sixteenth century, she still struck the seventeenth-century visitor with her prosperity; she amazed him also with certain freedoms which her citizens enjoyed. There was religious freedom for the large Protestant, Jewish and Muslim minorities; and there was an unusual degree of freedom for women. If Rome must appear hypocritical, with so many prostitutes in a society of celibate clergy, the moral and social franchise granted to the Venetian woman, courtesan or wife, seems only fitting in the hedonistic atmosphere of a great trading center, where ecclesiastical authority was weaker than elsewhere in Italy.

Marriage was principally a civil contract, and one which was relatively easy to break; wives were freely allowed the companionship of one or more cavaliers (*cavalier servente*, or *cicisbeo* in Venetian slang) even at the risk of censure by the State morals committee.[8] Patrician fathers encouraged their sons to keep mistresses, who might even, with luck and good management, succeed in marrying their noble lovers.

The number of prostitutes was variously estimated at between 10,000 and 20,000. This was in a city with a total "eligible" female population of about 75,000. Given this extraordinary statistic, one must assume there can have been no rigid distinction between the professional, and the amateur, part-time or married prostitute; and the term *cortigiana maritata* appears frequently in the *Catalogo di tutte le principal et piu honorate cortigiane*, one of the several handbooks published at the end of the sixteenth century, giving prices,[9] addresses, descriptions, and spicy anecdotes relating to one of the greatest tourist-attractions in the city. Similarly, pimps were found among the patrician and priestly, as well as the common orders. Class distinctions among prostitutes were entirely a matter of wealth. The superior courtesan was known as *cortigiana onorata*; her less fortunate colleague was a *putana* or harlot. Montaigne estimated the former at a mere one hundred and fifty,[10] but we know that special taxes were levied upon their wealth, which were applied toward maintenance of the arsenal. Our narrative strips and picture stories, like the poems mentioned above, concern primarily the superior courtesan, who is punished by time and disease until she is forced to descend to the inferior status of harlot. The Venetian *putana* was chiefly remarkable for her numbers; the *cortigiana onorata* was renowned throughout Europe for better reasons.

Though Venice lacked the religious shrines and ancient monuments of Rome, she could attract the tourist through her courtesans who enjoyed an unparalleled social prestige. The English traveller Thomas Coryat tells us that they were "so graced that they sat on high alone by themselves in the best room of all the playhouse." Coryat goes on to warn his fellow-countryman that were he rash enough to try to unmask one of them, out of curiosity or fun, he would be "cut in pieces forthwith, were he never so noble or worthy a personage."[11] The Venetian courtesan was considered to be not only of surpassing beauty, and a superb dancer, but also culturally gifted, especially in musical performance (9-14).



9–14. *Venetian Courtesan playing harpsichord* (1609).

8. Molmenti, Part II, Vol. II, p. 118.
9. The prices varied from half a gold scudo to thirty. Two hundred fifteen names are listed.
10. Cf. Molmenti, Part II, Vol. II, p. 244.
11. *Crudities*, 1611, quoted by Winifred Smith, p. 60.

The illustrious Veronica Franco (1546–1591) was both musician and wit, and received the most distinguished men of her time, from the painter Tintoretto to the French King, Henri III. After she had retired from her "honored profession" she founded in 1580 a hospital (*Soccorso*) for her less fortunate colleagues.

The houses of courtesans were the epitome of luxury, as the engraver of our 9-19 below (scenes 6-7) conveys to the best of his abilities. They were leaders of fashion, and excelled the wives of the wealthiest in extravagance of stuffs, refinement of trimmings, and costliness of jewelry. *Costumi cortigianieschi*, which were not confined to the profession, were the envy of foreign ladies, and included at least three features peculiar to Venice: first, the strange forked coiffures made of brilliant hair, carefully gilded in the sun and with dyes; second, the complete exposure of rouged breasts (that *espoitrinement* as the French admiringly called it); and third, the use of extremely high pattens or *zoccoli*, which literally raised the Venetian woman above lesser mortals, and made walking difficult or even impossible without the support of maidservants on either side (9-15). If our engraver (9-19, scenes 4 and 6) limits the décolletage, it is in the interests of decency; if he omits the pattens, except as worn by the old servant in scene 4, this may be because they were beginning to go out of fashion in the second half of the seventeenth century, or because the artist personally preferred French fashions.

Not the least of the services rendered by the courtesan to society lay in the realm of art. The real-life courtesan inspired a significant change in Renaissance religious iconography, when Mary Magdalene, in the pictures showing her in penitence for her life of prostitution, loses her ascetic appearance and becomes an alluring youthful beauty. The rise of the nude in Venetian painting is intimately linked with the courtesans whose ideal image appears not only in the reclining figures of Giorgione and Titian, but also in those innumerable half-length paintings labelled "Flora," etc., with their golden hair streaming over a plump bared breast. Even in the poorer quarters of Venice, prostitutes exhibited themselves like a picture, framed in the street-level window, as their servants combed their blonde hair (9-19, scene 10); any competent artist would have ready access to the home of the courtesan and in scene 6 the designer of our *Fate of the Harlot* might have represented himself at work.



9–15. *Venetian Courtesan walking* (1578).

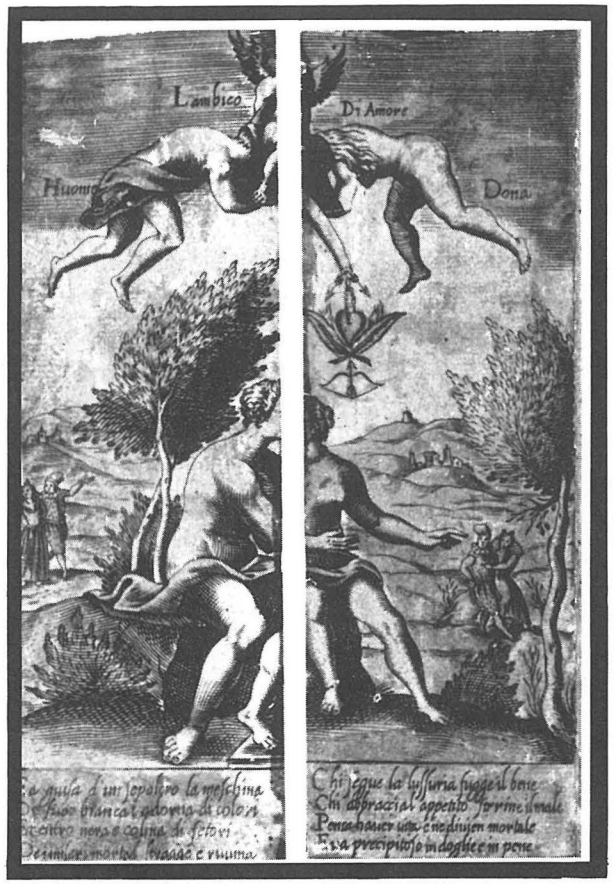
4. *Rakes and harlots picture strips (Venice and Rome)*

Some courtesans divided their time between Venice and Rome. In so doing they were merely following an established trade-route. Venice was the distribution center for popular prints in sixteenth-century Italy just as she was for book-production and exchange. German graphic art entered Italy through Venice, where the popular woodcut, despised in the rest of Italy, still flourished. We have already discussed two Venetian sixteenth-century broadsheets (p. 202, 7-4 and 7-8) and it would seem that the activity of the Bertelli family exceeded that of any Florentine or Roman publisher in the field. In the later sixteenth century Rome was importing printers and booksellers from Venice, and one is tempted to hypothesize that all our strips and picture stories originate there, and that even the signed Roman strip of 1611 derives from a Venetian prototype. It is preceded, at any rate, by the quasi-narrative print with stanzas from Bonfante's poem, mentioned briefly above (9-13). In the foreground stands the courtesan in all her glory, surrounded by suitors and enjoying (according to the verse) superb banquets, songs, dance, music, and the caresses of lovers (*I soni i balli i canti / Le careze di amanti / I superbi boconi*). Smaller figures above show the fatal embrace, before the courtesan descends the road to "sores, scabs, and stench" (*croste, rogne, e puzor*) and the hospital. We find the same theme unfolded—literally—in an example of that rare type of broadsheet known as the transformation print. It was probably engraved by an artist of Verona on the Venetian mainland (9-16). With its allegorical and mythological trimmings, and the bizarre machine for punishing lechers, we are reminded once again of carnival processions.

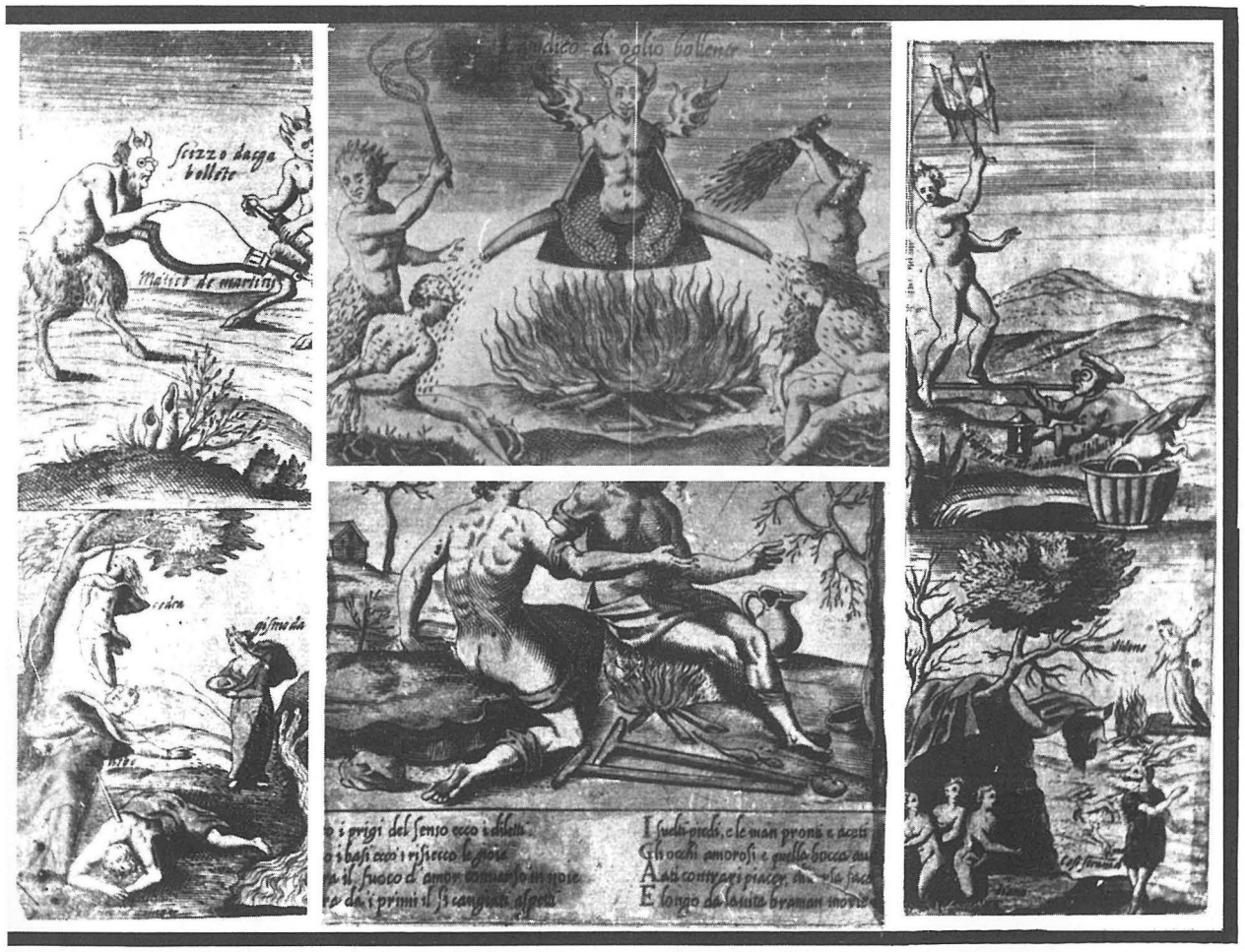
The earliest narrative strip on the subject of rakes and harlots is preserved in the little-known Douce Collection

9–16. Italian. *The dangers of love* (Transformation print, c. 1600).
Stage 1 (all flaps closed): Naked lovers lie in a lush landscape beneath an alembic of love, into which Man and Woman simultaneously dive, and which puts forth the usual symbols of love.

Stage 2 (side flaps open): The lovers have turned into cripples resting on a barren road, below an alembic containing the devil and emitting boiling oil, which spurts over the lovers. Simultaneously they are lashed by demons. Elsewhere on the inside of the flaps: emblems of folly and mythological examples of the fatal consequences of love.







Stage 3 (upper and lower flaps open): Venus chastises Cupid (center), and a terrible apparatus (upper flap) is manipulated by Food, Drink, and Love, to crush or chop up the lecher on the table of Lechery, which is supported by Desire, Pleasure and Ignorance. Finally (lower flap) the sinner is carried into the madhouse, covered in a black cloth.

at Oxford, and is datable on costume to very roughly 1600 (9-17). Only the first two scenes are devoted to the courtesan in all her glory. Quarrels and homicide among her lovers provoke a series of punishments for her—imprisonment, exile, and the hospital (scene 8). Here, however, she is tended by a nun who exhorts her to repent. She does so, sells the little property left to her, and performs acts of mercy. The alternative (11 ff.) is terrible indeed: a passport to Hell, with all the torments proper to that place.

We know from the stock catalogue of a Roman broadsheet publisher that in 1614 he was selling a *Life of the Harlot* together with a pendant *Life of the Rake*. A strip has survived on exactly this subject, bearing the name of a (different) Roman publisher called Callisto Ferrante and the date 1611 (9-18). With its sixteen scenes arranged four by four, it bears a superficial resemblance to the Douce *Harlot*, but it is better engraved, with more contrasted lighting. In the opening scenes there are obvious similarities of motif; the meeting, the revels, prison, homicide, and the galleys (note the figures hanging on the gallows in the background to this scene in both strips). With the story of the male counterpart, however, we are given a specific occasion for the first arrest and imprisonment—a loan from a bank in order to buy his lady's favors. The loan is recalled, and after a spell in the debtors' prison, the rake sells his property, like the Douce harlot. He does so not in order to reform but for the very opposite reason: in order to renew his vicious life, which is rewarded with further punishment. Once again he is released, and once again he returns to his old life, at a somewhat lower level. He now engages in common robbery-with-violence, for (as the verse reminds us) "vice is ineradicable." His ill-gotten gains enable him to return to his courtesan, at which point it is the turn of nature herself, rather than human society, to inflict a more lasting punishment—the *mal franzese*. Half-cured, the rake is reduced (11) to beggary and the vilest life imaginable among the Roman vagrants and unemployables, those who (in the words of Pope Sixtus V, writing in 1587) "swarm over all the streets and squares in the city in search of bread; they fill public places and private houses, and even the churches, with their groans and cries. . . . They wander round like animals, and their one concern is the search for food."[12] The narrative rhythm slows progressively over the last five scenes, down to the final one which is imbued with silent gloom. No funeral this, but the disposal of a useless, decrepit body.

The difference in character between the *Harlot* and *Rake* strips, if they were indeed issued as pendants, is remarkable. The former is religious and medieval, where the latter is secular and modern. The harlot, after a brief life of sin, repents, and under the threat of eternal tortures, turns to virtue. The rake sins again and again, is punished again and again, in prison, in galley, and finally—not in hell—but on earth, within the society of the living, expiring in a hideous, protracted and thoroughly realistic fashion.

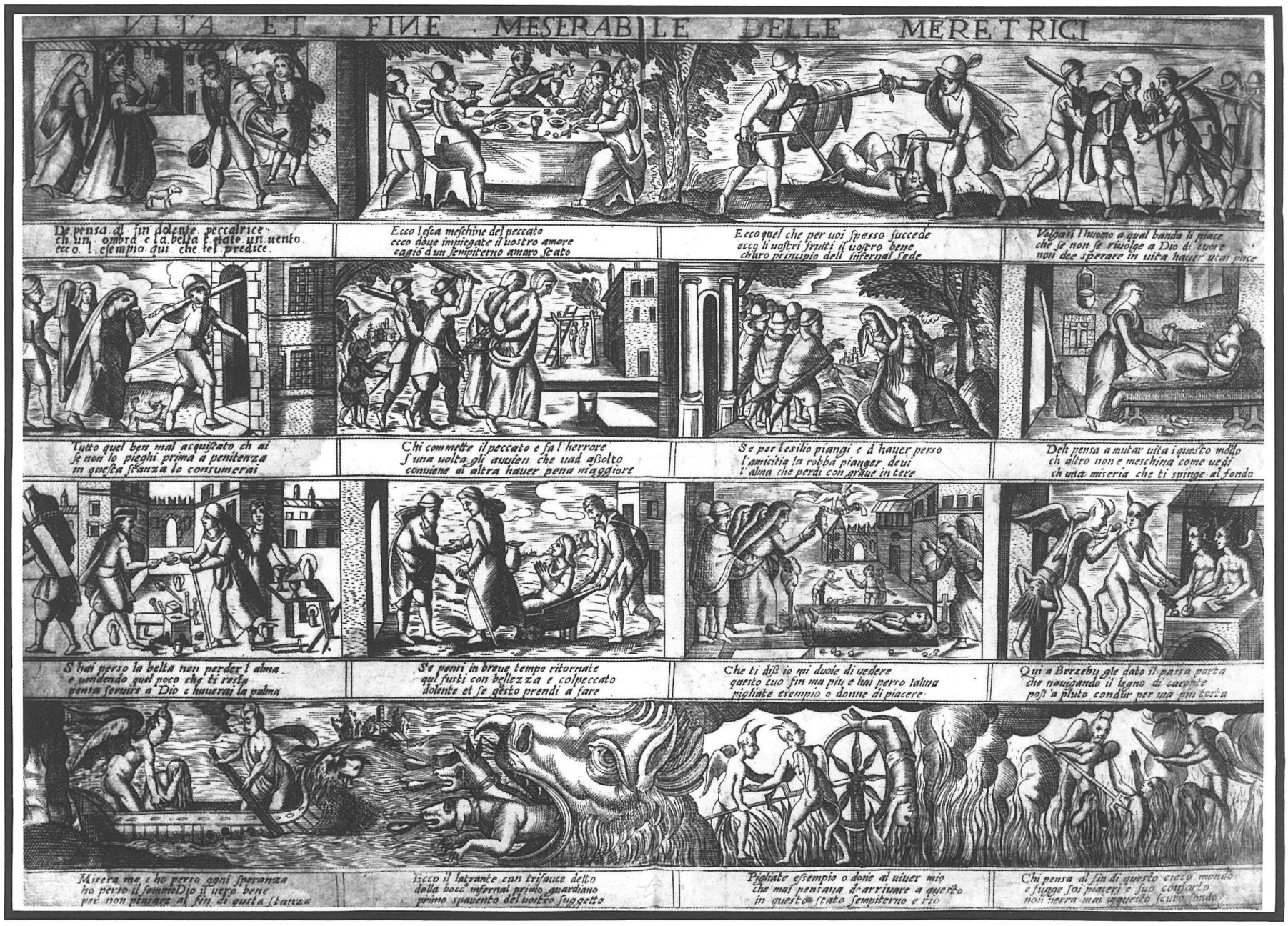
5. *Fate of the harlot: Venice*

A story very similar in substance to the strips was produced in mid-seventeenth-century Venice, augmented with much local coloring. The tiny scenes of the strips have become large, independent plates, designed by a local painter. The Golden Age of Venetian painting was however a thing of the past, and the city which once exported painters now had to import them. The designer of our sequence is a mere name, Curtio Castagno, to whom no other works have ever been attributed; and his engraver is the equally obscure Giacomo Piccini. Yet their efforts, in the form of twelve engravings bearing the title *Mirror of the Fate of the Harlot* (9-19), must have enjoyed considerable renown outside Venice, for they were copied in both Bologna and Milan.

The tale opens on a wealthy young rake spotting a girl at some festivity of the humbler classes. Whispered promises are followed up in the second scene, where the procuress visits the girl in her modest home and makes an assignation literally behind the mother's back. With the help of the lover's *bravi*, and the dark of the night, the couple escape by gondola, within the curtains of which, according to Venetian custom, the first fruits of their love are to be enjoyed. The lover turns out to be as rich as the girl is poor, with fine clothes, servants, and a handsome villa on the Venetian mainland. She strolls proudly through a luxurious garden, but by the next scene she is already on the lookout for another lover. In the main square of St. Mark's at Carnival time she "turns her greedy and godless desires to Turks and Armenians and suchlike foreigners." (The law forbade prostitutes to take in Jews and Muslims.) It is a foreigner, although a Christian one (a Pole), whom she next receives (scene 6). She has been installed by a rich lover in a fine house, where she is having her portrait painted and where she has been entertaining some lowly fellow whom the maid has quickly to hide. Her relationship with the Pole is to prove her (and his) undoing, for they are surprised in the bedroom by the "first lover," who ruthlessly kills his rival. From this point, the courtesan makes a rapid descent. She has to sell her possessions, turn common prostitute serving the local riff-raff and English sailors (9), and with her former beauty ravaged by disease, she becomes procuress and police-informer in the viler districts of Venice. Hideously scarred, she is finally reduced to begging on a bridge, and expires in the hospital.

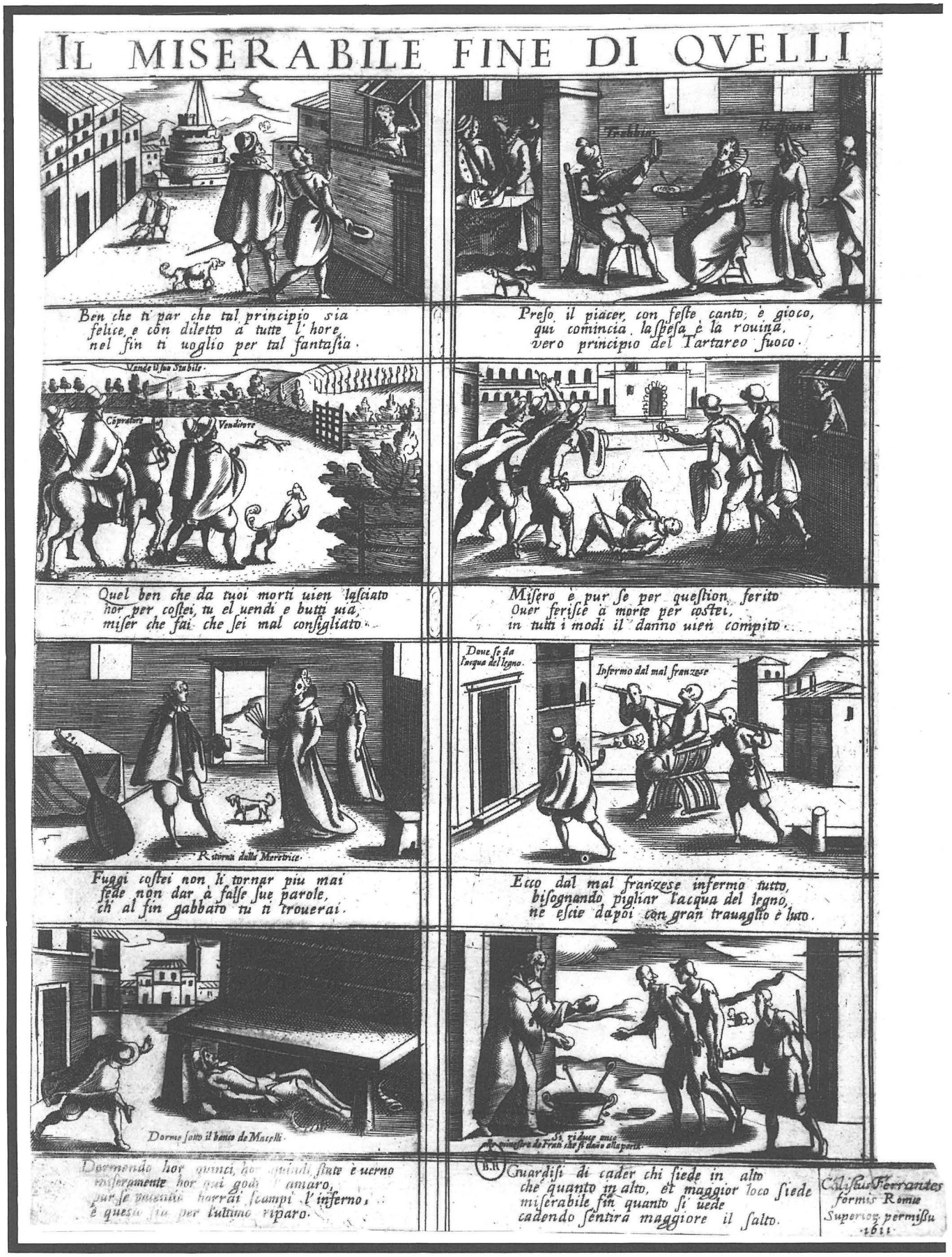
It is hardly necessary to stress the advance in narrative technique over the modest strips of fifty years before. Clumsy as he is in his handling of graphic detail, the artist has managed to convey richly the flavor of the social context, and the character of the physical surroundings. This indeed is Venice: the views onto canal or lagoon from every window; St. Mark's square with its masked revellers and adventurers, the foreigners with their exotic-looking moustaches and headdress (1); the *bravi* of the noblemen; the priest with his oriental beard (12); the gondolas of the rich and the humpbacked bridge of the poor (3, 11); the popular dances by the lagoon or in the square (1, 5); the nobleman's country estate, with its carefully cultivated gardens and elegant Palladian villa, and the luxuriously furnished town palazzo, with its

12. Quoted by Erlanger, p. 57.

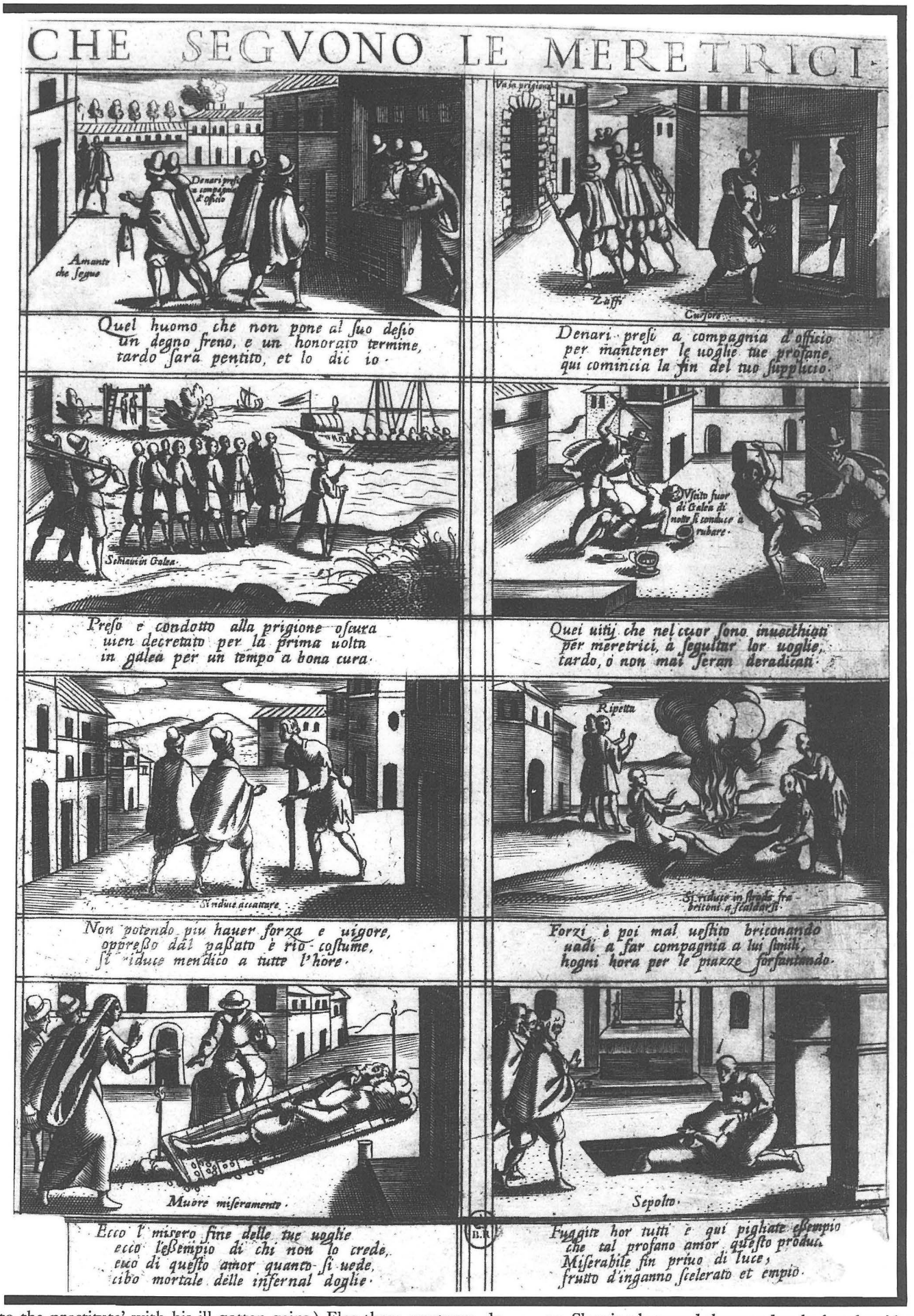


9–17. Italian (Venetian?) c. 1600. *Life and miserable end of prostitutes.*

"1. Here is the example to remind you, sinner, that a painful death awaits you, that beauty is but a shadow, the summer a wind. 2. Here is the disgraceful end of your sinful loves, which will lead to bitter regrets in eternity. 3. Here are the fruits of your infernally inspired activity. 4. When man turns to brigandage, rather than to God, he cannot hope to enjoy peace in this life. 5. With all your ill-gotten gains, if you do not repent, you will be sent into this place. 6. Whoever commits a sin, and is released from prison, will be punished more severely next time. 7. Rather than weep in your exile at having lost friends and possessions, you would do better to weep for your lost soul. 8. You should think of reforming your life, which is otherwise naught but a misery which will thrust you down. 9. Even if you have lost your beauty, do not lose your soul. By selling the little which remains to you, think of serving God, and you will be saved. 10. Reflect what you were a little while ago with your beauty and sinfulness, and do this (devote yourself to charity). 11. I am pained to witness your fate, but otherwise you would lose your soul. Take this as an example, o women of pleasure! 12. Here Beelzebub receives her passport, and carries her to Pluto in Charon's bark by the shortest route. 13. Woe is me, lack of forethought to my fate has destroyed all hope for me, I have lost all hope, the supreme Lord, the blessed life. 14. Here is the three-headed howling dog (Cerberus), the first guardian of the infernal maw, the first horror to be confronted. 15. O women, take my life as an example, I never thought I would meet this fate in eternity. 16. Whoever reflects on his fate in this blind world, and flees pleasure and comfort, will never end in this dark pit."



9–18 Rome. *The miserable fate of those who consort with prostitutes* (1611). (Each row reads from the left- to right-hand sheet) "1 Although you may view this as a happy beginning to a delightful future, just wait for the outcome. 2. The pleasure of parties, singing and gaming bring expense and ruin, and finally the fire of Tartarus. 3. Any man who does not suppress his desires, will later have cause to repent. ('Takes money from a bank.') 4. Since you have taken money from a bank in order to satisfy your profane desires, you thus meet your fate and your punishment. ('Messenger' from bank hands over notice of 'Cancellation' and rake 'goes to prison accompanied by the *Zaffi*,' i.e. police.) 5. ('Sells his property'—'Buyer' on horseback, 'Seller' on foot.) You miserable ill-advised man, you now have to sell all the property you inherited. 6. Miserable too, the man who gives or receives some fatal wound in a brawl: either way the damage is done. 7. Arrested, and placed in a dark cell, he is condemned the first time to the galleys. 8. ('Having left the galleys, he takes to nocturnal robbery.') It is hard or impossible to eradicate those vices which this traffic with prostitutes leaves ingrained upon the heart. 9. ('Returns



to the prostitute' with his ill-gotten gains.) Flee these creatures, do not return to them, do not trust heir false words, or you will be trapped. 10. Here is he, stricken with the French disease (syphilis), having to take a cure of the water of (Guinea) wood, which he will leave only with the greatest pains and struggle.

11. Having lost all his former strength, oppressed by his past and bad habits, he is reduced to permanent beggary.

12. ('Warms himself by the fire of street vagrants.' Dressed in rags, he wanders around the streets together with other vagrants, picking and stealing.

13. Sleeping here and there under the butchers' benches, summer and winter, he drinks the cup of bitterness to the dregs. But if you suffer patiently, you will avoid hell, and let this be your final atonement.

14. ('He is reduced to accepting soup given by the friars at the City Gate.') The higher one rises, the further one falls.

15. ('Dies miserably') Here is the miserable outcome of your desires, here is an example for the incredulous, here is what remains of his loves, lethal food of infernal pains.

16. ('Burial') So flee, all of you, from such worldly love and impious wicked folly, which ends in dark disaster."









9–19. Venetian. *Mirror of the Harlot's fate* (c. 1657).

"1. Whoever permits a daughter to attend parties and dances risks that the great treasure of her purity turn to lechery. When rakes mingle in their various disguises, dancing and talking, the woman falls into the snare of love. Fearing no social disapproval, these men surrender themselves to women and their own inflamed senses. 2. This is how the prostitute begins: a good and lovely girl of low birth is lured by the cunning, pernicious old procuress, who fixes a rendezvous. Having foolishly left her daughter idle, the mother labors at her household tasks, while the girl, naively believing the old woman's flattering lies, secretly promises to do as she is told. 3. At the hour when the owl hoots, and the baker sets off on his rounds, the lover arrives to light her departure, while the surrounding streets are secured by his *bravi*. He is eager to embrace the beloved creature, who steps barefoot and fearlessly into the gondola, in order to enjoy the fruits of love. 4. Sumptuously transformed in her appearance, she walks with Spanish hauteur in a flowered garden, accompanied by maid, page and lover, whose words arouse her brazen love. Gaily they go hunting or fishing, take rides in a carriage or boat, and join their wandering steps in amorous intrigue."



Arriua il Carneual, e la fanciulla
Ch' esser solea di pudititia esempio
Ogn' honesto pensier scaccia, ed annulla.

Non basta à gl' amor suoi la Casa, e'l Tempio
Che cangiata di uolto in piena Piazza
Adempie ardita il cor auaro, ed empio:

Con Turchi con Armeni e simil Razza
Fà che la scaltra serua, agiusti l'hora.
Mentre quà, e là col Drudo sue solazza.



Per adobbar gl' amanti il bel colore
con induttio pennello in mezza tela

Ecangio in tanto un palacco asconde, e cela
un'infame amator la scaltra serua

Sefinge del bel uolto una Minerua
Poner si discopre un tal natale



Vinta dà accesi, ed amorosi strali
Al nouello amator si dona in braccio
Che non han freno ò meta i desir frali

Negli ardori del cor si fà di ghiaccio
Mentre introdotto in casa il primo Amante
Promette a l'infedele, el ferro el laccio

Scopre il Drudo nascosto il Can latrante
E impetrar la salute in uan fatica
Dà un ferro ardito, e da una man bracate.

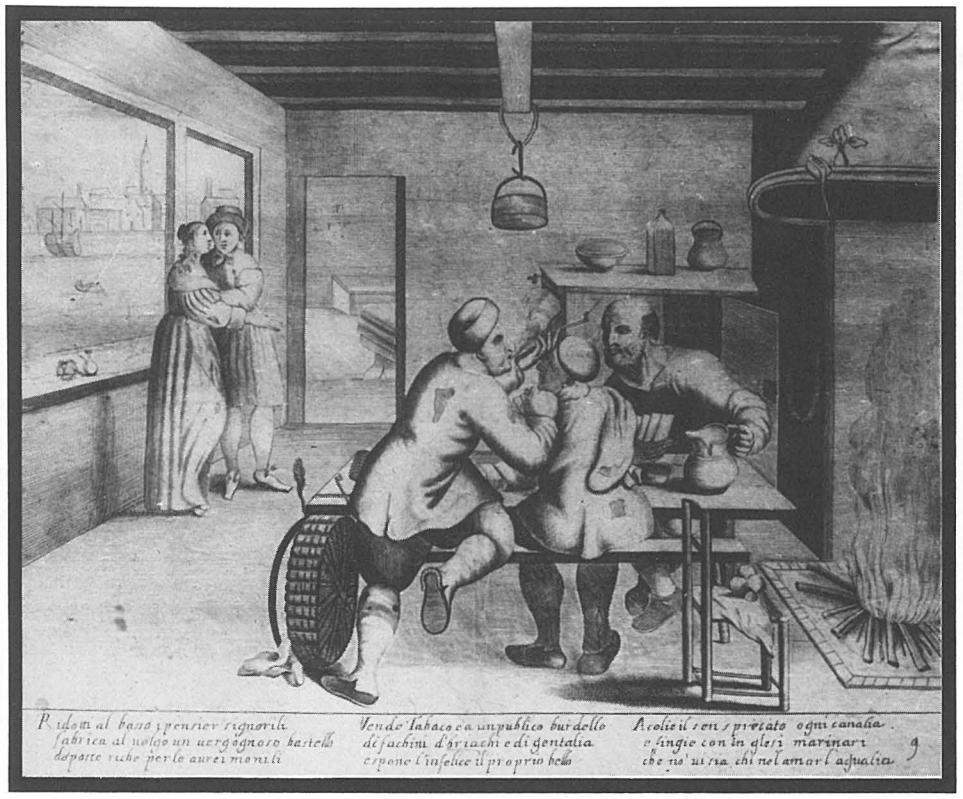


Priua di duol la miseria impudica
da gl' amici sheremita abandonata
ua di ritorno alla fortuna antica

Per duolo il uago senlo ricca intrada
d ogni superbo audir la casa spolia
per uiuer e goder a la giornata

Vn monachen che mercà agni sua spola
e la seruacon amor infame e rio
a la patrona [illegible]

5. Dissatisfied with her home and church, this girl who was once a model of decency, appears masked in the public square (St. Mark's) at Carnival time, and turns her greedy and godless desires towards Turks, Armenians and suchlike foreigners. She has the cunning servant fix the hour, while she amuses herself here and there with her lover. 6. In a house adorned with tapestries, clothed in a magnificent gown, with bejeweled hair, she studies the most refined ways of rendering herself adorable. She sends for a skilled painter, who is engaged in imitating her lovely complexion when a Pole arrives. The maid deftly hides a lowly young lover, while the Pole displays rival love and gifts; he applauds the sublime conception of her portrait as Minerva (or a warlike Amazon), Venus is revealed, he claims to be descended from (the Emperors) Claudius or Nerva, and orders a portrait of himself. 7. Overcome with the heat of an impetuous love, she throws herself into the arms of the new young gallant, but her ardor suddenly turns to ice when her first lover returns. The young gallant is betrayed by the barking dog, the courtesan flees naked, and the maid runs into the garden shouting for help. The lover begs in vain for mercy from the proud steel which takes its cruel revenge. 8. The miserable wanton is contemptuously abandoned by her friends, and sorrowfully returns to her former state. The lovely lady is deprived of her riches, her house is stripped of all finery, and she lives from day to day. The poor wretch(?) sells her possessions and the maid basely increases her mistress' grief (by theft?).









9. Her lofty ambitions set at naught, fallen from bejeweled status, she sets up a low shop for the vulgar. The unfortunate girl sells tobacco in her public brothel, and exhibits her charms to porters, drunkards and suchlike. The despised creature takes in the scum and pretends to English sailors that there is none like her in the art of love. 10. In a pitiful condition, with ugly scars on her face, she goes about carrying jars of oil and wine; the lowest practices sustain her in her sad, perfidious life, for she does what any other (in her position) would do. The pitiful creature with gentle words plays the procuress to this and that fellow, and even descends to become an informer to the police.

11. Penniless, diseased, ignored by her former lovers, she redeems her happier days in tears. Those who were once ready to pay court to her charms, are now appalled at her terrifying appearance. A syphilitic insults her and is about to strike, but his arm is stopped because (destitution on) the bridge is sufficient punishment for her. 12. In an even more desperate state, she is brought weeping to hospital, where she bemoans her sins in vain. Under the tortures of the disease she has caught in the 'pleasant' air of Carampana street, she receives the last rites from a priest. Her human remains infect the hospital and its inmates—such is the Mirror of the Harlot's Fate."

large paintings and little negro slaves; the low tavern frequented by porters and sailors, and the street of harlots, the Ca' Rampane, visited by the heavily armed and bizarrely coiffed policeman, who relied on prostitutes for secret information of all kinds. In many of the compositions there are significant, sustaining details, which act as a kind of editorial comment on the morality of the situation as it is developing: the little boy exhibiting himself to an inquisitive female companion as a symbol of the natural promiscuity of man (1); the cat stalking the chicken as the man stalks the innocent girl (2); the various paintings (6) of nymphs disporting themselves, and of martial figures (male warriors on the wall, and on the easel the courtesan herself, who, true to her Amazonian garb, will bring death to man). Some of the episodes are conceived with a careful simultaneity of action which serves to enrich the nodal points of the narrative: the procuress enjoins silence upon her new-found charge, as the mother sweeps the room in the foreground (2); one of the lover's *bravi* chases away a baker's boy going his pre-dawn rounds, while the girl steps into the gondola (3); the lowly client is shown out at the back as a new, richer one enters (6). Most powerful of all, in this respect, are the two scenes which render, respectively, the most critical junction in the narrative, and the nadir of the girl's fortunes. In scene 7 the courtesan flees in her underclothes, the new lover, discovered by the barking dog and the overturned chamber-pot, begs for mercy from under the bed, as his rival draws the "cruel steel,"[13] and the maid runs out into the garden shouting for help. Then in scene 11, at the very end of her career, the abject creature drops her begging bowl in terror, as she is saved by a friendly poultryman from the blow of a crutch wielded by some former lover, who evidently blames her for his syphilitic and crippled condition; on the other side, by contrast, another lover, still rich and handsome, marvels at the terrible plight of his former mistress, whom he callously refuses to help.

Awkwardly constructed as many of the compositions are, the perspective is often used to good purpose, as in the placing of background incidents relevant to the narrative. In the ninth scene, it is the workmen, smoking and talking in the tavern, who dominate the foreground; in the final scene, the hospital beds recede endlessly and anonymously into the distance. This is indeed an anonymous death, for despite the religious rites she is granted, the hospital authorities can hardly wait to get rid of the dying woman so as to make room for the next patient, who is already being carried up in a litter. The devil, too, is impatient, as he creeps forth from under the bed. As a final insult, the priest's acolyte does not even bother to hide his nausea at the smell emitted by the poor woman's rotting body.

The weakness of this narrative, as in most seventeenth-century broadsheets, lies in the characterization of the faces, which are all too often expressionless. The artist has done his best to vary the physiognomies; but he seldom succeeds in creating a convincing type. The best are the sly, amorous Pole with his blonde wig (6), the rough-looking laborers with their pipes (9), and most impressive of all, the syphilitic in the penultimate scene, with his noseless face, one leg a wooden peg, and the other monstrously swollen. For the harlot at the end of her career, however, when she is described in the verse as being "pitifully diseased," the artist manages only one perfunctory scar on a face which is neither young and pretty nor old and haggard. It was left to the poets to describe the full physical horror of syphilis.

Most disturbing of all is the lack of continuity in the characterization of the lovers. The gentleman in the fourth scene is dressed and bearded in the French style; does this figure appear at all in the first scene, and are the two gentlemen on the left merely his agents?[14] In the third scene, the lover must presumably be already inside the gondola. In the duel scene (7) the verse refers to the return of the "first lover"—but the irate figure here resembles the gentleman promenading in scene 4 neither in dress, nor cast of feature, nor moustaches. Perhaps the harlot has here exchanged one rich keeper for another; but neither is represented in the penultimate scene, in which the elegant passerby is cleanshaven and wears his blond hair beyond shoulder-length. It may be that the author of the story intends to convey the large turnover of lovers in a typical courtesan's life, but this lack of continuity prejudices the cohesion of the narrative.

6. *The life of the rake: Venice*

It is not known whether Castagno and Piccini themselves produced a *Life of the Rake* as a counterpart to their Harlot story. Another anonymous Venetian artist, however, did so, and was surely counting on the success of the earlier story (on costume, the *Rake* would date from the 1660s) when he produced another twelve-part sequence, with the title *Vita del Lascivo* (9-20). The compositions are however considerably smaller, half the dimensions either way, and the verses below each are reduced to four.

The opening scene shows a dressy boy, with two similar companions, in three stages of the courtship: approaching the courtesan's balcony, offering a flower, and being admitted to her home. Despite his appearance he must be poor, or kept on a small budget, for in order to impress his lady, he is obliged to steal some highly desirable underwear—a pair of flame-colored English stockings. Unlike his Roman predecessor, he is not of independent means, and it is the youthfulness of the Venetian which is emphasized in the next episodes. The lady who graciously receives him is visibly taller than he (3). After this auspicious beginning, he receives his first punishment—not, like the Roman rake, in jail, but from his father, who chases the wastrel out of the house. Nothing daunted, the boy applies for further funds to his mother (5), and having "robbed" her (where the Roman

13. Mrs. Kurz (p. 152) ingeniously suggests that the overturned fireguard is evidence that he entered via the vast chimney.

14. The man in somber garb whispering to the girl would seem to be in the dress of the civil or legal services; the man in the strange headgear and with the shield on his back may well be a *bravo*, a type described by Saint-Didier (pp. 284–85) as carrying "a steel buckler hanging behind their shoulders, a kind of split helmet, and a sword with a two-foot blade" (quoted by Molmenti, Part III, Vol. II, p. 64).

rake literally robbed passersby) he once again returns to his mistress, bringing this time a basket of fowl as well as a sprig of flowers. There follows the usual scene of gastronomic and musical pleasure, at which the participants act with unusual decorum. "Feeling misunderstood in town," the rake decides to retire to a country villa, which he has bought together with a fake German patent of nobility; but the next scene shows him already back in town, lured this time by the gambling table (9), where the usual combination of male opponent and female companions strips him of his money. Completely impoverished, abandoned by the mistress he has enriched, he at last resorts to serious crime: street-robbery, for which he is immediately arrested by the police. He is rescued from prison by the charity of a friend (11), and the last we see of him is at the hospital soup-line.

This unexpectedly mild conclusion seems inconsequential compared with that to the Roman rake or Venetian harlot stories. It does however give a clue to an important difference in the moral purpose of the narrative. The artist lingers over the romantic and gay episodes, and even includes a touch of slapstick, in the scene (4) where the father beats out his son, like the miserly Pantaloon in the Commedia dell'-Arte. For much of the sequence the rake appears and acts as a mere child; it is the inappropriate and contradictory reactions of the parents, alternately tyrannizing and spoiling him, which come under fire, as much as the promiscuous life of the son himself. Even after his highway robbery, the rake is quickly released from prison, and it is only in the verse (11) that he is threatened with a dire fate, "the scab and madness." Although any man reduced to accepting soup at the hospital would probably be sick as well as poor (since the poor were always undernourished, poverty and sickness are almost synonymous), the artist is reluctant to submit his hero to the final judgment of syphilis and complete social rejection. The lighter vein in which the *Vita del Lascivo* is couched appears all the more paradoxical in view of the increasing seriousness with which the Venetian authorities and commentators of the period regarded the insolence and rakishness of young noblemen. There was repeated legislation throughout the seventeenth century against the pernicious aristocratic habit of maintaining retinues of *bravi*; and we are assured that there is "no city in the world where young men are so violent and vicious, and so brutal as in Venice."[15]

And yet, despite the unrelieved frivolity and viciousness of his life, the Venetian rake is not repeatedly punished like his Roman predecessor; his fate is altogether lacking in the finality and bitterness which marked the end of the Roman rake, and that of the Venetian courtesan. Our Lascivo is left at a stage not unlike that of the Douce harlot in hospital, when the nun gives her a choice between salvation through reform, or perdition.

Another major difference between the Venetian sequences lies in the degree of focus upon the protagonist. We never lose the harlot from sight, for she almost always occupies the center of the stage. The rake, on the other hand, frequently slips from our view. He is one of three in the first scene, he is half-hidden in the fifth, upstaged by the poultryman in the sixth, and indistinguishable from his gambling companion in the seventh. In scene 11 he is not visible at all, and it is only after some searching that we recognize him at the extreme left of the final scene. Except for the excellently conceived moment of arrest (10) the compositions are rather static. Each tends to be elaborated as a distinct genre-scene, emphasizing incidentals with no significance to the narrative —craftsmen, tradesmen and porters (1, 6, and 8) and playing children (2 and 5). The domestic and farmyard animals dotted about most of the plates are not symbolic, with the possible exception of the mating pigeons in scene 1 and the bird-cage in scene 3. The painting on the wall in scene 4 represents the Prodigal Son as swineherd, which is certainly appropriate to the threatening action of the father.[16]

The designer of these neat little compositions does not seem to have been too well served by his engraver, who is notably deficient in the art of facial expression. The faces usually appear childish, and it is only with the wayward boy in the early scenes, and his demure little mistress, that this weakness can appear to advantage.

Inferior to the *Putana* as it is in many respects, the *Lascivo* still has fresh light to throw upon the peculiar character of the city in which the story is set. The rich courtyards, palazzi, and gondolas are not new to us; but there are now other Venetian sights: the well-stocked haberdashers' at the "Insegna Della Maestrada," with its owner buried in a ledger at the back of the shop while his counter is craftily robbed at the front; the activity of the numerous Venetian police, in a city known for the vigor of its law enforcement (10); the sinister grills of the state prison, the *Piombi* or Leads, from which Casanova, in a later century, was to make his famous escape (11). Finally, we are shown one of the many city hospitals, frequented, as we see, by old and young alike—among the children there is one too ill even to sit up. The Lion of St. Mark's emblazoned over the gateway and the secular dress of the man waving the spoon mark this as a civic charitable institution, one run by secular rather than religious authorities, a great rarity in Catholic Europe at this time.

These Venetian *Lives* constitute a high point in the secularization and localization of the old moral sequence deriving from the parable of the Prodigal Son. Their purpose is of course to discourage girls from turning to prostitution, and young men from turning to dissipation. But the sociological role of such moralities can be defined more closely. The *Putana* was a humble girl who comes to grief because she aspires to the luxuries of the rich; the *Lascivo* was the scion of a patrician or wealthy burgher family which cannot control him and allows him to descend into idleness and crime. Both the former "German Baron" and the *Cortigiana Onorata* end up at the very bottom of the social scale. The life of the idle rich was antithetical to the middle- or craftsman-class values embraced by the broadsheet artist, who thus warns the people at large not to envy or ape the aristocracy.

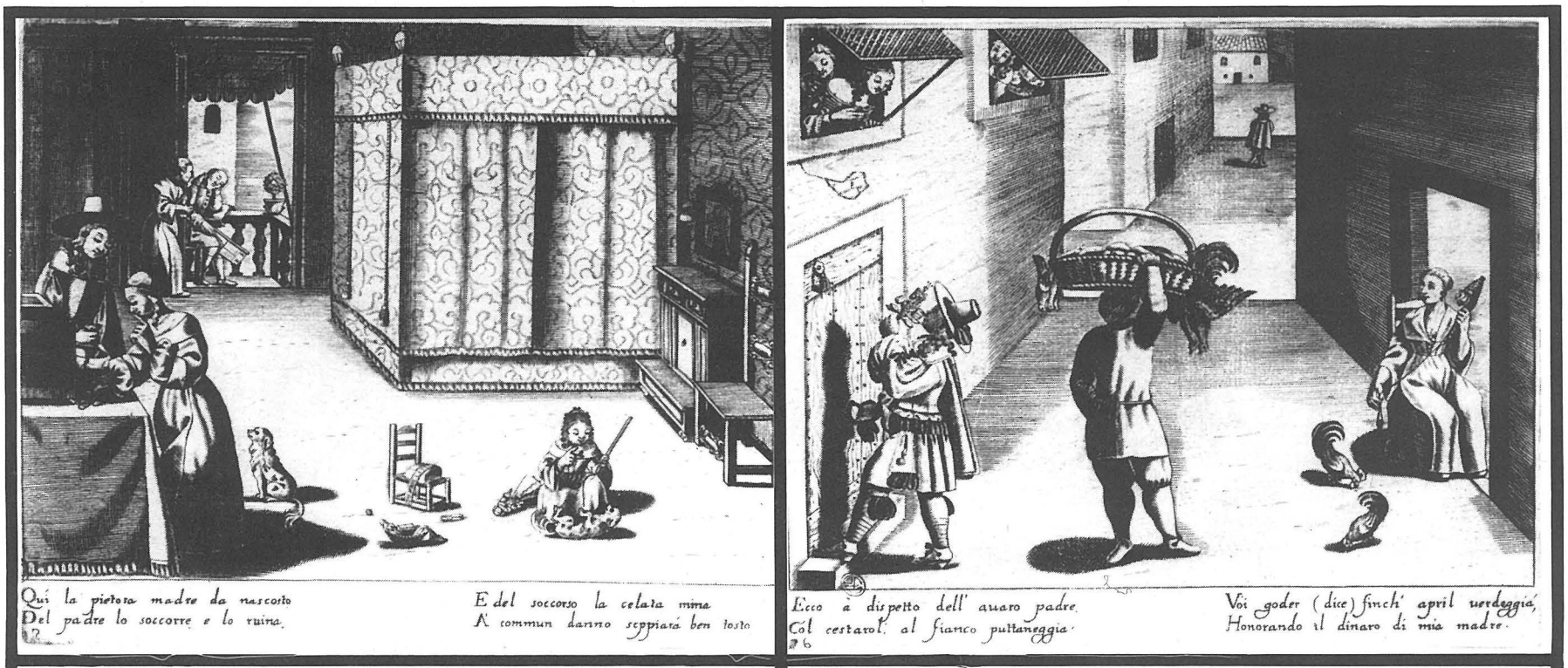
15. Amelot de la Houssaye, *Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise* III (1676), quoted by Molmenti, Part III, Vol. II, p. 63.

16. The motifs of an avaricious father beating out a wastrel son, and the mother spoiling him behind his back, occur in those pedagogic German *Prodigusdramen* where the accent, as here, is upon the youth of the Prodigal and the dangers of poor upbringing. (See Spengler, pp. 84–88.)



9–20. Venetian. *The Life of the Rake* (c. 1660).

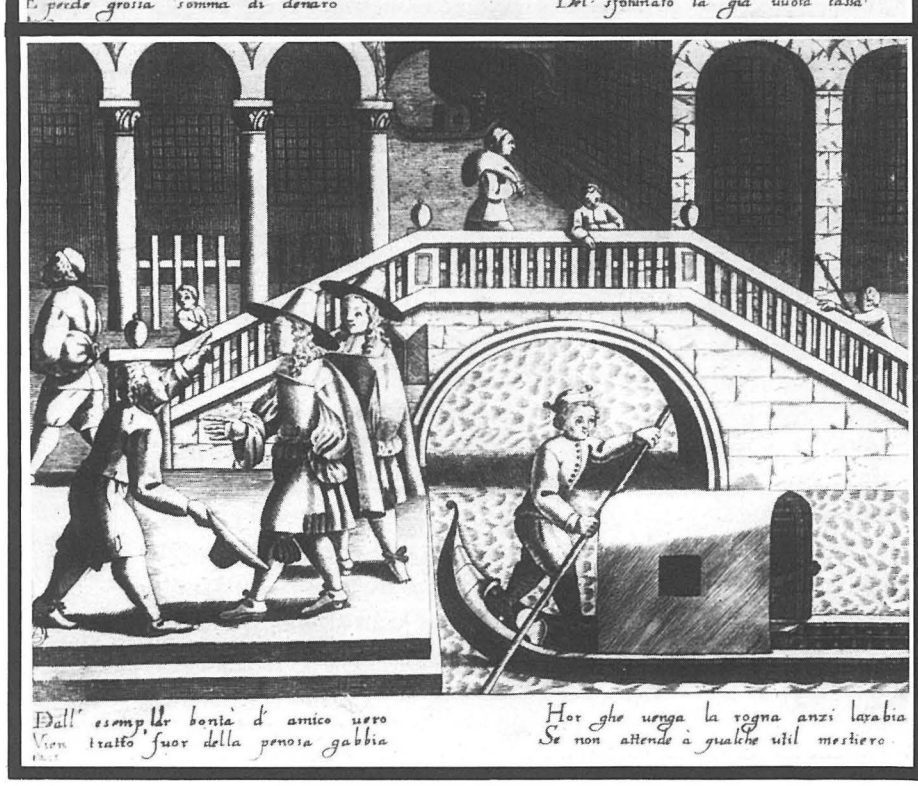
"1. At the season of love, the boy begins to pay court to his lady, using the marvellous temptations of flowers to promote his desire. 2. Since she appears to favor him, he sends her a pair of English stockings of a vivid flame-color, which symbolizes the fire burning in his breast. 3. The cunning and greedy girl, confident of her success with this fool, makes him master of her house, enticing him to strip him bare. 4. While the son frequents the house of ill-fame almost before his father's very eyes, the father chases him out of his own home, because one house is enough for one man.



5. The mother secretly helps her son behind father's back, and spoils him; the hidden mine of this aid will soon explode to their common ruin. 6. Here despite his avaricious father, he returns to the harlot with a basket of fowl. He invites her to enjoy his mother's money until springtime. 7. The tender lover spurs on his libidinous appetite with food and music, and devotes all his thoughts to his prurient love. 8. Elevated to a German barony, he feels misunderstood in the city, and moves with his slut to a country villa to enjoy his nobility.









9. The miserable fellow then falls into the trap of the gaming table; losing heavily, he hears the bitter echo of an empty cash-box.

10. Abandoned by his woman, he starts stealing at the street-corner, for which the police take him straight to prison.

11. The exemplary charity of a good friend brings him out of this unpleasant confinement. He must take up some useful profession if he hopes to avoid the scab and insanity. 12. Look at our great German baron going to (get his broth at) the destitutes' hospital, where he will drag out his rotten existence."



9–21. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. *This is the numerous Company of the ruined, into which one can be admitted without references or recommendations* (1687). Head of the Company (with banner) "For having maintained my wife in luxury and vanity, I have reduced myself to such a miserable state, that I am called the First of the Ruined. (Extreme left) Because of extortions, usury and other iniquities. (Cripple) Because of prostitutes. Because of enmities and criminals. Because I never wanted to work, but only to feast. For having spent more than I earned. For having gone bail and lent to others. Because of bad business and sales. For having been too litigious. For having

7. *The art of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (Bologna)*

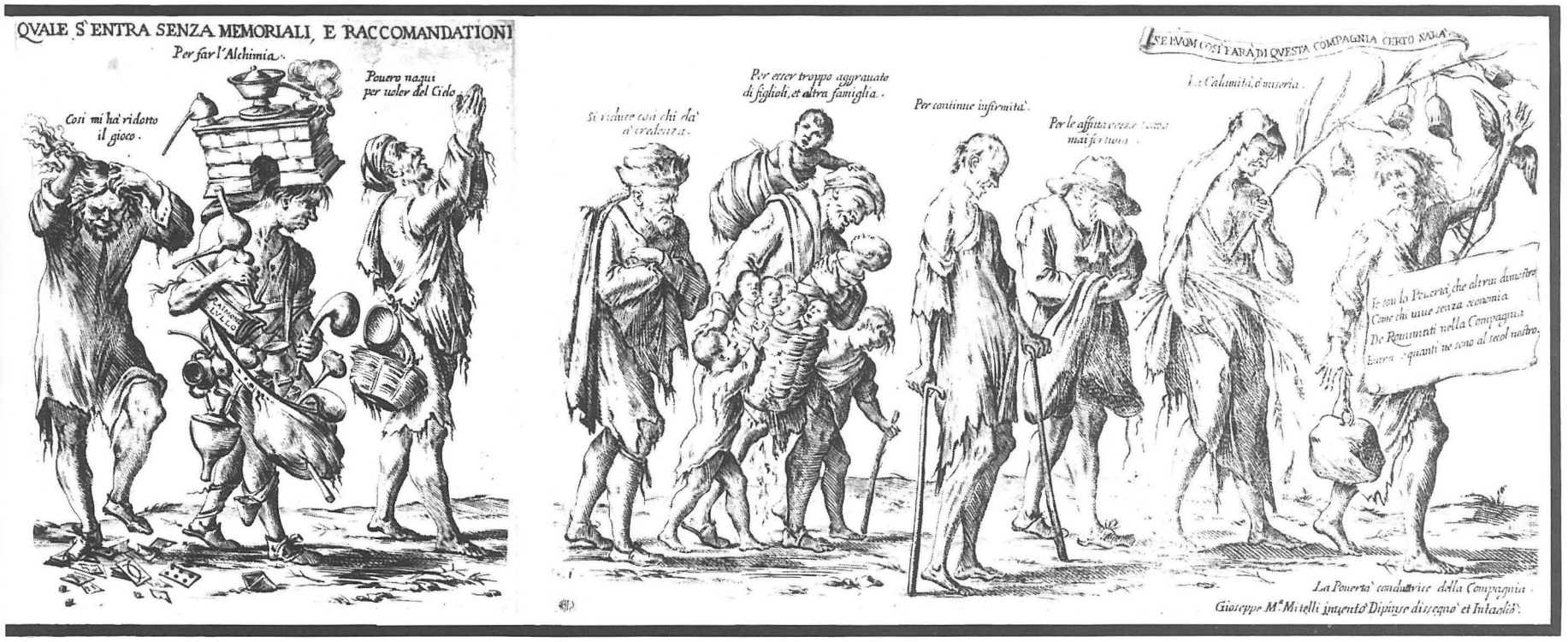
The Venetian rake and harlot stories appeared at a time when, to judge by surviving prints, the broadsheet industry had become inactive in the city. It may be that the industry as a whole had declined throughout Italy; the little we know about the popular imagery of the Seicento does not permit us to speak of a "satirical tradition" such as existed north of the Alps. Yet it is such a tradition which would normally be the prerequisite to an art of the quality and dimensions of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli's. An exact contemporary of Romeyn de Hooghe, he did for the social scene of Bologna what Romeyn did for the political scene of Amsterdam, but with few predecessors behind him and no discernible competitors about him.

Bologna had always been an important center of the printing industry, which specialized around 1600 in the publication of popular literature, notably that composed by the local poet Giulio Cesare Croce. At the same time, there was a revival of the fine arts, led by three members of the Carracci family. A contemporary of Croce, Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) is remembered today as the leading painter in Italy of religious and mythological subjects; but he spent his spare time painting low-life genre, doodling portrait caricatures, and drawing sketches of popular types such as street vendors. These were admired by colleagues as artistic curiosities; some of the street types were engraved in his own time, and used as comic decoration for fans (*ventarole*); an album of eighty was published in 1646.[17] This work inspired the young etcher Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, born in Bologna in 1634, to produce his own version of the theme. [18] He soon added satire to his human comedy, and with his numerous Proverbs, Vices, and Allegories of folly, proved himself the finest social satirist of the age. He was also the first etcher of any quality to devote the major part of his long life (he died only in 1718) to the moralizing broadsheet.[19] He is the world's first full-time professional cartoonist, and successfully united the role of popular engraver with that of Director of the Clementina, the Bologna Art Academy.

Popular life in Bologna, already given classic liter-

17. *Diverse Figure al numero di ottanta disegnate . . . da Annibale Carricci, intagliate in rame . . . da S. Giulino Parigino, Roma 1646.*
18. *Di Bologna, l'arti per via d'Annibale Carracci disegnate . . . da Gioseppe Mia Mittelli Anno 1660.*

19. Bertarelli's catalogue of Mitelli's etchings lists 44 religious subjects, 20 mythological subjects, and about 440 etchings relating to popular life.



dressed in all the latest extravagant fashions. This is what gambling has reduced me to. Because of alchemy. I was born poor by the will of heaven. Those who lend on surety are reduced to this. For being weighed down with children and relatives. Because of continuous infirmities. For letting property, without any luck. Calamity, or misery (bearing a branch with the scroll saying) if man behaves like this, he is sure to join this company. Poverty, leader of the Company: I am Poverty, who demonstrates to all how those who live recklessly, enter into the Company of the Ruined; and how many there are in our age!"

ary expression by Giulio Cesare Croce, inspired Mitelli to render it in all its vigor, diversity, frivolity and violence. The artist treats most of the known broadsheet themes, and seems, from time to time, to be toying (the word is especially apt, as we shall see shortly) with the idea of pictorial narrative. His favored vehicle is the processional frieze, and in his most comprehensive analysis of human folly, the *Company of the Ruined* (9-21), he might be reflecting actual processions of the Bolognese carnival celebrants, filtered through a memory, perhaps, of Croce's description of the *Gran Compagnia dei Ruvinati.* Mitelli's frightening figures stand a long way from the modest little vignettes of the earlier Italian compendia of Follies (e.g., 7-4); confronted with such highly individualized, emotional characters, we become conscious of a shift in moral emphasis by which the individual becomes personally responsible for his fate. As in the earliest broadsheets, the vicious mingle with the merely foolish—the criminal, the rake, the idle glutton, the gambler, and the alchemist all march, in no particular order, in company with the fop, the indulgent huband, the well-intentioned bondsman, and the luckless businessman. Mitelli includes a few very pathetic figures symbolizing misfortune pure and simple—the blameless victim of criminals and cheats, and those whom God has burdened with too many dependents in the course of their life, or with poverty at the very start of it. This is one of the best examples of the etcher's skill in rendering emotionally expressive faces and attitudes (note particularly the rake, a complete physical wreck, and the alchemist comically bowed under the instruments of his passion), in which he far surpasses a Castagno-Piccini, or any of the artists we have dealt with thus far. The grotesque, almost caricatural strength of these faces owes much to the tradition initiated in Bologna by Annibale Carracci.

Although the leader (Poverty) and the head of the procession (the husband who indulges his wife's vanity[20]) provide a limited framework, there is no "progression" of folly in the *Company of the Ruined.* The "progressive" or narrative element makes a tentative appearance in an etching of slightly later date (9-22), in which various professions are shown to be exploiting each other in a cumulative way. True to the general emphasis of the Italian broadsheet, the prostitute has an excellent vantage-point, exploiting all, from the proud and boastful—but highly vulnerable—nobleman, to that arch-parasite, the lawyer. She is second only to the doctor, the murderer of society at large who is logically placed as the lieutenant of Death himself. Mitelli has given us here a kind of cumulative Dance of Death, in which the concealed Devil, by dint of the string attached to each figure, will have the last laugh.

From this transformation of a basic broadsheet

20. The choice is peculiar—perhaps this is an autobiographical confession on the part of the artist?

9–22. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. *Each does it to the next and the devil to all* (1691).
"1. (Rich man): I become more arrogant every moment, because I have these two (2. Buffoon, 3. Bravo) at my service. 4. (Peasant): I wear myself out working for these three, so I have to turn to stealing from them. 5. (Merchant): Without arms or plough, I cheat these four. 6. (Lawyer): Under the cover of zealous service, I strip these five. 7. (Prostitute): With my caresses I flay these six. 8. (Doctor): With my little pill boxes and prescriptions I murder these seven. 9. (Demon): I who am no fool take all eight."



QVESTO MONDO E VNA BOTTEGA
Dov' ogn' vn per far gvadagno
D'ingannar cerca il compagno
L'interesse a ciò ne piega;
Qual catena questo lega
Tvtti i vizii come anelli,
Qvelli a qvesti, e qvesti a qvelli

Primo il Ricco qvi si vede,
Che co'l Bravo, e co'l Bvffone.
Fà vna vita d'Epvlone,
Tien il pover sotto piede,
Galant'hvomo egli sol crede,
Non il Saggio, ò'l Virtvoso,
Mà il più tristo, e più vizioso.

Indi il povero Villano,
Che'l mantiene si lamenta,
E perche per lvi si stenta -
A qvel d'altri da di mano;
Il Mercante anch'ei pian piano
Dice a tvtti dar procaccio
Roba trista, e scarso il braccio,

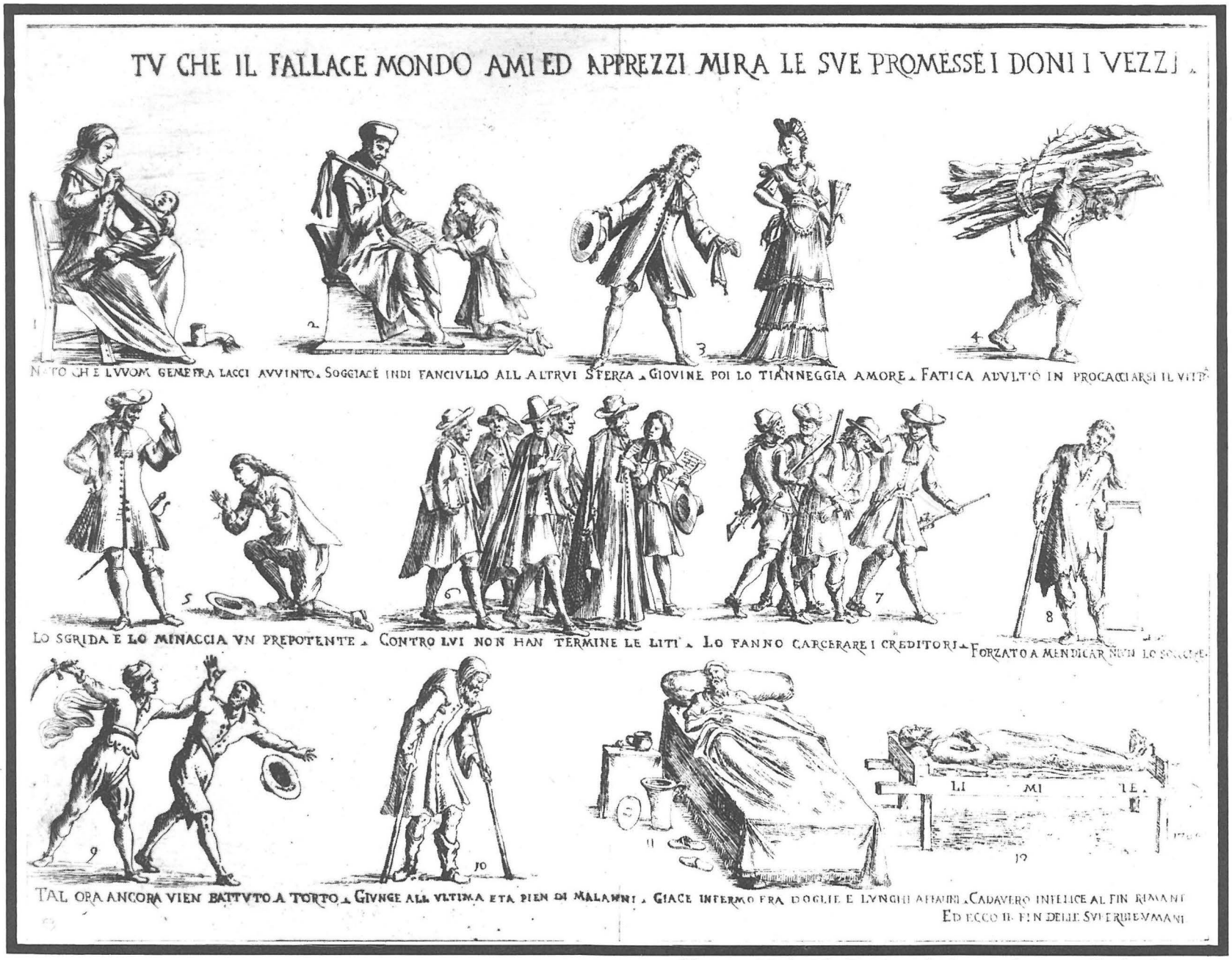
Mira poscia l'Avocato
Per l'avara sva malitia,
Co'l pretesto di Givstitia
Vien ciascvn da lvi pellato,
Mà con gli altri scorticato
Resta il povero infelice,
Da la scaltra Meretrice,

Segve il Medico, e procvra
Dal malor cavar danaro,
Mà ignorante, e pvr avaro
Nol conosce, o non lo cvra
Qvindi avvien, ch'in sepoltvra
Vanno i poveri amalati,
Che da lvi son ammazzati,

Così qvesto ingannа qvello,
Mà il Demonio, ch'è più scaltro
Tanto l'vno come l'altro
Tira all'vltimo flagello;
Lettor dvnqve s'hai cervello
Nel mirar l'altrvi rovine
Sempre oprando pensa al fine.

theme, we turn to another: an extremely pessimistic strip version of the *Ages of Man* (9-23). The oppressions from which we suffer at the various stages of our life (here twelve), range from the swaddling clothes of infancy and the birch of the schoolmaster, to the tyranny of women, the labors of our maturity, and the contumely of those placed in authority over us. In old age a vindictive society and pitiless nature combine to wear us down with undeserved lawsuits, homicidal attacks, complete deprivation, and prolonged, painful suffering on the death-bed. The bier on which the corpse lies in the final image is marked *Limite*—an anagram, surely, for Mitelli's own name. Are we to take the print as a whole as the autobiography of a disillusioned seventy-two-year-old?

Two vices in particular, Sloth and Lechery, in-



9–23. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. *You who love and esteem this deceitful world, consider its promises, fruits and trickery*. 1706.
1. At birth, man groans under the oppression of swaddling clothes. 2. Then, as a child, he is subject to the scourge of others. 3. As a young man, he is tyrannized by love. 4. As a grown man he labors to earn a living. 5. He is threatened and scolded by a superior. 6. There is no end to the lawsuits against him. 7. Creditors have him imprisoned. 8. No one helps him when he is reduced to beggary. 9. Once again he is unjustly attacked. 10. He reaches old age full of disease. 11. He lies in painful illness and prolonged sorrow. 12. Finally he is reduced to a miserable corpse, and this is the fate of human pride.



9–24. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. *The Honored Life of the Idler, dedicated to the students of Sloth, and in their honor* 1683. 1. "Observe the first action of the Idler. He went to bed with the hens, and woke up at dawn with the bluebottle, stretched, curled up again and scratched his skull. The sluggard half opens his heavy eyes, goes to the window with arms outspread, to enjoy the breeze. His entire mind is devoted to Sloth, and doing nothing, he thinks he is busy. 2. The Idler leaves home very late, and runs to the brandy and tobacco shop. He wants to try every jar, sniffs at every bottle, and slumps down on a bench as if exhausted. He often returns here to his bottles, gabbles away, lounges and swaggers about, and displays his gifts as a bench-warmer. 3. The honored Idler, seated at table, is served in disorderly, indecent fashion. He'd gobble up all the creatures of the earth, sea and air. With immense and more than Lucullan delight, he dissipates his entire estate in eating, and quicker than you can say it, the gluttonous magician skillfuly makes everything disappear. 4. This king of Idlers has himself carried to his amusements; Idlers are like pigs, who grow rich and fat. The former thrive on good wine, the latter on salt, and neither will move an unnecessary step; only their fate is different, for one is carried during his lifetime, the other at his death. 5. The sluggard is burdened by every vice, and consorts only with Ceres and Bacchus; but he is so inflamed with gambling as well, that honor and money are thrown to the winds. If some friend ventures to reprove him, he curses the advice shamefully, because the Idler, in order to live as he wishes, would gamble away his share in the sun. 6. Here is the fate of the Idler: Impoverished and debased, he is obliged to beg the mercy of passers-by; but his servile entreaty is met with jeers and mockery, and pitiless refusal. Others shout angrily: 'Go and work, you wretch, find a job!' Thus, hated by all, ends the honored life of the Idler."

spired Mitelli to narrative elaboration. In a brief *Life of the Idler* (9-24), the porcine sluggard spends his waking hours eating, drinking and courting. The latter scene, however, exemplifies sloth rather than lechery, since we only see the suitor in the process of being carried to his mistress in a chair, and not what he does with her on arrival. A scene of gambling precedes his ultimate downfall, when the miserable beggar is scorned by the passerby. The first four motifs might have been adapted from that utopia of the sluggard, the Land of Cockaigne (*Paese della Cucagna*). Mitelli himself etched a version[21] of this ancient subject, in which "the more you sleep, the more you earn," where carriages drive themselves, where the table is always richly laden—and where those who work are sent to prison. In Mitelli's Cockaigne, however, there is no open moral censure as there is in his *Idler*. The sequence has a disconnected quality, due perhaps to the fact that some of the plates may have been originally designed for another purpose (has the Idler lost his beard between the third and fourth scenes purely in honor of his mistress?). As satire, the designs are not among Mitelli's best. The Idler at table, for instance, is less impressive than the *Gula* from a frieze of the Vices (9-25).

Mitelli also executed a *Life of the Prostitute* on the fashion—her face is slashed by the sickle of a former lover.[22] The final scenes add nothing to the Venetian version. Had Mitelli been bold enough to rival his predecessors' format for such a story, he might have been inspired to invent something of his own, if not in narrative incidents, at least in physiognomic expression. The constrictions of the strip arrangement here, as in the *Stages of Man's Oppression* (9-23), do not suit his temperament, and cramp his strength in physiognomy. The *Prostitute* was however popular, to judge by the number of surviving impressions struck from the plate in a worn state, and by the fact that it was reissued along with other Mitelli etchings in 1736, and again, in a revamped version, in 1830.

The only other occasions when Mitelli adopted the strip format or the narrative principle were prompted by the exigencies of the board-game, of which Mitelli designed at least thirty-four different varieties. There are both general cultural and strictly personal reasons to explain why Mitelli's etching needle should have turned toward games. The Bolognese were renowned for the zeal with which they pursued recreations of all sorts—carnival festivals, jousts, animal sports, ballgames, cards and dice. From the thirteenth century onwards the statute books are full of prohibitions of a



9–25. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. *Gluttony, Envy and Sloth* (1679).

model of the Venetian *Putana*. Since it is to a copy by the Bolognese publisher, Giuseppe Longhi, that we owe our knowledge of this sequence in its complete state, and since Longhi was also Mitelli's publisher, the Bolognese etcher cannot have failed to be conscious of the harlot as a hardy broadsheet theme. He seems however to have waited until 1692, the year after Longhi died, before issuing his own *Unhappy Life of the Prostitute* (9-26). The astrological division "according to the twelve months of the year" is as incidental here as it was in the German satires on shrews, and the story follows very closely indeed the pattern laid down by the Venetians. The motifs are for the most part identical, down to the scene of the lovers' brawl ("August"). The prostitute is then committed to prison (an episode included in the very early Douce *Harlot* but omitted in the Venetian story). Upon release, she is punished in a new and very savage large variety of games of chance involving dice and playing-boards (*Taxilli, Tabulerii*[23]). Mitelli himself illustrates six in his *Game of Games*.[24] In a vain effort to curb the public mania for gambling in private houses, shops, and street corners, the government resorted to licensed, supervised houses. Mitelli, as a broadsheet artist, could hardly pass up an open commercial opportunity; on the other hand, in his official role as Director of the Art Academy, he could not abet public immorality in too brazen a fashion; so, as a moralist, he offered players a board in which they could read a cautionary tale about the results of extravagance, even as they gambled away their money upon it. At a time when the English dis-

21. Bertarelli, No. 553, Tav. XV.

22. A fitting conclusion to a tale published at the end of what the historian of Bologna, Corrado Ricci, has called "the century of the murdered" (*il secolo degli ammazzati*—quoted by Frati, p. 76).

23. Frati, p. 104.

24. Reproduced Bertarelli, *Imagerie*, p. 60.

9–26. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. *The Unhappy Life of the Prostitute divided according to the twelve months of the year. Infallible calendar, presented by an authentic astrologer* (1692).

"January: The bacchant fool moves to libertine dances, and in the labyrinth expressed in her turns, forms the obstacles in her wandering life.

February: The crafty procuress approaches her, ingratiates herself with the gifts of others and serves as escort to an infamous love.

March: As a recompense for the present she has received, she offers from the window her burning sentiments in sweet accents to the first lover.

April: Over the threshhold of her open house, she receives her client with furtive words, as Cupid weaves his net anew.

May: Unable to restrain her ardor, the unhappy mistress flees with her beloved, under the fatal guidance of blind love.

June: She appraises the bond of infamous servitude, the more free she is, the more she is subject to the desires of her vile lover.

July: She eagerly runs to the parties, dances and gambling dens, and offered on the altar of the common pleasure, she nurtures the fire of love for several lovers at once.

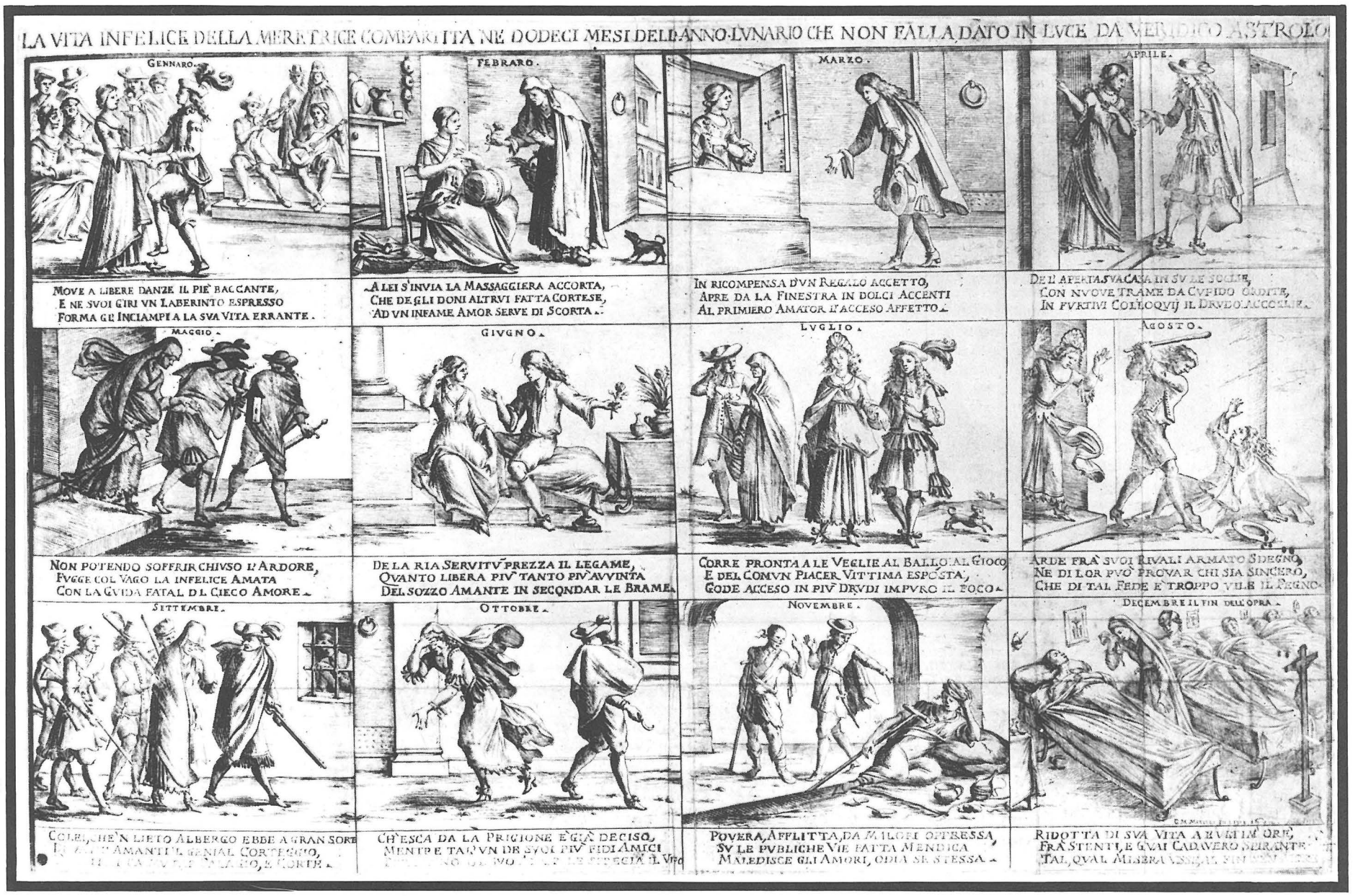
August: Armed wrath breaks out amongst her rivals, who try to prove who is the truest among them, despite the vileness of the object of such faith.

September: She who was fortunate enough to enjoy brilliant society of fine lovers in happy dwellings, is obliged to change her palace and companions.

October: As soon as she gets out of prison, one of her most faithful friends slashes her face as a pledge of his love.

November: Impoverished, afflicted, oppressed with disease, a beggar upon the public streets, she curses her loves and hates herself.

December and the end of the Work: Reduced to the last hours of her life, she experiences such miseries, among the wretched, the woebegone, and expiring corpses, until she dies."



covered the playing card of political propaganda, the Bolognese introduced the board-game of social morality.

Mitelli must have been conscious, too, of a personal motivation, for he himself laid claim to "genius" in (i.e. natural disposition toward) the recreative arts. The same year as he published his first moral narrative board-game, he etched a plate which gives a graphic catalogue of his twenty favorite pastimes—artistic, sporting, and athletic (9-27). In the center, a pedestal supporting the Genius of Recreation is inscribed *Laborem Ocio, Ocium Labore Variat* (labor is relieved by leisure, and leisure by labor). To Mitelli, leisure and labor, work and play, seemed as one; and it is in this spirit that he wrote an unusual confession, a credo for cartoonists of succeeding generations: "As etching has been play for me, so play has become playful for me, because by etching I have developed a playfully etched line." (*Mi è stato di giuoco l'intaglio, anzi il Giuoco mi è stato di giuoco perché intagliando mi è venuto il taglio giocoso*).[25] We know that at the end of his life, moreover, he was making "movables," that is, articulated cut-out paper toys, which unfortunately have not survived.[26] It is as if Mitelli, renowned as one of the great wits of Bologna, were trying to realize his art and life as a kind of game, the playing of which provided endless amusement but the outcome of which was to be viewed in a pessimistic light.

His first "moral" board-game is the *Game of Truth* (*Giuoco della Verità*), 1688, which contrasts the virtuous family depicted in the central, winning square with the social frivolities depicted in the surrounding, losing squares. *The Game of Women, and their Occupations* (*Giuoco delle Donne e sue Facende*)[27] is documentary rather than moral, although it ends with the notion of gossip being rewarded by a beating from the husband. Neither game is narrative. In the *Game of Husbands and Wives* and the *Amusing Game of Simona and Filippa* (9-28 and 9-29), however, the narrative seed is planted. Before proceeding further, it should be mentioned that according to the rules of the game, as printed on the sheet, these are not of the "Ducks and Drakes" type (*Giuoco de l'Oca*) in which rolls of the dice propel a player's counter toward a final goal, usually in the center of a spiral, but more in the nature of score-cards, used without counters. After each throw, the sum of the points shown on the three dice is checked against the square marked with that number, and the penalty paid, or reward taken, of one or two coins, with an extra reward for throwing three of a kind. The game is played with the aid of, rather than upon, the board; but the motifs chosen by Mitelli to decorate each square are clearly intended to narrate, across and down the prints, the stories (respectively) of an unhappy marriage and of the dire results of feminine frivolity. *The Game of Husbands and Wives* (9-28) opens with delivery of the dowry, after which vices



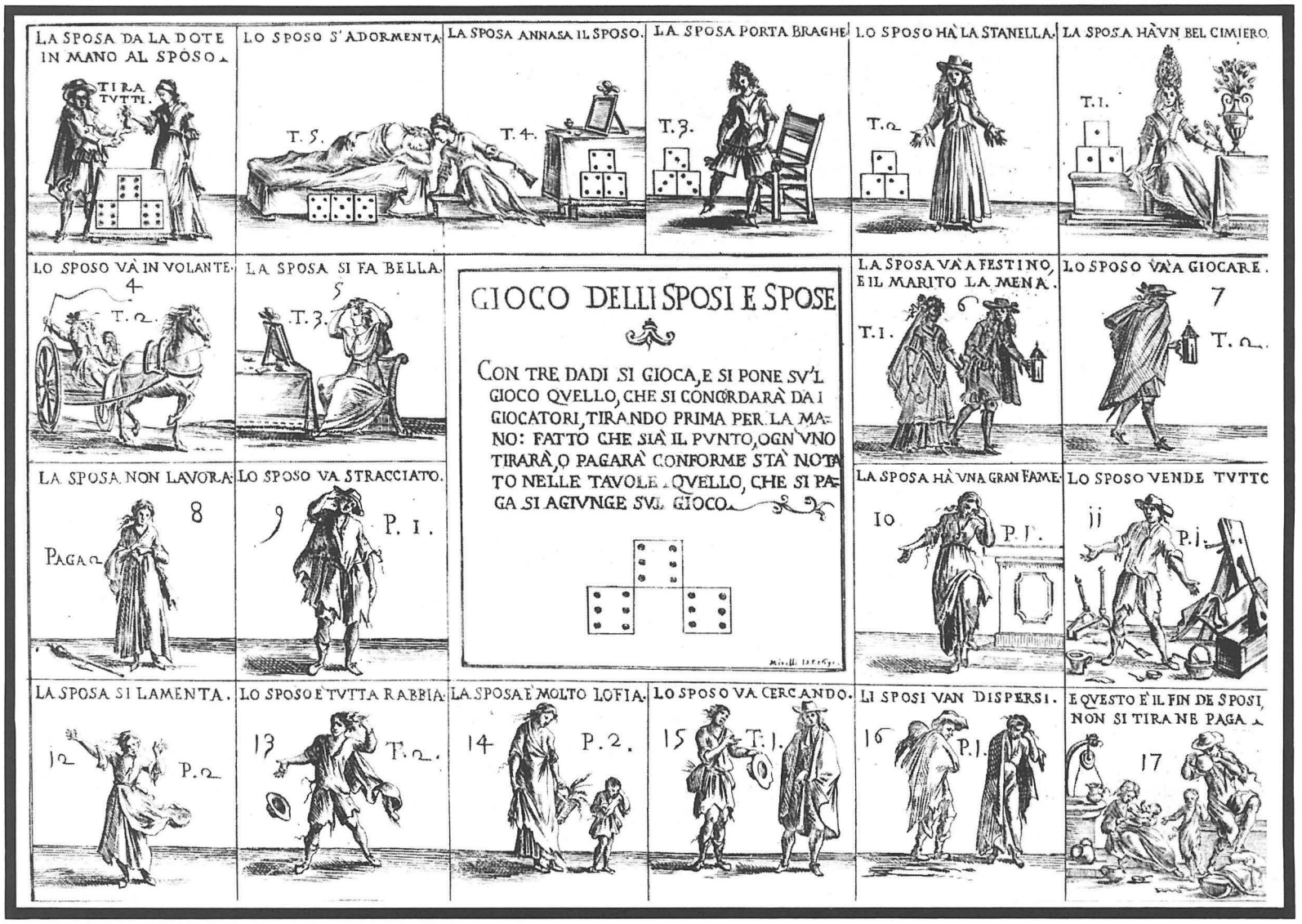
9–27. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. *The favorite pastimes of the artist* (1691). Detail.

reveal themselves on both sides. The wife, feeling neglected, tries to arouse her sleeping husband, and then exchanges the husband's breeches for her petticoat. Thereafter she reveals her vain and idle nature, while he on alternate squares, turns to frivolity and gambling (!). The couple are eventually reduced to rags, go hungry, and are forced to sell their property. Angry quarrels precede their dismal end, when they become beggars and vagabonds and are joined in their misery by their three small children.

The distribution of rewards and penalties in this game skillfully points up the moral of the story. On the upper squares, where the couple are spending all their money, the player draws from the kitty; on the lower squares, where the couple's fortunes are on the decline, the player pays to the kitty, except for the scene of beggary, where he draws a coin.[28] It appears as a calculated irony that the nearer the dice throw is to the ideal three sixes (which wins the jackpot), the more likely the player is to pay a penalty—and to land on the squares depicting the miserable results of a dissolute life.

Operating on an exceptionally small scale, Mitelli has stripped the backgrounds bare and uses a minimum of "properties." The figures, which appear either singly or in pairs, stand out with semaphoric expressiveness. This is also true, though to a lesser extent, of the *Amusing Game of Simona and Filippa*, where the little compositions are rather fuller. After the *Game of Husbands and Wives*, with its relatively conventional review of social foibles. *Simona and Fi-*

25. Bertarelli, *Mitelli*, p. xxiii. Mitelli had evidently intended to write an autobiography.
26. According to Orlandi, quoted by Bertarelli, p. 186.
27. B. nos. 596 and 624.
28. He also draws on 13, which is presumably in order to make rewards and penalties balance each other.



9–28. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. *The Game of Husbands and Wives* (1691).

"To be played with three dice, with a kitty to be determined by the players, who throw in turn. After each throw, penalties are paid and rewards taken according to the scores marked on the board. Payments are added to the kitty.

Top row: The wife hands over the dowry to her husband (three Sixes, take the kitty). The husband goes to sleep (three Fives, take 5). The wife nuzzles the husband (three Fours, take 4). The wife wears the breeches (three Threes, take 3). The husband wears the petticoat (three Twos, take 2). The wife wears a fine hairdo (three Ones, take 1).

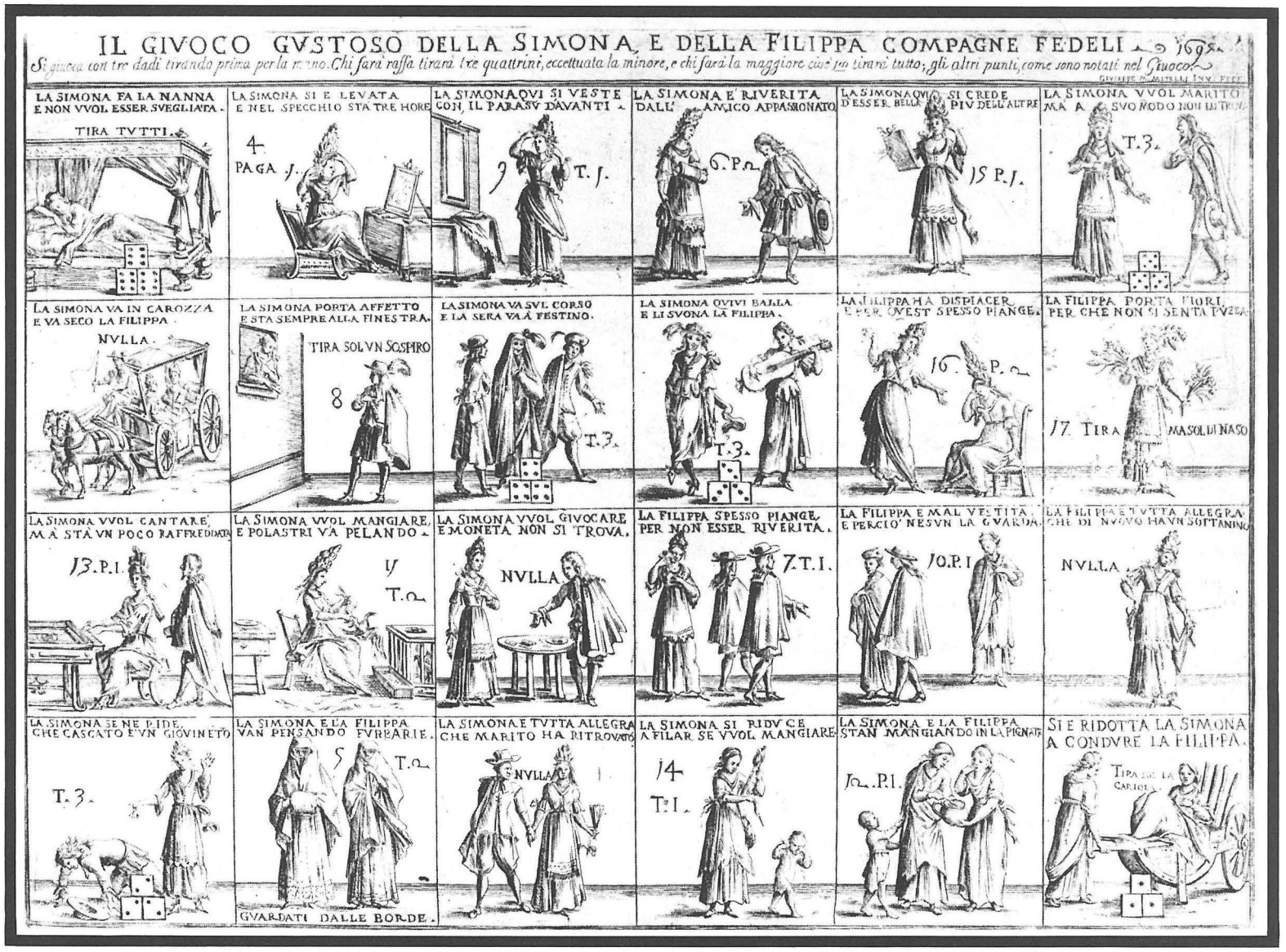
Second row: The husband goes driving (4, take 2). The wife beautifies herself (5, take 3). The wife is taken by her husband to a party (6, take 1). The husband goes gambling (7, take 2).

Third row: The wife doesn't work (8, pay 2). The husband is in rags (9, pay 1). The wife is very hungry (10, pay 1). The husband sells all (11, pay 1).

Bottom row: The wife complains (12, pay 2). The husband gets furious (13, take 2). The wife is very idle (14, pay 2). The husband goes begging (15, take 1). The couple become vagrants (16, pay 1). And this is the end of the couple (17, neither pay nor take)."

lippa contains some surprises. The usual scenes of idleness and vanity precede Simona's reception of a suitor, whom she arrogantly and frivolously finds reason to reject. She continues on her wanton way until her friend Filippa appears. Filippa acts as the less fortunate companion, the foil to Simona, lacking admirers because of her body odor and shabby clothes. The scenes of Filippa's discomfiture are interspersed with incidents premonitory, perhaps, of Simona's downfall: she runs out of cash at the gaming table, and is obliged to pluck her own chickens in order to eat—a moment of humiliation which comically follows that of her being unable to sing before her admirer because of a cold. In the last row we meet with some curious episodes of no immediately apparent significance: Simona laughing at a boy who has stumbled in the street, and walking out with Filippa plotting mischief. As a result (or in the next square, at any rate) Simona has at last found a husband, a furtive, comic-looking fellow who does nothing to improve her rapidly worsening condition, for she goes hungry with her weeping child. She finally rejoins Filippa, whom she has to wheel around in a barrow.

The story of *Simona and Filippa* is less logical than that of the *Husbands and Wives*. By incorporating the middle four squares Mitelli confuses both the narrative flow and the game. For some reason he has chosen to throw the scores



9–29. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. *The Amusing Game of Simona and Filippa, the faithful companions* (1695). "To be played with three dice thrown in turn. Anyone throwing three identical scores on each die (except for the Ones) takes three quattrini, and whoever throws the highest, i.e. 18, takes the kitty. The other scores as noted in the game.

Top row: Simona is asleep and does not wish to be wakened (three Sixes, take the kitty). Simona has risen and spends three hours before the mirror (4, pay 1). Simona dresses with her headdress(?) in front (9, take 1). Simona is courted by her impassioned friend (6, pay 2). Simona thinks she is more beautiful than the others (19, pay 1). Simona is looking for a husband but does not find one to her taste (three Fives, take 3).

Second row: Simona goes for a drive with Filippa (nought). Simona is in love and is always at the window (8, draw only a sigh). Simona walks along the promenade and in the evening goes to a party (three Fours, take 3). Simona dances and Filippa plays for her (three Threes, take 3). Filippa is unhappy and weeps often (16, pay 2). Filippa carries flowers to cover her smell (17, but pinch only your nose).

Third row: Simona wants to sing, but has a cold (13, pay 1). Simona wants to eat, and starts plucking the chickens (11, take 2). Simona wants to gamble, but has no money (nought). Filippa weeps often because she is not courted (7, take 1). Filippa is badly dressed and is therefore ignored (10, pay 1). Filippa is hapy now, for she has a new petticoat (nought).

Bottom row: Simona laughts at a boy who has fallen over (three Twos, take 3). Simona and Filippa plot tricks. Beware of . . . (9, take 2). Simona is full of joy to have found a husband (nought). Simona is reduced to spinning in order to eat (14, take 1). Simona and Filippa eat straight from the pot (12, pay 1). Simona is reduced to pushing Filippa about (three Ones, draw only the wheelbarrow)."

out of all numerical order, thus lengthening immeasurably the playing-time per throw of the dice. Possibly, in his old age, the artist wishes deliberately to provoke us, for he makes us "pull" an offended nose, or an amorous sigh, or a wheelbarrow, when we might expect to "pull" a coin. Meanwhile, we lose the relationship established in the *Husbands* print between the player of the game and the couple depicted on the board, whereby the one follows the fortunes of the other.

The rules of the latter game are so devised that both players gradually lose, and in order to win must wait until one of them throws three sixes to win the kitty. Like all games of chance, Mitelli's are financially harmless if the stakes are kept low, but to give any kind of result, they cannot be played for less than an average of half an hour each round. If he is not abetting the public avarice, Mitelli is certainly abetting the public sloth—two vices roundly condemned in *Husbands and Wives, Simona and Filippa* and in so many other satires etched by the master.

Part III

HOGARTH AND THE HOGARTHIANS

Chapter Ten

HOGARTH

"The ingenious Abbé du Bos has often complained, that no history painter of his time went through a series of actions, and thus, like an historian, painted the successive fortunes of an hero, from the cradle to the grave. What Du Bos wished to see done, Hogarth performed . . . none had ever before made the pencil subservient to the purposes of morality and instruction; (his work) is fitted to every soil and every observer, and he that runs may read."[1]

1. Background

After the 1688 Revolution, England entered upon a prolonged period of social stability and economic expansion. As the two-party system crystallized, Whigs and Tories fought each other with unremitting virulence in the political pamphlets and journals. Addison and Steele created the first weekly journals of social morality, and the press saw itself as an instrument for the correction of moral abuses. Daniel Defoe launched the first periodical designed exclusively to satirize the follies of other periodicals.[2] No subject was left untouched, and William Hogarth (born 1697) made the figurative arts, for the first time, a matter of popular controversy. This was indeed the age of satire.

The honors in literary satire must be shared by several figures, among whom Pope and Swift are the greatest; in pictorial satire Hogarth stands out as a lonely giant. Owing to his efforts, the status of the broadsheet cartoon rose to such a point that the poet Thomas Gray could find (1742) that "the wit of the times consists in satyrical prints." No satirist before Hogarth had presented anything like so broad a vision of society; none had worked so closely and consistently with contemporary social issues; and above all, no artist working exclusively with broadsheet themes had raised the artistic quality of his work to the high level of creative endeavor which was commonly accorded to the literary satirist and moralist. If, in his wit and penetration of human nature, Hogarth provokes comparison with Pope and Swift, in the *form* of his satire—the pictorial narrative—the analogy must be with Henry Fielding, who brought satire, realism, and structure to the novel. Fielding and Hogarth are fighters on the same front, and the novelist often acknowledged his debt to the painter, whom he frequently "quotes" in his novels, and whom he esteemed as "one of the most useful satirist any age hath produced."[3]

Hogarth must be approached as the heir to two traditions which had hitherto remained distinct: the popular tradition of broadsheet engraving, and the "noble" tradition of so-called "grand-manner" history painting. We need say no more of the first; as for the second, we must briefly outline the situation peculiar to England at this time. In the early eighteenth century, portraiture was still the only category of art in which the native Englishman could hope to excel, and even then he lagged behind his Continental colleague. Portraiture, moreover, ranked low in the hierarchy of art, well below the painting of mythological and historical subjects, which could only be treated in the "grand manner" inherited from the Italian Renaissance. "History painting" alone was considered truly moral and truly ennobling. Even if there were no native English history painters worthy of the name, the English gentleman prided himself upon his patronage and connoisseurship of history painting. On his Grand Tour of the Continent, he bought up Old Master paintings and patronized Italian artists, even to the extent of bringing them over to England.

For the whole of his career Hogarth fought the patrons of foreign history painting, those self-styled arbiters of taste, the "connoisseurs," for he recognized the incompatability of their brand of criticism with his new brand of art. As a young man, before he had embarked upon his career as a painter, he engraved a broadsheet called *Masquerades and Operas* (1724) which satirized the connoisseurs' taste for foreign art—notably Italian opera and Palladian architecture—as against the products of native genius exemplified in the work of Shakespeare. A few years later, in 1728, he caught the eye of the theater-going public with paintings drawn from the first non-Italianate, satirical opera in history, the *Beggar's Opera* by John Gay. Thus launched as a painter, Hogarth exploited for a few years a novel form of portraiture, the miniature family group or "Conversation Piece." Although this kind of work brought him some fame and valuable contact with the wealthier classes, it involved much rather mechanical labor and proved financially unrewarding. On the broadsheet front, meanwhile, he had made the important transition from the old-fashioned emblematic po-

1. Nichols, p. 21.
2. *Mercure Scandale, or, Advice from the Scandalous Club, being a Weekly History of Nonsense, Impertinence, Vice and Debauchery.*
3. In the *Champion* for June 10, 1740. For Hogarth's literary relationships, cf. Robert Moore.

litical satire, such as that on the South-Sea Bubble (1721), to the realistic social satire, such as the *Sleeping Congregation* (1728), in which he shows for the first time his peculiar talent for comic physiognomy. He was, by this time, well launched as an engraver of broadsheets and book-illustrations, but he was irked by what he termed the "tyranny" of the booksellers, who took all the financial profits and had bad cheap copies made of his designs. Then in 1729 Hogarth married the daughter of Sir James Thornhill, whom he admired as the only native history painter of the day, and whose cause he had defended against the connoisseurs. The years 1729–30 thus promised in every way to be critical in Hogarth's life, filled as they were with incentives—financial, personal, and artistic—to rouse the general public and confute the connoisseur with some startling novelty.

In his own oft-quoted words, Hogarth took up "a still more novel mode, viz. painting and engraving modern moral subjects, a field not broken up in any country or any age"—a sweeping claim, indeed, and one which historians have been quick to qualify, but which must appear in the context of our present study as basically justified. Hogarth continues with a significant literary analogy: "I wished to compose pictures on canvas, similar to representations on the stage; and farther hope, that they will be tried by the same test and criticized by the same criterion . . . I have endeavoured to treat my subject as a dramatic writer; my picture is my stage, and men and women my players, who by means of certain actions and gestures are to exhibit a *dumb show*."

"Criticized by the same criterion" would seem to be the key phrase here. I believe that, rather than establishing a parallel between the consecutive acts of a play and the consecutive scenes in his pictorial sequence, Hogarth is concerned with forging a basis for criticism of his style and subject matter. He asks that his "modern moral subjects" be regarded like comedy in the hierarchy of literary genres, "as that intermediate species of subjects, which may be placed between the sublime and the grotesque." The bourgeois comedy of a Henry Fielding novel falls into the same category.

In another, lesser known passage, he refers casually to his pictures being designed in series, and "having something of that kind of connection which the pages of a book have."[4] Apart from this, Hogarth is reticent about the formal innovation of pictorial narrative in sequences; it is, above all, his choice of subject matter which he feels obliged to defend.

We are thus faced with the inevitable historical question: To what extent can we assume that Hogarth was conscious of, and dependent upon, tradition in the narrative broadsheet? Any English engraver of the early eighteenth century must have been familiar with the art of Romeyn de Hooghe, although Hogarth himself need not, I feel, have been directly affected by it, politically dated as it was in the England of 1730. Could Hogarth have seen any of the German and Italian broadsheets which we described in Part II? We know too little of English broadsheet collections even to begin to answer such a question. One can however readily imagine that an English traveller, passing through Bologna, would pick up an etching by Mitelli, a respected master working in a famous art center. It is thus likely that Hogarth actually knew Mitelli's *Life of the Prostitute*, although whether he can have known the original Venetian version is another matter.

Of the old master engravers whom Hogarth, as an apprentice, would have been set to copy, only Callot could have acted as a model of both style and moral narrative. Art historians are agreed that Hogarth must have refreshed himself with study of Callot's only narrative sequence, the *Misères de la Guerre*, before embarking upon an analogous subject, the illustrations to John Beaver's *Roman Military Punishments* (1725).[5] Such work, however, with its prescribed content, and executed out of economic necessity, bears little relationship to Hogarth's *Progresses*.

We may be certain that Hogarth was conversant with the native broadsheet tradition, although he must have despised it from the artistic point of view. The Popish Plot and other packs of cards were still being printed in the early eighteenth century, and the young Hogarth, who was later to give ample proof of his patriotic and Protestant prejudice, could well have played with them as a boy. But the rather prosaic, exclusively political subject matter would not have appealed to him. It is otherwise with a late seventeenth-century rake strip (10–1) which obviously echoes the grander Italian versions and which offers, crude as it is, the best native pictorial prototype for Hogarth's early *Progresses*. This print survives in two versions and is of the kind which the artist's father, the son of a yeoman farmer and himself a provincial schoolmaster, might well have pinned up on the wall of his home. We must never forget, also, that the narrative strip and picture story may have been more common in early eighteenth-century England than the few surviving examples would indicate. Another anonymous print of this kind (10–2) treated a scandal which also elicited a satire from Hogarth himself, at a time when he was still a struggling engraver (10–3). Hogarth limits himself to the climactic moment, which is rendered with great gusto and a fitting vulgarity. The anonymous strip cartoonist analyzes the whole sequence of events leading to the exposure of the fraud, but fails to reach a climax and allows the story to peter out at the "heroine's" arrest and disgrace. The print is, however, filled with irony and humor, and shows a commendable spirit of toleration for an ignorant girl who is seen more as a dupe than as an impostor. The intention is to ridicule certain prominent physicians, a profession constantly satirized by Hogarth. There can be little doubt that the print came to his attention and may well have served to confirm his determination never to break down the copper plate into strips of tiny restrictive boxes. Hogarth's imagination demanded space, and the engravings of the *Progresses*[6] tower over the little vignettes of the *Whim-Wham from Guildford* as much in their physical as in their moral dimensions. It was no passing sensation which was to stimulate Hogarth to moral narrative, but the whole panorama of social folly.

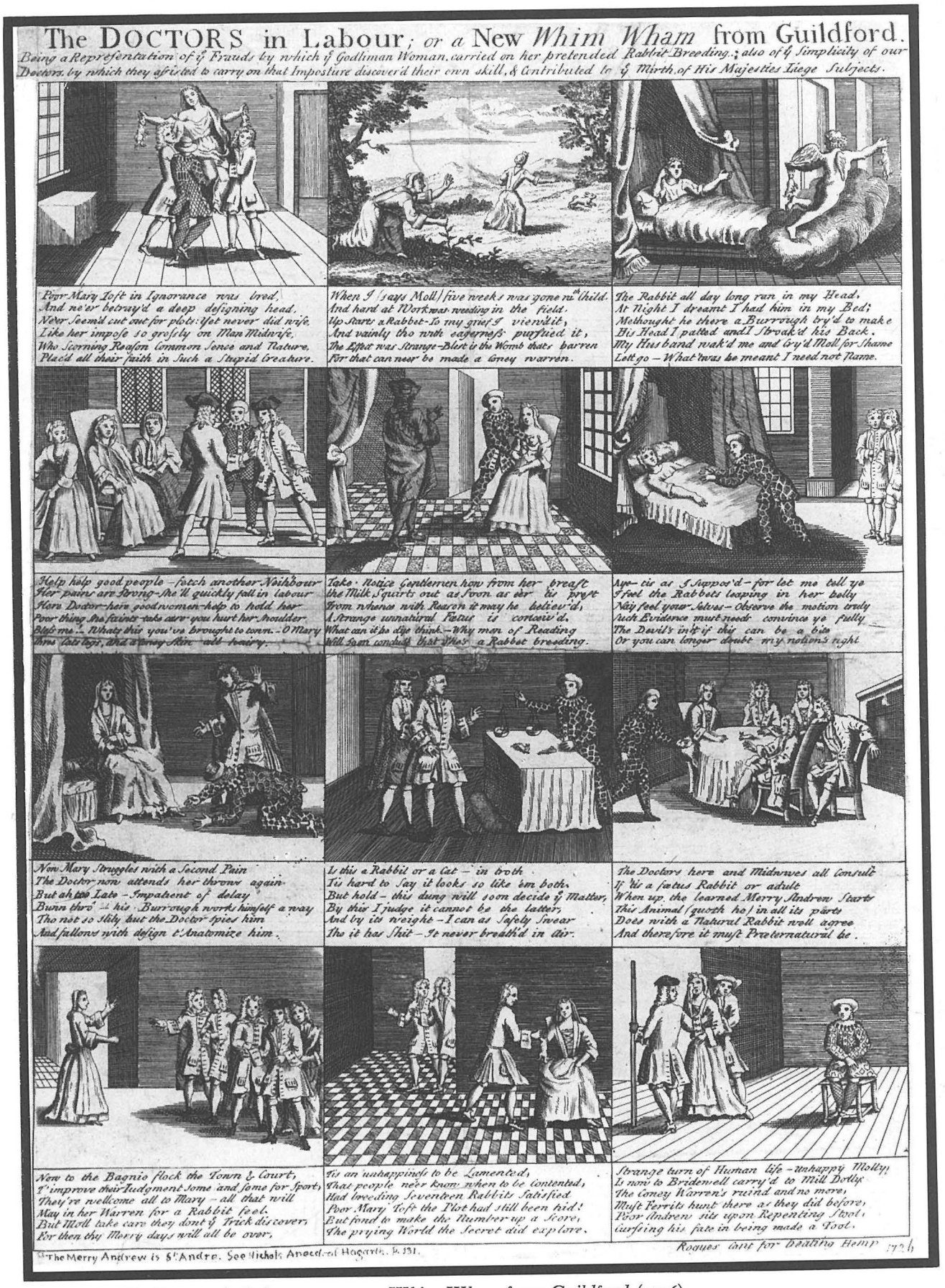
4. Burke, p. 229.

5. Paulson, Pls. 60–74. Beaver wished to expose the cruelty of the Roman Emperors.

6. About 12" x 15" (28 x 37.5 centimeters). A "Whim-Wham" means a foolish trifle.



10–1. English. *The Prodigall Son Sifted* (c. 1700).



10–2. English. *The Doctors in Labour; or a new Whim-Wham from Guildford* (1726).

10–3. William Hogarth. *Cunicularii, or the Wise Men in Godliman in Consultation* (1726).



2. *Before and After (1730).*

We will now consider two pairs of paintings (10–4 and 10–5) which, although they have never before been connected with the *Harlot's Progress,* constitute a significant intermediate stage between the single, self-sufficient satires and the first extended sequence. One pair, according to Hogarth's notes, was in progress in January 1731; it cannot be a coincidence that by September of that year the painting of the *Harlot's Progress* was complete.[7]

Hogarth succinctly named one pair *Before* and *After*; both pairs tell the same story of a seduction followed by immediate repentance—one in a landscape, the other indoors. In the former pair, a fashionable boy presses his suit in a relatively genteel fashion; only the forward position of one leg reveals his amorous intentions, and the highlight on his breeches his sexual emotion. The girl meanwhile makes a conventional gesture of resistance. In *After*, the lovers are painfully but tenderly reconciled in their mutual repentance. In the second pair of paintings, with their bedroom setting, the action is more direct, more brusque, and at the same time more complex. There is considerable psychological refinement in the emotional change which each of the protagonists undergoes: the moment of sudden attack met by violent resistance is contrasted to the moment when a disillusioned and mechanical reaction is conjoined with a tearfully sentimental one. A physical discordance is followed by a psychological one, and a curious reversal of roles takes place. All four compositions together could form a continuous narrative, in which the indoor version closes with increased physical and emotional intensity upon the sexual act itself.

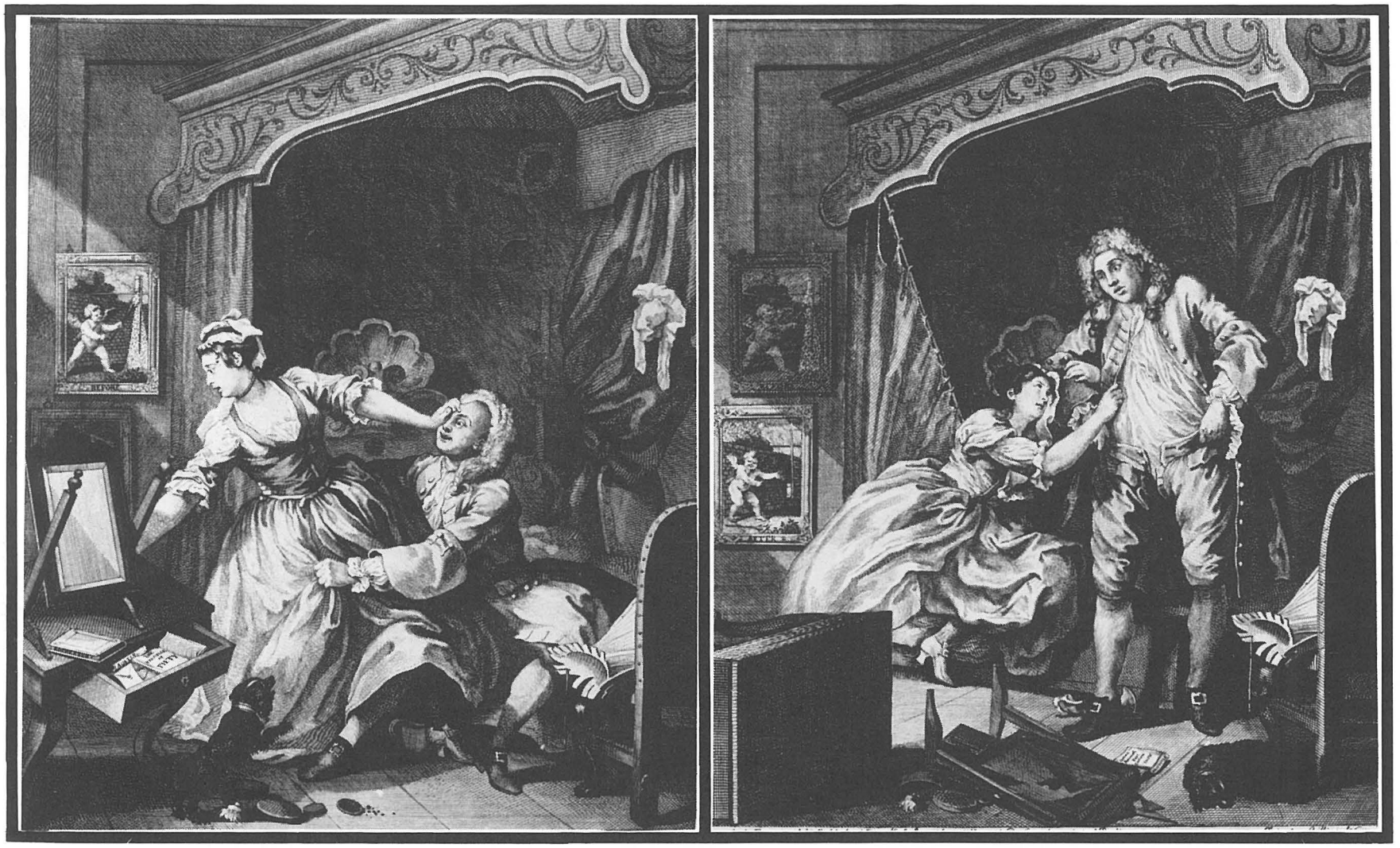
Hogarth did not engrave these subjects immediately, probably because he did not wish them to interfere with the bigger project germinating in his mind. By the time *Before* and *After* were published as engravings (1736), the artist had gained experience in the art of narrative, and was able to enrich the engravings with a considerable amount of circumstantial detail, which, in the two pictures upon the wall—a sexually symbolic Progress within the Progress—adds wit and satiric bite to his conception.

Before and *After* tell of youthful innocence perverted, of submission to temptation, like both the *Harlot's*

7. Cf. Beckett, p. 63, and Paulson, p. 39. Under Nos. 141–42, however, Paulson states that *on style* the Indoor *Before* and *After* should be dated nearer to 1736.



10–4. William Hogarth. *Before* and *After* (c. 1730).



10–5. William Hogarth. *Before* and *After* (c. 1730).

and *Rake's Progress*. But Hogarth did much more than merely develop the potential of a seduction scene as conceived here. While working on *Before* and *After*, he discovered the necessity of making the narrative revolve, not around a seduction *per se*, the central moment of which was presupposed and could not be represented, but around dramatic turning points, such as the Harlot's intrigue and her lover's flight behind the back of the Jew. The overturned table, in *Before* merely a realistic accessory, becomes in the *Harlot's Progress* of critical dramatic significance.

3. *The Harlot's Progress (1732)*

(10–6) There are only six scenes to Hogarth's first narrative. If he was conscious of any narrative pictorial tradition at all, he must have realized that this was a small number to work with. Yet he aspired to a story richer in substance and fuller in time than those of his predecessors. As a painter of history, if only of comic history, the artist wished to incorporate the ideal presented by that mentor of the history painters and the connoisseurs, the Earl of Shaftesbury: although a single composition is limited to depicting a single moment in time, the painter has it in his power to suggest an immediately preceding, and an immediately succeeding, emotion or action.[8] Shaftesbury takes the example of Hercules choosing between Good and Evil, which is a kind of ancient historical equivalent to Moll Hackabout (which we learn is the Harlot's name) choosing between the virtuous past and a vicious future. The past is with the York wagon, the humble vehicle which brought her from the North to London, where she is to stay with her "loving cousin Tom"; the past is also in her modest dress. The present is in her moment of indecision, expressed in an uncertain stance and bland expression (detail 10–7). The immediate future lies with the blandishments of the bawd, and the farther future in the leering, lustful "Colonel" Charteris, waiting with his pimp behind.

(10–8) We readily guess that she has entered the employ of Charteris, ostensibly as a servant; the "Colonel" will enjoy her for a time, then pass her on, for a fee, to the rich Jew whom we see in the second scene. This is roughly the equivalent of the sixth and seventh stages in the Venetian story. Hogarth moves much faster—so fast that the contemporary scribblers who commented in verse and prose upon the pictures seized the chance to fill out the story in between. Whereas the Putana, discovered in her infidelity, merely runs away in fear, Moll Hackabout displays an Anglo-Saxon *sang-froid*, skilfully creating a diversion by knocking over the table, thus permitting a lowly lover (a soldier, from his sword) to escape at the back. It is the cuckolded Jewish lover (detail 10–9) who is scared by this unaccountable tantrum, as are the negro servant boy and the monkey, both of whom might have stepped straight from the Venetian palazzo. Moll, like the Putana, met her new lover at a masquerade, but it was enough for Hogarth to forge the narrative link by showing a mask cast aside upon the floor.

8. Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *Essay on Painting*, 1713.



10–6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13. William Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress* (1731/2). Plate 1.



10–7. Moll & Bawd (detail from 10–6).



10–9. Moll & Jew (detail from 10–8).





(10–10) Although she was apparently in command of the foregoing situation, Moll's infidelity has resulted in her expulsion, for she is now shown slipping rapidly downhill. In the first scene her dress was neat but provincial: in the second she was molded in a more sophisticated, more rococo form. She has now degenerated into impoverished dishevellment. Her pretty face still preserves some of the glories of the past, but the dilapidation of her surroundings is complete. The English garret is more frightening by far than the poorest Venetian street. Moll is now keeping the lowest of company (the poor but decent young soldier of 10–8 represents an intermediate stage), but we learn this in oblique fashion—from the portraits of a criminal and the wig-box of a noted highwayman. The stage is held by the Harlot, and to a lesser extent by her servant, whose noselessness is monitory of the future, as are the numerous medicine bottles. Moll's comparative isolation serves the better to emphasize the sudden, secret entry of the Law. Where his predecessors showed the sinner led away to punishment, Hogarth uses a classic theatrical artifice to contrast the moment of blind triumph—the Harlot happily holding up the trophy of the evening, a stolen watch—with the impending fall, of which she is quite oblivious. This is a perfect demonstration of Hogarth's principle of narrative continuity, and his use of linking incidents such as served the master novelist in creating suspense, leading the reader from one episode to the next.

(10–11) In Bridewell prison, prostitutes, unregenerate gamblers and other undesirables were made to beat hemp. Having placed her in this assorted, unsavory company, Hogarth expertly manages to abase and elevate his heroine simultaneously. Although committed to hard labor, she has recovered the elegance which she seemed to have lost in the previous scene. Her dress, incongruous to many early critics, surely indicates that her fortunes revived momentarily before her actual imprisonment. This pattern conforms with the literary and pictorial traditions, and is emphasized by Hogarth's contemporary exegetists. But Moll will soon be stripped of her finery, as is shown in the woman



10–14. Moll & Servant (detail from 10–11).

further down the row, who has had to hang up her hoop. Linking incidents here include a graffito effigy (on a shutter at the back of the shed) of Sir John Gonson ("Sr J G"), who was recognized by contemporaries as the Justice of the previous scene. He is shown upon the gallows hanging, perhaps, by the very hemp which his victims are engaged in beating.

(10–12) The Harlot is dying, while the physicians shamefully quarrel over the nature and cure of the disease. As to the former, we should by now be in no doubt; but even here she does not appear the "ravaged slut," as she is described by the most recent Hogarth interpreter.[9] After the law, it is nature's turn to punish her, but ultimately it is not

9. Paulson, p. 40.



only the natural process of disease but the ignorance and folly of society which precipitate her death. The direful descriptions of venereal disease which we remember from the Italian literature and imagery, and which were not lacking in eighteenth-century England either, have here been elevated into a satire on those who so stridently advertised their skills in curing the disease. It is a conscious irony that the compositional and psychological focus should be upon the physicians, for, having held the stage until now, the Harlot becomes a mere occasion to reveal the villainies and hypocrisies of society. This is even more true of the following scene, where she is no longer visible at all.

(10–13) The stage fills as the climax approaches. In the previous scene, we witnessed three widely disparate degrees of sympathy and contempt for the Harlot's plight. Here we see as many different reactions to death as there are people present, running the gamut from "melancholic" grief (pair in the background) to "raving" grief (foreground). A curious narrative link is sustained by the latter figure, who in the previous scene was rifling her mistress's trunk (detail 10–14), and is now the most violent of all in her grief. Flaunting a shoe she has stolen from the dead woman, she is the very essence of hypocrisy.

In keeping with pictorial tradition, Hogarth ends with a ceremonial, or rather mock-ceremonial, scene. Reliable early commentators [10] imply that the story might better have ended with the Harlot's death rather than her funeral, which they find somewhat superfluous. But we have only to turn back to the deaths of the Venetian Harlot and Roman Rake (9–19 and 9–18), for which occasions society does its best, to gauge the narrative importance of this scene, in which Hogarth shifts the accent from Harlot to harlots. Hogarth is the satirist of society as a whole, and he is not content, like his predecessors, to moralize upon the fate of a single member of it. At the end we come to sympathize warmly with poor Moll, whose expiation is in excess of her crimes; and in sympathizing with her, we condemn all the more readily those who perverted, exploited and battened upon her.

The success of the *Harlot's Progress* was tremendous. Recognizing a host of living, or recently dead, stars of the London underworld–prostitutes, bawds, pimps, rakes and quacks–and rejoicing particularly in the chance to see the puritanical, harlot-hunting London magistrate Sir John Gonson in so spicy a context, people rushed to view the paintings and subscribe to the engravings. We are reliably told that Hogarth entered 1,200 subscribers on his books, and could have had more, if he had been prepared to issue weak impressions. Editions of fine engravings seldom exceeded the low hundreds in number. George Vertue, a contemporary engraver and no particular friend of the painter, acknowledged at the time (1732) that the sequence was "the most remarkable subject of painting that captivated the Minds of most People, persons of all ranks and conditions, from the greatest quality to the meanest." [11] The author of the tale of Moll Hackabout had produced a best-seller which enjoyed, comparatively speaking, an even greater and more instantaneous popularity than Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1724), that heavily documented life of a prostitute with which Hogarth's is so often compared.

There was another, less welcome sign of popularity: the pirates pounced, marketing several sets of copies, one printed in a livid green and all a mockery of the quality of the original engravings. In vain did Hogarth, in order to counter the piracies, authorize small, cheap copies, which were engraved three scenes to a plate, "with ornaments and explanations." There also abounded unauthorized verse explanations, which are in part ingenious, in part irrelevant, in part obscene. There were theatrical transpositions, in the form of ballad-operas with *tableaux-vivants* imitating Hogarth's compositions; and his designs were even transferred to fans and teacups.

10. Rouquet, Lichtenberg and Trusler.

11. Manuscript Notes published by the *Walpole Society*, Vol. XVIII, etc.

4. *The Rake's Progress (1735)*

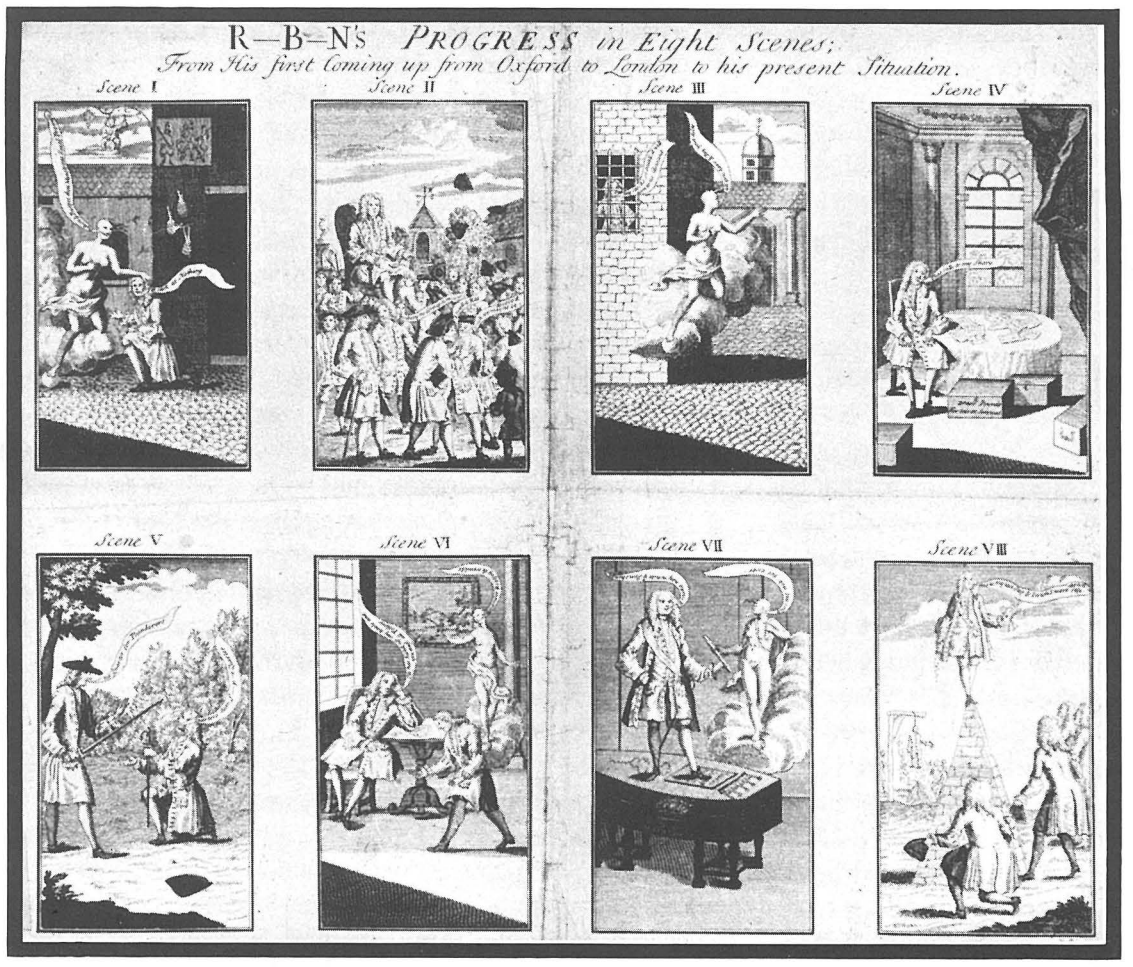
Such a success must have strengthened Hogarth's resolve, already forming perhaps as he worked on the *Harlot*, to execute a counterpart sequence. Whether he knew of the Venetian picture stories or not, he would have had every literary precedent for a continuation of this kind.

Meanwhile, an anonymous versifier anticipated the artist with *The Progress of a Rake; or, the Templar's Exit (1732)* in which the similarities with Hogarth's eventual scenario may be the result of good guesswork as much as of genuine foreknowledge. Also at this time, Hogarth had occasion to reject a lucrative chance to make his mark as a political party propagandist. Recent events in the lower reaches of London society had conveniently provided the artist with a real-life harlot and real-life bawd (a notorious Kate Hackabout and an equally notorious Mother Needham had died in 1730); political developments at this moment provided cartoonists with a real-life political "rake"—none other than the chief minister of the realm, Sir Robert Walpole, whose unpopularity reached a climax in 1732/3. But Hogarth was not so minded, harbored no particular animus against Sir Robert, and the commission fell to a hack. The result (10-15) is an uninteresting amalgam of loosely linked incidents, partly realistic, partly allegorical in conception.

As Hogarth worked upon his own *Rake's Progress*, he reflected bitterly upon the activities of the pirates and their "base imitations," as he termed them. Accordingly, he set in motion means to counteract them—a parliamentary Act of Copyright. Literary productions were protected under an Act of 1710, but graphic art could be copied with impunity. Hogarth lobbied for over a year, and held back publication of the *Rake* (which was painted by 1733), so that it should receive protection under the new law. But when the engravings finally appeared (June 25, 1735), the pirates had already anticipated him by three weeks. We learn what had happened from a complaint which Hogarth inserted in the newspaper: "mean and necessitous persons," that is, booksellers' spies, had come to his house to view the paintings, masquerading as prospective subscribers to the engravings. In an extraordinary exercise of visual memory, they reported back to the pirate engravers, who proceeded to reconstruct the story with many inevitable distortions, omissions, and additions. All this activity, the curious result, and Hogarth's countermeasures are fully described elsewhere;[12] here it is enough to stress that a unique form of art, a Hogarth pictorial sequence, called forth a unique form of "memorial plagiary." The 1735 Copyright Act has always been known as "Hogarth's Act," and recognized as a pioneering effort to raise the economic and social status of the engravers who worked from their own designs.

(10–16) The story of the "memorial plagiarists" also throws light upon Hogarth's first thoughts for the *Rake's Progress*, which was, I suspect, to have been in ten scenes. The present number of eight still reflects the artist's confidence that he could repeat his success with the six-part *Harlot* on a more extensive scale. Apparently Hogarth first intended to start the *Rake* by marrying him to a rich old wo-

12. Kunzle in *Warburg Journal*.



10–15. *R—B—N's* (i.e. Sir Robert Walpole's) *Progress* (1733).



10–16, 17, 19, 21, 23, 26, 27, 29. William Hogarth. *A Rake's Progress* (1733/5).

man.[13] In the completed version, however, the artist reverted to the idea of a foolish young man, like the Prodigal of old, taking possession of his patrimony. By postponing the marriage until the fifth scene, Hogarth is able to bring an entirely new element into the story: the virtuous foil, Sarah Young. Spurning Sarah, the girl he has seduced while a student at Oxford and whom he tries to buy off, Rakewell reveals his heartlessness and treachery; having a tailor measure him, he reveals his vanity, and by turning his back on the thieving lawyer, he reveals his gullibility. His extravagant disposition is not fully displayed until the next scene, but is already motivated here in the profuse evidence for his father's avarice. The German dramatic tradition made the Prodigal Son's father into a miser, and Hogarth's memorial plagiarist reverts to source by making the parable the subject of two pictures hanging on the wall.

(10-17) *Nouveau riche* Tom Rakewell, aping the aristocratic sportsman-cum-connoisseur of the day, receives representatives of various artistic professions: harpsichordist, singer, dancing-master, *maître d'armes*, *bravo*, jocky, etc. Compositionally this is, by Hogarth's own standards, a rather static array of figures. Despite the closeness with which each individual is observed, they are reminiscent of the traditional series of *Professions*, or *Arts and Sciences*, familiar to us from the "Folly" prints. Hogarth's plagiarist supplied a mistress as well, but there will be mistresses enough in the next scene; and there is a mythological painting here to hint at the forthcoming lechery. (The painting also reveals the depraved artistic taste of Rakewell.)

Our hero's immediate preoccupation is with a *bravo* (detail 10-18), who exploits the Rake's cowardice and the amorous intrigue in which he is involved. The fight scene, a *sine qua non* of every rake (and harlot) story hitherto, is consciously omitted by the artist as the next independent episode in his story. He could easily have considered a riot scene such as is interpolated by the plagiarist, who shows the Rake trying to tear a wife from her husband. Yet the only suggestion of physical violence on Rakewell's part is contained in the broken watchman's staff and lantern in the foreground of the next scene, evidence of the student prank rather than a jealous homicidal fury.



10–18. Rake, Bully, Harriet (detail from 10–17).

13. Sketch reproduced by Beckett, Pl. 65.



10–20. Rake & Ladies (detail from 10–19).

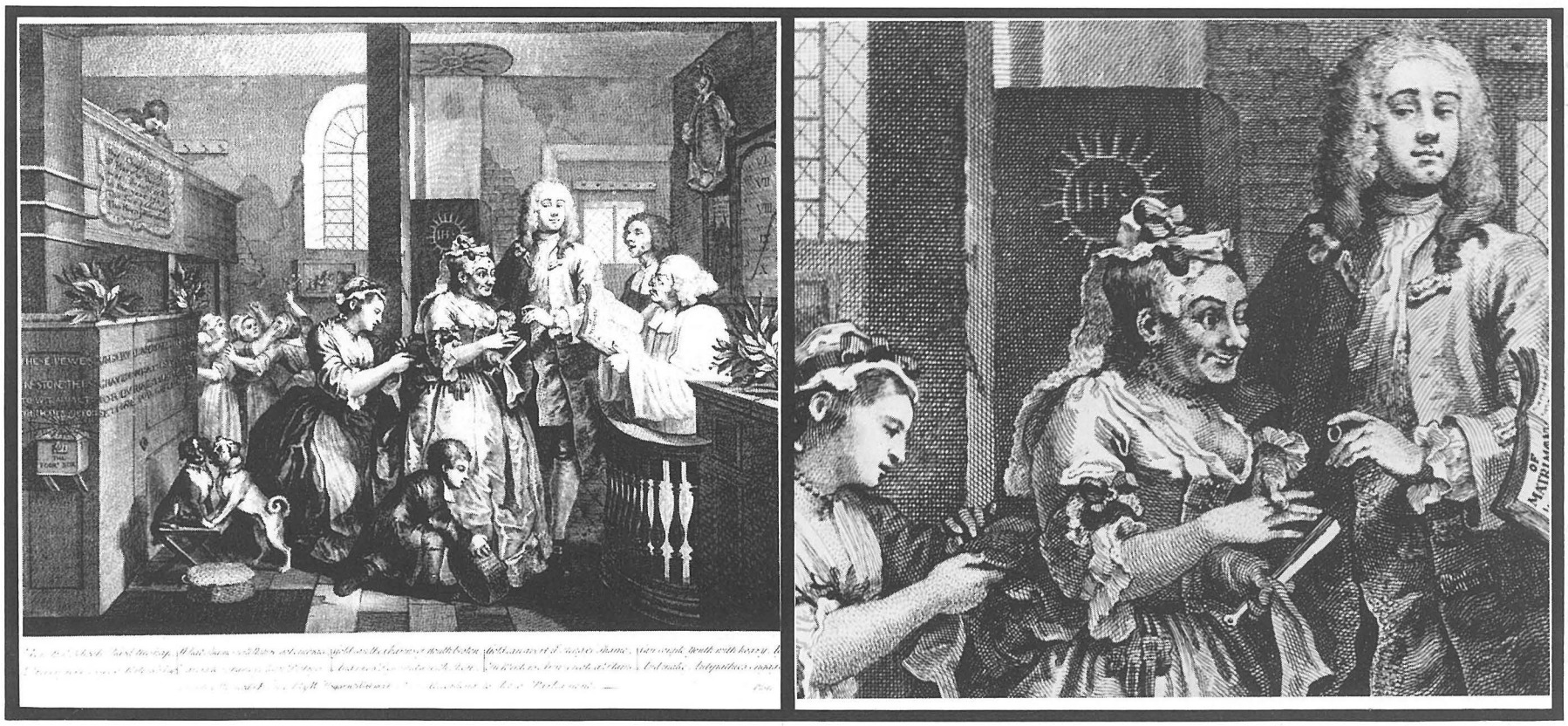
(10-19) For centuries, the three chief elements in any picture of revelry had been wine, women, and song, all of which are plentifully present here. The theft of the watch, a very common motif in Italian and Italianate brothel paintings, is performed here not with the help of an old procuress, as tradition demanded, but by a well-rehearsed team of two young whores. They act with consummate deftness (detail 10-20). With one leg slung over his whore, Tom Rakewell is depicted in an attitude used by certain sixteenth- and seventeenth-century artists as a metaphor for sexual intercourse;[14] no broadsheet artist had ever risked so overt a statement. The tightly knit group about Tom is linked, via a background sweep of riotous, drunken, farcical whores, to the single figure of "Posture Nan" dressing after (or undressing before) her acrobatic performance on the large brass plate held up behind her. She is the beautiful, passive observer, a *tour-de-force* of flesh and drapery painting—a symbol of art, rather than of immorality, isolated and highlighted so as to cast a broad erotic glow over the composition as a whole. One of the memorial plagiarists turned her into a whore showing her leg in order to entice the Rake—a banal and vulgar idea.

(10-21) Tom Rakewell is arrested for debt, but instead of being simply led away to prison like his predecessors, he is stopped in his sedan at the least expected moment, just when he is about to make a splash at the Court of St. James. He is confronted by bailiffs with the vicious mien and violent instincts of street-robbers.[15] The composition seizes the moment of maximum physical and psychological suspense, which is further heightened by the intervention of Sarah Young, who tries (successfully—one must accept the improbable here) to buy the bailiffs off. The sudden appearance of this virtuous, humble milliner is all the more telling after the preceding "Conversation Piece" of London harlotry. It is noteworthy that the plagiarists make the bailiffs push Sarah's offering rudely away, which is saying more than Hogarth intended; they also loosen the dramatic tension, first by making the shoeblacks (detail 10-22) mock the Welshman rather than the Rake, and second by letting the clumsiness of a chairman, raising the roof of the sedan, cause the lamplighter



14. Cf. Leo Steinberg, in a paper read before the College Art Association Meeting at St. Louis, January 1968, entitled "Michelangelo's Florentine Pietà—the missing leg" (to be published by Basic Books, New York).

15. Daylight robbery even in the better streets was a common feature of London life.



10–24. Rake & Maid (detail from 10–23).

to spill his oil. Hogarth's lamplighter deliberately "anoints" Rakewell with dirty lamp-oil in a kind of satirical consecraton of his social success, and as a prophesy of his future ruin.

(10-23) We remember that the Italian rakes and harlots did not marry. They sought to recoup their wasted fortunes by selling property, or by finding new lovers. Their vices had placed them far beyond the pale of a social institution such as matrimony; from the point of view of broadsheet satire, the sacred ceremony of marriage was inviolable. Hogarth is inhibited by no such religious scruples. He freely condemns the Church, which has fallen into a state of moral and physical decay equal to that of the bridal couple; he condemns the obese parson who prostitutes himself by performing the ceremony, and he condemns those who exploit the institution of marriage to their own base ends. Rakewell and his bride (10-24) correspond to an ancient stereotype of broadsheet satire (10-25) in which youthful beauty is purchased by ancient wealth. Hogarth has spiced it by making his hero cast a veiled glance past his hideous bride at her pretty maid. The irony of this nascent infidelity is the greater in that the victim of his first liaison, the persistent Sarah, with his infant on her arm, is battling for entry into the church at this very moment.

10–25. Ishrahel von Meckenem. *Old woman and young boy* (end fifteenth century)





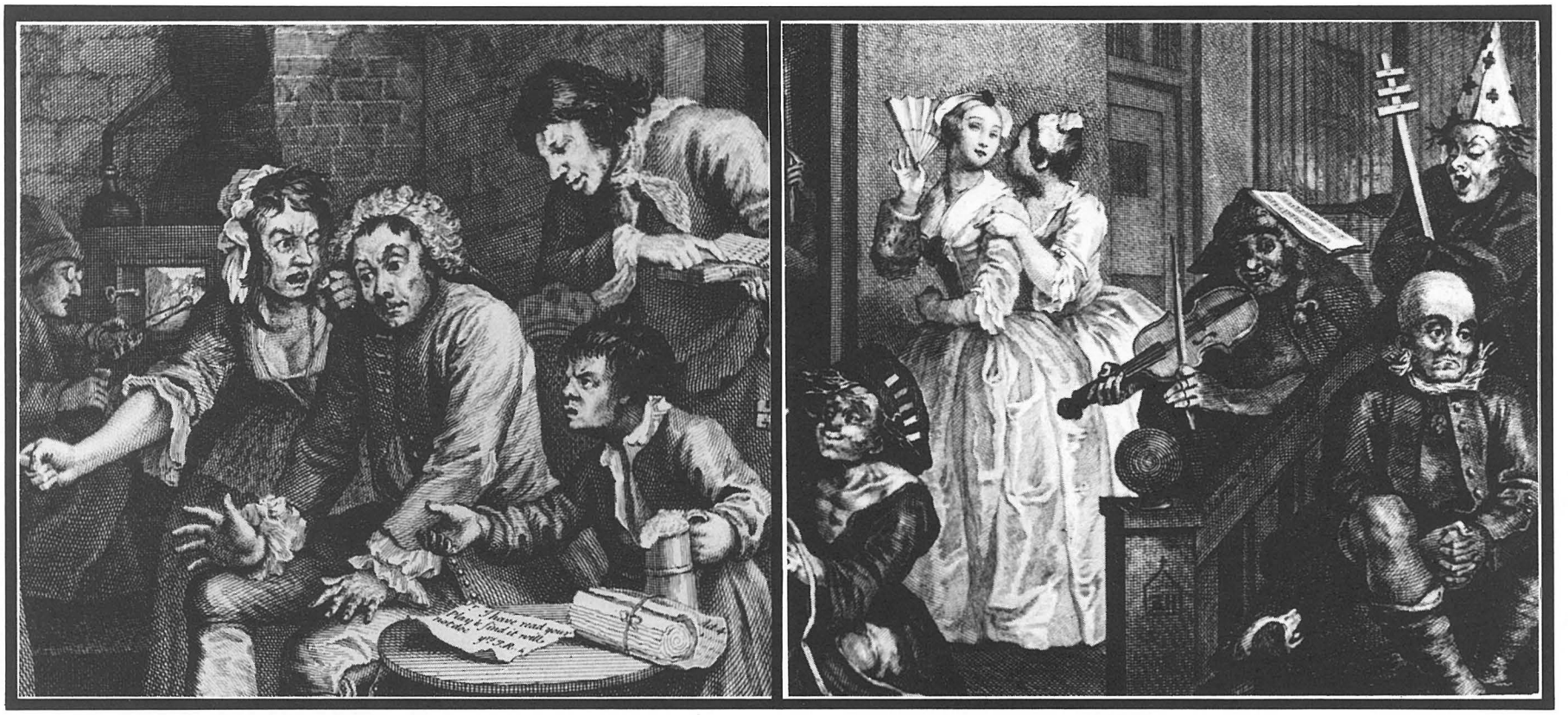


(10-26) The *Lascivo* gambled with his mistresses; at White's Club[16] there is no room for Lust, but only Avarice and Despair. Instead of sitting at the gaming table like all his forebears, Tom Rakewell has flung himself on one knee, cursing himself and the world in manic, almost ecstatic rage. Other stages or types of despair are depicted among Rakewell's companions, as are all the processes of winning, losing and borrowing money. A sinister future is predicted for the gamblers, first on an apocalyptic, quasi-symbolical level, by the fire which has just broken out and which brings in the nightwatchman[17]; and second, on a more down-to-earth level, in the highwayman who furtively awaits his chance to pounce when the confusion reaches its height. Like the Devil in Mitelli's satire, he will take all.

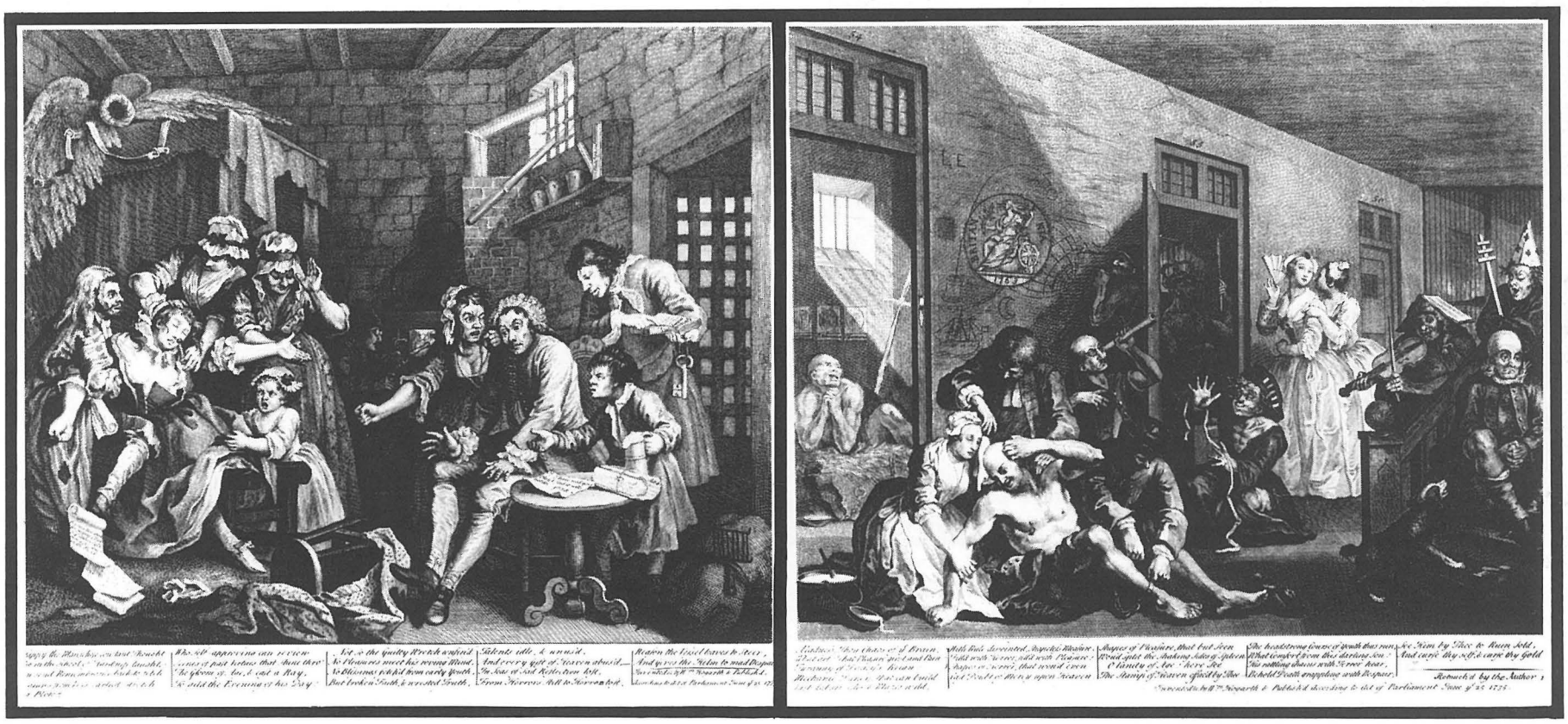
(10-27) The gambling hell was already of a sepulchral, prison-like gloom; Rakewell is obliged to spend the last stages of his life in real prisons, first the Fleet, where debtors were confined. The emphasis on prison life, from the painter of *Bambridge examined*. . . (6-46), is not surprising and nowhere but in prison settings could Hogarth depict the full mental and physical degeneration of his hero, expressed not only in the figure of Rakewell himself but also in the company he is obliged to keep. He has written a play, which is refused; the next step may be alchemy, a craze being diligently pursued behind him. Completely bewildered, oblivious to all, whether it be the boy whining for his beer-money, the furious reproaches of the wife, or Sarah's tragic collapse, he is halfway to insanity already. After the blasphemous cries of the previous scene, he appears comparatively innocent and worthy of our pity (detail 10-28).

(10-29) Like most of his predecessors, Hogarth's Rake must die. Having been confined in Bedlam (Bethlehem) Hospital, London's principal madhouse, he is released from chains no longer needed and helped gently into approaching death both by the warder and Sarah.[18] The dying man's residual raving madness is contrasted with the melan-

16. A notorious London club which actually caught fire in May 1733.
17. Cf. the whore setting the "World" on fire in scene 3.
18. It is strange that the most recent Hogarth authorities (Antal, p. 43, and Paulson, p. 169) ignore Mrs. Kurz's important observation (p. 154), that Rakewell is in fact dying, and not being fastened into but released from the irons. The memorial plagiarists (who had only a moment to glance at the paintings) made the same mistake. Cf. the verse to this plate: "Behold death grappling with despair."



10–30. Lovesick Man (detail from 10–29).



choly madness of the lovesick musician on the stairs (detail 10-30).[19] With so many inmates of various characters and occupations, Hogarth, like the engravers of the old Folly broadsheets, is making a broad social statement, to the effect that all human activities can lead to insanity; at the same time, he is highly selective, creating individuals who are crazed in different ways by the severest delusions, and who mock the noble concepts of a world from which they are excluded.

In the original painting, light falls very conspicuously onto the two female visitors who peep and snigger as if in grotesque parody of the sacred Act of Mercy (cf. 6-4). As at the end of the *Harlot's Progress*, the action of the living shamelessly mocks the plight of the dying.

The success of the *Rake's Progress* was only slightly less than that of the *Harlot*, with commentaries in verse and prose once again abounding. Having scored a dual triumph with his "novel mode," Hogarth determined to conquer an old form which had hitherto been denied to him: monumental history painting. In a characteristic combination of personal advertisement and philanthropic concern, he decided to present his first attempt in the "grand manner" to a famous charitable institution of which he had just been nominated Governor, Saint Bartholomew's Hospital. The subjects, although of a traditional biblical character, are reminiscent of the prison and hospital scenes of the *Rake*: Jesus healing a cripple at the Pool of Bethesda, and the parable of the Good Samaritan (1735/6). These vast compositions, which are still *in situ* and still very enjoyable, were considered at the time to be more than could have been expected of a mere comic painter; but Hogarth could win himself no more commissions of this kind. Perhaps we need not regret this fact, for it meant that he was obliged to return to the painting and engraving of satires. He did so with the *Four Times of Day*, a witty but non-narrative set of compositions. Hogarth also broke new ground in portraiture, leaving miniature groups for life-size canvasses of single figures. *Captain Coram* (1740) proved a landmark in the history of British portraiture, a work both psychologically intimate and pictorially grand. Thomas Coram was the founder of the Foundling Hospital, to which Hogarth presented his portrait and in the promotion of which he was also actively concerned. His connections with these philanthropic institutions must have sharpened the artist's consciousness of society's responsibility toward the sick and unwanted. The real-life equivalents of the Rakewell and Hackabout infants, who cut so pathetic a figure in the last scenes of the *Progresses*, must not be allowed to perish. Contemplating, from this angle, the social evil of infidelity and sexual license, Hogarth decided to make them the leitmotif of his next narrative, this time within the approved social institution of marriage.

19. The distinction between these two types of madness is made by contemporary medical theory, and was illustrated in sculptures by Caius Gabriel Cibber placed over the hospital entrance (now Guildhall Museum).

5. *Marriage A-la-mode (1743-5)*

During the late '30s and early '40s Hogarth's fame as a portraitist spread, and he had gained personal insight into the taste and manners of the upper classes; it was these, accordingly, which he decided to satirize. The interest of his fellow-cartoonists was also shifting towards satire of "fashion" and the "fashionable." At the same time, Hogarth's stylistic ambitions had become more "upper class," and he determined to outshine, in painterly sophistication, the best rococo art then available. He paid a special visit to Paris in 1743 in order to refresh his knowledge of the latest developments in painting, and in order to find engravers capable of reflecting, with the burin, his new-found elegance of the brush. (Hogarth admits that he only engraved the *Progresses* himself because he was unable to find more competent craftsmen.) This was to be not just a "Progress of Marriage" but a *Marriage A-la-mode*, a satire upon modish society in which, to borrow a phrase from Henry Fielding, the author contrived to "hash and ragoo with all the high French and Italian seasoning of affectation."[20]

The principal vice of Harlot and Rake, sexual incontinence, is shared by the married couple, but punished in a different way. The Harlot dies of a physical disease; the Rake dies of a mental disease; the Earl and Countess infect each other with, and die of, a psychological disease. The themes of *Marriage A-la-mode* are boredom, frustration, and jealousy. Physical disease is projected onto the child, into the future as it were; it is no longer an instrument of justice, for the Earl and Countess execute justice between themselves.

The shift to an aristocratic milieu is not unexpected; in the earlier stories, for instance, the Harlot is in "High Keeping" with her Jew, and the Rake enjoys the most noble diversions at his *levée*. But Hogarth clarifies his latest intentions in the advertisements for *Marriage A-la-mode*: "A Variety of *Modern Occurrences* in High-Life" in which "particular care will be taken, that there may not be the least objection to the Decency or Elegancy of the whole Work, and that none of the Characters represented shall be personal." The latter remark may be taken with a grain of salt, for Hogarth knew that protestations of this kind only encouraged people to look for personal identifications. The promise to avoid indecency is both kept and broken. It is true that there is no scene of vulgar revelry, nor any of extreme social degradation, comparable to those in the *Progresses*; but it is hard to imagine a scene less decent than that of the Quack Doctor (3), with the shabby child prostitute, who makes the gaudy companions of Rakewell seem comparatively polished. On closer inspection, however, we recognize this indecency to be more in the nature of sophisticated perversion. The quack's lair is decorated with the elaborate paraphernalia of sinister, pseudo-scientific activity, which is comparable, in its way, to the sinister, pseudo-artistic furnishings which are so prominent in three of the other five paintings in the sequence. In the last scene the decoration represents the height of middle-class vulgarity.

The *Rake* and *Harlot* treat largely of vices condemned in the seventeenth-century narratives, and marital infidelity had always been the butt of pictorial satire; but there is another, entirely novel target in *Marriage A-la-mode*, which takes on a considerable moral dimension: the perversion of artistic taste. At every point, Hogarth lashes the tendency of the vain, ignorant mind to surround itself with expensive, foolish, foreign things, both animate and inanimate. Hogarth has launched a full-scale war against the connoisseurs. If the profusion of detail in the settings never swamps or conflicts with the story line, this is because the human action has been concentrated and reinforced by means of certain judicious compositional devices, of which the most obvious is a simple reduction in the number of figures. "The top-heavy piling up of pictorial wise-cracks (in the *Progresses*) has here given place . . . to a lucid economy of order and design, no less rich in satirical counterpoint . . . Scene 2 is not only a miracle of psychology, and a brilliant exercise in the comedy of manners, it is also one of the most captivatingly lovely paintings of the English school."[21]

(10–31) The fatal marriage is contracted. The proud but impoverished old Earl Squanderfield is bargaining with a vulgar but rich alderman, whose daughter is wooed not by the foppish, indifferent groom, but (ominously) by a smooth young attorney called (as we shall eventually learn) Counsellor Silvertongue (detail 10–32). As in the first *Rake* scene, miserliness is contrasted with extravagance. If we must wait for the material proof of miserliness (scene 6), it is very much present here physiognomically—compare the Alderman's air and attitude with that of his fellow-parent. Contemporaries took the old Earl's gout to be the result of sensual excess and to have been transmitted to the son in the form of a scrofulous neck (note the black patch), just as the son will taint *his* son, who will suffer from rickets (scene 6). There is a curious coincidence of themes between this Hogarth composition and a Mitelli etching (cf. 10–40), in which the *Craze for Nobility* is closely reflected in the Earl pointing proudly to his family tree; *Craze for not Paying* appears in his evident indebtedness (note particularly the anxious steward with the mortgage); *Craze for Despising People* is suggested by his arrogant attitude; and the action of Mitelli's *Craze for Beauty* is precisely imitated by the young Viscount who preens himself in the mirror.

The mania for building was frequently satirized in seventeenth-century "Folly" prints (e.g. 7–6, scene 13; 7–7, scene 6), but Hogarth spices his version by showing (through the window) a pseudo-Palladian building which breaks all the rules of architecture. On the wall appear a significant series of typically debased baroque subjects by "dark masters," which set the tone of violence and bloodshed about to result from this union.

(10–33) For the moment, Hogarth prefers the innuendo to the open statement. Husband and wife are together, yet separate. We are given the psychological reaction, the emotional stock-taking, in a situation we reconstruct piece by piece. She has spent the night at home playing cards and making music. He has spent the night abroad—doing

20. Preface to *Tom Jones* (1749), quoted by Waterhouse, p. 122.

21. Waterhouse, p. 122.



10–31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38. William Hogarth. *Marriage A-la-mode* (1743–5).

10–32. Alderman, Silvertongue, & Bride (detail from 10–31).

what we can only guess from the woman's cap hanging out of his pocket, where it is sniffed out (disapprovingly?) by the Countess' dog. His sword is broken in its scabbard, mysterious testimony to a scuffle or fall. His expression is one of boredom. It may have nothing to do with a hangover after a night's drinking, of which there is no sign; his whole attitude is redolent of *ennui*.

If we cannot be certain of the husband's exact feelings at this moment, the expression and attitude of his wife is a study in ambiguity. She wears a slight, peculiar, assymetrical smile. Her role has been interpreted in various ways, of which the most psychologically sophisticated goes as follows: she is simultaneously taking note of her husband's conduct and trying to entice him.[22]

A sleepy servant echoes his master's inertia, and may accidentally set the house on fire. The steward lamenting over unsettled business has the air of a hypocrite. We may suspect him of having swindled his inattentive master, but contemporaries describe him as the faithful servant with a hopeless charge.[23] The background is again fully used to satirize the bad taste of the arisocracy. On one hand there are absurd Oriental gew-gaws, and on the other boring religious paintings, together with a curtained (and therefore indecent) picture, combining to expose the Viscount as a hypocrite.

(10–34) Sitting in the consulting room of the Quack Doctor, accompanied by a pathetic little mistress, the nobleman playfully threatens the practitioner with his stick, as he holds out a box of pills. Presumably they have failed to work. The subject of this picture is obviously venereal disease, but what is the role of the woman opening the clasp-knife? Is she a bawd, or the quack's wife? Possibly both. But



what is the meaning of her expression and action? As early as the 1790's Lichtenberg [24] noted that no less than five different interpretations of this scene had already been offered and then added a lengthy one of his own. Of all Hogarth designs, this is one of the clearest and simplest-looking; it is paradoxical that it should be the only one of which the principal action remains obscure. It is unlikely that the artist set out deliberately to mystify us; but he must have realized

22. Davies, n. 30.

23. Davies, n. 34, referring to Rouquet and a contemporary poem.

24. P. 710; cf. Davies (n. 34) who with characteristic caution suggests that no final explanation can be attempted.



10–34. William Hogarth. *Marriage A-la-mode* (1743).



10–35. Quack (detail from 10–34).

once the painting was complete that he had been less than explicit. Yet he left it that way, and never as far as we know attempted to silence the arguments of contemporaries, even when they were most unfavorable to his honor.

The quacks disputing over the Harlot betokened a mere internal squabble within the profession. Hogarth now satirizes the real war, which is that between the professional exploiter and a corrupt representative of the society which he exploits. Neither the Viscount nor his mistress is *visibly* diseased; but every macabre detail in the room, from the perforated skull to the machine for setting shoulders, has sinister pathological associations. Most sinister of all, however, is that physiognomic *tour-de-force*, the head of the Quack himself (detail 10–35).

(10–36) We now return to the Countess. She is holding a *levée* at which all the fashionable world is present, except her husband (now the Earl) and their infant, whose existence is indicated by the baby's coral on the back of her chair. The adored voice of a gross Italian *castrato* (*castrati* were all the rage in musical circles at this time) covers the whispered assignation of Counsellor Silvertongue, whom we remember from the first scene, with the Countess. He points to a screen decorated with a masquerade, which will act as a screen to their illicit rendezvous.[25] Foolish pictures and *objets d'art*, besides mocking the Countess' taste, prophesy cuckoldry and illicit love in disguise.

(10–37) Moving with rapid narrative strides, Hogarth hints at a whole sequence of past events; the rendezvous at a masquerade (a masquerade costume lies on the floor), the retirement to a bagnio, of which we see an upper room;



10–36. William Hogarth. *Marriage A-la-mode*.

the intervention of the husband, and the fatal duel. The artist chooses the moment of the maximum narrative amplitude; as the penitent wife pleads forgiveness before her dying husband, the lover flees, and the Law enters. For the first time in a Hogarth composition, the lighting (which is most beautifully handled in the original painting) plays a decisive narrative role. It does so in no less than three ways: the candle flame, at this moment fluttering in the sudden draught caused by the simultaneous opening of door and window, has burned low to a degree which clinches the Earl's dishonor as an accomplished fact, and not as a mere threat; the dying fire, posi-

25. The "screen" was a common metaphor in the political cartoon, and as such was often subdivided in strip form; cf. a Bubble satire *A True Picture of the Famous Screen* (Sat. 1710), which quotes Romeyn de Hooghe's Witt Massacre print (our 4–7); and an anti-Walpole satire (dated 1742, Sat. 2559), in which all the alleged deceits and follies of the fallen government are displayed on a screen, and even on screens on the screen.

tioned off-stage, has put the Earl at a disadvantage in the duel; and the lantern announces the entry of the Watch. Nightwatchmen and landlord make an entry as hasty as the exit of Silvertongue. Both parties appear comical, in contrast to the heroic attitudes of Earl and Countess.

(10–38) Having imitated her husband in his infidelity,[26] the Countess follows him into death. She commits suicide by laudanum, leaving at her feet a broadsheet announcing the *Last Dying Speech* of Silvertongue, hanged for murder. We are thus left in doubt as to whether her suicide was precipitated by the death of her husband, of her lover, or both. After the comparatively straight preceding scene, Hogarth reunites two satirical favorites: medicine and avarice. The Alderman, the Countess' father, is now presented to us at home, in a miserly setting similar in spirit, although not in any specific detail, to that of the Rake's Inheritance. The Countess dies as miserably as the Harlot in her garret, similarly mocked by a quarrel; here it is the apothecary cursing the idiotic servant who bought the laudanum. Farcical as it is, the incident is placed with greater narrative relevance than the comparatively digressive motif of the quarreling doctors in the *Harlot's Progress*. From the professional point of view, the action of the apothecary is correct, if undignified; on the other hand, the quietly retreating doctor behaves in a fashion which is dignified, but incorrect, for only a callous man would abandon a woman in her deathroes.

As with the death of the Harlot, a faithful servant and a child are present. Instead of making one react to a diversion and the other emotionally absent, Hogarth has both concentrating upon the dying mother (detail 10–39). The passionate embrace of the child is offset by the dispassionate action of the father, who profits from the occasion rather like the bawd rifling the Harlot's trunk. The ring, which the

10–37 and 10–38 (below). William Hogarth. *Marriage A-la-mode.*



26. Contemporaries recognized the significance of the fact that the husband was the first to commit adultery, and that his crime was the cause of his wife's. (Her nocturnal card-party, the débris of which we see in scene 2, need not have involved men at all, as pointed out by Davies, n. 28.) The third scene of the visit to the Quack follows logically from the second, for the cap in the husband's pocket in the latter appears on the head of the mistress in the former. The duel scene follows logically from the *levée*, via the masquerade which is referred to in both. In the light of all this, there could be no mistake more disruptive of Hogarth's intentions than that made repeatedly by the authorities of the London National Gallery, which in recent years has hung and rehung the *Marriage A-la-mode* paintings so that the *Quack Doctor* follows, instead of preceding, the *Countess' Levée*. To compound the fracture, the sequence is bisected at exactly this point by a huge, ponderous dual portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

10–39. Dying Countess (detail from 10–38).



old miser salvages with such solicitude, we remember from the first scene, where it is a plaything for the frivolous bride.

The future is grim if it lies with this pathetic, crippled little boy,[27] who, if he survives at all, is in a poor position to continue the noble line. As in the earlier *Progresses*, the future is tainted with the sins of the present. Children are a constant feature of the prints of Hogarth, usually imitating or suffering from the vices of their elders. This preoccupation places the artist squarely in the vanguard of the eighteenth-century philosophy of education (Rousseau's *Emile, ou l'Education* was not published until 1762), and entrenches his stories in the context of enlightened middle-class morality. Didactic imagery in Europe had paid relatively little attention to the child-parent relationship. The German broadsheet was concerned with child discipline in the narrower sense, such as table manners; as we have noted, children are virtually missing from the German marriage satires. The artistic level of the Dutch chap-sheets, made for and about children, is so low as to make any comparison almost meaningless. On the other hand, a significant comparison is offered by a series on marriage by the great French engraver of bourgeois life, Abraham Bosse, whose work is technically equal (at least) to Hogarth's. His consecutive six-plate series called *Marriage in Town* (*Mariage à La Ville*, 1633) introduces children in a ceremonial vein, documenting the etiquette of child-bearing and child-rearing. This kind of interest survived in the eighteenth century, often in spicy transpositions,[28] but with nothing of Hogarth's moral concern. The artist was to make the education of the young the starting point of his last stories, which are overtly didactic.

German broadsheets are full of complaints that servants are all too often fit only for gossip and frittering away the household treasury. Hogarth is however the first to place the underling in the wider social context, using him for emphasis, comment, and satirical counterpoint. He does this nowhere more forcefully than in *Marriage A-la-mode*. In the second Harlot scene, the little negro slave is merely an enrichment, an echo of the Jew's consternation. In the Countess' *Levée* he plays an actively satirical role, simultaneously ridiculing her taste in art and prophesying, in a malicious and gleeful "editorial" aside, his master's impending cuckoldom. Idle lackeys witness to the old Earl's extravagance, and to his son's negligence of household management (scenes 1 and 2). Finally, it is the stupidity of the Alderman's servant which facilitates his daughter's suicide.

27. Davies (n. 85) judges the child to be "probably" a boy from the costume.

28. Cf. *The Pleasures of Marriage* by the pseudonymous "Lemuel Gulliver" (1744/7), a heavily illustrated work which was being advertised concurrently with Hogarth's.

10–40. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. *Various Crazes* (1703). *Craze for knowledge. Craze for nobility. Craze for bravado. Craze for self-beautification. Craze for not paying bills. Craze for superiority. Craze for despising people. Craze of the real madman.*



6. *Sailor's Progress (1743-7) and Modern Love by John Collet (1765)*

There are two widely differing examples of stories inspired directly by *Marriage A-la-mode*. The earlier of the two shows how thoroughly realistic and rambunctious satire had become under the leadership of Hogarth; and the latter testifies to the high artistic level which, since Hogarth, the broadsheet artist had attained.

Within a month of Hogarth's public announcement of *Marriage A-la-mode*, one of London's many printsellers attempted to profit from the surge of interest in a new story by the master. Plagiary was now illegal, but he could advertise a "humorous Set of Prints, entitled the SAILOR'S PROGRESS, in imitation of Hogarth, in Four Plates." According to the description given in the advertisement, the first two plates depicted the sailor's welcome on his return from sea, and his celebration with his messmates and mistresses. The third and fourth plates, as described, correspond roughly to two surviving engravings (10–41). In the first of these the sailor is to be married to his landlady's daughter by one of several young "parsons of the Fleet"[29] contending for the honor. While the sailor stands in some perplexity with his bride, a messmate helps the bride's mother, an enormous bulk, out of the coach. The street is filled with assorted characters: a well-dressed dwarf, a bearded beggar, a blowsy, buxom wench, a thieving urchin. The last plate shows the wedding entertainment, with its amorous and drunken guests, among whom is a negro passionately embracing an old hag; she responds by setting his cap on fire with a candle. A sailor dances a jig before the bridal couple, who fondle each other, admired (to their right) by a sleek young lawyer and the fat landlady, mother of the bride. The verse below the print confirms our worst suspicions, that the mother is a bawd and her daughter no virgin. Furthermore, a wedding guest makes the cuckold's horns, the picture of the "Skimmington"[30] foretells marital infidelity, and the snarling cat and dog "resemble nuptial strife." These disasters, however, lie in a comparatively distant future; the fun is about to be spoiled by a more present danger. The bailiffs break in (left), led by the dwarf whom we recognize as the peculiarly interested onlooker in the previous scene—he is a tailor, whose bills have not been paid. At this pregnant moment, the story unfortunately closes.

Marriage A-la-mode also inspired a more serious sequence by John Collet (c. 1725–1780), the only follower of Hogarth worthy of the name. During the '60s and '70s he painted a number of social satires, many of which constitute original reworkings of Hogarthian compositions and ideas. Among these we find a story, in four parts, called *Modern Love*, which was apparently painted in 1765 although for some reason not engraved until 1782, that is after the artist's death (10–42). In the opening scene, *Courtship*, the elegance of the park, sculpture, and dress of the lovers all point to an episode from high life. In the background, an ugly female points out the couple to an irate father. In the *Elopement*, this woman has evidently been bribed by the other party (witness the purse in her hand), and she steadies the leg of "Miss Fanny Falsestep" as she looks about anxiously. It is 5:07 A.M. by the church clock, and the lover's coachman prepares his pistols for the hazards of the journey. The hazards of the elopement thus far are ironically expressed in the sign by the fence: "NOTICE is hereby given that a man-trap is set every night within these Pales."

In the third scene, the *Honey-Moon*, all is still well and affectionate dogs echo their masters' sentiments. Pictures on the wall show that their love is still blind, and that it will prove fertile. The atmosphere is playful: the monkey on the dresser pulls the servant's pig-tail, causing him to drop the breakfast; the dog seizes a biscuit, the kitten plays with a ribbon; but the Two of Hearts playing card hints at the frivolous nature of their love. *Disillusionment* comes in the fourth and final scene, with the husband lecherously eyeing the maid, as he idly picks his teeth; a large bottle by him indicates his present disposition, and a book inscribed "The scene chang'd or the faithless Husband" testifies conclusively to his crime. The wife is evidently ill, for she is receiving medicine from a sympathetic negro, who casts a suspicious look at the maid, while she (the wife) glances unhappily at her wayward husband. Thus could Hogarth have conceived his second scene in *Marriage A-la-mode*, had he been content to depict the obvious. Collet's composition is replete with heavy-handed symbolism—the little girl throws and tramples her dolls (significantly, they represent king, priest, and harlequin); the boy has attached a broken lute (traditional symbol of ruptured harmony) to his toy horse and drags them both along. The dogs are now chained, and tug furiously at each other, their forepaws resting on a book "On the legality of Divorces"; a monkey, also chained, points to (Milton's) "Paradise Lost." The pictures on the wall show a penitent, abandoned by an angel or Cupid, and Father Time depriving Cupid of his bow. As in the previous scene, there are a number—an excessive number—of inscriptions on books, papers, etc., to drive the moral home. Never a man for the understatement, Collet has turned Hogarth's significant detail into overt symbolism.

Once again, the narrative comes to an abrupt close. Why did Collet stop here? He did not lack for ideas, since his *oeuvre* is full of satires on female vanities, ill-matched couples, and deceived spouses. These tend however to be set among the lower rather than the upper classes, and one may surmise that the artist was unwilling to drag the wealthy couple of *Modern Love* down into economic misery. The more sordid forms of punishment were no longer acceptable in the latter part of the century; and the heroic solution (in the manner of *Marriage A-la-mode*) was reserved to history painters. Instead, there is a hint of the unheroic, practical solution: divorce, which was a matter of serious discussion among lawyers and moralists.

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29. A parson of the "Fleet" (prison) was present at the Harlot's funeral; such men performed disreputable and hasty marriages.

30. Taken from Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*; cf. Hogarth's illustrations to this work (Paulson, Pls. 83 and 98).





10–41. English. *The Sailor's Progress.* Plates 3 and 4 (1743/7).



10–42. John Collet. *Modern Love* (1765/1782).

7. *Industry and Idleness (1747)*

Hogarth, having launched his story of a modish unhappy marriage, found himself pressed to execute the obvious companion sequence, relating an un-modish happy marriage. This idea did not progress beyond a few cursory sketches,[31] and it is not hard to guess why it was abandoned. The professional satirist should not be reproached with an inability to linger upon the brighter aspects of life; in his defense, Hogarth could have cited Daniel Defoe's contention (Preface to *Moll Flanders*) that the virtuous, penitent part of the story cannot show the same "life, brightness and beauty" as the sinful part, because "there is not the same taste and relish in the reading." [32] But toward the end of his life Hogarth's enemies capitalized with rancor and malevolence upon the notion that the "rancour and malevolence" of the artist's mind "made him very soon turn with envy and disgust from objects of so pleasing a contemplation."

In breaching his promise of a Happy Marriage, Hogarth lighted on a better vehicle for the principle of contrasting Virtue with Vice. He did so in an entirely different social and moral context, with the single, intertwined story of two apprentices, published two years after *Marriage A-la-mode*, under the title *Industry and Idleness*. From the life of the aristocracy, Hogarth descends to the other end of the social scale. Traditionally, the lower classes were figures of fun to the artist, and were not considered worthy of the moralizing broadsheet, which was for and about the bourgeoisie. *Industry and Idleness* is about the personal advancement of the low-born child. The conservative middle classes tended to frown upon movement from one class to another, and Christian morality disapproved of excessive ambitions toward economic improvement; the reward for hard work lay in heaven, not on earth. These old ideas were swept away in the course of the eighteenth century, but dominated the previous era to such an extent that we look in vain for imagery, narrative or non-narrative, offering a point of reference for Hogarth's latest story. If *Marriage A-la-mode* is already more remote from any conceivable pictorial prototype than the two *Progresses*, the theme of *Industry and Idleness* can be analyzed only in terms of literary antecedents [33]—or else in terms of the artist's increasing concern for lower-class morality. Having expended the utmost painterly refinements in his satire of upper-class life, Hogarth exchanged paintbrush for graver, and cut his prices drastically (at 12/- *Industry and Idleness* cost half as much as *Marriage A-la-mode*, with twice the number of plates) so that they should come "within reach of those for whom they were chiefly intended." [34] The artist also launched a saturation advertising campaign, placing daily announcements in the newspapers with the most commercial readership.[35] Deliberately eschewing elegance of form in order to concentrate on "characters and expressions," Hogarth adopted (again his own words) "the rude and hasty touch, when the fancy is warm." He also abandoned his practice of eliminating titles and letterpress captions from the plates, so that, for the first time, a Hogarth narrative engraving takes on the exterior aspect of the old broadsheet, with strong, simple designs, biblical quotations, and symbolic embellishments in the ornamental framework.

(10–43) THE FELLOW 'PRENTICES AT THEIR LOOMS

By bringing the two apprentices together at the start, Hogarth indicates that they began life on an equal footing. From this moment onwards, their paths diverge, like those of the two partners in *Marriage A-la-mode*, to be tragically reunited only at the end, again as in the preceding story. The composition is almost that of a technical illustration, filled as it is with machinery which dwarfs the human element. Future punishment is already threatened by the master. The apprentices are distinguished partly by face and attitude, and partly by the cheap literature around them, replacing the "fine art" in *Marriage A-la-mode*.

(10–44) THE INDUSTRIOUS 'PRENTICE PERFORMING THE DUTY OF A CHRISTIAN

Goodchild profits from his Christian duty by discreetly paying court to the girl whom we discover to be his master's daughter. Hogarth has ingeniously fused dissimilar ideas which would normally have demanded separate compositions. With delicate propriety, Goodchild combines religion, love, and work (or professional advancement). He clearly has a more positive approach to life than the sleepier members of the congregation—not to speak of his fellow 'prentice, who is busy outside.

(10–45) THE IDLE 'PRENTICE AT PLAY IN THE CHURCH YARD, DURING DIVINE SERVICE

The London shoe-blacks have increased their air of filth, disease and vice, since we saw them gambling at St. James' (10-22) and they have found a worthy leader in Tom Idle. Symbolically, Tom reclines on a coffin. The beadle's cane may send him over the skulls into a ready-dug grave.

(10–46) THE INDUSTRIOUS 'PRENTICE A FAVORITE AND ENTRUSTED BY HIS MASTER

Goodchild's promotion is the scene of the least interest in the entire story. Hogarth has tried to give it life by adding two features[36]: the clasped gloves, a unique instance

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31. Beckett, Pls. 163–168. Abraham Bosse ran into this problem on a more purely pictorial level, with his companion series to *Marriage in Town* (cf. above, p. 318). Like Hogarth, he was essentially an urban artist for whom landscape held little appeal, and when he came to compose *Marriage in the Country* (*Mariage à la Campagne*), he cut the sequence from six to three plates. From the surviving sketches it is clear that Hogarth's *Happy Marriage* was a country affair, in contrast to the vicious town marriage—an interesting anticipation of Rousseau's idealization of rustic life.

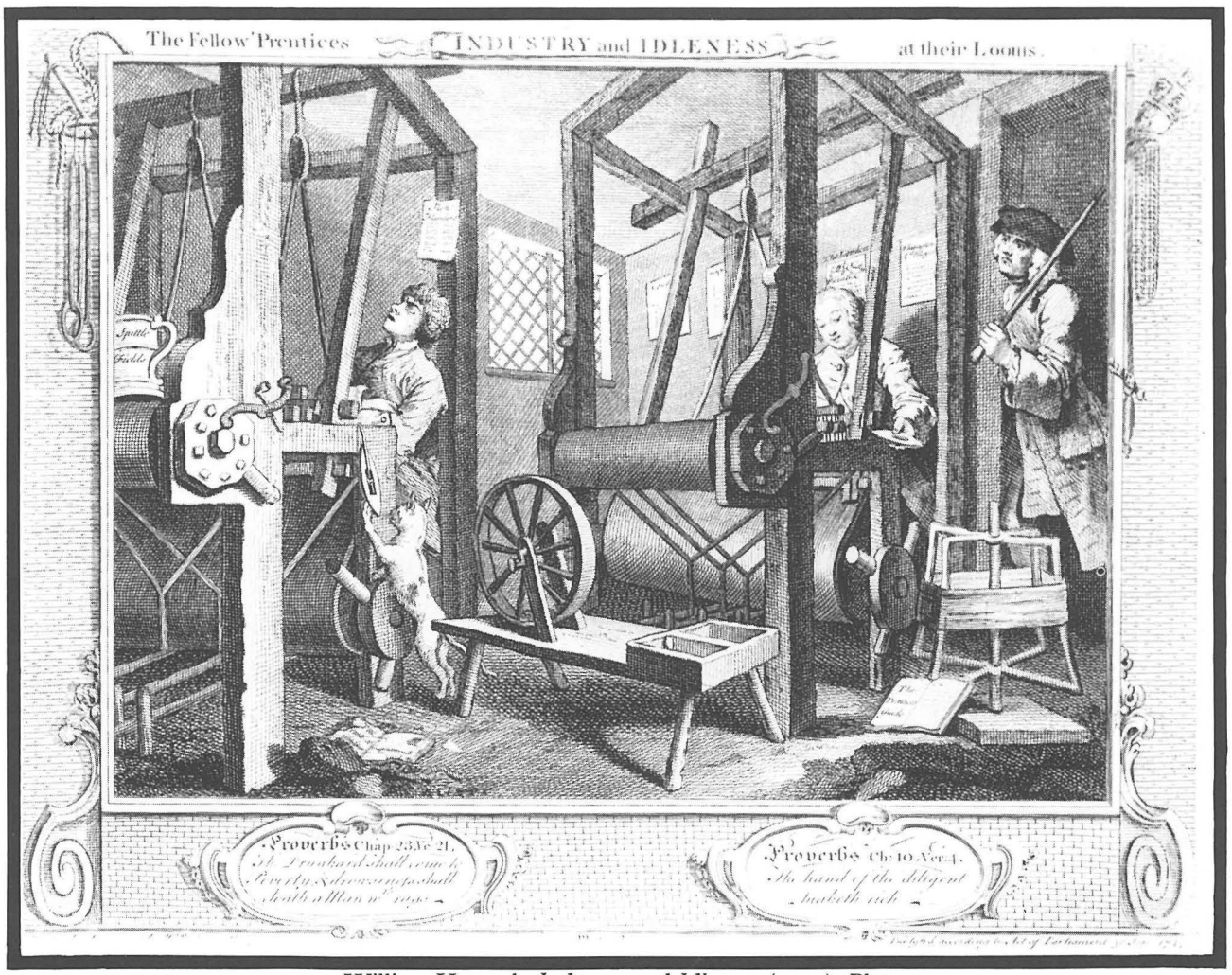
32. Quoted by Dobson, p. 111.

33. The nearest in time and character, often cited in the Hogarth literature, is George Lillo's domestic tragedy *The London Merchant, or the History of George Barnwell (1731)*. The sixteenth-century German *Prodigusdramen* which contrast good and bad student (Spengler, pp. 3 and 137) provide no analogy at all.

34. *Autobiographical Notes*, Burke, p. 225.

35. E.g. the *General Advertiser*, as opposed to the *Daily Advertiser*, in which he announced *Marriage A-la-mode*.

36. Not included in the preliminary drawing (Oppé, Pl. 47). Drawings survive for all but one of the plates, and include three subjects eliminated from the engraved version.



10–43. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness* (1747), Plate 1.

10–44. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness*, Plate 2.

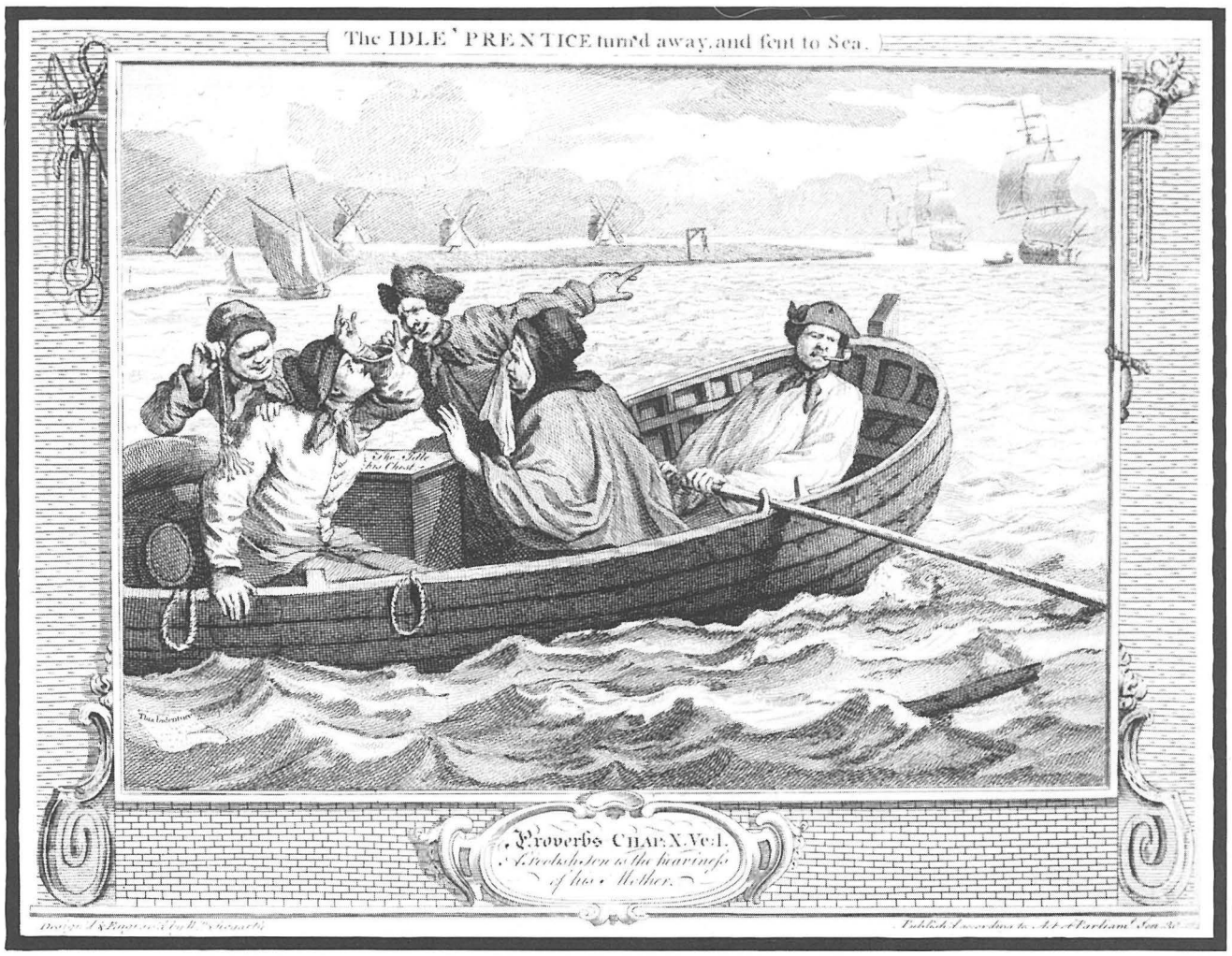




10–45. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness*, Plate 3.

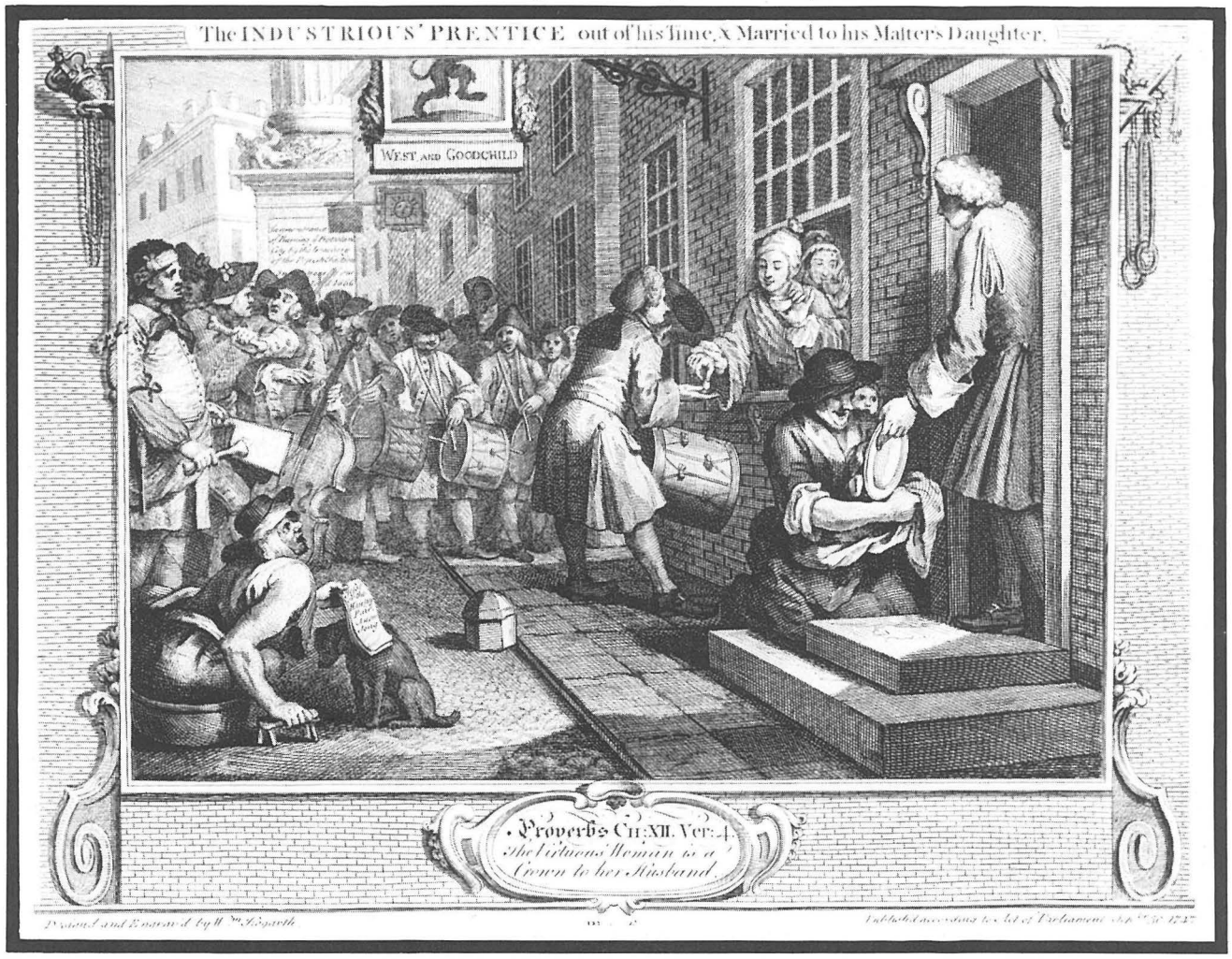
10–46. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness*, Plate 4.





10–47. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness*, Plate 5.

10–48. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness*, Plate 6.



in his work of fantastic symbolism, and the angry animals, engaged in a subsidiary action irrelevant (if not positively contradictory) to the main theme.

(10–47) THE IDLE 'PRENTICE TURN'D AWAY AND SENT TO SEA

Idle is rowed to a ship where it is hoped severe discipline will cure his vicious propensities. Having lost his job through lack of respect for his master and "foster-father," he mocks his mother's distress. The action is conveyed entirely by means of a pantomine of gestures expressing pity, contempt and defiance. The overt symbolism of the gibbet (in the distance) and the cat-o'-nine-tails (held by the sailor) were added by the artist in the engraving, in order to drive the moral home.

(10–48) THE INDUSTRIOUS 'PRENTICE OUT OF HIS TIME, AND MARRIED TO HIS MASTER'S DAUGHTER

The signboard "Goodchild and West" indicates that he is in partnership with his former master, now his father-in-law. The marriage ceremonies which would have played a prominent role in the *Happy Marriage* are omitted here, but the scene of alms-giving, which was also to have been included in the abortive project, has here become the main subject. Any overt act of mercy strikes an archaic note, but here it is disguised as the reward for the voluntary services of musicians: a compliment in return for a compliment. In fact, Goodchild's charity is more than somewhat misplaced, for the figure who most desperately needs help, the legless ballad-singer (although badly crippled, he is no idle beggar) is ignored by all. His appeal is strident, but his gloomy dog has learned to expect nothing for them. This bitter touch in a happy subject, which has passed unnoticed by all the Hogarth commentators, was added only in the engraving, below another contrasting afterthought, the butchers (cf. 10-49). The stoutest of these (next to a companion who is senselessly quarrelling with a musician) replaces a pregnant woman with her small child. Sympathetic women have no place in this tough story. Goodchild's virtuous wife appealed so little to Hogarth that he almost excluded her from the composition altogether.

10–49. William Hogarth. Preliminary sketch for 10–48.



(10–50) THE IDLE 'PRENTICE RETURN'D FROM SEA, AND IN A GARRET WITH A COMMON PROSTITUTE

Master of his trade, profitably married, Goodchild is contrasted to Idle, a highwayman (by the pistols on the floor) in bed with his whore. The garret is hideous as never before, as is the whore herself. Noseless but big-boned, she reveals physical power allied to physical deformity. Like Moll, she enjoys a moment of triumph as she contemplates the spoils of robbery, but her bed-fellow, in dread of the Law, is not so hardened, for he recoils in terror at a falling cat. Avoiding yet again the commonplace of the theft as an independent motif, Hogarth renders the psychological result of the criminal life: fear. His fear, moreover, is misdirected; as we shall see, it is of the whore that he should beware.

(10–51) THE INDUSTRIOUS 'PRENTICE GROWN RICH, AND SHERIFF OF LONDON

Idle with his whore steals while Goodchild with his wife give alms; their rewards are paired in similar fashion. Idle is about to be arrested, while Goodchild receives high official honor. The world of Idle shrinks, that of Goodchild expands. In this unusually spacious composition, the hero and his wife are pushed far into the background, identifiable only from the chairs on which they sit. The guests in the foreground are characterized with Hogarth's full comic verve, which he had hitherto held in reserve. But even in this episode, which proclaims riches as the reward of virtue, the satirist wins over the moralist, by contrasting the gluttonous dignitaries with the poor petitioners waiting outside. The latter may enviously observe the pleasures of the former—and also the place at table which goes empty rather than accommodate the likes of them.

(10–52) THE IDLE 'PRENTICE BETRAYED BY HIS WHORE AND TAKEN IN A NIGHT CELLAR WITH HIS ACCOMPLICE

A relatively finished drawing (10-53) shows a conventional tavern scene, from which only the motif of Idle and his accomplice counting their spoils is to remain in the engraving. Betrayal, the Law, the hiding of the corpse and the fight in the background—all appear only in a second drawing. Thus it was only later that Hogarth discovered how to provide motivation for the arrest—a motivation such as was lacking in the third scene of the *Harlot's Progress*. At the same time, we gain a complete compendium of typical crimes, for the night-cellar (identifiable as a real place, "Blood Bowl House" in Blood Bowl Alley) is evidently used for gambling, brawling, stealing and murder, for the last of which Idle is to be indicted.

(10–54) THE INDUSTRIOUS 'PRENTICE ALDERMAN OF LONDON, THE IDLE ONE BROUGHT BEFORE HIM AND IMPEACHED BY HIS ACCOMPLICE

This and the preceding two scenes from the life of Idle follow a narrative logic peculiar to themselves: Idle shared his spoils with a woman who then betrayed him to the police—at the moment when he was sharing his spoils with an accomplice who, in turn, betrays him at his trial. This traitor is moreover his oldest companion, who gambled with Idle as a youth outside the church.

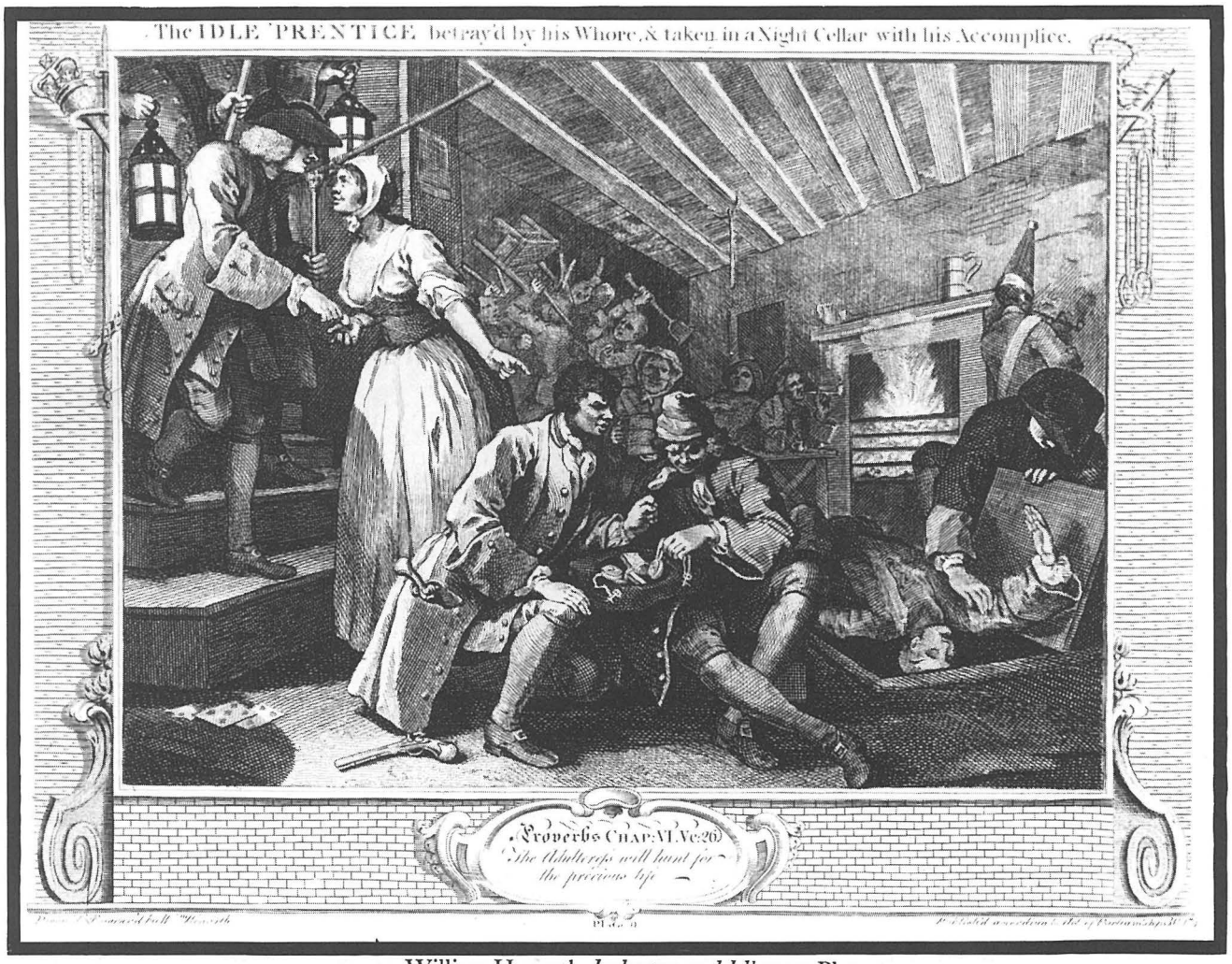
In deepest distress, the alderman performs his dismal duty. (The interweaving of the lives, the tragic emotion-



10–50. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness*, Plate 7.

10–51. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness*, Plate 8.





10–52. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness*, Plate 9.

10–53. William Hogarth. Preliminary sketch for 10–52.



al reunion are classic dramatic artifices.) The law is inexorable; but is it just? One of the officers accepts a bribe, while another, a bestial-looking fellow, prevents the widowed mother from seeing her son. The law is thus shown to be both corrupt and heartless, and even the justice of the crucial decision is brought into question. It is odd that in our own age, which is that of the detective story, no critic has thought to weigh carefully the clues which the artist supplies: not only Idle's pistols but also a sword are raised in evidence against him, a fact which indicates that the prisoner is accused not just of highway robbery, but specifically of the murder of the man whose corpse we saw in the process of concealment. This corpse shows two sword-marks, but no pistol-wounds. (In the second drawing, the sword was left in the body.) If Hogarth had wished to convince us that Idle is guilty of this particular crime, he would have placed near him the instrument of the crime, the sword or its scabbard. Who then is the murderer? The most obvious suspect is the man trying to conceal the body, for he has what is surely a deep cut on the wrist; and there is a soldier nearby, who would as naturally carry a sword as a robber a pistol, and who turns his back on the scene, perhaps too deliberately. The treacherous accomplice has committed perjury, and the court officer probably knows it, for he accepts a bribe from the girl behind and allows the witness to lay his left hand upon the Bible, and thus render the oath technically invalid.



10–54. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness*, Plate 10.

(10–55) THE IDLE 'PRENTICE EXECUTED AT TYBURN

Commonplace ceremonies—so similar in popular appeal, so different in moral purpose—make an appropriate end to two careers which are played out on a public level. Public morality is at stake—let the people therefore see. The crowds seem to have pushed out the framework with its emblems of reward and retribution; symbolism has become reality. Idle is urged to repent by the unorthodox preacher, a Wesleyan, seated in the cart with him; he is ignored by the official representative of the Anglican Church, the fat Ordinary of Newgate in his fine carriage.

The composition centers upon the ballad-seller crying Idle's "Last Dying Speech." She closes the narrative as it were in the role of chorus. This is fitting, for while the body of Idle is doomed, his spirit will live on in ballad and broadsheet. Up to this point, Hogarth's narrative style has been comparatively sober and stark; now he unleashes a characteristic medley of picturesque characters and incidents. We may single out the drunken, hypocritically grief-struck woman on the cart to the right, who contrasts with the genuinely sorrowful woman in black below, evidently Idle's mother. Below her stands "the celebrated vender of ginger-bread" Tiddy Doll, whose pocket is being picked by a small boy. An equally small companion stands close by with crossed arms, resisting the temptation to help himself from the basket in the foreground: the story of the vicious and virtuous 'prentices recommencing.[37]

37. First noted by Paulson, p. 201.

(10–56) THE INDUSTRIOUS 'PRENTICE LORD-MAYOR OF LONDON

The aggressive mob that flocked to the execution of Idle now cheers the Lord Mayor. In both instances they tend to swamp the object of their enthusiasm. But Lord Mayor Goodchild cannot be identified at all among the several figures in the coach. It is not he nor his elevation which is the real subject of the print, but the violent, depraved behavior of the London crowd and the foolish demeanor of the militia. The spirit of Tom Idle is still abroad, both figuratively and literally; the broadsheet held by the urchin in the extreme right-hand corner reads "A full and true Account of Ye Ghost of Tho: Idle. Which . . ."

Having foregone some of the luxuries of his painted satires, Hogarth has been able to develop his narrative art in a new direction. Being less discursive, the action has become more direct; being less sophisticated, it has acquired a new psychological strength. Although much longer than any previous sequence, and covering a period of about twenty years where the others spanned only three or five, *Industry and Idleness* maintains full dramatic continuity and carefully forges narrative links in situations and characters, both major and minor.

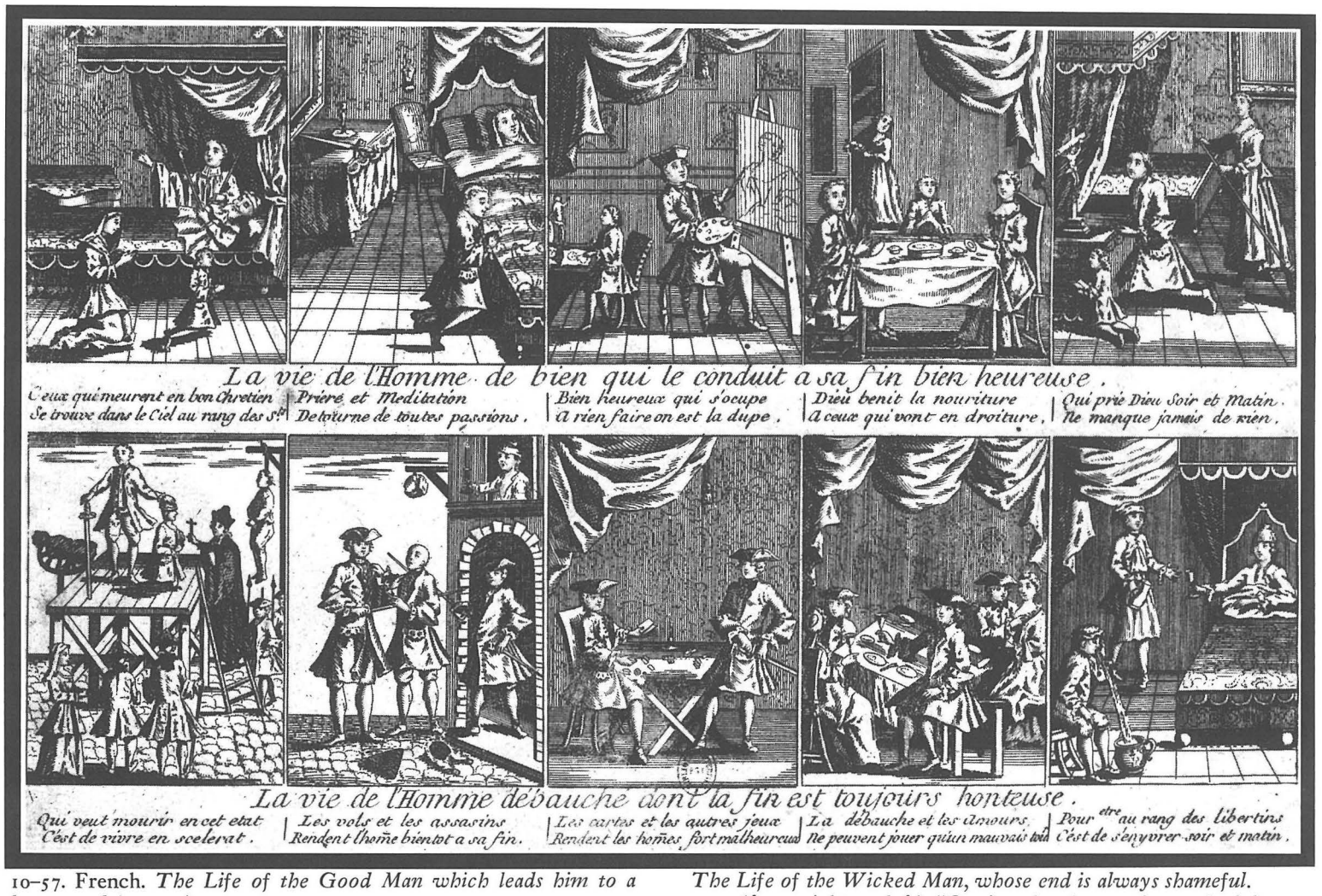
Satire of the fashionable rake has turned to exposure of the low, hardened criminal. He is contrasted with the virtuous citizen, who is also, however, guilty of low corruption. Ostensibly, *Industry and Idleness* sustains the eighteenth-century belief that virtue brings its own reward on earth, in material as well as spiritual terms. But Hogarth



10–55. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness*, Plate 11.

10–56. William Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness*, Plate 12.





10–57. French. *The Life of the Good Man which leads him to a happy end* (c. 1730).

1. (from right to left) "He who prays morning and evening, can never be in want. 2. God blesses the food of those who go upright. 3. Happy the man who keeps busy; doing nothing is foolishness. 4. Prayer and meditation preserve one from all passions. 5. Those who die as good Christians, go to join the Saints in heaven."

The Life of the Wicked Man, whose end is always shameful.

1. (from right to left) "Getting drunk morning and night puts one amongst the libertines. 2. Debauchery and amours can only end badly. 3. Cards and other games make men very miserable. 4. Thefts and murders will soon put an end to man. 5. Whoever wishes to die in this way has only to live like a rogue."

hints darkly at the impossibility of virtue surviving intact in so vicious a society. As merchant, Goodchild's alms go to the fat, well-dressed guildsman, not to the poor cripple; as sheriff, he allows the poor petitioner to be turned away, while his officials gorge themselves; as magistrate, he permits bribery and perjury to hang a man for a murder he did not commit. As Lord Mayor, will he attempt to correct the mores of the Londoners who use his inaugural procession as a pretext for leching, brawling and toping?

If Hogarth cannot believe in a perfect world, he has clearly shown in what direction perfection should be sought. His own life was an object-lesson in industry. From the humble 'prentice of a silverplate engraver he had risen to a foremost—if controversial—position in the arts. It is this accent on the so-called Protestant ethic which distinguishes the English broadsheet from its Continental counterpart. Though there is no pictorial predecessor to Hogarth's story, a comparison, which is revealing on the broadest cultural level, can be made with a roughly contemporary French strip (10-57). In almost as many episodes as in Hogarth, it contrasts the virtuous and the vicious life—not, however, of the apprentice, but of the gentleman. The model life in France is that spent entirely within the comfortable walls of the home, occupied in religious devotions, with time off only for the elegant hobbies of painting and drawing. Even before getting into bed with his wife, the gentleman prays to be delivered of all passion. Hogarth conceives virtue according to more advanced and practical ideals: it is not prayer but labor which preserves Goodchild from evil; his goal is economic improvement, not a pious death. As to the wicked counterpart, the Frenchman is idle as only a gentleman can be: he lies late in bed, is served a drink by his valet, while Hogarth's Tom can only expect his master's stick if he dozes off at work. From the first scene onward the pattern is similar—not to the career of Tom Idle, but to that of the pseudo-aristocratic Tom Rakewell. Leching and feasting in a tavern is followed by gambling, which leads inevitably to the fight and murder. Tom Idle lives in a world where murder is a way of life; the French rake murders when the passions of avarice and lust give way to wrath. The French strip is medieval in its attitude—pray, avoid vice, and you will earn your place in heaven.

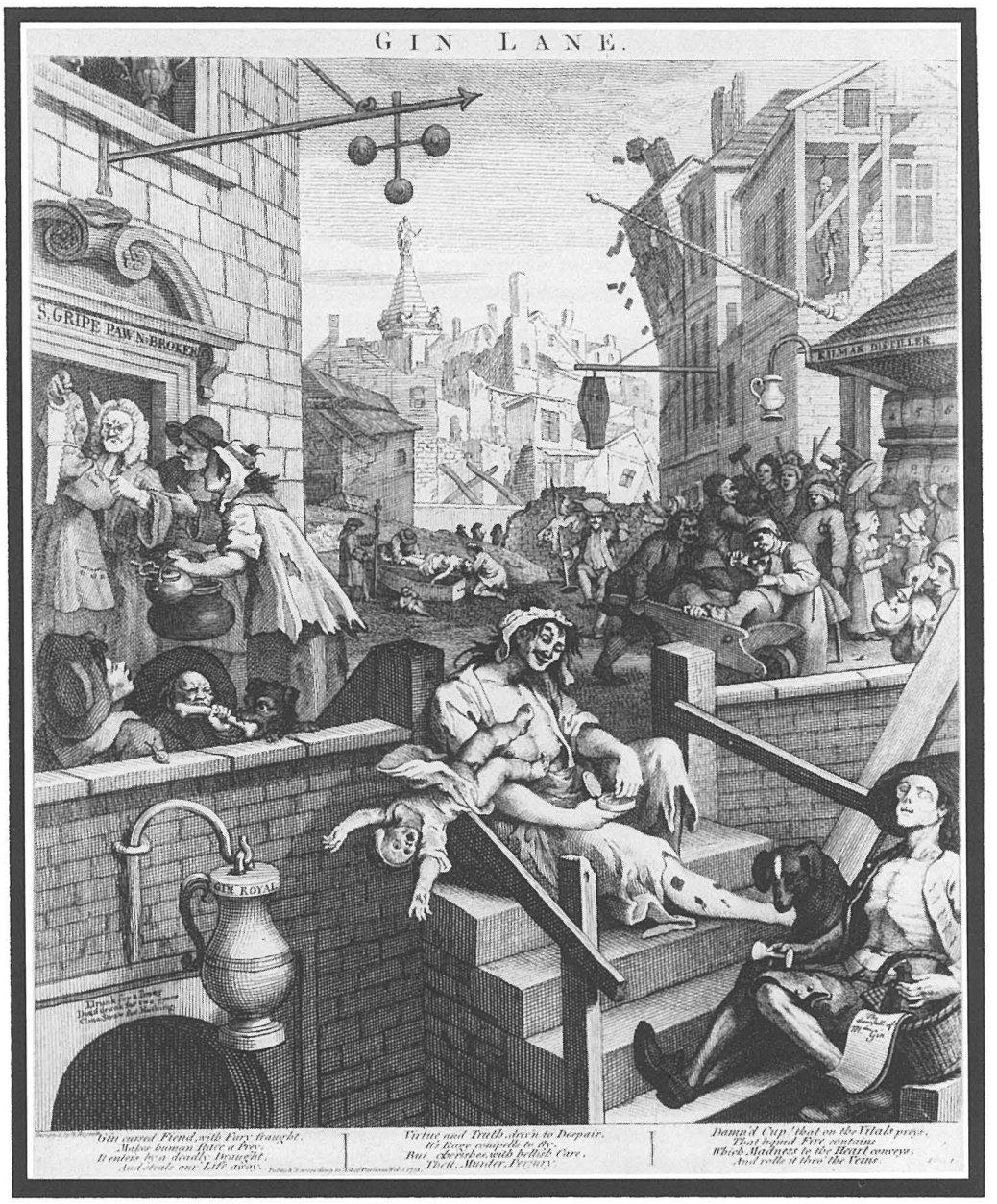
8. *"Strong prints for stony hearts" (1751)*

Hogarth's tendency toward vulgarization is accelerated in his last narrative prints, published as a group of six: *Gin Lane*, *Beer Street*, and *the Four Stages of Cruelty*. Unlike *Industry and Idleness*, the prints were also available singly, at the very low price of one shilling each. In his efforts to hit the lower classes harder still, he advertised the group in the following terms: "As the Subjects are calculated to reform some reigning Vices peculiar to the lower Class of People in hopes to render them of more extensive Use, the Author has publish'd them in the cheapest Manner possible."[38] His technical procedure is explained in the *Autobiographical Notes*, which mention his fear that his "quick touch would be languid or lost if smoothe(d) out into soft engraving," and speak of a "strong manner" being necessary to affect "the most stony hearts." Hogarth even had two of the prints (*Cruelty* 3 and 4) translated into woodcut—the very medium into which the popular broadsheet had been born, but which was now used only for the cheapest ballad-illustration.

More and more Hogarth was turning to the ardent social problems of the day, especially those which were susceptible to legislation. His *Industry and Idleness* must have impressed Henry Fielding, whose last novel, *Amelia* (1752), depicted for once the wholly virtuous woman (a sort of forgiving female Goodchild). In 1749 Fielding became Chief Magistrate of London. He immediately set about improving laws and law-enforcement, and not merely the better to hunt harlots, like his predecessor Sir John Gonson. In January 1751 there appeared his *Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers*, which cited drunkenness as the cause of crime and cheap gin as the cause of drunkenness. The following month Hogarth published, as his share of the campaign, *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street* (10-58 and 10-59), and had the satisfaction of seeing the Gin Act passed in the summer of that year. This Act was certainly effective in that it sharply reduced the infant mortality rate in London, which had been rising steadily since the beginning of the century.

Gin Lane was, as Hogarth says, devised *in terrorem*, and is reminiscent of nothing so much as the most horrible of our political massacre prints. The world of gin-

38. Paulson, p. 206.



10–58. William Hogarth. *Gin Lane, Beer Street* (1751).

drinkers is shown in a fury of self-destruction: old cripples and infants alike have the poisonous spirit poured down their throats; there is brawling, dying, hanging and burying, and even a child spiked by his own crazed father before the eyes of an anguished mother.[39] In the maniacal woman on the foreground steps, who lets her baby fall to its death, Hogarth has given us one of the most memorable figures in the history of art. Gin has dethroned syphilis as the great destroyer—at least among the lower classes.

Contemporaries noted the resemblance of *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street* to a famous pair of Bruegel prints, the *Cuisine Grasse* and the *Cuisine Maigre*, in which the fat celebrants, representing Carnival, drive out the thin intruder, representing Lent; and the Lenten figures, in turn, drive out the fat Carnival. The theme is probably intended to allegorize human selfishness, but Hogarth develops it in such a way that the peace and plenty brought about by beer drive out the poverty induced by gin (the pawnbroker's is the only neglected shop in *Beer Street*); and the desolation brought about by gin enables poverty alone to thrive (the pawnbroker's is the only prosperous shop in *Gin Lane*). Hogarth had recently made a patriotic comparison between the effects of healthy English beef, and that of leeks, the French starvation diet (*Calais Gate*, 1748/9). At the end of the century the caricaturists were to make much political capital out of these Bruegelian-Hogarthian ideas, by contrasting the fat John Bull and his thin French enemy, and the Blessings of Peace with the Horrors of War (cf. p. 378 below).

Just as Hogarth increased the terror of *Gin Lane* between the drawing and engraving, so he increased the overt prosperity of Beer Street. But he did so to the point of burlesque. In his own words, "Here all is joyous thriving. Industry and Jollity go hand in hand."[40] But Beer Street is no *Industry* compared with the *Idleness* of Gin Lane. Sloth, gluttony and lust reign here; beer produces bellies ill-adapted to hard labor. Of the seven or so professions represented, one is clearly an economic waste: the chairmen who pause exhausted, as they bear the enormous "Queen of Cockaigne" in her sedan (far distance). Just as Hogarth cannot believe in the perfection of the world of Goodchild, so he cannot view too seriously the world of beer, infinitely preferable as it is to the world of gin.

Gin Lane and *Beer Street* constitute a contrasting pair, not a narrative. I have dwelt on them for two reasons: first because they revive a traditional moral contrast, from which the seventeenth-century narrative emerged; and sec-

39. The two most appalling motifs, the infant force-fed with gin and the child impaled, were added after the finished drawing stage.

40. Burke, p. 226.



10–59. William Hogarth.
Gin Lane (1751).

ond because in spirit, style and subject matter they match the four prints with which they were sold, and which are clearly narrative and progressive in the most Hogarthian sense. The four *Cruelty* prints are also based upon a traditional group, this time the *Ages of Man* (cf. 7-8), which in the eighteenth century were often limited to four.[41] We have here the Four Ages of the Criminal. If *Gin Lane* reminds us of the political massacre prints, *Cruelty* seems to belong among the most atrocious of the crime-and-punishment prints. But whereas the earlier broadsheet strips ignored the history and motivation of the criminal, Hogarth is concerned only to reveal how the seed of the most monstrous inhumanity lies in lesser cruelties of childhood. Varying his didactic technique of contrasting good with bad, Hogarth shows how each crime involves an innocent victim; as the victim increases in importance, so does the crime. We had no chance to sympathize with the victims of Idle, but those of Tom Nero play a role almost as prominent as that of Nero himself. The structure of *Cruelty* is of the greatest simplicity and logic: as a child, Nero tortures small animals; as an adolescent he tortures larger animals; as a man he murders a defenseless adult human; and he finally suffers the accumulated punishments which he has been inflicting on others.

41. Cf. the charming paintings by Nicolas Lancret of Childhood, Youth, Maturity and Old Age (National Gallery, London, engraved in 1735).

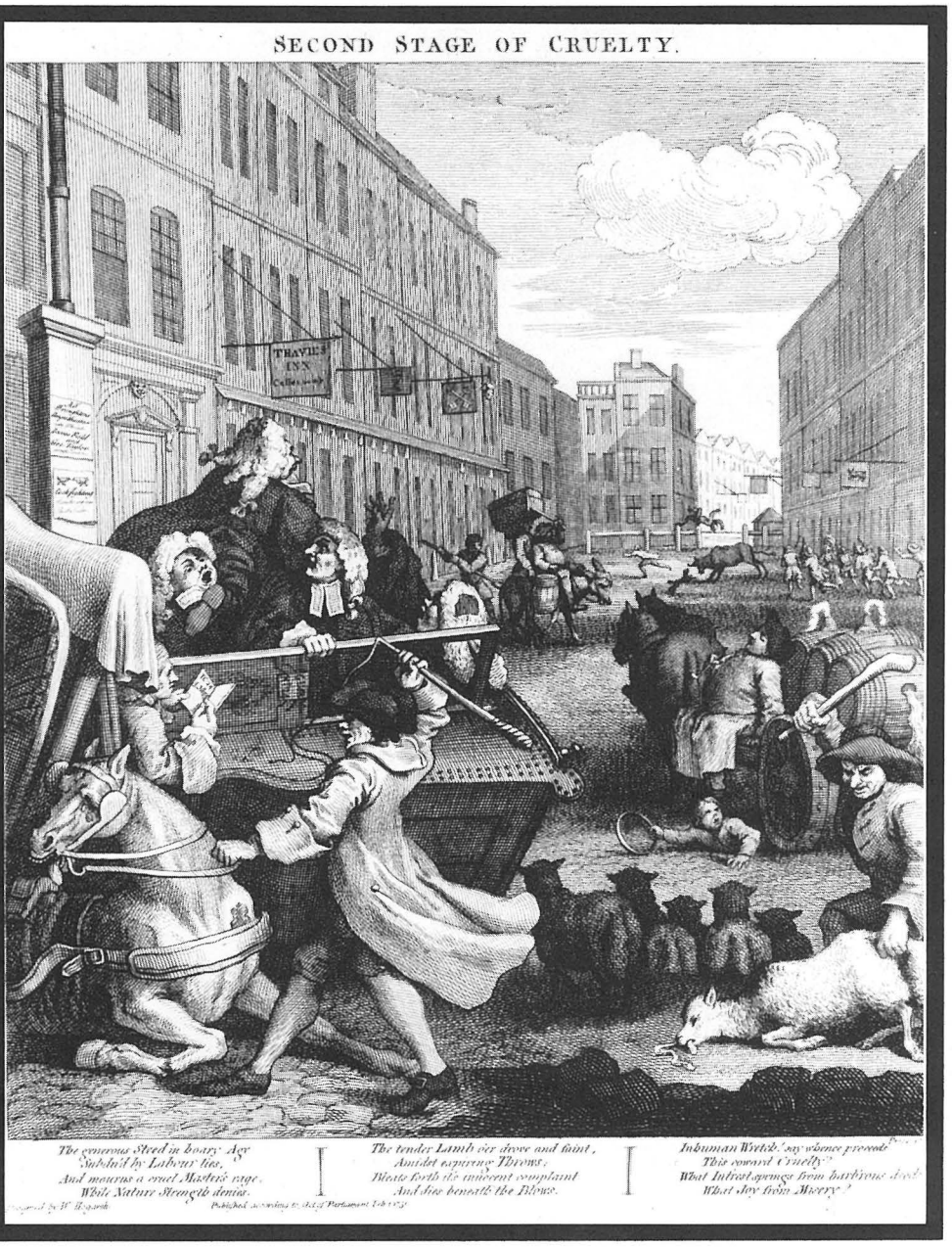
First Stage of Cruelty (10-60). Tom Nero, a charity boy maintained by the parish of St. Giles, obscenely tortures a dog, while a well-dressed, virtuous child of the same age tries to buy him off with a jam tart. Other animals, suffering in various ways at the hands of their childish tormentors, include more dogs, cats, cocks, and a bird, which is being blinded.

Second Stage of Cruelty (10-61). As a coachman, Nero has progressed to larger animals, and beats his overladen and worn-out horse. In imitation of this, a drover cudgels a tired sheep to death and others belabor an ass. Not only callous but careless treatment of animals can result in death, as is shown by the dray whose driver has fallen asleep, and which runs over a child. The death of this little human creature anticipates the next stage, while the sheep, as one of the smaller domestic animals, looks back to the first stage. Two notices pinned on the wall likewise look forward and backward: one advertises a cock-fight, the other a boxing-match involving a famous pugilist and criminal, who will end up as a skeleton in the Surgeon's Hall of the last plate.

Nero failed to learn the lesson taught him by the virtuous boy in the previous scene; now, thanks to a bystander who is taking his coachman's number in order to report him, the law will catch up with him. We need not ask, however, what punishment awaits him here, for the ultimate crime, and ultimate punishment are yet to come.

10–60, 61, 62, 63. William Hogarth. *The Four Stages of Cruelty* (1751).





Cruelty in Perfection (10-62). Tom Nero has turned highwayman and made his girl, Ann Gill, rob her mistress. Evidence of her compliance lies strewn in the foreground—watch, jewel, casket, plate, and a letter reluctantly promising these things. For all her obedience, the accomplice has been murdered. Why? He has no reason to fear her treachery. Because she is pregnant? Perhaps. The murder is a double one. He has not only slit her throat, which gapes like a screaming mouth, but also her hands and wrist. Are these merely the marks of a struggle, or of sadistic pleasure on the part of the murderer? Hogarth may be showing how a man kills not merely in the pursuit of theft, but in a fashion consonant with the gratuitous cruelty he showed as a child.

By choosing a churchyard for his crime, Nero renders it sacrilegious. A tombstone beckons (cf. *Industry and Idleness*, scene 2), but his body is not to rest peacefully here.

The Reward of Cruelty (10-63). The prophesy scribbled on the wall by Tom's childhood accomplice (scene 1) has come true. Of the hanging itself, we see only the rope which still surrounds his neck, for he has been hastily transported from the gallows to the dissecting table. With a characteristic compromise between the demands of science and those of festive tradition, eighteenth-century justice made a regular practice of delivering corpses of the worst type of criminals to the surgeon; dissections were advertised and the public was admitted (cf. the end to the Cartouche story, 6-40). But Hogarth's dissection scene cannot be viewed simply as a form of post-mortem punishment, with the disemboweling taking place in Surgeon's Hall instead of on the execution ground.[42] We know how the artist felt about quacks; he was also suspicious of regular physicians, and probably shared the feeling common at the time that the medical profession was largely contemptuous of human suffering.

Hogarth has lavished all his physiognomical arts upon the assembly of medical men, revealing their cruelty, obtuseness and perversity. The Professor of Anatomy in his presidential chair (he was added after the drawing stage) has the air of a corrupt judge. The morality of the scene embraces a curious crypto-satirical concept of human justice: the criminal executed by other criminals. The satirist's logic is clear: the ultimate punishment for cruelty is to place it in the hands of other cruel men. The skeletons point to the "judge"; perhaps it is Justice itself which is being tried and dissected here.[43]

Not all those present are evil. There is one class of

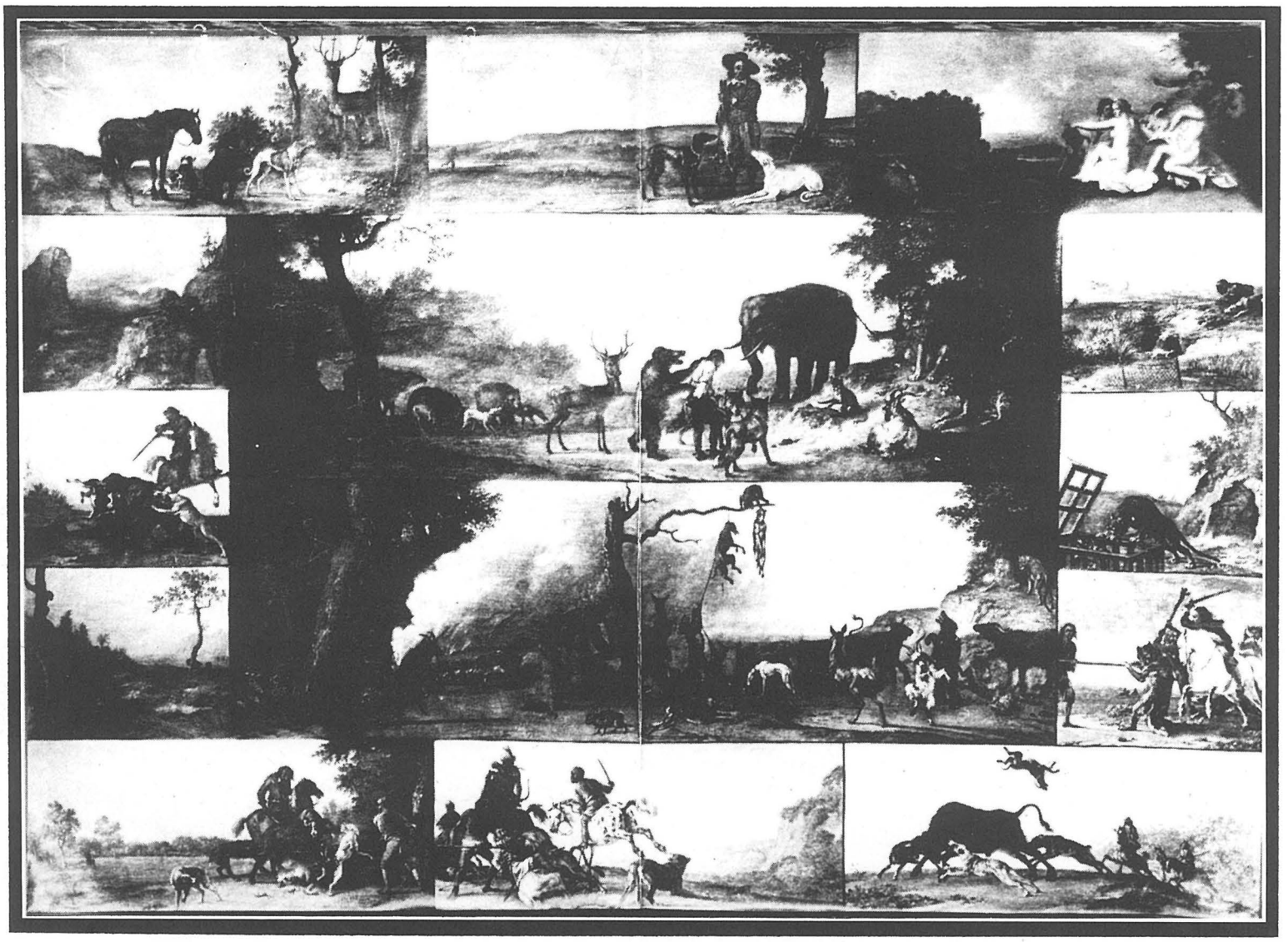
42. Compared with the first drawing (Oppé, Pl. 71) this is a veritable vivisection, for the open, screaming mouth and the pointed index finger were added only at the engraved stage. Incidentally, might this finger be pointing at the bubbling cauldron as a symbol of hell?

43. It is members of the legal profession—barristers—who condone Nero's cruelty to his horse (scene 3). They are responsible for it in another sense as well, for it was their avarice which prompted them to share the fare, overload the coach, and thus precipitate the accident.





creature represented whose innocence is never in doubt—the animal. A dog eats Nero's heart, as it lies rejected upon the floor—the just revenge for the way in which the affectionate animals are treated in scene 1. This complete and simple reversal of roles reminds us of *Topsy-Turvy World* strips, where we frequently encounter inversion of the man-beast relationship. Normally this is done for comic, rather than satiric, effect; but occasionally a truly moral purpose is apparent. Such is the case with a painting by the seventeenth-century Dutch artist Paulus Potter, who is famed for his numerous renderings of cows peacefully grazing in a lush landscape. A man with unusually deep feeling for animals, he on one occasion satirized the practice of hunting in a canvas (10-64) modelled on the broadsheet format. The hunting of twelve different beasts is depicted in a border strip of as many little scenes. In a centerpiece, he shows all these animals sitting in judgment upon the huntsman and his dogs, and dancing for joy around the scene of their execution (the huntsman roasted on a spit, the dogs hanged). The huntsman hunted, or roasted by the hare, is an ancient theme, common in medieval *drôlerie* illustration,[44] in the sixteenth-century woodcut,[45] and in the *Topsy-Turvy World* strips. In an



10–64. Paul Potter. *The Revenge of the Animals* (c. 1650).

English version of the latter, very roughly contemporary with Hogarth (10-65), we find the rabbit roasting the cook, the hogs killing and bleeding the farmer, and the ox slaughtering the butcher. This particular motif so struck a Russian engraver of the period that he made it into the centerpiece of his own version (10-66).[46] In Hogarth's third plate, the ox (or bull) takes its revenge on its human persecutors by running amok and tossing them into the air.[47] In the last plate, the butcher is butchered by a surgeon with a face one is tempted to describe as bovine.

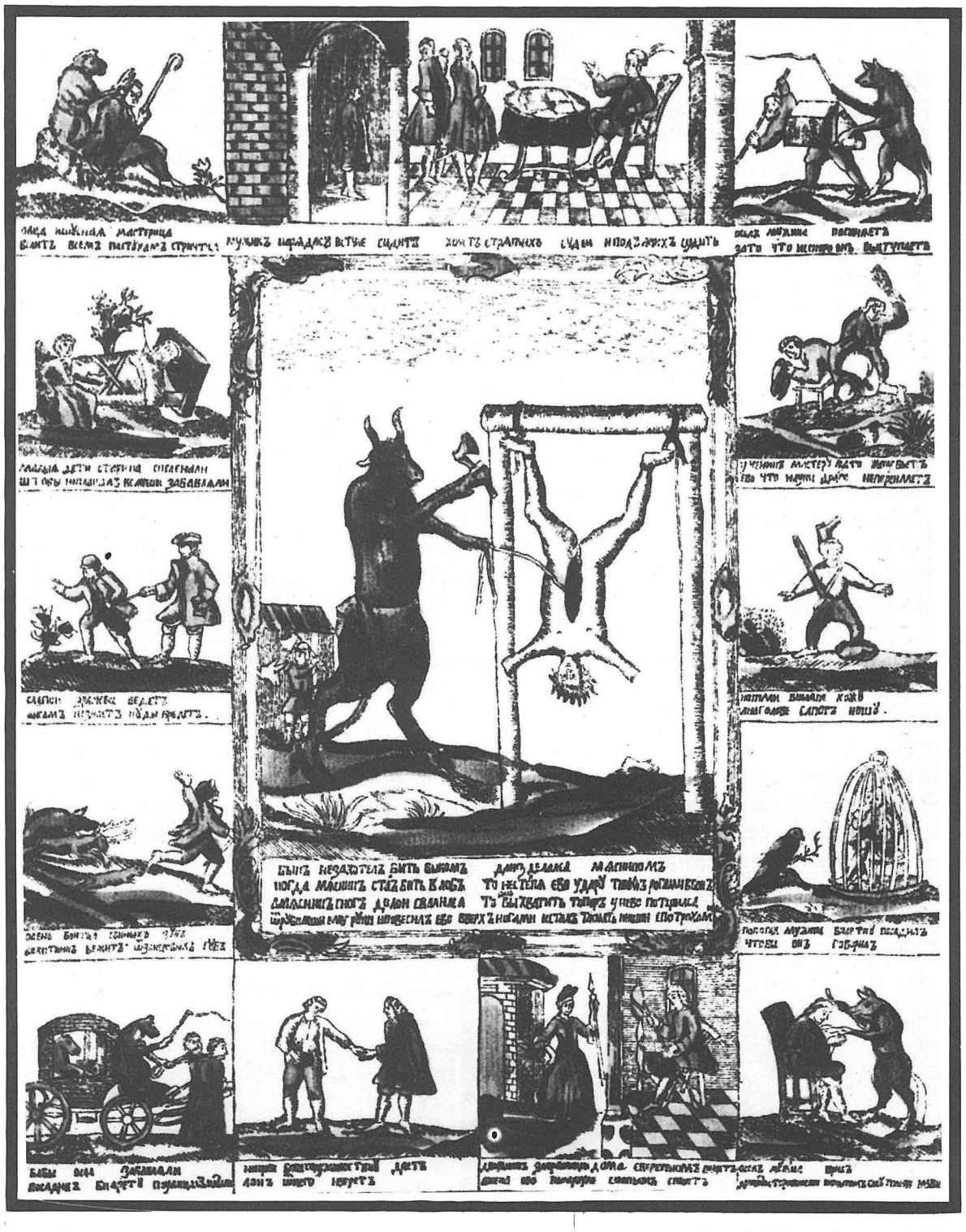
Needless to say, it was no detail from a popular broadsheet which moved the artist to spice his *Reward of Cruelty* with a "revenge of the animals," but rather the broadest humanitarian principles. The *Cruelty* sequence is

44. Cf. Randall s.v. *hare and man.*

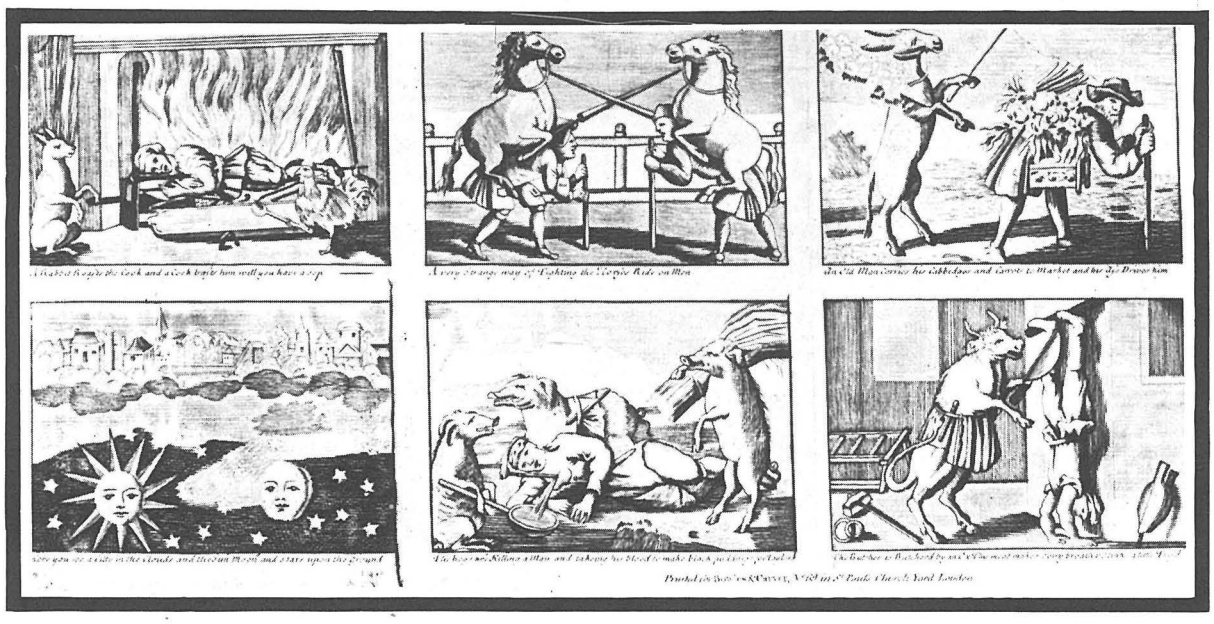
45. Notably as illustration to a Hans Sachs poem (Röttinger, *Sachs*, p. 76, No. 3296, 1550).

46. Whether or not this was intended at the time to be satirical rather than simply humorous, its subversive potential was honored by the censor, who condemned its publication in 1842.

47. In the background to the *First Stage of Cruelty*, a child has fastened wings to a cat and thrown it out of the window. One hopes that in real life this particular folly (and it is a folly, rather than an openly sadistic practice such as is depicted everywhere else), was not inspired by some motif in the *Topsy-Turvy World*, where earthbound animals are apt to take to the air.



10–66. Russian. *An Ox no longer wishing to remain an ox, became a butcher . . .* (eighteenth century).



10–65. English. *The Follys of Mankind expos'd or the World Upside Down* (c. 1730, detail).

intended to condemn cruelty to animals in itself, and not merely because it leads to worse crimes. Hogarth expressly states that the plates were made "in hopes of preventing in some degree that cruel treatment of poor animals, which makes the streets of London more disagreeable to the human mind, than anything whatever, the very describing of which gives pain."[48] This attitute is most unusual. The century of the Enlightenment was not enlightened in its treatment of animals; and Hogarth is almost alone in his outspoken detestation of animal sports. (It is curious to observe how in the newspapers of the day, Hogarth's advertisements jostle for space with announcements for this or that cock-fight, and this or that bear- or bull-bating session.) Agitation to protect animals dates entirely from the nineteenth century; the R.S.P.C.A. was not founded until 1824, and the first effective Acts of Parliament were not passed until 1849. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that Hogarth was a century ahead of his time.

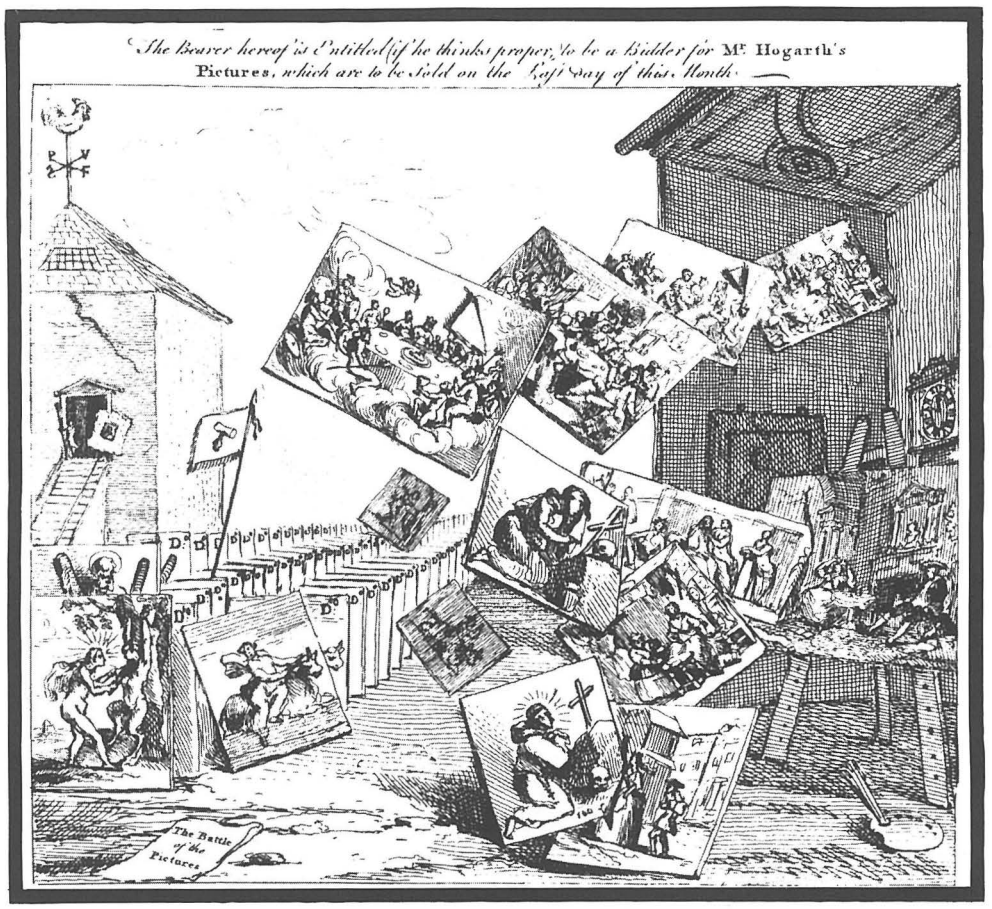
48. Burke, pp. 226–27.

9. *Hogarth's art theory; a narrative "line of beauty"*

In 1753 Hogarth published his theoretical treatise, the *Analysis of Beauty*, which is a treasure-trove of ideas about artistic practice, aesthetics, and subsidiary topics like costume and dance. He defends with wit and ingenuity his thesis that the essence of gracefulness is contained in what he called the "Line of Beauty": a richly curved line, swelling and tapering in three-dimensional space. The art historian regards such a line as quintessential rococo.

In so broad a text, we might expect to find matter relating directly to the artist's concept of pictorial narrative. Though it is true that Hogarth analyzes certain essential ingredients of pictorial narrative, such as the rendering of expression and character, he does not touch on the problem of *continuity* of characterization. He emphasizes the uses of formal contrast for the sake of variety and comic effect, but without relating such devices to the wider problem of narrative development. We gain insight into the artifices underlying a single composition, but not those of narrative structure.

The *Analysis* does nevertheless provide many clues to the understanding of the artist as narrator. Hogarth's theory is characterized above all by its dynamism. The "line of beauty" stands in dynamic opposition to the static formalized values of classicist art theory; to Hogarth, art is a visual dynamism in itself. Its essence is motion, and although he does not speak explicitly of *narrative* motion, his entire thought, his very creative process, is predicated upon variation, evolution, the *development in time* of visual ideas. Compared with the stiff, two-dimensional work of his predecessors, the Hogarthian narrative line is the line of beauty: curving, swelling, tapering in space. It seems obvious that the major difference between the representational art of Hogarth and that of his forebears in pictorial narrative is one of physical reality. Heir to the Continental baroque tradition, Hogarth created volume in compositional space, volume in his figures, volume in each individual head. By virtue of this fact alone, his stories tend to be three-dimensional. The third dimension is also supplied by in-depth characterization of the



10–67. William Hogarth. *Battle of the Pictures* (Feb. 1745). Bidder's Ticket to the auction of the *Harlot's Progress*, *Rake's Progress*, *Four Times of Day*, etc. (In order to sell the original paintings of his narratives, Hogarth resorted to peculiar types of auction of his own invention, but still failed to fetch respectable prices.) The engraving represents the battle between the art of Hogarth and that promoted by the connoisseurs: the *Rake's Progress*, plate 3, scores a victory over an Old Master *Feast of the Gods*, but the *Harlot's Progress*, plate 3, and *Marriage A-la-mode*, plate 2 (on the easel), are defeated by other typical Old Master subjects: a praying hermit and an erotic mythological painting.

dramatis personae, and by the continuity and development of this characterization.

We can speak, then, of a kind of waving narrative motion which is the result of the rich by-play of incident, and which draws our attention from side to side, back and forth. Movement, allied to complexity, is the nub of Hogarth's theory of grace and gracefulness. By his own standards, his picture stories must be termed infinitely graceful. They are to previous narratives as the minuet (the dance which Hogarth admired as a marvel of intricate beauty) is to a vulgar peasant round. They lead the mind in that "wanton kind of chase" which the artist suggests is the most perfect visual diversion any painter can offer to the beholder.

In one sense we may regret the *Analysis of Beauty*. It seems that the labor of writing it, and then that of weathering the storm of (objectively unjustified) ridicule which it aroused, distracted the artist from the production of moral satires. His *Election* series (1754–8) was his last in that area. The four subjects are called *An Election Entertainment*, *Canvassing for Votes*, the *Polling*, and *Chairing the Member*. These large compositions, which he both painted and engraved, are superbly rich in satirical incident and constitute a very funny indictment of electoral corruption; but the connection between them is of a technical or ceremonial, rather than essentially moral, character.

Hogarth's last years were clouded by enmities of a partly personal, partly political, nature: he himself became the butt of the satirical cartoon. He was ridiculed for his further attempts at "grand-manner" history painting. The exquisite original canvasses of *Marriage A-la-mode* fetched a contemptible sum (10-67), so that the artist saw himself rejected as comic history painter as well. The tail-piece he executed for the collected edition of his works gloomily conceded victory to the connoisseurs. His novel mode had been enthusiastically accepted by the public at large; he had acquired considerable fame. From mid-century onward, however, the example of his works (written, painted and engraved) was insufficient to stem the flow of neo-classical art theory from the Continent. Hogarth, and Hogarthian narrative, went into eclipse.

Chapter Eleven

NARRATIVE ART AFTER HOGARTH

1. History painters; Mortimer's Progress of Virtue

After Hogarth's death in 1764, very few painters were bold enough to tread the path the master had blazed. John Collet was an exception. "Comic history" painting had brought Hogarth notoriety rather than money; and from the mid-eighteenth century onward there developed considerable theoretical resistance to the idea of art depicting low life. Neo-classical theory, on the ascendant throughout Europe, placed a new emphasis upon restraint and dignity. In England, the chief proponent of these principles was Sir Joshua Reynolds. In 1753 he returned from Italy determined to build a British school of art, not upon the Hogarthian theory of the supremacy of nature, but upon the ideals embodied in the Italian "old masters" which Hogarth had affected to despise. Reynolds was soon established as the leading portrait painter and art-theorist of the day. His ideas spread through the published *Discourses*, originally delivered to the students of the Royal Academy of Art, which he actively promoted and of which he became the first President (1768). Reynolds' is an academic doctrine par excellence, the very antithesis of Hogarth's, and wholly inimical to the continued development of realistic narrative. He praises the general over the particular, the ideal over the natural, the timeless over the topical. He sees no place for satire in art, and little for comedy. The morality of art consists in the depiction of the virtuous, not the vicious or ridiculous. Reynolds does however concede that there are inferior branches of painting in which a man may excel, and in this connection cites Hogarth, his "extraordinary talents" for the "ridicule of life," and his invention of a "new species of dramatic painting, in which he will probably never be equalled."[1] But Reynolds was concerned less with paying tribute to the artist than with using him as an example of the precept that the cobbler should stick to his last. Hogarth is condemned for having "very imprudently or rather presumptuously, attempted the great historical style," and is contrasted in this respect with the portrait and landscape painter Gainsborough, who supposedly knew better.

Even if Reynolds contended that "genius in the lower rank of art" was preferable to "feebleness and insipidity in the highest," it was to the highest rather than the lowest ranks that he directed his students' attention. Portraiture, of course, flourished as never before, but the most respected history painter (Sir Joshua rarely attempted history himself) was Benjamin West, whose style appears today as the epitome of that feebleness and insipidity which Reynolds warned against. Historical painting did however include certain areas traditionally reserved to the broadsheet: subjects drawn from recent history, such as the *Death of Wolfe*, and even those relating non-political sensations, such as J. S. Copley's famous *Brook Watson and the Shark* (1778). But the accent was always upon the heroic style, and the single moment of maximum pathos or terror.

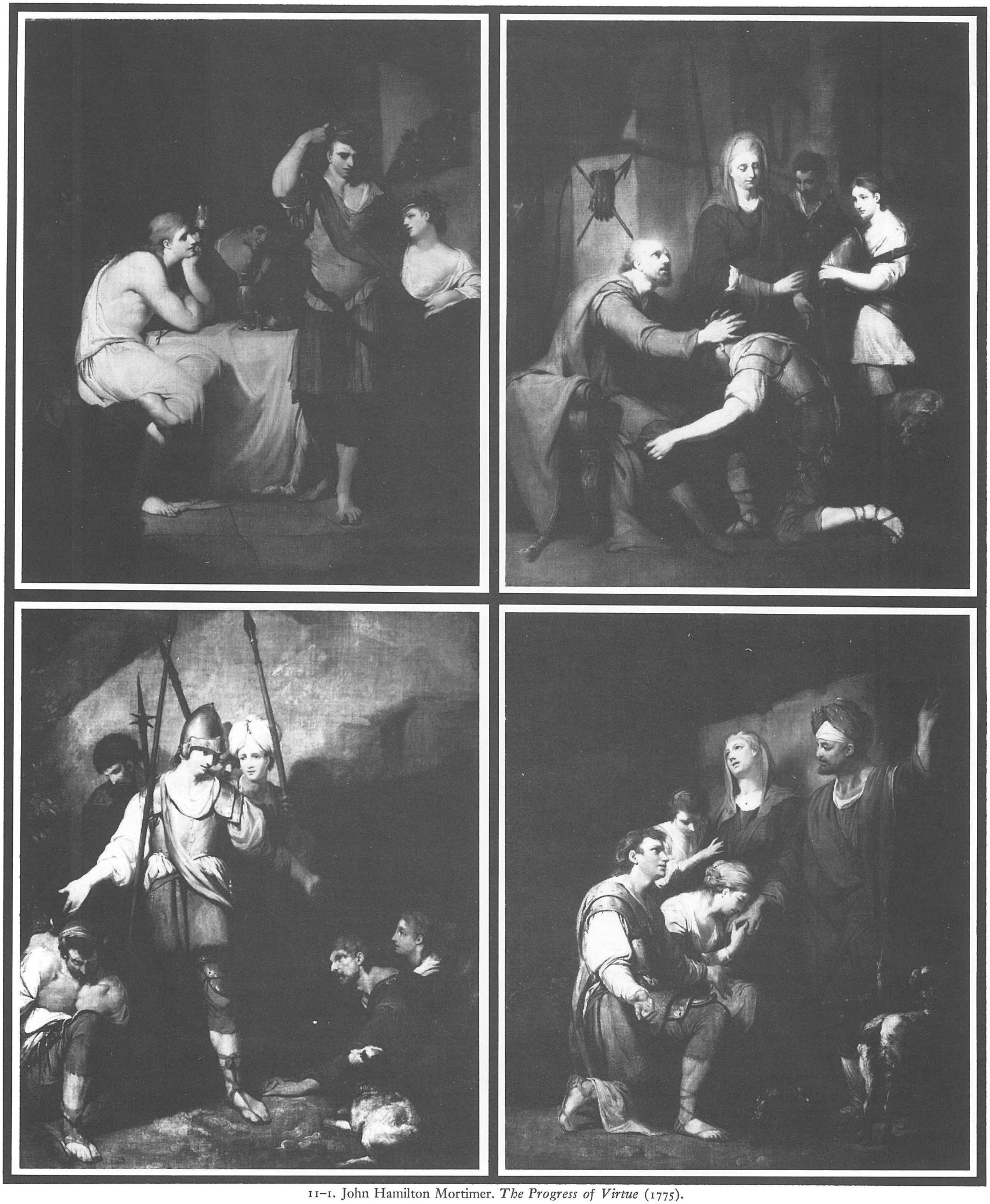
The incompatibility of moral narrative and the neo-classical style may be judged from the *Progress of Virtue* by John Hamilton Mortimer (1741?–1779, 11-1). Mortimer was a neo-classicist who made occasional forays into the grotesque; he determined to lend as much gravity as possible to his moral sequence, which he painted to celebrate his own marriage and moral reformation. In the first scene the hero leaves a banquet of soldiers and women, symbolically removing a Bacchic crown of vine-leaves from his head. Next, he receives the parental blessing upon his decision. His reformed life is depicted in the third scene, where he releases prisoners;[2] finally the hero returns home, with a bride, to be blessed by his father. The uplifting military theme, the composition, setting, attitudes and draperies—all are fashionably neo-classical. Mortimer can have had little faith in the future of such an enterprise, however, for he never attempted narrative again and did not trouble to have his *Progress* engraved.

2. John Raphael Smith and George Morland

After Mortimer's unsuccessful venture, fifteen years elapsed before an English painter returned to narrative. During the 1770's and 1780's there was a growth of interest in domestic genre subjects, following Greuze's astounding success in Paris.

An enterprising mezzotint artist, publisher of engravings, and trader in various commodities, called John Raphael Smith (1752–1812), began to supply the market with moral subjects spiced à la Hogarth. In 1780 he engraved a pair of mezzotints showing an innocent-looking boy chanc-

1. *Discourse* xiv. Wark, ed., p. 254.
2. Where and how this military "Act of Mercy" takes place remains unexplained. The composition is more reminiscent of a *Christ harrowing Hell* than of a real prison interior.



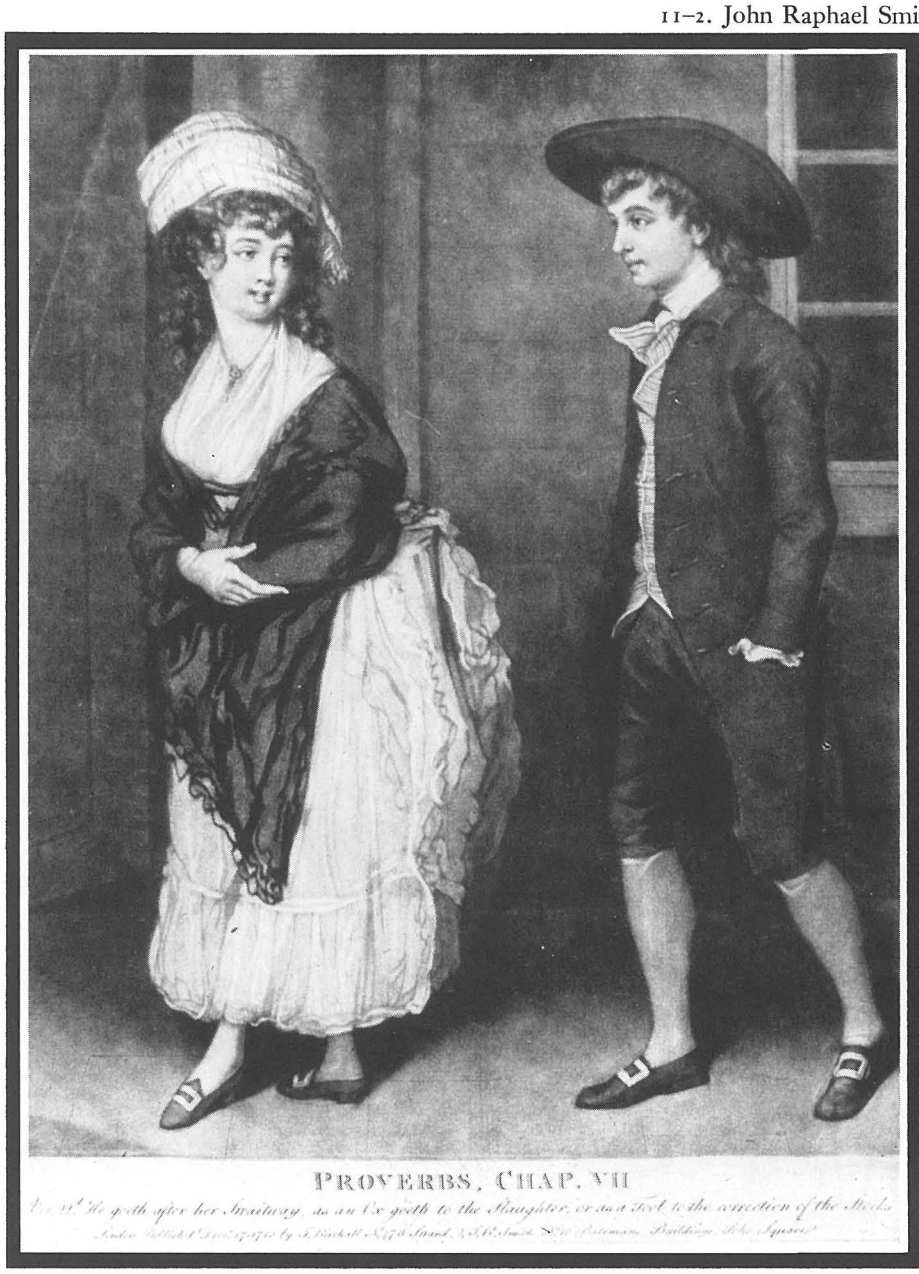
11–1. John Hamilton Mortimer. *The Progress of Virtue* (1775).

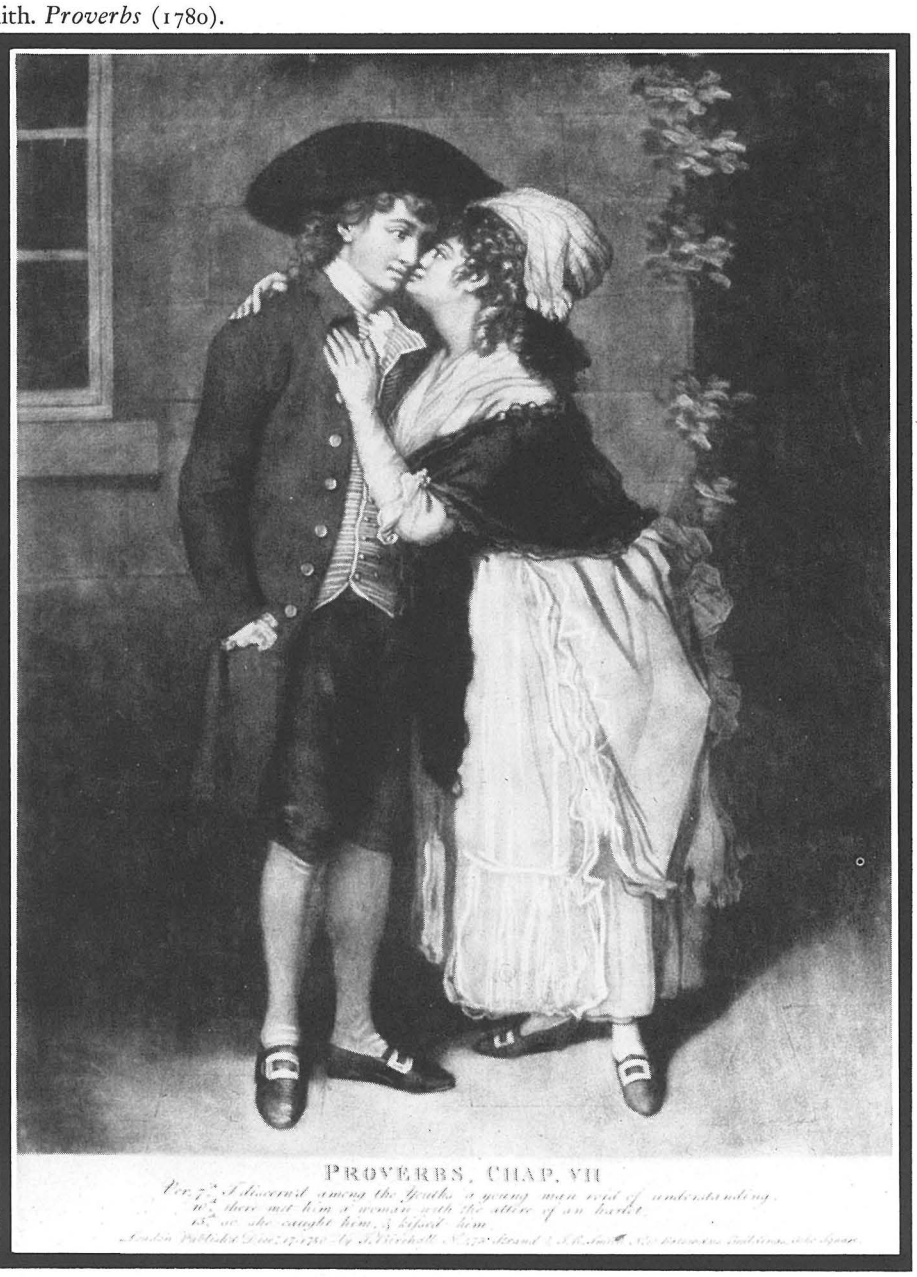
ing upon a dainty little thing in the streets, and submitting forthwith to her blandishments (11-2). Subsequent developments from this promising beginning occupied a further six plates, which I have been unable to trace, probably because they were suppressed—by Smith himself in his later years, and since then by common consent of Victorian art-lovers. Also in 1780 Smith met the painter George Morland and engaged him to execute large numbers of farmyard landscapes, of which he sold the engravings. He also encouraged him to paint moralizing pictures of the low life, which often came in contrasting pairs under such titles as the *Idle Mechanic* and the *Industrious Mechanic*, the *Idle Laundress* and the *Industrious Laundress*. The polarities of industry and idleness formed very much the rhythm of Morland's personal way of life, for he was notoriously profligate and painted only between prolonged bouts of dissipation. He attempted to remedy this situation in 1786 by marrying; his production of moralizing genre subjects increased and culminated in a six-plate narrative called *Laetitia* (11–3).

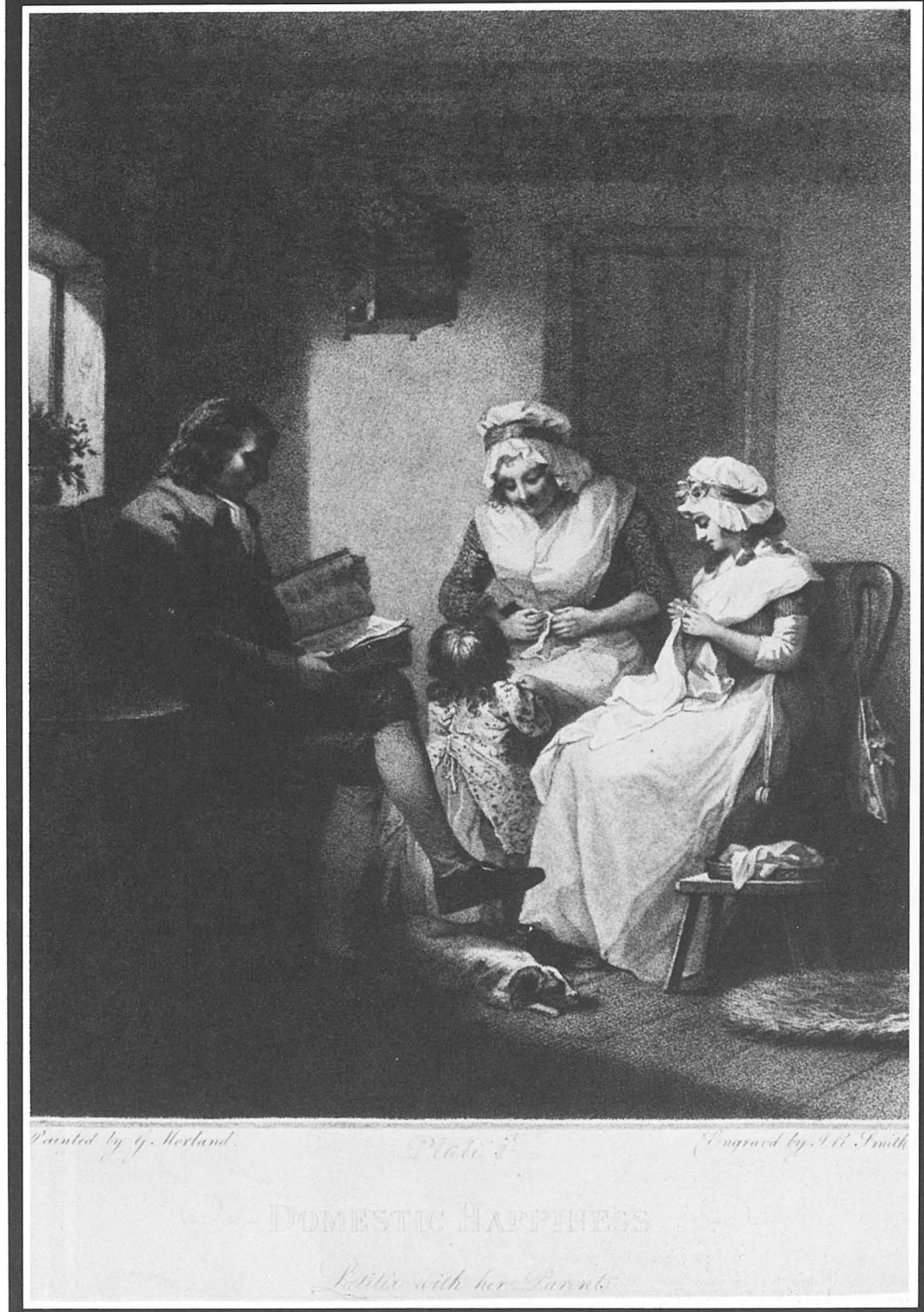
There is some dispute as to Morland's exact share in this sequence, the plot of which was certainly invented by Smith. It has been supposed that Smith not only dictated the content but actually supplied drawings, and that he encountered some stiff resistance on the part of Morland, who made "unprintable" first designs. In any event, Morland connoisseurs rank the original oil paintings among his very best, which testifies to some enthusiasm on the part of the painter.

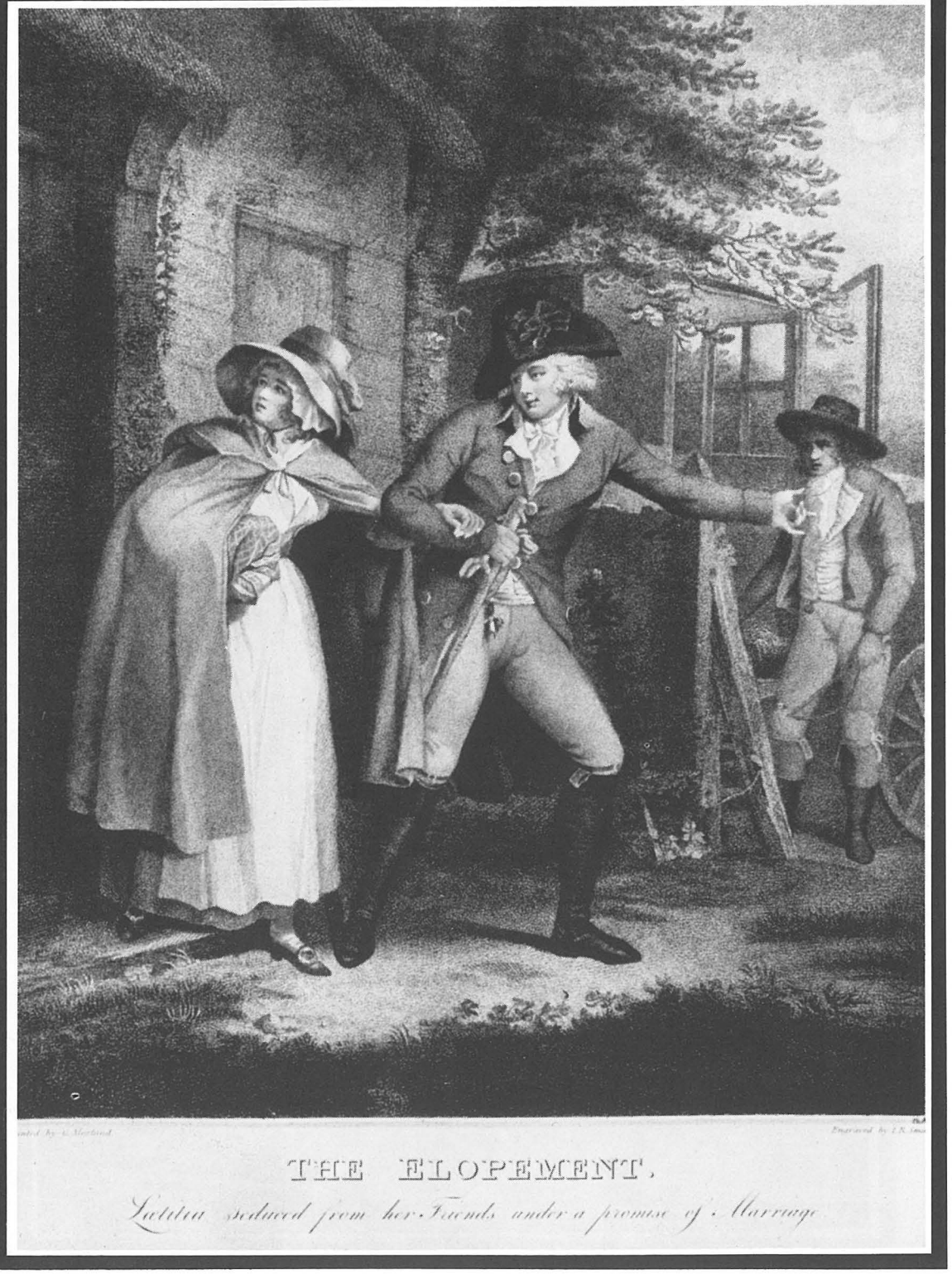
Laetitia opens with the heroine of that name depicted in the kind of idyllic, humble, industrious, bible-reading home which was so beloved of the sentimental genre painters of the period. Nothing suggests that Laetitia will fall into the trap which is sprung in the next scene, the *Elopement*. She appears reluctant at this moment, but in the third plate has all the airs of a brazen *demi-mondaine*, as she attempts to bribe her parents into accepting her liaison. The distressed parents naturally refuse, but the innocent little sister ominously reaches for the rich ornament hanging on Laetitia's dress. The fourth scene, *Dressing for the Masquerade*,

11–2. John Raphael Smith. *Proverbs* (1780).

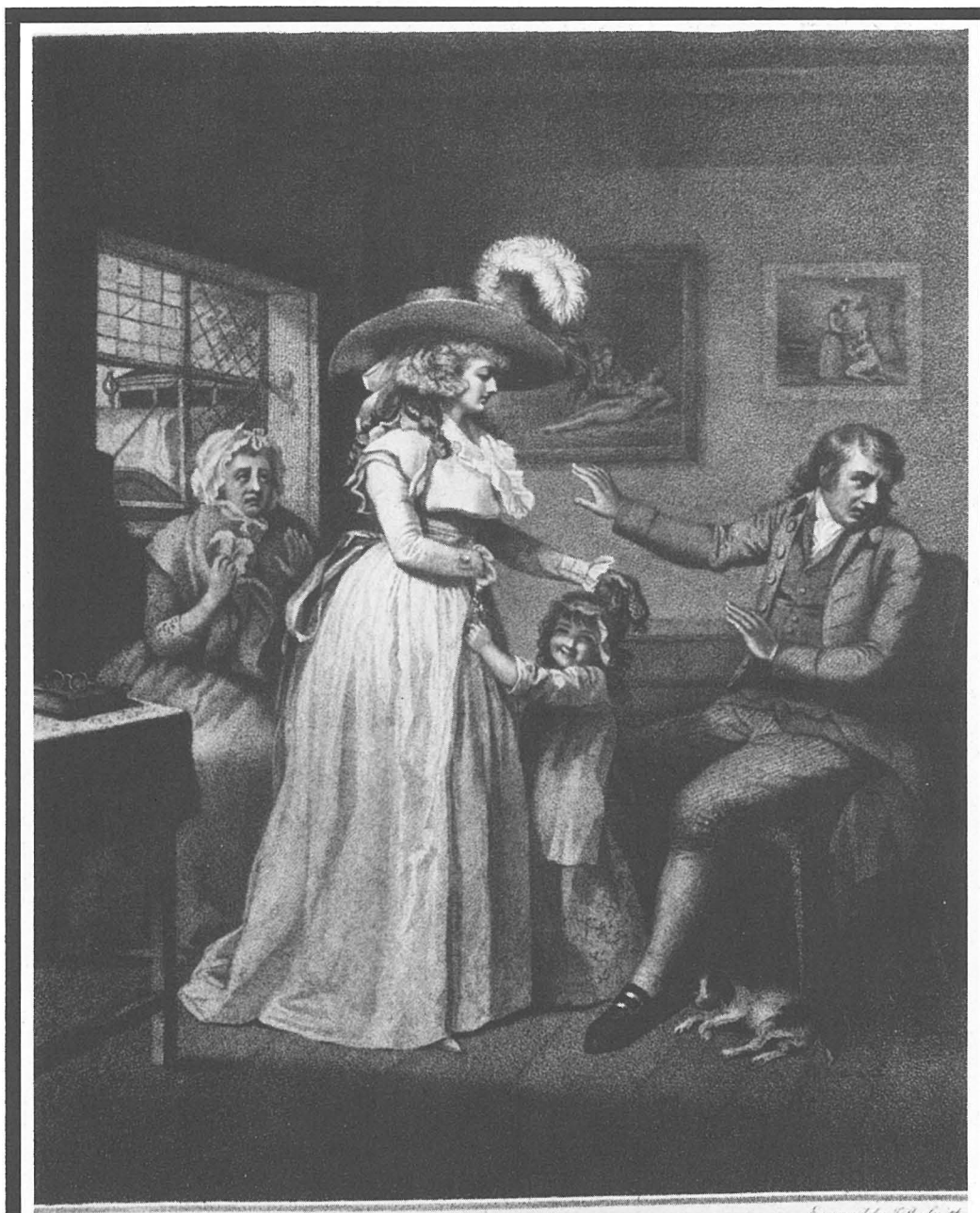








11–3. John Raphael Smith and George Morland. *Laetitia* (1789).



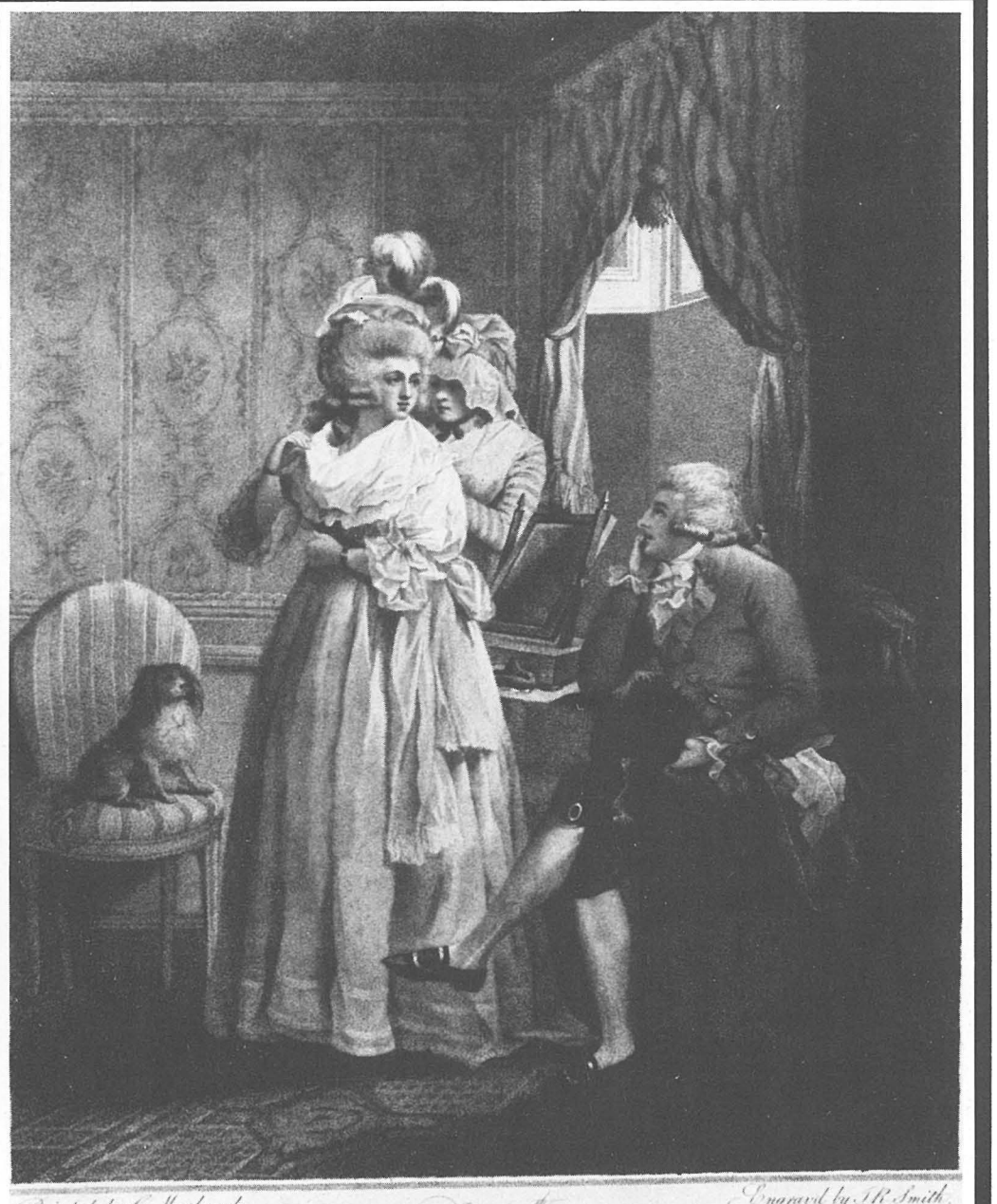
Painted by J. Morland

Plate 3.

Engraved by W. Smith

THE VIRTUOUS PARENT.

Folly endeavours in vain by pleasures to wean her Parents



Painted by J. Morland

Plate 4th

Engraved by W. Smith

DRESSING for the MASQUERADE

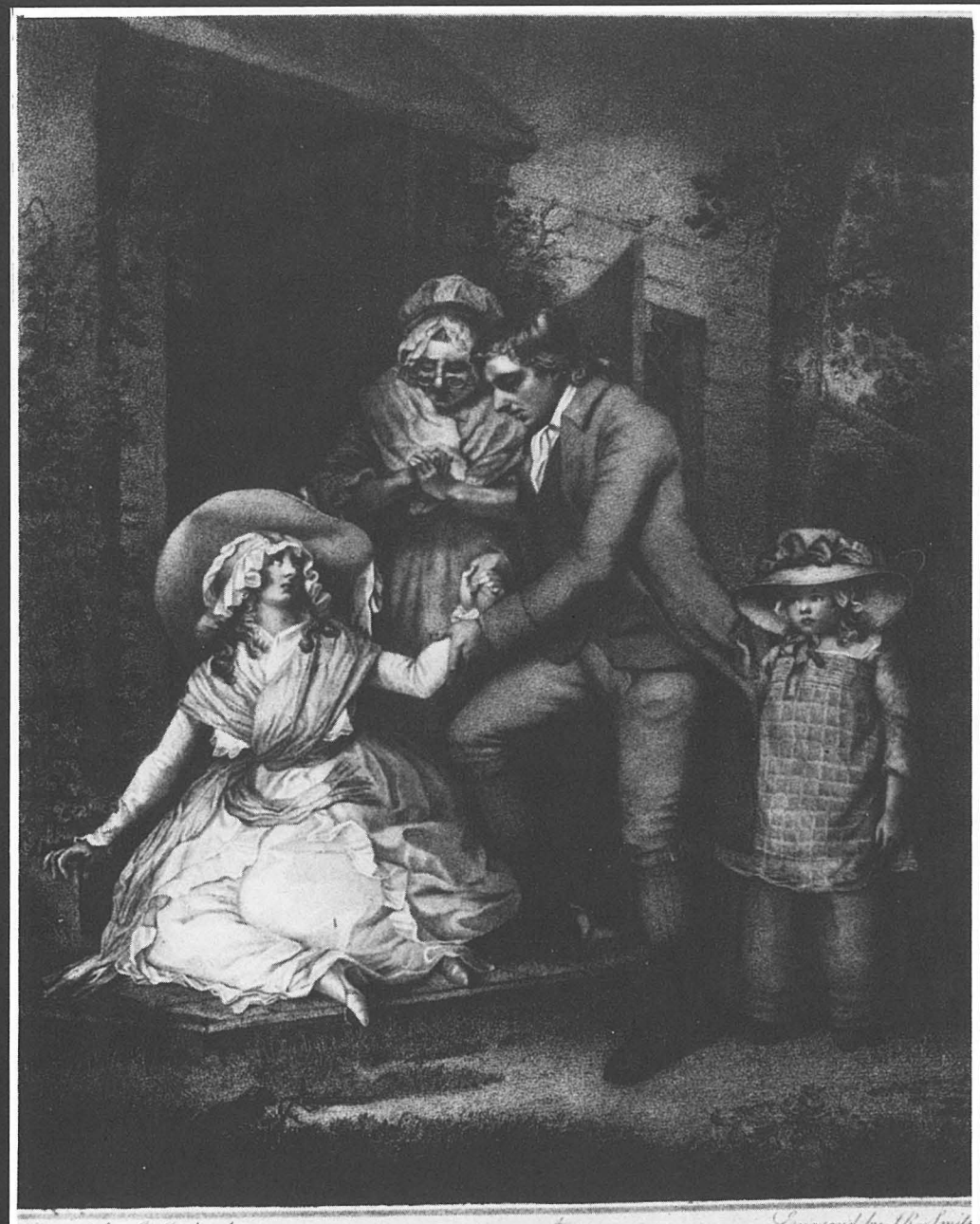
Folly flies from reflection to public entertainments



Painted by G. Morland. Plate 5th. Engraved by S.W. Smith

THE TAVERN DOOR.

Letitia deserted by her Seducer is thrown on the Town.



Painted by G. Morland. Plate 6th. Engraved by S.W. Smith

THE FAIR PENITENT.

Letitia on penitence finds relief & protection from her Parents.



11–4. John Raphael Smith and George Morland. *The Deserter* (1791).

imitates the French *toilette* scene, with English *sang-froid* replacing the animation shown by French lovers in this situation.

Deserted by her lover, Laetitia is reduced to soliciting on the tavern doorstep. Before any real disaster can overtake her, however, she repents. We do not learn how or why, for the final scene shows her in the role of the Prodigal Daughter seeking the forgiveness of her parents. She has collapsed with neo-classical decorum, a heavily-clothed nymph, upon the threshhold of the humble farm-house where she was raised. The size of her little sister testifies to a three or five year absence. This is not so much the happy ending, which only a decent marriage could properly achieve, as the pleasurably tearful one which has appealed to the sentimentality of succeeding ages down to our own century: "If *Laetitia* lacks the brutal force of Hogarth, it possesses a grace and refinement which Hogarth lacks."[3]

Smith had no difficulty selling the paintings or the engravings made from them. A second, slightly modernized edition came out in 1811, and another set was printed, in color, about 1827. The captive painter was soon pressed to execute another sequence, this time drawn from military life, another area of increasing concern to genre painters and caricaturists alike. Smith and Morland do not attempt, like Mortimer, to classicize the tale. The *Recruit, or Deserter* (1791, 11-4) tells a simple, tragi-comic anecdote typical of the days when the ranks of army and navy were filled by means of force and ruse. Scene 1, *Trepanning the Recruit*, shows the drunken peasant in his smock undergoing the mock initiation ceremony of being tapped on the head with a drumstick. His wife and baby stand by in obvious distress. In scene 2, *Recruit Deserted*, the poor man is ferreted out from under the bed, whence he begs the mercy of a soldier brandishing a naked sword. His wife counterattacks with a broom, while the child screams from the bed. The third plate follows with the official separation, which is no more than a dramatized version of the commonplace sentimental broadsheet subject of the *Soldier's Farewell*; this was usually paired with the *Soldier's Return*, but in the final plate of our story the soldier returns not to his family, but to the army, which in the person of a handsome officer graciously pardons the military Prodigal—and the wife who abetted his crime. The ending is noble, tearful and patriotic.

Having made these brief forays into moral narrative, Morland never returned to it. He was a painter of picturesque nature, not an observer of social mores; he had little narrative imagination, and *Laetitia* and the *Deserter* are the product of a curious conjunction of personal circumstances (his marriage and efforts at moral reform) allied to the commercial instincts of his employer Smith.

3. Wilson, p. 64.



3. *Northcote: Diligence and Dissipation (1796)*

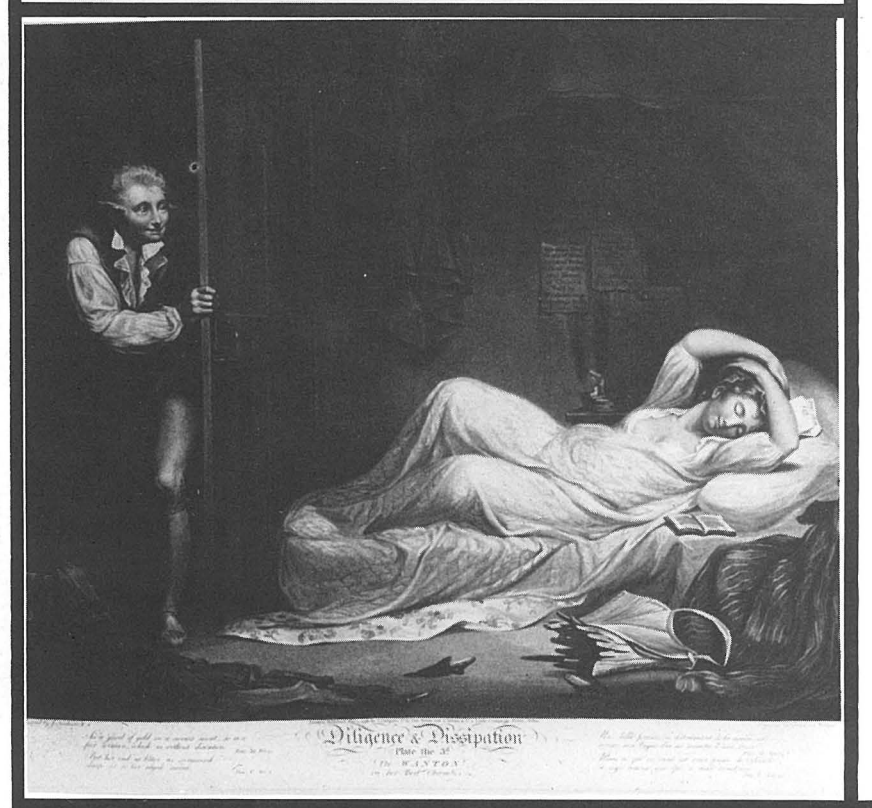
James Northcote (1746–1831) was a pupil and assistant of Sir Joshua Reynolds; after visiting Italy, he settled in London in 1781 as portraitist, genre and history painter. In 1796 he attempted to combine the two latter categories in a narrative sequence whose very title announces a debt to Hogarth: *Diligence and Dissipation* (11-5). Instead of apprentices, Northcote has chosen the parallel lives of their female equivalent, domestic servants.

1. The opening scene, as in Hogarth, unites the two protagonists in one room, each half of which is marked by the character of the different occupants: order and cleanliness, an almanac with an illustration of the Ant and the Grasshopper (the picture exactly midway over the door shows the Wise and Foolish Virgins), contrast with the dirt, disorder, and a lottery ticket on the wall. To such Hogarthian devices, Northcote adds a symbolism of his own—the light pouring onto the saccharine face of the modest girl at her ironing, while the wanton one hides her vices in the darkness. "Hides" is hardly the word, for she is engaged in an improbably flagrant, miniature orgy which is spied out by the old woman crouching, most unnecessarily, at the keyhole of the open door.

11–5. James Northcote. *Diligence and Dissipation* (1795/6).







2. It seems already rather late for good advice, such as the old woman is now giving to the junior servants. The composition depends upon a simple contrast between neat and slovenly dress, and between attentiveness and boredom.

3. The paths of the servant-girls now separate. The wanton lies abed in a pose of studied voluptuousness (Northcote cannot resist displaying his neo-classical education by turning her into a sleeping Ariadne), having just put aside an erotic novel.[4] The smiles of anticipation—hers more composed, that of the entering valet more ardent—appear somehow forced, and there is something unintentionally comic about their attitudes. The room is filled, à la Hogarth, with significant accessories.

4. The "modest girl in her bedchamber" has three locks on her door, pious literature about her, and a picture of connubial happiness on the wall. She is praying before the moon, symbol of chastity.

5. Turned out of doors for misconduct, the wanton descends the steps of the house, dressed with vulgar elegance. We may guess that she is pregnant, that this is the reason for her leaving, and that the hand she brings to her brow expresses not remorse but merely displeasure. In the doorway behind, the good girl and the old servant look on in sorrow, while from the window the valets, her former lovers, leer mockingly. There is plenty of low-life incident: the ballad-singer, the brawl which overturns a fruit-stall, and the dog urinating on a sinister gentleman who, in reminiscence of Hogarth's wicked Colonel (*Harlot*, 1), ogles the object newly arriving on the open market. He does so, significantly, from the doorway of a Surgeon's.

6. The expulsion of the vicious servant is paralleled by a kind of promotion—or tempting offer of promotion—for the virtuous one. She rejects the illicit addresses of her master, a situation which reminds one immediately of the famous novel by Richardson, *Pamela*, in which the heroine, less strong than Northcote's, swoons away with fright—into

4. *Le Sopha* by Crébillon Fils, a work which also appears in *Marriage A-la-mode* (scene 4).



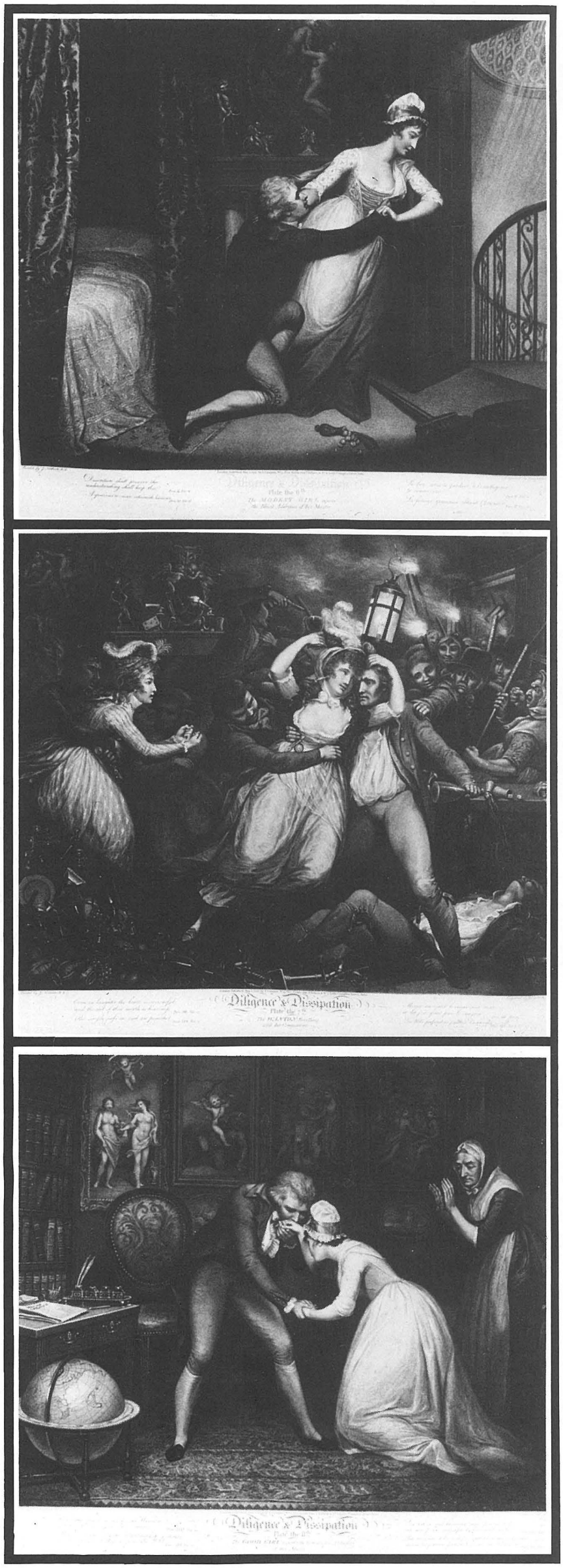


her would-be lover's arms.[5] The artist is at some pains to intimate the circumstances leading up to this moment: broom and money on the floor show that she had come to sweep and that he had tried to bribe her. The decoration of the room with its erotic painting and statuettes comments on the moral character of the occupant.

7. In the scene of the *Wanton's Revels*, Northcote pulls out all the stops: this is an orgy characterized by the grandest of rapes and the most drunken forms of violence, and threatened with an impending arrest. The composition staggers under the weight of a frenzied crowd of figures and all the accoutrements of the gambling, drinking and whoring hell, but the chief incident stands out clearly: two men are laying claim to the wanton, who floats toward one of them like an airborne nymph. This lover stands like Hercules, holding a gin-bottle instead of the classical club. A defeated rival lies inanimate, but heroic, beneath his feet. Northcote does not lack for ideas, for apart from the embracing couples, there is an irate harlot being forcibly restrained from entering the fray (left) and a grotesque, furious old bawd (right). Once again, there is much Hogarthian symbolic ornament: a headless statue of liberty, a torn picture of Alexander the Great, etc. Hogarthian, too, is the narrative contraction, which makes the law intervene at the climactic moment.

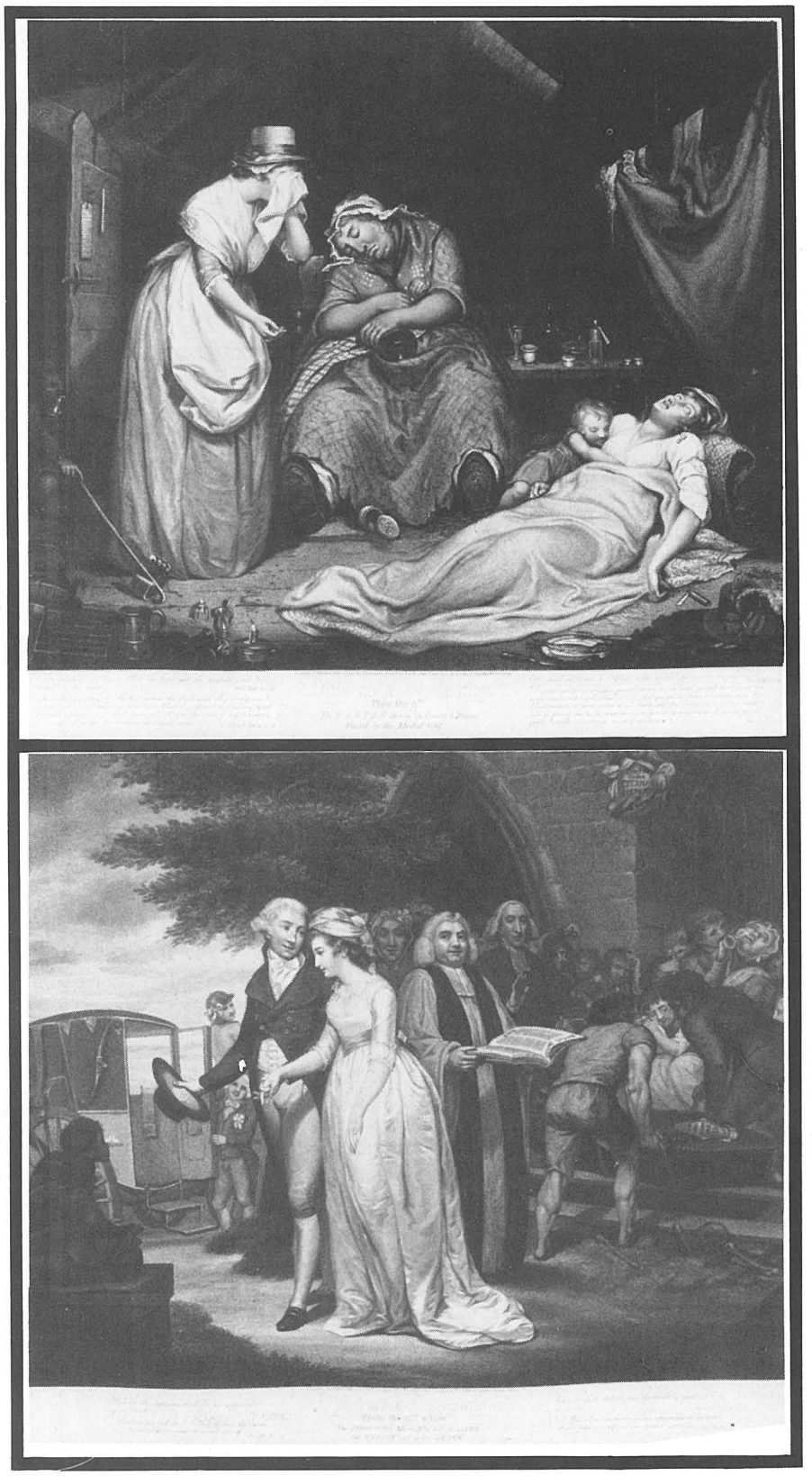
8. The virtue of the good girl meanwhile is rewarded. She "receives the honorable addresses of her master," the word "honorable" being explained by the Marriage Settlement lying prominently upon the table. Northcote's Pamela has finally earned the hand of her Mr. B. (as in Richardson), the industrious girl apprentice has won her master. The pictures on the wall, being erotic in character, presumably refer to the past; only one refers specifically to marriage.

9. A dramatic reunion takes place in the manner of *Industry and Idleness*. The difference in the composition is the difference between the taste of 1750 and the taste of 1800. Instead of an example of inexorable justice, we have an example of benevolence which comes tragically too late. Philanthropic activities had become a favorite topic for the artist, who treated them with sentimental optimism.[6] But Northcote is the opposite of optimistic. The melodrama of a situation in which a virtuous lady, with cash in hand, is suddenly confronted with the livid corpse of her former companion, is offset by the comic figure of the old nurse or bawd, who in her gin-sodden condition is obviously derelict of her duty. The sentimentality of the scene is further disrupted by the action of the child behind the door, stealing an object by means of a hooked stick. Northcote is not afraid to juxtapose the massive, slumped form of the bawd with the conventionally elegant one of the virtuous lady; nor to place a young woman dying in a classically decorous pose among the sordid debris of her degenerate life and fatal illness. This is not the "picturesque disorder" for which Morland was admired; this is the Hogarthian paraphernalia of the wretched life. We



5. No. 3 of a series of six prissy subjects by Joseph Highmore, who, in imitation of Hogarth, executed paintings from which engravings were made, and sold independently of Richardson's text.

6. The beneficiaries were usually either peasants or prisoners. The most famous example of the latter subject is Francis Wheatley's *Mr. Howard Offering Relief to Prisoners* (1787, repr. Waterhouse, Pl. 192a).



miss only the writing on the label attached to the dying woman's hand, which would tell us whether she took poison, like Countess Squanderfield, or died of a natural disease, like Moll Hackabout.

10. By an exceedingly improbable stroke of fate, the modest girl is married at exactly the same time and at exactly the same place as the wanton is buried. This coincidence constitutes a downright impropriety, to which contemporaries must have been sensible, for how could the tenderhearted good girl, at her own wedding, calmly turn her back on the tragic funeral of her former fellow-servant? In the first scene, she might conceivably have been oblivious of the goings-on behind the door; here she cannot possibly ignore the noisy funeral. Faced with a comparable situation, Hogarth used separate compositions (*Industry and Idleness*, 2 and 3, 11 and 12). Northcote has fallen between two stools of realism and allegory.

If the plump parson and his thin vocal assistant are reminiscent of the Rake's marriage scene, neither figure is satirized by Northcote. The parson's admiring glance follows the happy couple, while he turns the page to the Funeral Service. The dark side of the picture is enlivened by the raucous, drunken sisterhood, who might have stepped straight out of the Harlot's funeral. Apart from the urchins brawling in the far background, there is one who has seized a viewpoint on the wedded pair by impudently perching on the effigy of the *High and Mighty Prince Duke of*...—significantly, the name becomes illegible. The tablet on the church wall reads *Erected to the Eternal Memory of*... ironically the rest is broken off.[7] The coffin lid is marked *E.I. Died May 1795 aged 23*—the exact age reached by Moll Hackabout. One would like to think that the homage is deliberate. But Northcote found no way of working the little boy, who steals Hogarth's final scene, into the funeral ceremony.

Diligence and Dissipation brings into focus the problems facing the narrative painter in the neo-classical age. Northcote has not found a way of uniting Hogarthian realism with the demands of neo-classical sentiment and decorum. We have already seen how Morland and Smith played for safety, and never sacrificed decorum to realism. Northcote involves himself in ambiguities and awkwardnesses which border on the absurd. On two occasions at least, narrative credibility breaks down completely. Yet the artist has proved himself an intelligent observer of Hogarth, and in the context of this volume, his *Diligence and Dissipation* must be accounted a brave, if misguided, attempt to build a bridge between the realistic narrative of the past and the sentimental neo-classicism of the new age.

If the attempt was not appreciated by the public, this was not because Hogarth had gone out of vogue;[8] the popularity of the Richardson novels, too, continued unabated, with *Pamela* reaching about its thirteenth edition at this time. The late eighteenth century, with its precise sense of category, did not see Hogarth and Richardson as compatible elements within a single work. Northcote could neither

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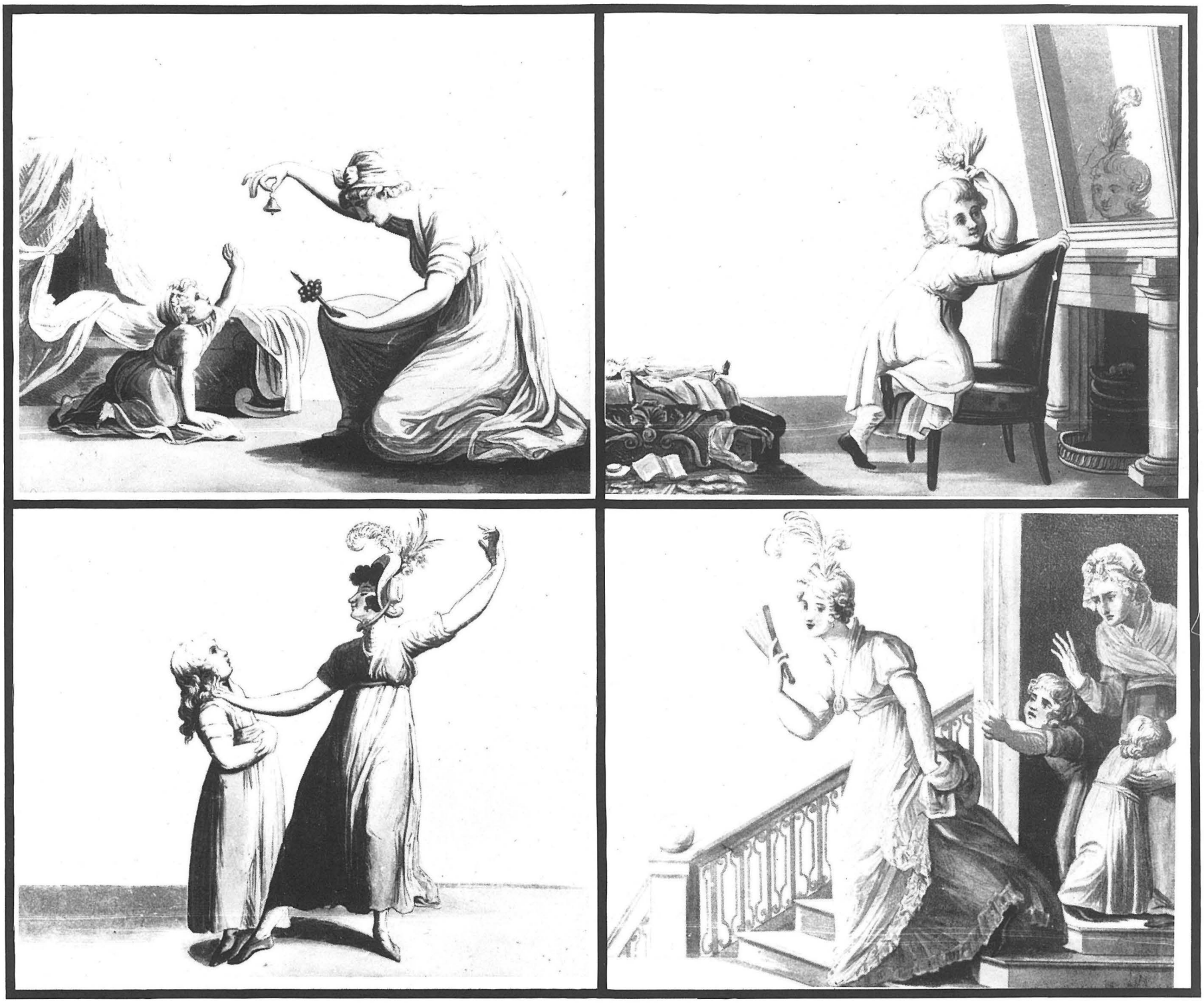
7. Cf. the broken tablet of the Ten Commandments in *Rake's Progress*, 5.
8. His *Marriage A-la-mode* paintings had just (February 10, 1797) been sold to Mr. John Julius Angerstein for £1,381, a figure which may be compared with the £102 which Hogarth netted in his own lifetime (the value of the pound had changed little in the intervening period).

sell the paintings, nor (which was worse) the prints after them, despite the elegance of the engraving. "There could not be a more lamentable failure," says a contemporary, "and Northcote never forgave Hogarth."[9] Modern critics have been no kinder,[10] and collectors have split up the paintings, allowing two of them to get lost. Northcote's experiment did not go entirely unheeded, for it inspired Mrs. Richard Cosway (wife of the miniaturist) to execute a *Progress of Female Virtue*, with its pendant *Progress of Female Dissipation* (11-6). These now show not a trace of Hogarth, for both (treating the lives of typical women of the upper bourgeoisie) are conceived in the strictest neo-classical terms.

9. Leslie and Taylor, 1865, quoted by Dobson, p. 98.
10. E.g. Dobson, p. 98; Moore, p. 75; Antal, p. 183.

11–6. Mrs. Richard Cosway. *The Progress of Female Dissipation*, scenes 1, 2, 3, and 7 (leaving home and family to pursue a life of pleasure).



4. *Adventures of Harriet Heedless (1780)*

After the death of Hogarth, satirical engraving was ousted in favor of humorous mezzotints, and of prints with mildly comic, non-political subjects after the designs of amateurs.[11] The transitional period before the return of satire to the broadsheet in the caricatures of Gillray, Rowlandson, etc., is marked by just one narrative production. Theme and title *A Modern Harlot's Progress, or the Adventures of Harriet Heedless* (11-7), are Hogarth's, with all that artist's moral fervor drained away. This anonymous work uses simple, stagey, rather classical compositions, filled with insipid characters which are neither strong like Hogarth's nor light and witty like the caricaturists'. Its value lies in the light it sheds upon a change in social conditions, and a change in critical attitude toward them.

The heroine is trapped at the "Statute Hall" or Labor Exchange, where she is seeking a job as a servant. Such places, introduced since Hogarth's time, were described by a contemporary as "flagrant and bare-faced cheats, the proprietors often procurers."[12] The clerk is obviously conniving at the action of the rake at his elbow, who ogles Harriet while she is inveigled by an overdressed bawd. The other figures are clearly potential employers and employees in the same business.

There is little to suggest any impropriety in the next scene. The new maid brings the breakfast, the rake sits blandly and awkwardly with his newspaper. The pictures, however—a blind Cupid, a lady in masquerade costume—are a premonition.

The serving maid then rises to "High Keeping," with a negro boy at her call. The only hint of her forthcoming infidelity to her keeper is contained in the figure at the door, identified in the caption as a footman watching his chance to deliver a private letter. Betrayed, presumably by the jealous fellow-servant waiting behind the door, Harriet is caught writing a compromising letter, and faints away in the approved manner. She is duly discarded and forced to turn common prostitute. Athough the company of soldiers is clearly less enviable than that of a gentleman, Harriet's present life is not devoid of luxury—fine pictures, milliner, whist, negro slave.

Harriet Heedless ends in the workhouse, ill; but what a difference from the workhouse and illness of Moll Hackabout! She is properly attended by a decent-looking doctor, who has prescribed a draught. The workhouse, of which we see apparently the recreation rather than the working area, is a far cry from Hogarth's Bridewell. The inmates do not seem depraved people at all; instead of a tyrant workmaster, there are *Rules for the better regulation of Workhouses*, rules which had certainly diminished the iniquities of the old system. The room is heated, well-lit, not particularly dilapidated and refreshment is provided. The ending is quite inconclusive; this is altogether a *Harlot's Progress* for a socially less combative, more sentimental age.

In eighteenth-century fiction the subject of amours between master and servant (as indeed the epistolary intrigue of scene 4) can usually be traced back to Richardson's *Pamela*. At the same time there seem to have been an increasing number of real-life misalliances of this nature. The career of Emma Hamilton, for instance, might have been combined out of the lives of Northcote's modest servant and of Harriet Heedless. The role of the servant in painting, caricature and literature reflects the ever-increasing social mobility of eighteenth-and nineteenth-century England. It is noteworthy that the print of the *Modern Harlot's Progress* must have been decidedly nearer the financial reach of the servant class than the Hogarth or Northcote versions. The Dutch went further and made very cheap picture strips about servant life, which were actually designed for purchase by servants (11-8). The strip opens with the arrival of the newcomer from out-of-town; she shows her application at an employment exchange, and is introduced to an employer. There follow about twenty scenes showing the common daily task of maid-servants. Toward the end, however, we unexpectedly find a dispute arising between master and servant, which is taken to court. The girl is released, and leaves the service in order to get married and have children.

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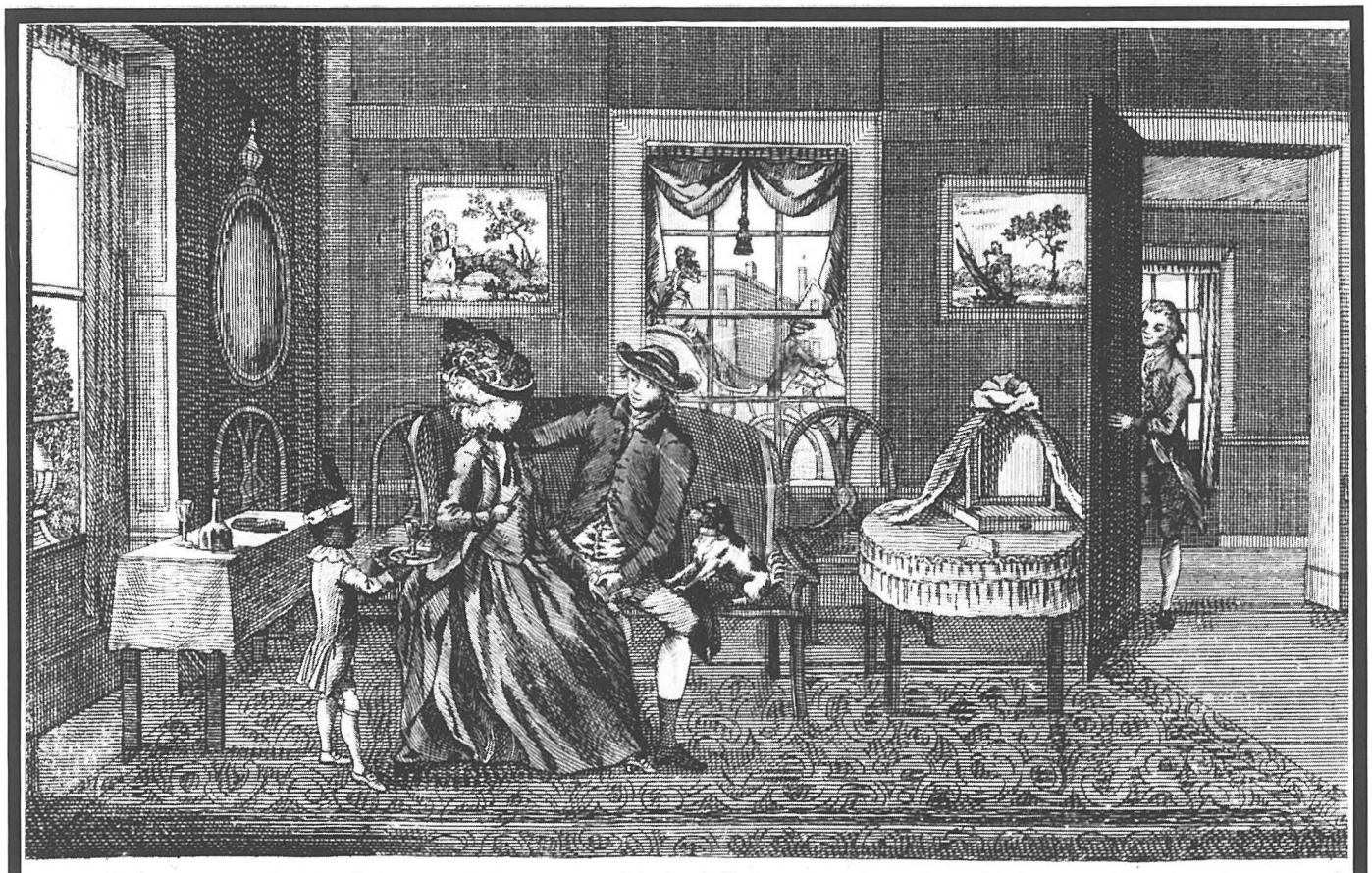
11. Cf. George, H. to C., p. 57.
12. R. King (1770), quoted by George, *Satires* Cat. V, p. 487.



11–7. English. *The Modern Harlot's Progress, or Adventures of Harriet Heedless* (1780).



rict in High keeping, equip'd in a Riding Habit, attended by a Black; the Footman peeping at her with intent to deliver her a Letter privately

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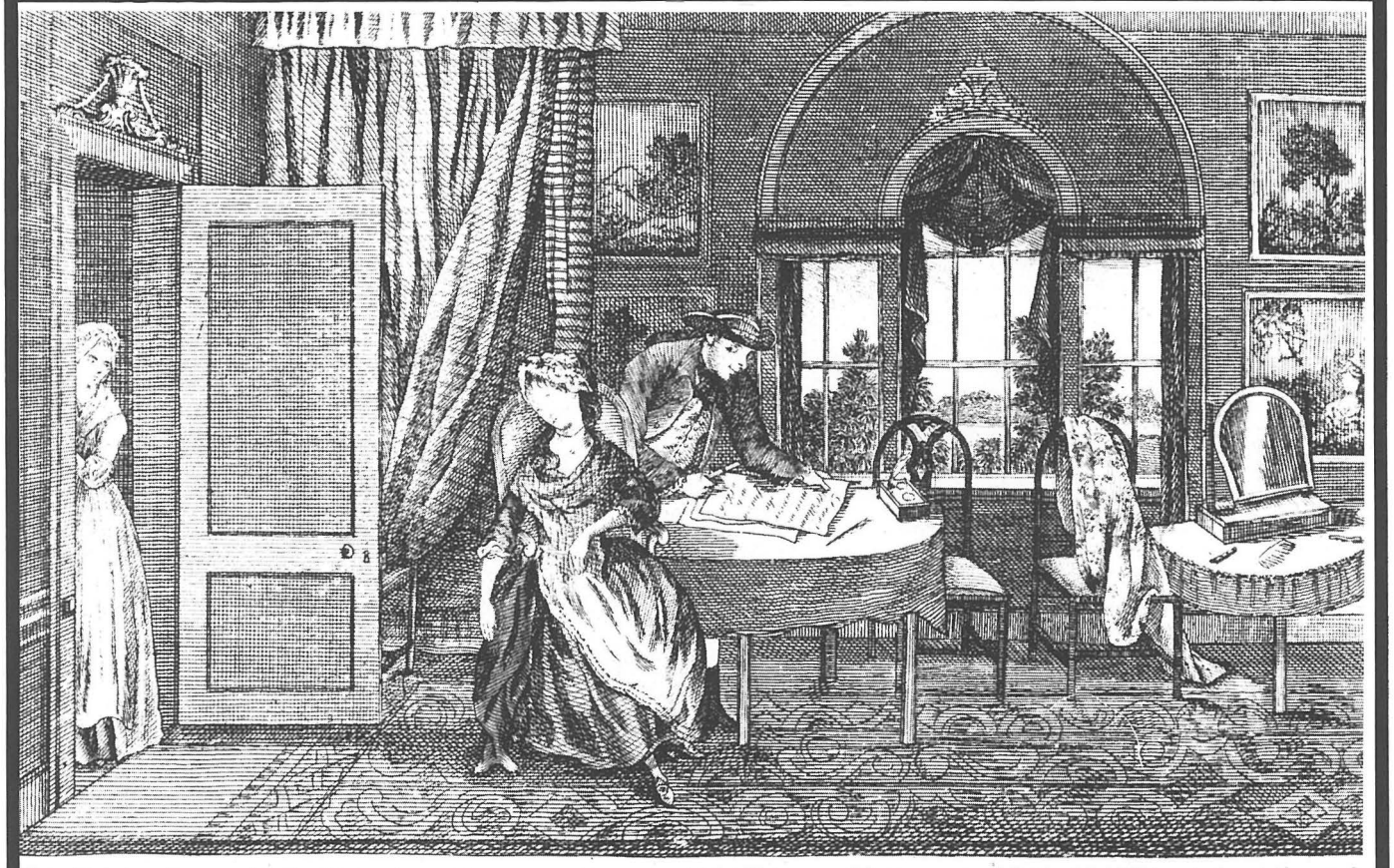

Harriet being discovered by her Keeper in making an appointment with his Footman, faints away, while the Maid listens to know the result

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Harriot being discarded for her Infidelity, takes Lodgings, turns Common is attended by Rakes and Gamesters and furnished by the Milliner with Dresses to continue her Prostitution.

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Harriot turned it with Disdain, goes into a Workhouse, where the Doctor attended by his Footboy, brings her a Bonnet. the Nurse describes her Villanys and the other Figures are curiously employed.

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11–8. Dutch. *The Daily Work of Maidservants* (c.1800).

Row 1. "The servants arrive in Rotterdam. They go to the employment agency. Lisette enters service. The young lady explains her tasks. Antje prepares the soup. 2. She sees if the soup is ready. Antje, the chambermaid, arranges her bonnet. Giertje makes the beds. Geesje gives the child to the young lady. Leentje goes on an errand. 3. Keetje takes the child for a walk. Grietje scrubs the pans. Mie knocks over the table. The young lady scolds her. She takes it out on her fellow-servant. 4. Marytje scrubs the floor. She washes the window. Tryntje picks a quarrel with us because she wants to leave us. She takes her things and goes. When she has calmed down, she returns. 5. The young lady has engaged another servant. Keetje cleans the crockery. Krisje clears out the ashes. Saartje sweeps the floor. Anna does the cooking. 6. Truitje spins. She breaks the wheel. She is beaten by the master. She is arrested. Her case is heard in court. 7. She is released. Gertje receives her neighbor. She leaves the service. Annatje is courted. She goes walking with her lover. 8. They get married. The wedding banquet. The bride and bridegroom go to bed. Annatje is lying in. The child is born."

Chapter Twelve

THE CARICATURAL COMIC STRIP (*1787-1826*)

1. The rise of caricature

Mortimer, Morland, Northcote and even the anonymous engraver of the *Modern Harlot's Progress* all applied themselves in their different ways to the task of "ennobling" Hogarthian narrative in the neo-classical sense. At either end of the artistic spectrum, history painter and broadsheet engraver shared the same misguided ambitions. The period from 1775 (Mortimer) to 1796 (Northcote) also saw the maturation of another style, one antithetical to all that is neo-classical, sentimental, or academic. It opposed brevity and lightness to the prevailing ponderousness; it cultivated the witty and comic over the serious. The style is that of caricature, which proved itself the ideal medium for the development of the picture story and for graphic satire in general. Caricature has a history of its own, which the history of art has hitherto ignored, and which we will briefly review.[1]

The origins of caricature date back to Bologna around 1600, to the famous painters Agostino and Annibale Carracci, whose influence on a fellow-Bolognese of a later generation, G.M. Mitelli, we have already noted. It was the Carracci who first perfected the lightning, shorthand physiognomic sketch; it was they who first showed that by "loading" a portrait drawing (*caricare* in Italian means to load—hence *caricatura*=loading), by exaggerating features and simplifying lines, an instantly recognizable, usually comic character emerged (12–1). The idea caught on among Italian seventeenth-century artists, among whom we may count Bernini as a brilliant exponent. But caricature remained a kind of studio joke, shared among the artist's friends and ac-

1. By far the best introduction to the subject is still the little publication of Gombrich and Kris (1940). Cf. also Hofmann.

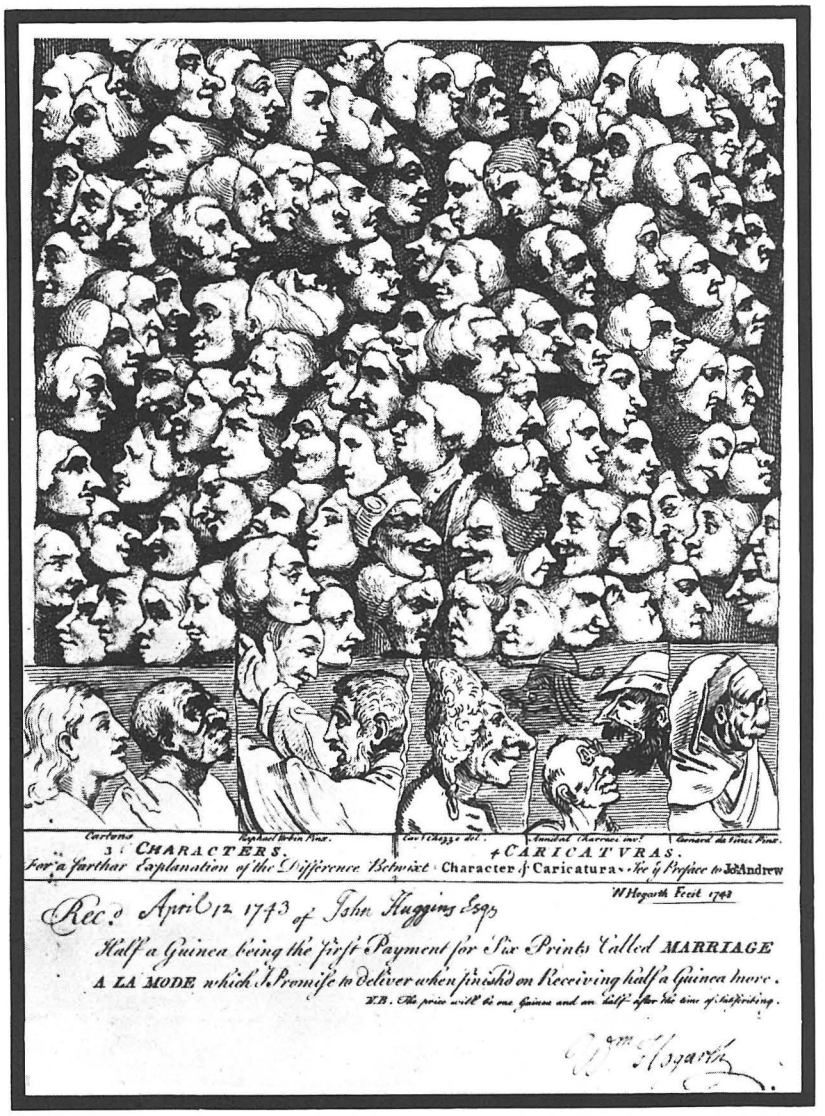
12–1. Agostino Carracci. *Sheet of caricatures* (1594).



quaintances and not for public circulation. This is why such drawings were not engraved, and this is why the political figure was exempt. In the early eighteenth century a Roman artist named Pier Leone Ghezzi achieved considerable fame for his amusing, but not unkind, caricatures of cultural notabilities of the day; it was probably Ghezzi drawings, brought by some "grand tourist" back to England, which started the fashion there. In England, however, caricature appealed at first neither to the professional painter nor to the broadsheet artist, but to the "noble amateur" or connoisseur. The connoisseurs who refused to accept the comic histories of Hogarth were quick to appreciate the newfangled wit of *caricatura.*

Hogarth naturally resented this situation. He has often been misleadingly called the father of caricature; in fact, he objected most strongly to his style of comic history painting being confused with draughtsmanship which he likened to the scribbles of children and amateurs, and of which many samples appear in his satirical plates as the handiwork of low-class graffitists. (There was no Carracci or Bernini practising the art in England.) In an engraving of 1744 called *Characters and Caricaturas* (12–2), which served as a subscription ticket to *Marriage A-la-mode*, Hogarth calls upon the public to learn to distinguish between his own deliberate and three-dimensional characterization, and the facile shorthand practiced by the amateur caricaturists. Historically speaking, the physiognomies in Hogarth are poised between the classical style of, perhaps, Raphael, with its firm characterization but limited range of types, and the witty, incisive, exaggerated style of Gillray. Hogarth's full-length engraved portraits of Lord Lovat and John Wilkes must be counted as landmarks in the development of aggressive political caricature; but he has no need of the more extreme form of caricature in the narratives, where he avoids portraiture of known personalities and of grotesque types.

In the *Analysis of Beauty*, Hogarth deals with the distinction between traditional classical draughtsmanship (suitable for ideal characters), the comic style (suitable for low-life or ridiculous types) and caricature (suitable only for the burlesque or grotesque); in other words, to each level of art, its own style. In the illustrations to the *Analysis*, Hogarth traces a "progress" of these styles, from the wooden and childish which he equates with the grosser forms of caricature, to the sophisticated and ideal (12-3). By exposing the limitations of caricature as practiced in his time, and by insisting on the moral dimension of the comic (caricature was amusing, but not *comic* in the proper sense of the term), Hogarth unwittingly opened the gate for its admission to the satirical broadsheet, where comedy had always reigned in spirit if not in form. Under the stylistic transformation of caricature, the broadsheet became truly comic, in form and spirit; and it became, as never before, a weapon in the political and social struggle.



12–2. William Hogarth. *Characters and Caricaturas* (1743). Subscription ticket to *Marriage A-la-mode.*

The revolution of caricature required a technical change—from the line engraving of the Hogarthian period to etching. Engraving was a slow, relatively rigid process; etching allowed for a free, swiftly flowing and spontaneous line. The addition of the stipple and aquatint techniques opened up a whole new range of pictorial effects. Paradoxically, it was the neo-classical painter Mortimer who paved the way by etching, chiefly for his own amusement, macabre and grotesque figures with a simplified and wiry line. Color, too, was a new attraction. Hogarth did not sell colored impressions of his engravings; but the simpler designs of caricature and the lighthearted spirit in which they were conceived, invited the addition of light washes in watercolor.[2] "Sixpence plain, one shilling colored" is a phrase not found upon prints before the advent of caricature.

2. J. M. W. Turner (b. 1775) found employment as a boy coloring etchings for the print-seller.



12–3. William Hogarth. Detail from Plate I to the *Analysis of Beauty* (1753).

The entry of caricature into the broadsheet took place under the impetus of the great political-social events around the turn of the century. The shock of the loss of the American colonies; the rapid strides of the Industrial Revolution, and the consequent migration to the towns; the astonishingly bitter verbal duels between Whig and Tory politicians; the reaction to the great Revolution across the Channel, and then the wars with France—all these combined to render the period c. 1780–c.1820 one of unique restlessness and litigiousness in English life, one which has become variously known as the "classic," "great" or "golden" age of English caricature. In scope and volume alone, it deserves the name.[3]

Caricature was a new commercial commodity. The term became consecrated for the humorous broadsheet, completely displacing the "emblematic," "hieroglyphical" and "satyrical" print of old. Shops specializing in caricature sprang up, whereas before the broadsheets had been sold from general book- and print-dealers. The enterprise of the caricature merchants is a phenomenon in itself. The shops of Carrington Bowles, the publisher of *The Modern Harlot's Progress*, were, with Matthew Darley's, the principal source of social caricature in the 1770s; the two Humphreys, William and Hannah, brought political caricature to the fore during the following decade. They were rivalled, and then surpassed, by Samuel Fores (established in 1784), whose supremacy lasted until 1794, when Miss Hannah Humphrey came to monopolize the output of Gillray. Among other big publishers we must single out William Holland, a man of pronounced radical sympathies, and Thomas Tegg, who specialized (from about 1807) in the cheap reprint. These caricature shops were an institution, and their windows were the picture galleries of the public (12-4). "They were 'lounges,' their owners were characters. The morning routine of a man of fashion, according to a German visitor of 1803, included a visit to Tattersall's and to the caricature shops to see the latest caricatures." From about 1784–94 Fores and Holland held caricature exhibitions, entrance one shilling (cf. the imprint to 12-8). Fores, like other print-seller/publishers, also advertised "Folios of caricatures lent out for the evening" (at 2s 6d a time); he arranged prints for pasting on screens; he sold scrapbooks and bound volumes of caricatures, enjoyed wholesale and export sales, to France and Germany.[4] Caricaturists became famous; the names of Bunbury and Gillray were on everyone's lips, and a new Gillray etching provoked an "indescribable enthusiasm. . .a veritable madness. You have to make your way through the crowd with your fists. . ."[5]

3. The B. M. *Satires* Catalogue (which is far from complete) has 7,139 entries for the years 1784–1819.

4. George, H. to C., p. 57, and George, E.P.C. I, p. 175–76.
5. Quoted by Ashbee, p. 47.

12–4. Richard Newton. *Holland's Exhibition Room* (c. 1795).





12–5. Henry Bunbury. *A Long Minuet as danced at Bath* (1787).

2. *Bunbury and the Bunburian strip*

"The lovers of humour were inconsolable for the loss of Hogarth, but from his ashes a number of sportive genuises have sprung up. Bunbury . . . Nixon . . . Rowlandson etc. etc. . . . have created a new uncommon style, which though it may fall under the rigid frown of the austere virtuoso, who can relish nothing that is not of the Roman school, will still make the sons of mirth and good humour laugh, in spite of the dictatorial fiats of the dilettanti."[6]

The role of the amateur is primordial in the history of English caricature, and particularly in this period when the moral narrative album becomes the comic strip. At first, the amateurs practiced the art in private; then, in the heyday of broadsheet caricature, they provided the professionals with ideas and finished drawings. They sometimes even etched themselves. The "great age" of caricature is the product of a close and complex collaboration between artist and public, between the professional etcher and the political intriguer, whereby it is impossible to say exactly where the role of the one begins and that of the other ends.

In the 1750s it was a noble amateur, Marquess Townshend, who became the best known caricaturist, through his drawings of political figures. His place was taken in the 1770s and '80s by another noble amateur, Henry Bunbury, who led the field in social caricature. The younger son of a baronet with close connections at court, he became equerry to the Duke of York and enjoyed the friendship of such cultural eminences as Samuel Johnson, David Garrick and Sir Joshua Reynolds, who painted some well-known portraits of his family. Bunbury was a dilettante in all the arts, but made a specialty of caricature on horsemanship, publishing books of humorous advice on the subject. He never attempted political caricature and preferred the comic to the satiric. His reputation was such that his publishers often proudly added to the address in the publication line "where may be had all the works of Mr. Bunbury."

His most famous production was a strip design of extraordinary length (seven feet), called *The Long Minuet as Danced at Bath* (1787, 12-5), which he is shown holding in his portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence (12–6). The minuet was the most intricate and difficult of dances; Bath was the most fashionable of all resorts, to which there flocked the *nouveaux-riches* and social climbers, the "impudent plebeians" who "hobble country dances and cotillions among the lordlings, squires, counsellors and clergy."[7] Bunbury seized with lightning brilliance various attitudes expressing degrees of awkwardness, naive enthusiasm, and even (above "danced") a sly grace. Male and female dancers are by no means uniformly ugly, but run the gamut of peculiarity in ex-

6. Slightly adapted from the *Hibernian Magazine* (May 1790), p. 385.

7. Smollett, *Humphrey Clinker* (1771), quoted by George, H. to C., p. 153.

12–7. Henry Bunbury. ***The Propagation of a Lie*** (1787).







pression and physiognomic type. Best of all, perhaps, are the two couples at the far end: the excessive bow of the man brings him below the height of his partner, who is so fat that one cannot tell if she is curtseying or not; and the other man, although standing upright, is dwarfed by a fair and stately partner, at whom he casts a complacent grin. Although lacking in narrative, the *Long Minuet* is important to us because it served as a model exercise in social caricature, creating a new range of comic types in the new style.

Bunbury followed up his success the same year with another slightly shorter (six feet) strip called *The Propagation of a Lie* (12-7). Eighteen persons stand in a row, reacting to a lie or scandalous rumor, with various shades of surprise, complacency, sorrow, horror and indifference. Once again there is deft characterization of face and attitude, and an amusing system of contrasts; but Bunbury makes no attempt to weld the figures into a narrative chain, or to suggest that the lie is truly being propagated from one hearer to the next. A commentary by the editor of the *Hibernian Magazine*, which copied the plates without acknowledgment (Ireland did not respect Hogarth's Copyright Act), tries to make a continuous dialogue based upon Bunbury's figures ("Did you hear that Miss Biddy Boendoen has eloped with her father's footman?" "'Tis true," replied the friend...) but gives up the attempt at the fifth figure, thereafter merely reproducing Bunbury's own inscriptions.

12–6. Sir Thomas Lawrence (after). *Portrait of Henry Bunbury* (c. 1788).





12–8. F. G. Byron. *The Prince's Bow* (1788).

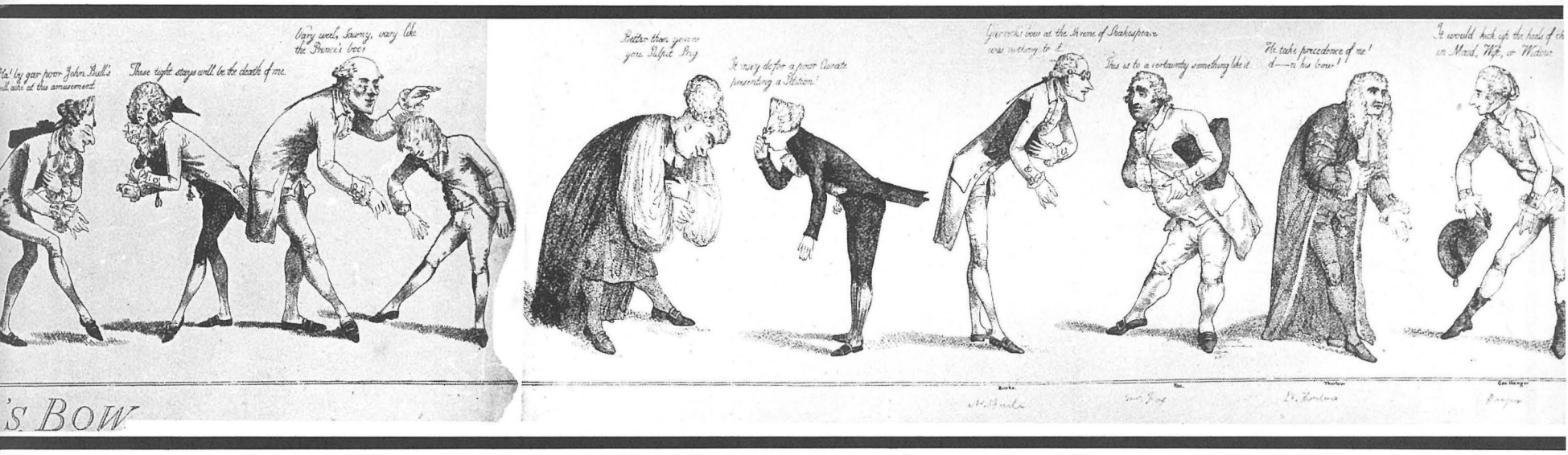
The *Long Minuet* and the *Lie*, the work of a prestigious amateur, were sufficient to start a minor fashion in long strips of single figures, which contributed much to ridding the broadsheet of cumbersome settings. The first Bunbury follower was an obscure semi-professional, George Byron (1764–1792), a distant relative of the poet,[8] who designed a print called *The Prince's Bow* (12-8). This is a comic analysis of various styles of bow, which was prompted partly by the graphic possibilities opened up by the *Long Minuet*, and partly by a real-life bow, a much-admired one executed by the Prince of Wales before the throne at the trial of Warren Hastings. Byron's bows are paired off and contrasted in the usual way, but they are more uncouth-looking and more exaggerated than Bunbury's. They are performed, moreover, by specific social types—imperious Jew, affected Frenchman, clumsy Scot, corsetted fop, fat bishop, poor curate—as well as by some actual political figures, such as Burke and Fox (fourth and third from right). The latter are true, instantly recognizable portrait caricatures, for no longer was it necessary to draw the brush and head of a fox in order to designate the great opposition leader. The *Hibernian Magazine*[9] immediately copied the print, adding a commentary which tries to weld the figures together in a kind of social geology, and describes the progress of a bow from the kitchen boy's up to the king's. Even Gillray was touched by the fashion for the long strip;[10] and Rowlandson paid homage to Bunbury in a political satire named (in irony) *Propagation of a Truth* (= Lie) and a six-foot *School for Scandal*.[11] *The Hibernian Magazine* reproduced a Bunburian dance (by Nixon?) with a political twist, called *The General Election, or a new Country Dance*, which was continued from one issue to the next.[12]

None of these is narrative. It was George Moutard Woodward ("Mustard George" to his friends), an untrained artist and at this time only an occasional caricaturist,[13] who lent narrative structure to Bunbury's series of comic figures. Woodward first made his mark as the analyst of physiognomic transformation with an amusing six-part sequence depicting the *Symptoms of Drunkenness*, in the various stages from "High Spirits" to "Drunk as a Lord";[14] this seems to have inspired his etcher, Thomas Rowlandson, to execute a strip called *6 Stages in Mending a Face*, which shows an aging socialite artificially transforming herself into a pretty young woman. The pendant is called *6 Stages in Marring a Face*, in which the features of the pugilist Duke of Hamilton become progressively bruised out of recognition.[15]

Woodward's first truly narrative sequence dates from 1791, and under the title *The Clerical Exercise* (12-9) depicts the gradual rise of the undergraduate to a bishopric. For cheapness, and as a matter of practical convenience, Woodward (or his etcher, F.G. Byron) has arranged his figures in three rows on one plate, rather than strung horizontally across several plates glued together. He has acquired Bunbury's method of seizing, in a few lines, the essential contour and the characteristic stance of a figure. The attitudes are rather muted, but the heads constitute a fascinating study in physiognomic evolution. Being narrative, Woodward's print has become a true satire—on clerical ambition, ecclesiastical corruption, and the iniquity of the patronage system. Earlier caricaturists had made simple contrasts between the poor curate and the multi-beneficed parson,[16] and the image of the gross, arrogant bishop was a stock-in-trade of the satirist. Woodward goes further, tracing the twenty-eight stages of a typical ecclesiastical career, which oscillates between the fawning gesture and the artful cultivation of the social graces.

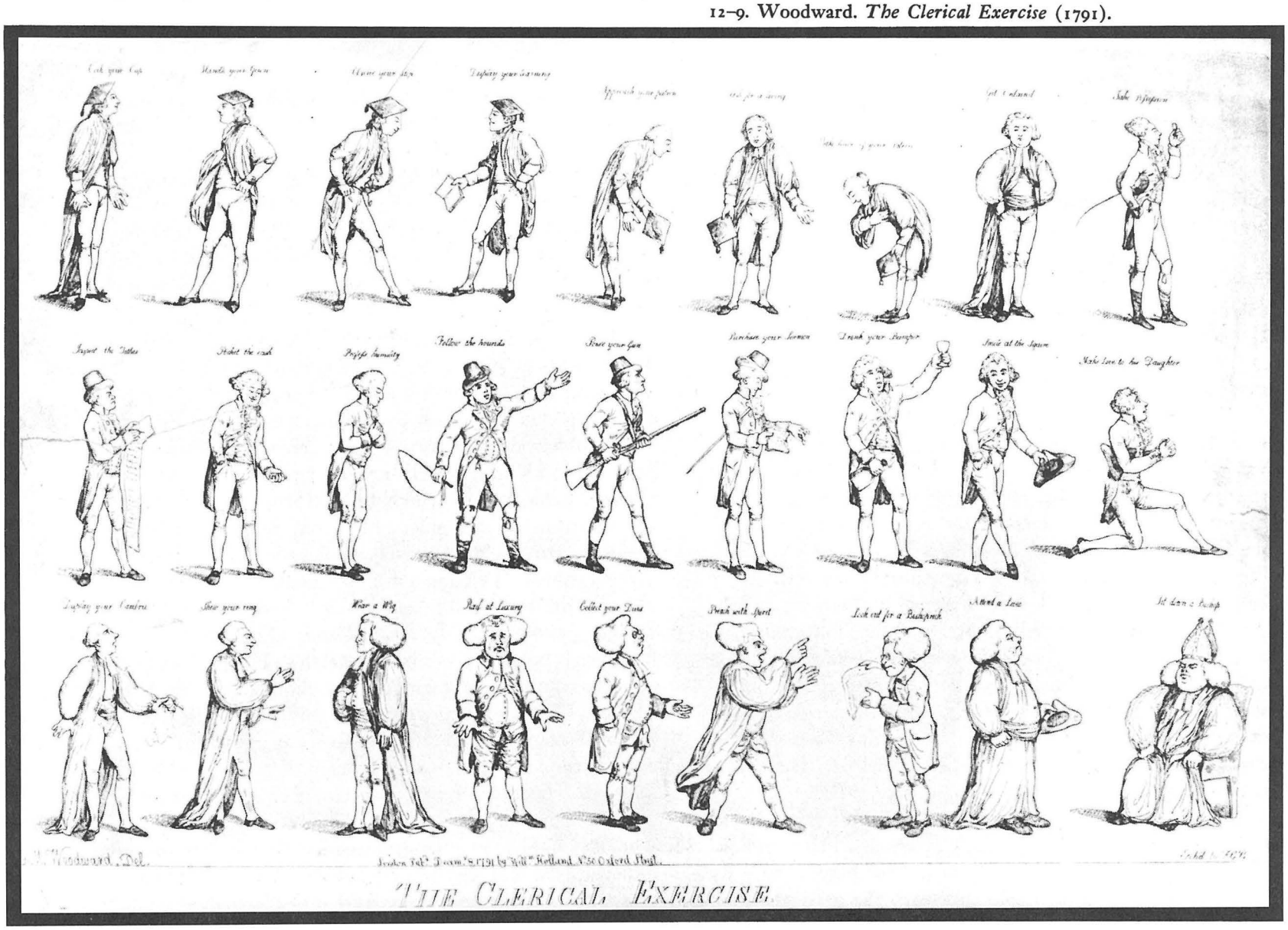
Woodward did not follow up his novelty; the next step in the development of the comic strip is taken by another amateur, John Nixon, who held an important position in the Bank of England and occasionally exhibited social subjects at the Royal Academy. Although his signed caricatures are very few, he is remembered as one of those "sportive geniuses" working in the "new and uncommon style" (passage quoted p. 360 above). Under the title *Progress of Passion* (12-10), he imagines a chain of events whereby the anger of the Chancellor at his dismissal by the king is displaced through his entire household, via his wife who takes it out on the maid, via the maid to the cook, cook to footman, footman to butcher, butcher to dog, and dog to cat, which finally, by killing the mouse, "ends this long chain of noise and strife."

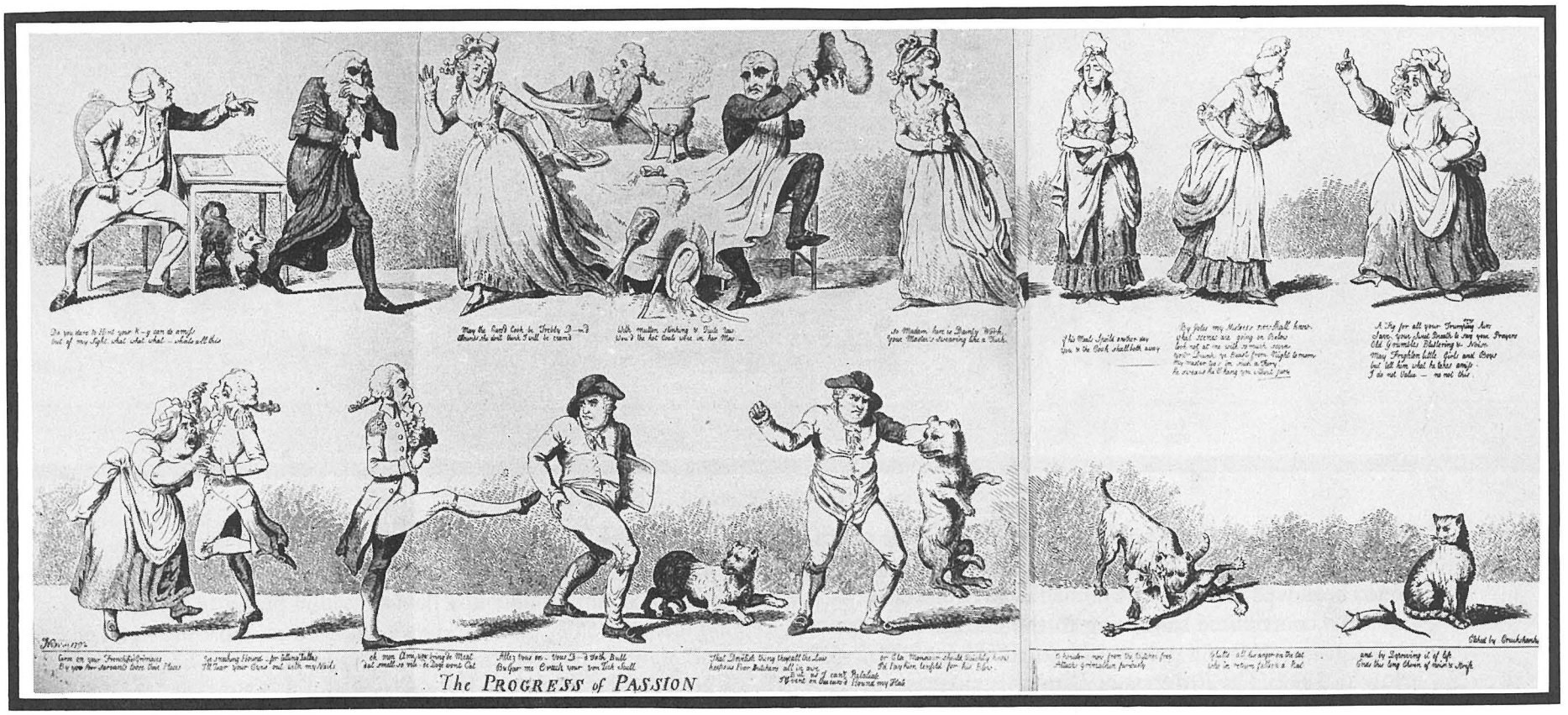
8. George, *Satires* Cat. VI, p. xxxiii.
9. For August 1788, p. 393.
10. *Installation Supper*, June 1788 (Sat. 7330).
11. January 12, 1789 (Sat. 7482, H. W. Wigstead inv.), and August 1, 1788 (Sat. 7440).
12. Sats. 7650, 7657, etc. (from June 1790 onward).
13. George, *Satires* Cat. VII, p. xlv.
14. Sats. 7771–76.
15. Sats. 8174–75.
16. Cf. George H. to C., p. 85.



A keen observer of Gillray, Nixon gives us hilarious caricatures of Thurlow, the Chancellor, his cook and his footman. He has been well served by his etcher Isaac Cruikshank, who may have contributed something to the narrative idea since he had just produced a political *House That Jack Built* (cf. below p. 383). The *Progress of Passion* is more than a century ahead of its time; the narration of the continuous displacement of an emotional reaction was not, as far as I know, explored pictorially until H.M. Bateman in our own century.

12–9. Woodward. *The Clerical Exercise* (1791).





12–10. John Nixon. *The Progress of Passion* (1792).

3. *Richard Newton*

At this moment another caricaturist, Richard Newton, made his début. At fourteen years of age he was already adept at political satire; at fifteen he published a Bunburian strip of sixteen figures reacting to the news of the British victory at Seringapatam, either joyfully because they believed it was true, or else in disappointment because they had heard it was false (12-11). (The news was discredited in the newspaper report of May 17, 1792; Newton's etching was in the shops by the following day.) Chancellor Thurlow and King George are instantly recognizable, and look as ludicrous as the non-personal figures.

In February the following year (1793) Newton designed his first narrative under the title *Progress of a Player* (12-12). The theater had long been a target of the caricaturists; ranting actors, amorous actresses, greedy managers, and vain writers all come under fire. The provincial theater was the principal outlet for stage-struck apprentices; Newton himself was probably tempted, as was Gillray, and he ridicules such ambitions in his story of the strolling player. "Spouting Dick" persuades a doubtful country manager to cast him as Hamlet, but he is frightened by the Ghost in the play. He pursues his career off-stage in the squire's kitchen, and eventually makes his painful way to London, where his Othello is panned by the critics. With calculated inconclusiveness, Newton leaves his hero standing in perplexity at a crossroads. The artist has revived the settings, but sketches them lightly, and eschews significant accessory. The accent is upon the figures and faces, in all their absurdity.

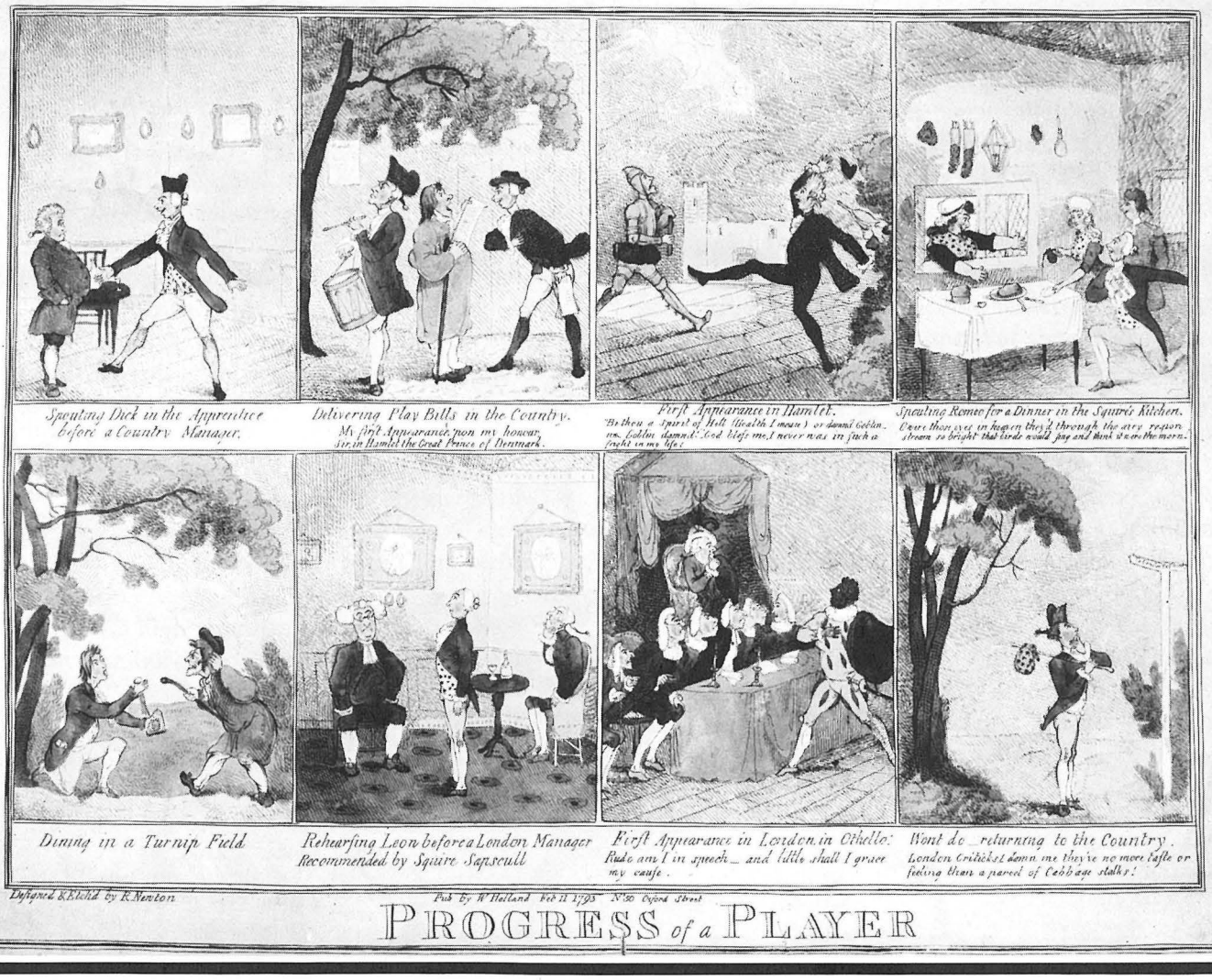
Settings disappear altogether in Newton's next narratives. *The Progress of a Scotsman*, 1794 (12-13) is reminiscent of Woodward's *Clerical Exercise*. The miseries of early life, the self-abasement before superiors, the gradual rise to the arrogant exercise of power—this is the whole process of political and social climbing, of which the emigré Scot was frequently accused. The treatment is altogether more farcical than that of Woodward's parson, and the variation of expresssion within the single physiognomy is something of a *tour-de-force* on the part of the sixteen-year-old artist. The rapid switching of roles characteristic of the social climber is succinctly conveyed in the pair of figures (bottom left), where the Scotsman appears about to horsewhip his own obsequiously kneeling person.

The companion print, the *Progress of an Irishman* (12-14), evokes the volatile character of that nation. The change in roles is now to be taken literally: from a potato-eating ragamuffin, the boy becomes successively priest, lover, actor, soldier, deserter, master-gambler, and the gallant who fights over his mistress. His incipient rakishness is belied by the charitable action which he performs and which contributes to his imprisonment for debt. He is released by his former mistresses, marries well, rejoins the army as an officer, and gets himself killed in a drunken duel.

In August of the same year Newton etched *A Lesson for Spendthrifts by Dr. Johnson* (12-15). The lesson however is not Johnson's but Hogarth's. The distinct genre-scene has returned, and with it the traditional panoply of rakish sins. The ending, however, is significantly different: the prodigal rejects mother and guardian, and in the final, uncaptioned scene, seeks a romantic death in the river. With its conscious reminiscences of Hogarth, Newton seems deliberately to invite comparison between the old style and the new. The ugly has become the grotesque, the vicious has become ludicrous, comedy has become farce. Yet the farce ends in a tragedy as moving, in its way, as that of Hogarth.

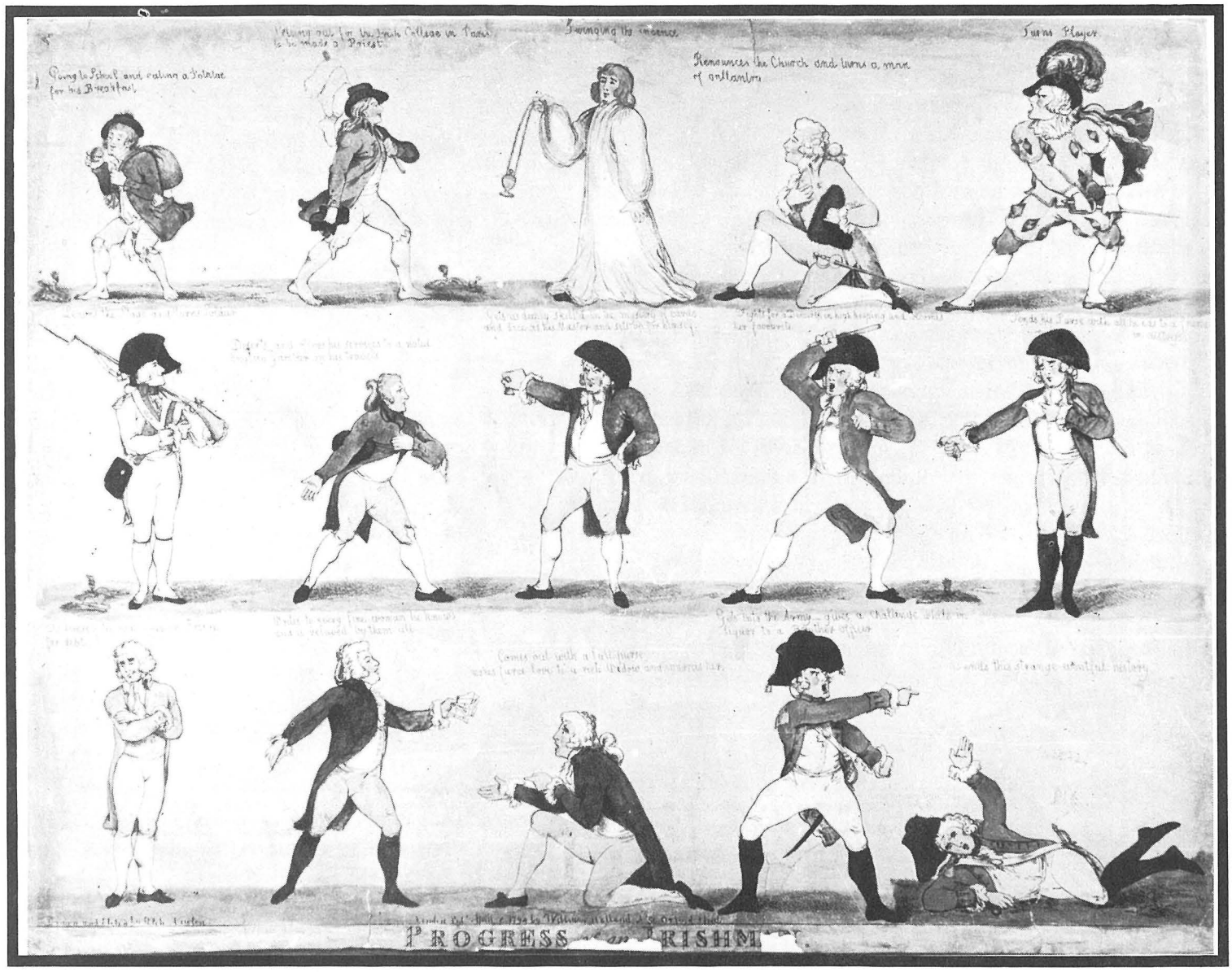


12–11. Richard Newton. *Wonderful News from Seringapatam* (1792).



12–12. Richard Newton. *Progress of a Player* (1793).


On a Journey to London
Goes to be a Noldsman / Porter: wont take in a Petition without a Shilling fee
Insults his Master when he knows he cant return the money
Goes to be Steward. Lards his Master for his pains
Rules the Roast in the Family and Horse whips the Servants
Makes love to a rich Widow and Marries her.
An Essay to be a Member of Parliament making a Speech from the Hustings
Goes into the House and assumes an air of importance.
Thus ends this strange eventful History.
PROGRESS of a SCOTSMAN.


Turns Player
Renounces the Church and turns a man of gallantry
PROGRESS of a PRISHM



12–15. Richard Newton. *A Lesson for Spendthrifts* (1794).

Newton's final "progress" (published two months later) is called simply *The Life of Man* (12-16) and enlarges the theme of the *Spendthrift* to embrace life from infancy to death in middle age. With twice as many episodes, stretched over two sheets, the artist has struck a compromise between the Bunburian "cut-out" figure, and the framed genre-scene with background. The child is tyrannized by teachers, and as a youth falls prey to the usual temptations. He marries a wife who ruins him financially and morally, and after seven years in a debtor's prison, he joins the army. His heroism goes unrewarded, and he returns as destitute as ever to find his family totally impoverished (the mother having abandoned it long ago). Generous toward others, he is himself arrested for debt; he dies in a debtor's prison, with only his children to comfort him.

The subsidiary figures—teachers, university proctor, physician, nightwatchman, Jew and Bailiff—all are caricatured to the most grotesque degree.[17] But the hero himself, like the Spendthrift, is rendered in a conventional, idealized way, as is his family. The hero stands for the long-suffering Englishman, bitterly disillusioned by the indecisive war with France (begun, with high hopes on the English side, the previous year), by the burden of taxes, bad harvests, and the repressive actions of the Pitt government. The artist's publisher, William Holland, had recently been imprisoned for a seditious pamphlet, and Newton himself became familiar with the inside of Newgate (whether as inmate or visitor) when he sketched the political prisoners there.

The freshness of Newton's line can best be gauged from his drawings, such as those for two episodes rejected from the *Life of Man* (12-17). With his death in 1798, at the age of twenty-one, caricature lost a dedicated professional with a comprehensive view of society. Newton had imbued the static, frivolous Bunburian strip with a serious moral purpose, which he cloaked behind ludicrous and grotesque effects. Had he lived, the history of the comic strip, as of the art of caricature itself, could well have been different.

By a strange coincidence, we find at this time a Hogarthian progress from the hand of a boy the same age as Newton, many thousand miles away. The boy was Washington Allston (1779–1843), an American who was to become the leading romantic painter in the land. As a student at Harvard he delighted in the weird and outrageous, and on the evening of November 10, 1796, knocked off three drawings which were evidently intended as the prelude to a longer sequence, called *The Buck's Progress* (12-18). The clumsy style is reminiscent of English caricature in the '60s and '70s, and one can only guess whether it was Newton, or Hogarth direct, who prompted the experiment.

17. It is almost as if Newton had tried to cross the Hogarthian "character" with the drawings of grotesque heads by Leonardo da Vinci, which were known to the eighteenth century in engravings.

12–13. Richard Newton. *Progress of a Scotsman* (1794).
12–14. Richard Newton. *Progress of an Irishman* (1794).



12–16. Richard Newton. *The Life of Man* (1794)



Is sent to College loves a pretty girl much better than Euclid



Arrives to mans estate and becomes a prey to Sharpers



Gets fond of his little family and his wife gets fond of his best friend and cuckolds him



Flies for relief to the Bottle and mends his condition



Is disbanded and wreck'd on his return home



On his return home finds his family eating a sorry meal in a garret



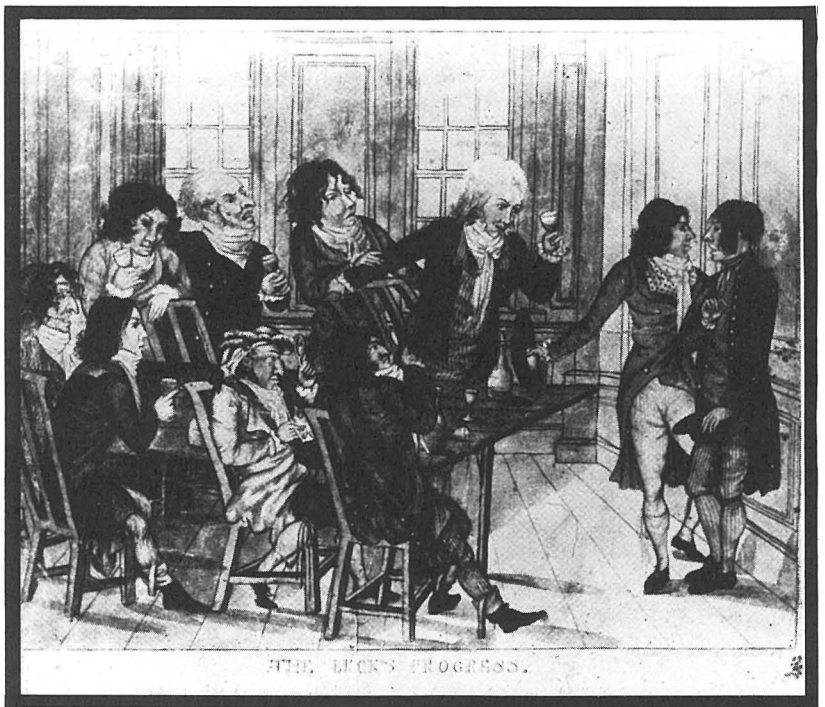
Is arrested by his Landlord for rent –



Terminates his miseries in a Prison



12–17. Richard Newton. Rejected drawings for the *Life of Man* (12–16). "His wife is arrested, he pays the debt and relieves her." "He pawns his sword to support his family" (1796).





12–18. Washington Allston. *The Buck's Progress* (1796). 1. The Introduction of a Country Lad to a click of Town Bucks. 2. (not illustrated) A Beau in his dressing-room. 3. Midnight Fray with a Watchman.



WHO'S AFRAID or the EFFECTS of an INVASION!!

12–19. George Woodward. *Who's Afraid or the Effects of an Invasion!!* (1796).

4. *Woodward, Holland, Elmes, Williams*

Starting in June 1794, George Woodward made a specialty of non-narrative strip designs in the spirit of Bunbury, which were usually etched by Isaac Cruikshank. Under the generic title of *Effects*, they depict eight comic ways of reacting to a single stimulus. They brought their author some reputation, earning him remembrance as "a man of exhaustless inventive genius" responsible for those "series of groups ...of truly dramatic excellence...entitled *Effects of Flattery*, *Effects of Hope*, etc."[18] There were also *Effects of Falsehood*, *Truth*, *Prosperity*, *Adversity*, *Bankruptcy*; *Symptoms of Divinity*, in the same style, constitutes a virulent attack on the sexual and other mores of the clergy. In a comparable political print Woodward visualized the various degrees and types of sluggishness in the Dutch preparing for the French invasion;[19] a companion print called *Who's Afraid* shows the various kinds of opposite reaction of the English people to the same threat (12-19). A pathetic tailor, a knock-kneed cobbler, a fake crippled gypsy, and real crippled soldier, a gambling hostess, a Billingsgate virago, a country yokel, a fop, a lawyer, a simple English boor—this is a kind of comic Dance of Death, in which the meaner elements of society resolve to defy the aggressor, each with the tools of his trade. Woodward is here satirizing not the idea of popular resistance, but rather the belief that a French invasion was imminent (the Channel was still controlled by the English navy); ultimately he is using this as a pretext for a general social broadside. On the occasion of the next invasion scare, in 1803, an obscure occasional caricaturist named West produced an amusing version of *Who's Afraid*, in which the satire relies purely on physiognomy (12-20).

18. Angelo, p. 433.

19. Sat. 8633 (year 1795). Cf. 13–14.



12–20. Temple West (?). *Resolutions in case of an Invasion!!* (1803).

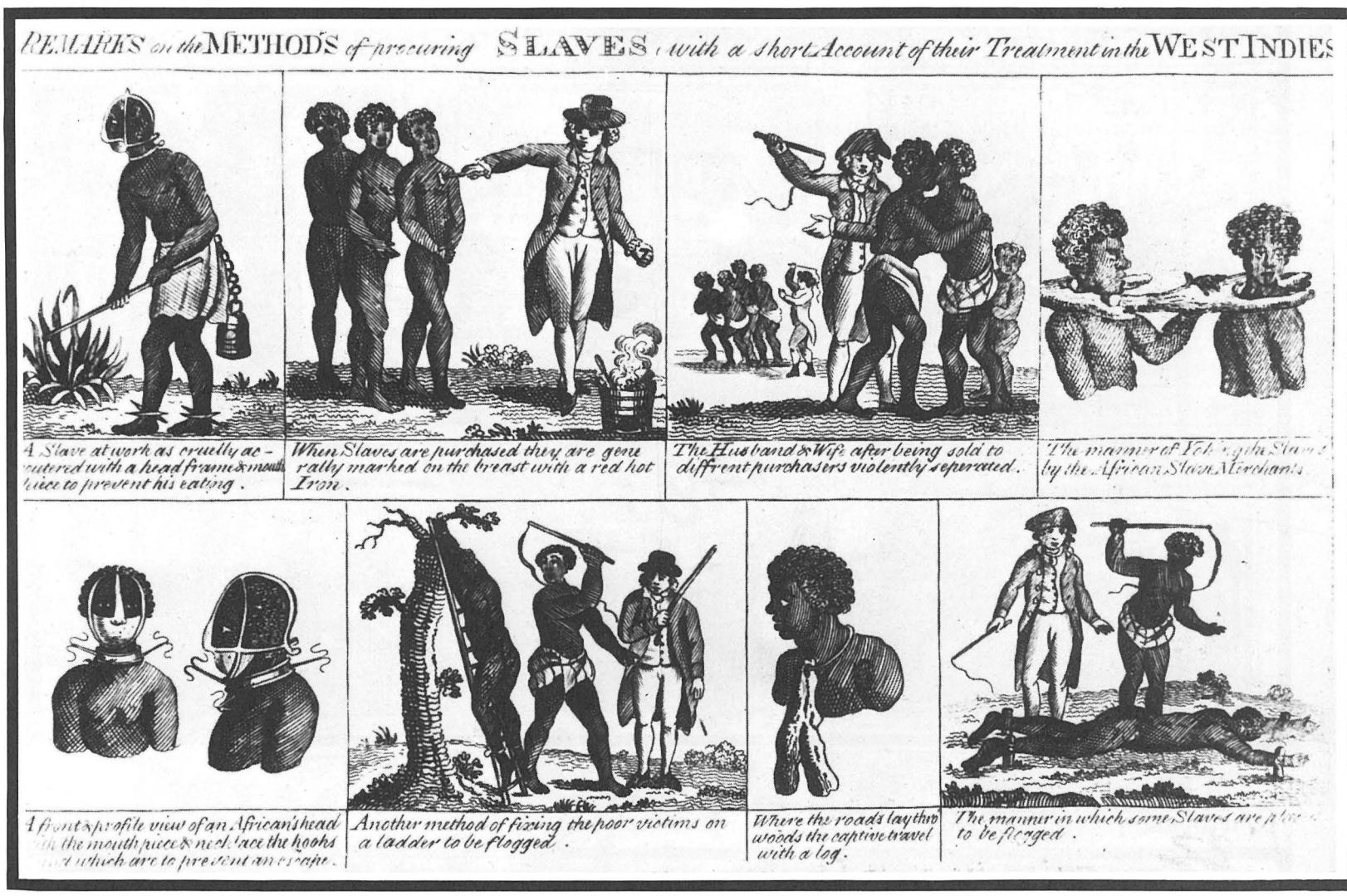
Apart from two political progresses (cf. below, p. 382), Woodward's only other contribution to the acclimatization of the strip form is contained in the curious sheets entitled *Pigmy Revels* (12-21), which were evidently designed to be pasted in rows around the edge of portable screens (the *Effects* may also have been cut up and used like this). The intention is purely to amuse, although traditional satirical motifs inevitably crop up (e.g., the flogger-preacher and the negro). The comic dwarf was of course no newcomer to the European broadsheet, but never had faces been distorted in so extreme and fanciful a fashion. They are the gargoyles of a rationalist age.

The campaign against slavery occupied artists and writers alike. William Collins engaged his friend Morland to contrast the natural benevolence of the negro toward the white, and the unnatural cruelty of the white toward the negro;[20] the documentary atrocity strip was revived (12-22).

20. *African Hospitality* and *Slave Trade*; one of the paintings was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1788; engravings published by J. R. Smith in 1791, by Morgan in 1814, and Citoyenne Rollet for the French market.

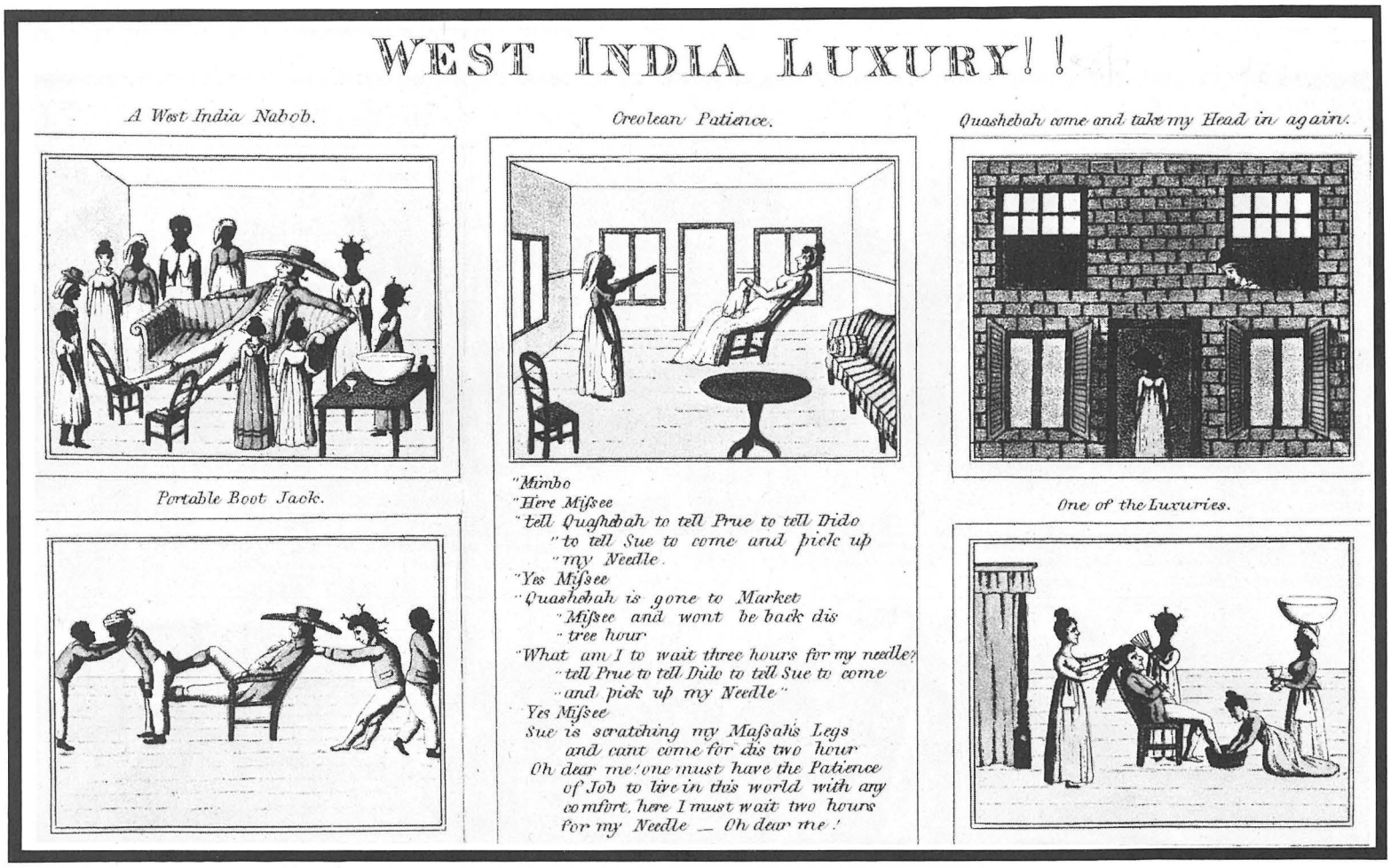
12–21. George Woodward. *Pigmy Revels* (c. 1800).



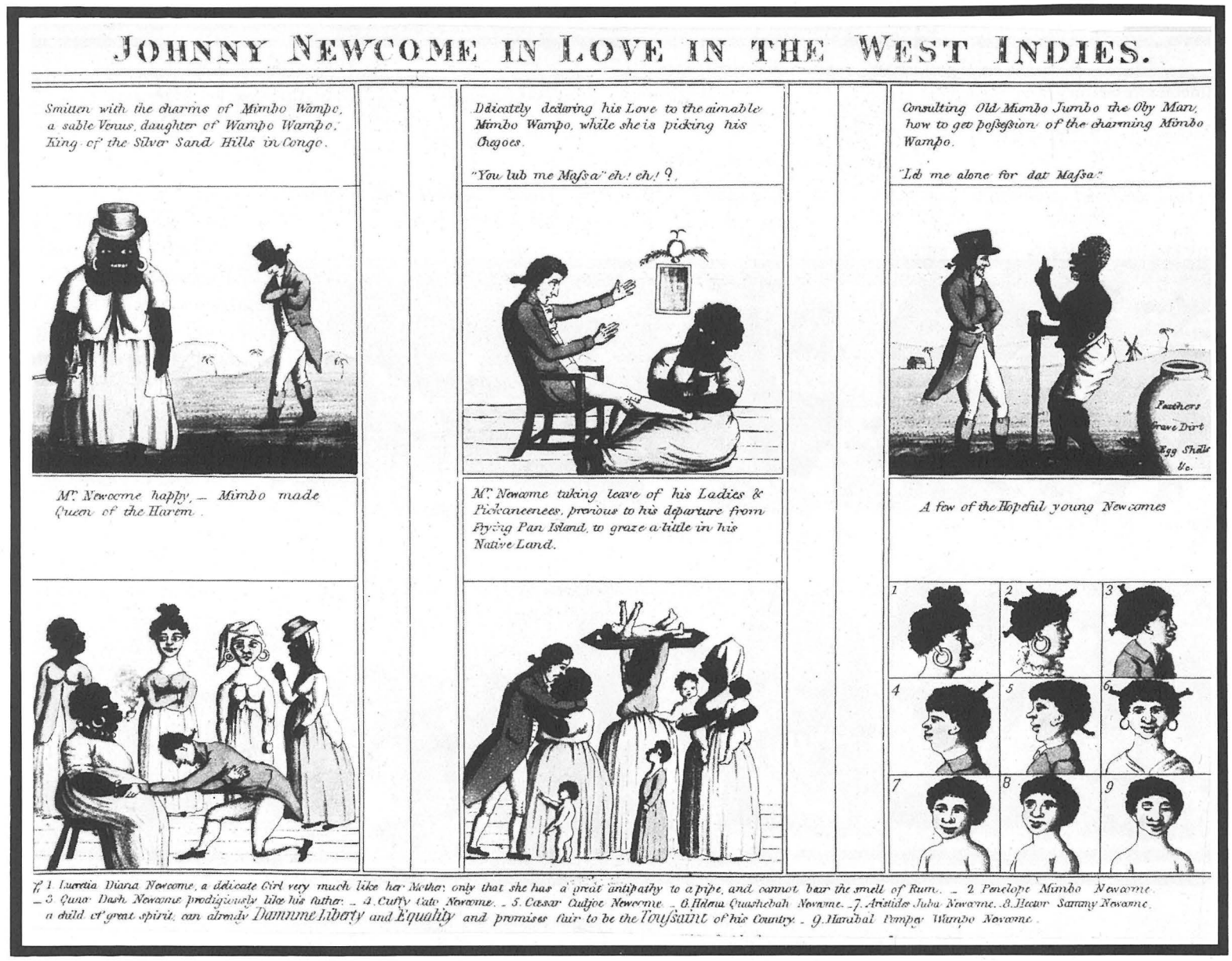


12–22. English. *Remarks on the Methods of procuring slaves* (early nineteenth century).





12–23a & b. William Holland (?). *West India Luxury* and *Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies* (1808).

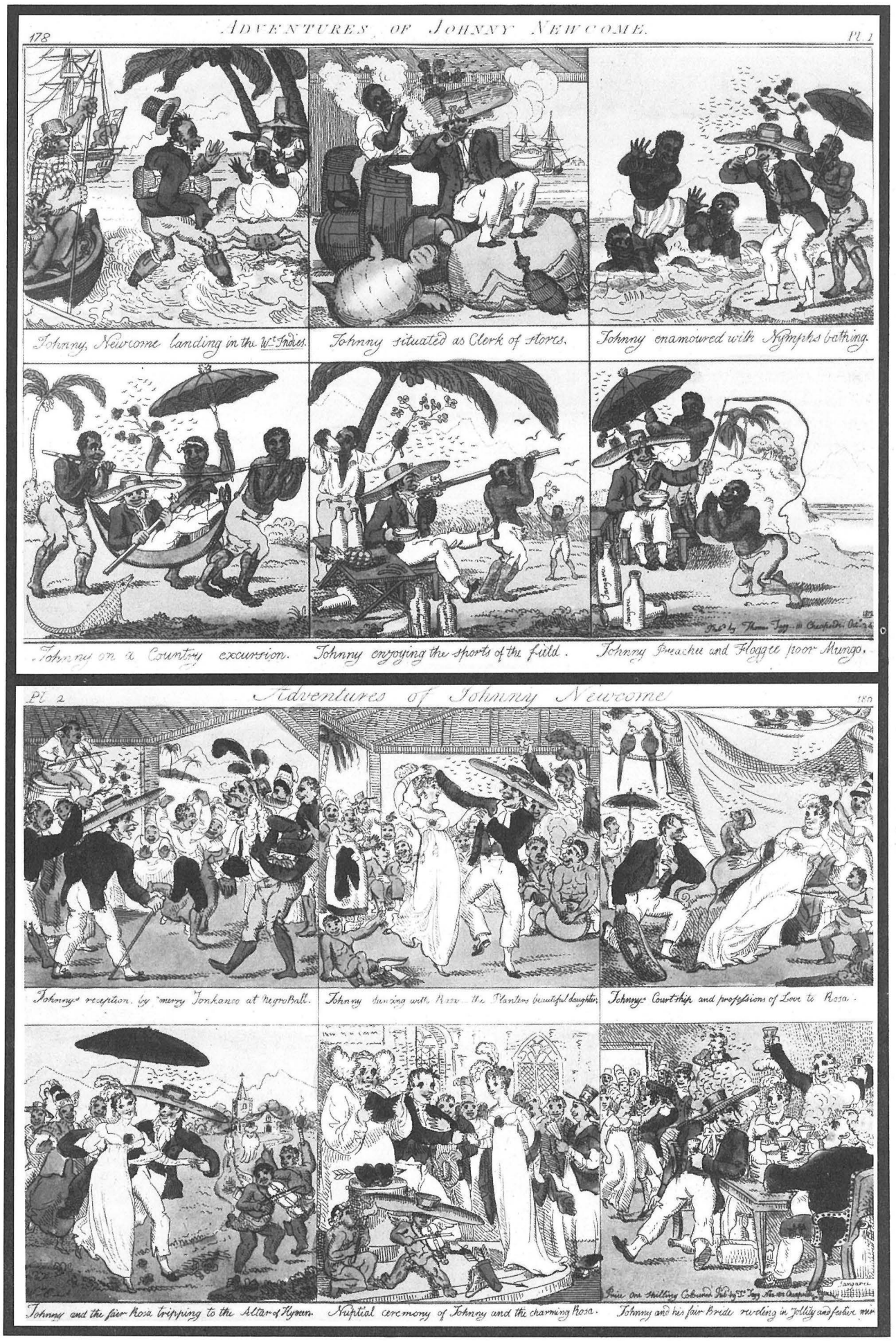


1. Lucretia Diana Newcome, a delicate Girl very much like her Mother; only that she has a great antipathy to a pipe, and cannot bear the smell of Rum. — 2. Penelope Mimbo Newcome. — 3. Quaw Dash Newcome prodigiously like his father. — 4. Cuffy Cato Newcome. — 5. Cæsar Cudjoe Newcome. — 6. Hilma Quashebah Newcome. — 7. Aristides Juba Newcome. — 8. Heaver Sammy Newcome, a child of great spirit, can already Damnme Liberty and Equality and promises fair to be the Toussaint of his Country. — 9. Hannibal Pompey Wampo Newcome.

An anti-slavery bill was finally passed in 1807, and the following year William Holland, the radical publisher of Woodward and Newton, produced an attack on colonial exploitation entitled *West India Luxury* (12-23 a). The design and etching are probably Holland's own, and primitive like the subject; the conception and the dialogue are not without a certain wit. In a companion print, also of his own workmanship, called *Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies* (12-23 b), Holland takes a more benevolent, wholly humorous view of colonial life, as he traces the white man's strange courtship of his "sable Venus" Mimbo Wampo.

Johnny Newcome, as the typical newly-arrived colonist, reappears in 1812, when there was renewed agitation to enforce the Act of 1807. We owe the *Adventures of Johnny Newcome* (12-24) to yet another obscure caricaturist, William Elmes, an amateur, occasional artist, perhaps a

12–24. William Elmes. *Adventures of Johnny Newcome* (1812).



sailor who had visited the West Indies.[21] He has a broad, naive, free manner, influenced by Rowlandson, and admirably suited to his unsophisticated subject matter. After a momentary scare on arrival, when he is greeted by a huge crab, all goes smoothly for Johnny. He is installed in the sinecure of clerk of stores, casts a lustful eye upon the local nymphs, and enjoys the field sports. Too idle to walk, he is carried on a litter; too idle even to stand, he lays the gun on the shoulder of a slave, as he pulls the trigger with one hand, and feeds himself with the other. The sixth scene illustrates the famous "Flogger-preacher" catch-phrase, which is fully transcribed in Woodward's *Pigmy Revels* (12-21). The eternal grin of the negro seems even to infect the whites. After the satirical first plate, the sequel is disappointing. Elmes' Johnny Newcome, less enterprising than Holland's, marries no sable Venus, but the planter's daughter, whom he meets at a ball given by the native potentate Merry Tonkanoo. The ceremonies of courtship and marriage differ from European custom only in the accessories—parrots, monkeys, negro cupids, and sangaree (sangria).

The royal family offered an inexhaustible butt for the satirists. The king was ridiculed for parsimony, his son for extravagance. The Prince of Wales was the caricaturist's gift. His love-life, gluttony and gambling had been an easy target ever since the late '80s, when Gillray first launched his venomous campaign (12-25). When the Prince became Regent, and his behavior a matter of the highest political concern, the attacks redoubled. During the first months of 1814 the caricaturists concentrated upon the defeat, abdication and exile of Napoleon; with the visit to London of Tsar Alexander in June, praise of the foreign victor over Napoleon could be combined with the perennial sport of baiting the English prince. Alexander and George offered a comparison between industry and idleness, between public-spirited virtue and private vice. Charles Williams, a very prolific caricaturist in these years, takes various stages in the typical day of each of the royal figures (12-26). The English prince wakens with a hangover and nightmares; the Russian Tsar rises briskly at six in order to go with his family to watch the soldiers drilling in the park. He continues afterwards to the docks in order to improve his knowledge of shipping. Prince George meanwhile, having risen at midday, skims a licentious novel while being tended by his hairdressers and tailors. The public cheers which follow the Tsar contrast with the groans which greet the Prince Regent. The Tsar writes his wife, the Prince his mistress. The Tsar worries about affairs of state, the Prince about his wig and stays. The one retires quietly to his straw mattress, after a frugal dinner, at eleven; the other reels gorged and drunken to his feather bed at four A.M.

The verses, which preceded the designs, open up graphic possibilities which Williams has ignored. The Prince Regent is barely caricatured at all. Once a disciple of Gillray, Williams is veering toward realistic illustration, and in so doing, reminds us that the great age of caricature is drawing to a close. To compare the Gillray etching (12-25) with Williams' seventh scene is to compare the Georgian with the Victorian epoch. While Hogarthian themes never die entirely, their stylistic transformation is such that we hardly recognize them (12-27).

21. Cf. George, *Satires* Cat. IX, p. liv.



12–25. James Gillray. *A Voluptuary* (The Prince of Wales) *under the horrors of Digestion* (1792).

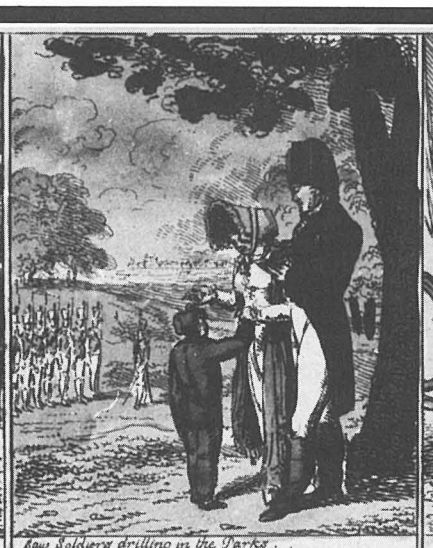
12–26. Charles Williams. *The Two Journals* (1814).



With gratefull recollections blest
I thank'd my God and sunk to rest.—
Slept like a top.— at nine arose
Shaved in a trice.— slipt on my cloathes,



Call'd up my sister and her son
And, walk'd with them to Kensington.—
Walking, (silence the surgeon hardens)
So trail'd quite round the ring and gardens



Saw Soldiers drilling in the Parks.
And, stopp'd to make my own remarks
Wither the tactics of this nation
Where worthy Russian imitation.



Return'd as hungry as a fox.
Off after breakfast to the docks,
Will.— introduce at home whatever
Seems in their conduct new and clever.



Surprised and pitied, the docks survey'd
Those mighty monuments of trade,
Where the proud God of commerce sits
Throned in his hundred palaces.



Took notes— set off— and thought to jog
Home to my own abode incog
But was discover'd on my road
And followed with a general shout



Wrote to my Wife,— sate down to dine
At two, and drank one glass of wine—
(Engaged to dine again at eight
Which I eat supping out in state.)



Transacted business till seven,
Dressed— supped— got home about eleven.
On a straw mattrass laid me down,
And slept till morn like any clown.

THE TWO JOURNALS. "Look here upon this picture— and on this,
Ham.t The counterfeit presentment of two brothers," Hamlet



Boozy and sick — with aching head
I rose at sleepless, on my sworn down bed;
Sunk toothless mourning in a dose,
When dreams of frightfull import rose.



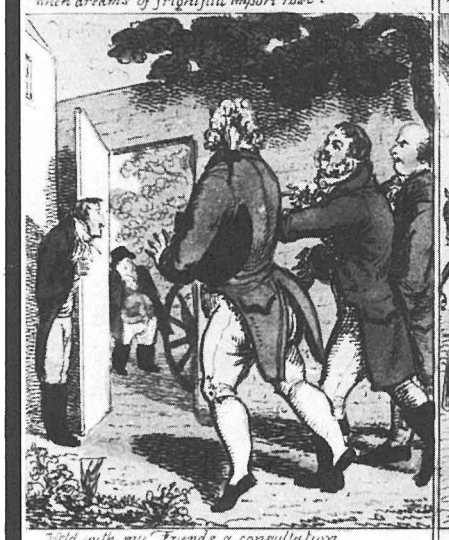
Methought my Wife, with looks benign,
Fix'd Her forgiving eyes on mine,
Ana strove with guilt drain sound to quell.
The direful wing progeny of hell.



At twelve awoke — rang for La Glorre —
Skimm'd a licentious French memoir —
Dress'd, for two hours before the glass,
With Schwartz — Antoine — Francois — La Place.



Brush'd by three — took chasse cafe —
Quelon's & and splendid all day —
Dressed at twenty-seven pockets
Of plain new for embroidering jackets; —



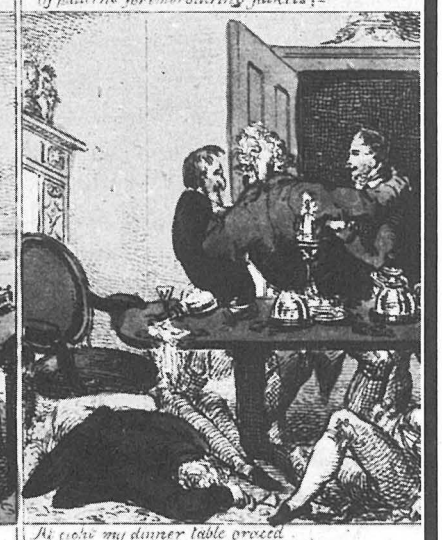
Held with my Friends a consultation
How to shun public observation.
By the back gate slip'd out — was known —
Saluted with a general groan —



From hissing mobs compell'd to drive,
Return'd full gallop — home by five —
Swore in revenge to spend my life
Cruelly in wills to my wife —

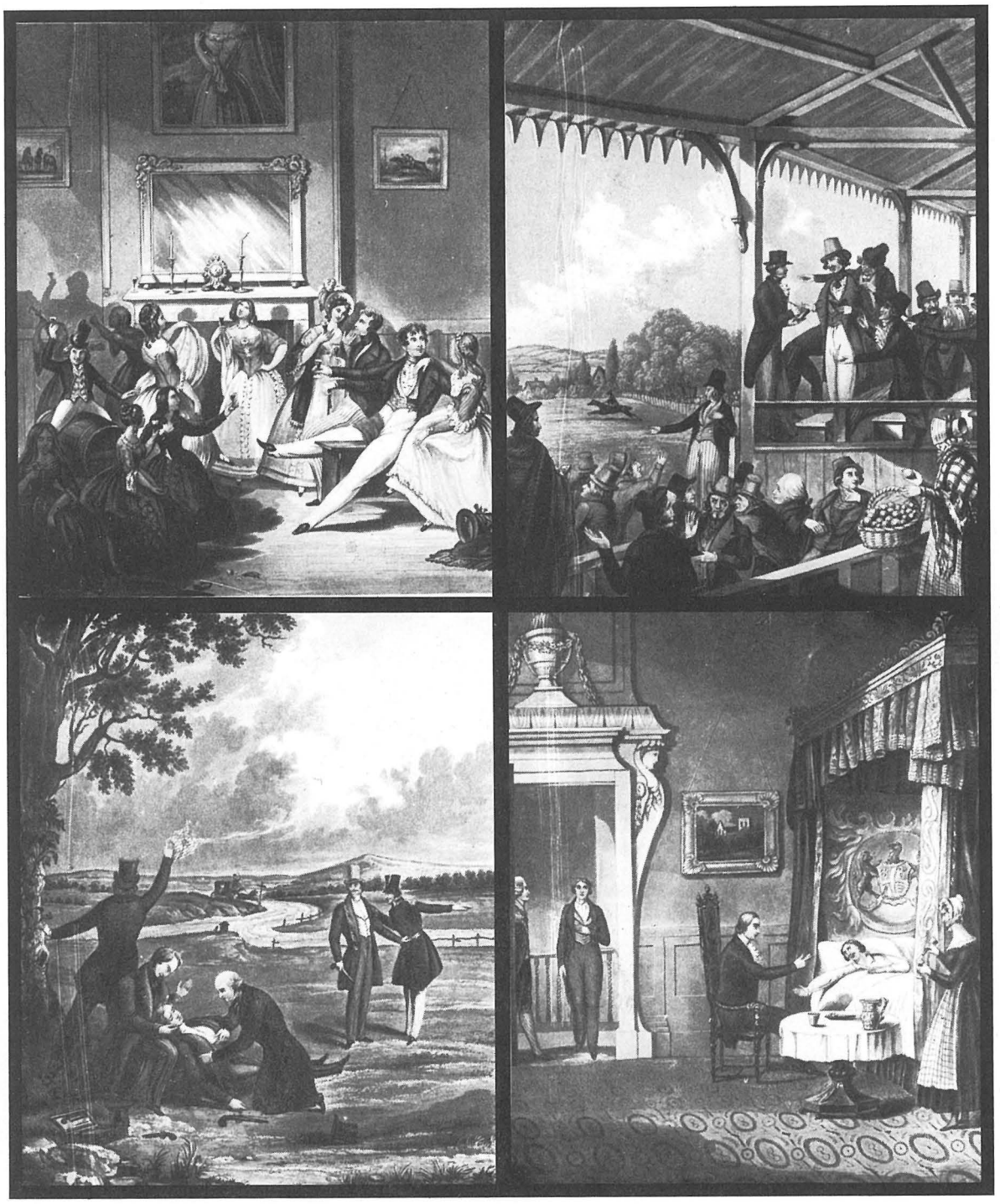


Worn with cares — deseur'd with spleen,
Yawned, grilled — cursed, paid drank between
Wrote to the square — got dressed, once more,
Now stay — new wig — new whiskers wore —



At eight my dinner table graced
With friends select — of kindred taste
Laughed, tal half went on the floor.
Then fled to bed — quite drunk — at four.

THE TWO JOURNALS. Journal II



12–27. English. *The Life of a Nobleman* 1. The Inheritance. 2. The First Party. 3. The Night House (illustrated). 4. The Betting Booth (illustrated). 5. The Gambling House. 6. The Usurer. 7. The Mess Room. 8. The Duel (illustrated; the Rake is the victor). 9. The Sick Room (illustrated). (c. 1830)

5. *The military progress; Napoleon, Gillray, etc.*

James Gillray, born in 1756, had been active both as a serious engraver and a caricaturist since the late 1770s. Some of his finest satirical etchings date from the '80s, but it was not until 1792, when his fame as a caricaturist was well-established, that he abandoned all hope for a career as a "serious" engraver and devoted himself exclusively to caricature. From that point the flow of satires continues uninterrupted until 1808, when his mental and physical health began to decline. Though Rowlandson is his rival in social caricature, no artist even approaches Gillray in political satire. Like his colleagues he kept a close watch on events in France, and in the first flush of popular enthusiasm for the Revolution, contrasted *France Freedom* with *Britain Slavery*,[22] an attack on the highhanded character of Pitt's government. By the end of 1792 however, the public mood had become hostile to the Republic; under the title *French Liberty, British Slavery* [23] Gillray revives Hogarth's emaciated Frenchman, contrasting him to the fat Englishman. The title is ironic, but the satire is double-edged, for the Frenchman seems happy despite his squalor, and the Englishman is bitter despite the plenty which surrounds him. Here lies the narrative seed of one of Gillray's best known etchings, *John Bull's Progress* (12-28).

On February 1, 1793, France declared war on England and her Dutch ally. The military campaign went well at first, but Gillray anticipates the future disillusionment by contrasting the blessings of peace with the horrors of war.

22. B. M. Sat. 7546 (July 28, 1789).

23. B. M. Sat. 8145 (December 21, 1792).

John Bull's Progress shows how the fat, prosperous English farmer is transformed into a cripple, and becomes thin and bedraggled like the stereotype of his enemy, the Frenchman. Having abandoned his idyllic home life by marching off to war, he returns to find his family destitute. He is woefully crippled, being punished worse for his patriotic folly than any rake for his sins. His family, idealized before, is caricatured in its distress; only the daughter preserves some of her grace, as she shrinks horrified into a corner.

The quality of absurdity in the work of Gillray is different from that of his contemporaries. His etching shows a sensitivity and sophistication which comes in part from his thorough training as draughtsman and engraver. He seldom falls into triviality like so many of his colleagues, especially the amateurs. Paradoxically, in his bitterest etchings Gillray evinces a certain sympathy—his creatures remain human beings even at their most ridiculous and monstrous. We have only to compare the bloated optimism and cavernous gloom

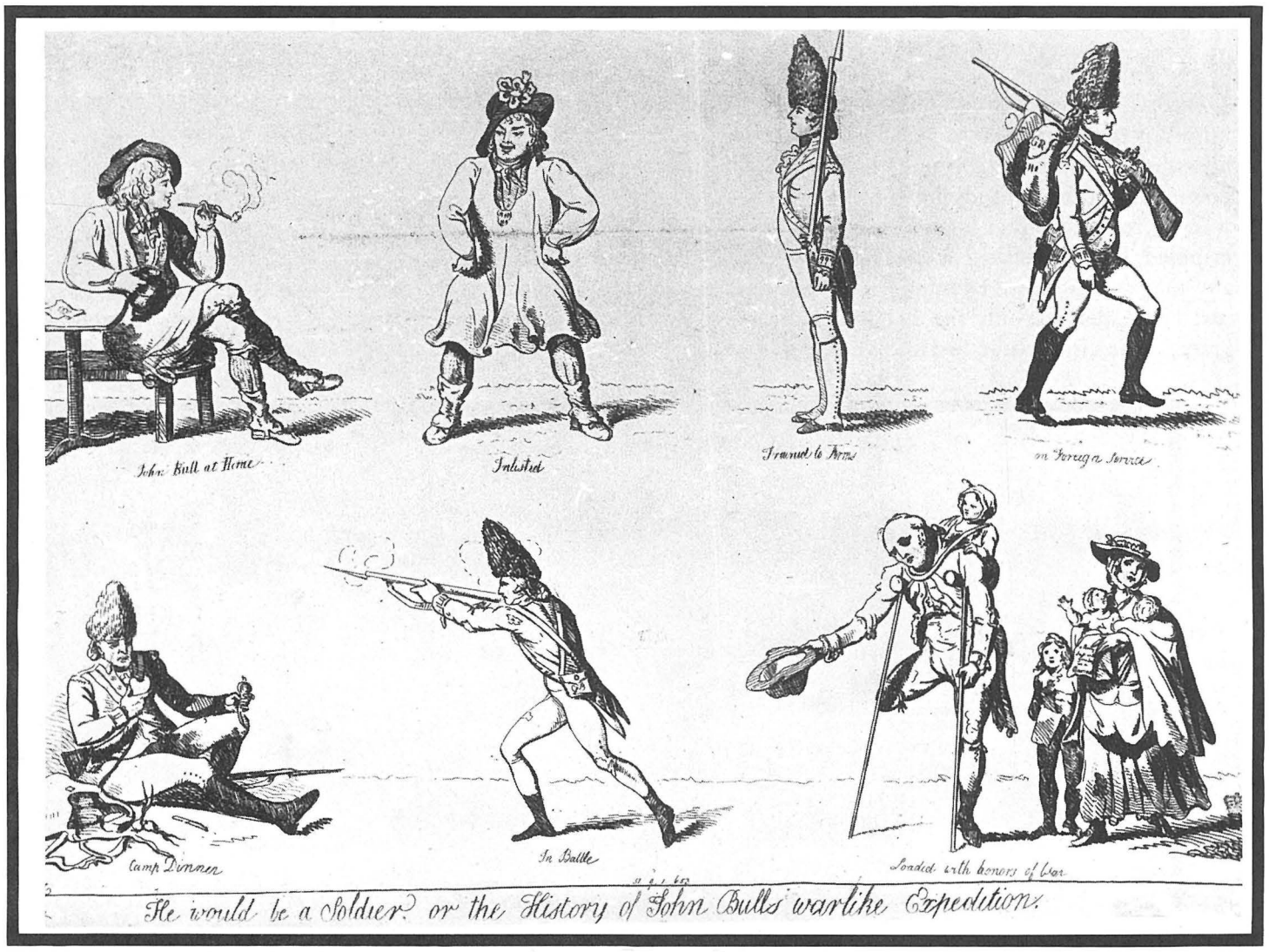


12–28. James Gillray. *John Bull's Progress* (1793).

on John Bull's face in scenes 2 and 4, with the corresponding stages in a similar *Progress* by Isaac Cruikshank (12-29), who was also a fully professional caricaturist (and father of the more famous George). Cruikshank has eliminated the settings (perhaps under the influence of Bunbury), and adds some stereotyped and largely superfluous figures from military life: only one, that of the soldier eating his wretched camp dinner of (French) leeks, contributes to the satire. Contrasts in military diet had been the subject of a savage lampoon by Gillray called *Fatigues of the Campaign in Flanders* (12–30), published just before his *John Bull's Progress*. In what may be a conscious, multiple reminiscence of Hogarth, Gillray shows the fat, drunken, lecherous officers (caricatures of the Duke of York and the Prince of Orange) served by emaciated foot-soldiers. Part of the satirist's opposition to war stemmed from the fact that the lower ranks were treated abominably, while the officer class lived in luxury even in the field. The bitter message of the caricatures could hardly be more different from that of Morland's *Deserter*.

The progress of peace to war, which was also that of prosperity to poverty, was made intermittently throughout the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars; even after the exile of Napoleon, when peace seemed assured, the economic depression provoked a tripartite etching by George Cruikshank called *John Bull's Three Stages, from Good to Bad and from Bad to Worse*.[24]

24. Sat. 12502 (1815).



12–29. Isaac Cruikshank. *He would be a Soldier or the History of John Bull's warlike Expedition* (1793).

12–30. James Gillray. *Fatigues of the Campaign in Flanders* (1793).



Meanwhile, opposition to war and political violence focused upon the metoric career of Napoleon. He had been noticed by caricaturists as early as 1797, but Gillray was the first to sense fully the threat represented by his success, which he consecrated in 1800 with a print ironically entitled *Democracy—or—a Sketch of the Life of Bonaparte* (12-31). The story opens with "Democratic Innocence," a hilarious libel (which Gillray probably did not believe himself) on the origins of the upstart in an impoverished family of pirates. The expression of "Democratic Humility" on the face of the sly nine-year-old, as he is introduced into the military academy, is a miniature marvel of the mixed physiognomy. His revolutionary intentions are symbolically indicated in the way the top of the picture cuts off the head of the royal portrait. Bonaparte shows his "Democratic Gratitude" by looting royalist property, and "Democratic Religion" by turning Turk in Cairo. With "Democratic Courage" he deserts his army in Egypt (a commonplace accusation at the time); he tyrannizes the Republic into making him First Consul, and finally appears in bed, haunted by the "Democratic Consolations" of ghosts thirsting for revenge.

Successful as *Democracy* appears to us, the artist evidently felt cramped by such small scale, and never returned to the strip design. Gillray was at his best in the single cartoon; even the alternative narrative format, the sequence of separate plates, seems to have been alien to his temperament, probably because it tended to make excessively documentary demands upon him. Two major programs of this kind aborted, into one of which he had invested considerable effort. In 1798, when the first invasion scare was at its height, Sir John Dalrymple, an admirer of Romeyn de Hooghe, engaged Gillray to depict in no less than twenty large plates *The Consequences of a Successful French Invasion* (sometimes referred to as the *Progress of French Invasion*). This was to be sold at a very cheap rate, subsidized by Sir John. Only four plates actually appeared, showing the French successively tyrannizing the House of Commons, the House of Lords, the English peasant, and the Irish Catholic church.[25] Disagreements over who should be included and how, and caricatured to what degree, together with financial difficulties and the political disappointment suffered by the patron, cut the project short.

In May 1801, the year following his *Life of Bonaparte*, Gillray was pressed to execute a larger sequence of Napoleonic crimes, but he turned the idea down: "I fear there will be very little room for Humour in the life of such a cut-throat. I very much fear that my illustrating his assassination might have a contrary effect than to excite horror."[26] Actually, the idea was premature; Napoleon was admired by many Englishmen, and not always adversely caricatured; besides, peace was in the offing. It was only with the resumption of the war in 1803 that the caricaturists really warmed to

25. Draper-Hill, Mr. G., Pls. 69–72, and pp. 73–80.
26. Quoted by Draper-Hill, Mr. G., p. 127.

12–31. James Gillray. *Democracy—or—a Sketch of the Life of Bonaparte* (1800).





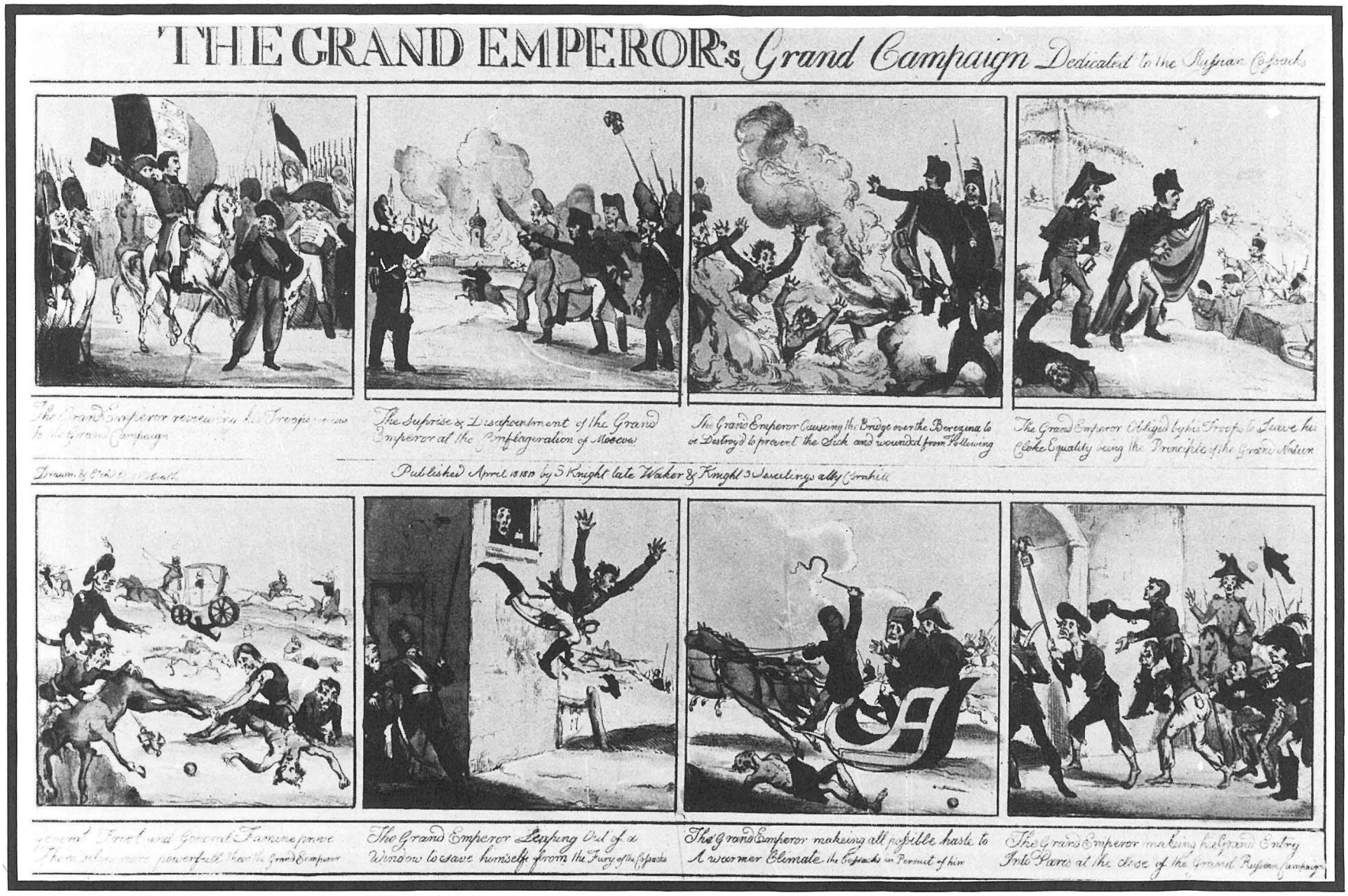
12–32a. George Woodward. *The Progress of the Emperor Napoleon* (1808).

their task, with 170 anti-Napoleon cartoons produced in that year alone.

The next attempt at biographical continuity was made by Woodward in 1808, in a characteristic strip of eight "cut-out" figures called the *Progress of the Emperor Napoleon* (12-32 a). They are unimaginatively distilled, for the most part, from Gillray's *Democracy*. The conqueror is moreover left secure upon his throne, rather than condemned to his doom as in Gillray. The companion etching (actually published some months before) on the *Progress of the Empress Josephine* (12-32 b) is more interesting, with its amusing transformations from the fat, plebeian planter's daughter,

12–32b. George Woodward. *The Progress of the Empress Josephine* (1808).





12–33. William Heath. *The Grand Emperor's Grand Campaign* (1813).

to the seductive Queen of Society, and back again, to the fat, plebeian Empress.

Gillray's insanity in 1810 left a number of lesser caricaturists eager to continue castigating Napoleon. The Emperor's military defeats of 1812–13 invited the depiction of real rather than imaginary punishments, a task undertaken by William Heath and Charles Williams. Heath is a mysterious figure, a fairly prolific artist active from 1810 onward, after George Cruikshank the leading caricaturist in the 1820s, and as "Paul Pry" famous for his mild caricatures of the Duke of Wellington.[27] In 1819 he signed a water-color "military and portrait-painter." Military illustration was certainly his mainstay, and he may himself have been an officer of dragoons. In *The Grand Emperor's Grand Campaign*, which treats the Russian expedition of 1812–13 (12-33), Heath contrasts the glorious departure with the miserable return, and in between, with scenes of tragi-comic gruesomeness, he recounts the punishment of the Emperor's crimes by the two invincible Russian generals who were frequently personified by the caricaturists at this time, General Frost and General Famine. The little Emperor petulantly stamps his foot at the burning of Moscow (English caricaturists loved to satirize Napoleon's quick temper), and has to jump out of the window to escape the Cossacks. There is the usual accusation of treachery and callousness toward his own men (3), and an interpolated satire on the principle of French democracy (4).

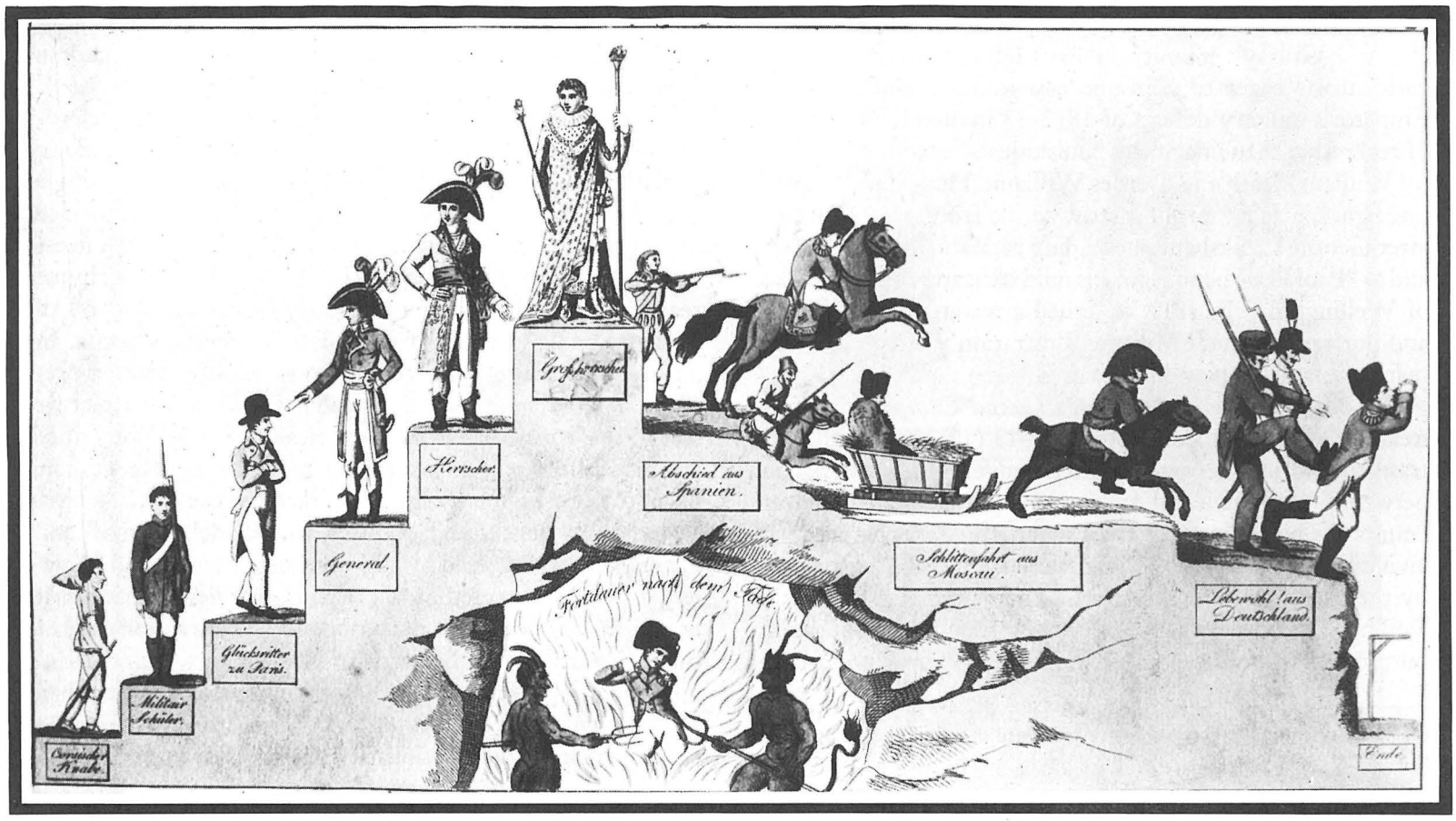
The battle of Leipzig, which took place in the November following the disastrous Russian campaign, is commemorated by Williams (12-34). He deals with only a single episode from the battle, Napoleon's order to blow up a bridge to prevent the enemy pursuit, which he recounts in the manner of "The House that Jack Built." This nursery rhyme readily lent itself to adaptation to political scandals of all sorts, particularly those of dubious or mysterious origin. In its illustrated form, however, it tends to suffer from a preponderance of text, and thus disqualifies itself as a picture story. Williams' version is more clear cut than most, since the narrative is carried by people rather than objects. The order to blow up the bridge passes through the military hierarchy, from miners and corporal to Colonel, Marshal and Emperor, who is cursed by the mourning widows and homeless, who are protected by the victorious allied monarchs. It is, incidentally, a curious reflection on the internationalism of the caricaturists that the battle of Leipzig, in which the English did not participate, made more impression at home than Wellington's great victory at Vittoria in Spain. There is no equivalent from the Pensinsular War to Heath's account of

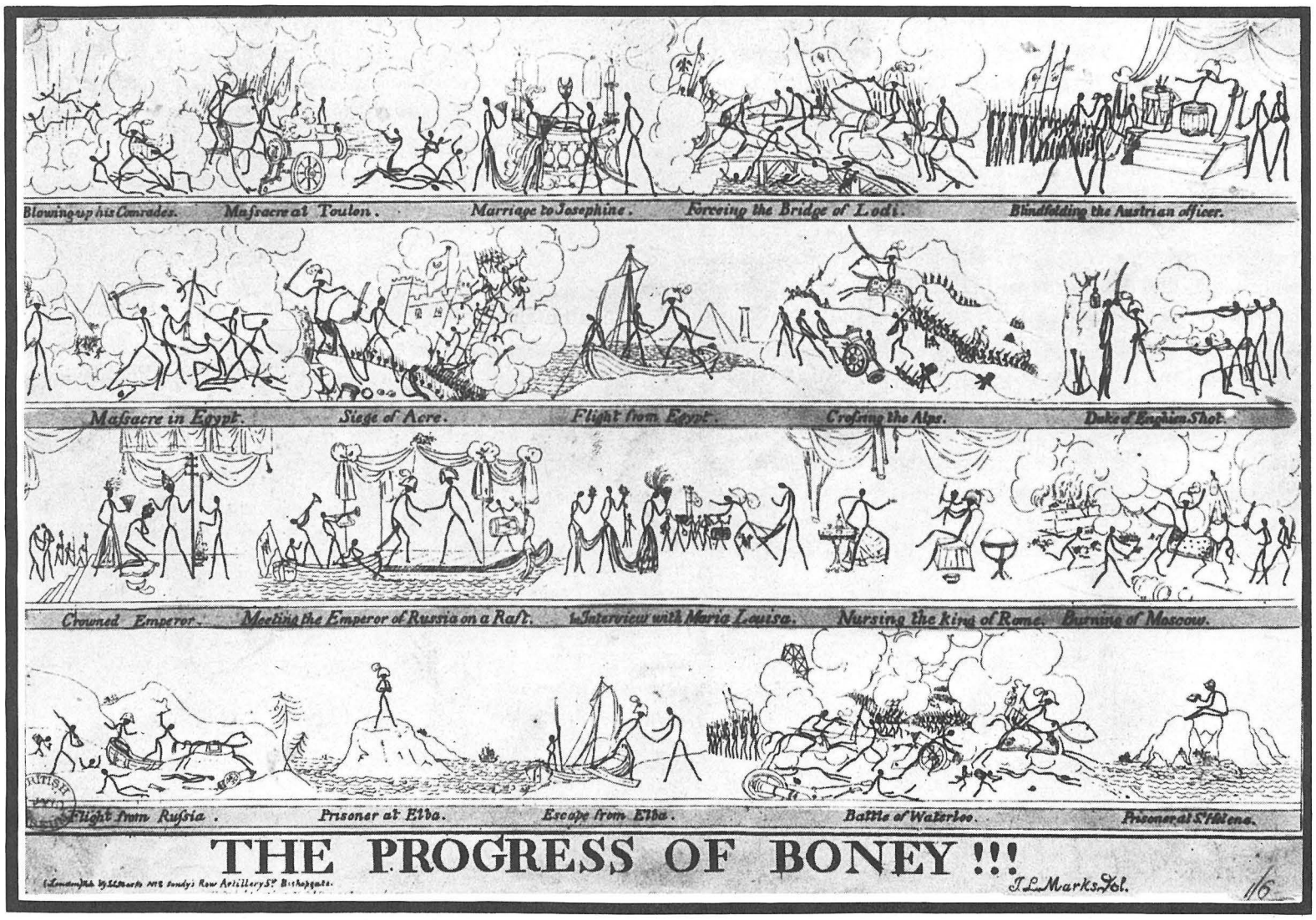
27. Many of these have been recently published in a monograph by Physick.



12–34. Charles Williams. *Bonaparte's Bridge* (1813).

12–35. German. *The Life of Napoleon* (1813/14).





12–36. Lewis Marks. *The Progress of Boney!!!* (1817?).

the Russian campaign; the Cossack seems to have excited more admiration than the English soldier.[28]

Between 1813 and 1815 the Germans, and then the French, added freely to the stock of anti-Napoleonic caricature. The Emperor became easily the most caricatured figure of the century.[29] Some German prints are extremely macabre, such as the famous one by Voltz showing the Emperor's profile constructed of corpses;[30] others are more philosophical, such as those which employ the ancient broadsheet device of the *Steps of Life* (12-35). In this instance Napoleon is not in the least caricatured, in fact he is idealized; but he is nonetheless consigned to hell, having been expelled successively from Spain, Russia, and Germany (the descending steps become broad ledges in order to accomodate the more realistic conception of the defeats). Another broadsheet device, the satirical coat-of-arms, was given a narrative twist against Napoleon whose crimes were emblazoned on the various armorial fields.[31]

It was George Cruikshank who took over Gillray's role as persecutor-in-chief of Napoleon. Born in 1792, he had been helping his father Isaac since he was a small boy. By 1815 he was quite independent, and in that year devoted thirty plates to the life, crimes and humiliations of the Emperor. These spirited designs must however be regarded as subordinate to the text for which they were made.[32] A follower of Cruikshank called Lewis Marks took his themes, and reduced the figures to pin-men in a comic strip entitled *Progress of Boney*!!! (12-36). This startlingly modern-looking technique seems to have been invented by Woodward (who had died in 1809) to depict acrobatic feats; it was used on one occasion by Cruikshank himself who claims to have published the experiment "for the assistance of young draftsmen." The date of Marks' print is around 1817; the once terrible Boney, now exiled to St. Helena, has been reduced to a comic automaton.

The Napoleonic wars and the return of so many

28. Cf. George, E.P.C. II, p. 144.

29. Cf. Draper-Hill, Mr. G., p. 124 and the monographs of Broadley and Grand-Carteret.

30. The battle of Leipzig alone is estimated to have caused over 60,000 casualties, including 23,000 on the French side. When Metternich commented on Napoleon's wastage of human life, the Emperor made a reply which continues to be ignored by the majority of historians who obstinately regard him as some kind of benefactor of mankind: "A man like me doesn't give a damn for the life of a million men" (André Castelot, *Napoléon*, 1968, p. 537).

31. Williams in 1804, George Cruikshank in 1807, 1808, 1814 and 1819.

32. *Life of Napoleon, A Hudibrastick Poem in 15 Cantos*, by Doctor Syntax (i.e. William Combe), 1815; plates–B. M. *Sat.* 12454–83.

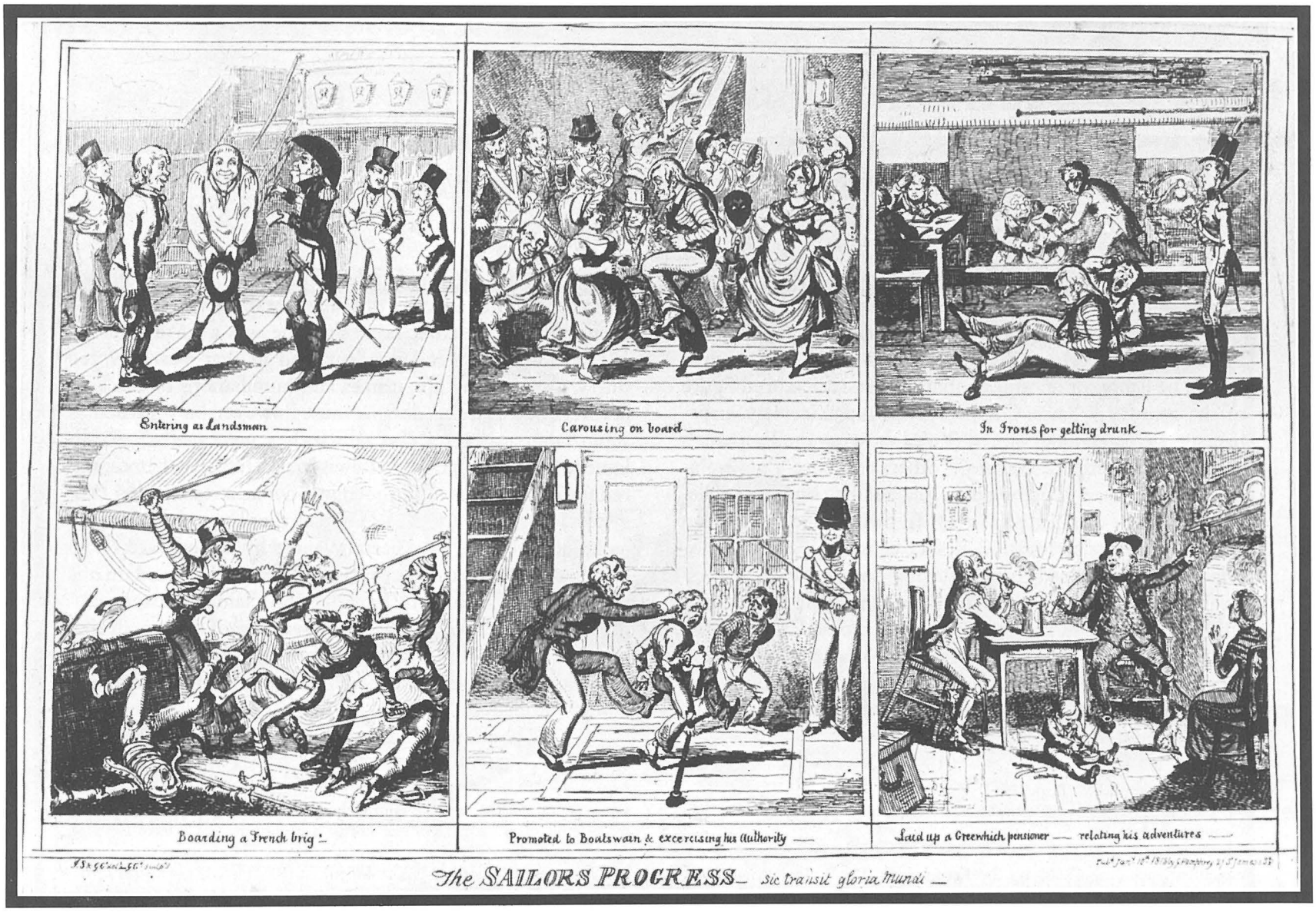
disbanded soldiers and sailors focused public attention on the conditions of service life. In 1815 Rowlandson illustrated a book entitled *Military Adventures of Johnny Newcome* by Lt. Col. David Roberts, and three years later its naval counterpart, the *Adventures of Johnny Newcome in the Navy* by J. Mitford. The former is a picaresque novel, the latter a satire which ends with the hero leaving the service in disgust. Under the stimulus of the Rowlandson illustrations, and with the guidance of a naval officer, George Cruikshank etched a strip called the *Sailor's Progress* (12–37) which recounts the humorous, raffish side of naval life. There are petty crimes, petty punishments, and petty tyrannies; the sailor's heroism is rewarded with a small promotion (small, because he is not a gentleman), and he ends a crippled pensioner at Greenwich hospital, garrulously telling his adventures.

Another naval officer, Capt. Frederick Marryat, who was to become a best-selling spinner of naval yarns, engaged Cruikshank to improve upon his strip by enlarging it into a dozen or so medium-sized plates, and treating the subject satirically rather than humorously (12-38). The theme, based upon his own experience at sea, is Marryat's; the designs are also his, unfortunately. The more nautical the composition, the less there is of Cruikshank, and we miss the finely wrought linear rhythms characteristic of young Cruikshank in his heyday; only the faces manage to amuse throughout. After an allegorical frontispiece depicting the action of Fortune and the struggle for promotion, *Progress of a Midshipman* opens with a review of all the miscellaneous equipment necessary to the long voyage. The midshipman is a mere child, for whom war is a game (Marryat himself was older—fourteen years—when he joined). Living quarters on board turn out to be terrible,[33] the weather sickening, and naval discipline insane. For his perserverance and heroism (Marryat himself was repeatedly decorated) Midshipman Blockhead is finally rewarded with a lieutenancy, but only after jockeying for favor and spending tedious hours in the *waiting*-room of the Admiralty. His return as a mature man to show off his

33. If the etching shows no real graphic equivalent for the caption's "wild disorder holds her wanton reign," it is Marryat rather than Cruikshank who is to blame.

12–38 George Cruikshank. *The Progress of a Midshipman* (1820).

12–37. George Cruikshank. *The Sailor's Progress* (1818).



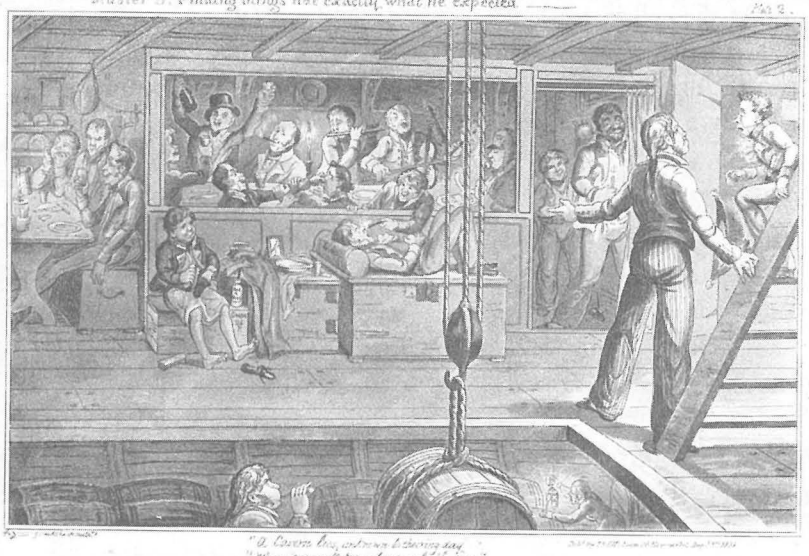


Fitting out. Plate 1.



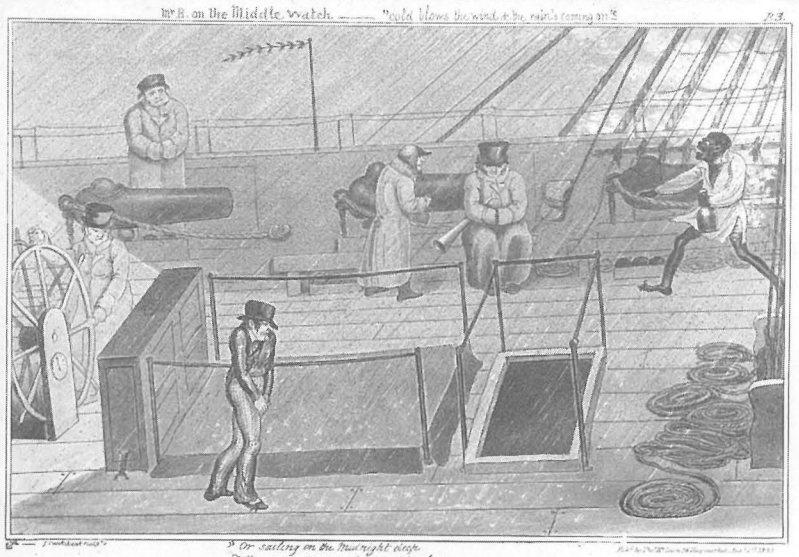
"He hails in life's advancing day"
"Amusive hopes & prospects gay"
"Nor o'er the wide horizon roving"
"Can e'en one little Speck be found"
"Round the scene"

Master B. Finding things not exactly what he expected ——— Plate 2.



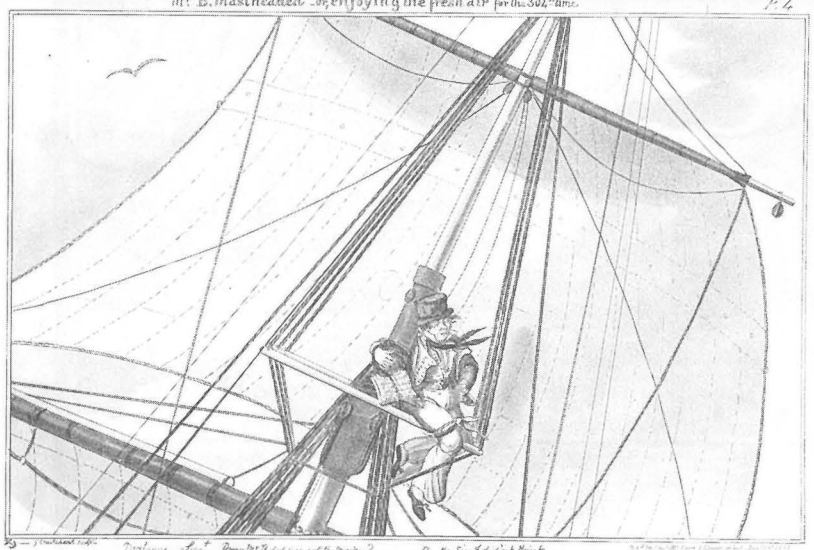
"O Cavern boy, untrown & cheerless day"
"Where cockroach tapers lends a feeble ray"
"Where rebel disorder to his post unknown reigns"
"And ceaseless Mortality forbids an hour's pain" Falconer

Mr B. on the Middle Watch. ——— "cold blows the wind & the rain is coming on" P. 3.



"Or sailing on the Midnight deep
"When weary messmates soundly sleep
"The careful Watch patrolles the deck
"To guard the Ship from foes or wreck —
"And whistles thoughts of homeward rest" &c. all's well

Mr B. mastheaded — enjoying the fresh air for the 30th time. P. 4.



Dialogue — Lieu.t Pray Mr Bold, you catch Master?
B. No Sir. I thought ——
Lieu.t You thought Sir. How dare you think upon your Master's Oars! —
B. No Sir, I did'nt think
Lieu.t Did'nt think, Why did'nt you think Sir? W! ——
up to the Mast Head directly ——

Mr B. "seeking the Bubble reputation" ——— P. 5.



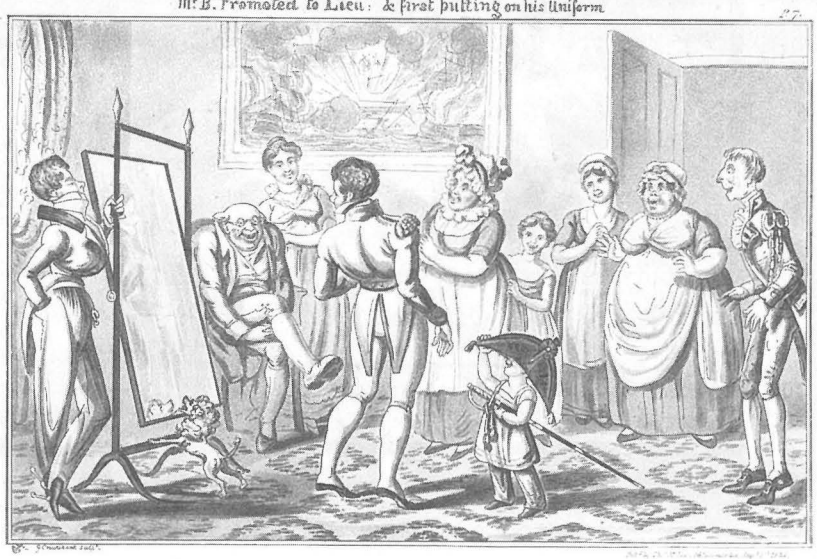
"The fields resounding Mars
"Fast Wrills the Mariners of the Deadly way
"Fast for it self can wear the approaching Night
"Around them noise & danger to delight
"The dread of death, if war in dire events
"Save that it seems dem dailer than repose."

*Waiting room at the Admiralty ——— (*Ex mus. vet.) P. 6.



"'Tis the curse of Service that preferment goes by favor & affection" Othello

Mr B. Promoted to Lieu.t & first putting on his Uniform P. 7.



"Some are born great, some atchieve greatness" Twelfth night

new uniform to a delighted family (Marryat was a Lieutenant at twenty, and a Commander at twenty-three) is a pretext for a typically Cruikshankian satire on male sartorial vanity. The story ends thus quietly and happily, but Marryat sketched several episodes, which were rejected on grounds of expense: two illustrate the iniquities of the press-gang, of which Marryat was a vigorous opponent. The typical and satirically "correct" conclusion to a naval career was depicted by other caricaturists: e.g., *The Sailor on half-pay*, reduced to blacking shoes.[34]

Having started with Gillray, on land, the military progress returns there with Heath (12-39). Friends help to purchase a commission for the soldier, who thereupon romantically marries a penniless girl. Scenes reminiscent of the broadsheet duo the *Soldier's Farewell* and the *Soldier's Return* are separated by some martial heroics, which are rewarded with the applause of King and Parliament, the thanks of the country—and reduction on half pay. The ending is exactly that of Newton's *Life of Man*—total destitution of the family and imprisonment of the hero for debt. Newton's hero could at least die surrounded by his children; here the family is brutally expelled by a prison warder.

After 1815, caricaturists saw officers of the armed services in two ways: as idle fops and as impoverished heroes. Service life had become fashionable as never before, but military retrenchment resulted in misery for those without private incomes. At the time of *John Bull's Progress*, the recruitment and maintenance of large armies were not yet taken for granted. If John Bull can partly blame himself for failing to resist the call to arms, the patriotic soldier of the Napoleonic era stands helpless before a society which mercilessly sacrifices him. Heath's etching is a grave indictment, not a satire; the style is barely caricatural at all, compared with the same artist's account of Napoleon's Russian campaign. We sense ever more strongly the approach of the Victorian age.

34. B. M. *Sat.* 14921; cf. George, H. to C., fig. 184 and p. 200.

12–39. William Heath. *Military Progress (slow movement) or the Reward of Merit* (1822).



Chapter Thirteen

NARRATIVE ART ON THE CONTINENT

1. Jean Baptiste Greuze (France)

In eighteenth-century France a new relationship was established between artist and public. The growing artistic consciousness of the bourgeoisie was expressed in two ways, in the purchase of engravings of *fêtes galantes* and popular genre subjects, and through attendance at the Salons or exhibitions of the Académie Royale. The latter gave rise to the first regular journalistic art criticism, which was considered a branch of literature. The fact that French moralizing art was greeted with such literary effusions, while Hogarth's engravings and paintings passed relatively unnoticed in the press, may be attributed to the existence of the Salons in France, and the lack in England (until the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768) of facilities for the public, communal exhibition of original works. During the month or so the Salons remained open, a solid crowd of spectators formed daily about the paintings of Jean Baptiste Greuze; lackeys rubbed elbows with aristocrats in their eagerness to view them.

The literary form of art appreciation went hand in hand with the search for literary and moral content. As religious painting declined, the popularity of history and genre subjects increased, especially those with strong literary connotations. It seems that an emotional Greuze painting was capable of literally moving people to tears, in the same way as the popular novel of the period. In 1760 Rousseau published his *Nouvelle Héloise*, in praise of rustic life and the simple, natural, tender emotions; in the Salon of the following year, Greuze exhibited his idyllic *Village Betrothal*. When Denis Diderot, the sentimental novelist, philosophe, and encyclopedist, decided to take Greuze under his wing, the stage appeared to be set for the entrance of a man who could unite the painted and literary media—a French Hogarth, perhaps. This promise of a French pictorial narrative, and the reasons it did not fructify, constitute an intriguing story which is worth pursuing in some detail.

In 1761 the thirty-six-year-old Jean Baptiste Greuze, already well-known for his sentimental Dutch-type genre painting, flooded the Salon with paintings, more than any other single artist, full-fledged Academicians included. A few days before the exhibition was due to close, he added his *pièce de résistance*, a much-awaited painting which had been announced in the catalogue as *Un Mariage, et l'instant ou le Père de l'Accordée délivre la dot à son Gendre* (*A Marriage, and the moment when the Father of the Bride hands over the dowry to his Son-in-law*), a work popularly known as the *Village Betrothal* (13-1). Diderot was quite overwhelmed, and although he had already written up his description of the Salons[1] he added a very lengthy postscript upon this work alone. The distinguished writer's sentimental raptures over this and other Greuze paintings have become famous; but Greuze's success was above all a popular one, and the collective Parisian heart melted before the "simplicity," "nobility," "tenderness" and "natural rusticity" of his work. Diderot also singled out for praise a drawing called *Le Paralytique soigné par sa famille, ou le fruit de la bonne education* (*The paralytic succoured by his family, or the fruit of good education*), a subject which in its painted form was to constitute the *clou* of the next Salon in 1763 (13-2). It inspired the writer to some famous lines welcoming the arrival of morality in art: "Look now! has not the brush been devoted too much and for too long to debauchery and vice! (Diderot is thinking of the erotic mythologies of Boucher and his followers.) Should we not be thankful to see it competing at last with dramatic poetry, as a means of moving us, educating us, correcting us, and leading us to virtue? Courage, Greuze my friend, put morality into painting, and do it always just like that!"[2] The *Paralytique* had been rechristened by the artist *La Piété Filiale*, but Diderot preferred a title evocative of the *Village Betrothal: la Récompense de la bonne education donnée* (*Reward for a good education in the past*). Many critics noticed that the heads were the same in the two paintings; and while the less charitable attributed this fact to Greuze's paucity of physiognomic invention, Diderot preferred to believe the resemblance intentional, since the artist was following the story of the same family.[3] Another critic is convinced that "this work brings to an end a pastoral poem whose first cantos were presented by the author in the preceding Salons." Whatever Greuze's original intentions, he took the hint. At the next Salon (1765) he exhibited two drawings called *Le Fils Ingrat* (or *La Malédiction Paternelle*), where the son abandons his father in order to follow the recruiting officer, and *Le Fils Puni*, where he returns a degenerate cripple to find his father on his deathbed (13-3 and 13-4). Diderot was overcome with emotion: "This Greuze is going to ruin us," he lamented, adding in graver tones, that "Here is the painter for you and me, the first amongst us (i.e., in France) to think of lending social morality to art, and of linking together events after which it would be easy to write a novel." In another painting called

1. The *Salons* of Diderot were written for the manuscript *Correspondance Littéraire* of his friend Grimm, who distributed it throughout Europe as a kind of private literary-artistic journal.

2. Diderot, *Salons*, I, p. 233.

3. Cf. Brookner, p. 123, pp. 190–96, and p. 236.



13–1. J-B. Greuze. *The Village Betrothal* (1761).



13–2. J-B. Greuze. *The Paralytic succoured by his family, or, Filial Piety* (1761–3).



13–3. J-B. Greuze. *The Ungrateful Son, or, the Paternal Malediction* (1765–77).



13–4. J-B. Greuze. *The Son Punished* (1765–77).

The Spoiled Child (*L'Enfant Gâté*) Diderot saw "the little laundress of four years ago who has got married, and whose story he intends to follow."

During the following years (Greuze did not exhibit at the 1767 Salon) the artist must have put much thought into the best way of exploiting his success in moral genre. The example of Hogarth (so discreetly veiled by Diderot behind the phrase "the first *among us* to give morality to art"—author's stress) would have suggested more scenes of folly and vice, if not on their own, then in contrast to scenes of virtue. But even the uplifting scene, if painful, was liable to shatter the nerves of an excessively *sensible* public. *The Paralytic* had been too overpowering for Diderot's friend Grimm, who would have preferred the old man to be merely gout-stricken, rather than actually paralyzed. If the drawings on the subject of filial impiety were already considered extremely moving, at least one critic warned the artist not to execute the paintings, which would cause emotional havoc in the spectator: "They poison the spirit with such profound and terrible feelings that one is obliged to avert one's eyes."[4] Diderot himself hailed Greuze as "a painter, a preacher of good morals," contrasting him with P.-A. Baudoin, painter and preacher of "bad morals." "Is it not better to give the stage to virtue rather than vice?"[5] French taste in painting seems to underline the limitations of *sensiblerie* in literature, which demanded tender sentiments unalloyed with the bitter or sordid—Richardson and Gessner, not Fielding and Smollett. And above all, the English sense of the comic is lacking in the French concept of morality.

Hogarth was not unknown in France; there was even a French commentary on his works,[6] and his *Analysis of Beauty* is cited briefly by Diderot in the *Salons*. But on the whole French critics seem to have observed a conspiracy of silence against the English painter. Were Greuze to continue along his present path and paint scenes of horror or vice such as a narrative of any length must involve, he would provoke an unwelcome critical confrontation with Hogarth. Morality was French; low life was English. Meanwhile, Greuze occupied himself in satisfying the heavy public demand for what Anita Brookner has called "decent pornography"—the single heads and half-length figures of pubescent girls, "Lolitas" bemoaning the death of pet birds, etc.; and at the same time he prepared the painting, long overdue, which would seal his membership of the Académie. In the Salon of 1769, he showed another subject of filial impiety—but this time a grand (if obscure) theme, classically treated, taken from ancient history: the Emperor Septimius Severus reproaching his son Caracalla with having attempted to murder him.[7] Greuze hoped to be accepted into the Academy as a history painter, but he was turned down flatly by academicians who decided to ignore his classical subject as "unworthy of the Academy and you," and admitted him as a mere genre painter. There is an obvious parallel with the connoisseurs' treatment of Hogarth. The public, too, mocked his effort, one critic facetiously suggesting that the Emperor Severus was actually the Paralytic in his bed, expelling a disobedient son. Greuze was furious; he never forgave the Academy for the insult, and never again attempted ancient history. Amidst other sentimental, domestic tragedies executed during the 70's, Greuze finally completed the painted versions of the *Fils Ingrat* and the *Fils Puni* (13-3 and 13-4). These he exhibited in his studio in 1777 as a kind of rival Salon to the Academy's; the people rushed to view them, and so much flattering attention must have revived his ambitions to come up with some even greater novelty. He therefore determined to execute a "sequence (*suite*) of similar moral subjects"[8] which would assure him his status as painter of morality independent of a prejudiced academic officialdom.

In the course of the 1770's, the French appear to have become more attentive to Hogarth. An article in the *Mercure de France* emphasizes the novelty of his moral picture stories, praising them at some length; but a reference to Hogarth's *Life of James Harlot* (sic) is of revealing ignorance.[9] In 1776 we find an open admission of regret that the French lacked a Hogarth of their own. An issue from that year of the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*,[10] a twice-monthly digest of modern popular fiction to which Greuze's notoriously frivolous wife may well have subscribed, contains a brief description of Hogarth's principal four stories, which are placed in a specially created category of *romans muets*—dumb novels. The editor praises them as unique of their kind, as a model for a new genre: "One cannot criticise their style, for they are written in no language, and yet they are true novels, for they constitute consecutive stories or fictions, with an exposition, a plot, a dénouement, each one occupying a more or less lengthy period of time. All of them even have a moral purpose." At the end of his description, the writer appeals directly to the painters of France: "Why have no other nations adopted this kind of moral novel, choosing less sombre subjects, painting more pleasant aspects of society? Why cannot someone present a sequence of pictures depicting characters and dress as well as Hogarth?"

Greuze is not mentioned by name on this occasion, but a few years later we find him compared with Hogarth by the anonymous English or pseudo-English writer of some *Lettres d'un voyageur à Paris* (1779). His use of the term

4. Diderot, II, p. 37.
5. Diderot, II, p. 140. Baudoin, who was the son-in-law of Boucher, exhibited in 1767 a gouache called *Natural sentiment yielding temporarily to necessity*, and showing an unmarried mother, just after her clandestine delivery, surrendering her baby to the orphanage. This was paired with another painting showing the same mother recognizing her child, now older, among the orphans in Notre Dame Cathedral (cf. Dacier, Pl. LVII). Had he not died prematurely in 1769, Baudoin might, with his marked taste for risqué subjects, have veered toward Hogarthian narrative.
6. Written in England by Rouquet, and authorized by Hogarth himself.
7. Reproduced in Levey, *Rococo*, Fig. 94.
8. Brookner article, p. 196.
9. "Until then (1730) the painter had followed a path in which he had many competitors and masters; he now struck one where no-one could reach him. . . . The first work he published was the *Life of James Harlot* (sic). . . . Before Hogarth no-one had used art for moral and didactic purposes; a book such as this is good for all countries . . . one needs only eyes to hear it, and all men can read it" (*Mercure de France*, janvier 1770, t.2, pp. 177–78). The article was probably stimulated by the appearance of Rev. J. Trusler's *Hogarth Moralised* in 1768; like the description in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*, it has escaped the attention of Hogarth scholars.
10. October 1776, t.2, pp. 5–6.

"dumb novels" suggests that he had read the passage quoted above: "Our Hogarth is still the only artist to have composed those sequences of engravings . . . those novels. M. Greuze, of whom one might have expected this kind of dumb novel, had until now restricted himself to presenting some scenes taken from the midst of society."[11]

Greuze did attempt to respond; but his project did not get very far. When he died in 1805, a poor and neglected old man, a verbal scenario, but no drawings, was found among his papers for a picture-novel in twenty-four scenes, entitled *Bazile et Thibault, ou les deux éducations* (transcribed in full in the Catalogue, p. 457). It is evident that the artist intended to get the best of both worlds: French virtue and English vice. The life of Bazile uses the stock tricks of the sentimental novelist, and that of Thibault evolves parallel and antithetically to it in a fashion which can only derive from Hogarth's story of the Idle and Industrious Apprentices. The birth which fills the parents with joy, and provides a beloved bond for them, is contrasted to the birth which is received with indifference, and results in the child being immediately packed off to the wet-nurse, to return to his parents a frightened stranger.[12] Bazile's childhood act of mercy is opposed to the vicious behavior of Thibault, who like Tom Nero amuses himself by tormenting small animals. The successful academic education of the industrious twelve-year-old is contrasted with the rampant hooliganism of the spoiled child; Bazile is deterred from vice by a visit to the surgeon,[13] while Thibault's seduction of first the servant-girl, and later the daughter of a peasant, is condoned by indifferent parents. ("After the seduction" was a favorite theme with Greuze and his public.) The two youths leave home at the age of eighteen, Bazile in order to fight heroically against the English, and Thibault to profit from the war by carrying off his master's daughter who, like Tom Nero's mistress, is induced to abscond with her parent's valuables. He is arrested, and after a year in prison, is released by none other than Bazile, now well-advanced in a civil service career. He returns to find an impoverished mother on her death-bed. (For this scene Greuze could have used his *Son Punished*, just as for the corresponding one showing Bazile's betrothal to a childhood sweetheart, he could have adapted the famous *Village Betrothal.*) Thibault continues on his downward path, wastes his patrimony in a single night of billiards, and provokes a fight; Bazile meanwhile is promoted to the post of *Lieutenant-Criminel*, and finds himself in the painful position of having to judge Thibault, arraigned for murder in the course of a theft committed in a harlot's den. This situation is almost identical to that conceived by Hogarth at the end of his story of the two 'prentices (10-43 through 10-56), and Greuze might have had Hogarth's trial scene before him when he wrote: "Bazile is filled with the most acute pain, cannot bear the sight of one of his former comrades on whom he is obliged to pronounce a death-sentence: he averts his eyes." The last scene, however, strikes a heroic and melodramatic note very different from Hogarth's execution scene. The father visits his wicked son in prison, confesses his guilt as a parent and commits suicide on the spot, thus expiating the crime of having neglected his son's education.

Needless to say, the scenario at no point contains a hint of satire or comedy. Greuze is inexorably pedagogic. Half the story is concerned with childhood behavior; from beginning to end the accent is upon filial and family relationships, and there is even a virtuous grandmother to act as a foil to Thibault's foolish parents, and to provide ineffectual but affecting emotional opposition to them. Thus far the tale should have appealed to post-Rousseau France; but there were several reasons preventing Greuze from executing the project, of which "lack of time"[14] is the least likely.

First, Greuze was even in his own day recognized as the painter of passive rather than active emotions, of an anecdote or a phrase rather than an action.[15] Hogarth, not Greuze, could have rendered Thibault's "diffident air suggesting jealousy rather than repentance." Much of the physical action (notably the murder) would have been performed "off-stage"; but without psychological action, expressed through the faces, attitudes and grouping, the story would be meaningless.

Second, Greuze had to reckon with his public in so extensive an undertaking (to have twenty-four compositions engraved was extremely expensive). However accurate his own estimate of his abilities in moral narrative, it was surely the expected reaction of the public which finally dissuaded the artist from embarking upon the painting. The critics who jibbed at any scene from contemporary life suggestive of the baser emotions would have rejected the whole sordid life of Thibault out of hand. This supposition is borne out by the critical appraisal of the scenario when it was discovered at Greuze's death: "The author would have been well-advised to stop after having treated the most picturesque scenes."[16]

It would seem that Greuze intended a full verbal description to accompany the pictures, and it is proof of his uncertainty about the whole project that he is unable to separate in his mind the roles of the two media, literary and pictorial. The description is not couched primarily in visual terms; sometimes there is too much action, sometimes too little. The scenario in several instances fails to clarify the exact moment to be painted, and describes successive phases of an episode which cannot have occupied more than one composition. There are speeches, moreover, especially the long one by Thibault's father at the end, which could obviously not have been conveyed pictorially. The father's speech constitutes a psychological and pedagogical crux. Was he to be depicted at the height of his oratory? Or in the act of thrusting a dagger into his body; or when he falls into the arms of *his* mother, who "a few minutes later" collapses to the ground —and well she might, as the grandmother of a thirty-year-old man. One wonders whether Greuze himself was not struck with the absurdity of it all.

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11. Brookner, p. 242.
12. Such a scene, inspired of course by Rousseau, was painted by Greuze early in his career and reappears in a Morland print of 1788.
13. Greuze could have read in the French edition of Lavater that "Rousseau takes his Emile—and the former King of Prussia his Crown Prince, into a hospital, so that the visible results of debauchery should deter him from debauchery." (*Physiognomische Fragmente*, I, 1775, p. 96, describing Tab. VII which reproduces details from Hogarth's *Modern Midnight Conversation.*)
14. Brookner, p. 241.
15. Passage quoted by Brookner, p. 132.
16. *Journal de L'Empire* for December 2, 1805, quoted by Brookner, p. 169. Cf. also p. 241.

Greuze's actual achievement in painting during the last decades of the century is poles away from such a project. If he continued to reflect the sentimental and moral preoccupations of his age, he did so in that endless series of liquescent, yearning girls, strange fusions of protesting innocence and complacent depravity. With them Greuze unites in a single physiognomic statement the pleasures of sin and the pleasures of remorse. Today they seem the essence of hypocrisy, but in the France of their own time they apparently exercised more fascination than any picture story could have done.

2. *Chodowiecki (Germany)*

Essentially a product of the tensions of the Reformation and the Thirty Years War, the German satirical broadsheet was dying by mid-seventeenth century, and dead a generation later. It was to remain so during the eighteenth century, a period characterized by the supremacy of the petty despot, and bereft of popular political pressures. The cultural emphasis, on the other hand, shifted from the princely courts to the cities, which nurtured specifically bourgeois literary tastes. The novel, poetry and above all the *moralische Wochenschrift*, modelled on the English *Spectator* and *Tatler*, began to flourish, especially in Berlin and Göttingen. The former city, as the capital of the Prussian state, enjoyed the enlightened cultural leadership of Frederick the Great, an admirer of French civilization; the latter, as the university town of Hanover, profited from close political and cultural ties with England.

If the literary revival was well under way by mid-eighteenth century, the figurative arts were still sorely neglected. In the Berlin of Frederick William I, the only art to receive official encouragement was military portraiture. His son Frederick the Great brought in French rococo art, which stimulated indigenous efforts in the *fête galante* and scenes of bourgeois and rustic genre; but these were vapid imitations, on the whole, of no moral interest or narrative potential. It is not in "art engraving" but in illustrations to that peculiarly German literary form, the almanac, that we shall find our picture stories.

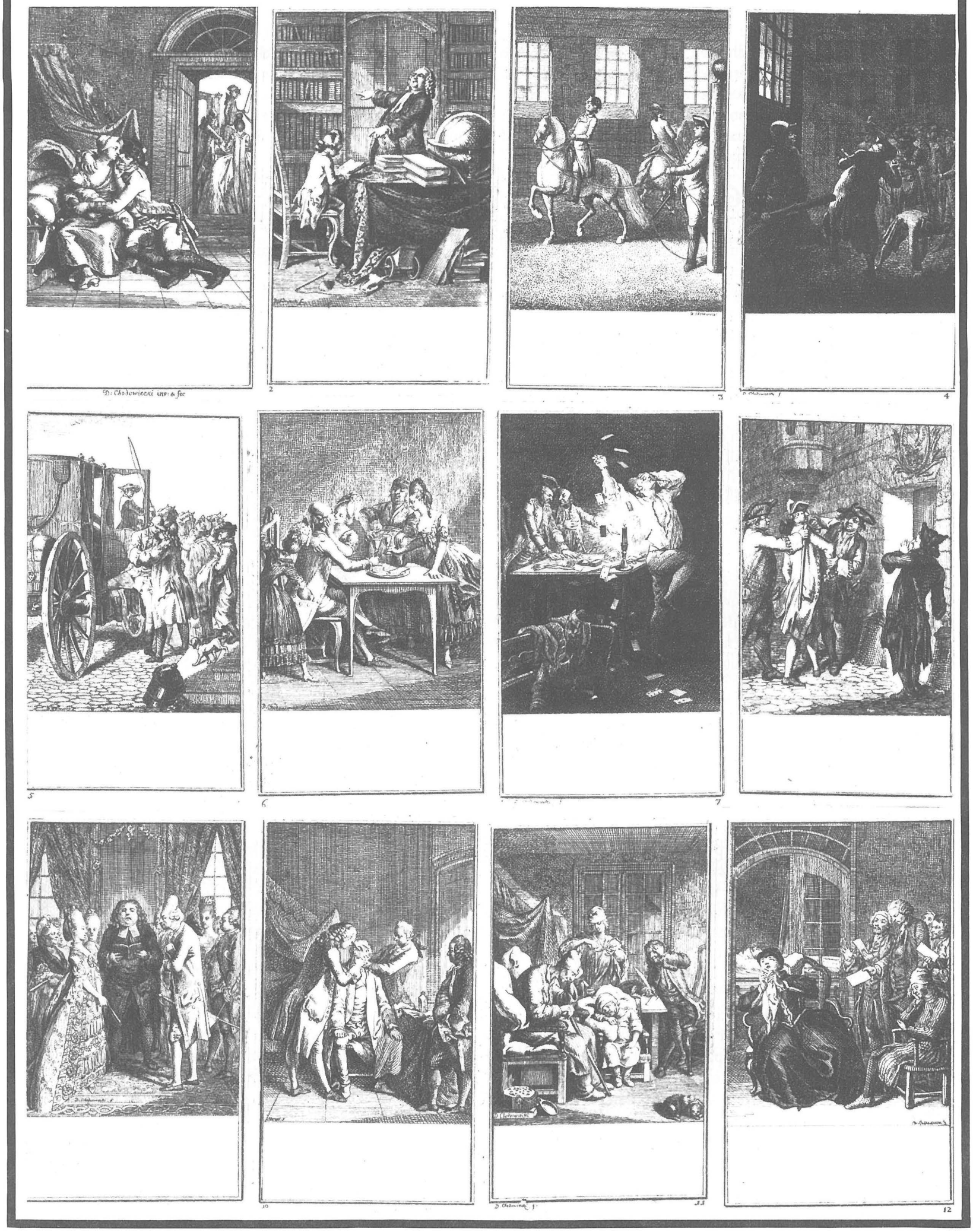
The *Kalender*, or almanac (both German and French terms were used), had been for centuries a purveyor of practical advice to simple people. In the eighteenth century it became increasingly literary and imaginative in its appeal; it also became pictorially interesting. In the seventeenth century, almanac illustrations were usually restricted to such stereotyped themes as the Occupations of the Months, the Elements, Virtues, etc; by mid-eighteenth century, they had become moralizing and humorous, reflecting a change in literary content. This was particularly true of the Berlin almanac, to which Chodowiecki began to contribute in 1770.

Daniel Chodowiecki was born in Danzig in 1726, and earned his living in Berlin painting miniature portraits on enamel. He taught himself to etch when he was over thirty years of age, and in 1767 attained a sudden fame which spread his name throughout Germany, for his large engraving of the *Farewell of Calas*. His success was due in part to the celebrity of the subject (Voltaire had identified himself with the *Affaire Calas*) and in part to his skill in depicting emotional melodrama—he became at once the German *Seelenmaler*, the painter of Greuzian pathos. It was not, however, with Greuze that Chodowiecki was continually compared, but with Hogarth, who enjoyed a great reputation in German literary circles.

If French rococo art was the model for the German artist, his literary confrère looked to England for inspiration. English satire, both literary and pictorial, was altogether a powerful force within the German philanthropic-pedagogic movement. Chodowiecki chose as the source for his first set of calendar illustrations Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, a realistic bourgeois comedy on the English model; Lessing had already written an introduction to the German translation (1754) of Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*. In 1769 there began to appear a series of German commentaries on Hogarth's picture stories, which included engraved copies reduced to about 2½″ x 3″. This tiny scale, allowing for the difference between tall and broad format, compares with that required of almanac illustrations (Chodowiecki's measure about 2⅝″ x 1⅞″).

In these circumstances, it is not at all surprising that Chodowiecki attempted a *Life of a Rake* (*Berlin Calendar* 1774, 13–5), for which the artist is even more indebted to Hogarth than he was to Lessing in the *Minna von Barnhelm* illustrations. In keeping with the pedagogical preoccupations of the age, Chodowiecki starts the *Life* in infancy. As his wet-nurse shares her breast between him and a passing soldier, the baby takes in lechery with his milk (the milk of a lecherous woman was believed to be literally poisonous). At home his education is tyrannical, at university it is either of a useless aristocratic character (riding school) or else positively vicious (the student riot). Having left the parental house, the rake enters the world of brothel and gambling-den and debtor's prison. In order to avoid the latter the prematurely-aged rake marries, exactly as in Hogarth, but, more fortunate than Tom Rakewell, he finds a victim who is young and pretty as well as rich. He pays for his past debaucheries with a neck ulcer, and lives as a miserable cripple among doctors who cannot help him and a wife who becomes nursemaid to him and their tainted son. At the rake's death, the hysterical widow is pestered by a flock of creditors claiming their share of the heritage.

There was at this time no engraver in Germany, or anywhere in Europe for that matter, with a line so sensitive to psychological mood. Within the tiny scale he imposes upon himself, Chodowiecki performs miracles of characterization—the complacent bawd, the haggard old beau, the pompous tutor, the gambling shark, the insinuating Jew (12); these characters live in the literature of the period, but they are hitherto unknown in German art. This is Hogarth's world reflected in the perfectly polished reducing mirror of the almanac illustration; monumental satire of vice distilled into witty criticism of folly. The physiognomies sparkle with life, and the compositions shine with neo-classical clarity. The unpretentious bourgeois settings are not encumbered with Hogarthian symbolic detail. There are "coloristic" effects



13–5. Daniel Chodowiecki. *The Life of a Rake* (1774).
1. Careful basis for future education. 2. Excellent formation of mind and character. 3. Preparation for university. 4. University studies. 5. Thirst for knowledge of the world. 6. Practical knowledge of the world. 7. Exercise of patience and of contempt for wealth. 8. Occasion for loneliness and reflection. 9. Beginning of domestic bliss. 10. Results of practical knowledge of the world. 11. The bliss of domestic life. 12. End of a pleasurable life.

new to the picture story, notably in the two night scenes of street and gambling-den. In the latter, the rake strikes a fine balletic posture, silhouetted against the candlelight, and showering the cards to the floor.

Chodowiecki reacted sharply to the notion that his *Rake* was actually copied from Hogarth, and was even moved to deny that he received any particular stimulus at all from the English artist. He cites instead some engravings in Lavater's *Tagebuch*: "These induced me to represent the occupations of an *homme du monde*. I tried a day, I tried a year, finally I thought a whole life would offer the greatest variety of characters, and I executed it without thinking of Hogarth." Lest it be thought he was actually opposed to Hogarth, Chodowiecki adds "I am now beginning to desire a collection of his works, and shall try to acquire one little by little."[17] Chodowiecki was tired of the pat label "the German Hogarth," which had been attached to him, and the *Rake* may be taken as an attempt to demonstrate his artistic independence by means of a deliberate confrontation.

Chodowiecki's next illustrations for the Berlin Calendar were drawn from a satirical novel by a fellow Berliner, Friedrich Nicolai, called *Sebaldus Nothanker*. Nicolai's work was admired by another satirical writer, Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, Professor of Physics at the University of Göttingen. The style and subject matter of Chodowiecki's etchings also appealed to Lichtenberg, who was at this very moment looking for an illustrator to the Calendar he had recently started in his home town. He accordingly wrote the artist, outlining his idea of an original picture sequence, representing "the same boy and girl on two different paths of life, in such a way that the story be told more through facial features than through action."[18] He continued with more precise instructions relating to the compositions, most of which Chodowiecki faithfully observed.

The project appeared in the Göttingen Calendar for 1778 under the title *The Progress of Virtue and Vice* (*Der Fortgang der Tugend und des Lasters*), and was accompanied by a witty commentary by Lichtenberg (13-6). The portrayal of bust portraits was of course no novelty to the miniature painter; nor was the concentration, on a larger scale than was possible in the full-figure calendar illustration, upon the most precise delineation of facial features. Chodowiecki had recently been working on designs for the Swiss J. K. Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1775–78), which had heightened his physiognomic perception. The etchings of the *Progress*, however, are put to a purpose different from, and in a sense opposed to, that of the Lavater illustrations. Lichtenberg was the foremost critic of Lavater and sought to make Chodowiecki a propagandist for the "antiphysiognomic" camp. Lavater believed that the shape of the skull and the proportion of the facial features were divinely given indices of a man's character, and that sensitive visual analysis made for infallible and accurate evaluation of individual human nature. Lichtenberg found this attitude, in the extreme, pseudo-scientific form presented by the Swiss, to be redolent of Calvinist superstition, and so much romantic nonsense; a man's character should be judged more by his habitual expressions, which gradually stamp themselves on the face, and which are determined by his recurrent emotions and actions. The *Progress of Virtue and Vice* was intended as a kind of pictorial treatise proving his *pathognomics* (study of emotional expression) superior to Lavater's *physiognomics*. This is why Lichtenberg insisted that Chodowiecki start with one head, which stands for both men and women embarking upon life with identical physiognomic data, and that there should always be a certain similarity between the vicious and virtuous heads, right to the end. These are not really, he says, two different persons, but the same one on alternative paths of life. This extraordinarily difficult —ultimately impossible—task Chodowiecki has performed with unique skill.

The young boy (second stage) has that "health and inner calm" and his vicious twin that "illness, evil conscience and despair" prescribed by the writer. The girls at the same stage are already farther apart than Lichtenberg would have wished; the men at the fifth stage strike a perfect balance between pathognomic contrast and physiognomic similarity; in the last stage, again, the heads are too far apart for Lichtenberg's liking. With the female counterpart, the artist was permitted to introduce subsidiary figures. By these means he can contrast the loving husband and baby with the crabby doctor lancing a boil; the reading-lesson for a pretty little daughter with the invitations to a leering soldier, passing by; the devoted son accompanying his mother on a walk, with the furious son beating his mother with his fists; and the caresses of the grandchildren with the deathbed of dirty straw. Throughout the sequence one is conscious less of physical change and contrast (although this is drastic enough) than of the psychological movement. To the perfectionist Lichtenberg, the degeneration of the vicious man appears excessively rapid and jerky, involving what amounted to changes of identity. He should have recognized that considerations of expense, which limited the number of plates to twelve, were to blame, but he editorially rationalizes the shortcoming on the grounds that "vice has a hundred forms." He does recognize the didactic limitations of his patho-physiognomics, and ends on a note in which he characteristically mixes morality with scientific caution: "How fortunate for virtue if vice always appeared thus (i.e. in reality)! But it does not."[19]

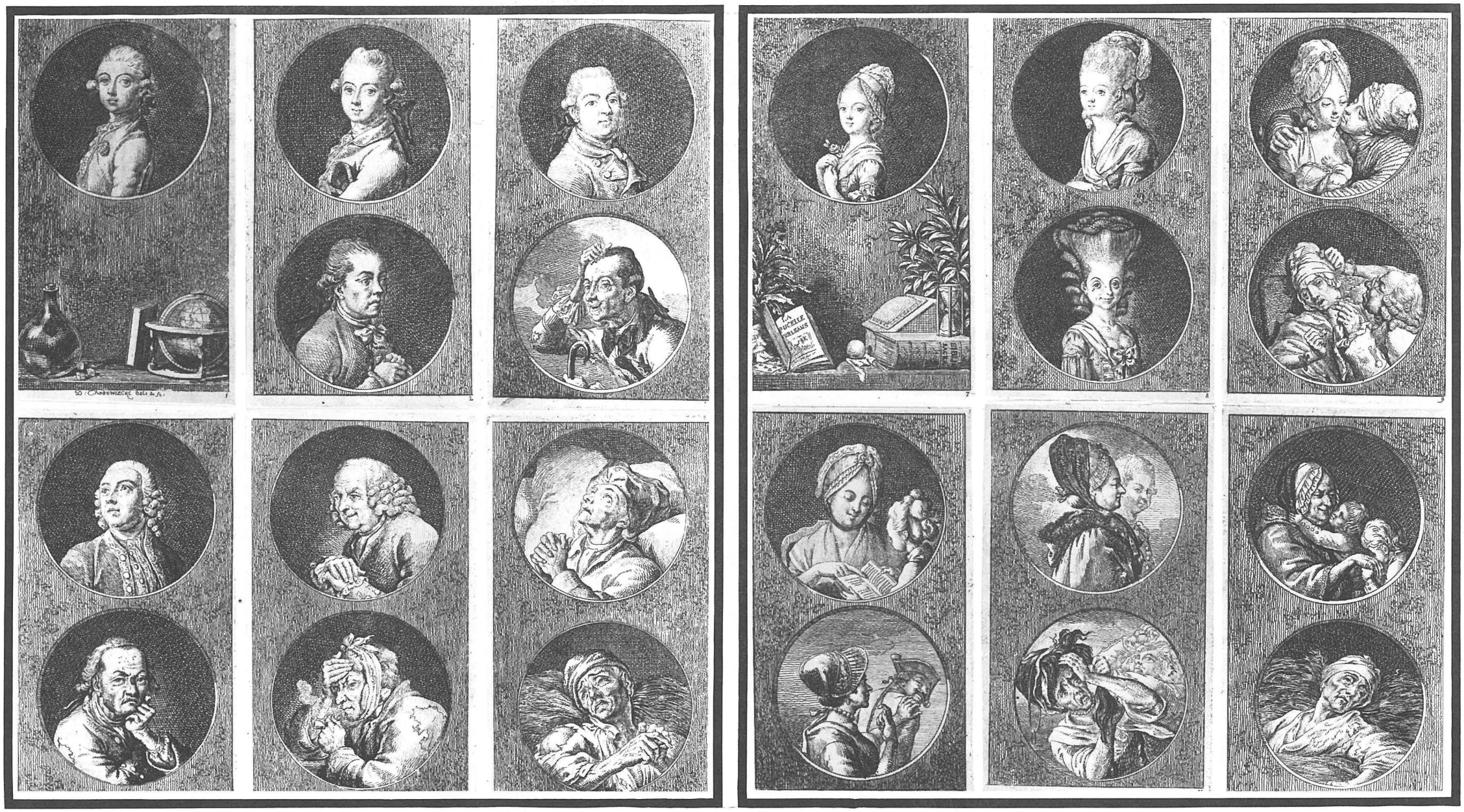
The etcher of the *Progress of Virtue and Vice* has been aptly called "an artistic cinematographer of physiognomy."[20] He has indeed left us a systematic analysis of a kind which has been largely reserved to strip cartoon and film in our own century. Late eighteenth-century "physionomania" (as Lichtenberg termed it) was just that—a mania, characterized more by enthusiasm than by science. Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente* were merely fragments, a hodge-podge of insights. Its thousands of meticulous illustrations spread over five folio volumes, which were translated into French and English, offered an immense visual encyclopedia of facial

17. Letter of May 9, 1775, Steinbrucker No. 162.

18. Letter of December 23, 1776, Steinbrucker pp. 179–81, No. 223; Grenzmann, II, p. 595.

19. Lichtenberg may have remembered Hogarth's warning on this very problem: "Very handsome faces of almost any age, will hide a foolish or a wicked mind till they betray themselves by their actions or their words . . . the character of a (perfect) hypocrite is entirely out of the power of the pencil" (*Analysis*, Burke ed., p. 137).

20. Bredt, p. 32.



13–6. Daniel Chodowiecki. *Progress of Virtue and Vice* (1778). For translation of Lichtenberg's commentary, see p. 458.



13–7. Daniel Chodowiecki. From the series *Natural and Affected Behavior*. Taste and Sentiment (1779).

types and expressions, of characters and emotions, both comic and noble: but being quite unsystematic and structurally incoherent, and lacking all sense of the developmental, its role in the history of the narrative strip is limited, if not actually negative. At the same time, we must recognize that caricature and comic art owe much to the stimulus of Lavater's work, and that taste for the comic and love of physiognomic experiment have much in common.

The next Göttingen Almanacs (for 1779–80) contained contrasting series entitled *Natural and Affected Behavior* (*Natürliche und Affektierte Handlungen*), which were extensively commented by Lichtenberg at his wittiest. Perhaps the most famous of all Chodowiecki's almanac illustrations, this very delicate satire (the idea of which is probably due to Lichtenberg) compares the results of English (=natural) and German (or French = affected) education (13-7). At this time Chodowiecki was also busy with a female counterpart (13-8) to his *Rake*, which appeared in the *Berlin Almanac* under the title *The Life of an ill-educated Girl* (*Das Leben eines schlecht erzogenen Frauenzimmers*).

Once again we begin with the wet-nurse, depicted this time at the moment of her appointment: with an affected, perhaps lecherous gesture, the solicitous doctor exhibits her mammary merits to the languid parents. The child's education is a victim of her mother's flirtations and frivolities, so that in adolescence and youth she surrounds herself with foolish people with foolish tastes (13-9 a). She is soon engaged in more dangerous pastimes, seeking excitement in the gambling-booth of a *bal masqué*, and in sleigh-rides with a lover. She spurns the offer of a humble and decent young man in order to marry a rich and ugly suitor, whose wealth she squanders forthwith. Creditors seize their property and

























13–8. Daniel Chodowiecki. *Pages from the life of an ill-educated girl* (1780).
1. Parental care. 2. Education. 3. Instruction in the liberal arts. 4. Acquaintance with great men. 5. Innocent amusement. 6. Joys of Youth. 7. Wise choice. 8. Prudent use of wealth. 9. Usual refuge. 10. Unwelcome visit. 11. Wasted credit. 12. Tardy repentance.





13–9a and 13–9b. Daniel Chodowiecki. "Instruction in the liberal arts" and "Unwelcome Visit." Scenes 3 and 10 from 13–8, enlarged from original.

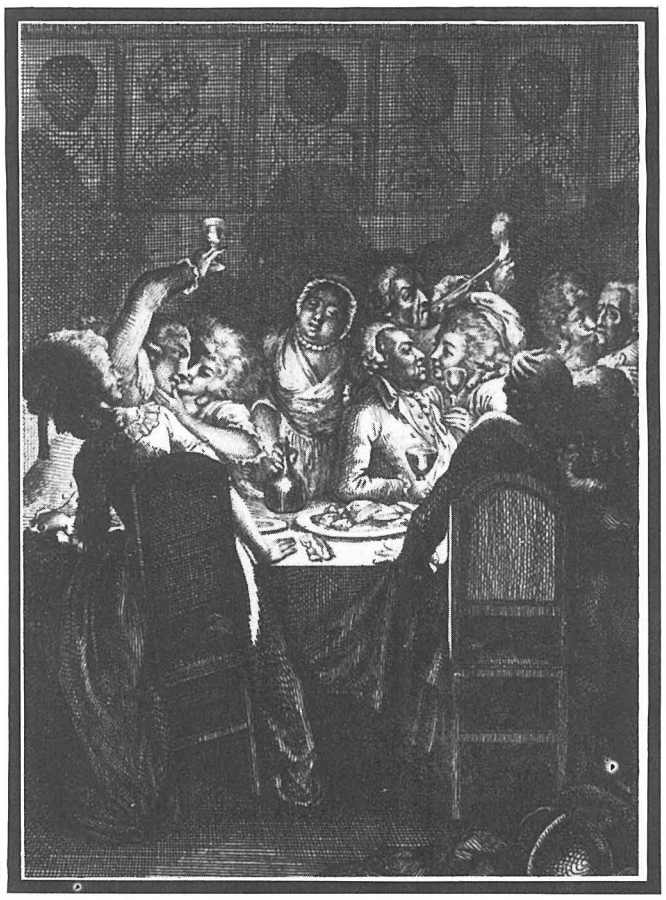
leave the woman in abject poverty (13-9 b), obliged to feed her child on bread and soup and unable to give her husband a decent burial when he dies. She is last seen repenting in a prison-cell, her future a question.

Chodowiecki has treated his heroine with more sympathy than his rake or the vicious woman of the *Progress*. She never entirely loses her dignity; her prettiness is sometimes elevated into sheer magnificence, which she preserves even as late as the ninth stage. In the final scene, her face and figure are filled with a tragic pathos which is heightened by the warder's operatic gesture of condemnation. Is this sequence "extremely tame...a mere combination of themes from *A Harlot's Progress* and *Marriage à la mode*?"[21] Far from being merely a weak reflection of Hogarth, the *Ill-educated Girl* is a timely satire on neglected education and fashionable libertinage. If the lady *is* a lady, if she is more foolish than wicked, if she is neither adulteress nor courtesan, this is because Chodowiecki prided himself on avoiding what he called the "ugliness and bitterness" of Hogarth. Not that he was, like Greuze, technically incapable of rendering vulgarity: witness his hilarious Hogarth pastiche, designed for a novel specifically subtitled "moral-satiric picture after Chodowiecki and Hogarth" (13-10). Working in a different age and a different country, Chodowiecki has reason to stress not so much the violent terrors of life, but the sloth and frivolity of the old German aristocracy and their bourgeois imitators.[22] Admittedly the sequence is conceived more in an anecdotal than dramatic vein, and includes some scenes of little narrative interest; but these defects disappear beneath the exquisite subtlety of the etching.

Such a story could not fail to appeal to Lichtenberg. Why, then, did it not appear in the *Göttingen Almanac* with a commentary, instead of in the *Berlin Almanac* without one? The reason must lie in Chodowiecki's fear that, once oriented toward the Hogarthian narrative, he would become subject to the dictates and whims of Lichtenberg. The writer

21. Antal, p. 209, in a rare reference by any English critic to our German artist.

22. The years around 1780 were marked by the greatest extravagance in feminine coiffure, which was no less extravagantly satirized in innumerable cartoons. Given the artist's condemnation of his heroine's penchant for coiffures, it is amusing to note that he had himself invented some elaborate designs for hair and headdresses which were published in the *Göttingen Pocket Almanac* for 1778.



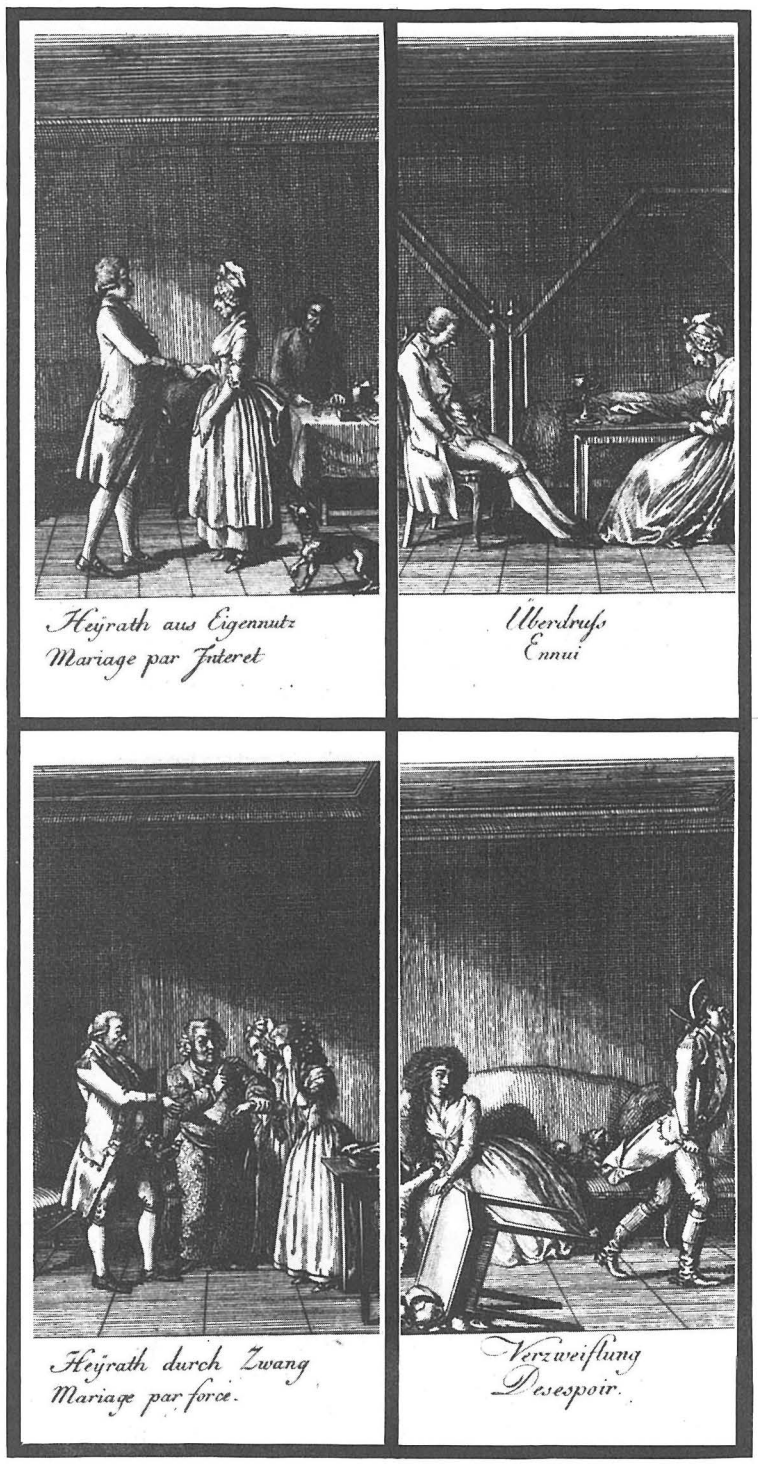
13–10. Daniel Chodowiecki. Illustration to C. F. Bretzner, *The Life of a Rake* (1787).

13–11. Daniel Chodowiecki. *Motives for Marriage. Marriage of Interest = Boredom. Forced Marriage = Despair* (1788).

had already, somewhat tactlessly, told the famous fifty-four-year-old artist where to seek models for the heads in the *Progress of Virtue and Vice*—for the good ones in Lavater, for the evil ones in Hogarth. He had even offered to send his own Hogarth plates for this purpose. Chodowiecki, understandably, did not appreciate all this unsolicited advice; it was bad enough having the subjects dictated to him, without being actually told to *copy* from another artist. He had had enough of the trite label "the German Hogarth." After their successful collaboration on the *Natural and Affected Behavior* series, Lichtenberg seems to have pressed the artist—in vain—to execute a kind of *Marriage à-la-mode*. In a letter to the publisher of the *Göttingen Almanac*, Lichtenberg gives vent to his frustration. After claiming that he could invent enough illustrations for a dozen almanacs, all of which would deal with a woman's conduct after marriage, he testily berates Chodowiecki as an "impudent rascal, and in the last resort incapable of drawing anything more than funny little faces and jack-boots."[23] The proposal for a marriage story materialized in the non-narrative series of *Marriage Proposals* (*Heiratsanträge*, 1781–82), which is no more than a cycle of social types characterized with considerable ingenuity according to their manner of proposing marriage. (Since this depends in most cases upon the exact style of bow performed by the proposer, we may observe a fortuitous thematic resemblance with the Bunburian strips, 12-5 and 12-7, published in England just a few years later.)

23. Written early in 1782 (Leitzmann, II, No. 299). His view of the etcher has not improved a year later: "He is proud, and will not take advice" (Grenzmann, I, p. 740).

Finding his German Hogarth less tractable than he had hoped, Lichtenberg fell back upon Hogarth direct, and devoted himself to extensive serialized commentaries upon his narrative engravings (*Göttingen Almanac*, 1785–94). Chodowiecki, meanwhile, produced for his local almanac a virtuous pendant to his *Ill-educated Girl*, the non-narrative *Occupations des Dames*, and served the *Göttingen Almanac* with an immense variety of moral, satirical, and literary-historical (especially Shakespearean) subjects. He re-enters into the spirit, if not the form, of narrative, with a set of *Motives for Marriage and their Consequences* (*Beweggründe zum Heiraten, und ihre Folgen—Göttingen Almanac*, 1789), which encapsulates the message of *Marriage à-la-mode* and proliferates it across the social spectrum. There is only one good reason for marrying, and that is natural inclination, which leads to domestic bliss; all the others, pride, avarice, spite, etc., are rewarded as befits them (13-11). The whole is a brilliant exercise in Lichtenbergian pathognomics. For the rest of his unremittingly successful and productive life (he died in 1801), Chodowiecki only once again touches upon narrative, and then does so obliquely, in a peculiar context.





13–12. Daniel Chodowiecki. *Reformation of Morals* (1787).

The plate called *The Reformation of Morals* (13-12) is unique in Chodowiecki's *oeuvre*. This is no almanac illustration, but a large etching showing a ballad-singer at work before an eager crowd, pointing to a banner on which is painted a strip of scenes. These are etched so small that one can only make out the subject with the aid of the captions: Christmas and New Year festivities, ball and sleighride (leading to) a wedding; this is followed by quarrel, divorce, more entertainment, theft, murder with arson, and finally illness. In the background, behind the singer's platform, are enacted real-life follies, which range from recent fashions in lovers' suicides and ballooning to ancient stereotypes of the ill-matched couple and the subservient husband. One would at first assume the designs on the banner to be Chodowiecki's own, reflecting the real-life follies, and moralized, as it were, by Lichtenberg or another Chodowiecki commentator,[24] in the role of the ballad-singer. We know, however, that *Reformation of Morals* was intended as a satire on a journalistic venture by a Berlin colleague of Chodowiecki's called Merino, who started the idea of publishing on a weekly basis, an engraving representing the most remarkable local event of the past seven days. After thirteen prints (Chodowiecki has thirteen scenes on the banner) Merino gave up for lack of public support. Chodowiecki, then, is attacking the trivial and unedifying content of a rival's venture (Merino himself is depicted sketching on the left) and by implication, decrying the taste for gruesome folk-song, which was cultivated by romantic writers of the period. The ballad-singer is condemned for catering to a depraved popular taste and inciting to real-life folly.

It is in terms comparable to these that Chodowiecki criticized Hogarth's excessive preoccupation with the vicious. We thus return once more to Hogarth—and to Lichtenberg. In his last years, Lichtenberg expanded his Hogarth commentaries,[25] publishing them continuously until 1799, when death cut him short in the middle of his work upon *Industry and Idleness*. They are psychologically incisive, almost surrealistically witty, and ramble like Sterne (or Töpffer?) along paths strewn with the most bizarre twists and turns of chance associations. They remain the most lively interpretation (as opposed to description or explanation) of Hogarth's work in existence, and the most eloquent testimony of the appeal of Hogarth's picture stories in the land and age of Goethe. Lichtenberg seems even to have reconciled that stern classicist himself to the "low English caricaturist,"[26] a fact of some significance when we learn that it was the aged Goethe who encouraged Rodolphe Töpffer to publish *his* picture-novels.

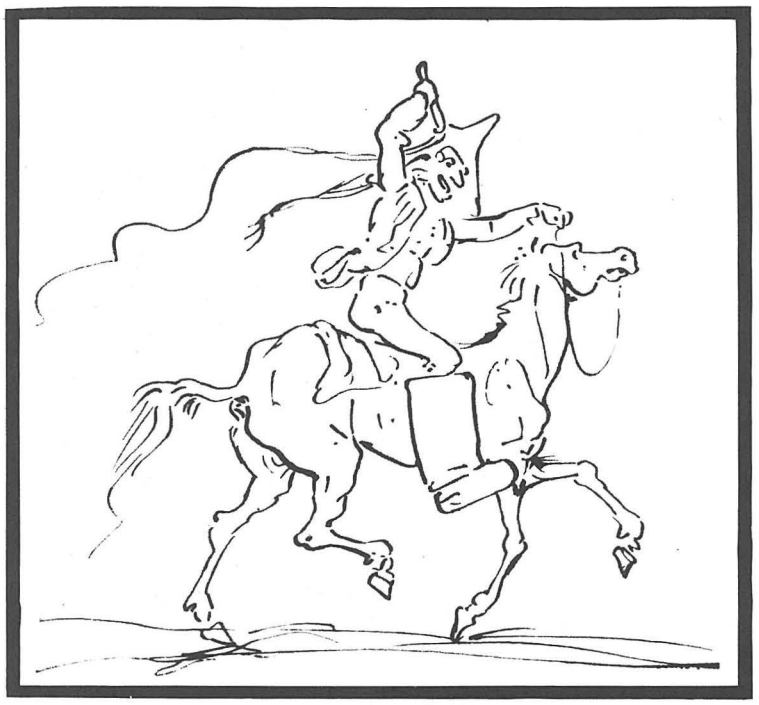
24. A commentary on Chodowiecki's *Rake* by H. A. Ottokar Reichard appeared as early as 1783; in 1791 J. C. L. Haken published full commentaries on both *Rake* and *Ill-educated Girl*.

25. Recently published in an English translation by Gustav and Innes Herdan. For some reason, the incomplete *Industry and Idleness* commentary is omitted altogether from this edition.

26. Cf. Brinitzer, pp. 294 and 298–99.

3. J. H. Ramberg (Germany)

In 1776 G.C. Lichtenberg wrote the Secretary for War in Hanover, J. D. Ramberg, in praise of his thirteen-year-old son's drawings, which he found "beautiful beyond all expectation."[27] With the encouragement of the great anglophile writer, the elder Ramberg sent young Johann Heinrich in 1780 to England. Under the joint protection of the Elector of Hanover (King George III) and his favorite painter Benjamin West, Ramberg attended the Royal Academy schools. He immediately struck all those around him—king, patrons, teachers and fellow-students—with his extraordinary talent for comic improvisation (13-13). Several political caricatures of this period have been identified as his work (13–14a and 13–14b), and he seems to have neglected his studies in painting. He returned to Hanover in 1788, and after a three-year visit to Italy, settled down to the uninspiring and ill-paid post of court painter, which he combined with the more viable career of book, magazine and almanac illustrator. The death of Chodowiecki in 1801 left a vacancy in the latter department which he hastened to fill.



13–13. J. H. Ramberg. *Caricature drawing of a horse and rider.*

For the *Ladies Pocket Book* of that year (*Taschenbuch für Damen auf das Jahr 1801*), he designed twelve caricatures of *Wicked Women*, but the lady readers were offended in spite of an attempt to offset their ugliness by means of a description of *Good Women* by a Ramberg admirer, J. W. von Goethe; satirical themes were thereafter banished from the almanac. Nevertheless, in 1810 the writer Jean Paul suggested to its publisher that he collaborate with the artist on an issue to be filled with a "comic series of actions like Hogarth."[28] He continued to press the matter, and in 1813 proposed in more explicit terms to transform a projected series into a Hogarthian narrative: "Do ask this true German Hogarth (who is much richer and funnier than Chodowiecki) whether between us we would not do better to produce a continuous story (like Hogarth often did), and which of us should be responsible for the plot."[29]

Nothing came of the proposal. The attempt to make Ramberg into a German Hogarth in substance as well as spirit failed for lack of a ready German market for sets of large humorous engravings. Ramberg could not repeat Chodowiecki's success in distilling elements of Hogarthian satire into the almanac illustration; nor was he temperamentally inclined to do so. His large albums of humorous etchings, *Till Eulenspiegel* and *Reineke Fuchs* (both 1826), which were sold independently of the text and of which the artist was very proud, proved a commercial failure. In 1820 we find Jean Paul lamenting publicly to his almanac readers that "Ramberg would have become a Hogarth long ago, if he were not annually compelled to remain our Chodowiecki in reticule-books (i.e. almanacs)." "I know," countered the artist, "that you think I should have become the German Hogarth, and reproach me with dissipating my talents on little almanac illustrations. That's only half the truth. How could I have become a German Hogarth, without being particularly anxious to starve? . . . No, I refuse to be an ass any longer, and steal from my daughters by working for fame."[30] In the politically and culturally stagnant atmosphere of Hanover, Ramberg's talent froze slowly to death. When he died in 1840, he had been long forgotten.

Apart from the illustrations to the folk-tales of *Till Eulenspiegel* and *Reineke Fuchs*, mentioned above, Ramberg seems to have nurtured hopes of publishing sets of satirical designs of his own invention in the English tradition. He gathered together twenty-nine miscellaneous *Satirische Blätter*, among which we find a succession of three sheets relating a marriage—perhaps an incipient *Marriage A-la-mode*; he also prepared a set of twelve *Horseback and Carriage Accidents* (*Unfälle zu Pferd und Wagen*, both sets drawn c. 1805/7), and a cycle of twenty-seven *Officials* (*Raethe*).[31] These depend wholly in theme, and to a lesser extent in manner, upon English caricature—Rowlandson, Gillray, Bunbury. They remained unpublished, but in 1827 Ramberg did venture to etch *Homer's Iliad, Serious and Comic* (*Homers Ilias, Seriös und komisch*), an album without text in which the artist contrasts strict neo-classical and caricatural treatment of the same subject. An original idea at this time, such juxtaposition epitomizes the struggle between two opposing styles which had never been resolved within the artist himself. There can be no doubt as to which he was temperamentally more suited, and the album constitutes a kind of appeal to the German public to admit to modern art the concepts of a comic style and social realism. As such, it was totally misunderstood, and Ramberg was accused of ridiculing the Homeric ideal itself. This could not have happened in England, where the literary travesty of Homer had long been a genre in itself.

27. Forster-Hahn, p. 32.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
31. All these drawings are now in the Kestner Museum, Hanover.





13–14a and 13–14b. J. H. Ramberg. *Rehearsal in Holland: Performance in September and October* (1787).

In the face of such opposition, it is not surprising that Ramberg's one truly Hogarthian venture, the *Life of Strunk the Upstart*, remained unpublished. In 1822 he had drawn the sequence complete as far as the twenty-first episode; three years later he finished it off with another four, and executed three etchings. But if his albums on existing popular themes, *Reynard the Fox* and *Till Eulenspiegel*, proved commercial failures, and if he had the difference between English and German censorship to reckon with, how much more likely was a satirical story of his own invention to founder upon the open market? That he executed the drawings at all, and in so highly finished a manner, even getting as far as etching three of them, is eloquent witness to the strength of his desire to emulate Hogarth on his own ground.

LIFE OF STRUNK THE UPSTART 1822–5 (13–15).

The name could not be more appropriate, for *Strunk* in German means both the worthless stalk of a cabbage, and a hefty young fellow; it is also a common proper name in Northern Germany. Far from being the passive victim of a neglected education, as in Chodowiecki, our hero takes the initiative as a child. The birds the little gooseherd plucks stand for the society he will later exploit; as he betrays his schoolmate, so will he betray and cheat mankind. The third scene seems at first sight harmless. The commercial enterprise of his childhood collaborator, the Jew Israel, is for the moment limited to selling lottery tickets to the waitress; but Ramberg hints, in his commentary, at some "magnetic help" Strunk receives in his bowling—perhaps from loaded balls. Introduced (4) by Israel as a servant into an aristocratic household, Strunk is eyed by the Countess, a buxom beauty with a gout-stricken dwarf of a husband. The courtship is pursued more openly in the next scene, where she "checks" her husband in more senses than one. Strunk gazes lustfully back, and at the same time covers for Israel, as he depletes the manor oat-supply. Our hero's twin designs, in business and in love, reach a climax in the fifth scene, where, having been promoted to head steward, he weaves a sinister plot with the aid of Israel; meanwhile, visible through the door, is the figure of the Countess leaving a bed which must be Strunk's own.

As the combined result of this financial wizardry and amorous intrigue (6) Strunk becomes master of the house and has the poor Count expelled; the Countess, with Strunk's baby on her arm, gazes pitifully up at her lover, sitting enthroned upon the terrace above, where he blithely celebrates his victory in wine. The next scene serves to remind Israel who has the whip hand in the deal; but the quarrel is not serious, for he and Strunk are soon happily collaborating again—this time to corrupt a military commissioner. Strunk thus becomes Lord of the Manor as the millionaire Count Strahlenstrunk (Raystalk), and as such receives the homage of the populace in the style of an eighteenth-century petty despot.

After so much business-dealing, Strunk relaxes from his intellectual efforts in the manner of the true aristocratic rake, pursuing various "noble passions": drinking, gambling and hunting parties, and animal sports. Fatigued by so much physical exercise, Strunk then moves to Paris in search of more artistic amusements: music, dancing, and painting. The latter art he patronizes by ordering a huge dual portrait of himself and Israel in "bibli-classical" garb (18). He displays his gastronomic skills in a fashionable restaurant by dispatching several dozen oysters at a sitting, a feat which excites the naive admiration of a local beauty, the glee of the waiters, and the envy of other hungry and ill-fed diners.

At the twentieth scene, Ramberg attempts to take up some narrative slack by means of a new intrigue involving Israel and the musicians they had patronized, who rob Strunk of his valuables while he lies immobilized by gout in a drugged sleep. The robbers do not however get very far, for they are struck down on the highway by bandits. At this point Ramberg paused, uncertain how to dispose of his hero. Three years later he resumed the tale, transforming Strunk, whom he had left destitute and ill, from client into impresario of fashionable vice. As proprietor of a brothel and gambling-den, he corrupts the local youth and even engages a drunken boy to sign away his inheritance. Strunk reaches an apotheosis, first as the Grand Master of an alcoholic masonic lodge, and finally as a saint, worshipped by all the fools in the world.

Ramberg presents us with a panorama of comic characters, the breadth and variety of which prevents the sequence from palling even when the narrative pace slows down. The physiognomies in *Strunk* are of a kind peculiar to the artist, for while their forms are exaggerated in the manner of English caricature, the facial features show an expressive restraint and a certain refinement of mood, which strike a fine balance between the serious characterization of Hogarth and the formal absurdities of Rowlandson. The delicate linear handling of faces and attitudes is not unworthy of Chodowiecki, and matches the highly disciplined quality of the compositions. As a contemporary poet phrased it, Ramberg's genius lay in the "choice of the most pregnant moment and in the gradation of expression."[32]

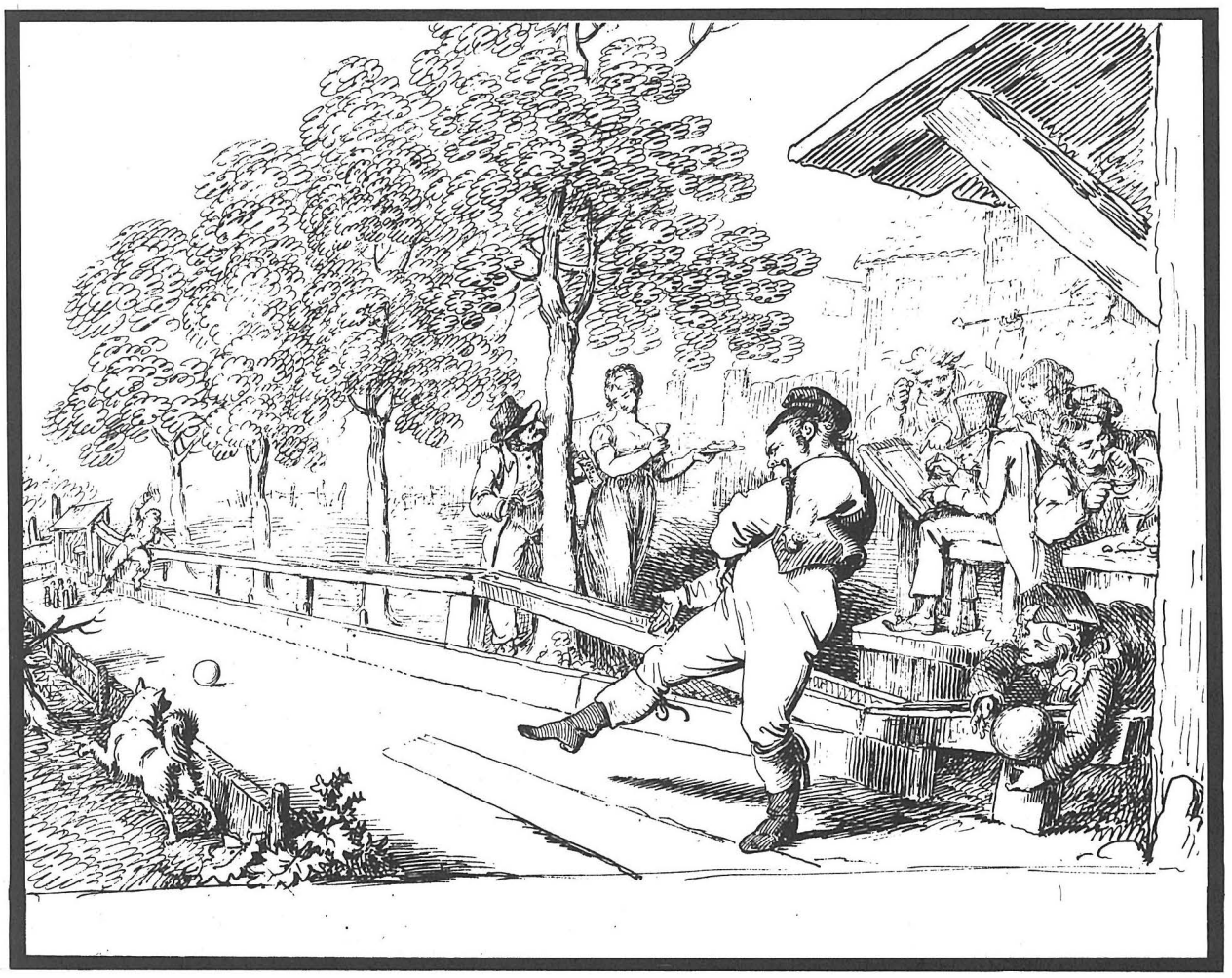
Of the many memorable subsidiary characters who are played off against each other, let us single out just a few highlights: the maid in (4), turning in gruff, cynical fashion toward her mistress, who wears the slight superior smile of one imbued with a kind of female *droit de seigneur* over her manservants (i.e. the reverse situation of the rake ogling the maid). In (9), the military commissioner freezes symmetrically, his expression half-hidden by the papers he holds; only the pinpoints of his eyes reveal that he is conscious of the bribes entering his capacious pockets. The notary awaits the outcome with a gaze of extreme diffidence. The "noble passions" serve as pretexts for certain physiognomic tours de force, among which the gambling-den (12) takes pride of place. The situation brewing for the smug, unsuspecting Israel is pure Commedia dell'Arte: on the one side a coldly furious gymnastics teacher on the point of clobbering him; on the other, the timid notary shrinking back in fear, but still compulsively thumbing his nose with snuff. The calm studious boy to the right is contrasted to the crazed gambler clawing the table-cloth—a projection of his future, perhaps. Even when a similar theme returns, Ramberg does not repeat himself. The brilliantly improvised figures of the gamblers in the background of scene 23 seem on the verge of insanity or hysteria; only the very sinister figure in

32. G. C. Körner writing in 1791 to Friedrich Schiller, quoted by Forster-Hahn, p. 41.



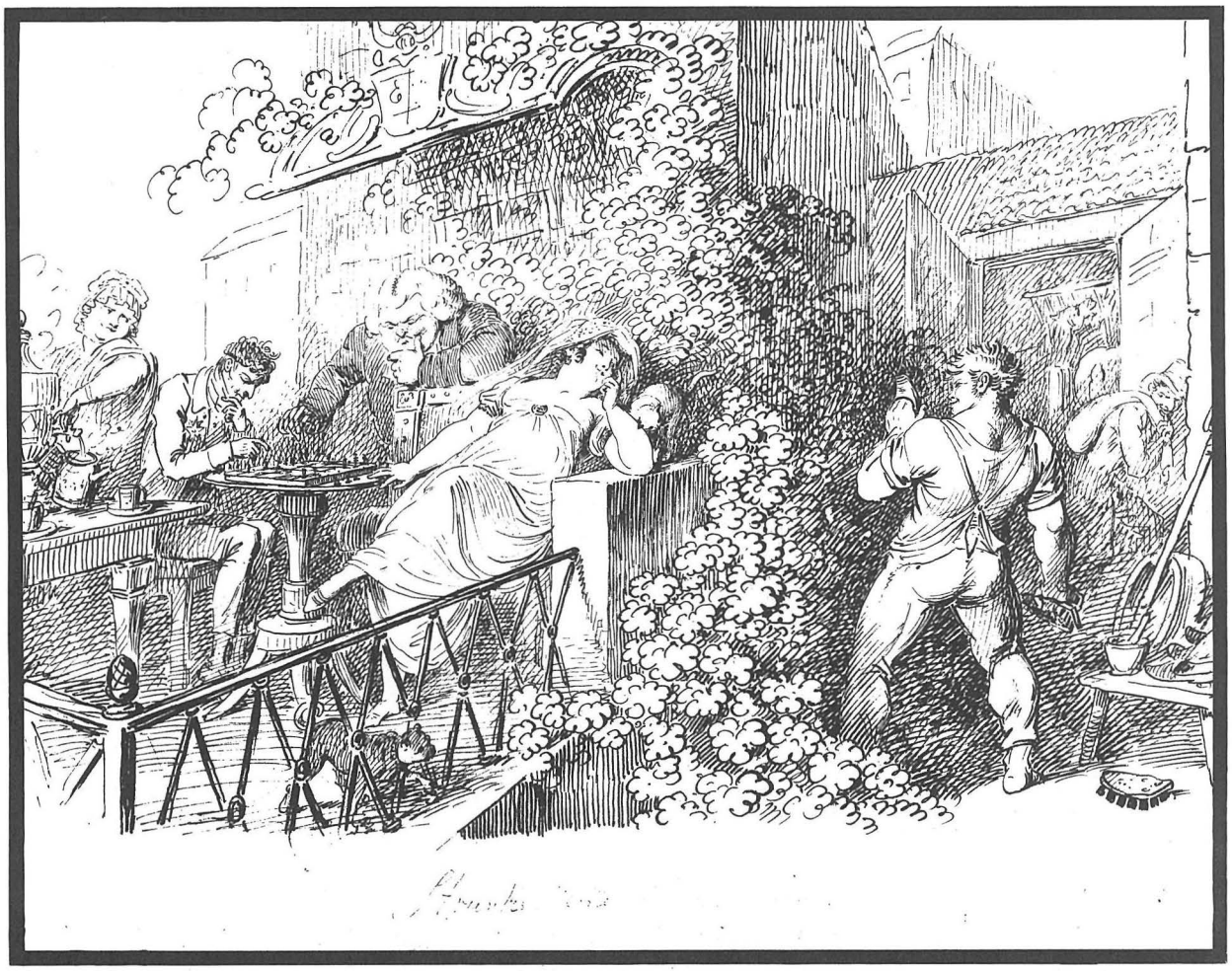
13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart* (1822–5). For translation of the artist's commentary in full, see p. 463.
"1. Kohlstrunk (cabbage-stalk) shows speculative genius—goes into the feather business with Moses Israel. 2. Strunk at school, and playing the sneak."



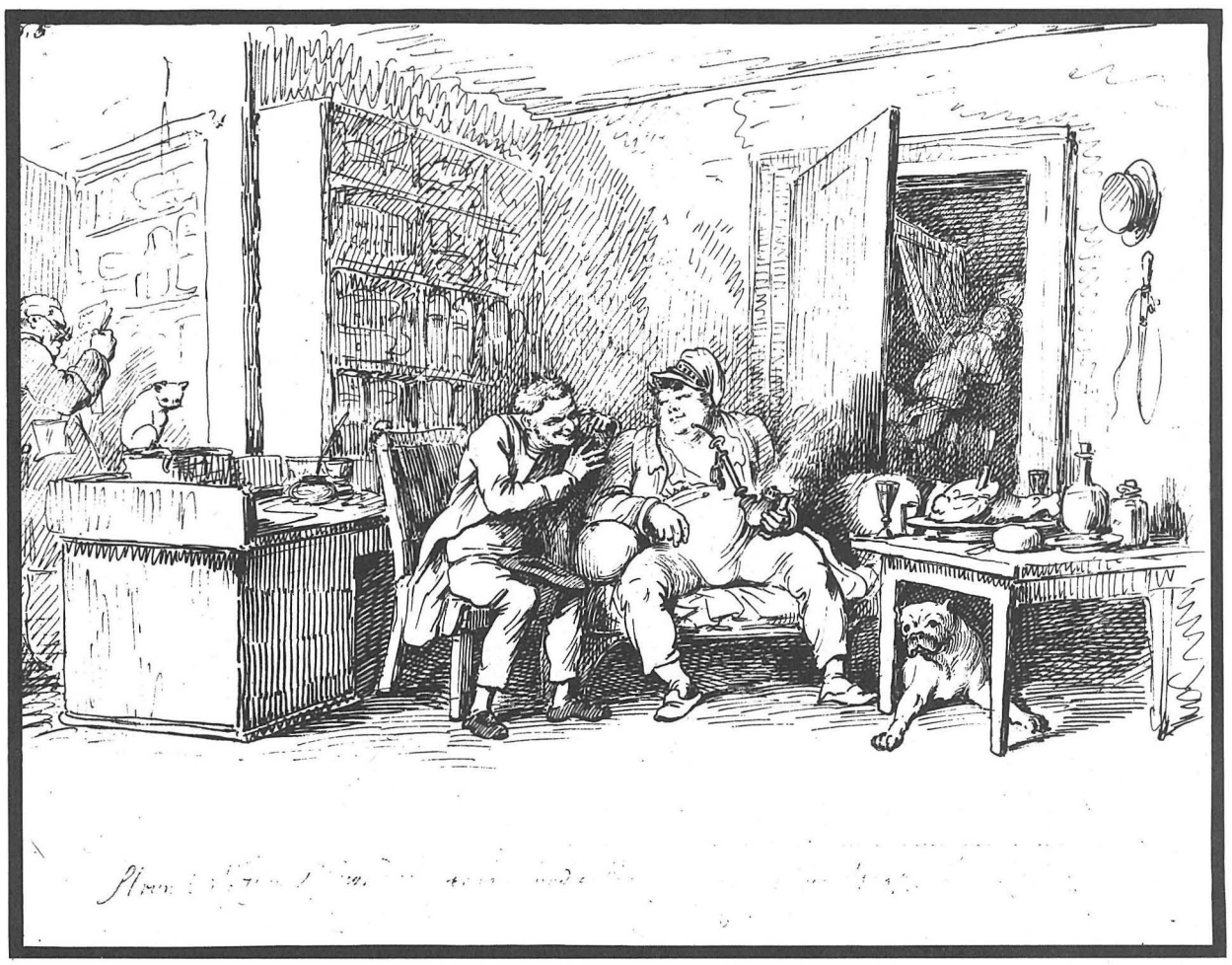


13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"3. Strunk, now a bowls boy, recognizes his instructor. 4. Strunk is introduced by his friend Israel to the family of a Count."





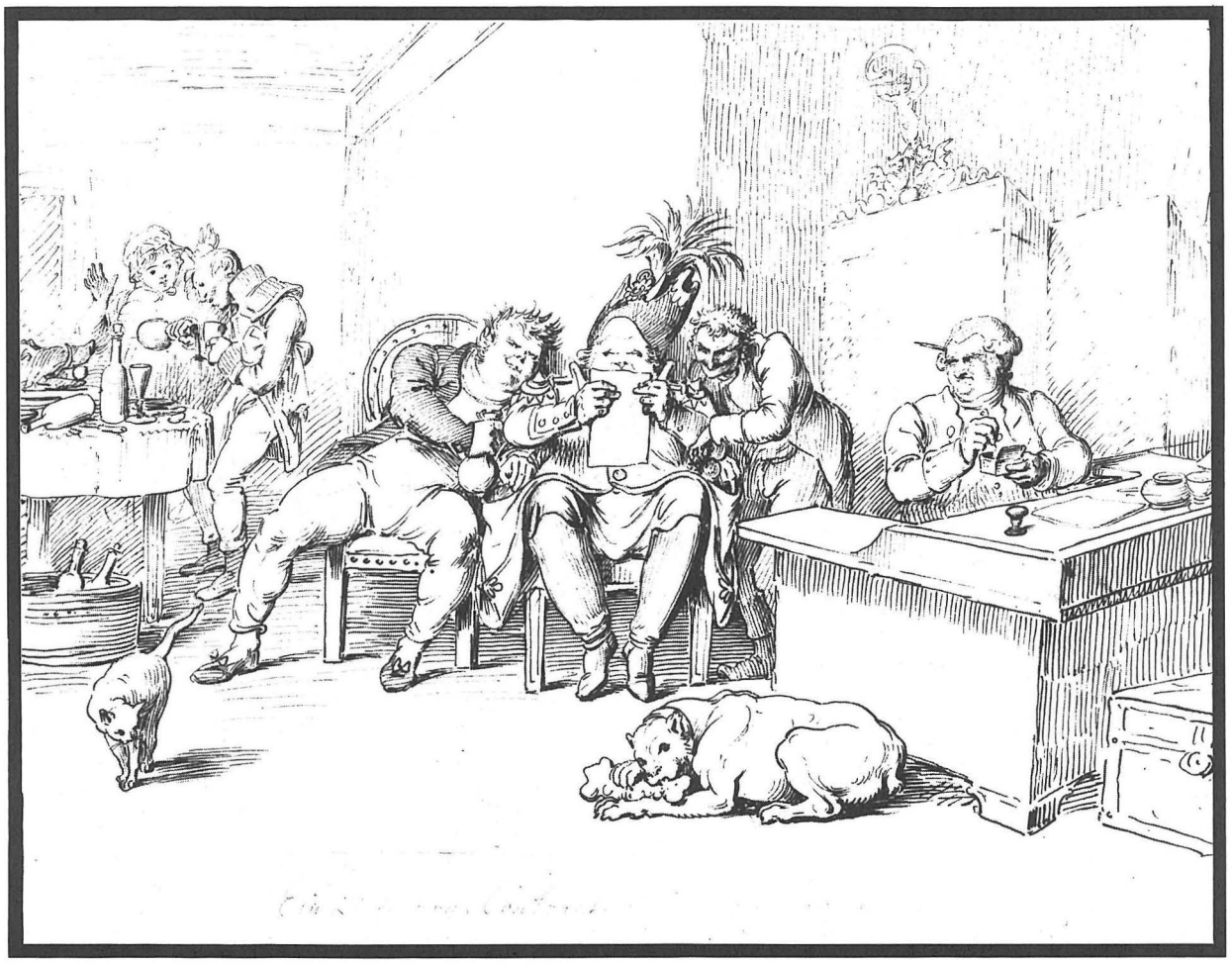
13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"5. Strunk's merits are recognized—indulges with Israel in a little oats-speculation. 6. Strunk is appointed Head Steward, and receives instruction from Israel in economics."





13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"7. A little falling-out and friendly correction. 8. The Count and his family are expelled."





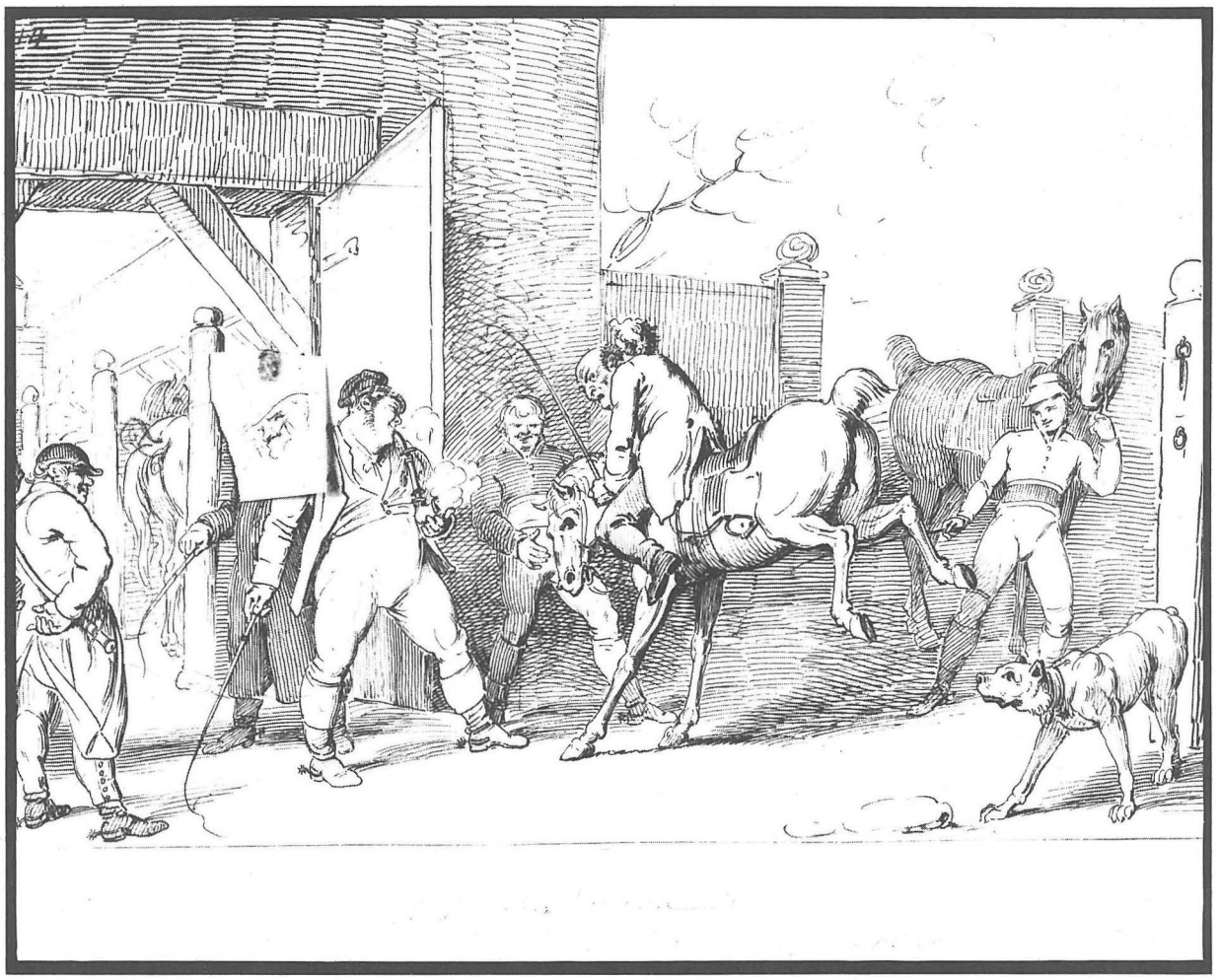


13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"9. Strunk closes a deal in military supplies. 10. Strunk as Count Raystalk and Israel as Baron Laurelwreath."





13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"11. Count Raystalk excels in the noble passions. First noble passion.
12. Second noble passion."



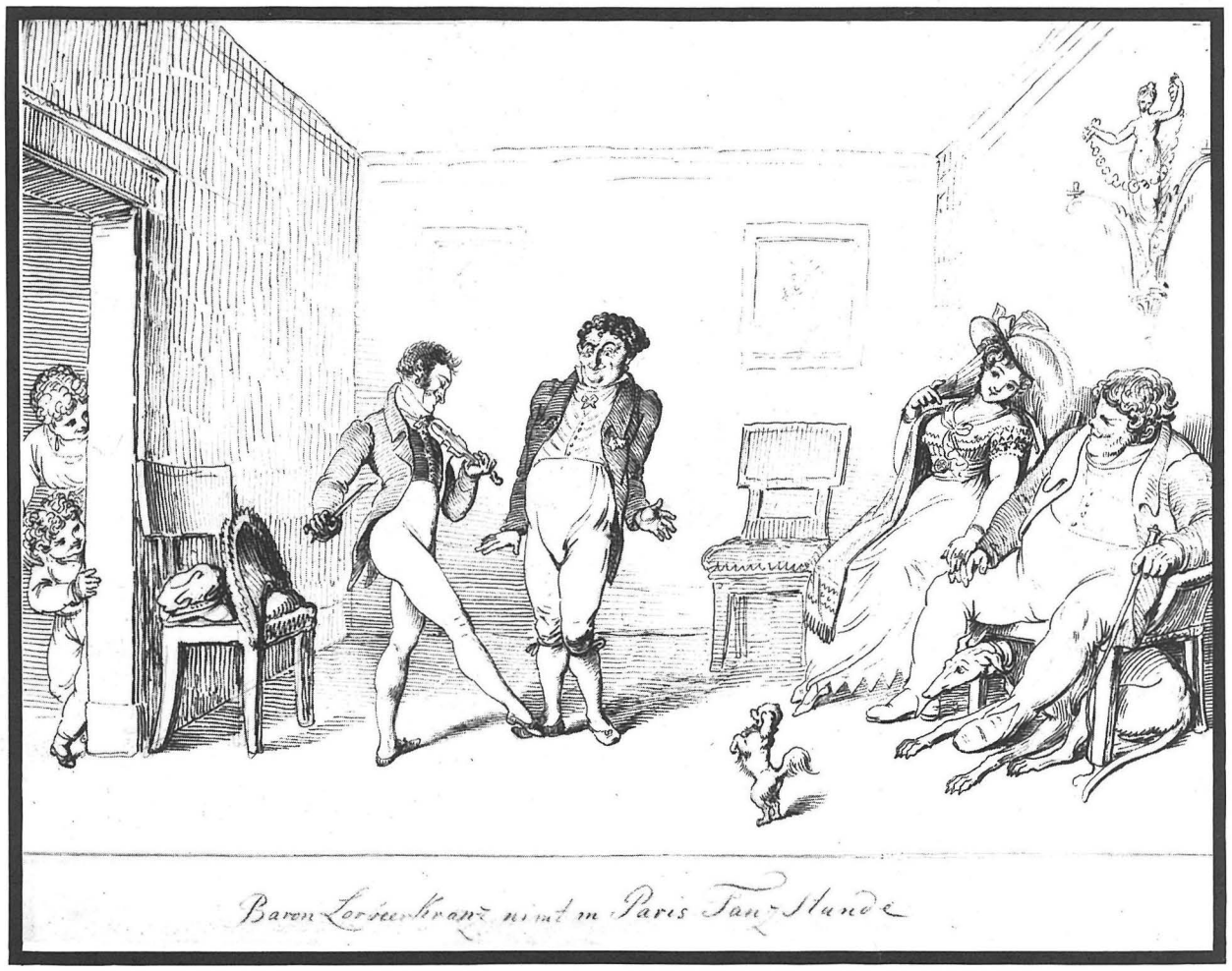


13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"13. Third noble passion. 14. Fourth noble passion."

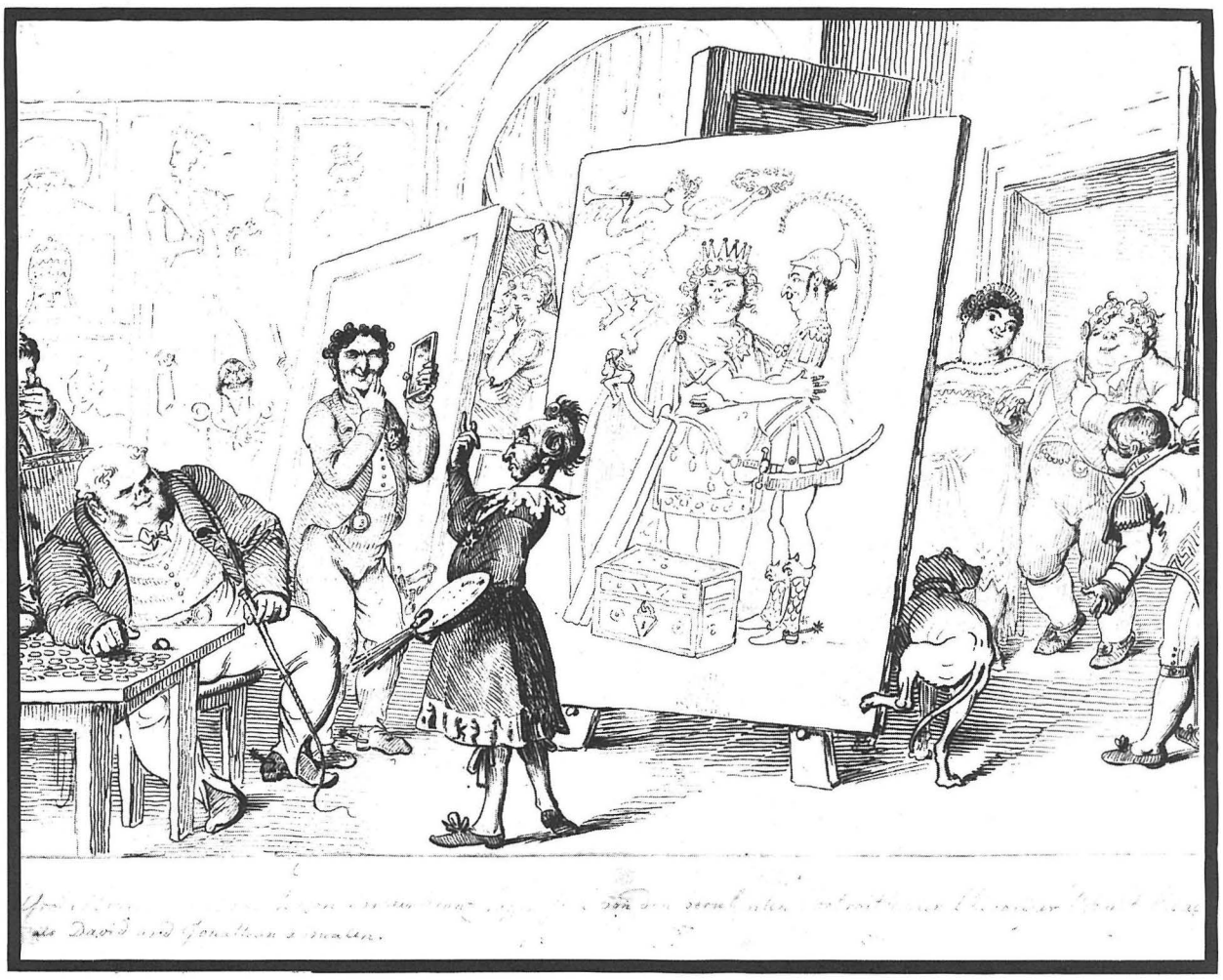




13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"15. Fifth noble passion. 16. Sixth noble passion."



13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"17. Baron Laurelwreath takes dancing lessons in Paris. 18. Count Raystalk and Baron Laurelwreath have themselves painted as David and Jonathan by the famous portrait painter Sir Albert Dawb."





13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"19. Strunk reveals marvelous talents as a gourmand in the kitchen of the celebrated Grignion in Paris. 20. Strunk is robbed while he lies in a drugged sleep."



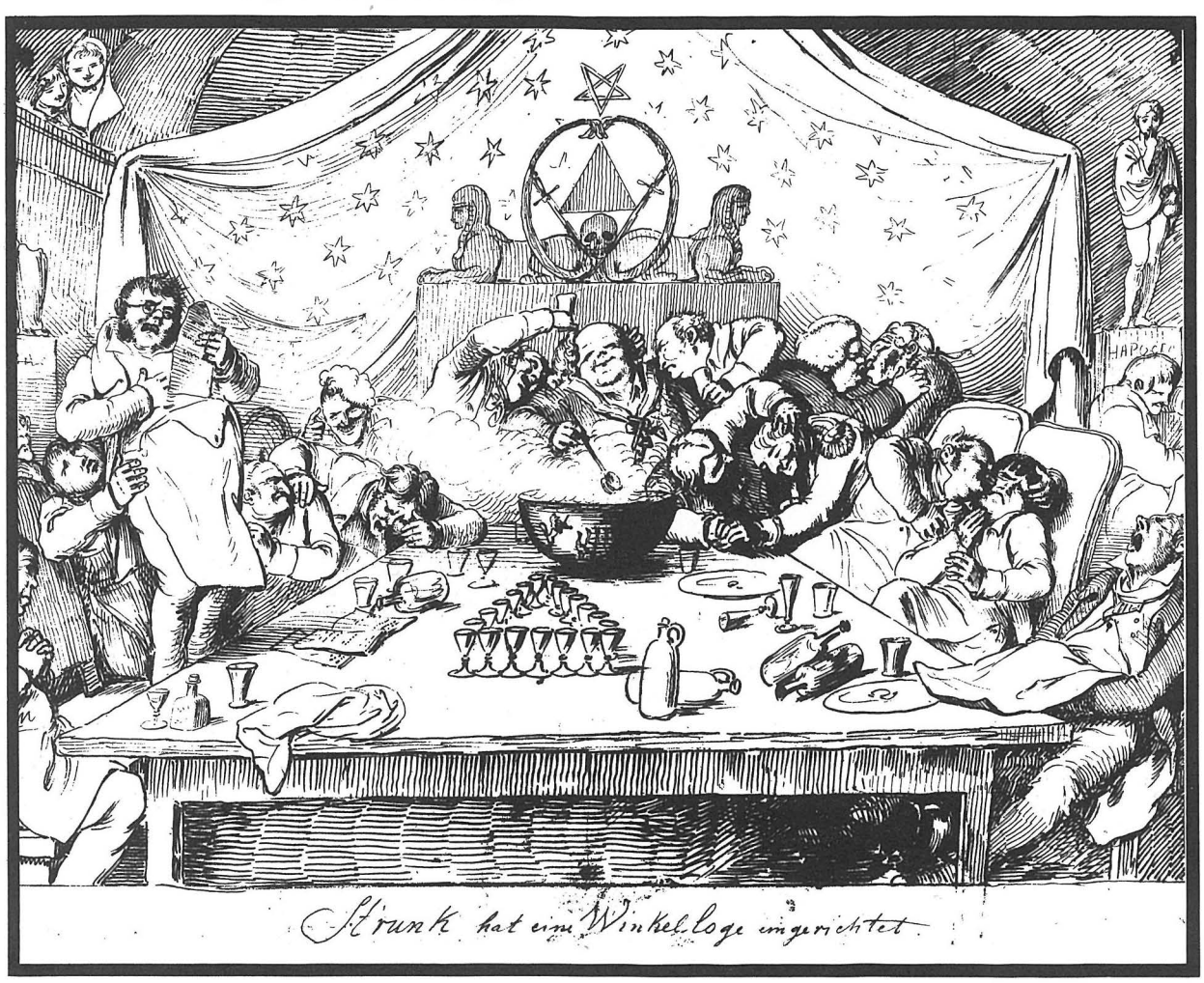




13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"21. Nemesis. 22. Strunk, restored to health, sets up a philanthropic Institute."



13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"23. Strunk sets up a Sanitarium in grandiose style. 24. Strunk has organized a masonic lodge."





13–15. J. H. Ramberg. *The Life of Strunk the Upstart.*
"25. Strunk takes to miracle-working and becomes a saint."

front is in full control, as he grimly awaits the return of the youthful prey in order to rob him of his patrimony. Strunk's masonic drunkards (24) are more grotesque by far than in scene 11, indulging in anything from ludicrous piety to obscene embraces.

After the somewhat centrifugal composition of the masonic lodge, everything is concentrated upon Strunk as the miracle-worker, surrounded by mental and physical cripples of every kind. They kneel and bow abjectly; they prostrate themselves indecently like heathens before an idol; they smile in mindless hope. The owners of such inane faces are clearly doomed from the start; but there are also normal, innocent-looking children, fresh for corruption. Most telling of all is the seraphic face of Strunk himself, who is all bulk, all beard and saintly uplift, contrasting with the practiced sourness of his clerical acolytes and the cynicism of the urchin munching a biscuit as he holds the Master's halo.

The total image of the hero is the most striking single feat of characterization since Hogarth. Never had an artist set himself the problem of rendering twenty-four characterizations of the same figure in such varying situations;[33] the figure of Strunk is the binding force in a narrative which often threatens to fall apart. His basic character is that of the sly schemer, but in a few strokes of the pen Ramberg can vary his mood with each new situation, and suggest a continuous psychological development. As a physiognomic type, he is compared throughout with his confederate Israel, who takes something of an emotional battering and thus stands as a foil to the calm and collected master (note especially scenes 11 and 13). With Strunk, Ramberg has made an acute psychological judgment on the nature of the successful social upstart: whatever the situation, he controls it, because he is always in control of himself. Even in the drinking and gambling scenes (11 and 12), his suavity does not desert him. He never appears merely ridiculous. He is far indeed from his iconographic prototype, the fat, vulgar *nouveau-riche* of English caricature (also to be seen entering in 18).

When Strunk has to start life anew after his misfortunes, he has become an old man with a bald, bony skull and sunken features; his frame is somewhat lighter. The sly, confident schemer has turned into a sinister, hardened old villain (23), who at the very end becomes filled with a monstrous kind of beatitude.

The Life of Strunk the Upstart is a triumphant revival of the significant accessory, especially as regards animals. The latter, like the symbolic decorations in scenes 9, 11, 22 and 23,[34] are entirely in the Hogarth tradition, while avoiding the English artist's tendency to overload the composition. We have already noted the symbolic plucking of geese in scene 1; in the second scene a cat, raised like the cooking-

33. This physiognomic exercise may be compared with that in *Till Eulenspiegel*, where an identical strained smirk reappears fifty-five times over. The expression of Strunk already loses some of its subtlety in the three etchings which Ramberg made; the artist was better with the pencil than with the etching needle.

34. Statuette of Fortune arrested by demons (9), painting of the drunken Lot and his daughters (11), painting of David and Bathsheba above the "wine-list" offering for sale black, brown, blonde, red and ash-grey (22).

ladle and birch in readiness to strike, contributes to the dramatic suspension of the action. The massive Strunk, entering the Count's drawing room, is accompanied by a large dog who glowers at the Count's little pup, a creature as pathetic as the Count himself. The Countess' white cat, prowling in Strunk's room (6), is additional testimony to their liaison, as are the horns sprouting from the Count's coat of arms (5). In scene 10 Strunk's mastiff enhances his master's glory by discomfiting Israel, who is later proved to be the timid owner of a timid dachshund (15). Once he arrives in Paris (17) Strunk exchanges his fighting animal for a sleek greyhound which echoes his gallant ambitions at that moment, while a pup parodies the dancing-master. The dog urinating on Strunk's portrait (18) is lifted from an ancient tradition of satirical symbolism; so too is the hare killed with the same shot as the cowardly fugitive Israel (21).

We need not attempt to compute exactly the debt Ramberg owes to Hogarth (note particularly scene 4, which may be compared with 10-36); nor need we stress how *Strunk* relies generally upon the repertory of satirical types created by English caricature.[35] I believe that the German artist has created, upon the basis of the English tradition, a story which is original in itself and full of fresh satirical barbs. It is the product of a new age.

The major theme, the rise of the upstart, was adumbrated but not fully explored by the English caricaturists (Woodward's cleric, Newton's Scot, 12-9 and 12-13). One can begin to understand why Ramberg chose this topic by examining the peculiar political and social circumstances of a lesser German state in the 1820s. This was a reactionary period which shattered the hopes of progress engendered by the French Revolution. The Napoleonic invasion had failed to give a liberal democracy to Germany, and the restoration of the monarchies in 1815 sought to wipe out all traces of liberalism left in the wake of that invasion. The Count in the *Life of Strunk* represents the decadent aristocracy, restored after the failure of the Revolution but weakened by it. Strunk himself is the ruthless low-class schemer profiting from the turmoil of war and the resultant social dislocation in order to exploit the old upper class. Once he has displaced the Count, Strunk begins to imitate aristocratic vices, according to the supposed habit of the *parvenu*. Immobilized by an aristocratic ailment, the gout, Strunk is robbed by other low-class elements. Bandits put a romantic and melodramatic end to *them*; but Strunk himself recovers, and devotes himself again to the exploitation of society. Having destroyed it at the top, he now undermines it from below.

The Life of Strunk is not only an exposé of the upstart; it is also a satire on the business methods of the industrial age. Strunk is always the businessman, from childhood; it is through business acumen that he acquires his patent of nobility and his millions (an eighteenth-century upstart would have married the Countess after hounding her husband to the grave). At the end, his organizational genius finds its outlet in the maintenance of "philanthropic institutions"—brothel, gambling-den, masonic lodge and religious sect, by means of which he corrupts all classes at large, from the rich youth down to the ignorant peasant.

Ramberg's satire enters at least three major social areas which Chodowiecki had never dared to approach: the church, the law, and the army. A contemporary of Chodowiecki had taken offense at the characterization of the parson who weds the rake (13-5, scene 9); Ramberg goes much further, making the church and the law connive at an infamous usurpation. The gross court chaplain thinks nothing of helping Strunk to dissipate his ill-gotten millions. (The maid also continues under the new management without a tear for the mistress whose ruin—unwittingly perhaps—she abetted.)[36] Finally, it is the military, and the state itself, which come under attack, for it is a government official, acting on behalf of the army, who contracts with Strunk for supplies, to their mutual profit. The corrupt army agent and the war-profiteering industrialist were phenomena of the Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic eras, when huge standing armies came into being. Small wonder that Ramberg's satire was never published.

Far from being "superseded" and "dated,"[37] *Strunk* looks into the future. This is a satire on the capitalist swindler, a type to be immortalized a decade later in Daumier's Robert Macaire: his methods of exploitation, his personal vices, his cunning and his cruelty. The scene of his reception as the new landlord (10) is more than a parody of rustic ceremonial. The marshal drives away the poor; the servile schoolmaster, with his inane chorus of pupils, trumpets the praises of the man he did not dare to beat as a child (2). Older, wiser villagers (in the background) look on helplessly. The scenes of "English" sportsmanship (13, 14, 15) are more than just that. In the first one Strunk demonstrates yet again his superiority over the Jew; in the next he lashes the peasant who dares protest his trampling down the cornfields; and then he sets dog upon dog, a practice which testifies not only to his Tom Nero-like sadism, but also symbolizes the social conflicts upon which he thrives. The satire on a secret society such as the masons, which flourished in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and drew some of the fire traditionally reserved for Jews—this, too is timely and a relative novelty. The story appears totally pessimistic, but we must note the one moment when virtue has its chance to win a small revenge. The figure concerned (12) is moreover a highly topical one—the gymnastics teacher, who has come to rescue a pupil from a cesspool of iniquity, and administer condign punishment to the organizers.

It is undeniable that the satiric (and with it, the narrative) impulse flags over the series of Noble Passions, and with the activities in Paris, which are amusing but little more. Had publication been a real possibility, *Strunk* would probably have been pruned and condensed. This deficiency, serious as it is, is redeemed by the surprising conclusion. The entire pattern of the picture story up to this date leads us to expect the villain to expire in misery, punished as befitted his crimes.[38] Strunk lies ill, impoverished; suddenly he revives on a different, broader social level, a Mephistophelian figure

35. Reluctant to recognize any real originality in *Strunk*, Miss Forster-Hahn overemphasizes this dependence: "(*Strunk*) clings wholly to the thematic range of 18th century social satire . . . (comprises) an assemblage of traditional types, not individuals . . . abstractions from life" (pp. 107–8, 112).

36. The figure helping the Countess out of Strunk's bedchamber (6) is presumably the maid, who showed earlier signs of conniving at her mistress' infidelity.

37. Forster-Hahn, p. 109.

38. Did Ramberg intend Strunk originally to die upon the gallows, as mentioned in the commentary to scene 1?

who seizes the soul not of an individual but of society at large. He has become the imperialist of vice and ignorance, the builder of the devil's empire on earth, in the guise of secret societies and fake religions. The raging passions of mankind are finally stilled in the spiritual vacuum created by a society immolating itself at the shrine of the living saint and divine magician. Strunk, aged as he is, will moreover live on; to the left, a hefty adolescent with a whip passes by in mockery. He is Strunk's son, Strunk *redivivus*.[39] This final drawing is a vision of the ultimate insanity, where the realism of Hogarth meets the sublimity of Goya.

39. Noted by Stuttmann, p. 42.

4. *Goya: The Caprichos*

Spain in the late eighteenth century was the cultural backwater of Europe. Her defeat in the Thirty Years War, and the erosion of her empire in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, left her politically impotent; she was economically stagnant and her rigidly military-clerical ethic paralyzed her socially. Organs of public opinion were almost nonexistent. Even under the comparatively liberal, progressive Charles III (1759–1788), who expelled the Jesuits in 1767, there were only three journals of any importance and longevity, all of them semi-official and concerned more with the dissemination of practical information than with comment.[40] In these circumstances, it is no surprise to find a complete lack of topical broadsheets.

The appearance of Goya, indisputably the greatest fantastic satirist of his—perhaps any—age, is disconcerting to the historian. Although he has literally no predecessor or successor in Spain, his satire is very Spanish, in the sense that it is the product of a peculiarly Spanish environment. It was perhaps only in a country so ridden with superstition, so cleft between the ideals of the educated few and the beliefs of the ignorant masses, that a satire so demonic could emerge. We are concerned only with the narrative problem in Goya, as it is discernible in his two greatest graphic sequences; but even this can only be illuminated in terms of the peculiar, paradoxical relationship which existed between the artist and his public, between his art and the social-political matrix.

Francisco Goya, First Painter to the Kings of Spain, was first and foremost a painter of portraits, tapestry designs and religious subjects. There is nothing satirical about the work he executed before 1797, when he began the *Caprichos*. Their sudden appearance, when the artist was already over fifty years of age, is usually linked with two sets of circumstances, the one personal, the other political. In 1792 Goya suffered a grave illness, which left him virtually deaf. Isolated from human speech and the sounds of the world, he turned inward and made the *Caprichos* the catharsis by which he purged from his soul the mental and physical crisis his illness had brought about.[41] On the political side, the death of Charles III in 1788 marks a turning point in Spanish history. His successor Charles IV tried to stem the inflow of liberal and revolutionary ideas by means of repressive legislation and censorship. The overthrow (in March 1797) of his chief minister, Manuel Godoy, encouraged Goya to etch and publish the satirical designs which he had been meditating. He announced them on February 6, 1799, in the following terms:

40. Cf. Kany.
41. Ferrari, p. xv.
42. Slightly adapted from Lopez-Rey, *Caprichos*, pp. 78–79.

"A Collection of Prints of Capricious Subjects, Invented and Etched by Don Francisco Goya. Since the artist is convinced that the censure of human errors and vices (though they may seem to be the province of Eloquence and poetry) may also be the object of painting, he has chosen subjects fit for his work, from the multitude of follies and blunders common in every civil society, as well as from the vulgar prejudices and lies hallowed by custom, ignorance and interest, those that he has thought most suitable matter for ridicule as well as for exercising the artificer's fancy. . . .

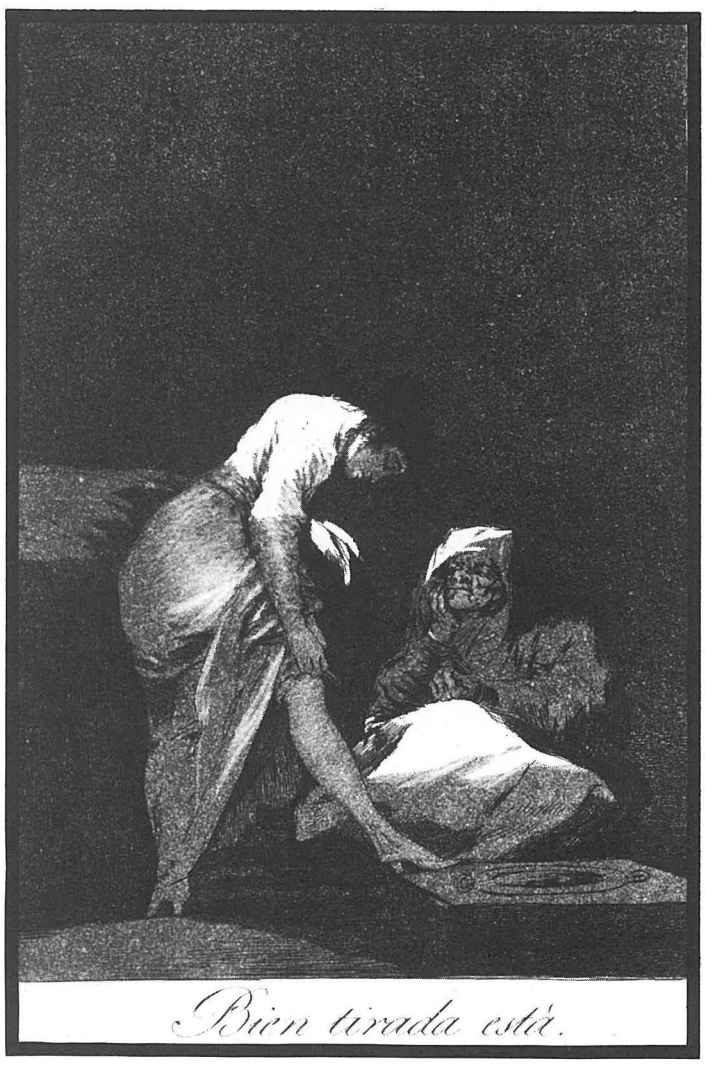
The majority of the subjects represented in this work are ideal. . . And if imitating Nature is as difficult as it is admirable when one succeeds in doing so, some respect must be shown him who, holding aloof from her, has had to present forms and attitudes that so far have existed only in the human mind, obscured and confused by lack of illustration, or excited by the unruliness of passion."[42]

There are two noteworthy factors in this statement: first, that Goya's satirical target is traditional to literature (and, we may add, to the broadsheet); and second, that he has consciously treated it fancifully, creating "forms and attitudes that so far have existed only in the human mind." We must therefore approach Goya's etchings on two levels simultaneously: that of realistic social satire, and that of a fantastic personal vision. It is the intermingling of these two elements which makes his work unique and constitutes the kernel of the narrative problem. It is clear from the material we have studied thus far that social realism tends toward narrative, and personal fantasy away from it. (It is partly the predilection to fantasy in Gillray which draws him away from narrative, and William Blake is so much the visionary that he never even approaches it.) There is, I believe, an objective narrative thread to both the *Caprichos* (13-16) and the *Desastres* (13–17), which Goya has—perhaps intentionally—obscured.

Did Goya want his plates to be read in sequence? Lafuente Ferrari speaks of a "rhapsodic" as opposed to a "symphonic" arrangement, of plates "like a pack of cards which have been shuffled," of "sudden switches" within the "continuous development of themes." The *Caprichos* fall into three fairly distinct, consecutive groups: realistically and satirically conceived social subjects (1-18); erotic motifs (19–36); and the fantastic imagery of witchcraft (43–80). Plates 37–42 form an interlude of animal satires. These broad divisions overlap and interlace at many points: there are scenes of superstition and eroticism in the first group, there

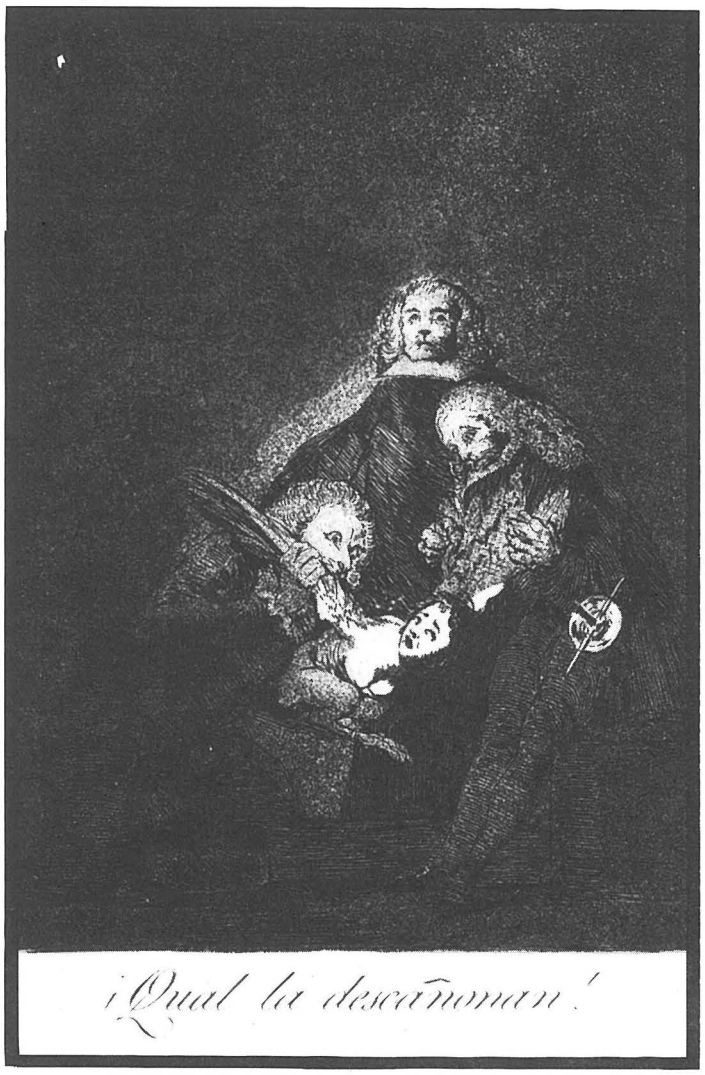


13–16. Goya. *Caprichos* (1799).
6. People do not know themselves.



17. A smooth fit.

21. How they pluck them!

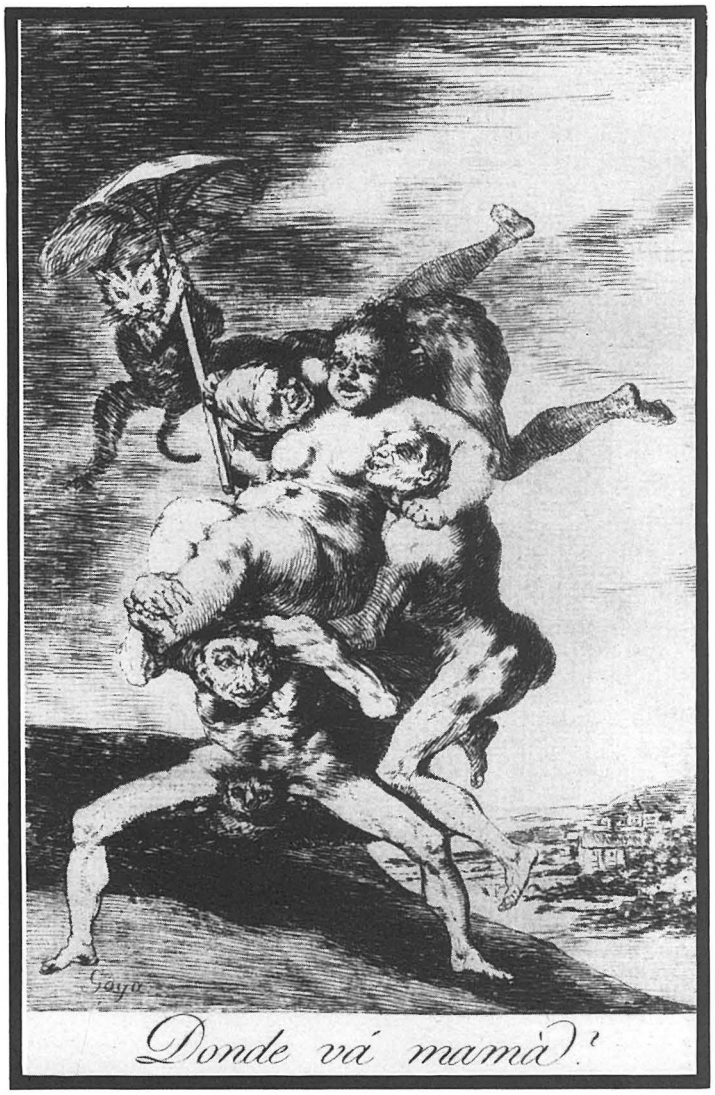


37. Can the pupil know more?





45. There is a lot to suck.



65. Where is Mama off to?

is fantasy in the second, and social satire and eroticism in the third. One can nevertheless detect a progression (or regression) from social realism to private fantasy. Psychologically, there is an inward and downward movement, which acts as a form of therapeutic self-exploration, and reflects at the same time the artist's didactic method: first describe the symptoms of human folly, then search for the cause. Goya starts with the socially consecrated practices, exposes the sordid inner workings of the system, and works his way toward the darker recesses of the human spirit where the absurdest fantasies reign. There is a corresponding progressive stylistic emphasis on the grotesque. The educated few whom Goya is addressing would understand these fantasies as allegories of reigning superstitions, which are implanted by clerical tradition in the ignorant populace, and which survive also in the liberal reader himself, latent beneath a veneer of culture.

Goya begins the *Caprichos* with a fairly realistic depiction of false social, particularly man-woman relationships, which are the product of ignorance and the mania for deception (13-16, scene 6). There follow episodes from the life of the arch-deceivers of society, the harlots and bawds. The harlot is shown preparing for her role (scene 17), enacting it, then being exploited in turn, and punished by a greater exploiter still—the Church and the Law (scene 21). This pattern is repeated in less consequent fashion later on (30-36). Then follows a satirical set of "Arts and Sciences"—professionals exploiting mankind on the most socially accepted level: teacher (scene 37), musician, painter, physician and aristocrat.

The forty-third plate, the famous *Sleep of Reason produces Monsters*, was probably intended as a frontispiece to the whole, and then moved to precede the half which deals in particular with the monstrous forces of unreason—nightmares, witches, sorcerers. Goya opens the theme with a review of practices peculiar to the higher reaches of black magic (scene 45), and develops it with scenes showing witches as subject to human vices (scene 65), a group which is interlaced with other scenes of witches exploiting ordinary human beings on earth (scene 72). The tendency here is for the two realms of human and supernatural society to become welded together in a process sealed by the final two plates, where clergy and witch are one and the same.

The satirical content of the *Caprichos* is frequently enriched, and the "narrative" flow obscured, by the interpolation of traditional broadsheet motifs and comic subjects. Like the more personal inventions, however, these become transformed, expansive and mysterious, through Goya's visionary style of etching. A further element of confusion is contributed by the captions, which serve to mystify rather than clarify. They are cryptic, cynical, abrupt—the verbal equivalent to the etched line, hovering between reality and fantasy. Instead of linking the plates together, they do the opposite, looking inward rather than outward.





13–16. *Caprichos* (cont.).
72. You cannot escape.

80. Time to be off.

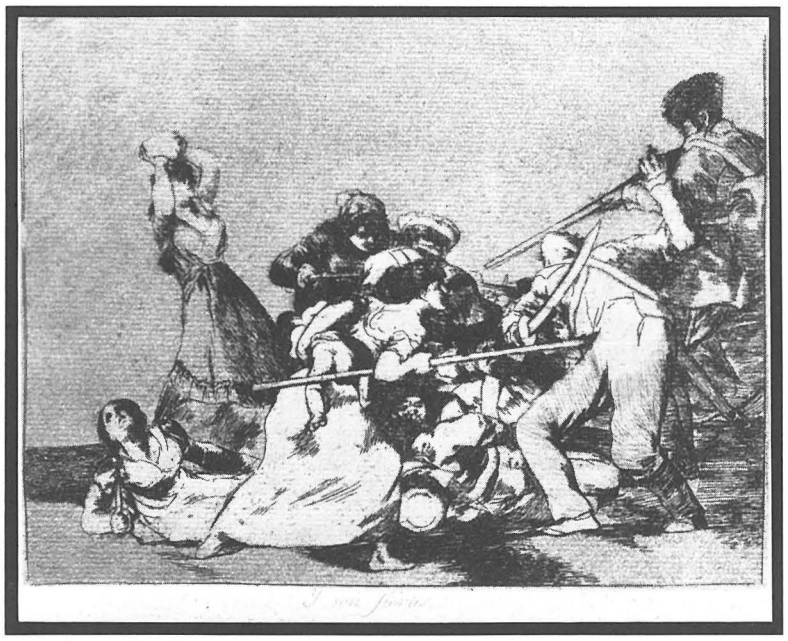
The *Caprichos* were on public sale for only two weeks. Goya's sudden decision to withdraw them can be connected with a new political crisis and the dismissal of the ministers Saavedra and Jovellanos, the latter being a close friend of the artist. In a letter of 1825 Goya tells that the *Caprichos* involved him in some trouble with the Inquisition, which cannot have failed to notice their anti-clericalism. They apparently enjoyed an international, if otherwise very restricted, circulation: in 1803, when he offered the original plates to the royal printing press for safekeeping, Goya stated that while only twenty-seven sets had been sold, they were highly sought after by foreigners.

5. *Goya: The Desastres*

An immense social and political upheaval in Spain was caused by the Napoleonic invasion of 1808, and by five years of the most bitter guerilla warfare throughout the land —truly a prolonged "sleep of reason," to which the *Caprichos* form a fitting prelude. In these years Goya executed the famous paintings of the uprisings and reprisals of May 2–3, 1808, and conceived a second series of about eighty etchings which map the great political folly of war, as the *Caprichos* had mapped the various social follies. This series is known as the *Desastres della Guerra*, but Goya's own title is inscribed on a set he presented, probably in 1820 as soon as the etching was complete, to a friend: *Fatal Consequences of the Bloody War against Bonaparte in Spain, and other emphatic Caprices, in 85 Plates* (*Fatales consecuencias de la sangriente guerra en Espana con Buonaparte y otros caprichos enfaticos en 85 estampas*). This title contains a hint of an intended narrative structure missing from the phrase *Disasters of War*, which was invented when the set was first published in 1863, and possibly intended to evoke Callot's *Misères de la Guerre*.

Although the theme of guerilla war provides an objective unifying factor such as the *Caprichos* lacked, Goya's treatment of it is even more kaleidoscopic than before. In the broadest terms, his view shifts from the conduct of the war to its consequences; from the actual fighting and murdering to a panorama of dying, dead and mutilated; and then to the results of the terrible famines of 1810–12. A clear break occurs at the fifty-fifth plate, when bitter realism turns to bitter satire. Two realistic satires on religious practices precede allegories of clerical and aristocratic follies, all of which use animal symbolism (71-78). The final plates are anguished allegories, plainly captioned: "Truth is dead" and "Will it arise again?"

The final group of fifteen plates is evidently the



13–17. Goya. *Disasters of War* (c. 1808–20).
5. And they are like wild beasts.



36. Nor here (can one tell why).

"emphatic caprices" referred to in Goya's title; they must have been executed later than the others, which were probably conceived and etched during the war itself or shortly afterwards (the date 1810 appears twice). The satirical scenes, in which grotesque animal physiognomies are placed upon priests and aristocrats, seem to utter the desperate cry: so this is what we have suffered for! The world of the *Caprichos* has returned.

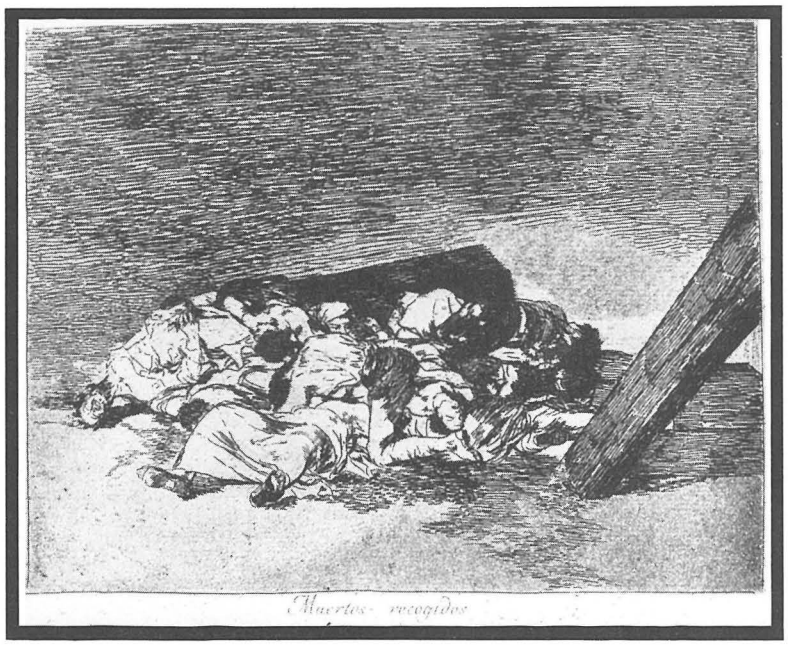
This was a political fact. Having been released from captivity and returned to power in 1814 by Wellington, Ferdinand VII immediately set about abolishing all the reforms conceived during the struggle, reinstating clerical authority, and persecuting the liberals who had fought against the French. The final plates of the *Desastres* show the burial of truth by superstition, whereby the rays of light emanating from the corpse try to pierce the outer darkness.

It is barely possible to detect a logical order among the scenes of war, which constitute more than three quarters of the *Desastres*, apart from the very rough scheme—the fighting, the results of fighting—outlined above. The earlier plates tend to show the conflict as a duel, with figures of guerilla and soldier equally balanced, and Spanish stake, dagger and hatchet opposed to French rifle and bayonet (the English soldier never appears). Women are involved almost from the start (scene 5); sometimes it is hard to tell whether they are guerrilla fighters or resisting rape. From the fifteenth plate the military reprisals begin, with six scenes of simple execution of Spaniards (scene 36) and three of barbarous tortures and mutilations. In the midst of these there appear two successive scenes of guerrillas taking revenge (only slightly less barbarously) on French soldiers. From about the fortieth plate, the panorama of the aftermath of war predominates: there are those who flee disaster, those who tend the wounded (scene 53), those who mourn and bury the dead. About eight plates show the terrors of famine. This group includes four successive compositions (57–61) which resume and intensify another theme: the amassing of corpses (scene 63), which recurs at fairly regular intervals throughout the *Desastres*, as if to punctuate it with an exclamation mark. Earlier, one assumed that the corpses represented victims of French reprisals; now they appear to be victims of disease and famine. These designs in particular re-

53. He died without aid.



63. For the common grave.



veal a stylistic development in Goya which carries immense moral impact: the de-personalization of humanity by the quasi-abstract use of massed shade and light, and of confused, impenetrable linear meshes (scene 63). Compared with the *Caprichos*, the faces are muted in expression. Caricature, in the sense of formal distortion and exaggeration, is compositional rather than physiognomic. On occasion the executioner or the victim is placed off-stage or otherwise rendered invisible (scene 53), a feature which increases our bizarre sensation of being very close and yet very far from the subject.

If there is little apparent order in the *Desastres*, Goya has lent them a kind of staccato continuity by using the captions to couple motifs, whether they are inherently similar or dissimilar. It is as if the artist were reacting alternately in angry disbelief and ironic detachment at the *succession* of events he is conjuring up. The phrase "the same" (*lo mismo*) recurs constantly, as do "nor they," "neither," and "this too." Once Goya asks simply "why?" and replies ironically under the next plate (showing an even worse torture) with another question: "What more can one do?" "One cannot tell why" (guerrillas awaiting execution) is followed by "nor here" (guerilla hanged) and "this is worse" (corpse mutilated); expressions such as "good for the next time" (*Aun podran servir*) and "tend them and continue" (*Curarlos, y a otra*) give an impression of recurrence, which lies at the core of the *Desastres*.

With reference to another series of one hundred and thirty-three satirical designs of this period, which were not etched but which were carefully numbered, a critic notes that the "meandering and interflowing of motifs recalls the design of some of the satirical dictionaries" used at the time as literary weapons in the political arena. He cites a very popular *Diccionario critico-burlesco* first published at Cadiz in 1812, with its "ideological patterns calling for recurrence and interlacing of themes, linked by cross-references to synonyms."[43] Such seems to be the pattern in all Goya's major cycles, including the last etchings, the unfinished *Proverbios* and *Disparates*. These are satires of a thoroughly fantastic and phantasmagoric nature, and even less susceptible to sequential interpretation.

I have bypassed the historically relevant (though perhaps unanswerable) question of the extent to which the artist was conscious of narrative precedent. Callot he must have known; Hogarth and the English caricaturists he could have known; yet he *need* have known none of these, because his purposes were so very different. His etchings are not popular broadsheets. Goya did not aim for the clear, topical statements of a Hogarth or Gillray; he was not dependent upon a buying public, and he chose etching not so much because it was an easy means of reproduction, but because the burin was so responsive to his personal vision. Goya remained unusually aloof from the political crises of his times. He was surely a great social satirist, and perhaps a philosopher as well, but he was not a public moralist, for he did not hope to effect direct changes in society.

The patterns in his etched cycles, like those in the individual plates, have a dream-like quality which relates more to psychic than social processes, more to thoughts and feelings than social or historical events. His narrative style is one of association, that of Joyce and Proust rather than Fielding and Dickens. It is also in a curious way nearer to Rodolphe Töpffer than to the English caricaturists, although one can hardly imagine two artists more different in temperament than the Spaniard and the Swiss.

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43. Lopez-Rey, *Cycle*, p. 65.

Part IV

CONCLUSION

Chapter Fourteen

CONCLUSION

1. Authors, engravers, publishers; the public

Despite recent research, very little is known about the authors and engravers of broadsheets; probably, little can be known. Contemporary biographers ignore them, and they remain as anonymous as the medieval craftsman. The occasional signature on an engraving remains a mere name, with at best a birth and death date to attach to it. The public was not interested in the authorship of popular prints, but in their subject matter, and it was this which sold them. A broadsheet was usually the result of a collaboration between two or more minds, and the conjunction of roles which we find in Hogarth, who proudly signs himself as the inventor, painter, engraver and publisher of his prints, is unique. The caricaturists of the post-Hogarthian period were much less independent than Hogarth, for they often relied upon instructions from publishers and politicians, and sometimes followed the designs provided by amateurs. We know that in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Germany, publisher, draughtsman and engraver were often one and the same person; but it was more usual, in the later period, for the publisher to farm work out to hack engravers. This was especially necessary with political subjects, which had to be produced at top speed. Publishers were usually booksellers, and maybe printers as well; Paul Fürst was also a dealer in arts and crafts. The shop specializing in topical prints was an English creation of the late eighteenth century.

Careful examination of a print will sometimes reveal which came first, text or image, and to what extent the writer has followed the artist, or vice-versa. Figure 8-1 is an instructive example of a broadsheet in which the engraver has been furnished with verses designed, in the first instance, to amuse verbally, and has been obliged to exercise all his ingenuity in the division of the scenes and in the placing and numbering of motifs, so as to link them with the text. In the case of the *Putana* and the *Lascivo* (9-19 and 9-20), on the other hand, I believe that the engravings preceded the verses, competent as the latter are. The poet has taken his cue from the artist; I cannot agree with Mrs. Kurz when she states (p. 136) that "the verses, divorced from the pictures, would tell the story more clearly than would the pictures if left uncaptioned."

It is rare that the writer and the engraver complement each other perfectly, without dissonance, without duplication. Such a harmony exists with Chodowiecki and Lichtenberg, both wits in their respective media. Hogarth of course refused, in principle, to admit any commentary at all; such was his confidence in the purely pictorial eloquence of his characters that he even banished titles from the plates, an unheard-of practice. The caricaturists could seldom dispense with captions, but they attempted to marry them to their new drawing style by lending them maximum brevity and wit.

Seventeenth-century broadsheet texts often made use of the ballad form (e.g. 5-15). This raises a rather special question which must be briefly touched upon: Did the ballad-singer, who performed in public on market days and festivals, use banners painted with moral picture stories? Pictorial banners were certainly part of the equipment of the German *Bänkelsänger*, when he sang his gruesome *Moritaten* (from *Mordthaten* or murder-stories, cf. 13–11); surviving evidence, however, does not prove that they were painted with *continuous* sequences in the manner of our narrative strips, but rather that groups of single designs were used, each illustrating a different story in the singer's repertoire.[1]

The town where a broadsheet originates can usually be identified, either by internal or external evidence. It is in the great metropolises of Europe, and there alone, that we find the broadsheet presses, because it is there that popular movements were usually generated. The provincial towns might produce "neutral" popular imagery, but not engravings of political or moral interest. Thus all our English broadsheets were printed in London, the French ones in Paris, the Dutch ones in Amsterdam; Russian prints come from Moscow, and Italian prints chiefly from Venice, the commercial capital of Italy. In Germany, of course, every major town was its own metropolis, so that although Nürnberg can claim the lion's share of broadsheet production, the contribution of Augsburg and other towns of the Empire cannot be ignored. The mark *gedruckt zu Erfurrt*, etc., with no indication of the publisher's name, is characteristic of German prints, and probably reflects a local law which obliged printers to identify the town of origin in order to facilitate control over the import of printed matter.

The broadsheet engraver is anonymous only to the modern student; a contemporary, if interested enough, could probably guess or find out who was responsible for an un-

1. In Sicily today, ballad-singers or *Cantastorie* sing stories of legendary heroes and modern criminals with the aid of large, garishly painted canvas banners. These are divided into strips representing the various episodes of a single story, and the *cantastorie* travels with several such canvasses mounted on a pole. Little however is known of the ancestry of this type of entertainment (see *La Piazza*).

signed print. Lack of signature did not protect its authors from censorship; and although none of our broadsheet artists is known to have been executed for his publishing activities, we can name two who suffered imprisonment, Richard Verstegan in the late sixteenth century and William Holland in the late eighteenth century. It would appear, however, that on the whole our engravers exposed themselves to prosecution less than the political pamphleteer, since picture stories are more expensive to produce than small tracts consisting of a few pages. Little can be said in certainty on this subject, since effective censorship destroys the very evidence of its activities.

If the broadsheet artist, and his publisher, tended to come from the ranks of the lower bourgeoisie, his clientèle was not restricted to this class. It reached perhaps a little further down (how far down depended on the price of his product), and a long way further up. The scarcity of old broadsheet collections, and the total lack of contemporary catalogues of collections, prevent us from drawing conclusions in this area. We may however guess that political and topical broadsheets were generally bought and preserved not only by those actually involved in the events depicted, but also by journalists and historians, such as Pastor Wick and Pierre de l'Estoile in the late sixteenth century, ecclesiastics like the Abbé de Marolles and Dr. Markus zum Lamm in the seventeenth century, or antiquarians like Sir Francis Douce in the late eighteenth century. Social satires must have appealed not only to parents, preachers and educators, but also to travellers and lovers of the bizarre. Many broadsheets of Continental origin now in the British Museum must have been brought to England by some "grand tourist" during his travels. Politicians, historians, curio-lovers and tourists were often persons of the highest rank, and there is no reason to suppose that the most cultured of princes never held broadsheets in their hands. King William III certainly saw the work of Romeyn de Hooghe, and we know that King George III admired a Bunbury strip.[2] Politicians with a keen sense of the value of public opinion, such as the Earl of Shaftesbury in the 1670s and Lord Canning in the 1800s, did not consider it an unworthy task to give instructions for broadsheet designs.

There is reliable authority for the fact that Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* (the least elevated, and in a sense, the least elevating of his narratives) was eagerly bought by persons of the highest as well as lowest rank. Hogarth of course is no ordinary broadsheet artist, but the breadth of his appeal is worth emphasizing, in the light of the tendency among certain sociologists of art to assume that "caricature(s) ... grotesque (broadsheets) ... Hogarth's engravings (were) intended for the 'masses'—that is, mainly for the petty bourgeoisie of pre-industrial cities."[3]

We know little about the prices of broadsheets, but they were surely very expensive by modern standards. One did not buy a broadsheet then as one buys a newspaper today. The lowest price marked on an English print (prices rarely appear much before the eighteenth century) is threepence; a picture story, which is an expensive form of broadsheet, usually cost between sixpence and one shilling, the latter price being standard for the late eighteenth century. A Gillray etching cost two shillings colored; a single Hogarth engraving (uncolored of course) averaged two shillings, six pence, and a whole sequence cost about a pound. No member of the "petty bourgeoisie" would normally spend a whole pound on prints, when such a sum might represent a month's earnings. As a very rough guide, one might say that an "average" member of the middle class buying an "averagely" priced picture story paid about as much as his modern counterpart when he buys a moderate-to-expensive ($10–20) art book.

2. *The style—documentary, satire and allegory*

Of the two styles used in the modern comic strip, the humorous-caricatural and the "straight" (characteristic of sentimental fiction and adventure story), only the latter was known to the early centuries. The content, of course, was usually serious, and the humorous style of caricature was simply not available in Northern Europe until the eighteenth century. The allegorical techniques commonly used in broadsheet satire were not suitable for the small format of the scenes in a narrative strip and were not conducive to narrative continuity on the larger scale of the engraved album.

The satirical image requires space; it usually relies on incongruous complications of form, and the kind of allegorical fantasy which cannot be rendered comprehensible on a small scale. Many of our seventeenth-century stories, however, and particularly those from Germany and Holland, attempt to combine the advantages of the large satirical image with those of the narrative strip. The allegory goes in the center, around which the story proper unfolds. The centerpiece may be regarded as a kind of visually arresting introduction or conclusion, while the narrative border provides a sober, phase-by-phase analysis. Allegory aims at an immediate, slogan-like impact, while the narrative strip acts progressively and seeks to convince by force of argument. The narrative structure seems to invite a documentary approach, and even the most fiercely partisan propaganda, when reduced to strip form and realistically drawn, takes on an impartial appearance. This is demonstrable in even so emotional an artist as Romeyn de Hooghe, who was recognized by an English statesman, Sir John Dalrymple, writing just over a century later, to have "added the courage of reason to that of Passion in those who saw them (the prints)."[4] The distinction between Romeyn's allegorical satires and his narrative strips is implicit, and the artist is praised for rising above the common run of Dutch propaganda, which aimed to smother the enemy in insulting allegory.

Allegorical devices also appear, especially in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, within the narrative

2. M. Jean Adhémar informs me that the collection of social satires made by the Abbé Michel de Marolles (now in the Cabinet des Estampes at Tf. 2 Rés.) passed into the ownership of the French crown because it appealed particuarly to the young Louis XIV.

3. Vytantas Kavolis, p. 77.

4. Cf. p. 443 no. 4–13.

strip itself. Two examples reproduced here (1-25 and 2-12) are entirely dependent upon them, and demonstrate to what extent such a technique militates against narrative continuity. Most of the other strips containing occasional allegorical elements do not benefit thereby.[5] Allegory survives even in Hogarth, although in a suitably "disguised" form: the emblems of improper marriage, for instance (chained or ill-matched dogs) are blended into the realistic framework of the composition as a whole.

It was the stylistic revolution of caricature which enabled the artist to ridicule his subject without having recourse either to allegorical devices or to the heavily laden backgrounds of Hogarth. The comic mechanisms inherent in allegory are transformed by the apparently simple formal means of caricature, where realism is maintained under the cloak of exaggeration and distortion.

We must never assume that, lacking a formal comic (allegorical, caricatural) element, our early strips did not make the reader laugh. It is well known that a "sense of humor" varies considerably according to a person's country of origin, his social class, and the age he lives in. It is possible that certain subjects were considered amusing irrespective of the style in which the artist couched them. A seventeenth-century German may well have found the (to us) rather cruel wife-beating strips hilarious; and it is more than likely that the English Protestant squire and the Dutch merchant laughed heartily at Romeyn's rendering of the humiliations of James II, however somber and tragic it appears to us today. If a feeling of superiority is a mainspring of laughter, the Duke of Osuna may have regarded the most sinister of Goya's *Caprichos* as light entertainment.

3. Imagery of violence; the Jesuit "conspiracy"

Perhaps the least expected result of research into the ancestors of Hogarthian narrative is discovering the extent to which the picture story is preoccupied with the theme of political violence. There is hardly a popular revolutionary movement in Germany, the Netherlands and England, which is not documented at some point—or at several points— by a pictorial narrative.[6] Each picture story stands at the center—I am tempted to say apex—of a body of written and pictorial propaganda, and acts as a barometer of the heat of popular feeling.

No commentator on the mass media of today can fail to remark upon the fact that all the popular media—detective novel, science fiction, film, television and comic strip —share a dominant ingredient of violence. We must however be careful in comparing the role of the imagery of violence today with that of its seventeenth-century equivalent. Today it is directed toward the interests of a different social class and originates in a different quarter. The seventeenth-century strips are a creation of popular fervor; they appear only when a situation has become quite intolerable to a large number of people, when a section of the bourgeoisie (or a whole bourgeois republic like Holland) is threatened with extinction by the forces of aristocratic reaction. With some notable exceptions (as among the anti-Semitica)[7] the political strip has by and large served the cause of social advance and revolutionary change.

Since the Second World War however, the imagery of violence (in the West) has appeared less as a popular response to political crises than as the constant of a mass culture which serves the cause of established capitalist authority. The people are provided with a safety valve for those emotions which might otherwise threaten economic and social stability. By constantly presenting the public with the face of war, the masters of the popular press, film and television offer vicarious enjoyment of the processes of revolutionary change at home, and at the same time justify wars pursued "in the national interest" abroad. But in the seventeenth century, the broadsheet press was much less tied to government interests than are the mass media today, and the popular engraver then was less subject to a publisher's censorship than is the strip cartoonist of the mid-twentieth century. There were of course always the court artists who celebrated military victories, parades, battles and sieges, and Callot was one of them; but when he adopted the "popular" vehicle of pictorial narrative, he exceeded his brief by far, and produced a document of outraged pacifism.

The bourgeoisie in the seventeenth century tolerated and paid for the wars of their aristocratic overlords only so long as they did not cause excessive suffering to the civilian population at large. The moratorium on the anti-war broadsheet testifies that wars of the eighteenth century did not arouse the fierce resentment of earlier times. The townspeople (and, to a lesser extent, the peasantry) were spared the worst. The carnage was limited to the soldiery, and the economic and social dislocation was comparatively slight. People forgot what war was like, and in 1789 Romeyn de Hooghe was found guilty of a "trivial and exaggerated satire, which is often displeasing to intelligent and moderate people."[8] With the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, however, his cruel imagery returned to favor, and the horror broadsheet revived—but only so long as Europe was at war. In the next European-wide conflict, that of 1914–18, the press, managed by men past military age, remained relatively indifferent to the carnage, however colossal, because it was confined to the soldiery. But the Second World War involved the greatest suffering among civilians, and it is from this date that we note a rapid increase in the imagery of violence. Unfortunately, the horror films and horror comics of our own times seem designed less to celebrate the deliverance

5. Among contemporary American cartoonists, it is only Chester Gould (as far as I know) who makes a habit of interrupting a story (*Dick Tracy*) with openly allegorical scenes. Their purpose seems to be that of affirming the artist's moral position, which is obvious enough anyway.
6. The lack of broadsheets relating to the Fronde in Paris (1648–53) would seem to indicate a lack of popular participation in that movement.
7. In 1921, a historian of anti-Semitic caricature could write: "Horrible as the medieval persecutions were, they pale before the mass-tortures and slaughters of recent years" (Fuchs, *Juden,* p. 76).
8. Basan, *Dictionnaire*, I s.v. Hooghe.

of the innocent, than to perpetuate the myth of a world in which evil and criminality can only be forestalled by the crassest forms of violence. It is only very recently, with the American war in Vietnam in which the civilian casualties far outnumber those of the military, that the imagery of violence is beginning to return to the role it played in the seventeenth-century broadsheet; that is, to oppose a war actually in progress, and to protest the use of overwhelming force against unarmed people. The newspaper strip, however, is strictly closed to such "unAmerican" propaganda, which is (at present) limited to the anti-war poster and the American "underground" press.[9]

The history of the political picture story is that of the struggle of the Reformation for survival. The forces of Catholic absolutist reaction were for a century or more incarnated in the Habsburg family (Spanish and Austrian branches), although for nationalist reasons the Germanic peoples preferred to blame an Italian Pope rather than a German Emperor. In the later seventeenth century, Louis XIV assumes the role of the great Catholic tyrant. But these—Pope, Emperor or King—are the figureheads; the broadsheet narratives look beneath the surface, and whether the persecution takes place under a Habsburg, Savoyard or Bourbon prince, the blame is laid upon the Jesuits. It is the Jesuit father, whispering into the papal or regal ear, who inspires the plot; it is the Jesuit conspirator who shapes it; it is the Jesuit agent who executes it. The broadsheet is never at a loss for precedents; 2–22 and 5–8 in themselves give a concise history of Jesuit oppression, and the political picture story as a whole establishes the complete genealogy of Jesuit subversion. Protestant Europe saw the Jesuit doctrine of "justifiable regicide" (which goes back to St. Thomas Aquinas) as no mere theory, but as a clandestine and horribly successful political practice.

The "conspiracy" theory of history has always appealed to the popular imagination. Although much derided today, we should recognize in it a kernel of historical truth conveyed in an exaggerated form, rather as the moral essence of a physiognomy is recognizable within the formal hyperboles of caricature. A modern parallel is provided by the attitude of the "left wing" toward the supposedly world-wide activities of the American secret service, or Central Intelligence Agency. No one in the seventeenth century believed that the Jesuits who worked for the assassination of Henri IV in 1610[10] were *directly* connected with those who, a few years later, conspired to overthrow the Protestant government of Bohemia; no one today supposes that successive coups in Saigon or Santo Domingo are the work of identical American agents. Then, as now, the operations are recognized to serve the general purpose of securing international political supremacy.

4. *Social criticism*

The German anti-Semitic prints constitute the point of junction between the private crime strip and the political massacre strip. If the Jesuits are the villains of the latter, they are the heroes of the anti-Semitica. Protestants went in for witch-burning and Jew-baiting as well, but our picture stories suggest that it was in Jesuit Habsburg Germany that the traditional accusations against Jews found the most fertile soil. Regarding the other stories of common crime, we must remember the ambivalence with which the public regarded the execution of the outrageous, bizarre or insane (Christian) murderer of bourgeois origin. Until the eighteenth century, Germany enjoyed a complete monopoly on the private crime narrative, perhaps because it was in that politically fragmented country that the bourgeoisie was most sensitive to infractions of the social order.

The marriage strips, again, are almost exclusively a German phenomenon. They seem to preach an old-fashioned obedience on the part of women, whose sinful pride is threatened with old-fashioned forms of punishment. Misogynistic satire may generally be regarded as reactionary, but it can also reflect the relatively advanced degree of social freedom enjoyed by women in the culture concerned. The Italian rake and harlot stories, on the other hand, contain a marked element of class antagonism. They seem to express the determination on the part of the bourgeoisie that their sons and daughters shall not imitate the vices of the aristocracy, but live a sober, chaste and productive life (this element also exists, but to a lesser degree, in those German marriage strips which chastise "aristocratic" extravagance and sexual license). The *Putana* and *Lascivo* come to us from Venice, the one Italian town which preserved in the seventeenth century something of its medieval, bourgeois-dominated social structure.

The Hogarthian picture story is the most perfect moral expression of the progressive bourgeoisie in the age of the Enlightenment. Hogarth is not content, like his seventeenth-century Italian predecessors, to warn the individual against imitating the vicious life of the upper classes; his is a searching criticism of society as a whole, in which he sees corruption seeping from every pore. English society in the eighteenth century was more fluid than in the rest of Europe, and class distinctions less rigid; aristocracy and bourgeoisie were united in capitalist enterprise. Thus Hogarth does not distinguish between upper-, middle-, and lower-class vice; to him, the moral cruelty of the mercenary marriage, the heartlessness of a bourgeois Rakewell, and the physical cruelty of a vulgar Tom Nero, are all equally damnable. Hogarth cannot be dismissed as a social critic who, working from a limited bourgeois point of view, somehow "missed the point" by laying the blame on the individual,

9. See Kunzle, *Posters of Protest*.

10. A very recent (1965) publication by Philippe Erlanger vindicates the "popular" contemporary theory, which all later historians discredited, that Ravaillac was the tool of a pro-Spanish Jesuit faction working both inside and outside the government. The Regency did its best to destroy the evidence about the assassination; perhaps it will be 350 years before we discover the truth about the murder of John F. Kennedy.

rather than society as a whole.[11] The point is that the society he depicts is a self-destructive one and his condemnation of it is so far-reaching and psychologically accurate as to constitute *ipso facto* a call for radical change. Moll Hackabout and Tom Rakewell may die for their sins, but the treacherous procuress and thieving lawyer live on and prosper. The children of Moll and Tom, too, will live on—to suffer from crimes of which they are totally innocent. The future is tainted by the present, and as the eighteenth century progresses, narrative artists become more and more preoccupied with the value of parental example and environment, as though to say: the cycle *must* be broken for the sake of our children. It is with justification that Hogarth declares himself more proud of his moralities than if he were the author of the Raphael Cartoons; and one is tempted to regard Hogarth's as an example of the kind of timely and effective social criticism which enables society to absorb changes without bloodshed.

Even when the picture story becomes caricatural, and sets out to amuse rather than to instruct, it retains a strong thread of social satire. Richard Newton, despite his extreme youth one of the most serious of the caricaturists, shows us a hero who after having redeemed his follies in patriotic bravery, is rejected by a society which is both grotesque and cruel (12-16). From Hogarth to Newton, the picture story is concerned with social exploitation. The problem is still with us, and it is indeed a comment on the changed role of the comic strip, that the Negro, whose sufferings are sympathetically depicted in the early nineteenth-century strip, should be totally absent from the infinitely more numerous American newspaper strips of today. Yet the Negro then constituted no kind of a social problem compared with that which he presents in contemporary America.

The caricatural strip leavens its social criticism with a sense of the absurd and paradoxical. There is an irrationality to the behavior of Newton's ham actor (12–12) which pre-figures that of Töpfferian adventure. The light-hearted spirit of the caricaturists offers few points of comparison with the grim seriousness of seventeenth-century narrative; it is left to an artistic exile from England, the German J. H. Ramberg, to show how the old morality could be turned neatly upside down. Instead of paying the price of his sins with his life, Strunk is canonized as a saint. As moral certitudes are gradually eroded, the comic strip leaves behind the all-too-real world of crimes and punishments, and enters an imaginary realm which is both gentle and more hopeful.

11. Levey, *Rococo*, p. 128.

COLLECTIONS OF BROADSHEETS

Major Collections

LONDON: British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.
A vast collection, divided into three basic sections: 1. *English History*. 2. *Foreign History*, with particular strength in Dutch and German prints. 3. *Satires*, with about 15,000 English prints, catalogued by F. G. Stephens and M. D. George up to the year 1832. All three sections arranged according to date.

MILAN: Bertarelli Collection, Castello Sforzesco.
Best collection of Italian popular moral prints, most conveniently arranged according to subject.

NURENBERG: Germanisches Museum, Kupferstichkabinett.
Best collection of German *Bilderbogen*, conveniently arranged according to subject matter.

PARIS: Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.
Historical prints are divided between two large collections, the *Collection Hennin* (for which there exists a short-title catalogue) and *Histoire de France*. These are arranged according to date and tend to duplicate each other. The best collection of early satires and humorous prints is at Tf. 2 Rés.

ROTTERDAM: Stichting van Stolk, 11 Groene Wetering.
With over 5,000 items from the period which concerns us, catalogued by van Rijn, the best collection of Dutch broadsheets. Arranged by date. Duplicated, up to a point, by the *Muller Collection* in the Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

Other Collections of Broadsheets

AUSTIN: University of Texas, Academic Center.
Small but choice collection of European broadsheets.

BRAUNSCHWEIG: Anton Ulrich Museum, Kupferstichkabinett.
Small collection of *Fliegende Blätter* arranged by subject matter.

BERLIN.
The major collections of sixteenth and seventeenth-century German broadsheets formerly in Berlin have either been destroyed (the Dahlem Museum print room possesses some sixteenth-century survivors) or dispersed (chiefly to Marburg; a mixed bag of seventeenth-century prints to the Bode Museum, Soviet sector). There are also some old broadsheets in the Lipperheidsche Kostümbibliothek.

BRUSSELS: Bibliothèque Royale, Cabinet des Estampes.
Small collection of historical prints, indexed according to the event depicted.

COBURG, Veste.
Small collection of chiefly German prints, but also some English caricatures.

FLORENCE: Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe.
A recent exhibition (see Omodeo) revealed an unexpected strength in sixteenth-century Venetian satires. These, and any other broadsheet material, seem however to be distributed among various folios, and are relatively difficult of access.

DRESDEN: Kupferstichkabinett.
Small collection of seventeenth-century German broadsheets.

HALLE: Staatliche Galerie, Moritzburg, Graphische Sammlung.
A selection of more than one hundred Flugblätter from this collection has been reproduced and commented by Hermann Waescher.

LONDON: Society of Antiquaries.
The collection known as "Grant Broadsides" includes some illustrated broadsheets.

MARBURG: Westdeutsche Bibliothek.
A fairly large collection of German prints, some of which were formerly in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin.

NEW YORK: Public Library.
A heterogeneous collection, including a rare copy of *La Vita del Lascivo* (9–20).

NEW YORK: John Pierpont Morgan Collection.
The "Peel Collection" is composed chiefly of English prints.

OXFORD: Bodleian Library, Douce Collection.
Small, curiously arranged collection, with many rareties.

OXFORD: Ashmolean Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.
The Department possesses copies of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* and Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, which are massively grangerised (i.e. interleaved) with countless old historical engravings from various countries, many of which have little or nothing to do with the *History* itself.

PARIS: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.
Fairly small but interesting collection. Catalogue by Gaston Schéfer.

ULM: Stadtbibliothek.
A small collection strong in the Thirty Years War (some published by Scheible).

WINDSOR: Royal Library.
A folio marked "Dutch Drolls" contains some interesting prints.

ZÜRICH: Stadtbibliothek.
The "Wickiana" includes sixteenth-century German and Swiss woodcuts (86 of them published by Hans Fehr).

CATALOG

CHAPTER ONE

1-1. Robert Campin (?). Woodcut depicting Saint Christopher, above head of Virgin Annunciate. Detail from a painting of the Annunciation by or after Robert Campin, c. 1430. Kassel, Gemäldegalerie.

1-2. E. S. Master. c. 1460. "Temptation to Despair." Second plate in an *Ars Moriendi* Blockbook. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. The engraved *Ars Moriendi* designs of the E. S. Master, who worked in the upper Rhineland, were probably copied from the woodcut block-books, which are much larger in scale, contain the speech scrolls quoted below our reproduction, and which seem to have originated chiefly in the northern Netherlands. A comparable subject from another Netherlandish block-book, the *Exercitium Super Pater Noster*, illustrating the prayer "lead us not into temptation," shows the sinner, whose soul is snatched by the devil, at table with three harlots representing Pride and Vanity, Gluttony and Luxury, and Curiosity and Avarice (repr. André Blum, *Origins*, p. 105).

1-3. Florentine c. 1460. "Saturn," from a series of seven "fine manner" engravings of the *Planets*. After Hind EIE Pl. 114, Cat. A. III l.a.I. The influence of the planets was a favorite theme of late medieval and renaissance astrological lore: the most famous among several painted cycles of this period is that in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, dating from the 1460s; there is also a Netherlandish block-book on the subject.

1-4. German c. 1470. *The Devil and the Seven Deadly Sins*. Schreiber 1865a. After Heitz, *Primitive Holzchnitte*, No. 52.

1-5. Hieronymus Bosch. *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins* (late fifteenth century). Prado, Madrid. Details from a circular design.

1-6. Strassburg (?) c. 1460. *The Ten Commandments*. Colored woodcut, Münich, Staatsbibliothek, Inv. Nr. 81528 (S. 1846).

1-7. English woodcut c. 1500, printed by Wynkyn de Worde or Pynson (probably from a Netherlandish design). *Pietà or Lamentation over the body of Christ, surrounded by emblems of the Passion*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. D. 403 f. 1^{v} (S. 976). There is a comparable Florentine engraving of about the same date (repr. Hind EIE Pl. 314) with the emblems loosely fitted into a bare background. A Netherlandish woodcut, *Mass of St. Gregory* (c. 1440s, S. 1462, Hind HW Fig. 62) is designed on the same principle. For Italian engravings with border scenes depicting the life of Christ and the Virgin in realistic fashion, see Hind EIE Pls. 8-13.

1-8. Swabian (Ulm). *The Tortures of St. Erasmus* (c. 1455–65). Woodcut, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (S. 1409). St. Erasmus is one of the more legendary saints, and originated in two different bishops of early Christian history. His standard image, which remained popular from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century, shows him having his entrails wound out on a windlass; according to the *Golden Legend*, this still failed to kill him, and he departed this life naturally. There is a very early woodcut showing him with the awls in his finger-nails (cf. Hind HW, p. 119, Fig. 51; S. 1315).

1-9. Florentine engraving c. 1460-70, in the so-called "fine manner." *Life and Death of St. Sebastian*. After Hind Pl. 50, Cat. A.1.51. The earliest print to use such subdivisions in imitation of Gothic panel painting is the so-called *Madonna del Fuoco*, an Italian woodcut which according to an ancient story was saved miraculously from fire in 1428 (Hind HW Fig. 74 and p. 162).

1-10. Florentine engraving c. 1460 in the so-called "fine manner." *How St. James saves a Pilgrim on the way to his shrine at Compostela*. After Hind EIE Pl. 44, Cat. A.1.45. Original in Rothschild Collection. The miracle is told in Caesarius of Heisterbach and the *Golden Legend*. The saint is not actually depicted holding up the son in our scene 2, but may have appeared doing so in one of the last of the missing scenes. He is shown thus in the only other near-narrative broadsheet I have found on this subject, the block of which dates from the later seventeenth century and impressions from which continued to be taken into the nineteenth century. (See *L'Estampe Toulousaine* Nos. 166 and 186.) For other illustrations of this tale, see Nicolai p. 67 and p. 234, d'Ancona, p. 465, who reprints a contemporary play *(Sacra Rappresentazione)* on the same story, and Juan Galter, Fig. 475.

1-11. "Petrarch Master." Illustration to 'Pride' from *The Remedy to both sorts of luck (Über die Arznei Beider Glück)*, 1530.

1-12. Hans Holbein. Four woodcuts from *Les Simulachres et Historiées Faces de la Mort* (Lyons 1538).

1–13. "Master of the Gardens of Love" *(Meister der Liebesgärten). Garden of Love* (c. 1440).

1-14. Casper of Regensburg c. 1485 [My Heart doth Smart]. *Mein Herz leidet Schmerz*. Woodcut (S. 1975 m).

1-15. German [Jesus Courted By The Christian Soul]. *Die Minnende Seele*. Woodcut c. 1530. Münich, Staatsbibliothek Einblattdrucke, III, 52 ff. (author's arrangement). This broadsheet is based on fifteenth century prototypes. Five small fragments from such an earlier print (S. 1837, Swabian c. 1460) are reproduced in Haberditzl No. 163, and by Kunzle, *Art News Annual*, November 1970, p. 133. A larger fragment from another print (S. 1837a, Swabian c. 1470-80) is reproduced in Kristeller H.K.K. I have felt justified in ignoring the original order of the sixteenth-century copy, which is probably the same as that of one of the fifteenth-century broadsheets, because popular engravers frequently reshuffled or reversed sequences, either in negligence or in the knowledge that in this sort of mystical poetry, where metaphors and images are amassed at random, little is lost in the process. I have however based my reconstruction on the mid-fifteenth-century manuscripts cited by Peltzer, *Das Buch von der geislichen Gemahlschaft, die zwischen Gott und der Seele ist* [*The Book of the spiritual marriage between God and the Soul* (München, Hofbibl. Cod. Germ. 775) dated 1454] and the especially well-illustrated *Christus and die Minnende Seele* (Karlsruhe, Hofbibl. Cod. Pap. Germ. XIC). Peltzer does not specify the arrangement of the manuscript illustrations (e.g. whether marginal or not), but I presume the sequence he gives for the Karlsruhe manuscript is secure. The strip contains several motifs not appearing in Peltzer's manuscripts, but also lacks some scenes present in the older versions, viz. the "Annunciation" at the start, the lovers overpowered by love and drunk with ecstasy (if this is a separate scene), Jesus whispering sweet words of love into the Soul's ear (unless we are to equate this with our scene 18), and (as the conclusion) an angel leading the pair to Paradise.

Scene 13, where the Soul shoots arrows at Jesus, can be paralleled in a separate broadsheet (S. 1836m) where Charity on earth below shoots at the heart of the Savior above. The following scene, where Christ tries to bribe the Soul, may be considered startling in the light of the more "normal" situation, depicted in another broadsheet (S.1838), where the naked (male) Christian has his heart tied to Christ, which the Devil tries in vain to bribe away.

Since writing the above, I have obtained a microfilm of a little thirty-page volume published around 1500 by Wolfgang Schenk of Erfurt, a unique copy of which exists in the University Library, Breslau. It is entitled *Von der Ynnigen selen wy sy gott casteyet uund im beheglich mach* [Of the innermost Soul, how God chastises her and makes her suited to him] and contains twenty-five woodcuts, which correspond to the twenty episodes treated in the broadsheet; the motifs omitted in the broadsheet (with the exception of Christ giving an apple to the Soul as a troth) are reproduced in our 1–16, p. 23. The verses to the episodes which correspond are much the same in content, but occasionally more erotic, e.g. to scene 11 we read: "Soul: All my sorrow disappears immediately when I kiss you on the mouth" *(All mein trauren zu ghet von stunden Wen ich dich kusse an deynen Munde)*. The most striking differences in the design of the Schenk cuts lie first in the backgrounds, which are much fuller, and second in the appearance of the Soul, who is more naked and altogether more coquettish. The order in which the cuts appear in the book is very different from that which I arrived at in the reproduction of the broadsheet, as also from that of the broadsheet in its original condition. There is however no reason to assume that the sequence in the book, the pages of which are not numbered by the printer, is the "correct" one, except insofar as the scene of the consummation is placed at the very end.

Medieval mystical imagery often met clerical censure for its sensuousness; it is most unusual, perhaps unique, for Christ to be depicted in bed with the Soul. This scene is omitted in the broadsheet, but the majority of those scenes included are of a passionate nature which makes nonsense of a recent remark by Rudolf Berliner, respecting the fifteenth-century fragments: "Known early representations of the mutual relationship between Christ and an unspecified Soul are of a cool temperature."

1–16. Four illustrations to [Of the innermost soul, how God chastises her and makes her suited to Him] *Von der Ynnigen selen wy sy gott casteyet unnd im beheglich mach* c. 1500. The only known copy of this work is in the University Library, Breslau.

1-17. Hans Paur (Nürnburg) c. 1470. [Household articles]. *Hans Paurs Hausrat*. After Heitz, *Primitive Holzschnitte*, No. 74 (S. 1991). Hans Paur is documented in Nürnberg as early as 1445. Cf. E. Major.

1-18. Nürnberg (?), late fifteenth century. [The Jewish Sow]. *Die Judensau*. The five surviving impressions of this woodcut (Schreiber 1961) were all printed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

1-19. North-east Italian (Paduan?). *The Murder of St. Simon of Trent* (1475). Engraving reproduced from Hind EIE Pl. 433 (Cat. E.III 45). Original in Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek. The motif of the fallen beam, which may possibly allude to Christ falling on the way to the Crucifixion, is not mentioned in the principal contemporary written source by J. M. Tuberinus; nor is the motif of the oven. (In the Augsburg publisher Zainer's edition of this work, c. 1477, there are twelve little cuts which could easily have been printed together on a single sheet to make a picture story.)

In a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century illustrated manuscript we see a Jew putting his own child into an oven, having "convicted" him of sympathy for Christianity (see Blumenkranz, Figs.8–10). St. Simon standing in a basin of blood formed the commonest German broadsheet image and is even included in the *Weltchronik* of Hartmann Schedel (1493). In another German woodcut (S.1970) the owner of the sheet has deliberately assimilated the infant martyr to the iconography of the Christ Child, by cutting from another broadsheet the attributes of his martyrdom and glueing them about his haloed head.

The whole story must have been fabricated on the basis of the child's body being fished out of the river near the Jew's house, after an accidental fall. It was revived in an eighteenth-century Jewish Swine satire; in early twentieth-century Poland, as also in Tsarist Russia, Jews were still commonly held to drink Christian blood. (See illustrations in Fuchs, *Juden*, p. 261 and p. 31.)

1-20. Nürnberg 1490s. [Profanation of the Host by Jews in Passau 1477]. *Ein grawsamlich geschicht Geschehen zu Passaw Von den Juden* . . . . Münich, Staatsbibl. Nr. 118,307 (S. 1965). Since it is Catholic belief that Christ is physically present in the Sacrament, it follows that the Sacrament should respond physically to injury. Even today Catholic children are told not to bite on the Sacrament in their mouth, lest it be caused to bleed. The yellow ring which German law often obliged Jews to wear upon their tunics appears in a very early (c. 1440) woodcut of the Crucifixion, where gloating Jews are carefully distinguished from the soldiers (S.471, see Hind HW, Fig. 56).

1-21. Paolo Uccello c. 1467. *The Profanation of the Host by Jews*. Predella painting, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino. The subject of the altarpiece as a whole is in itself unusual: The Institution of the Last Supper. For the commission, the difficulties encountered in finding a painter willing and able to execute it (the illustrious Piero della Francesca seems to have refused), and the eventual authorship of the main panel by the Fleming Joos van Ghent, see Pope-Hennessy, pp. 153-4. The main panel shows Judas slinking out of the room, a motif which must be iconographically unique. It is characteristic that an early inventory uses the expected, but in this case inaccurate, plural in describing the predella: *in cui si vedono alcuni miraculi del Ssmo. Sacramento* ("in which can be seen some miracles of the most Holy Sacrament"). It is large for a predella, 42 x 351 cm., and was damaged in the nineteenth century when it was used by masons as a mortar-board.

The only predella comparable in subject represents the *Finding of the Holy Cross*, a painting by Michele di Matteo Lambertini (active 1416-47) in the Accademia, Venice, which includes scenes of the interrogation, torture and confession of a Jew (cf. Salvini, p. 7). There is also, of course, a fresco by Piero della Francesca on this same subject, part of the famous Arezzo cycle on the story of the Holy Cross, which was completed about 1460.

Anti-Semitism in Italy was promoted by Franciscan Observants, a faction much favored generally by the Duke of Urbino. A modern authority (Nelson) writes of their "demagogic appeals to expel Jewish pawnbrokers, who had swarmed from Rome and Germany into the Italian towns in response to municipal invitations to set up shop. . . . Paced by Bernardino da Feltre (d. 1494), the Observantine preachers regurgitated the oft-discredited charges of ritual murder, incited mobs to attacks on Jewish life and property, and harangued the people and their magistrates to destroy the Jews, and establish Christian pawnshops, the monti di pietà." Jewish privileges in Urbino were not removed until 1508, when the wearing of the Jew badge (conspicuous in the *Passau Profanation*, 1-20) became compulsory.

A comprehensive article published since the above was written ("The altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino: Paolo Uccello, Joos van Ghent, and Piero della Francesca" by Marilyn Lavin, in the *Art Bulletin*, XLIX, March 1967) gives the full social and propagandist context to the altarpiece, without citing our German broadsheet. Lavin confirms the origins of the predella story in accounts of a crime alleged to have taken place in Paris at the end of the thirteenth century and circulated in the form of miracle plays during the fifteenth century. The Confraternity of Corpus Domini, for whom the altarpiece was made, was noted for its annual procession (depicted in scene 3) and for its service in giving comfort to the dying (last scene, where the woman receives the last Communion from an angel holding a pyx).

1-22. H. S. Beham (1537). Peasant Dance. The continuous fence and repeated speech scrolls which appear only on the last three plates would indicate that there were originally two distinct sets of engravings, here cannibalized. Nearly all these pairs of figures were reused by Beham in 1546/7 for another set of plates.

1-23. Lucas Cranach. From the *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (1521).

1-24. Peter Flötner c. 1535. [Christ recrucified]. *Neue Passio Christi.* Also [Pilgrimage of Monks, Nuns and Clergy]. *Creuzfahrt zu Münich, Nonnen und Pfaffen.* Woodcut copy c. 1560, Nürnberg, H.B. 21.

This pair of prints, dated by Röttinger on stylistic grounds to the 1530s, may be connected with the Augsburg Diet and Confession of 1530. Since moderate Lutherans were determined at this time to seek a rapprochement with the Catholics, and since their heaviest fire was now reserved for the more radical Zwinglians, Flötner's prints are thought to side with the latter. At this time Flötner also produced a brilliant and cruel attack on the Catholic controversialist Johann von Eck, in a print parodying the design of a triumphal arch which Eck had painted in honor of his "victory" over Luther at Leipzig in 1519.

In Vienna in 1558 an Imperial investigation condemned various print-sellers for distributing, among other "disrespectful pictures" *(schändliche Gemäl)*, one showing Pope and Emperor as naked figures, and a scene from the Passion represented with Catholic clergy, which may be connected with Flötner's design (see Schottenloher, p. 208 ff.). Such prints were evidently sold, like pornographic pictures today, literally from under the counter.

Actual social conditions respecting clerical vice are eloquently conveyed in the stated purpose of a visit (1528) by Saxon authorities to a local community "to discover whether they (the clergy) were apt to quarrel in words or deeds; whether they lived chastely, or with immoral women; whether they were drunkards, gluttons, rakes, and gamblers." (Quoted by Drews, p. 16.)

Unlike Flötner, most Lutheran cartoonists avoided attacking nuns. Luther himself, who was familiar with the methods which parents used to force their daughters into convents, reproached a "Master Lucas" (Cranach?) for "not sparing the female sex" in an anti-papal cartoon (letter of 1545, *Briefe*, ed. de Wette Bd. V, p. 742). See Röttinger, 1916, Nos. 27 and 28, pp. 58–9 (*Neue Passio Christi, Pfaffenkirmess*), and No. 19, pp. 37–8, Pls. VII/VIII (*Arcus Triumphalis*). Cf. also Bange, 1926, for the biography of 1547, quoted in the text above.

1-25. Bavarian. [The Jesuit Swine]. *Der Suiten, welche sich Jesuiten nennen, ankunfft, art und eigenschafft* 1569. Woodcut. Marburg Ya Gross 845. Waescher I, No. 23, has a German version of the print, upon which my paraphrase is based. The Latin version (in Marburg, first mentioned by Grisar IV, pp. 112-2) is entitled *Suitarum Origo et Mores*, and has verse signed by M. Franciscus Raphael, Poet Laureate of Ansbach, which is near Ingolstadt. In an extensive recently-published article, Frederick Stopp has shown how the *Jesuit Swine* print was provoked by the *Anatomia Lutheri* cartoon of 1567/8, upon which a leading poet of Ingolstadt, Vitus Jacobaeus, was supposed to have collaborated. Jacobaeus is the butt of Raphael's closing tirade. In another broadsheet, called *Ecclesia Militans* (1569), the Catholics delivered a counterblast which attempts to turn Raphael's own imagery against him, with verses written by the well-known Jesuit polemicist, Johannes Nas, who

specifically characterizes the *Jesuit Swine* print as "Adiaphoristisches Seuwerck."

1-26. Magdeburg c. 1520. [The Miraculous Blood of Wilsnack]. *Das Wunderblut zu Wilsnagk*. Woodcut, reconstructed by Heitz from fragments preserved in Greifswald, Universitäts-bibliothek. The fame of Wilsnack dates from 1383, when this small town in the Mark Brandenburg was destroyed by Heinrich von Buelow; from the wreckage of the church three pieces of the Sacrament were miraculously saved, in honor of which Pope Urban VI granted Indulgences the following year (Heitz, pp. 1-2). These events were kept alive throughout the fifteenth and well into the sixteenth centuries on behalf of the pilgrim traffic, and their popularity may be judged from the very worn and worm-eaten state of the block from which this only surviving impression was made.

Heitz manages by means of a complex linguistic and typographical comparison (pp. 7-13) to narrow down the date of the block to 1519-20, and proves that the place of origin was Magdeburg, Wilsnack itself having no press. In Magdeburg, in 1509, a pamphlet was published on the miracle, unillustrated except for a cut of the Monstrance in which the Blood was preserved. All the events shown in the broadsheet, except the fifth scene, tally perfectly with this written account. All of our fifteen scenes were used to illustrate (pp. 45-53) the polemical tract by the Protestant Ludecus: *Historia (des) . . . vermeintlichen Bluts zu Wilsnagk*, Wittenberg 1586. Wilsnack's fame as a pilgrimage center disappeared when it became Protestant in mid-century and the Monstrance was smashed. Ludecus tells us (Heitz, p. 13), "One can find even today in the choir of the Wilsnack church paintings the design of which I . . . print below." ("In der Kirchen zur Wilsnagk an dem Chor findet man noch heutiges Tags etliche Gemelde, welche ich . . . hierrunter nach der Invention abdrucken lasse.") The woodcut was therefore based on existing paintings; Heitz also reminds us that the altar of the church of the neighboring Mecklenburg town, Sternberg, had been decorated by Erhard Altdorfer with scenes of the theft of the Host by Jews.

A seventeenth-century woodcut from Châlon-sur-Sâone, apparently a fragment from a larger sheet depicting in two scenes several episodes from a miracle of the Sacrament, is reproduced in Mistler, p. 58; cf. ibid., pp. 26-7, where the Passau Profanation is spoken of as the ancestor of the "feuille à compartiments dont Epinal éditera des millions d'exemplaires."

1-27. South German or Swiss (1580). [The crippled girl of Einsiedeln] *Ein wunderbarliche warhafftige Hystori, welche sich mit einer achtzeheniärigen, von Kindswesen auff lahmen Tochter* . . . . Woodcut. Zürich, Wickiana F. 29 a 12.

1-28. Hans Brosamer (attr.). *Seven-headed Martin Luther*. Frontispiece to Johann Cochläus, *Sieben Köpffe Martini Luthers*, Leipzig, Valentin Schumann, 1529. (After Max Geisberg, *die Deutsche Buchillustration in der ersten Hälfte des XVIten Jhdts*, 1930. I., Pl. 139, cf. p. 4.)

1-29. Augsburg, 1630 (?). [Martin Luther, Doctor of Godlessness . . .]. *Martinus Lutherus ein Doctor der Gottlosigkeit, ein Lehrmaister der Schalkheit, ein schändlicher Apostata, ein Gottsräuberischer Ehemann, der Urheber der Augsburger Confession*. Original formerly in Münich, now presumed destroyed; repr. from Drews, p. 96. Drews dates this print c. 1730, the 200th anniversary of the Diet of Augsburg by which the German Protestants obtained official recognition. I would incline to a much earlier date, for both engraving style and costume seem to be seventeenth century. About 1630, the centenary of the Diet, would be historically appropriate, for Protestantism in Augsburg was violently suppressed in September 1629 and the Jesuits immediately poured in to mount a massive propaganda campaign for conversion.

Scene C. Luther himself tells us that while he was walking *alone* on a country road, a thunderstorm struck him, and that this spurred him finally to become a monk. The engraver here seems to have conflated this famous episode (which the Catholic was intended to construe as a fearful omen) with another which shattered the young man emotionally, and happened at about the same time: the death of a dear friend. Scene I. In 1523 some Cistercian nuns from the convent of Nimtzch near Grimma begged Luther to help them escape vows which they considered unlawful. Luther arranged for them to be smuggled out in a much more picturesque fashion than the engraver has rendered—in a wagon loaded with herring-barrels. Scene K. Unable to find a husband for the last of these girls, Katherine von Bora, Luther married her himself. This marriage formed one of the first major occasions for contemporary satire of a personal nature. Scene M. This would refer to the Marburg Colloquy of 1529, where the more moderate Luther and the more uncompromising Melanchthon failed to compose their disagreement with Zwingli over the meaning of the Sacrament in the Last Supper. There were always differences of approach between Luther and Melanchthon, but the latter remained Luther's most constant ally. The propagandist here has invented a rift between the two and substituted the name of Calvin for Zwingli in order to stress the disunity of the anti-Catholic movement. Calvinism had of course become the major rival Protestant faith. There was relatively little direct personal contact between Luther and Calvin, nor was there an ideological rupture between them such as occurred with Zwingli. There is of course no truth in scenes F, G, H, or N, although, as regards the last, Luther was certainly not averse to beer. The print purports to be addressed to the "Lutheran-evangelical reader"; one wonders how many converts so crude a lampoon could have made in Protestant Augsburg.

The best recent brief life of Luther is by Roland Bainton.

1-30. German, after 1577. [The Chastity of Calvin]. *Dominus Johannes Calvinus Novioduni persecutionem patitur Castitatis nomine*. B.M. For. Hist., "c. 1550." The title and the captions to scenes A and B are of course ironic. In Ch. V, reverse of p. 6, Bolsec gives his evidence for Calvin's first and most heinous crime, the one which allegedly caused him to leave his home town of Noyon (where he in fact hardly resided at all after the age of fourteen): sodomy, the sentence for which (after mitigation) he alleges to have been branding with the sign of the lily, as depicted in the broadsheet. The crime of adultery appears in Ch. XV, where a "Dame de Mougis" is identified among the procession of married ladies who beat their path to the theologian's door. Her conduct with Calvin is treated at length, although her husband is not described as having chastised her. The broadsheet explains scene D as "Calvin becomes a monk" (Calvin never, of course, even considered this step), but the engraver seems to have shown him being led to prison, as a corollary to the earlier scenes, and as an obvious preliminary to the trial scenes following.

The Latin legend would render the print comprehensible to the educated French Catholic.

1-31. *The Crimes of Calvinism*. Central portion of a broadsheet by Richard Verstegan called *Origine et present Estat de la secte Calvinienne* (see Doumergue, pp. 161-2).

1-32. Netherlandish, late sixteenth century. *Picture of the branded Sodomite, Jean Calvin* (Van Stolk 364). The design was painted by Marten van Cleef in a private house on the Plaadijs-vvey in Antwerp. According to Muller (No. 452), the etching was republished by P. Fruytiers c. 1650; cf. Doumergue, pp. 145-6: "*Les adversaires de Calvin repètent encore cette calomnie*."

1-33. Roman 1555. *Execution of Eighteen Carthusian Monks under Henry VIII*. B.M. For. Hist. There is a long Latin commentary below, which ignores the subdivision of the plate. The dedication is to a Cardinal-Bishop "Joh. Eps. Albanen Cardinalis Compostellān." The British Museum also has an inferior copy, or impression from a retouched plate, with the imprint *Palumbi Novarien curabant Romae 1564*. This includes the addition of a strip of nine much smaller sections running along the top, illustrating a Carthusian legend.

In May 1555 Cardinal Caraffa became Pope Paul IV. Since he was a fanatical Anglophobe, it seems possible that our print was sent out with the pontifical blessing in the hope of injuring the reputation of Cardinal Pole, of whom Caraffa had always been intensely jealous, and who in 1535 could still be considered henchman to Henry. In 1555 Pole was urging clemency on Mary Tudor, who had just started her persecutions of English Protestants. In 1557 he was summoned before the Inquisition.

CHAPTER TWO

2-1. Richard Verstegan. [Persecution of English Catholics]. *Briefve Description des diverses Cruautez que les Catholiques endurent en Angleterre pour la foy* (1583-4). Unique impression B.N. Cab. Est. La 25-6 Rés. (de L'Estoile Coll.). Impressions of Latin edition in Library of Stonyhurst College, England and Folger Library, Washington.

The first sheet (text only) of Verstegan's *Description* shows the following marginal note, written in l'Estoile's own hand, which served as the basis for the diary entry given in the translation of Nancy Roelker on our p. 41 above. above.

> "On appeloit ce beau Livre le tableau de Madame de Mō(n)pe(n)sier pour ce que par son Conseil et enhortement fust mis un tableau dans le Cimetiere S. Sevrin a Paris la veuille de la Saint Jean 158(7) auquel etaient peints et representes toutes ces Cruautes affin que le peuple passant par la s'emeust, et s'animast touiours de plus en plus contre les Huguenōs et Politiques. . . . Dont sa Maieste avertie cōmāda a sa Cour de Parlement de le faire oster. Ce qu'elle fist de nuit, et a petit bruit, crainte de Sedition / et en fust establi Commissaire Monsr Anrous Conseiller de la grand

Chambre, et Marquillier de L'eglise S. Sevrin sa paroisse qui de grand Catholique qu'il estoit, devinst par la grād Heretique et Politique, aiant este diffame pour tel par ceux de la Ligue, mesmes par un Sonnet iniurieux contre ce(ux) de la Cour de Parlement qu'ils publierent et afficherent par les rues adresse au dit Anroux, qu'il degradent de Noblesse, et l'apelent un Vilain, fils de Masson."

L'Estoile probably got the prints from Anroux personally. For the historian's comment on his collection, see Roelker, p. 177.

The engravings of the *Briefve Description* were first described by André Blum, *Satire,* p. 250, and first reproduced, without comment or source, in Varennes. The attribution to Richard Verstegan is made in a remarkable M.A. thesis by A. G. R. Petti, who was bold enough to ascribe to this curious figure also the *Théâtre des Cruautés des Hérétiques de nos temps*, a work previously ascribed to the Flemish engraver Jerome Wiericx. I owe all biographical information to Petti (see pp. 65-6, 82-3, 86 n.3, 100-1, and 452-62). For the connection between the Cavalieri *Trophaea* and the illustrations to the Parsons pamphlet, see J. H. Pollen.

Verstegan's narrative, which may appear exaggerated, can be largely verified from contemporary accounts, such as those recently published by Caraman: Plate I, Motif A—pp. 88-93; Plate 2—p.82; Plate 3—Edmund Campion, the greatest of the martyrs, suffered torture A, awls pushed under the fingernails (Caraman, pp. 234 and 240). Verstegan is wrong to claim the rack as a uniquely English Protestant device, for it was part of normal interrogatory procedure on the Continent, but like all forms of torture, in England applicable only by special Royal Warrant to traitors. Verstegan implies throughout that Catholic notables were tortured like common criminals for their refusal to adhere to Anglican practices and principles; in fact they were accused as traitors and suffered as such. For the persecution in general, see Caraman, pp. 82-4; for a list of the special tortures inflicted on the Catholics, see Caraman, pp. 86, 235, and 242; Plate 4, Motif C—for a father who caused his son's ear to be pierced, see Caraman, p. 85 ii, and Motif E—whipping at the "cart's arse" was a particularly humiliating form of punishment used chiefly for minor fraud and insanity, and not appropriate to the traitor; Plate 5, Motif A—such harassment by Protestant preachers is not documented in Caraman. This was typically Catholic procedure against heretics, for Anglican priests did not try to provoke last minute recantations in such circumstances. Disembowelling was common practice throughout Europe. The thoroughness with which the prisoner was hanged before being cut down for disembowelling depended on the mood of the executioner and/or crowd, one of whom, friend or relative, might be allowed to rush forward and drag down the hanging body in order to tighen the noose. "And when he felt them pulling out his heart, he was yet so strong enough that he thrust the men from him which held his arms. Finally they cut off his head and divided his quarters, disposing of them in several places about Southwark, as is accustomed" (Caraman, pp. 254-5).

2-2. Illustration to Tabourot, *Les Hermaphrodites*, c. 1588. (After Fuchs, *Karik. d. Eur. Völker* I, Abb. 56.)

2-3. French. *Life of Henri III.* Reconstruction by the author of a broadsheet composed of the woodcut illustrations to a pamphlet attributed to the priest Jean Boucher: *La Vie et les faits notables de Henri de Valois . . . ou sont contenus les trahison, sacrilèges exactions et hontes de cet hypocrite et apostat* (1589). My hypothesis that these woodcuts were originally designed not for this book, but for a broadsheet which has not survived, is based upon the following facts: the captions to the illustrations are very large and full in comparison with the text, which tends to repeat them in substance; in two instances the caption has actually become separated from the cut, when the latter appears at the head of a page; the cuts showing the corpses of the Guise are too long for the book, and have been cropped at the sides.

The following notes have been derived from the pamphlet cited above: 1. On his arrival in France from Poland (1574), Henri had a balustrade constructed around his seat at tribunals and council-meetings, and generally maintained an offensive distance from his nobles. 2. At his coronation (1575) Henri cried out that the crown hurt him, cast glances at his *mignons* around him, and made other improper gestures which caused the crown to fall twice from his head. 3. On May 10, 1575, Henri seized from the Sainte Chapelle a cross made from the wood of the True Cross of Christ, and sent it as a present to the Venetians. 4. When Henri heard of the death of his brother Charles IX, he secretly fled Poland (of which country he was then King), promising to return. Since he failed to do so, the Polish States General declared him a traitor, and had his arms desecrated. 5. One of several similar accusations. 6. The secret police carried the head of each enemy liquidated into the King's private chamber; various naked and headless bodies were found in the rivers of France.

"There was no son of a good mother in Paris who did not spit insults and lampoons against the King, who was decried and torn to pieces in the streets like the lowest thief and rogue, evidence of which is sufficiently provided by the ugly images peddled around the streets by the hawkers of Mme de Monpensier." (Pierre de l'Estoile, quoted by Blum, p. 28).

2-4. French. *Henri III murders the Guise.* Woodcut 1589, signed P.H. In July 1588 the Guise, leaders of the ultra-Catholic League, had forced the King to submit to all their demands relating to the uprooting of heresy and other matters of State, obliging him to call the States General (Parliament) at Blois in October. Henry soon saw that, with the assembly so completely dominated by the League, only drastic action could restore his authority.

The King had not actually dined with the Duc de Guise. He called him, with his brother the Cardinal, to his room and on the entry of the first, had him stabbed by his bodyguard. The Cardinal was simultaneously arrested, and murdered the following day.

2-5. German/French. *Assassination of Henri III and execution of Jacques Clément* (1589). The verses, which mark this as a German publication although the designs may well be French, begin *König Heinrich der dritt des namen . . .* In the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Hist. de France*, 1589, pp. 15–27) there are two series of drawings telling the Clément story in full. The first series has twenty-eight scenes; the second, which has sixteen scenes, largely duplicates the first and includes eight engraved compositions, four of which are identical to those of the broadsheet strip.

2-6. German. [Murder of Henri III] 1589. *Als achtzig neun die Jaarzal war . . .* A Hoogenberg publication. B.M. For. Hist.

2-7. Claus Visscher. [Assassination of Henri IV of France], 1610. *Execrandi Parricidi in Henricum IIIIm Galliarum et Navarrae regum perpetrat exemplar.* Repr. from Varennes (Van Stolk 1260). There is an immense number of prints on this occasion, many of them published in Augsburg (see Hennin Nos. 1364–1605). One (Hennin 1364) is a very roughly scratched German etching describing Henri as stabbed "by an unknown person" (*durch eine unbekante Person erstochen*), which is good evidence of the haste with which these prints were produced. The journal of Pierre de l'Estoile recounts how the executioners were foiled in their attempt to burn the dismembered corpse of Ravaillac by a furious crowd which simply seized pieces of it (as depicted in the print) and wreaked further vengeance themselves.

Curiously enough, rumors of the King's assassination were circulated about Europe a few days before it actually took place. On May 14 the King was in Paris completing his preparations for a war in defense of the Protestant interests in the Jülich-Cleves question. He decided after some hesitation to leave the Louvre in order to pay a visit to his minister Sully at the Arsenal. At a moment when his carriage was forced almost to a halt by a traffic-jam, François Ravaillac, a religious fanatic of obscure origins, leapt from the crowd, and with one foot on the step of the unguarded vehicle, plunged his dagger into the King's chest. Seated next to the King was the Duc d'Epernon, who later claimed to have tried to prevent a second, mortal blow; yet a third blow passed as well. Investigation of the murder was suppressed. Recent research by Philippe Erlanger postulates a widespread conspiracy headed by d'Epernon himself, in favor of the ultra-Catholic, pro-Spanish Jesuit faction which secretly used and encouraged Ravaillac. His action facilitated a *coup d'état* by which Marie de' Medici became Regent with plenary powers, contrary to the will of the late King.

2-8. Christoffel van Sichem. *François Ravaillac Moordenaer, Cristoffel van Sichem Inventor et fecit* (1610). After Roland Mousnier, *L'Assassinat d'Henri IV*, Gallimard, 1964, Pl. 5 (original engraving in the Bibliothèque Nationale).

2-9. [Execution of Damiens] *Portrais de Soufrance de R. F. Damien. Attentateur de las Personnes Sacre du Roy Louis XV le 3. Jeanvier . . .* (1757). Woodcut, after Varennes.

2-10. German. [Assassination of Concino Concini, and execution of Leonora Galigai, 1617]. *Eigentliche unnd auszführliche Contrafetung und beschreibung alles dessen was sich mit Marquis Dancre . . .* (and bottom) . . . *Execution der Ertzzauberin Leonore Galigai von Florentz . . .* . Braunschweig, Politik. There is a large number of prints on this event, many of them published in Germany, and Augsburg in particular (see Hennin Nos. 1808 ff.).

2-11. French/German. [Death of Concini, 1617]. *Ein merckliche History Wie Conchine Marquis d'Ancre den 24 April zu Paris erschossen, begraben, wider aussgegraben und verbrant worden, mit beygefügter Abbildung der fürnembsten Umbstände. Allen Conchinisten zu Ehren gestellt.* Signed *A Giridon.* Braunschweig (Hennin 1809). Another version, also in the Hennin Collection (repr. in Adhémar I.P.F., p.

71) is similar to this print, and includes three scenes of the execution of Concini's wife, like our 2-10.

2-12. French. [Master Coyon]. *Tableau et Emblemes de la detestable vie et malheureuse fin du maistre Coyon.* Above verse: *Mytologie des emblemes du Coyon. A Paris, Chez les 24 & 25. Avril 1617.* B.N. (Hennin 1813). With his comment on how the Coyon tried to turn the world upside-down, the verse-writer takes advantage of the common error made by popular engravers who forgot to allow for reversal of the image when it is transferred from plate to paper.

I (1-3). The squirrel (for the name *Coyon*, see below), reputedly a cowardly animal, was often kept as a pet in a treadmill cage. The cage itself is cleverly fused with a Wheel of Fortune, a common allegorical device; but instead of Fortune turning the handle attached to the wheel, we have the squirrel working it from within. He is thus both maneuvering the Wheel of State, and trapped as befits a cowardly animal. The whole apparatus, moreover, balances on the edge of a pit. After the death of Henri IV, Concino Concini had rapidly risen to become Marquis d'Ancre, Governor of Péronne, Roye, Montdidier and Amiens, and Marshal of France. The names of the ministers who rose and fell under him are all comically distorted: *Mâgot* (Ape) is Claude Mangot; *Suçon* (lollipop) is Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon, recently appointed by Concini and the Regent to the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs and War; *Babin* (Chops) is Barbin, a creature of Concini who made him head of the government, deposing the previous ministers, Chancellor Villeroy (*Vieillefoy* or Old-Faith) and Jeannin (*Nanin* or Dwarfy). *Du Vrai*, Truthsome, refers to Du Vair. When Concini fell, leaving the cage empty, Barbin was imprisoned and Richelieu followed the Queen Mother (whom it was not considered prudent to attack openly) into retirement. The dog and monkey in this and the following scene must represent the vices of foreign courtiers.

II (4). "The squirrel overturns the glass or jar containing the three lilies." Nothing more specific may be meant here than the intruder overturning the native order as ordained by the French kings (Louis XV was now legally of age). His destructiveness is moreover indicated in the background landscape, filled with ruins. But another version of this print (re-engraved in Jaime) shows one of the arcades behind the squirrel as glazed, and a hole broken in the glass; the term *verre (Le Coyon fit casser le verre . . .)* may in this version apply to this motif. Leon Halévy, writing in Jaime, assumes that the squirrel escapes through this hole, but it might represent rather the place of illegal entry, since in the next scene we see the glazier (pun on the name of Le Vitry, Captain of the Royal Guards who struck Concini down) arriving with a new pane of glass emblazoned (in the Jaime version) with the royal lilies; that is, he comes to restore royal authority and to kill the creature responsible for breaking it. This may represent not so much an accusation of actual complicity in the murder of Henri IV (cf. the strip version in 2-10) as one of usurping the authority of the child King Louis XIII. The gentlemen standing by seem to be calling out for a repair to the damage done.

Champfleury (p. 201) ingeniously interprets the pane of glass as a reference to the window in the Louvre from which the King was watching when the arrest and shooting took place; the royal lilies would then be the stamp of royal approval upon the murder. This seems a little far-fetched. The drawbridge is that of the Louvre, where Concini was actually stopped by Le Vitry.

The nickname *Coyon* given to Concini in the title, and slung about the pictures like an insulting chant, calls for special explanation. *Coyon* is a French version of the Italian *coglione*, which means a squirrel and by extension any base or cowardly person. The same or a similar word survives in current French slang as obscene invective, in the form of *couillon* or simply *con* (balls). Cf. the Rabelaisian title of an anti-Concini pamphlet *Saigneur Messire Concino Coyon, Coquefredouille, Marque d'ancore.*

Champfleury (p. 195) justly observes that this print represents a new departure in broadsheet satire. "Up till then caricatures forming a series and embracing the life of a political figure, were unknown." I do not know however on what grounds this writer can state that the Concini story set a fashion in France "for rendering in pictures the length of a reign, the fortune of a courtier, the overthrow of a farmer of revenues." Cf. also Blum, p. 318.

2-13. Netherlandish or German. *Execution of Counts Egmont and Horn* (1568). Woodcut, repr. from Varennes. An edition of this print was published at Lyons in 1570 (Van Stolk 428). Lamoral, Count of Egmont and Prince of Gavre, was a successful general who had defeated the French on behalf of Philip II. Philippe de Montmorency, Count of Hoorn, was Admiral of Flanders. At the execution on May 5, 1568, before the Town Hall of Brussels, he knelt with his back to the crucifix. His coffin was not allowed the candles we see burning at Egmont's. The heads were exposed for three hours, then removed.

"By making them the victims of one of the most dramatic tragedies recorded in all history Philip and Alva committed an act which was not only an unnecessary crime, but an irretrievable blunder" (*Cambridge Modern History*, 1904, III, p. 220).

2-14. Dutch. [Duke of Alva etc.] *Hy nempt met gewelt den ryckdom van het lant . . . Il prend par fortresse le riscesse du pais . . .* (c. 1570). Van Stolk 412/4.

2-15. German (Hoogenberg). [Spanish Fury 1576]. *Ware Contrafactur Der Statt Antorff, sambt darin verloffnen Handlungen Anno 1576 den 4 Novembris.* Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, with an attribution to Jost Ammann. Not in Van Stolk. On September 25th the Baron de Hèze, acting for William of Orange, seized the three councillors with the most notoriously pro-Spanish inclinations (their names are carefully inscribed): Baron de Barlaymont, President of the Privy Council Viglius, and Del Rio, the infamous lawyer of the "Council of Blood."

The immediate occasion of the sack was a mutiny on the part of the Spanish soldiers quartered near Antwerp. The treasure-fleet carrying the pay due to them had been intercepted by the Dutch Sea Beggars, so they decided, with the connivance of their commander Sancho d'Avila, to help themselves to the rich port of Antwerp. They sallied forth from the fortress depicted in the centerpiece, a fortress which had been built specially by Alva, and the planned construction of which, incidentally, had been used as a means of luring Egmont and Horn into his clutches. About seven thousand persons are estimated to have died in the massacre, from which the English writer George Gascoigne himself barely escaped with his life. He left the port on November 12 and wrote his *Spoyle of Antwerp*, from which I quote under the plate, on the 25th during his journey home. His would appear to represent a perversely pro-Spanish attitude, but we must remember that Gascoigne had fought as an unsuccessful mercenary on the Protestant side against the reputedly invincible Spanish troops and that England was not yet at open war with Spain.

All the designs of our strip appear as large, separate engravings published by the firm of Hoogenberg, and later used to illustrate a major historical work by Michael Eytzinger, *De Leone Belgico*, 1583. (In the British Museum copy of this work the engravings appear between pages 228 and 261.) There is a variant copy in the Städel Institute, Frankfurt. The Bertarelli Collection in Milan has a good collection of Hoogenberg plates on various subjects (Albo E. 119), in which the selection is based upon a preference for scenes of massacre; but none appears so terrible as that of the *Spanish Fury*. For an account of Hoogenberg's work in graphic journalism, see Muller, No. 413.

2-16. Antoine van Leest. *The rape of Antwerp* (1577). Frontispiece to J.B. Houwaerts, *Milenus Clachte* (1577). The poem is dedicated to the Prince of Orange.

2-17. German c. 1605, [Anti-Truce]. *Beschreibung der frölichen, guten und gewünschten Bottschaft und neuen Zeitung welche der Ehrwürdig Herr Pater Johan de Ney dem gantzen Niederlandt fürnemlich aber den unierten Provinzien mit grossem Frolocken fürtragen und verkünden thut.* Texas 266 (Scheible No. 1). "An 1566" in the upper left-hand scene refers to the year the patriotic Dutch were baptized "Beggars" by a contemptuous nobleman. It is evidence of the great popularity of Maurice that the accent should be laid exclusively on the unsuccessful attempts on his life, rather than upon the successful assassination of his father, William the Silent (1584), which was instigated and paid for by King Philip of Spain. The commercial promises lay in the Spanish Indies, where the Dutch were challenging the Spanish monopoly. There was a strong movement in Amsterdam at the beginning of the century to found a West Indian Company, on the model of the East Indian Company founded in 1601.

2-18. Simon de Vries. *Piramis Pacifica* (1609). Published by Claus Visscher. Van Stolk 1243. According to Van Stolk, the original author-publisher was a certain "Broeder Jansz" who on June 11, 1609, was paid twenty-five ponden at forty groschen the piece for his edition of the print.

2-19. Claus Visscher. [Burial of the Truce] 1621. *Treves Endt Cl*(aus) *V*(isscher) *ex.* After van Kuyk No. 30 (Muller 1449). A German version is reproduced in Scheible (No. 80) and an English version is in the Van Stolk Collection (No. 1525).

2-20. Dutch [The Remonstrant Snake]. *Elck quaet draeght syn eygen straffe.* Van Stolk 1384.

2-21. Simon de Vries (et al?). *t' Arminiaens Testament*, 1619. Van Stolk 1347. Also pub-

lished by Claus Visscher, and later by H. Focken and H. Allardt. I have translated the commentary from the German edition in the B.M.

Muller (No. 1329a) says mistakenly that the right side of each step shows episodes in favor of the Remonstrant party, the left side episodes in favor of the Counter-Remonstrant party.

2-22. Dutch. [Vision of the Fall of Castile]. *Verklaringe van dit Visioen ofte ghesichte / over den eyndelicken odergangh ende val van Castilien* (c. 1620). Van Stolk 1609 (without text, which is to be found at Muller 1916). The verse explanation is by *R.E.*, and the prose commentary by *Teophilus Flaû.*

2-23. Dutch. [Death of Martinus van Velde]. c. 1639. *Siet hier een Priester Goodts . . .* Van Stolk 1824. There is a record of a painting on the same subject as our print by P. de Grebber, which was engraved by Th. Matham. This event is in itself of little political importance, but it might be possible to connect it with the tensions caused by the movement of the 1630s for rapprochement with the Southern Netherlands, towards which the Calvinist preachers assumed an intolerant attitude.

The print mentioned on p. 000 above (Van Stolk 474), which may have served as a companion to the present one, depicts the tortures inflicted by one of the most ferocious of the "Sea-beggars," Lumaeus (Lamarck), upon the famous scholar of Delft, Cornelius Musius (1520-1572).

CHAPTER THREE

3-1. German. [Neuburg-Bavarian marriage, 1613]. *Wolfgang Wilhelm von Edler Art, Und Magdalen ein Frewelein zart, Beid auss ein hohen Stam geboren . . . .* B.M. For. Hist.

3-2. German. [Ferdinand crowned King of Bohemia]. *Aigentliche Contrafactur der fürnembsten Acten Wie die bey dess durch leuchtigsten Fürsten und Herren Herren Ferdinandi Ertzherzog zue Oesterrich den 19/29 Juny Anno 1617 beschehnen Crönung Zum König in Boheimb fürgangen.* Signed *G. Keller 1617.* B.M. For. Hist.

Keller, a painter and engraver of Frankfurt 1568-1634, was to use this plate again for the coronation of Ferdinand's son in 1627.

3–3. German. [Frederick V crowned King of Bohemia]. *Eigentliche Contrafactur aller unterschiedtlichen Acten Wie der durchleuchtigste undt grossmechtige Fürst undt Herr Herr Fridrich der Fünffte Pfaltzgrave bey Rhein Churfürst, Hartzog in Bayren etc. Den 4 Novembris A 1619 zum König in Böheimb gekrönet worden etc.* The coronation is performed not by the Archbishop of Prague, who as a Catholic could not crown a heretic, but by his representative. There is a notable lack of ecclesiastics present in the Protestant ceremony. The religious paintings visible in the scenes on the left were soon to disappear, for the Calvinist King had the churches and the Cathedral of Prague stripped bare of imagery, an act which came as a shock to his Lutheran subjects.

3–4. German. [Prague execution]. *Execution so zu Prag den 11/21 1621 angestelt und volnzogen worden.* B.M. For. Hist. Other versions of this subject are also in the B.M. (1880–7–10–409 and 1880–7–10–407), one similar in design, the other reuniting all the incidents of the execution in one scene and placing much accent on gory detail spared us by the engraver of our strip.

1. The "mitigation" affected merely some of the more barbarous forms of punishment. 4. Contemporaries remarked upon the fortitude of Count Andreas Schlick during his last hours, and the failure of the Jesuits to effect any conversions. 6. One prisoner, who had managed to commit suicide beforehand, was most horribly mutilated and thus displayed to the public.

The author of the letterpress praises the executioner, who worked alone and perfectly to the deafening and continuous roll of drums. Only Professor Jessenius seems not to have cooperated fully in his last minutes. The writer reveals his Protestant partisanship by stressing the courage and piety of the condemned, who were nearly all Lutherans. He does not, on the other hand, offer an explicit interpretation of the rainbow, which had appeared just before the execution, and which would have been taken by Protestants as a divine blessing on the martyrs. This reticence might suggest that the print was published in Prague itself.

"Prague acquiesced, its riches vanished, its trade stopped up, its people sick with fear, its leaders gone. Beyond Prague, beyond Bohemia, the Protestant news-letters screamed their indignation; men spoke of Alva and the Council of Blood which fifty years before had roused the Netherlands to throw off the tyrant. But the Dutch had had a champion beyond their borders who had come back at a nation's call. For Bohemia no deliverer came" (Wedgwood, p. 128). The gory remainders of the execution remained in place until more Saxon troops, fighting now in the Protestant cause, took the town ten years later.

3–5. German 1618. [Jesuit Broom]. *Böhmischer Jesuiten Kehraus und teutsche Weckuhr. Wunderliche Geheimnusse umb nachdenkliche Prophezeiungen von dem jetzigen Zustande des römischen Reiches* [wonderful secrets and dire prophecies upon the present condition of the Roman Empire]. Marburg (Scheible No. 51, with original German verses in full).

I. Since the accession of Ferdinand in June 1617, there had been considerable influx of Jesuits into Bohemia and an increase in Jesuit influence on Habsburg policy. After the defenestration of the Catholic ministers on May 23, 1618, there was no general ouster of Catholic officials; but cooperation with the Jesuits proved impossible, with the result that they were expelled (June 9). VI The comic theme of Jesuits rasping wood in a Calvinist jail must have been a favorite of the German *Schwank* or popular farce; the journey and arrival at Amsterdam are the subject of a separate print of this date, called *The proposed Pilgrimage of the Jesuits driven out of the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, to Saint Raspinus and Ponus in the jail of Amsterdam* (repr. Beller, Pl. II.). There is an added spice in the location of the jail in Amsterdam, for the Dutch, who were on the whole tolerant of Catholics, drew the line at admitting Jesuits. Cf. also the satire (repr. Scheible No. 88) *The Healing Fountain of Amsterdam, and The Jesuit Passport* (Van Stolk 1452), which van Rijn fails to connect with the Prague expulsion. VII. While it is true that the Papal Nuncio in Paris was instructed to impress the King of France with the danger to Bohemian Catholics (Wedgwood, p. 76), the attitude of Pope Paul V (1605-1621) was one of hostility to the Habsburg, and he refused the Spanish request to celebrate the massacre of the Valtelline Protestants (July 1620). Cf. following entry. VIII. The allies in question would be the United Provinces, England, Savoy, Venice, and those German Protestants powers which had formed the "Union" in opposition to the Catholic "League." The Bohemian choice of Frederick V as King in place of Ferdinand was to alienate the Princes of the Union to such an extent that they not only refused him all help, but even permitted their leader, John George of Saxony, to contribute directly to his downfall at the White Hill. IX. Lutherans and Calvinists did not learn to play the same tune, and spent their time tweaking each other's ears rather than those of Pope or Jesuit. In Bohemia, soon to have a Calvinist King placed over its Lutheran Estates, confusion was compounded by the survival of old and independent Hussite sects. X. It was rightly suspected that Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania and a Calvinist regarded by Christendom as the bulwark against the Turks, might shelve his chronic war with the infidel in order to take advantage of the Bohemian situation. His intervention on behalf of Protestantism consisted, in fact, of plundering the eastern provinces of the Habsburg and abandoning his ally Frederick at the battle of the White Hill.

3–6. German. [Bohemian Mirror of Disorder] 1619. *Böhmischer Unruh Schauspiegel in Welchem ein artliche und Eigendliche Transfiguratio und Abbildung aller deren Handlungen, Aufstand und Thätlichkeiten, so im vergangenen 1618 Jahr, auch biss noch auff dato in dem Hochlöblichen Königreich Böhmen verloffen, zu sehen.* Signed *F.R.C.* Marburg (Scheible No. 58, with original German verses in full).

I, II, III. The principal threat to religious freedom was naturally recognized to come from the Jesuits, since the Emperor Ferdinand was heavily influenced by his Jesuit Confessor. Cardinal Klesl, by virtue of his dignity as Cardinal and of his office as Imperial adviser, would be an obvious target for attack, but the writer of the print is guilty of over-simplification when he makes him chief henchman to the Jesuits. Klesl had for years been urging religious toleration upon the old Emperor Matthias and had, by the time this print was published, been arrested by Ferdinand because of his policy of appeasement (July 1618). The document depicted in scene III might be a petition from the nationalist Bohemians, or else the Letter of Majesty itself, by which Matthias had guaranteed religious freedom to the Protestants, and the provisions of which were completely violated by his successor Ferdinand. The Calvinists trying to steal the royal seal in scene II must refer to plots which were gaining ground in Prague to place the Calvinist Frederick of the Palatinate upon the throne. IV. "The newsman and his public" would refer to the Protestant propaganda campaign which from 1615 had been aiming to arouse public opinion over the reality of the Catholic-Habsburg threat. V. Note that the journalist does not depict the defenestration itself, an act of physical violence which had been intended to maim or kill, and which hardly redounded to the pacifism of the new government. Of the victims, Count William Slavata and Miroslav Martinitz, the latter escaped immediately to Vienna, where the Imperial indignation can be well imagined. VI and XI. War on the revolutionary government was immediately prepared, so that with the help of Spanish gold Ferdinand had by autumn 1618 two armies in Bohemia. The native Protestant

levies under Count Thurn and the large mercenary army of Mansfeld were soon at grips with the Catholic forces. The Austro-Bohemian border soon lay waste. With Bethlen Gabor ravaging the country to the east, and with the resumption of military operations in the spring and summer of 1619, the people understood that war was upon them in earnest. It is likely that our print was issued at some time between June 10, 1619, the date of Mansfeld's bloody defeat at Sablat, and August 26 of the same year, when Frederick was elected King.

Meanwhile (scenes VII-IX) the various factions at Prague were unable to reconcile their differences—differences of religious origin (cf. note to scene IX of preceding plate), and differences of economic and social origin. The Estates are depicted swearing to unite, but the failure of what we may term the Bohemian democratic process in the face of the conflicting interests of peasant, merchant and nobility, proved a major cause of the ensuing disaster.

3-7. German. [Proposal and Reply, or A Dialogue between the journalist and his opponent]. *Einred und Antwort, das ist, Ein Gespräch dess Zeitungschreibers mit seinem Widersacher*. Ulm (1620).

3-8. German. [Assembly of various great German and foreign warrior princes]. *Versamblung und Zusammenkunft etlicher hohen Teutschen und Ausländischen Kriegsfürsten*. B.M. For. Hist. (1625).

3-9. German. [Victories of Gustavus Adolphus] (1631). *Gustav Adolph: D. G. Sueco: et Wandal: Rex etc. 1. Stralsund . . . 103. Mannheim*. B.M. For. Hist.

Another spiralling version published in Nürnberg (Münich State Library, Religiöse Allegorien—sic) leaves blank spaces at the end.

3-10. German. [Spew out what you have gobbled up . . . , Gustavus Adolphus and the Pope, 1631-2]. *Spey auss, was du gar gefressen hast* . . . . (After Scheible No. 11.)

3-11. German. *Tillius Poenitens das ist Tyllische Buss und darauff erfolgete Absolution, nach allen dreyen Päpstischen Stücken, als der Rew, Beicht und Gnugthuung, gethan und empfangen, nach erlittener Leipzischen Niderlag* (1631). Nürnberg, H. B. 493.

A. Johann Tzerclaes, Count of Tilly (1559–1632), was of Flemish birth, won his first laurels for the Spanish against the Dutch, and then fought for the Emperor against the Turks. During the Thirty Years War he commanded the army of the Catholic League in the service of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. After defeating Frederick at Prague in 1620, he won victories over the mercenary leader Mansfeld and the Margrave of Baden-Durlach in the Rhineland (1622), Duke Christian of Brunswick at Stadtlohn (1623) and the King of Denmark in northern Germany (1626). His first defeat may be said to have come from the rival general in the Imperialist cause, Albrecht von Wallenstein, who, dismissed from his post when Gustavus landed in Germany, systematically undermined his ally's operations. B. Tilly's career of destruction and terror culminated at Magdeburg, which he succeeded in taking with Gustavus hot on his heels in April 1631. The broadsheet press had exhorted the Protestant stronghold (Magdeburg means Maiden City) not to yield to her elderly, importunate wooer, but once her defenses were stormed, she was raped and then completely burned. She is shown riding away behind her captor, but in fact the over-eager troops of Tilly had brutalized her to such an extent that she proved incapable of satisfying their desires, which remained unslaked until they reached Leipzig. The destruction of Magdeburg, which immediately became a rallying cry for an outraged Protestant Germany, must have been partly accidental since the soldiers would never have set fire to it before they had finished plundering. Modern historians usually credit Tilly with attempts to protect the inhabitants from the murderous sack; but it is significant, in view of our strip's exploitation of Tilly's famed devotion to the Catholic faith, that his chief concern was for the preservation of churches, and that five days after the fall of the city, while the few thousand remaining inhabitants were dying of hunger and wounds, he arranged for the solemn rededication of the Cathedral and the renaming of the charred wreck around him from Magdeburg to Marienburg. C. Tilly had pleaded in vain with Wallenstein, lying luxuriously in his Bohemian estates, to send food to his hungry army. He finally withdrew towards the Saxon fleshpots, plundering hitherto unspoiled territory all the way. In September his 34,000 soldiers, already laden with an immense booty, entered Leipzig and were wallowing in this earthly paradise when the King of Sweden, with his reluctant ally John George of Saxony, arrived and forced them to the battlefield. The verse-writer reveals a patriotic Saxon bias by claiming the victory for the old "hare-hunter" John George, "with the help of the Swedes." In fact, the much-vaunted Saxon troops might as well not have been present at all for the use they were to Gustavus, having fled ignominiously early in the day. John George himself led the flight, exchanging his usual role of hunter for that of hare, and letting his cavalry actually plunder the Swedish baggage from the rear. D. Tilly left all his artillery and 12,000 men on the battlefield and on the road to Leipzig; he himself had been severely wounded. The bees surrounding the defeated general's head symbolize mental distress. E–F. There is no biographical substance to the suggestion that Tilly contemplated entering a monastery at the end of his life. It is true that in his boyhood after leaving his Jesuit school he had thought of becoming a monk, turning to the profession of arms instead; but after the fatal battle of Breitenfeld he continued in the field, only to be finally defeated and mortally wounded at the Lech the following spring (1632). For information on Magdeburg and Breitenfeld, see Wedgwood, pp. 253–268.

"Tilly's sweetmeats" *(Tyllische Confekt)*, a phrase used by John George of Saxony himself, was the subject of other satires against Tilly: "The freshly-spread Sweets-table . . . for General Tilly and his sweet-toothed companions" (repr. Beller, Pl. XI), and another (Beller, Pl. XIV) where Tilly has to visit the dentist after his excessive sweet-eating. There also appeared a *Psychomachia* where the Vices of Tilly are pitted against the Virtues of Sweden and Saxony.

A version of *Tillius Poenitens* in Marburg (Ya 6540–14) adds for good measure, below the six scenes described, a row of a further three in the same format, which reproduce three other anti-Tilly satires: Tilly being fleeced, his army with its complement of "heathen" Laps and Irish, and Tilly being beaten.

Coupe (p. 76) reprints the text to a cartoon which comments on the sheer number and variety of graphic attacks upon the general: "God help us! How the good Tilly is made to suffer, how can people make money out of abusing him." The author of our strip shows a comparable measure of sympathy for the victim.

3–12. Matthäus Merian. [Murder of Wallenstein]. *Eigentliche Vorbildung und Bericht welcher Gestalt der Keyserische General Herzog von Friedland, beneben etlich anderen Obristen und Officieren zu Eger hingerichtet worden, den 15. Febr. 1634. M. Merian fecit*. Marburg.

3–13. [Murder of Wallenstein]. *Relation Wie General Walstain Hertzogen von Friedland neben andern Obristen Zu Eger den 15/25 Februarii sein erstochen and erschlagen worden. Anno 1634.*

3–14. [Murder of Wallenstein, 1634]. *Nuhn ligt Friedland gefält, durch Spannisch Mordt unndt List*. . . . B. M. For. Hist.

3–15. [Murder of Wallenstein]. B. M. For. Hist.

3–16. [Murder of Wallenstein]. *Eigentlicher Abriss wie das der General Friedland von dem Obristen Leutnampt Jordan Zu Eger its erstochen worden. Anno 1634*. (Repr. from Bauer.)

3–12 to 3–16. On January 24, 1634, a secret decree was signed by the Emperor dismissing Wallenstein and instructing Count Gallas and Prince Piccolomini to take the General dead or alive. Wallenstein was at the key Bohemian fortress of Eger when a Colonel Butler, who, like the fortress commandant Gordon, had remained faithful to the Emperor, used his dragoons to execute the Imperial order. The broadsheet strips first depict Butler and his men murdering Wallenstein's closest supporters, Count Adam Trčka (Terszky), General Christian Ilow, Commissary William Kinsky, and Major Neumann. In the Merian engraving (3–12) the scene inset on the top left probably represents the killing of Terszky, who had forced his way out of the castle dining room into a courtyard. Meanwhile the Englishman, Captain Devereux, with a few men broke into the bedroom Wallenstein had taken in a private house in the town and killed him as he stood in his shirt at the window.

He had just leapt from the bed where the gout had immobilized him. "Presently (they) drew him out by the heels, his head knocking upon every stair, all bloody, and threw him into a coach and carrried him to the castle where the rest lay naked close together . . . and there he had the superior place of them, being the right hand file, which they could not do less, being so great a general." (Wedgwood, p. 320, quoting the contemporary account of Poyntz; cf. also Wedgwood, pp. 280 and 314 ff. for the "treachery" of Wallenstein.)

Technically Wallenstein would seem to have betrayed his trust with the Emperor when he tried to negotiate a peace less favorable to Imperial interests than the Emperor would settle for. Since it is not known, however, exactly on what terms Ferdinand had managed to re-engage Wallenstein, the General should be judged morally by what he hoped to achieve rather than by the vague concept of "fidelity" to his nominal employer. Other narrative broadsheets on Wallenstein's death are to be found in the version reproduced in Jessen, p. 344, and in an original version at Ulm.

3–17. Dutch. [Palatinate Famine, c. 1635]. *Curvorst van Mentz Ernestus Casimirus* . . . Van Stolk 1732 (text missing).
A. "They laid the servant, bound, upon the earth, jammed his mouth open, and emptied a pail full of filthy manure water into his body, a treatment which they called the Swedish Drink . . ." (Grimmelshausen, *Simplizissimus I*, 4). Ambassador Rusdorf, in his correspondence with the ex-Queen of Bohemia, confirms that "they murder for fun . . . they invent all sorts of horrible and hitherto unheard of tortures." G. "In the region of Worms people allayed their hunger with roots, grass and leaves, and when this failed, they took to dead animals from the knacker's yard." H. "The brutalized people were murdering their acquaintances in order to eat them up greedily." K. "The corpses of the children were not safe from the voracity of their parents." M. "In many places the churchyards had to be guarded." A girl asked the sexton of Ruffach to give her some corpse-flesh, since the butcher had run out of horsemeat. (All quotations from Rusdorf, cited by Häusser, pp. 539-41.)

For a summary of typical tales of atrocities due to famine, see Wedgwood, p. 363 ff. and p. 371.

3-18. German. c. 1620s. *Bellum Symbolicum, das ist, Die Erschröckliche Wirckungen dess Kriegs, inn Gleichnuss fürgestellt. Zu Augspurg, bey Hanss Jerg Mannasser, Kupfferstecher auff im Creutz.* Ulm. Einblattdrucke 3083, III, 13.

3–19. Callot. *Les Misères et les Mal-heurs de la Guerre representez par Iacques Callot Noble Lorrain et mis en lumière par Israel son amy. A Paris 1633 Avec Privilège du Roy.* Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Another book could be written just upon the relationship of the *Misères* etchings to the conduct and effects of the Thirty Years War. It is well known that evidence of the awe-inspiring horror of the war abounds in broadsheet, newspaper, poem and novel, but historians have tended to overlook the iconographic material, which could prove, in its own way, equally informative. In their study of the written sources, historians have not unnaturally found it impossible to separate fact from fiction. Given the propensity of both writer and painter to exaggerate (or stylize) for artistic effect, it is remarkable that Callot omits some of the worst excesses dwelt upon by contemporary writers, notably sadistic cannibalism, cases of which were frequently reported, and other horrific acts rendered in the broadsheets. This is not the place for a detailed commentary, and I restrict myself to quotation of brief passages from two of the greatest contemporary writers in Germany, a poet and a novelist, who can both claim some qualitative equivalence to Callot's artistry. First Martin Opitz, the Silesian poet, whose famous *Trost-Gedichte in den Widerwärtigkeiten des Krieges* [Poems of consolation for the horrors of war], reprinted in Jessen, p. 145, were written in 1621 and published the same year as the *Misères* (1633):

"My hair stands on end, my heart trembles; the country once so prosperous is now booty to foreigners. The peasant has abandoned all, like the dove who sees the eagle fly towards her. But who will tell the unsurpassed suffering, the cruelty of the enemy? The devastation is like a great river pouring suddenly over the fresh seeds, and tearing away the fields. . . . the grey hair of the aged, the tears of the young, the bitter lamentation of great and small, the cries of rich and poor alike, do not move these beasts in the slightest. All are slaughtered indiscriminately, as a wolf breaking into the sheep pen devours all the lambs with indifference."

Opitz does not spare us more detailed description of the horrors, but it is in that supreme German novel of the seventeenth century, Grimmelshausen's *Simplizissimus* (1669), that one finds the closest literary parallel to Callot. In the course of the novel, which contains much material deriving from the author's own childhood experiences as a captive of marauding soldiers, the hero has a dream about the "Tree of Society," the roots of which are the peasants striving to nourish the leaves and branches, upon which is arranged a hierarchy of parasites. The soldier is thus characterized (I, 16):

> "For gluttony and drunkenness, wenching and dicing and playing, riot and roaring, murdering and being murdered, slaying and being slain, torturing and being tortured, hunting and being hunted, robbing and being robbed, beating and being beaten: In a word, hurting and harming and in turn being hurt and harmed—this was their whole life . . . till at last they perish, they rot and consume away, save but a few, who in their old age, unless they have been right thrifty rievers and robbers, do furnish us with the best of all beggars and vagabonds."

3–20. Jacques Callot. Detail from *Temptation of Saint Anthony*. Second version, 1635.

3–21. Peter Paul Rubens. Four (Nos. 4, 15, 16, 19) of twenty-one compositions recounting the *Life of Marie de' Medici* (1620–1625). Engravings by J. Audran (scene 4), B. Picard (scenes 15, dated 1704, and 19), and A. Trouvain (scene 16), from the paintings now in the Louvre. An engraving of the first scene by G. Paneels of Frankfurt, dated 1631, seems to represent the only, abortive attempt by a contemporary to give the work a wider circulation. There were however numerous contemporary descriptions in verse and prose (see Rooses 3, p. 264).

Rubens had intended to give a franker appraisal of the quarrel with a scene showing the genii of Hatred and Calumny sowing discord between mother and son, and Fury driving her out of Paris; but this was eliminated by Marie in favor of the present scene 15 (reproduced) showing the Blessings of the Regency, a theme which repeats that of an earlier composition, the Government of the Queen (12). Reporting this matter to his friend Peiresc (letter of May 13, 1625) Rubens adds that in the substituted painting Marie holds a scale "to show that her prudence and uprightness keep the world in balance" *(pour dire que sa prudence et sa droiture tiennent le monde en équilibre)*. Rubens probably believed this. In the same letter, the painter states that both the Queen Mother and the King had shown their satisfaction, but that someone had to explain the subjects to the latter "changing and hiding the true meaning with great skill" *(en changeant et dissimulant le vrai sens avec beaucoup d'artifice)*.

3–22. Peter Paul Rubens. *The Horrors of War* (1638). Engraved by L. Paradisi after the painting in the Palazzo Pitti. After Rooses, Pl. 264.

CHAPTER FOUR

4–1. Crispin Van De Pas. [Portrait of the Haughty Republic of England]. *Uytbeeldinge van de Hoogmoedige Republijk van Engelandt* . . . (c. 1653). Van Stolk 2181 (B. M. Sat. 741, Kuyk 46).

4–2. Rombout van den Hoeyen [Coronation of Cromwell]. c. 1653. *Ik wist het blinde graauw van 't Hol-ziek Engeland . . . Rombout van den Hoeyen ex.* B. M. Sat. 754.

On December 16, 1653, Cromwell was installed as Protector of the Commonwealth, after having turned down the title of King which had been pressed upon him by the Council of the Army. The powers he assumed as Protector were much less than those he might have had as King. In 1657 when he again had occasion to turn down an offer of kingship, he described the crown as "a shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or kneel to."

4–3. Jodocus Hondius (exc). [Piemontese Persecution, 1655]. *Growlyke Wreede Moord en Vervolging, aan de Vaudoisen, in Piemont* (Van Stolk 250). cf. No. 4–4.

4–4. Dutch. [Piemontese Persecution]. *Religie beschreyt in trammen door t'vergieten van t'onnosel bloet. Voy la Religion qui pleure incessament*. . . The Dutch verses below are headed *Kort Verhael van den Elendigen toestant, van den Jaere 1655 tot den Jaere 1663 den 2 September* (Van Stolk 2301).

Of all the heretical movements of the Middle Ages directed against Papal and ecclestiastical authority, it is perhaps that of Peter Waldo and his "poor men of Lyons" which commands the greatest sympathy. The cruellest of persecutions drove the Waldenses from southern France into the depth of the Alps, towards valleys of Piemont eventually to be named after them "Vaudois." In subsequent centuries they survived repeated attempts at extermination and in the sixteenth century became recognized with a semi-official status *vis-à-vis* their overlords, the Dukes of Savoy. In 1650 a local council of *De Propaganda Fide et De Extirpandis Haereticis* was established at Turin and persuaded Duke Charles Emmanuel II to reduce the liberty of the brave little sect. The Jesuits set in motion the full apparatus of coercion, including the impressment of children into the Catholic Faith. In January 1655 the government used the alleged murder of a Catholic priest at Fenile and some insult to Catholic rites at Torre as a pretext to order the forcible expulsion of dissenters from those villages. On a report that expelled Waldenses had returned to their homes, orders were given to carry havoc and destruction into the district.

The principal written source for what followed is that of Jean Léger, a local priest who managed to escape the persecution. He methodically collected evidence from all the surviving fellow-sufferers in the area, from prisoners released after the Treaty of Pignerol, and from eye-witness refugees. This evidence fills Chapter IX of his *History of the Protestant Churches in Piemont*, published 1669 in Leyden whither he eventually retired. (This monumental publication includes, incidentally, a further twenty-six illustrations all different from those of our strips.)

Léger's documentation is based entirely on statements sworn before notaries. His stress upon this fact, and the almost pedantic precision with which he compiles the seemingly endless list of personal and place-names which can have meant nothing to his north-European readers, is testimony to his fear that his tale would not be believed—and to its ultimate truthfulness.

Léger does not conceal the fact that the stories of cannibalism were based more upon the boasting of the soldiers than upon the testimony of the persecuted; there was a Captain Paul who freely confessed that his men had thrown children from the rocks, and murdered the eighty-five-year-old Pierre Simon of Angrogne. According to Léger, the improbable torture depicted in our scene 11 took place on Saturday, April 24, "le plus fameux jour de sang et de carnage que le Soleil ait éclairé."

There are "rational" explanations for the particular callousness of these soldiers who were not (except for their commander, the Marquis de Pianesse) native Piemontese, but mercenaries from all over Europe: French (with the connivance of Mazarin), Bavarians, Hungarians, Irish and Spanish—all Catholics promised "plenary indulgence" for their pains. They eventually met with the fiercest resistance under the leadership of two native guerilla leaders called Janavel and Jahier. The Protestant population had been rendered quite desperate by the Marquis de Pianesse who had been sent to expel them while their deputies were still negotiating in Turin, and who repeatedly used calls for a truce as a trick for applying further coercion. Antonio Gallenga, writing in the mid-nineteenth century when such military atrocities seemed a thing of the past, agrees that the cruelty must have been great, but is embarrassed by the way in which Léger, like our broadsheet strip, "dwells upon the grievances of his people with something like a gloating and ferocious relish, and, not satisfied with drawing up the most harrowing and revolting narrative of those cannibal scenes, brings the horrid picture under our eyes by a series of vignettes, of which the repulsiveness amounts to positive obscenity" (Vol. II, p. 147; cf. also pp. 116-130).

The circulation of these or similar prints in England is attested by the following passage from an advertisement of the publisher Walton: "The Manner (of the) Massacres in Savoy lively represented in several pictures. A necessary Table for the Houses of Honest Citizens and an inspiration to stir us up to thankfulness for that peace we now enjoy" (see Rostenberg, p. 45).

"On the Late Massacher in Piemont

Avenge O Lord thy slaughter'd Saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold,
Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old
When all our Fathers worship't Stocks and Stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groanes
Who were thy Sheep and in their antient Fold
Slayn by the bloody *Piemontese* that roll'd
Mother with Infant down the rocks. Their moans
The Vales redoubled to the Hills, and they
To Heav'n. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O're all th' Italian fields where still doth sway
The triple Tyrant: that from these may grow
A hunder'd fold, who having learnt thy way
Early may fly the *Babylonian* wo."

John Milton

4–5. Romeyn de Hooghe. [Peace of Breda]. *Vreede-Handelingh tot Breda, gesloten op den XXXI Iuly ende geratificeert . . . den 24 Augusti 1667*. Etching, signed *R. de Hooghe f. et inv., N. Visscher excudit* (Van Stolk 2376). Cf. a variant version of this subject also published by Visscher and attributable to Romeyn (Van Stolk 2377). There is an Allart publication commemorating the Treaty of Nymegen 1678, which copies, badly, Romeyn's print on the Breda Treaty.

4–6. Romeyn de Hooghe. [Life of the Witts]. *Witten Wonder Spiegel vertoonende Ian de Witt, Cornelis de Witt. . . .* (text heading) *Op en Ondergangh der Heeren Cornelis en Jan de Wit . . . t'Amsterdam by Romeyn de Hoge in de Kalverstraet Anno 1675*. (Van Stolk 2470). For historical notes, see 4–9.

4–7. Romeyn de Hooghe. [Massacre of the Witts 1672]. *Afbeelding en waarachtigh Verhaal Hoedanig de Heeren Mr Johan de Wit . . . Relation du Tumulte arrivé à la Haye le Samedi 20 Août 1672 Avec la mort de Messieurs Jean et Corneille de Wit. R. de Hooghe des. et sc. 1672* (Van Stolk 2453).
Historians have argued much over William's "connivance" at the murder. He neither instigated it, nor did he really need it, since he had already the power he wanted and the Witts had resigned office. On the other hand, he failed to punish the criminals in any way. Williams was "overwhelmed" when he heard the news but found it politically undesirable, if not actually impracticable, to single out and prosecute the ring-leaders (see Nesca Robb, I, p. 248).

4–8. Romeyn de Hooghe. [William of Orange and the French War, 1672–5]. *Mercurius Print Van't Begin deses Oorloogs, tot de Vreede met ons en de Koninck van Engelandt*. Unsigned. (Van Stolk 2582). The Peace Treaty alone was the subject of another Romeyn strip (Van Stolk 2584). On the war, see also the satirical quadripartite plate *Missluckte Papenkrygh* (Van Stolk 2595), and that curious mixture of allegory and historical documentation, the six-plate album entitled *Schouburgh der Nederlands Veranderingen* (Van Stolk 2587). Another Romeyn strip, *Help us Lord lest we perish* (Van Stolk 2622, datable to 1675/6), is a moving record of the Dutch suffering occasioned by the breaking of the dykes, flood, storms and shipwrecks.

4–9. Romeyn de Hooghe. [Life of William of Orange]. *Orangien Wonderspiegel Vertoonende Willem Hendrick de III Prince van* Oranie .... (text heading) *Leven en Bedryf van syn K.H. den Prince van Orangien . . .* 1675). (Van Stolk 2376). Cf. 4–6 above.

In 1650, soon after the European peace declared at Westphalia, the ambitious Prince William II of Orange found himself opposed by the province of Holland in his desire to renew war with Spain, and to help the Stuarts regain the English throne. In an attempted coup, the Prince arrested six deputies to the States, who included the elder Jacob de Witt in their number, and imprisoned them in the Loevenstein Castle. The major issue of the moment was that of the disbanding of the militia, and an ugly situation was resolved only by the sudden death of William at the age of twenty-four, a death which "was of incalculable moment to the course of Dutch history" (Geyl, II, p. 18). During the minority of Prince William III (born after his father's death), the Orange party was weakened by family quarrels, which were evident even at the christening (scene 3). At this very moment, leadership of the anti-Orange, Holland burgher faction devolved upon Jan de Witt, then twenty-five years of age (December 1650—*Witt*, scene 3). The office of Grand Pensionary of Holland, which he attained in 1653 and which had once been wielded to great effect by Jan van Oldenbarnevelt, put de Witt into a position of unique power, which he used to hasten the end of the war with the English.

One of Cromwell's stipulations in the peace treaty was an end to the prospect of a pro-Stuart Prince of Orange as head of the Dutch Republic. This "Act of Seclusion" (1654) aroused the deepest resentment at home, but the storm blew over as Dutch affairs prospered and the Witts consolidated their power. This was increased by marriages into the merchant oligarchy, and a certain amount of nepotism which appeared excessive to the Dutch (Romeyn de Hooghe makes the charge at the end of the commentary) but which would be normal by European standards. The repulse of the Bishop of Münster, who with the connivance of Charles II had invaded Dutch frontier provinces (1665–6), and the skillful naval intervention in the Baltic, where Swedish ambitions had threatened the balance of power (Peace of Copenhagen, May 1660, scene 7) brought the brothers fame and popularity. Lateral scenes commemorate the leadership and personal courage of the Witts at the end of the second war with the English (1667) and the beginning of the third war (June 1672), when a combined French and English fleet was defeated by Admiral de Ruyter at Southwold Bay. But the second war had also fanned discontent at home, and in an attempt to quell the ambitions of the Orangist party, Jan de Witt persuaded the States of Holland to pass the Perpetual Edict, which decreed that no Captain- or Admiral-General of the Union could at the same time be Stadholder of a province; and that in Holland itself the office of Stadholder be abolished forever (*Orange* and *Witt*, scenes 10). While the Witts strove to make the other Provinces accept the Edict, they were forced to accept a compromise by which the Prince, now eighteen years old, took his seat as a First Noble of Zealand and was admitted as a voting member to the Council of State (May 1670). The latter occasion provoked a lengthy controversy over what kind of chair he should sit upon; an ordinary one, or the special Stadholder's armchair which had been occupied by the Prince's ancestors, but which had, as Romeyn shows, been solemnly removed from the Chamber; it was now returned for William.

In June 1672 the French seized several Dutch-held fortresses, and William, who had in February been granted the compromise appointment of Captain-General *for one campaign only*, prepared the defense. Hatred ran high against the Witts, who were accused of deliberately neglecting the land-forces. Cornelis, the recent victor over the Anglo-French fleet, had his portrait (painted to commemorate his great victory in the Thames 1667) torn to pieces, and the head from it hung from the gallows; this was in his own town of Dordrecht, where he was furthermore forced at gunpoint to withdraw the Perpetual Edict (June 29). Other towns followed suit. Four drunken youths had already attempted to murder his brother Jan as he was returning home alone and on foot, according to his custom (June 21). In July, amidst a storm of pamphlets, Jan resigned his office of Grand Pensionary, and the Perpetual Edict was formally revoked throughout the Union. Cornelis, always the less popular of the brothers, was arrested on a completely unfounded charge and sentenced to banishment. For the Hague mob,

however, this was too lenient a sentence (see note to 4–7). In July, even before the murder, William had been appointed Captain- and Admiral-General of the Union with full authority, and Stadholder of Holland.

The very best tutors were engaged for the young Prince's education (scene 4), which Romeyn renders with such pomp and charm. He proved to be extraordinarily precocious, and was made "Child of State" at the age of sixteen, when the Grand Pensionary began to pay him weekly visits. Witt facilitated his assumption of a Council Seat as First Noble of Zealand, a four-month visit to the court of his uncle Charles II who entertained him with characteristic ostentation, and a visit to his uncle the Elector of Brandenburg. The episode depicted in scene 5 (destruction of Orange emblems, sale of Orange property) does not figure in Nesca Robb's recent monumental personal biography; it seems that it was Louis, not the Holland Regents, who was guilty of large-scale expropriation of the Prince's possessions.

4–10. Romeyn de Hooghe. *Louis XIV and Madame de Maintenon.* Pl. No. 20 from *Esopus in Europa,* 1701.

4–11. Romeyn de Hooghe. [Shipwreck of Marshal Stanislas Potocki, 1678]. *Stanislaus Fotocki Palatinides kiovensis capitaneus kolmiensis . . . Amstelodami ex officina Adriani Schoonebeck.* Dedication by the artist to John III, King of Poland (Van Stolk 2670).

Stanislas Potocki was the elder son of Andrew Potocki, "Palatine" of Kiev from 1668–82. He was "Starosta" of Kolomyja (*Capitaneus Kolmiensis*). "He was indeed destined *ad maiora* as the artist noted in 1678. On September 12, 1683, he found a hero's death fighting under King Sobieski, to whom the etching is dedicated, in the battle of Vienna, as a young captain in the Polish cavalry. Since his father had been elevated in 1682 to the position of Castellan of Cracow, he was at that time the son of the highest dignitary of the kingdom. For details, see Otto Forst de Battaglia, *Jan Sobieski-König von Polen,* Einsiedeln-Zürich 1946, p. 216." (I am indebted for the above note to O. Halecki.)

4–12. Romeyn de Hooghe. [Tyrannies Against the Protestants in France]. *Tirannien Tegen De Gereformeerden In Vrankryk.* Dated in centerpiece *1686.* (Van Stolk 2711).

The French and Dutch text translates:
"A. The Court is crawling with Jesuits, while the Reformed Church weeps for the impending disaster. The King of France sends agents into the provinces, ordering the closure of the temples and withdrawal of all rights and privileges. Their pastors are exposed to the bloody mockery of the populace. B. The locks of the temples are sealed with the royal seal, and capital punishment ordained for anyone holding or attending services. All remonstrance is pushed aside. On the pretext of demanding the concessionary documents of the temples, dragoons are sent to force an entry everywhere. C. The intercession of great men is of no avail, the court has no ears for the poor oppressed people; on the contrary, the churches are all remorselessly pulled down, to the accompaniment of countless blasphemies and insults. The (Catholic) clergy commits the basest and most extravagant brutalities. Fathers are detached from their families, children from their parents and everyone seeks asylum elsewhere for the repose of their conscience. D. The Protestants gather to hear the sermon in remote places, and find the martyr's crown; for the dragoons, spurred on by the Jesuits, are loosed upon the congregation like demons, injuring and killing the ministers, deacons, women and children. They hang the elders, pillage the townships and villages, set on fire the houses of the ministers and other servants of God. Once the carnage starts, all ministers are expelled from the realm immediately. E. When it becomes apparent, however, that their constancy in the faith remains unshaken, they are for the most part obliged to abandon their lands and houses and search for places of spiritual consolation. But the unfortunate people are caught by guards and brigands, chained at the neck, arms and legs, and dragged two by two, like slaves to the galleys, by the Intendants in their carriages. They are pursued with barbarous zeal by the dragoons, who redouble their sufferings, and throw to the dogs and crows the dead bodies of their companions who had died of fatigue and injuries. This fury is unleashed no less upon the poor peasants . . . F. Up to eighty dragoons are billetted upon a single household. After pillaging all, they bind the old men naked before the fire, fill them with urine, and then jump on their bodies to bring it up again. Others are bound and left for whole weeks, to die of hunger or thirst. To compound the despair of the parents, the dragoons cause the smallest children to die by a thousand torments, so that their tears and suffering should shake the constancy of God's elected. Men are tied to pillars and hot tiles are applied to their heads, and the diabolical process is repeated so as to dry out the moisture in the head; and seeing that the divine grace sustains them still, the soldiers even hang the martyrs in the chimney, using Bibles and New Testaments as fuel for the fire. By such cruelties whole provinces are desolated, all the inhabitants fleeing from such incredible tyrannies. G. Hell opens up the treasures of its most abominable cruelties, groans and suffering are punished all the more. The miserable people who come to throw themselves upon the mercy of the officers or Intendants are called rebels; their nose and ears are cut off, their bodies lacerated all over and they are thus thrown into the sea laden with stones, to drown, or else to be shot at like ducks, while the women are hanged. H. The soldiers commit the filthiest crimes against young girls and married women; some serve the brutal desires of whole brigades. Pregnant women are dragged naked through the streets, mothers and their babies are killed on the temple porches, like some detestable sacrifice to their idolatry. A minister is dragged dying to a Catholic church to take the Host, but persisting in his refusal, he is beaten to death. I. A captain of dragoons had five martyrs put into heavy chains; and had some pikes tied together to make a triumphal platform for himself and the Jesuit Father with him. He thus placed himself between two women accused of having insulted the Royal Command, and the Jesuits; one was first subjected to the abominations of twenty-five soldiers, was stripped naked and tightly bound with heavy linen cloths dipped in glue, which were dried on the body by a fire, carefully tended by the Jesuits; . . . flesh and skin were thus torn away, and she died in the hands of her executioners. The other woman was suspended by the feet in a well, bordered with fire; she was raised and lowered until stifled in blood and smoke. K. Others were whipped to death, others hanged by the feet, with their children, or attached to trees by the arms, or exposed naked to the cowardly pleasures of these papists of Belial. You see one being slowly burned to death; another having her breasts torn off with pincers, while her eighty-five-year-old father was dragged by horses and exposed to the crows on the roadside. There were innumerable decapitations and hangings. L. The pillage and killing compelled whoever was able to flee in any disguise. Women were even seen with the dress and courage of horsemen, fighting sword in hand against the royal soldiers barring their passage. M. The rights of man and of nature were violated in the person of a consul of the States (Dutch Republic) who was obliged by eighty dragoons and thirty papist priests to light one hundred candles to the glory of the Pope; his most precious possessions were pillaged, horses were stabled in his best rooms, and he himself was bound to his bed-post, and the hairs of his beard and legs were tweaked out, while his women were raped. N. These persecutors even violated the neighboring territories of their allies, and fell upon the sovereign principality of Orange, doing worse there than in their own country, because his Highness the Prince of Orange was expected to receive the refugee army officers with open arms, and his incomparable Princess likewise, the ministers of religion. The States are proud to welcome the refugees, to raise money and new churches for them, and to grant them all possible privileges. Germany stretches out her arms to them, Brandenburg is their shield, England receives more and more thousands of these servants of the Holy Gospel, for whom, in spite of all, the heavens lie open and neither earth nor sea remain closed."

Cf. 4–13.

4–13. Romeyn de Hooghe studio. [Persecution of the Protestants in France, 1685/6]. *Tafereel Der Vervolginge Tegen De Gereformeerde in Vrankriick.* B.M. For. Hist., 1686 (Muller 2674).

Neither 4–12 nor 4–13 is signed, and no attribution is made in Van Stolk for the former, with which Romeyn's known style is however entirely consonant. The *Persecution* etching shows occasional local weakness of execution, but there is nothing in it to suggest the stiffer hatching and outlining of Romeyn's chief pupil, Jan van Aveele (cf. 5–8). It is also too good for P. Bouttats of Antwerp, a name suggested by Muller (2674). Romeyn must at least have supervised the work of etching, and probably supplied the designs himself.

There is a later edition of the *Tyrannies* (B.M. For. Hist.) inscribed "Persecution . . . still continuing 1699 . . . I. Tangena exc." and including a poem by Johannes Herbering, which does not bear directly on the pictures. The lack of specific commentary may be explained by the assumption that at this date details of the story had become familiar through the books of Jurieu and Benoist, and that a visual reminder was enough in itself.

Eye-witness accounts of the persecutions are very numerous, and documented in a way which tends to allay suspicions that Romeyn is exaggerating. The major contemporary work is Elie Benoist's *Historie der Reformatie en Vervolginge van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Vrankryk* [History of the Reformation and Persecution of the Protestant Churches in France], 1693–5, of which Vol. IV, p. 472, and V, pp. 833–4, contain particular confirmation of Romeyn's charges. The Amsterdam edition of 1696 is embellished with eleven large plates by

Romeyn's chief rival as an illustrator, Jan Luyken, who manages to supplement his predecessor with "new" atrocities. Jan Luyken, like Romeyn, had considerable practice with such subject matter, for he had earlier designed thirty-nine plates of sixteenth-century Netherlandish religious persecutions, issued under the title *Théatre des Martyrs*. These first appeared in van Braght's 1685 edition of *Martelaarspiegel der Doopgezinden*. The date cannot be accidental; the first edition of van Braght's work came out unillustrated in 1660.

William of Orange seems to have been actively concerned with the distribution of Romeyn's work. When the French threat was revived at the very end of the eighteenth century, William was remembered as keenly appreciative of the power of political cartoons, with particular reference to prints surely identical to the present ones: "King William, whose whole life was spent in raising and keeping alive the Spirit of Nations against France, saw well the Importance of this vehicle as an Engine of State. On the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he spread engravings of the Sufferings of Protestants in France all over the Ports of Europe; by which he added the Courage of Reason to that of Passion in those who saw them; and raised a higher storm against Louis the Fourteenth than ever his own Persecutions had done." (Sir John Dalrymple, proposing an atrocity sequence to Gillray in 1798, quoted by Draper Hill, p. 73. Cf. p. 426)

For more modern works concerned with the atrocities, see Baird, Vol. I, pp. 536 and 554, and II, passim; Buranelli, pp. 97–148; and particularly Viénot, pp. 469–512. *Tyrannies*, scene A—No less than thirty pastors took refuge in Romeyn's home town of Haarlem between the years 1670 and 1700 (Malssen, p. 54 n. 1); E—Protestants were enslaved in the galleys, and also sold as slaves to America. *Persecution*, scene 2—In 1652 the Edict of Nantes had been confirmed by the Edict of St. Germain; 10—For this barely credible scene, see Baird, II, pp. 48 and 115.

The final word should perhaps go to a contemporary diarist who was also a good Catholic: "The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, *without the slightest pretext and quite needlessly* . . . was the result of that fearful conspiracy which stripped the country of a quarter of its inhabitants, which ruined its commerce, which weakened it everywhere, which exposed it for so long to the public and avowed pillage of the dragoons, which authorized torments and tortures resulting in the death of literally thousands of innocent people of both sexes. . . ." (Saint-Simon, quoted by Viénot).

4–14. Adriaen Schoonebeck. [The Royal House of Stuart]. *Stuarti Regia suppressa . . . Stuarts Koniglijk Huis door Rampen verdrukt en verheerlijkt . . . geert gehoont, verdrukt en verheven.* Van Stolk 2760 (without text). Charles II, after the execution of his father (1649), was decisively defeated in battle by Cromwell and made good an escape full of romantic incidents. James fought against the Dutch in both the second and the third sea-wars. For Monmouth's forlorn rising, cf. 5–19. The inclusion of a portrait of a third son of Charles I, Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who had died in 1660, seems quite pointless.

4–15. Romeyn de Hooghe. [Crimes of James II, and Arrival of William III in England, 1688]. *Moort en Ruine der Lords en Steden; R. de Hooge inv. et. fec. t'Amsterdam by Carolus Allard.* Van Stolk 2756 (text sheet apparently missing). For a fuller account of scenes I-V, see 4–16, 5–20 and 5–21. VI. William's first night on English soil, an episode omitted by his English pictorial propagandist, is not the invention of romantic legend. He slept on a mattress on the floor of a fisherman's hut in the hamlet of Brixham, near Torbay. It was however his expedition to Ireland the following year which became rooted in the folk-memory, and gave rise to a cluster of legends about the popular hospitality he enjoyed (see Nesca Robb, II, p. 268 and 308). VIII. The popularity of William's reception in London is well-attested, but he eschewed the conqueror's welcome which was offered him.

4–16. Romeyn de Hooghe. [Flight of James II]. *Herstelling der waere Godsdienst en Grondwetten in G. Brittanien Door S.K.H. met Wegvluchten van het Hof en de Familie van de k: Iacob de II en Koningin van Engeland. R. de Hooge fec. I Tangena excudit.* (Van Stolk 2761; also in B.M. Sat. 1179).

Jacob Robyn published an anonymous plate entitled *Life and Career of James II* . . . (Van Stolk 2762) which borrows some of Romeyn's designs, and provides a fuller account of James' life.

On November 16 James heard of William's landing at Torbay, refused a petition for a new Parliament and set out to join his army at Salisbury. Faced with defections, he returned to London in order to prepare his flight and sow confusion about him. He deceitfully authorized some nobles to "treat" with William, despatched his wife and son (December 9), and during the night of December 10-11, threw the writ for the new Parliament into the fire and the Great Seal into the Thames, as he fled from Whitehall to Sheerness. On December 13 the Privy Council received a letter from the King informing them that he had fallen into the hands of a hostile mob at Faversham in Kent. Romeyn omits the rescue of James and his forcible return, under guard, to the palace he had deserted, and continues with the "second flight" from Rochester, whither he was taken again under guard, and whence his escape was skilfully facilitated by William (December 23). Although I have stated that the artist is concerned with the personal and picturesque rather than political aspects of the Revolution, it should be stressed that the exact *manner* of James' flight was of considerable political moment, for by attempting to throw the government into confusion, by abandoning his country prematurely, and by fleeing to an enemy power, he committed political suicide. Had he stayed to confront his son-in-law, who had not intended formally to oust him from the throne, he might have retained it for himself or for his son.

CHAPTER FIVE

5–1. Pieter van der Heyden (Petrus à Merica). [Catholic Plots. Travesty of Titian's painting of Diana and Callisto]. c. 1585. *O edele Princesse of baer . . . PA/E* (B.M. Sat. 12).

5–2. German or Dutch. [Gunpowder plot, 1605–6]. *Eigentliche Abbildung wie ettlich englische Edelleut einen Raht schliessen den König sampt dem gantzen Parlament mit Pulver zu vertilgen.* B.M. For. Hist. 1605 (Van Stolk 1292—top section only, ascribed to Chr. de Pas; and Van Stolk 1408. Hennin 1606 is an impression signed by C. Visscher. Hoogenberg 401–2). On the reverse of Van Stolk 1292 are printed particulars of the arrest in 1613 of a Dutch opponent of Prince Maurice, found in possession of a book dedicated to Catesby. In Van Stolk 1408, an impression published in 1619, the English plotters have become Dutch Arminians. C. Visscher also published a print showing the various stages of the execution in a single setting.

The upper composition is curiously reminiscent of the iconography for the boy Jesus disputing with the Doctors in the Temple.

The Gunpowder Plot is one of the most celebrated events in English history, and remains the most celebrated of English Catholic conspiracies. The plot is even now commemorated annually as "Guy Fawkes Day" (November 5), when children collect money in the streets ostensibly to buy fireworks and burn an effigy of Fawkes; but in the seventeenth century, especially during the great Popish Plot scare of 1678–80, it was an effigy of the Pope which was carried in procession and burned. Cf. 5–3 (scene 16).

A modern satirical poster dated 1968 bears the legend "Vote for Guy Fawkes—the only man ever to enter Parliament with honest intentions."

5–3. English c. 1624. *Popish Plots and Treasons. From the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Illustrated with Emblems and explain'd in verse. First are described the Cursed plots etc. Sold by John Garrett. Vic: Inven: Corn. Danckertsz sculp.* There is an eight-line stanza to each scene (B.M. Sat. 13).

Most of the designs are improved versions by Cornelis Danckertsz of the illustrations by F. Hulsius to a tract by George Carleton, Bishop of Chichester (editions 1624–7), the title to which is inscribed on a cloth held by the True Church at the bottom of our print: *A Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercie.* Danckertsz has proceeded in general by transferring the punishment, which appears in the background of each Hulsius scene, to the separate compartment of the banners.

1. In 1569 a rebellion was incited by Pope Pius V and King Philip II of Spain, in favor of Mary Stewart. 2. In 1576 Don John of Austria was encouraged by Pope Pius to invade England from the Spanish Netherlands, where he was Governor. 3. In 1578 Pope Gregory XIII encouraged rebellions by the notorious adventurer Sir Thomas Stukeley, and also 4. by the Irish Earl of Desmond, whose brother murdered the old and unarmed Deputy Governor of Monmouth in his bed. 5. For the Jesuit campaign in England, and the Papal Bull ("Licens") of 1580, see p. 40 above. 6. John Somerville was a fanatic who came to London in 1583 with the publicly declared intention of killing the Queen; he committed suicide in prison. 7. In 1583 the Spanish Ambassador, Bernard de Mendoza, became the center of a Papal-Spanish conspiracy. Mendoza was expelled and his English secretary hanged. 8. A curious minor incident: a Jesuit priest coming to England in a Spanish vessel was captured by a Dutch privateer and tried to destroy some incriminating letters by throwing them out to sea. The fragments were blown back by the wind, and reconstructed (banner) to expose the plot. 9. William Parry, a member of Parliament, was executed in 1585 for a more-or-less substantiated assassination plot. 10. In 1586 a conspiracy led by Antony Babington, a devotee of Mary Stewart, was exposed and resulted in the execution not only of Babington, but also of the Queen of Scots herself. 11.

William Stafford had concocted a plot in order to win favor as an informer upon it (1587). 12. The destruction of the Invincible Armada (in which the engraver gives due credit to a divinely-inspired wind) results in the salvation of the British ark (1588). 13. In 1592 the Earl of Essex accused the Queen's Spanish-Jewish physician, Roderigo Lopez, of conspiring to poison her. 14. In 1596-7 the Irish Earl of Tyrone renewed his rebellion, which dragged on bloodily until his pardon in 1603, without any signs of the "thousand pricks of conscience" depicted on the banner. 15. In 1603 a Catholic priest called Watson plotted to kidnap the new King, James I; the banner, showing a Pardon thrust between axe and head, testifies to the surprising leniency of James, who was hoping to conciliate his Catholic subjects. 16. See previous plate. Below: To the great joy of the people Prince Charles returned from Spain without the Spanish bride intended for him (October 1623).

5–4. English. *The Teares of Ireland* (Irish Rebellion, 1641). B.M. Eng. Hist. All twenty-four scenes appear as separate illustrations to the pamphlet *The Teares of Ireland* (by I. Cranford and T. Partington), London, 1642 (B.M. Library C.21. b.42). A Dutch translation called *Yre-landtsche Traenen* was published the same year in Amsterdam, with a re-engraved (or else the original) version of the broadsheet folded in.

5–5. Dutch. [The Archbishop of Canterbury's Cock]. *Des Bisschops van Cantelberghs Morgenwecker, waer in hem als in een droomgesicht vertoont wort, sijn leven en sijn sterven.* B.M. Sat. 416 (Van Stolk 1871?). This title stands above an extensive letterpress description in Dutch.

1 and 5–10. Episodes from the Irish rebellion (cf. preceding entry). The caption to scene 1 translates "A preacher is murdered outside Dublin by soldiers." 2. In the years 1634–7 Laud and his bishops were actively pushing Anglican Protestant religious ritual towards conformity with Rome, and earned popular hatred by sentencing their three leading Puritan opponents, William Prynne, Henry Burton, and John Bastwick to the loss of their ears in addition to a heavy fine, and life imprisonment. 3. In 1629 the Reverend Peter Smart, known as the "protomartyr," was heavily fined and imprisoned. 4. John Lilburne was condemned for his literary activities.

The fantastic figure on the left in the central section symbolizes the monopolist, with his wolf's head and mechanical screw legs, and body made up of the objects characteristic of the trades he monopolizes (cf. B.M. Sat. 91, and Hollar's Patenty repr. by George, EPC I, Pl. 4). *C* is Naked Truth pushed forward by Time. *D* represents the Parliamentary martyrs, and behind him *L*, Religion, leads the godly opponents of the Archbishop. Through the window behind, Laud is sentenced by Parliament, and beheaded.

5–6. English. *The Malignants trecherous and Bloody Plot . . . May 31, 1643. Sold by John Hancock.* B.M. Sat. 374.

We have here curious evidence as to how these prints were prepared well ahead of the actual execution of the criminals. The words "This is entered (i.e. registered) according to order by I. Hancock" are squeezed in below the verses at the bottom in such a way as to suggest that the plate was ready for printing before June 14, which is the date that a short-lived printing ordinance came into force. The plot was made public at the end of May, but the plotters were not executed until July 5. The manuscript inscription at the bottom of the sheet "Aug: 18th 1643" must refer to the date the print was purchased.

"Malignants" was a name given to several Royalist factions and recurs frequently on broadsheets (e.g. "Popish Conspirators, Malignant Plotters, cruell Irish . . ."). This plot is generally known as Waller's plot, after the poet Edmund Waller who bribed his way out of the death penalty. Scene 4. Milton was living at the time very near Mount Mill; his sonnet "When the Assault was intended to the City" does not seem to take the plot seriously.

5–7. Wenzel Hollar. [The Bohemian War, and the English Civil War]. c. 1652. B.M. Sat. 144 (Parthey 543). There is no title. A couplet to each scene or numbered motif gives little in the way of historical explanation. The Scottish Rebellion, or "Bishops' Wars," was the subject of four plates by Hollar (Parthey 544–547). For Hollar's Protestantism, see Urzidil, pp. 15–18.

5–8. Jan van Aveele. [Popish Plots 1414–1678]. *Ick s Hemels Sleuteldrigh, des werelts oppermacht (I the heavenly Porter on Earth Supreamest Power . . .) J. van den Avele inv et fec.* Van Stolk 2712 (B.M. Sat. 1075).

In the third scene the girl being buried alive must be Anneke van Wttenhove (cf. 2–17, final scene). In the sixth scene the "preachers and servants of the church" must be Scottish Covenanters who had been deported during the '60s and '70s under the repressive government of Lauderdale. News of the recent plots in England would have come to the Dutch from their new ambassador, who had been sent in February 1679 as a token of support for the Whig parliamentary victory.

This or a similar print was advertised by Walton as a wall-calendar, price one shilling: *The Christian Almanack lively representing the Popish Horrid Plots in France 1572 and England . . .* (see Rostenberg, p. 45).

5–9. Thomas Dawks. *England's Grand Memorial: The Unparallel'd Plot to destroy his Majesty, subvert the Protestant Religion: and Sir Edmund burie Godfrey's Murder made visible, whereunto is added his character . . . London printed by Th. Dawks . . .* (1679). B.M. Sat. 1064.

5–10. English. Twenty-five playing cards from a pack of fifty-two recounting the stories of the Spanish Armada of 1588, Parry's plot against Queen Elizabeth, the Gunpowder Plot of 1605/6, and the murder of Godfrey (1678).

5–11. Francis Barlow (attr.). Fifty playing cards from a pack of fifty-two relating the great Popish Plot scare of 1678–9. Schreiber I, 10–13. For reasons of space, two cards are omitted, the Three and Six of Clubs, which carry the respective captions: "Gifford and Stubbs give money to a made to fire her Master's house" (Great Fire 1666), and "Capt. Berry and Alderman Brooks are offer'd £500 to cast the Plot on the Protestants." The arrangement of the cards is the author's.

Schreiber (I, 14) reproduces thirteen cards forming part of another pack evidently copied from Barlow's; another copy, with twenty-eight scenes derived from Barlow, was made by Robert Greene, who published them as a straightforward broadsheet without suit or value marks (B.M. Sat. 1067 [photograph]).

The clearest modern critical account of the Plot is still that of John Pollock, who proves persuasively that Godfrey must have been murdered by Catholic conspirators, and whose conclusion (p. 64) that "Oates' vast superstructure of lies was not without a slight basis in solid fact" agrees with a relatively impartial contemporary judgment: "Much truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with lies" (Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, 1681). The judicial proceedings, including twenty-two trials for treason, three for murder or attempted murder, and eleven for perjury, subornation to perjury, libel, etc., fill three volumes of State Trials and 2,000 pages of crowded print.

5–12. Francis Barlow. Drawings for The Popish Plot Playing Cards (see 5–11) c. 1679. British Museum.

5–13. Francis Barlow. Two drawings, in the British Museum, for a lost pack of playing cards on the "Meal-Tub Plot" (1680). According to Croft-Murray, p. 315, the drawings were never engraved, but this statement overlooks a description published by Franks ("P.S.A.") of thirty-five cards from a set of fifty-two on the Meal-Tub plot, which were acquired by the British Museum Print Room in 1878, and given at that time the press-mark "E. 187, 3." A thorough search has failed to locate the pack, the content of which can however be almost entirely reconstructed on the basis of the Barlow drawings taken in conjunction with the Franks description.

5–14. English. The "Meal-Tub Plot," and execution of Stafford (1680). *The Popish Damnable Plot against our Religion and Liberties . . . printed for Richard Baldwin . . . 1680* (added in manuscript: "29 December"). There is an "Explanation" below. B.M. Library, Luttrell Coll. iii, 142 (press-mark: C. 20f.). The top half of the print is at B.M. Sat. 1088.

5–15. Francis Barlow (attr.). *A True Narrative of the Horrid Hellish Popish-Plot To the Tune of Packington's Pound. The First Part* (in manuscript at the top): "A burlesq on the Popish Plott 15 May 1682"... *The Second Part.* B.M. Sats. 1092, 1093, listed as engraved by William Faithorne. Also B.M. Library G. 15, 518, where the scenes are cut up and mounted one to a page. The possible attribution to Barlow is implied by Hulton, pp. 9–10 (cf. also Croft-Murray and Hulton).

These prints are listed as Nos. 450 and 451 in Crawford's Ballads Catalogue, as engraved by Faithorne soon after June 1679, which is obviously too early. According to Crawford, the author of the verse (ten nine-line stanzas in each print) was probably John Gadbury the astrologer. No. 452 is a *Third Part* (presumably unillustrated) written by a Lady of Quality, identified as Lady Powys, in conjunction with Gadbury. A copy of this is marked:

> "This ballad Sir William Waller seized amongst many other Treasonable and Seditious pamphlets in the House of one (Matthew) Turner a Popish Bookseller in Holborn, being ready printed, on purpose to be spread abroad upon the discovery of the pretended Presbyterian Plot (i.e. Meal Tub Plot),

to shew forth the Innocency of the Papists, and to create a Belief in the Vulgar of the Guiltiness of the Presbyterians, that thereby they might accomplish their wicked Designs, and under this Nation murder his Sacred Majesty, and alter and change the Government and Religion, and to subjugate the whole Protestant Church to the See of Rome."

There was even a *Fourth Part*, by Lady Powys (No. 453), which elicited an answer (No. 455) starting "Since Hell is broke loose, and the Press set at work, By Jesuit, by Jew, by Christian, and Turk . . ."

The tune, Packington's Pound, can be found in Chappell.

5–16. English 1683. Eight playing cards from a pack of fifty-two recounting the "Rye-House Plot," so-called after Rumbold's House, known as the Rye House, where the conspirators lay in wait for the King. B. M., Willshire Playing Cards E. 189.

5–17. The Commonwealth ruling with a standing army. Frontispiece to a tract entitled *Arbitrary Government display'd in the Tyrannick Usurpation of the Rump Parliament, and Oliver Cromwell* (1683). B.M. Sat. 1127. Cf. George (EPC I, p. 60.)

5–18. Francis Barlow (attr.). *The Knavery of the Rump*. c. 1682. Fifty playing cards from fifty-two ridiculing the Commonwealth. The two cards not reproduced (Two of Diamonds and Hearts) depict Sir H. Vane and his son, and Bishop Edward Parry and his son. The arrangement of the cards is the author's.

The title card to this pack has survived, and reads: "The Knavery of the Rump, Lively represented in a Pack of Cards. To be sold by R. T." (Randal Taylor). In all references hitherto, from 1854 to 1959 (Pettigrew, p. 129, Goldsmid, Franks, Hargrave and George EPC I, p. 48), it is maintained that the Rump pack was first made in Holland during the Commonwealth for Royalist exiles. Even if we deny the attribution to Barlow (who was living in London during the Commonwealth), we cannot date the Rump designs contemporary with the events portrayed, for two reasons: as they appear in the little B.M. album, they are stylistically and otherwise homogeneous with the Popish Plot drawings; and the costume depicted is that of the 1680s not the 1650s or even '60s.

It is ironic that in the heyday of the plot scare (1680) the Whigs themselves had found it necessary to disavow the Commonwealth as tyrannical Popery in disguise (see Pl. 8 in the picture album *The Protestants Vade Mecum or, Popery display'd in its proper Colours in Thirty Emblems . . .*).

All the names mentioned in the captions can can be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. "Laird of Warreston" is Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston; "Argyle" is the eighth Earl, who had actually crowned Charles II in 1651, but was hated by Royalists and Parliamentarians alike (the captions to both of these cards are in Scots dialect); "Oneale" is Daniel O'Neill; "Feek the Seer" is Christopher Feake, a controversial preacher who attacked Cromwell; "Cursed be Meroz" is a biblical phrase used by Stephen Marshall in a famous sermon of 1641, and a battle-cry of the Civil War; "Simonias" refers to Sidrach Simpson, an Independent divine; "Bulstrode and Whitlock" must mean a single person, the lawyer and Keeper of the Great Seal Bulstrode Whitelocke, who facilitated Cromwell's rise to power; "Ioane . . . Lady Protectoresse" is Elizabeth Cromwell, called Joan for her homeliness. Major-General John Lambert was mocked as the "Knight of the Golden Tulip" for his love of gardening; he survived the Restoration, but was accused of Popery by Oates in 1678 (!) and died in prison in 1683. His wife was also satirized, but in reality, of course, she had no love-affair with Cromwell, who was chaste. William Waller was a successful, but twice-defeated General, whose son become the popish priest hunter depicted in 5–11, scene 7.

Nathaniel Fiennes was exonerated from a charge of military cowardice in 1647. Sir Arthur Hesilrige was a statesman and officer much satirized at the Restoration. "Onsley" is Colonel Sir Richard Onslow. William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, "fled" to the army during the great quarrel of 1647 between army and Parliament. "The E. of Pem." refers to the fourth Earl of Pembroke, who was ridiculed by Royalist wits for "ascending downwards" to the House of Commons. John Hewson, who had been a cobbler, was commanded to suppress the apprentices who were demanding a free Parliament (December 5, 1659).

5–19. English. Twenty-five playing cards from a pack of fifty-two recounting the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth and the punishment of the rebels (c. 1689). Schreiber I, 19–22. The arrangement is the author's.

3. Twenty-six young ladies from a school in Taunton presented a banner they had worked to the Duke, for which they were cruelly persecuted afterwards. 8. Robert Ferguson, nicknamed "The Plotter," had already been involved in the Rye House Plot of 1683.

15 and 16. Madame Lisle was executed by Jeffreys for having charitably offered shelter to fugitive rebels. Final scene but one—The Duke was eventually discovered after a massive manhunt, and with the aid of a clue given by a local cottager, lying exhausted under an ash-tree in a ditch full of brambles and bracken. Monmouth's execution was fearfully bungled by the executioner, who took five strokes and would have been lynched by the furious crowd but for the presence of the soldiers.

5–20. Francis Barlow (attr.). Fifty playing cards from a pack of fifty-two recounting the crimes and flight of James II, and the arrival of William of Orange (1689). Schreiber I, 27–30.

The two cards omitted are no. 39 (Ace of Diamonds), which is captioned "T. Ellis in Grocers Ally entertaining his friends," and no. 2 (Ace of Clubs) "The Earle of Essex's throat cut" (1683). Scenes 1, 5 and 6. The reprisals after Monmouth's rebellion. 3. After the Great Fire of 1666, an inscription was placed on the monument blaming the papists. 4. Oates managed to survive an incredibly protracted sequence of whippings. 7 and 8. Dr. John Hough was declared President of Magdalene College, Oxford, despite James' determination to place a worthless Catholic in that office. All the Fellows were forthwith expelled, and by March 1688 the ancient college had become a Catholic seminary. 10. Cf. note to scenes 7 to 9 of illustration 5–21. 11. The Pope felt insulted to have to receive as ambassador a man who owed his title purely to the fact that his wife had been a royal mistress. 12. James was unable to achieve public recognition of the Nuncio. 13–15. The "Popish midwife" may possibly be the Mary Aubrey who figures in a print reproduced by Fuchs-Kind, *Weiberherrschaft* II, Fig. 630. 42, "Lilliburlero," perhaps the most famous of all satirical ballads of the period, is said to have been written by the Earl of Wharton, who "sung a King out of three Kingdoms." 50. This is the subject of a separate satire, B.M. Sat. 1179

5–21. English. Twenty-five playing cards from a pack of fifty-two recounting the crimes and flight of James II and his family, the birth of the Prince of Wales, and the arrival of William of Orange (1689). Schreiber I, 23–26. Hulton postulates Barlow's continued collaboration on this and other obviously inferior packs: "Barlow's unmistakable manner, however wretchedly reproduced by the engraver, is discernible in . . . the Rye House Plot, Monmouth's Rebellion [5–19], The Reigns of James II [5–21] . . . and in some designs for Marlborough's Victories [5–22]." The latter pack, published in 1708, cannot possibly have had anything to do with Barlow, who had died four years earlier. 1. There was of course no question of the Spanish, at this date, joining with the French against England. 2. By the infamous secret Treaty of Dover (1670) Charles was to become Catholic dictator of England under the auspices, and with the money, of Louis. 4 and 5. By the "Declaration of Indulgence" James hoped to impose Catholics favorable to his dictatorship in all important offices throughout the land. 6. See above, note to scenes 7 and 8, 5–20. 7–9. Seven Bishops (among many lesser ministers throughout the country) hesitated to read James' Declarations, and were arrested. James had to send them to the Tower by water to avoid the hostile London crowds. 12–14. James failed to invite impartial witnesses to the birth, thus opening the door to rumors that the Jesuits (who had confidently predicted a boy) would perform a switch if necessary. The strip does not go to the scandalous lengths of some pamphlets, which insinuated that James' Confessor was the father of the child; Romeyn de Hooghe's satires usually label the child as the "miller's son." 17. This scene is meant to epitomize the King's cowardice. 18. The decisive defection, and the one which ensured a bloodless revolution, was that of the commander-in-chief of the army, Lord Churchill, later Duke of Marlborough. 19. The Irish soldiers had to be bribed with offers of Protestant land. 21–22. James could not even trust an armed escort to carry his family over to France.

5–22. English. Satires upon the French. Eight playing cards from a pack of fifty-two, chiefly concerned with the military victories of Marlborough (c. 1708). Schreiber I, 35.

5–23. English. Twenty-five playing cards from a pack of fifty-two recounting the impeachment of the High Tory clergyman Henry Sacheverell. Schreiber I, 39–42. There is an excellent brief account of the Trial in Sir Winston Churchill's *Life and Times of Marlborough*, Vol. II, p. 673. A longer analysis may be found in Scudi.

5-24. Claude Gillot. [The Speculator]. *L'Agioteur Elevé par la Fortune au plus haut degré de la richesse et de l'abondance* . . . B.M. For. Hist. 1720 (Hennin 7783).
According to the *Catalogue* of Bernard Populus, there are no less than six versions of this print, which in its first state was intended as a calendar, with the lower central section left blank for the calendar itself. In another version this area contains a scene of the speculator being carried off by devils to hell.

5–25. Dutch. [Life of John Law] 1720. *Opkomts (sic), Midden, en geen eynde van den doortrapte Jan Lauw.* Van Stolk 3516 (B.M. Sat. 1686).

Law was born in 1671, the son of a wealthy Edinburgh goldsmith and banker. The first scene is certainly fictitious, as is the second if it refers to some humble engagement in the army (*Zoljers* = soldiers). 3. This would be a distorted reference to the fashionable life Law led in London during the 1690s. 4. As a result of a love-intrigue, he met and killed a rival *beau* called Wilson in a duel (April 9, 1694). He was condemned to death but pardoned, and he fled to Holland where he studied the financial systems. He enriched himself by mathematical gambling and speculating in various European cities until 1715, when he persuaded the French Regent to promote his schemes as an antidote to the financial confusion then reigning. 9. He appeared to be so successful that by January 1720 he had attained the title of Controller General of Finances and an influence which was more than regal. The central scene in the print is probably intended to convey this moment of supreme power rather than his farewell to the Regent after the failure of the scheme, as stated by Stephens under B.M. Sat. 1686. (The composition is exactly copied from Romeyn de Hooghe's rendering of James' reception by Louis, 4–16). 11. From the spring of 1720 confidence in the System began to fail and the attack on Law's coach (July 17) marks the height of his unpopularity. Desperate financial manipulations failed to revive the System which was destroyed before the year was out. Law left France secretly in November, but the etcher fears "no end" to his mad career, which eventually came to an obscure close in Venice 1729.

CHAPTER SIX

6–1. Dutch. [Judgment of Charles the Bold]. *Iustitie van Carel de Stoute Hert van Bourg, etc. Grave van Holland: Zel: etc . . . S. Savry Excudit* (c. 1650). Muller 314b (not in Van Stolk catalogue). The English version of the text is condensed from the prose commentary below.

Pendant to 6–2 below. The impression reproduced by van de Waal (No. 115) is signed by Cornelis Danckertsz of Amsterdam. Another impression or version (Muller 314) is signed *Hieronymus Sweerts excudit*, and was engraved by Experiens Sillemans. Salomon Savery (1594–after 1665) was an engraver of Amsterdam.

6–2. Dolendo. [Judgment of William the Good]. *Iustiti over den Baeliuw van Zuyt Holland, door Willem de Goede, Grafe van Holland etc . . . Bartolomeus Dolendo Inventor et fecit G. Valck exu.* Inscribed below allegory of Justice, center bottom: *C. I. Visscher excu.* (1613). Van Stolk 139. The English version of the text is condensed from the prose commentary below.

According to van Rijn, writing in Van Stolk, this print is "seldom found complete, since it was usually dismembered." Dolendo was rewarded by the States General with an honorarium of one hundred guilders (cf. van de Waal, I, p. 269). There are drawings on this subject by Willem Buytewech (1619), and paintings with subdivisions similar to the print made for the Town Halls of Gorinchem (1624) and Alkmaar (1618, by Claes Heck, now in Stedelijk Museum, Alkmaar). Later versions include a print signed by Salomon Savery (c. 1640), which was still being published toward the end of the century by Hugo Allardt (Van Stolk 142); another by Experiens Sillemans (Muller 211: cf. our 6–3); and another by Cl. J. Visscher (c. 1650) who adds two scenes. All these versions are reproduced in van de Waal.

Bartholomeus Willemsz. Dolendo (born c. 1571, died after 1629) was an engraver and goldsmith of Leiden.

6–3. Dutch. [Death of Floris V]. *De Doot van Floris de V. Grave van Holl. en Ondergangh van Gerit van Velsen. Exper: Sillemans sculp. Cornelis Dankertz Excudebat* (c. 1645). Van Stolk 117. Pendant to 6–1 and 6–2 above. The English version of the text is condensed from the prose commentary below the print.

Experiens Sillemans (born c. 1611, died 1653) was an engraver of Amsterdam. See van de Waal, p. 283.

6–4. Dutch. [Theatre of Mercy]. *Het Toonneel der Barmhartigheyd. Rombout van den Hoeye Excudit* (c. 1650). Muller 1990e. There is also an impression marked *P. Nolpe sc.* The subject is based upon St. Matthew 25, 35-46 (cf. Pigler I, pp. 527-530).

Rombout van den Hoeye (1622–after 1662) was a publisher (and engraver?) of Amsterdam.

A notable example of a painted strip on this theme, arranged three by three, by the sixteenth century Netherlandish "Master of the Fountain of Life" is in the J. H. van Heerk Collection Enschede (photograph in the Center for Art-historical Documentation, The Hague, section 11.V.6). The best-known single-setting painting of the period is that of Caravaggio.

6–5. Pieter Bruegel. *Iusticia.* One of a series of the Seven Virtues published by Hieronymus Cock, engraved after a drawing by Bruegel dated 1559.

6–6. French (probably). Legal procedure against the criminal (c. 1600). No text. Hennin 1876.

Many of the compositions are reminiscent of the illustrations to the legal treatise of the Fleming Damhoudere, which, in turn, are drawn from German sources, as a German inscription testifies.

6-7. Erhard Schön (attr.). [Execution of Hans Glaser]. *Anno XXXIIII am freytag noch (sic) Sonntag Judica hat Hans Reichart Glaser von Dietfurt . . .* (Printed by) *Stefan Hamer, Brieffmaler zu Nürnberg.* Colored woodcut. Wickiana F. 24/406 (Fehr No. 35. Geisberg 1255). Prose commentary below.

6–8. Mainz. *Hans von Berstatt. Contrafact Figur Hansen von Berstatt bey Echtz inn der Wedderawe . . . Getruckt zu Mentz 1540.* After Geisberg 1591.

6-9. German. [The crime of Windt]. *Eigentliche verzeichnis der erschrecklichen und grewlichen Mortthat / so sich zugetragen in der weitberühmten Stadt Halle in Sachssen . . .* Colored woodcut. Wickiana, p. 4 v.

6–10. German. Instruments of torture and execution. Illustration to the *Bambergische Halsgerichtsordung*, 1508.

6–11. German. Gamblers in a brothel, and the various punishments which await them. Frontispiece to the 1508 edition of the *Carolina.*

6–12. Nürnberg. Women transformed into pigs, and devouring each other (1627). Impression from a wood block confiscated by the Nürnberg City Council. By Lochner. After Diederichs I, Fig. 399.

6-13. Augsburg. [Crime of Blasius Endras]. *Ein Erschröckliche unerhörte Newe Zeyttung/ von einem grausamen Mörder . . . mit namen Blasi Endres . . . 1585 . . . Gedruckt zu Augspurg / in verlegung Hans Rampff / von Pfaffenhausen.* Woodcut. Wickiana F. 33/254 (PAS II 22. 10.). Prose commentary below.

6-14. German. [Crime of Blasius Endras]. *Ein warhafftige Erschreckliche geschicht . . . durch einen Bürger . . . Blasius Endras . . . Gemalt durch David Ul Brieffmaler von Höchstett/ jetzt Drommeter zu Lindauw. MDLXXXV.* Colored woodcut. Wickiana F. 33. 210 (PAS II 22, 7, Fehr No. 33). Brief prose commentary below.

6–15. Erfurt. [The murderer Friedrich Kersten]. *Eigentlicher . . . Bericht, Was für Urtheil und Recht Friederich Kersten ausgestanden hat . . . den 2 Tag August dieses 1605 Jars . . . zu Hall in Sachsen . . . Gedruckt zu Erffordt bey Jacob Singe im Jahr 1605.* Woodcut. Nürnberg, Verbrechen und Strafe 24827.

6-16. Dutch. [The murder of Van Welly] 1616. Engraving attributed to Esaias van de Velde (Burchard, 2), from the designs of Willem Buytewech. Van Stolk 1318.

Esaias van de Velde (1591–1630) was principally a landscape painter and etcher who worked in the Hague; Buytewech (c. 1585 – c. 1626) was a genre painter of Rotterdam.

6-17. Augsburg. [The Silesian grave diggers]. *Nie erhörte, abscheuchliche / und unnatürliche Thatten . . . von etlichen Todtengräebern . . . 1606 Gedruckt zu Augspurg / bey George Kress /Brieff und Kunstmaler in Jacobervorstatt.* Colored woodcut. Nürnberg, Verbrechen und Strafe 2831. Prose commentary below.

6-18. Prague. [The executioner's off-duty justice]. *Warhafftige und zuvor unerhörte newe Zeitung/so sich im Böhmerwaldt . . . wie ein Metzger und ein Nachrichter . . . erstlich gedruckt zu Prag. 1609.* Colored woodcut. Nürnberg, Verbrechen und Strafe 2831. The English text is paraphrased from the verse commentary below.

6-19. Augsburg. [Bernard Kuntz murders his sons]. *Newe Zeittung und Warhaffte erzehlung / welcher gestalt ein reicher Bawr / des Namens Bernhard Kuntz . . . 1602 . . . Zu Augspurg / bey Hans Rogel Brieffmaler und Formschneider an dem Kartengässlin.* Colored woodcut. Nürnberg, Verbrechen und Strafe 2836.

6-20. German. [The baker and his family]. *Wie der Bawer die Saw schlacht . . .* Seventeenth century. Halle.

An impression of this print in the Douce Collection (W.1.2. 166) is marked on the back in the handwriting of Francis Douce (1757–1834) with words to the effect that this story is as common in Germany as that of the rich pig-faced lady who is married for her money, in England.

6-21. Albrecht Dürer (??). Frontispiece to *Wie der Würfel auf ist kumen* (Nürnberg, Max Ayrer 1489). Schreiber 5490. After Willi Kurth (ed.), *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (Dover, 1963), Pl. 19.

6–22, Solothurn, and 6–23, Strassburg. [Gamblers at Willisaw]. *Ein Wunderbarlich gantz warhafft geschicht so geschehen ist in dem Schwytzerland . . . von dryen gesellen . . . 1553.* The title is almost identical in both woodcuts. Figure 6–22 bears the imprint, below the prose description, *In truckt gegeben durch Heinrich Wirri Burger zu Solothurn 1553*, and is located in the Wickiana at PAS II 12/42 (24/458, with another impression at 25/261; Fehr, Fig. 44). Our 6–23 is marked *Getruckt zu Strassburg by Augustin Friess*, and is located in the Wickiana PAS II 2, 27.

6-24. Florentine. [Crime and execution of a nobleman] 1501. *Ant^o di Giu^e Rinaldeschi nobile Fiorentino nell Osteria del Fico Gioca . . .* Painted panel, Museo Stibbert, Florence. The painting is attributed to the workshop of Bartolommeo di Giovanni and was first published in *Selearte* (see *Fumetti* in bibliography); cf. also della Corte, p. 13.

The crime depicted in the strip must be identical with that recounted in the diary of Landucci (p. 127): "One Rinaldo, a Florentine and a gambler, was arrested, who because he had lost at play threw some horse-dung on the statue of the Virgin Mary at the Canto de' Ricci . . . and he struck the image on the diadem. A boy who saw it told (the authorities who) arrested him at the Osservanza di San Miniato; when the police of the 'Eight' approached him, he stabbed himself in the left breast, but they took him and led him before the Podestà, where he confessed that he had thrown at the Virgin out of rage at having lost. During the night he was hung from the windows of the Podestà, and the next morning being the day of Santa Maria Maddalena, there was a double Festa. All Florence came to see this figure of the Virgin, and when the bishop had removed the dirt, there was not an evening on which pounds of wax tapers were not fastened before it, the veneration perpetually increasing. . . ." In a note (3), Landucci's modern editor tells us that "till our own day (i.e. 1882) an ancient picture" (perhaps our strip) representing the execution is exhibited under the portico of the Church of the Madonna de' Ricci every year on this anniversary.

Landucci's description confirms the fact that it was not by a miracle of the Virgin but by human agencies that the culprit was seized and punished. This is unusual with popular sensations of this kind, as we can judge by comparison with a typical story from Bologna, where on October 10th of this same year (1501), a certain Mario Guidotti was playing at "zones." Losing, he swore and threw a "zone" (a small piece of wood) at an image of the Virgin, and was immediately struck with total immobility for the space of two hours, until he repented and was liberated (Frati, p. 113).

It was a widespread custom in fifteenth-century Italy to paint the effigies of malefactors on the walls of the Town Hall, as a deterrent and in order to shame the criminal's family. One famous Florentine painter, Andrea del Castagno, was nicknamed "Andrea degli Impiccati" (Andrew of the Hanged Men) for the zeal and skill which he showed in such commissions. I have found no evidence, however, to indicate that the crime was illustrated as well as the punishment, and in this respect alone our strip is unique.

6-25. Augsburg. [The Witch Anna Eberlerin]. *Relation oder Beschreibung so Anno 1669 den 23. Martij . . . Zu Augspurg/bey Elias Wellhöffer Brieffmaler bey unser L. Frawen Thor.* Woodcut with prose description below. Halle (Waescher No. 31).

6-26. Frankfurt. [The sevenfold infanticide]. *Eine Warhafftige und erschröckliche Newe Zeittung . . . in der Statt Limburg . . . Gedruckt zu Frankfurt am Mayn / bey Wolff Richtern.* 1616. Woodcut, with twenty-stanza ballad below and hymn on the "Vanity of this life." Nürnberg, Verbrechen und Strafe 24, 792.

6-27. German. [Girl from Esslingen]. *Grüntliche antzaigung des Teufflischen und schantlichen betrugs des falschen Weibs / und Junckfrauen zu Esslingen / mit dem gemachten Bauch/ von anfang biss zu end 1551.* Woodcut. Wickiana F. 22. 342–344 (Fehr 30/31). Prose commentary below.

The contemporary miracle-monger Lycosthenes (1557) finds this story good despite its known fraudulence, and repeats with particular emphasis all the details concerning the exact construction of the belly (cf. Hollaender, pp. 235–8, Schottenloher, p. 148, and Fehr, p. 92).

6–28. Worms. [Esslingen girl]. *Ein unerhörte übernatürliche gestalt einer gross geschwollenen Junckfrawen zu Esslingen . . . Getruckt zu Wormbs, durch Gregorium Hofman.* Drawn by Hans Schiesser, painter of Worms. Geisberg 1118 (original woodcut in Gotha).

6-29. J. Wick. [The Holy Pancake]. *Zytung uss dem oberen Beyeren den 22. Aprilis 1582.* Pen and wash drawings. Wick manuscript pp. 256 and 256a.

6-30. J. Wick. [The Executioner of Thorgau] (1583). *Von einem Nachrichter zu Torgauw in Land Mychsen.* (Part of strip.) Pen and wash drawing. Wick manuscript pp. 6 and 6a.

6-31. Frankfurt (?). [Jewish Bathing-house]. *Der Juden Badstub* (c. 1600). Texas 124. There is a cruder, possibly earlier version of this print in Nürnberg and in Frankfurt, Historisches Museum.

1-13. The Christian capitalist, rich as he is, feels the need to borrow money for expansion of his business (sees an anemic reflection in the glass), and therefore applies to the Jews. After the treatment, the massage, bleeding and pinching, he returns in rags to his home. 14. He finds that all his property is gone (mortgaged or pawned), and sees in the looking glass instead of his own ruddy reflection, the perfidious Jewish heart, complete with the yellow ring which the Jews of Frankfurt were compelled to wear. 15. A satire on the Jewish ritual of washing away sins. 17. See our Figure 1–19. 18. This image survived into the eighteenth century (cf. Liebe, Fig. 28); Liebe (pp. 66–7) comments on this print: "In order to understand the somewhat far-fetched humor with which the elaborate bathing procedure of that time is applied to Jewish business practice, we must remember that bathing was a popular subject for poetry, as for instance in that of Hans Sachs."

6-32. German. [Murder of a Christian child by Jews in Mies 1675.] Repr. from Diederichs Bd. II, 1220. (Original formerly in Münich, presumed destroyed.)

6-33. Prague. [Murder of a Jewish Boy]. *Warhafftige Abbildung einer erschröcklichen Mordthat . . . 1694.* Signed in center roundel *Michael Störitz fecit.* Woodcut. Nürnberg (repr. from Liebe, Abb. 68). Störitz does not appear in Thieme-Becker.

6–34. Vienna. [Execution of a Jew] 1642. *Eine sehr denckwürdige Historia Von einem getaufften, doch wider vom Christentumb gefallenen Juden . . .* Nürnberg, Judentum 212 (cf. Liebe, p. 88).

6-35. German. [Execution of Joseph Süss Oppenheimer]. *Des Joseph Süssen Lebenswandel, wie auch sein Schellmen-voller handel . . .* 1738. Nürnberg, Judentum 3934.

The Bibliothèque Nationale (*Histoire d'Allemagne*) has the most extensive collection of strips on Oppenheimer, who for some reason aroused considerable curiosity in France. By far the longest pictorial account is that contained in the nineteen little printed and hand-colored roundels which fold into a *Schraubthaler* (medallion-container) preserved in the Münzsammlung at Münich.

Oppenheimer was born in 1698, and by 1735 had become Minister of Finance in Stuttgart, a post which he used to accumulate great personal wealth and to obtain military contracts for Jews. After the death of his protector, the Duke of Württemburg, on March 11, 1737, there was a *coup d'état*, all Jews were imprisoned, and the fleeing Oppenheimer was captured. He was taken to Asperg, where he was tried and condemned (December 17) before being executed in Stuttgart on February 4, 1738. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* describes the act as judicial murder.

The "Pranger," the cage in which Oppenheimer was hanged, was normally used for purposes of humiliation—to exhibit in public lesser sinners such as habitual drunks. The huge scaffold was built specially for the occasion.

6-36. German. [The supposed execution of Shabbatai Sewi] (1666). Formerly in Münich, now presumed destroyed. Repr. from Liebe.

This print has twice been reproduced as depicting the career and execution of Shabbatai's prophet, Nathan Levi (Liebe, Fig. 61, and *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. *Nathan Benjamin Levi*). The biography of Levi contained in the latter authority makes no mention of any detail which could pertain to the print illustrating it. Professor Gershom Scholem assures me in a letter that our strip must relate to the rumored execution of Shabbatai himself. Nathan Levi was believed to have shared the fate of Shabbatai, according to a contemporary pamphlet entitled: "Wonderful Beginning and Disgraceful End of the recently arisen Jewish Prophet Nathan Levi and of the newly elected Sabeza, created by him King or Jewish Messiah, first printed at Augsburg 1666" (*Verwunderlicher Anfang und schmählicher Ausgang des unlängst new erstandenen Jüdischen Propheten Nathan Levi und des von ihme creïrten und Neuerwehlten Königs oder Jüdischen Messiae Sabezae, erstlich gedruckt zu Augspurg 1666*). Scholem, *Shabbatai*, II, p. 836, No. 62. None of our strips is listed in Scholem's bibliography, nor is the print in Marburg (ya 9710–576) which refers to the "Newly risen Jewish Prophet Nathan Levi" (*Neu entstandenen Jüdischen Propheten Nathan*

Levi) and "The New Jewish Popular Military Leader by the name of Josua Helkam (*Des neuen Jüdischen Volcks / Oberster Heerführer Nahmens Helkam* = "Josuehel Cam" in the following strip). A check with Scholem's Hebrew work on Shabbatai would probably throw more light on the bias and accuracy of this group of strips.

6-37. German. [Shabbatai Sewi's miracles]. *Neubelebter König oder Printz der Juden. Das ist, etwas Neues von dem erhöheten Josvehel Cam . . . 7 Martii 1666.* Prose commentary and legend below. B.M. For. Hist. For historical notes, see 6–38 below.

6-38. German. [Deceit and apostasy of Shabbatai Sewi]. *Dess vermeinten Jüdischen Messiae entdeckter Betrug und Abfall 1666.* B.M. For. Hist.

Shabbatai was born 1626 in Smyrna, became an early devotee of the mysteries of the Cabala and in 1648 revealed himself to a band of followers. Banished from Smyrna, he moved to Salonica, then Cairo, and finally Jerusalem itself, where (1663) he attracted large numbers through his ascetic life and piety, and the sweet mystic love-songs which he sang. When the authorities there became too suspicious of him, he moved to Gaza, where at New Year 1665 he publicly declared himself to be the Messiah. He soon became sole ruler of the community, and his cult spread rapidly to Italy, Germany and Holland. Early in 1666 Shabbatai left for Constantinople, either because of official Jewish distrust at his innovations in ritual, or because a Nathan Benjamin Levi (Ghazzati) had predicted that the Sultan's own crown would be placed on Shabbatai's head. It is here at this climactic point that the picture strips take up the tale. A. In the absence of the Sultan and Grand Vizier, the Janissaries revolted and appealed for a general massacre of the Jews, fearing that Shabbatai would seize the Sultan's crown. B. The Grand Vizier quelled the revolt, and put Shabbatai into the State prison at Abydos Castle for safety. Reports of miracles performed there spread rapidly, but in fact the Sultan did not at first take Shabbatai or his apocalyptic utterances very seriously. The situation changed when a Jewish emissary from Poland called Nehemiah-ha Kohen, who claimed (like Nathan Levi) to be a Messianic prophet but had quarrelled with Shabbatai, converted to Islam (scene 7, but actually before Shabbatai's conversion) and revealed to the Sultan the fact that Shabbatai had truly treasonable and subversive intentions. At this point, the choice offered to Shabbatai of "Islam or Death" becomes comprehensible, although it would hardly have been put in this crude a form. It was on the advice of the physician to the Sultan, a former Jew, that Shabbatai converted. He was rewarded with the title "Mahmed Effendi" and the appointment of Doorkeeper. Shabbatai did manage to maintain for some time his balancing act between Jewry and Turk, but was eventually banished and died quietly in Albania in 1676. (See Graetz, V, pp. 147–9).

6–39. Augsburg. [Life of Cartouche] 1721. *Wahre Abbildung des Ertzraubers Claudii Cartouche nach dem französichen Original copiret, benebst einer kurtzen Relation von seinem Leben . . . Augsburg, bei Johann Christoph Kolb.* Repr. from Varennes (Hennin 7874). There is a view of Paris (and a commentary) printed below the strip.

6-40. Dutch. [Life of Cartouche]. *Het leven en Bedryf van den beruchten Dief en Mordenaer Kartousie, Gerabraeckt den 28 November 1721. t'Amsterdam / Gedrukt by de Erve van der Putte / Papier en Boekverkoopers op 't Water in de Loots-man.* Woodcut. Repr. from Heurck, p. 169.

The heirs of the Widow J. van Egmont, Amsterdam, published a copy of this print, in reverse, omitting scenes 3, 4, 17 and 18 (Van Stolk 5021 II). These same designs were also applied to the career of a famous brigand called Schinderhannes at the end of the eighteenth century.

6-41. Augsburg. [Life of Käsebier] 1749. *So fängt der Käsebier sein Gottlos Leben an . . . Elias Bäck exc., Augsburg.* Nürnberg, Verbrechen und Strafe 13770–1749.

Christian Andreas Käsebier, who was born 1710 in Halle, is mentioned in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (1882) as an audacious catburglar. The atrocities depicted in the strip seem to be the inventions of the publisher, who adds in the commentary below that his gang numbered 1262 men, of whom eighty-one were arrested in various parts of Germany. After thirty-seven murders and countless robberies, he was arrested in January 1749. Since he was sentenced to life imprisonment, it is unlikely that he was in fact found guilty of murder. Far from spending his life in the uncomfortable position depicted in the last scene, Käsebier was soon made an overseer of the other prisoners (a common custom at the time), and after six years in his prison at Stettin, he was released and employed briefly as a spy by King Frederick II. He thereupon disappears from history. Scene 2. A common superstition held that parts of unborn babies possessed magical properties. 3-4. Note the accent upon the picaresque frauds, and the bizarre example of human sympathy on the part of the criminal.

6-42. Augsburg. [The murder of Corporal Kayser by Private Bayer]. *Warhaffte Vorstellung einer erschröcklichen und arglistigen Mordthat so den 28 Decembris 1716 in Augsburg . . . Augsburg den 14 January A° 1717 zu finden bey Elias Bäck a.H.* Marburg, Yb 3214.

6-43. German, early eighteenth century. *Wie Raub und Mord geschah . . .* After Hampe, *Crime*, p. 116.

6-44. English. *An exact Representation of the Holes Sheppard made in the Chimney . . . 1724* B.M. Eng. Hist. 1725.

A pamphlet entitled *A narrative of all the Robberies, escapes etc. of John Sheppard: giving an exact description of his wonderful escape from the castle in Newgate . . . written by himself . . .* London, 1724, is attributed to Daniel Defoe (B.M. Library 1418.g.17).

6-45. English 1725. *The Funeral Procession of the celebrated Mr. Jonathan Wild Thief-taker General of Great Britain and Ireland . . .* B.M. Sat. 1751.

1. "King of the Gypsies" to the eighteenth century would be roughly equivalent to "King of the Underworld" today—a title accorded by common consent of police and fellow-criminal. 2. The only record of an attack on Wild by "Blewskin" Blake, a confederate of Sheppard, places the incident in the bail-dock, when Blake stood trial.

6-46. William Hogarth (after). *Bambridge on Trial for Murder by a committee of the House of Commons. Engraved by T. Cook from an original painting by William Hogarth in the possession of Mr. Ray. Published June 1st 1803 by G. and J. Robinson Paternoster Row London* (c. 1729). From the 1822 edition of Hogarth's works.

6-47. English. *The Representations of the several fetters, irons and engines of torture that were taken from the Marshalsea Prison* (1729). B.M. Sat. 1837.

Our text is condensed from a twenty-one line commentary below the print, which refers to pages in the *Report on the Marshalsea Prison to the House of Commons 14th May 1729.*

6-48. English. *An exact Representation of the Story of Elizabeth Canning according to the Account given by herself. In six scenes. Publ. June 8 (1754) by S. Rogers price 6d.* Society of Antiquaries, London, Grant Broadsides, IV, 140.

Elizabeth Canning (1734–73), a domestic servant of good character, failed to return to her home in Aldermanbury after a visit to relatives on January 1, 1753. On January 29, she returned in a miserable condition, with the story (1–3) that she had been attacked by two men in Moorfields and dragged to a house on the Hertfordshire Road, where she resisted attempts to make her join the brothel established there, and was imprisoned for a month without food. She escaped through a window; on the basis of her story the bawd "Mother" Wells and her agent, a hideously ugly gypsy called Squires, were arrested and charged with assault and felony. In February Squires was condemned to death and Wells was sentenced to be burned in one hand. The latter sentence was carried out, but Squires was reprieved owing to the efforts of the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Crisp Gascoyne, who found further witnesses willing to swear alibis for the gypsy. In April 1754 Elizabeth Canning was summoned to trial (6), found by a bewildered jury "guilty of perjury, but not wilful and corrupt," a squinting verdict later modified to "guilty with a recommendation to mercy." By a vote of 9–8, she was sentenced to transportation for seven years and shipped to New England.

6-49. England. *A True Draught of Eliz: Canning, with the house she was confined in, also the Gypsies Flight . . .* (1753). B.M. Sat. 3211. Cf. no. 6–48.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7-1. Italian. [Seven Acts of Mercy, Seven Deadly Sins] c. 1600. *Sforzati a far devota penitenza . . .* Bertarelli Collection, Vizi.

7-2. Dutch/German. [Spanish Vices c. 1600]. *Emblemata, Welche das Leben, die Thaten, Sitten und wunderbare verwandlung dess Signor Spangniols . . .* Nürnberg, Pol. All. 24, 857.

The text (sixteen twenty-verse stanzas) is probably derived from a Dutch work which was rendered into English as *A Pageant of Spanish Humours Wherin are naturally described and lively portrayed, the kinds and quallities of a Signior of Spaine. Translated out of Dutche, By H. w. London 1599* (only known copy in the British Museum at 12330 ccc 52). This would seem to be identical with the *Emblems of the Deeds, Perfections And Customs Of the Spanish Senor* mentioned by Erlanger (*Age of Courts*, p. 15) as the work of a Simon Molard (no date given) describing a typical Spaniard "c. 1560."

7-3. English c. 1650. *Dies Dominica.* Woodcut. Douce Collection 133 (365).

7-4. Venice. [Tree of Folly]. *L'Arboro della Pazzia.* The copy in the Bertarelli Collection (reproduced here) is signed *In Roma presso Carlo Losi l'anno 1773.* An impression in the Uffizi (reproduced in Omodeo, Pl. 4, No. 7) is signed *Ferrando Bertelli 1568.* There is also a good, unsigned impression, in the same direction as ours, in the Douce Collection E.1. 6 (393). Omodeo (p. 14) mentions that "a print of this type" was published in France about 1550.

7-5. German. [The Topsy Turvy World.] *Die Verkehrte Welt.* (c. 1630; top two rows of a five-row strip.) Halle. Coupe 151.

7-6. German. [The Foolish World] c. 1620. *Die Närrisch Wellt P. Aubry Excudit.* Halle. (Coupe, No. 150a.) There is a crude copy in Halle entitled *Die Törechte Weldt.*

Peter Aubry II was active in Strassburg 1628–1686, as successor to his father Peter Aubry I (active 1609–28).

7-7. German. [Protection against poverty]. *Ein köstlich bewerte Praeservativa wieder die Armuth zu Gebrauchen nützlich. 1619.* Nürnberg H.B. 24, 864/1292. Each scene measures about 7.4 centimeters. in height. Cf. Coupe, pp. 57–8 and No. 169.

7-8. Christophero Bertelli. [The Ages of Man]. *Non ponga l'huom nel vivere ogni cura . . . per me christopheno bertello In Venetia a Sta. Fa . . .* c. 1580. Bertarelli Collection.

The pendant print, *The Ages of Woman,* from the same publisher, is reproduced in Omodeo, p. 19, No. 24.

Thieme-Becker lists a Christofano Bertelli who was active in Modena and Rimini during the second half of the sixteenth century. The Bertelli publishing family of Venice included at this time Domenico, Donato, Ferdinando (the Ferrando Bertelli who signed our plate 7–4?), Luca, and Pietro.

7-9. Tobias Stimmer. [The Ten Ages of Woman]. *X Jar Kindischer Art . . .* (c. 1570). Repr. from Hirth, Nos. 1369 – 1373; Nos. 1374 ff. reproduce the corresponding sequence of *The Ten Ages of Man.* Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584), a versatile painter and graphic artist, worked in Schaffhausen, Zürich, and especially Strassburg, where he provided publishers with a large number of book-illustrations.

7-10. Hans Burgkmaier the Elder. [How the poor man becomes rich and the rich man poor]. c. 1530. *Wie der Arm Reich wirt, und der Reich Arm.* Signed *HB.* Woodcut. Geisberg 502. Röttinger (1908) comments on the confusion of the Breu version (7–11) and its evident relationship with Burgkmaier's.

7-11. Jörg Breu the Elder. [Poverty and Riches]. *Armut macht Demütigkait . . . (c.* 1530). Geisberg 352.

7-12. Cornelis Anthonisz. Teunissen. [Peace-War-Peace]. *Mit Figuren wt ghesproeken, hoe een mensche diewils sijn voerspoet misbruyckt . . .* Woodcuts on six blocks, signed with the artist's initials *C.T.* (c. 1535), Nijhoff 123–139.

A comparable "story" is told in a crowded allegorical procession, continuing over nine plates, engraved by Marten van Heemskerck and published by H. Cock in Antwerp 1564. The procession opens with Time and the Elements expressing the vertigo of constant change. There follows Opulence, which causes Pride (accompanied by Fraud, Rapine, and Lechery), which causes Envy, which causes War, which causes Poverty, which causes Tolerance and Humility. Humility causes Peace, which causes Opulence, etc. Only God, in the final plate, can bring this vicious circle to an end. For a French illustration of 1568, in which six figures (Humility, Peace, Wealth, Pride, War, Poverty) are arranged as the spokes of a Wheel of Fortune, see Chew V.R. Pl. 17; for literary parallels, cf. *ibid,* p. 126).

A contemporary version of this moral circle appeared in the form of a *New Yorker* cartoon (February 1, 1969, p. 80) showing a disenchanted Mr. Everyman trudging along, encircled by the words "Awareness – Involvement – Activism – Confrontation – Disenchantment –Alienation – Apathy – Awareness," etc.

7-13. Heinrich Vogtherr the Younger (Augsburg). [The Brothers' Lawsuit]. *Wer jetzt will Rechten in der Wellt, Bringt sich in unrhu und umbs gellt. Muss sorgen ob man in verfier, Das er sein Recht darzu verlier. Gedruckt zu Augspurg durch David de Necker Formschneider* (c. 1537). Woodcuts on three blocks, Geisberg 1472–4 (originals in Gotha, Landesmuseum). The verses, translated below, are probably by Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder, who was a didactic poet as well as an artist.

This set of prints does not appear in Koegler's list of Vogtherr's works (1920). Röttinger (1927, pp. 176–7) made a tentative attribution to Vogtherr, qualifying it with the suggestion that the narrative designs (as opposed to the architectural framework) are by an assistant of Vogtherr, identified as the illustrator of a Rihel Bible of 1537. Röttinger's date and attribution are maintained in Geisberg. Cf. also F.T. Schulz in Thieme-Becker (p. 505).

The modernized version of Vogtherr's narrative by Jost Ammann (cf. our 7–14) is mentioned by Röttinger as a publication of c. 1580 by the well-known Frankfurt publisher Siegmund Feyerabend. Röttinger does not make it clear that he actually saw the broadsheet complete. It is possible to reconstruct it from eleven of the cuts which appear in the 1579 edition of Ammann's *Kunst-und Lehrbüchlein* (a pattern book for engravers). They are scattered, unconnected, at various stages throughout the album, which is composed almost entirely of woodcuts Ammann had originally used elsewhere. While the action of Ammann's figures is altogether more lively, he has not improved on the narrative; in fact, the deterioration of the brothers' dress is even less evident. (cf. 7–14.)

It is possible that Ammann felt some personal animosity toward lawyers, since in his *Realistic Portrayal of all the Professions on earth (Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auf Erden, 1568)* the Procurator is one of the few professions to be treated satirically in verse and picture.

Translation of text, slightly condensed: "Those who fight lawsuits in our society will only lose their peace of mind and money, and worry about being cheated. . . . This is the cautionary tale of two brothers who received a great inheritance but ruined each other by squandering it all on a lawsuit, before they discovered that the lawyers were in the business only for personal gain.

1. *The dying Father:* As I die, my dear sons, I leave you riches, honor and money, the house and the land and all that goes with it. Just take this advice: Share it all equally, be true to each other, and do not quarrel, for you cannot know what quarrels entail.

2. *The Elder Brother:* Now listen to me, brother, as the elder I have precedence over you. You, as my own dear brother, cannot deny me this.
The Younger Brother: I don't agree at all. In fact, I'd rather go to court. My father's wish was that we should peacefully take equal shares.

3. *Elder Brother takes counsel:* Sir, give me your advice. I want control of this inheritance, even if I have to spend it all in this process. I would be ashamed to let my brother have his way.
Lawyer: This is indeed a ticklish business, but I have dodges for disguising wrong as right. I shall however need a great deal of money to get things moving.

4. *Younger Brother takes counsel:* My brother is initiating a lawsuit against me in order to deprive me of my property. If you can help me in the courts, I will reward you richly. *Younger Brother's Lawyer:* So be it, my dear Lord, a vat of butter and a barrel of wine can do a lot to get things started. I'll handle it, and as I know the law, you'll get your inheritance.

5–6. *Younger Brother's Lawyer:* Your honor, it was the declared intention of my client's father, while he was alive, to give him precedence. (*The Angel addresses the Judge*) O Judge, do not forget the Ten Commandments and remember that you must answer for your judgment before God. Be not influenced by any gifts or personal considerations.
Judge: Gentlemen—Try to settle the matter amicably. Lawsuits consume a lot of money, and only bring litigants into disrepute.
Younger Brother's Lawyer: We shall recess now, since mine is the injured party, and he is being illegally treated as a bastard. This affair is only just started, and we must take time for further counsel.

7. *Younger Brother to Lawyer:* How is the case progressing? What if we were to concede a little, and settle amicably as the Judge recommended? My brother is not entirely in the wrong, and I am beginning to have regrets.
Lawyer: My dear Sir, your case is good, it would be a shame to abandon it now. I admit that it will be costly, but you will recover damages. We'll fight him tooth and nail, and seize the lion's share.

8. *Elder Brother to Lawyer:* Sir, what do you say to making peace, as our father advised; fraternal quarrels are bad, brothers should always stick together. *Lawyer:* Heavens, do not give way like this! True, our case is being strongly contested, but even if the verdict goes against us, I shall appeal. After all, we are in the right, so into battle with good heart!

9. *Younger Brother to Lawyer:* I can see that I have to pay you further; my legacy has dwindled away, so take my cloak, and let us part until further notice. *Lawyer to Younger Brother:* What are you afraid of? Am I not doing my best? Be bold, unrelenting, I know the trick which will win us the case. Don't spare the cash, I shall need it, if I am to profit from my oratory.

10. *Elder Brother to Lawyer:* I know, Sir, that I owe you your fees, but since I have little money left, I beg you to accept this cloak. I am tired of this dispute; God preserve the world at large from such things. *Lawyer to Elder Brother:* The case is in much better shape than before, we have them by the ears, and even if I

lose the horse, I still have the bridle and saddle. I am an old hand, and speak well because there is money involved.

11. *Elder Brother:* Oh Brother, how foolish we are, the lawyers have filled their purses with the contents of ours, and we are pitifully impoverished. *Younger Brother:* Had we looked to our own affairs and not committed ourselves to advice from outside, our wealth would still be ours. In the long run, it is always the law which wins.

12. There is an old proverb which says that the learned lawyer, the cunning female, and the usurious Jew have between them endangered society as a whole. The above story confirms this unfortunate truth as far as the lawyer is concerned."

7-14. Jost Ammann. Four scenes from a (lost?) broadsheet recounting *The Brothers' Lawsuit*. Repr. from Ammann's *Kunst- und Lehrbüchlein*, 1579 (cf. 7–13).

7-15. Russian. [Shemyach's Court]. *Shemyachen Sud*. Published by Akmetieff (mid-eighteenth century). Rovinski 55 (cf. Rovinski-Sobko, Fig. 215). According to Duchartre, who does not describe the print but reproduces one scene from it (p. 26), it dates from the early nineteenth century. The design seems to be older.

The story, which is apparently of Jewish-Oriental origin, can be traced back to a *Meistergesang* of the Emperor Charlemagne (1493), involving a Jew with his pound of flesh (cf. Liebe, p. 62).

7-16. Cologne. [Lendall – Trustem – Warner – Contright] c. 1650. 1. *Der Behülffliche Herr Lehnard*. 2. *Der Williger Burghardt*. 3. *Der Sorgfältige Mahnhart*. 4. *Der Strenge Penthard*. Signed, on each of the four engravings, *Gerh: Altzenbach excudit*. Windsor. Gerhart Altzenbach flourished in Cologne as publisher (and engraver?) 1609–1672.

7-17. Erhard Schön. [The Four Characteristics of Wine]. *Die Vier Eygenschafft des Weins*. Illustration to a *Schwank* by Hans Sachs (c. 1530). Geisberg 1175.

7-18. Antwerp Monogrammist FB (or FHB). [The Drunkards] c. 1530. After Delen, II, 2, Pl. XXXII, p. 75.

7-19. Wenzel Hollar (attr.). [Three useful Schools of Wine] c. 1630. *Drey Nützliche Weinschulen Leib und Seel damit zu erhalten*. Windsor (Parthey 491). Hollar worked in Matthäus Merian's Frankfurt workshop 1627–9, in Strassburg 1629–32 and Cologne 1632–6, before coming to England. For the copious literature in praise of toping, see Janssen, 12, pp. 211–217.

7-20. Russian. *The Great Head of Drunkenness*. Colored engraving, eighteenth century, Rovinski 104. The print may be based on a German seventeenth-century broadsheet called *Der Kanne gevallerschen und Weinsüchtiger Weiber vergadderings anschlag* (Lipperheide 1001, 46).

7-21. Russian. *Pharmacy to cure Drunkards*. Engraved by Tschuvayeff, published by Akhmetieff, mid-eighteenth century. Rovinski No. 110.

7-22. German. *Tabacologia das ist Lobspruch des edlen, und in aller Welt berühmten Krauts Petum oder Tabac* . . . Repr. from Hirth, IV, 1712. According to Hampe (*Fürst*, No. 288) there is an impression of c. 1640 signed by Paulus Fürst. A version in Nürnberg (H.B. 19423) removes the backgrounds and adds a symbolic animal to each scene.

The German broadsheet echoes the sentiments of the royal moralist James I of England, who wrote in his *Counterblaste to Tobacco* (1604) that tobacco smoking was a "custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the Nose, harmfull to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the Horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomlesse."

7-23. German. [ABC of Tobacco]. *Crafft, Tugent und würckung des hochnützbarlichen Tabac, durchs A.B.C. gezogen, fein gröblich* (c. 1640). Halle (Waescher, No. 72, Diederichs 1142).

CHAPTER EIGHT

8-1. Frontispiece to *Imperiosus Mulier Das ist Das Regiersüchtige Weib* . . . Magdeburg 1611.

8-2. [Girls' Dovecote]. *Columbiarum puellarum*. From Johann Theodor de Bry, *Proscenium vitae humana, sive emblematum secularium* . . . Frankfurt 1627.

8-3. Hans Burgkmaier the Elder. The Dangers of women: *Solomon worshipping the Idols; Aristotle and Phyllis; Samson and Dalilah; Bathsheba in the bath*. Woodcuts, 1519 (Geisberg 497–500).

8-4. French. [The School for Husbands]. *L'Ecole des Mary . . . a Orleans chez . . .* Woodcut, early eighteenth century. After Fuchs, *Weiberherrschaft*.

8-5. German. [Punishment of the wayward husband] . . . *uñhalt in eyner Sum / wolches weyb hat ein verspielten liederuche man . . . 1550*. Woodcut, repr. from Fuchs, *Weiberherrschaft*, I, p. 264. The first line of the title appears to be missing.

8-6. German. [The Ninefold Skins of Wicked Women]. *Von den neun Häuten der bösen Weiber, wie iede Haut mit Nahmen genennet wird, und was sie für Tugenden haben*. Halle. Illustration of late sixteenth century to a verse *Schwank* by Hans Sachs (Röttinger 900, 1539, V 17). This, or a similar version, was republished by Fürst in 1640 (No. 271); another version appeared in Regensburg 1680 (Waescher No. 84) and again in 1710. (Cf. Röttinger, *Sachs*, p. 70; Waescher, I, No. 8, p. 21, makes a tentative but mistaken attribution to Georg Pencz.)

8-7. Peter Isselburg. [ABC of Marriage]. *Bericht: Wie es gehe, Gar nach dem ABC. Welche sich zur Ehe Unbesonnen geben* . . . Braunschweig (Coupe No. 31 and p. 48). Another state of this print, also in Braunschweig, shows a tapestry behind the bridal couple in scene 2. Impressions in the British Museum (For. Hist.) and Nürnberg are signed *Peter Isselburg* and dated *1616*. The one hundred verses below are signed *Cheruspatte Faron*, which according to Coupe is an anagram for the poet Rupert à Castenhof.

8-8. German. [Recipe to cure disobedient wives]. *Offt Probiertes und Bewährtes Recept oder Artzney für die bösse Ranckheit der unartigen Weiber* c. 1650. B.M. For. Hist. (1880. 7.10.919). Fürst No. 272.

8-9. German. [The week of the shrewish wife]. *Ein köstlich gutes bewertes Recept vor die Männer, so böse Weiber haben* (c. 1620). Nürnberg H.B. 24,843 (copy in reverse at Halle).

8-10. Thomas Cecill. *A New Yeares guift for Shrews* (c. 1630). B.M. Sat. 89. Thomas Cecill, a book-illustrator and portrait-engraver, flourished between 1625–1640. This is the only broadsheet signed by the artist.

8-11. Frankfurt. [Monthly cure for shrewish wives]. *Schön, Köstliche, und bewehrte Recept, für die Regier-und Monsüchtigenn bösen Faulen, unartigen Weiber . . . Getruckt bey Conrad Cortoys* (c. 1620). Halle. Conrad Corthoys was a Protestant publisher of Frankfurt, from whom we have a signed engraving dated 1617 (Coupe 354).

8-12. German. [Woman this is your mirror]. *Spiegel Dich Mulier* (c. 1630). Halle. The translation is condensed from the original 177 verses.

8-13. German. [Wives' Recipe]. *Weiber Recept, Das ist, Kurtzer und ordentlicher Bericht, wie sich die Weiber gegen ihre Hitzige und geschwindzornige Männer verhalten . . . sollen* (c. 1620). Halle.

8-14. German. [Women's Privileges]. *Weiber Privilegi, unnd Freiheit, Das ist, kurtzer Bericht, was massen alle über die Männer begierig herrschende Weiber* . . . c. 1650. Halle (also in Bamberg and Coburg). Copy in reverse, with a prose text, in B.M. For. Hist. c. 1650, and Braunschweig (Coupe 118). The translation is somewhat condensed from the 150 German verses.

8-15a. Fürst. [Women's Mandate, Male Decree]. *Gemeiner Weiber Mandat Darinnen vermeldet wird, von ihren Freyheiten . . . MDCXXXXI*. Nürnberg H.B. 24015 (Coupe 118b; cf. also a *Weiberbefehlich* in the Lipperheide Collection 1001,11).

8-15b. Fürst. [Male Decree]. *Neweröffneter Ernsthaffter, hochstraffwürdiger und unverbrüchlicher Männerbefehlich . . . Zufinden in Nürnberg bey Paulus Fürsten Kunsthändler* etc. Texas 130 (Fürst 276). Cf. Wendeler, p. 41 (No. 5).

8-16. German. [The strange woman from India]. *Newe Zeittung von einem wunderseltsamen Weib, so ein Kauffman über Meer mit sich newlich auss India gebracht hat* (c. 1620). Braunschweig. The translation is slightly condensed from the original verses.

8-17. German. [Punishments of the gossiping wife and wayward husband] c. 1650. 8–17a. *Albier hütte sich ein Jdere Fraw, Dem langen Schwetzen nicht vertraw*. 8–17b. *Albier hütt sich ein Jder Mann, und reitz das Weib zum Zorn nicht an*. Pendant engravings. Nürnberg H.B. 24, 717, and H.B. 15, 287. The translation is made from the forty-eight verses inscribed below each print.

8-18. German. [Mirror of Chastity]. *Spiegel der Keuschheit oder ein bewehrte Artzney die fleischliche Lust zu vertreiben. Bey Gerhart Altzenbach* (Cologne c. 1650). Nürnberg. The caption translation condenses the original German, and draws to some extent on the 106 commentary verses printed below.

The story is basically that told in J.W. von Goethe's *Der Prokurator*, a novelle of 1793 which he is supposed to have found in the anonymous *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*.

8-19. Frontispiece to *Miroir des Plus belles Courtisanes de ce temps. Spiegel der Allerschoonste Courtisanen deses tyt. The Doocking-Glass* (sic) *of the fairest cortiers* (sic) *of these tymes*. Amsterdam 1630.

8-20. Dutch. [Theatre of Female vindictiveness] c. 1650. *Het Tooneel der Vrouwelyke Wraakgierigheyd. Rombout van den Hoeye Excudit.* Douce 141.284 (Van Stolk 2013 is an impression from a very worn plate, signed *Ioannes: v: Keulen Excudit.* I have translated the commentary verse below, missing on the Douce copy, from this one.)

The law in most countries at this time provided the husband with the technical right to execute a wife for adultery. Had the founder of the Dutch Republic, William the Silent, invoked the letter of the law, he would have deprived the world of a great enemy propagandist and diplomat, Peter Paul Rubens, whose father was the paramour of Anne of Saxony, William's second wife.

8-21. Dutch. *Urbanus en Isabel. Te Amsterdam, by J. Wendel en Zoon, Boekdrukkers, op de Angeliersgragt.* Van Stolk 5862. Woodcut, eighteenth century.

8-22. Dutch [Jack and Meg]. *Kinderen, 't geene gy hier ziet, Is het Leven van Jan en Griet No. 329.* Woodcut, repr. from Heurck, 1910, p. 219. Seventeenth century.

8-23. Dutch. [Life of Jack the Washer]. *Hier heeft de Jeugd tot haar geryf / Jan de Wassers leven en bedryf. 86 t'Amsterdam by de Erven de Wed. J. Ratelband, en J. Bouwer, op de Rooze Gragt, Zuyd-zyde, in de Bybel-Drukkerye.* Woodcut, printed from seventeenth-century block. Repr. from Heurck, 1910, p. 220.

Other names for the subservient husband were Lammen Goedzak and Jan Goethals (cf. *Jan Goethals en Griet, zijn Wijf*, a farce by Cornelis de Bie, 1627–1708, mentioned by Heurck, p. 135).

8-24. Dutch. [Jack the Washer and his Wife]. *Hier hebt gy het Leven en Bedryf / Van Jan de Wasser met syn Wyf. Te Zaandam, by de Wed. II:J:de Roode & Zoon, Boekdrukkers by de Westzy by den Dam.* Woodcut, seventeenth-eighteenth century. Repr. from Heurck, 1910, p. 221.

8-25. Dutch. [Life of the young girl]. *De Jeugd werd hier gesticht, door 't werk in tucht gehouwen, Gelyk men daaglyks ziet, van't Doopen af toe 't Trouwen. Gedrukt by de Erve de Weduwe Jacobus van Egmont: Op de Reguliers Bredstraat, te Amsterdam.* Woodcut. Repr. from Heurck 1910, p. 450 (No. 175). Eighteenth century.

8-26. Russian. [Examples given by Vassily the Great]. *Slovo Vassilya Velekago* . . . Akhmetieff publication, first half eighteenth century. Rovinski 784 (III, pp. 166–169).

8-27. Russian. [Reflections of a bachelor upon Marriage]. Woodcut. Rovinski 139 a. (I, pp. 361–3; cf. *ibid* No. 139b). Eighteenth century.

8-28. Russian. [A German (foreign) woman is riding an old man . . .] Woodcut, before 1766? After Duchartre, Fig. 58, p. 95.

8-29. Russian. [The Irate Husband]. Woodcut, before 1766? After Duchartre, Fig. 55, p. 89.

8-30. Russian. [The Tale of the Merchant's wife and his Steward]. *Poviest o kupsovoi dzene i o prikashchikie.* Eighteenth century, Akhmetieff publication. Rovinski 62 (I, pp. 222–226).

8-31. Russian. [The cock and the hens]. *Opetuche i o kuta.* Akhmetieff publication, eighteenth century. Rovinski 65 (I, pp. 232–39). Cf. Rovinski-Sobko, Fig. 218.

CHAPTER NINE

9-1. German. *The Parable of the Prodigal Son.* Tapestry in the Elisabethkirche, Marburg (early fifteenth century). Cf. Vetter, p. xx.

9-2. Illustration to Johann Meder, *Quadragesimale . . . de filio prodigo,* Basel, Michael Furter, 1495.

9-3. Hans Sebald Beham. *The Prodigal Son* (c. 1530). Woodcut. Geisberg 219–20.

9-4. Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen. [The Vanity of Life]. *Nascendo Morimur C.T. 1537.* Amsterdam, Jan Ewoutsz. Woodcut. Nijhoff 118.

9-5 Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen. Allegory of Gluttony (c. 1535). Signed *C.T.* Woodcut, not in Nijhoff. After Diederichs.

9-6. Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen (attr.). [Careless]. *Sorgeloos.* Six woodcuts, signed on the bellows in the last sheet *J E* (Jan Ewouts, publisher) and dated 1541. Nijhoff 70–75 (impression in the Albertina).

Of the poem, two eleven-verse stanzas below each of the six sheets, signed by the poet Jacob Jacobzoon Jonck, I have translated only the first stanza in each case, giving the words of Sorgeloos himself; the second stanza consists of general moral comment. A complete transcription of these verses is to be found in Bolte, 1895, p. 122, No. 2. Most authorities (Bolte, Nijhoff, Moes) use the description "Prodigal Son" in referring to this sequence.

P. Wescher (p. 33) confidently attributes *Sorgeloos* to C. A. Teunissen, as does Beets (p. 195), and reproduces a drawing for the first sheet. He also mentions (pp. 37–8) Teunissen's contacts with Jörg Breu the Younger. Held (pp. 54–5) analyzes the resemblance between the first sheet and certain Dürer woodcuts, notably that of the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1497).

The block for the fourth scene (all the original blocks are still preserved in Amsterdam) was reused nearly two hundred years later as a satire on the South Sea Bubble (Muller 3637), and again in 1744 as a satire on the Austrian War of Succession, together with our scene 6 (Muller 3815–6; cf. Moes, pp. 151–3).

9-7. Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen. *Filius Prodigus.* Six woodcuts, c. 1535, in Amsterdam. Nijhoff 187–192 (as *Allegorie van den Verloren Zoon*).

The attribution to Teunissen is sustained by Nijhoff and Beets (p. 193) on the grounds of a strong physical resemblance between the characters here and those in a signed work, *De Boer en de Ezel* (Nijhoff 93). Beets claims that the slant of this version of the Prodigal Son story is Catholic, not Protestant, and that we are shown the Prodigal returning after his worldly heresies to the bosom of the Mother Church and her Sacraments—among which, by a strange omission, Confession seems to be lacking. Nijhoff upholds the Protestant slant, without remarking upon the figure in scene 3 with the pilgrim's hat and Catholic rosary, marked Superstition, which must represent the Roman faith.

9-8. Cornelis Anthoniszoon Teunissen. [The rise and fall of the high-flying youth]. (Signed below the second scene) *Gheprent tot Aemstelredam, aen de oude side in die Kerckstraet by mi Jan Ewoutsoon Figurensnyder wonende in den vergulden passer.* Nijhoff 411–414 (as *De lichtzinnige jevgd in Voor-en Tegenspoed).* Original woodcuts in Amsterdam. c. 1535.

This sequence has been referred to by Rathgeber 157 (n. 158), Moes (No. 110), and most recently by Calmann (p. 68), who has a note on the owl as a symbol of vagabondage. Bolte (p. 128) does not seem to be sure that the same figure is represented in stages 4 and 5, which in fact may have been printed from pre-existing blocks.

9-9. Dutch. [The Revellers and the Soul]. *Arte laborato cultu superbit* . . . Four engravings, each signed *C V Breen sculp*(tor) *Amsterdam.* Verses in Latin, Dutch and French. Claes (or Gillis) van Breen, who flourished in Haarlem 1586–1602, frequently worked after designs provided by Karel van Mander. The first three of the four engravings, known to me only from the impressions in Amsterdam, are marked by hand above the top left hand corner "5", "6" and "7", which suggests that they were considered part of a longer sequence. Wurzbach's *Lexicon* indicates that there were six engravings to the set, for under No. 9 we read *6. Bl. Das Leben junger Wüstlinge. Breen fec.* Hollstein lists our prints under Nos. 42–45, *The Life of Young Libertines,* a title which is presumably derived from Wurzbach's. c. 1600.

9-10. From Otto van Veen, *Quinti Horatii Flacci emblemata* . . . (1607). 1682 edition, Brussels, Pl. 51.

9-11. Johannes Stradanus. The manufacture and use of Guiacum (from *Nova Reperta,* c. 1580). After Pl. 6 of the facsimile edition published by the Burndy Library, Norwalk, Connecticut, 1953.

9-12. Roman or Venetian. Title page to Maestro Andrea's *Purgatorio delle Cortigiane di Roma Con un lamento* . . . (c. 1530). B.M. Library 11427 b. 61.

9-13. Venetian. *Lament of the Famous Courtesan Signora Anzola* (verses by Bartolommeo Bonfante, c. 1600). Bertarelli Collection.

9-14. Venetian courtesan playing harpsichord. From Giacomo Franco *Habiti d'huomini et donne Venetiane* . . . (Venice, 1609).

9-15. Venetian Courtesan. Illustration to D. Bertelli. *Le Vere Imagini et Descrittioni delle piu nobilli citta del mondo* (Venice, 1578).

9-16. Italian. [The dangers of love]. *Ea guisa d'un sepolcro la meschina* . . .By ?Paolo Farinati (Verona, 1524–1606). Transformation print, c. 1600. Windsor, "Dutch Drolls" (sic) Nos. 88 and 88v.

The table of luxury and the figure being carried into the madhouse appear among other allegorical motifs in a single-setting engraving entitled *Stato de Lussuriosi* and signed *Luca Bertelli for: (15) 88* (Texas 61).

9-17. Italian (Venetian?). [Life and miserable end of Prostitutes]. *Vita et Fine Miserabile Delle Meretrici* (c. 1600). Douce W 2 2a-23.

9-18. Roman. [Life of the Rake]. *Il Miserabile Fine di Quelli che Seguono le Meretrici. Calistus Ferrantes formis Romae Superior permissu 1611.* Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Cab. des Est.

The stock catalogue of 1614, mentioned in the text above, is that of Andrea and Michelangelo Vaccari. The two titles are listed successively: *la vita et il Fine della meretrice, foglio per traverso,* and *la vita et il Fine di quelli che seguono le meretrici, foglio per traverso.* As Mrs. Kurz points out (p. 145) "neither subject appears in the earlier stock list of Antoine Lafréry (1572), which otherwise contains a complete array of popular subjects known from early prints. Thus we may assume that the genre was created between 1572 and the end of the century." Mrs. Kurz did not know of the Douce *Harlot* (9–17), and assumes that the "lost" *Life of the Prostitute* is reflected in Mitelli's etching (9–26). The stocklists of Lafréry and Vaccari are reprinted in F. Ehrle, *Le Plan de Rome Du Pérac–Lafréry* 1557, Rome 1809, p. 59; cf. also Bertarelli, IMP, p. 87.

9-19. Venetian. [Life of the Harlot] c. 1657. *Lo Specchio al Fin de la Putana.* These words close the verse in the last scene, and would seem to constitute a title to the whole. Twelve engravings averaging 32.5 x 41.2 centimeters, Bertarelli Collection. The first plate bears the imprint *In Bollogna p Gioseffe Lunghi Sotto alle Scale.* This address refers to a shop which Giuseppe Longhi rented in 1655; in 1658 he rented another shop "dall' Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte" (cf. Sorbelli, p. 177, and Kurz, p. 146, n. 1). The date of Longhi's publication of this sequence would therefore lie between 1655 and 1658. Of the original Venetian version, only two plates survive, Nos. 5 and 7 (also Bertarelli Collection), which I have used to replace Longhi's in the reproduction. No. 5 is signed *Curtio castagnia In. I. P. f.*, No. 7 is signed *Curtio Castagnia Inventor Gia P. f.* Castagna was a painter mentioned in 1660 as living in Venice (Boschini, *Carta del Navegar*). He is listed in Heinecken's *Dictionnaire* (III, 1789) as "Peintre de Modène, d'après lequel on a gravé La Vie d'une courtisane, en 12 pièces très-mal executées," *Gia P.* has been identified by the Director of the Bertarelli Collection, Professor Paolo Arrigoni, as Giacomo Piccini, active in Venice as an engraver from 1637–69 (cf. Thieme-Becker).

A Milanese publisher, signing *Frederico Agnelli forma in Milano,* also copied the sequence. Of the four Agnelli plates (scenes 2, 4, 6 and 7) I have seen in the Bertarelli Collection, three (2, 4 and 7) are reversed from Longhi, and therefore copied from his publication rather than the original. (The two surviving plates of the original Venetian version appear in Longhi in reverse.)

Longhi's verses, except for minor differences of spelling, are the same as Castagna-Piccini's. Agnelli however made some changes, which are in no sense crucial but of which I have made use in my translation below scenes 4, 6 and 7. The most notable difference lies in Agnelli's unwillingness to retain the rather bizarre idea of a Pole claiming descent from Roman Emperors (6); the Pole accordingly becomes a "clean-shaven youth," and the portrait upon which the painter is at work is defined as that of *una Amazone guerriera,* a description which fits the engraving better and has more symbolic relevance to the course of the narrative. The portraits on the wall are evidently of (male) warriors, who flank the picture (or tapestry, as Agnelli's verse describes it) of naked figures making love in a landscape.

The sequence seems to have been first discovered in recent times by Dr. L. Le Pileur, who published it in *La Médecine Anecdotique,* Tome 1, February–October 1901 (review in Grand-Carteret, *Rire,* p. 191). A modern reprint, which reduces the original plates to half their size and drops the verses, was published by Pio Luzietti in 1922 under the title *Vita e miseranda fine della Putana.*

9-20. Venetian. [Life of the Lecher]. *La Vita del Lascivo,* inscribed on wall in first scene. Datable by costume to 1660s. Twelve engravings averaging 17 x 20.5 centimeters. Bertarelli Collection. There is a good copy of the album, which must be very rare indeed, in the New York Public Library.

9-21. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. [The Company of the Ruined]. *Questa è la numerosa Compagnia de Ruvinati, nella quale s'entra senza memoriali e raccomandationi. Gioseppe Ma. Mitelli inventò Dipinse dissegnò et Intagliò. In Bologna 1687.* Three plates, Bertarelli Collection (B. 493).

The book held by the alchemist, marked Raimond Lullo, refers to the Catalan mystic and missionary (c. 1235–1315), to whom several treatises on alchemy were attributed.

9-22. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. [Each does it to the next]. *Uno la fa all' altro e il diavolo a tutti. G: M. Mitelli. Diss:º et Int:º 1691.* Bertarelli Collection (B. 508).

9-23. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. [The miserable life of man]. *Tu che il fallace mondo ami ed apprezzi, mira le sue promesse, i doni, i vezzi.* Signed by the etcher anagrammatically on the bier *LI MI TE 1706.* Bertarelli Collection (B. 561).

This etching was reprinted by Lelio della Volpe in 1736 as *Le Miserie della Vita Umana.*

9-24. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. [Life of the Idler]. *L'Onorata Vita del Poltrone, agli Studiosi del Ozio Dedicata, et al Merito di l . . . (oro).* Six numbered plates, each signed *GM Mitelli inv. et fec.* Plate 5 is dated 1683. British Museum (Bertarelli 457–480).

9-25. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. [Gluttony, etc]. *Gola Invidia Accidia.* From a series of Seven Deadly Sins, 1679. After Bertarelli No. 474.

9-26. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. [Life of the Prostitute]. *La Vita Infelice della Meretrice Compartita ne' Dodici Mesi dell'anno. Lunario che non falla dato in luce da veridico astrologo. G.M. Mitelli in. e. fec. 1692.* 42.0 x 63.7 centimeters. Bertarelli Collection (B. 524).

An updated version of this story was published by M. Merlo da Carpi in Bologna in 1830, in the form of cut-outs for a toy theater (repr. by Heurck, 1910, p. 634).

9-27. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. The favorite pastimes of the artist (1691). After Bertarelli No. 323.

9-28. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. [Game of Husbands and Wives]. *Gioco delli Sposi e Spose Mitelli In. F. 1691.* British Museum (Bertarelli 607). Republished by Lelio della Volpe in 1736.

Mitelli's *Game of Professions* (*Gioco de Mestieri*), in which the scores are arranged in mild disorder, is reproduced in Bertarelli, IMP, p. 41; the same artist's *Game of all games* (*Zugh d' tutt i zugh*), in which the scores are arranged in total disorder, is reproduced *ibid.*, p. 60; p. 61 reproduces a (sixteenth century?) game of *Strip the Owl* (*Pela il chiù*) in which there are as many as fifty-six squares; the score of twelve, for instance, is rated in six different ways, according to the combination of points on the three dice, and each combination of the same score appears in a different place on the board. If the *Game of Simona and Filippa* (below) appears difficult to play, this one would be quite impossible.

A game of the "progressive" Ducks and Drakes type (*il dilettevole gioco di l'oca,* mid-seventeenth-century Venetian) is reproduced in the frontispiece to Bertarelli, IMP. There is a good collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century board-games, chiefly French and Italian, in Waddesdon Manor, Bucks, England. This includes an early eighteenth-century French game of the Ducks and Drakes type, called *Le Jeu de l'Amour et de l'Hymenée,* which contains eighty stages of love, its temptations and emotions, culminating in the Temple of Hymen.

9-29. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. [Game of Simona and Filippa]. *Il Giuco Gustoso della Simona e della Filippa Compagne Fedeli 1695 Giuseppe M. Mitelli inv: fec.* British Museum (Bertarelli 612). Reprinted by Lelio della Volpe 1736.

CHAPTER TEN

10-1. English c. 1700. *The Prodigall Son Sifted, Or the Lewd Life and Lamentable end of Idle profuse and Extravagant Persons* . . . Douce Collection W.1.2.(13). Cf. B.M. Sat. 1407. There is another version of this print in the B.M. ("Miscellaneous Social Caricatures") in which the subsidiary scenes appear as pictures hanging on the back wall of the room where the prodigal is being sifted. The letterpress there is concerned primarily with the sin of drunkenness.

One of these prints is mentioned by Leona Rostenberg (p. 45 and p. 84) as a John Overton publication, which he took over from Walton's stock (price threepence plain, sixpence colored).

10-2. English. *The Doctors in Labour; or a New Whim-Wham from Guildford* (1726). B.M. Sat. 1781.

Mary Tofts was an illiterate peasant woman who was persuaded that she had given birth to rabbits. Scene 2 illustrates the superstition that if a pregnant woman chases a rabbit, she is liable to give birth to that animal. 3. "Burrough" is an obscene pun on the name of Dr. Burroughs. 4–6. The man dressed as a Merry Andrew is the Dr. St. André, who in his own account stated that he felt the rabbits leaping in Mary's belly. 8–9. After the "conjuring trick" had been performed, St. André made a "scientific" analysis of the objects he had supposedly helped deliver. 10. Mary was exhibited to the public in the Bagnio at Leicester Fields. 11. Trying to produce yet more rabbits, she is exposed as a fraud. 12. St. André sits in disgrace on a stool, while Mary is taken away to Bridewell (her sentence was not executed).

Not only eminent physicians, but also the most respected scientists were deceived; the successor to Newton's professorship at Cambridge "proved" in a pamphlet that the "miracle" fulfilled a biblical prophecy (cf. George, H to C, p. 36).

10-3. William Hogarth. *Cunicularii, or the Wise man of Godliman in Consultation* (1726).

10-4. William Hogarth. *Before* and *After* (outdoors). Paintings executed c. 1730, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

10-5. William Hogarth. *Before* and *After* (indoors). *Invented Engraved & Published Dc^br 15th 1736. by Wm Hogarth Pursuant to an Act of Parliament. Price two Shillings and 6 pence.* B.M. After paintings executed c. 1730, now in the collection of Paul Getty.

One of the pairs of paintings was supposedly executed "at the particular request of a certain vicious nobleman," the Duke of Montague (cf. Paulson, p. 171).

10-6, 10-8, 10-10, 10-11, 10-12, 10-13. Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress*. The six paintings were finished in September 1731, to judge by the date on the Harlot's coffin. They were sold at auction in 1744/5 for the minute sum of fourteen guineas each to Alderman Beckford, and destroyed by fire at Fonthill in 1755. The engravings were delivered to the subscribers in April 1732. They are inscribed *Wm Hogarth inv pinx^t et sculp^t* and are here reproduced from the impressions in the Huntington Library.

George Vertue, a contemporary engraver, gives an unlikely and somewhat uncharitable version of the origin of the *Progress (Notebooks* 3,58) telling how Hogarth "began a small picture of a common harlot, supposed to dwell in Drury Lane, just rising about noon out of bed, and at breakfast, a bunter (a vulgar woman) waiting on her. This whore's deshabille and her 'pretty Countenance and air' apparently so pleased his visitors that some advised him to make another to it as a pair, which he did; then other thoughts increased, and multiplied by his fruitful invention, till he had six different subjects which he painted so naturally ... that it drew everybody to see them."

No less an authority than Ellis Waterhouse (p. 119) believes in Vertue's story and categorically denies that Hogarth intended to paint a sequence: "Vertue ... indicates their accidental genesis. He says that Hogarth began with a single picture, without any intention of painting a series.... This smacks of the truth and is so true to our other knowledge of Hogarth's character that it is difficult to disbelieve. The type of picture grew out of what he was doing at the time, small-scale stage groups and conversations."

The first writer to link Hogarth's *Progress* with the Venetian *Putana* was a Dr. L. Le Pileur, who published the latter in *La Médecine Anecdotique* of 1901. In 1905 he published the Hogarth as a kind of pendant, noting a "rather curious similarity" in the subjects of both. In this very rare pamphlet Le Pileur states:

"One could not indeed compare the rather faulty burin of an anonymous seventeenth-century artist with the remarkable genre pictures which at once brought him (Hogarth) to the pinnacle of his reputation; but, without suspecting the latter of plagiarism, although he could well have known the Venetian album, is it not interesting to compare the way in which, at the distance of a century, under different climates and in a no less different society ... the two artists had understood and represented the same subject."

Hilde Kurz, who feels that Hogarth actually knew the Venetian Harlot and Rake engravings, points out (p. 147) that there might have been copies of them in the collection of his friend Arthur Pond, who copied the caricaturist Ghezzi, and who collected "predominantly satirical prints, caricatures, and 'curious prints.'" We know, too, that Giuseppe Maria Crespi (1655-1747), a Bolognese genre painter who was very popular in England, was commissioned by an English patron residing in Bologna to execute several small paintings on copper "representing the life of a singer, who from poor and low beginnings rose in a few years, by virtue of her youth and beauty, to a fine state of luxury." "One may imagine (continues Crespi's biographer, Zanotti, p. 59) what a lively gift of imagination and what delightful invention of detail Crespi applied to such a subject. I can judge of this myself as I have seen some (of the paintings) myself and they made me almost sick with laughter. He also depicts the lamentable fate which such a life sometimes meets, and how, having lost her youth and good looks, the female virtuoso becomes lonely, unhappy and pious ..., and with consummate realism in the figures as in the settings, which were either sumptuous or sordid, according to the demands of the situation."

Since these panels have disappeared, and the commission is not datable, it is impossible to say whether the English patron was prompted by a Hogarthian *Progress*, or by the *Life of the Prostitue* by Crespi's friend Mitelli. It is characteristic, at any rate, that the harlot should have turned into a singer, a member of a profession much caricatured, although not always unkindly, in the early eighteenth century.

10-14. Detail from 10–11.

10-15. *R-B-N's* (i.e. Sir Robert Walpole's) *Progress* (1733). B.M. Sat. 1938.
I. Walpole went to Cambridge, not Oxford. III. Unjustly accused of corruption by the Tories, he was imprisoned in the Tower in 1712. IV. With the return of the Whigs to power, he obtained lucrative posts in the government (c. 1714). V. He fought a metaphorical duel with Lord Stanhope, who died unexpectedly in 1721 (VII). VIII. Walpole, standing precariously on the tip of a pyramid, scatters bribes, while his effigy is burnt behind (he was actually burned in effigy by the mob in several places during April 1733). Cf. George EPC, I, p. 83.

10-16, 17, 19, 21, 23, 26, 27, 29. Hogarth. *A Rake's Progress*. The eight paintings (now in the Soane Museum, London) were completed by late 1733, when Hogarth started to advertise for subscribers. Publication of the engravings was delayed until June 25, 1735, the day on which Hogarth's Copyright Act came into force. The engravings (here reproduced from the impressions in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California) are inscribed *Invented Painted & Engrav'd by Wm Hogarth, & Publish'd June Y^e 25 1735. According to Act of Parliament.* The verses which Hogarth was, unfortunately, persuaded to place beneath the plates, are by his friend Dr. John Hoadly (1711-76).

The Rake's Progress prompted a curious experiment by a Dutch painter of humorous and theatrical genre, Cornelis Troost (born 1697, the same year as Hogarth). It is called NELRI after the first letters of the Latin title to each scene, and consists of five gouache paintings executed in 1739-40, now in the Mauritshuis, the Hague. Troost recounts the progress of a dinner party from the embarrassed silence which precedes the serving of drinks, to quiet, then animated discussion. At the dinner table the guests become noisy and bibulous (this composition [reproduced Antal, Pl. 148a] is obviously modelled on Hogarth's *Midnight Modern Conversation* of 1733), until they finally stagger drunkenly home. The idea of the narrative sequence, foreign to Dutch painting, clearly derives from Hogarth, as does the scenario of drinking and drunkards, some of whose attitudes are borrowed from the English artist. Troost's paintings were not however engraved until 1850. Although interesting as an example of closely spaced narrative, the very restricted subject matter (probably based upon an actual dinner party given by a friend of the artist) has little moral value.

10-18. Detail from 10-17.

10-20. Detail from 10-19.

10-22. Detail from 10-21.

10-24. Detail from 10-23.

10-28. Detail from 10-27.

10-30. Detail from 10-29.

10-25. Israhel von Meckenem. *Old woman and young boy* (end fifteenth century). Copy after lost design by the Housebook Master (?). After Diederichs, Fig. 83.

10-31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38. Hogarth. *Marriage A-la-mode*. The six paintings (now in the National Gallery, London) were completed early in 1743. They were engraved by G. Scotin (1 and 6), B. Baron (2 and 3) and R. F. Ravenet (4 and 5), and are inscribed *Invented Painted & Published by Wm Hogarth Engraved by Scotin/Baron/Ravenet According to Act of Parliament April 1st 1745*. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

10-32. Detail from 10-31.

10-35. Detail from 10-34.

10-39. Detail from 10-38.

10-40. G. M. Mitelli. [*Various Crazes*]. *Umori Diversi*. 1703. After Bertarelli.

10-41. English. *The Sailor's Progress (A Fleet Wedding Between a brisk young Sailor & his Landlady's Daughter at Rederiff* [*Rotherhithe*] *... J:June sculp. Publish'd according to Act of*

Parliament October ye 10, 1747. Price 6d by M. Cooper). B.M.

The date of 1747 on the print may be compared with that of May 1743 for the advertisement cited in our text. The *Fleet Wedding* reproduced does not quite fit the description of Plate III in the advertisement: "His marriage at the Fleet by Dr. Gaynham, and the Doctor's Room and furniture humorously described"; it must on the other hand be identical with a single print advertised by J. Wakelin in the *General Advertiser* for October 26, 1747: "A humorous print... the Remarkable Fleet Wedding... of Rotherhith." The four prints were apparently issued separately, as well as in a set. The 1743 advertisement gives a "Meckenley" as the designer of the set; I have been unable to trace an artist of this name.

10-42. Collet. *Modern Love. Plate I Courtship. Plate II The Elopement. Plate III The Honey-Moon. Plate IV Discordant Matrimony. J. Collett pinxit J. Goldar sculpsit (1782) Engraved after an Original Picture of Mr. John Collett in the Possession of Mr. Bradford.* B.M.

The paintings were in the Bourke Sale, November 20, 1925 (Christie's), bought by Martin for one hundred guineas. I take the date 1765 from the *Dictionary of National Biography;* it may appear on the paintings, which I have not been able to trace.

10-43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56. Hogarth. *Industry and Idleness. Design'd & Engrav'd by Wm Hogarth. Publish'd according to Act of Parliament Sep^br 30th 1747.* Huntington Library.

Drawings for this sequence are reproduced by Oppé, Pls. 41-64.

10-49. William Hogarth. Preliminary sketch for scene 6 of *Industry and Idleness* (1747). After Oppé (original in British Museum).

10-53. William Hogarth. Preliminary sketch for scene 9 of *Industry and Idleness* (1747). After Oppé (original in British Museum).

10-57. French. [Lives of the good and wicked man]. *La Vie de l'Homme de bien qui le conduit à sa fin bien heureuse. La Vie de l'Homme débauché dont la fin est toujours honteuse. A Paris chez basset le jeune rue S. Jacques au coin de la rue des Mathurins a S. geneviève.* Bibl. Nat. (Hennin 8128). c. 1730. Grand-Carteret, HVM, III, Pl. xiv, reproduces a version published *A Paris chez Daumont, rue de la Feronnerie, a l'Aigle d'Or.*

10-58 and 10-59. Hogarth. *Gin Lane, Beer Street. Design'd by W. Hogarth Publish'd according to Act of Parliament Feb. 1. 1751. Price 1^s.* Huntington Library.

10-60, 10-61, 10-62, and 10-63. Hogarth. *The Four Stages of Cruelty. The First Stage of Cruelty. The Second Stage of Cruelty. Cruelty in Perfection. The Reward of Cruelty. Designed by W. Hogarth. Published according to Act of Parliament Feb. 1. 1751. Price 1s. 6d.* Huntington Library.

Plates 3 and 4 (10-62, 10-63) were copied in woodcut by J. Bell under Hogarth's supervision.

Drawings for this sequence are reproduced by Oppé, Pls. 67–72.

10-64. Paul Potter. *The Revenge of the Animals* (c. 1650). Painting in the Hermitage, Leningrad. Potter lived from 1625–1654; this is his only subdivided and moralizing painting.

10-65. English c. 1730. Detail from *The Follys of Mankind, expos'd or the World Upside Down. Printed for Bowles and Carver No. 69 in Saint Paul's Church Yard London* (in sixteen scenes). B.M. Sat. 1999.

10-66. Russian. *An Ox no longer wishing to remain an ox, became an butcher . . .* (eighteenth century). After Rovinski, No. 176.

10-67. William Hogarth. *Battle of the Pictures* (February 1745). Bidder's Ticket to the auction of the paintings for the *Harlot's Progress, Rake's Progress, Four Times of Day,* etc. After Paulson, Pl. 175, No. 163.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

11-1. J. H. Mortimer. *The Progress of Virtue* (1775). The four paintings are in the Tate Gallery, London. Not engraved.

Draper-Hill (Mr. G., p. 20) refers to this sequence as *The Progress of Vice.*

11-2. John Raphael Smith. *Proverbs, Chap. VII Ver. 22^d He goeth after her straitway, as an Ox goeth to the slaughter, or as a Fool to the correction of the Stocks. London Publish'd Decer 17 1780 by T. Birchall No. 473 Strand, & J. R. Smith No 10 Batemans Buildings Soho Square. Proverbs Chap. VII Ver 7th I discern'd among the Youths a young man void of understanding . . .* (same imprint). Two mezzotint engravings. B.M.

These *Proverbs* form Nos. 287 and 286 in Julia Frankau's *Catalogue* (1902) of Smith's works. They are listed as part of a set of eight, which is otherwise undescribed. The other six do not figure in Smith's own catalogue, published just before his retirement in 1808 (cf. Nos. 3 and 4), but may possibly be included in a *List and description of erotic mezzotints, probably designed by George Morland, and engraved by his brother-in-law William Ward or J. R. Smith, with notes and measurements* (No. 3095 in Reade's bibliography of erotica), which I have been unable to find in the British Museum.

11-3. John Raphael Smith and George Morland. *Laetitia Painted by G. Morland Engraved by J.R. Smith* [six stipple engravings]. B.M. Plate II *(The Elopement)* is taken from R. Ackermann's 1811 edition, which adds verses to all the plates. An edition printed in color with the date 1789 was probably published around 1827.

A pair of prints published in 1792 by Dieman seems to derive from *Laetitia.* In one, *The Country-girl at Home,* we see her invited to London by a gallant; in the other, *The Country-girl in London,* she bewails her fate at the door of a gin-shop, surrounded by tempters.

According to Julia Frankau (Nos. 214–9, price £2. 5s. Od), Smith "forced *Laetitia* unwillingly through," and was "responsible for the designs" (p. 164). She says further that Morland's first designs were "as unprintable as the parody" (cf. below), yet he resented the alterations upon which Smith insisted.

According to Morland's earliest biographer, William Collins, the origin of *Laetitia* was as follows: About 1786 "there appeared an excellent song upon the *Progress of a Race Horse,* which had a surprising run, and from which we believe a series of prints have been engraved." (Cf. George, B.M. Sat., Vol. VII, p. xlv, and Siltzer, p. 76, for such a sequence by Charles Ansell R.A., aquatinted by Jukes 1784; and Rowlandson's etching of 1811 [Sat. 11811], which traces the life of a horse in six scenes, as foal, racehorse, hunter, post-horse, emaciated pack horse, and finally as fodder for the huntsman's hounds.)

Collins himself wrote a parody of the song, substituting a harlot for a horse, and calling it "The Kept Miss, or Beautiful Sally." He showed it to Smith, who wanted to publish a series of engravings on the subject. Collins' account is somewhat confused, but he is apparently trying to prove that it was neither Hogarth nor Smith who gave the idea of Laetitia to Morland, as people supposed at the time, but Collins himself. His poem, which ends with the harlot's committal to Bridewell and her miserable death from disease, is nearer to Hogarth than to Smith. It was probably the ending—a miserable death or a repentant return home?—which caused the disagreement between Morland and Smith.

Collins' raptures over *Laetitia* are reminiscent of those of Diderot over the domestic moralities of Greuze (cf. p. 389); and he finds the scene of Laetitia's degradation too painful for words. He is convinced (p. 266) that Morland could have been a greater painter of "historical and moral subjects," and that *Laetitia* is worth a thousand of his "best" productions.

Henderson (pp. 75–7) argues at length the extremely unlikely case that the first plate constitutes an indictment of oppressive, narrowly-religious education, which in this sense justifies Laetitia's subsequent behavior.

11-4. John Raphael Smith and George Morland. *The Deserter* (1791). Four mezzotint engravings, inscribed *Painted by G. Morland Engraved by G. Keating. London Published July 29th 1791 by J. R. Smith, King Street, Covent Garden.* B.M. The price was £2. 2s. Od (No. 253 in Smith catalogue). There were also small copies published by A. Sintach.

According to Hassell (p. 94), the first scene contains portraits of the artist's friends.

11-5. Northcote. *Diligence and Dissipation. Painted by J. Northcote R.A. Engraved by Gauguain & Hellyer London Published May 1, 1796(7) by T. Gaugain No. 15 Five fields row Chelsea & No. 4 Little Compton Street Soho.* B. M. Nos. 1–4 are dated May 1, 1797.

The paintings for Nos. 1, 8, 3 and 5 were sold at the Lewis Sale, March 3, 1930 (Christie's); Nos. 2, 6, 7 and 10 were in the Freund Sale, March 8, 1925 (Anderson Galleries, New York).

11-6. Four scenes from *The Progress of Female Virtue,* and *The Progress of Female Dissipation . . . Engraved by A. Cardon from Original Drawings by Mrs. Cosway. Published April 10, 1800 at R. Ackermann's Repository of Arts, No. 101 Strand, London.* The plates are inscribed *Mrs. Cosway pinxit d invenit.* There is a verse couplet below each plate. Mellon Collection, Oak Spring, Upperville, Virginia (Abbey No. 270).

11-7. English. *The Modern Harlot's Progress, or Adventures of Harriet Heedless. Printed for & sold by Carrington Bowles, at his Map and Print Warehouse, No. 69 in St. Paul's Church Yard, London. Published as the Act directs, 15 May 1780.* B.M. Sats. 5808–13 (colored impression).

11-8. Dutch. [Daily work of Maidservants]. *Het daaglyk Werk der Dienstmeisjes*. Woodcut (c. 1800). Repr. from Heurck, p. 514 (No. 102). The wood blocks were owned by Jac. Thompson of Rotterdam.

CHAPTER TWELVE

12–1. Agostino Carracci. Sheet of caricatures (1594). Drawing, after Wittkower, *Bolognese Drawings at Windsor Castle*. (Original in Oppé Collection.)

12–2. William Hogarth. *Characters and Caricaturas* (1743).

12–3. William Hogarth. Detail from Plate I to the *Analysis of Beauty* (1753).

12–4. Richard Newton. Holland's Exhibition Room (c. 1795). Watercolor, B. M. Two of the artist's *Progresses* are visible top right. Reproduced in text and as endpapers of this volume.

12–5. Henry Bunbury. *A Long Minuet as danced at Bath. H. Bunbury Esqr Delin. W. Dickinson Excudit London, Publish'd June 25th: 1787 by W. Dickinson Engraver, Bond Street.* Four stipple engravings. B. M. Sat. 7229.

Reissued by S. W. Fores in 1794. Partially reproduced by Alexandre, *Rire*, p. 138, with the mysterious caption *Episodes de la vie d'Oliver Goldsmith, d'après sa correspondance et des documents nouveaux.*

Bunbury's fame was international. His name, and specifically that of the *Long Minuet*, are mentioned in the 1792 edition of J. G. Sulzer's *Allegemeine Theorie der schönen Kunste* (s.v. *Carricatur*).

12-6. Sir Thomas Lawrence (after). Portrait of Henry Bunbury (c. 1788) *Ryder sculpt.* After Paston, *Social Caricature*.

12-7. Henry Bunbury. *The propagation of a lie. H. W. Bunbury Esqr Delin^t W. Dickinson Excudit. London Publish'd Decr 29th, 1787 by W. Dickinson Bond Street. From an original drawing by H. Bunbury Esqr in the Possession of John Hayne Esqr Bath.* Three plates, B.M. Sat. 7230.

Mrs. George notes that the great subject of rumor at this time was the marriage of Mrs. Fitzherbert to the Prince of Wales, "which Bunbury may or may not have had in mind." In March 1788 Fanny Burney showed this print to the King at Windsor, who "after looking at it a little while, with much entertainment, took it away to show it to the Queen and Princesses." [*Diary and letters of Madame d'Arblay*, 1842, IV, p. 129.]

Bunbury drew a third strip, again exploiting the comic effects of dancing, which for some reason remained unpublished until after the artist's death (*Lumps of Pudding*, etched by Heath in 1811—Sat. 11834).

12-8. F. G. Byron. *The Princes Bow Designed by F. G. Byron Esqr London; published by William Holland, Printseller, at Garrick's Richard, N: 50, Oxford Street, near Berner's St^reet, March 17th 1788. Holland's Caricature Rooms are now open, presenting a general exhibition of all the distinguished Caricatures that have been published the last Ten Years, with many original Paintings and Drawings of high celebrity. Admittance, one shilling.* Three plates, B.M. Sat. 7439.

12–9. Woodward. *The Clerical Exercise. G. M. Woodward. Del. Etch'd by F.G.B. (Byron) London Pub^d Decem^r 8, 1791 by Willm Holland N° 50 Oxford Street.* B.M. Sat. 8031.

Woodward also executed at this time a parody of Shakespeare's *Seven Ages*, which ends on the totally impoverished Welsh parson (Sats. 7777–7781, incomplete; cf. George, H to C, p. 86–7).

12–10. John Nixon. *The Progress of Passion JN (Nixon) 1792 Etched by Cruikshanks London Pub: June 4 1792 by W. Fores N 3 Piccadilly.*

The king was obliged to choose between Pitt and Thurlow; he dismissed the latter as tactfully as possible, but Thurlow was extremely mortified.

12–11. Richard Newton. *Wonderful News from Seringapatam (1792) London Pubd. May 18, 1792 by William Holland No 50 Oxford Street.* B.M. Sat. 8090.

12–12. Newton. *Progress of a Player Designed & Etch'd by R. Newton Pub by W Holland Feb 11 1793 N° 50 Oxford Street.* B.M. Sat. not catalogued, filed by date.

In 1809 Issac (and George?) Cruikshank executed an extremely hostile *Stroller's Progress* (Sats. 12205, etc.) based on the life of the actor John Kemble. The sequence bears a superficial resemblance to a rake's progress, but is disconnected and excessively allusive.

12–13. Newton. *Progress of a Scotsman Drawn & etch'd by R. Newton London Pub. April 22 1794 by Willm Holland N° 50 Oxford Street.* B.M. Sat. 8550.

In scene 2, the cry "Wha wants me" was that of an Edinburgh character to whom a prominent Scotsman, Henry Dundas, was compared. In 1794 Dundas (1742–1811) was appointed secretary for war by Pitt, but he was not actually elevated to the peerage (as 1st Viscount Melville) until 1802.

12–14. Newton. *Progress of an Irishman Drawn and Etch'd by Rich. Newton London Pub. April 5, 1794 by William Holland No 56 Oxford Street.* B.M. Sat., not catalogued. A copy was printed in the *Hibernian Magazine* for December 1794 (Sat. 8562).

12–15. Newton. *A Lesson for Spendthrifts by Dr Johnson. Drawn and etch'd by R. Newton London Pub. August 1st 1794 by Willm Holland No 50 Oxford Street.* B.M. Sat., not catalogued, filed under date.

12–16. Newton. *The Life of Man. Drawn and etch'd by R. Newton London Pub Octr 12, 1794 by Willm Holland N° 50 Oxford Street.* Two plates, B.M. Sat. 8552.

12–17. Richard Newton. Rejected drawings for the *Life of Man (12–16)*. Ronald Searle Collection. The two episodes were probably intended to follow scenes 6 and 12 in the etching.

12-18. Washington Allston. *The Buck's Progress*. Two drawings from a set of three, all dated November 10, 1796, reproduced from Richardson, Pl. II (cf. p. 184), and Flexner, Pl. 53. The original drawings are said to be in the Mrs. F. M. Clark Collection.

12–19. Woodward. *Who's Afraid of the effects of an Invasion!! Woodward del.* (? I. Cruikshank f.) *Pub. Nov. 21, 1796 by S. W. Fores N° 50 Piccadilly corner of Sackville Street. Folios of Caracatures lent out for the Evening.* B.M. Sat. 8838 (colored impression).

12–20. Temple West (attr.). *Resolutions in case of an invasion. London Pub^d Aug. 8, 1803 by W. Holland. N° 11 Cockspur Street Pall Mall.* B.M. Sat. 10055. A copy with German text was circulated on the continent in 1813 (Van Stolk 5982, and Lipperheide 1005, 56).

12–21. George Woodward. *Pigmy Revels* (c. 1800). B.M. "Caricatures," Vol. viii, pp. 57 and 67.

12–22. English. *Remarks on the Methods of procuring slaves . . .* (early nineteenth century). Douce Collection.

12-23a and b. William Holland (attr.) *West India Luxury!!* and *Johnny Newcome in Love in the West Indies JF Published April 1808, by William Holland, Cockspur Street, London.* Two plates, B.M. Sats. 11132 and 11131.

12–24. William Elmes. *Adventures of Johnny Newcome Pls. I and II.* Plate II is inscribed *W^m E———^s Price One Shilling Coloured. Pub^d by T^s Tegg N^r 22 1812 Cheapside N° 111.* Plate I carries the date *Octr 24 — 1812*. B.M. Sats. 11983–4.

12–25. James Gillray. *A Voluptuary* (The Prince of Wales) *under the horrors of Digestion. Js Gy design et fecit. Pubd. July 2d 1792 by H. Humphrey No 18 Old Bond Street* (B.M. Sat. 8112).

12-26. Charles Williams. *The Two Journals Joul. I, Journal II. Pub^d July 1814 by Thos Tegg III Cheapside.* B.M. Sats. 12290–1 (colored impressions).

12–27. English (c. 1830). *The Life of a Nobleman. G. Dawe Engraver and Printer 9 Southampton Pl New Road, and Geo. Henderson 3 Old Bailey.* Mellon Collection, Oak Spring, Upperville, Virginia (Abbey No. 310).

12–28. James Gillray. *John Bull's Progress. J^s G^y des. et fecit. Pub^d June 3^d 1793 by H. Humphrey No 18 Old Bond Street* (B.M. Sat. 8328).

Gillray's theme is anticipated by S. H. Grimm, who in a water-color drawing of 1770 shows the crippled soldier returning to find his wife remarried and their children relegated to the workhouse (repr. Trevelyan, Pl. 48). Draper-Hill (Mr. G., p. 19, repr. Pl. 17) attributes to the nineteen-year-old Gillray an anti-recruiting satire of 1775 (Sat. 5295), showing a pregnant wife imploring a gaunt soldier not to risk their welfare for sixpence a day. The same author stresses how Gillray was conditioned to a pessimistic outlook on life through the fierce, other-worldly philosophy of the Moravian brotherhood in London to which his family belonged. He also describes (p. 10) how Gillray's father lost an arm as a young man at the battle of Fontenoy in 1745, and how "In the 1750's and 60's the small village (of Chelsea, where the elder Gillray worked as sexton to the Moravian community) was full to overflowing with the human shells

of Fontenoy, the Scottish Rebellion and the Seven Years War. Many of the men who dragged their broken bodies and shattered lives to Chelsea were still in their twenties. Frequently the hospital entry book telescoped its statement of an applicant's condition into a terse but evocative 'worn out.' A boy could hardly escape this spectacle of wasted humanity stumping along the streets and paths, hungrily devouring news of an outside world from the tavern yards."

The name "John Bull" as an embodiment of England and the Englishman appears in a pamphlet of 1712, and was common in pictorial satire from the 1760s (cf. George, E.P.C. I, pp. 117–8 and 176–7).

12–29. Isaac Cruikshank. *He would be a Soldier or the History of John Bull's warlike Expedition. July 1st 1793.* B.M. Sat. 8333.

12–30. James Gillray. *Fatigues of the Campaign in Flanders Publish'd May 20th 1793 by H. Humphrey. No. 18 Old Bond Street.* Colored etching, author's collection (B.M. Sat. 8327).

12–31. Gillray. *Democracy—or a Sketch of the Life of Bonaparte J^s Gillray, inv^t & fec^t Published May 12th 1800, by H. Humphrey, No. 27, St James's Street London.* Colored impression, B.M. Sat. 9534.

Toward the end of his working life, Gillray produced sets of etchings called *The Rake's Progress at the University* 1806 (Sats. 10639–43), and *The Life of Cobbett* 1809 (Sats. 11372–11379). Both unfortunately were commissions for which amateurs probably provided the designs, and both are lacking in moral interest and narrative continuity. The Cambridge rake accumulates peccadilloes of classic pettiness: he dares to use the Fellows' bog (toilet), walks on their lawn, introduces a dog into college, and wears gaiters, which final and most heinous offense causes him to be expelled (this scene reproduced in George, H to C, Fig. 76). The *Life of Cobbett* is a foolish libel, which hovers uneasily between realism and fantasy; it should be added that at this date (1809) Gillray's mental health was rapidly degenerating.

In August 1807, after a nervous breakdown, the artist visited the popular seaside resort of Margate. It was shortly after this, in all probability, that he wrote a lengthy scenario for *A trip to Margate*. Normally, Gillray prepared his etchings with drawings only. I summarize the contents of the autograph manuscript, which was found among his personal papers (B.M. Add Ms 27, 337. For an almost complete transcription, see Draper-Hill, Mr. G., pp. 136–7, where there is mention of twelve drawings entitled *The journey to Margate* being sold in 1835). 1. The fat citizen John Bull, his one-eyed wife, his small son and beautiful nineteen-year-old daughter "all dress'd mighty fine" set off from their butcher's shop in a post-chaise bound for Margate. 2. The ancient, overladen carriage, drawn by wretched, ill-matched horses, breaks down. 3. The carriage is repaired, but the family arrives at Margate with broken boxes. Fatigued, they observe the crowds of bathing people and grooms unloading bundles. 4. The sea packet has landed, disgorging sick and tired passengers. The wind raises the ladies' petticoats over their heads, women tumble into the water; pickpockets and bucks, the hurdy-gurdy man, Punch and Judy, smuggling shop, customs house. 5. Bathing. Women getting in and out of machines, young ladies peer through telescopes at naked males in the water. High wind. John Bull waiting. (5a. The pleasures of crab-hunting; John Bull and his family caught by the waters . . . (illegible) . . . rocks.) 6. Public breakfast at Dandelion, a nearby village popular for excursions. On a terrible rainy morning, there is dancing. 7. Mr. Silver's Library or Bettison's raffling. Miss Bull is treated by an officer and swindled by Mr. Schaertongen (sp.?). Little boys and girls venturing their last shilling. 8. Killing time, Miss Bull is singing at the harpsichord, Papa is ecstatically asleep. Reading of newspapers. 9. Evening. The landlord insolently presents a lengthy bill, while Papa pulls out an empty purse. Mama is scolding her daughter and pointing to her belly, while the daughter cries and holds her *beau* "who may be indicated as having had his turn served and making his bow." 10. Returning the cheapest way. All are sick. Miss Bull pukes up her inside, Mama is at the brandy-bottle, Capt. Rowe (Miss Bull's *beau*?) at the helm; some playing cards, some singing, some eating, some drunk.

This scenario should have been handed for execution to Thomas Rowlandson, whose free-wheeling style was admirably suited to the subjects described.

12–32a. George Woodward. *The Progress of the Emperor Napoleon Pub^d Novr 19, 1808 by Thos Tegg.* Design attributed to Woodward, with Rowlandson as the probable etcher. Companion plate to the one below, B.M. Sat. 11053 (colored impression).

12–32b. George Woodward. *The Progress of the Empress Josephine Woodward del^t D. W. (Williams) Sculp^t London Pub^d April 20th 1808 by Thos Tegg. III Cheapside.* Colored impression, B.M. Sat. 10981.

Marie Rose Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie (1763-1814) was the daughter of a lieutenant of artillery in Martinique, and married Alexandre, Vicomte de Beauharnais, who was guillotined in 1794. Although not actually imprisoned, she fell on hard times until noticed by Barras. This attachment enabled her to become one of the Queens of Parisian Society. She married General Bonaparte in 1796, just before he left for his Italian campaign. She was crowned Empress at Napoleon's coronation in 1804.

12–33. William Heath. *The Grand Emperor's Grand Campaign, dedicated to the Russian Cossacks. Drawn & Etched by W. Heath Published April 18, 1813 by S. Knight late Waker* (sic) *& Knight 3 Sweetings Ally Cornhill.* B.M. Sat. 12036, (colored impression).

12–34. Charles Williams (attr.). *Bonaparte's bridge, to the Tune of, This is the House that Jack built. La Nourice du Roi de Rome Inv^t, Price one Shill^g Coloured Pub^d, Decem^r 1. 1813 by Tho. Tegg III Cheapside.* B.M. Sat. 12108. [The verses, signed by the *Nourice du Roi de Rome,* are taken from the *Morning Chronicle* of November 24th.]

On October 17–19 Napoleon was disastrously defeated near Leipzig by an allied army of Russians, Austrians and Prussians, who thus broke his hold upon the Continent. In order to check pursuit across the Pleisse, Napoleon had the Lindenau bridge blown up, leaving some of his own troops on the wrong side. Napoleon's flight after Leipzig was heavily satirized.

The first caricaturist to parody the rhyme *The House that Jack built* was Isaac Cruikshank in 1792 (Sat. 8165). Cf. also Sats. 11215, 11414–7, 11512, 11526, and 12031, all parodies of this kind.

12–35. German 1813–14. *The Life of Napoleon.* Halle (Waescher, I, No. 107). Another German version is reproduced by Waescher, I, No. 108; cf. also Dayot, p. 359 (Hennin 13649) and Broadley, ii, p. 124.

12–36. Marks. *The Progress of Boney!!! J.L. Marks del. (London) Pub by J.L. Marks N° 2 Sandy's Row Artillery St Bishopsgate. J Harrison G^t Queen St Drury Lane* (1817?). B.M. Sat. 12902 ("Caricatures," x., 247).

12–37. George Cruikshank. *The Sailor's Progress—sic transit gloria Mundi—J.S* (Lieut. John Sheringham R.N.) *& G. C^k del^t—G C^k sculp^t Pub^d Jany 10th 1818 by G. Humphrey 27 St James's S^t.* B.M. Sat. 13045.

There are pencil studies for the above in the B.M.

12–38. George Cruikshank. *The Progress of a Midshipman exemplified in the career of Master Blockhead n seven plates & Frontispiece. inv^t G. Cruikshank sculp. Pub^d by Tho. McLean 26, Haymarket Aug. 1st 1835.* Author's collection.

The first edition (B.M. Sats. 14089-14096) was published in 1820 by G. Humphrey.

The rejected Marryat drawings in the B.M. are inscribed as follows: "The Ship in a storm," "Mr. Blockhead (a lieutenant) and the press-gang," "Hot Press," "Enrolling pressed men," "Lieutenant Blockhead keeping the morning watch," and "Officers at their wine; Mr. Blockhead drunk."

12–39. William Heath (attr.). *Military Proggress (slow movement) or the Reward of Merit. Drawn & etched by a Half Pay Officer Pub. May 15 1822 by S.W. Fores Piccadilly.* B.M. Sat. 14370.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

13–1. Greuze. [The Village Betrothal]. *L'Accordée de village. Peint par J.B. Greuze Gravée par J J Flipart Graveur du Roy et de sa Majesté Impériale et Royale 1770 Dédiée à Monsieur le Marquis de Marigny. Gravée d'après le tableau Original de J.B. Greuze qui est dans le Cabinet de Mr. le Marquis de Marigny Par son très humble et très obligeant Serviteur J.B. Greuze Peintre du Roy. Rue Pavée la première Porte Cochère à droite en entrant par la rue St André des Arts.* B.M.

The engraving was announced in the *Mercure de France* for April 1770 (I, p. 187).

A mezzotinted copy by S. Paul, entitled *Nuptial Blessing,* was published by R. Sayer and Bennett on June 10, 1777. The painting, now in the Louvre, was exhibited in the Salon of 1761.

Edgar Munhall points out that Greuze has depicted not a betrothal, but a civil marriage ceremony as performed by Protestants, whose religious ceremonies were legally invalid. The father is calling out the marriage liturgy, the notary prepares papers on the right. The chickens may refer to a metaphor coined by Calvin, who compares the love of God to the humble affection shown by a hen watching over her brood.

13–2. Greuze. [The Paralytic succoured by his

family, or Filial Piety]. *Le Paralytique servis* (sic) *par ses enfans Peint par J.B. Greuze. Peintre du Roy Gravé par J.Y. Flipart, Graveur du Roy. Dédié a L'Impératrice Catherine II Souveraine de toutes les Russies. Par son très humble et très respectueux serviteur J.B. Greuze. A Paris chez J.B. Greuze Peintre du Roy, rue de Sorbonne, la première porte Cochère à gauche en entrant par la rue des Mathurins.* Author's Collection. The engraving was announced in the *Mercure de France* for April 1767 (II, p. 139).

A drawing for this composition was exhibited at the Salon of 1761; the painting, now in the Hermitage, was exhibited at the Salon of 1763.

13–3. Greuze. [The ungrateful son]. *La Malédiction Paternelle Peint par J.B. Greuze Gravé par R. Gaillard Tiré du Cabinet de Monsieur le Marquis de Veri. Dédié a Monsieur L'Abbé de Veri Par son très humble et très Obéissant serviteur Greuze. A Paris chez J.B. Greuze rue Thibotodée.* B.M. Cf. 13–4.

13–4. Greuze. [The son punished]. *Le Fils Puni. Peint par J.B. Greuze, Grave par R. Gaillard . . .* imprint as above, down to the painter's address) *chez J.B. Greuze rue Notre Dame des Victoires No. 12.* B.M.

The latter engraving was advertised in the *Mercure de France* for August 1781 (p. 143).

The drawings for both these compositions were exhibited at the Salon of 1765, and the paintings (now in the Louvre) were on view to the public at Greuze's studio in 1777.

Munhall mistakenly finds that the son, shown in the drawing to be supporting himself on a crutch, is no longer crippled in the painted version, which is repeated in the engraving. The crutch in fact lies on the floor, having been dropped by the son in his horror.

Greuze. *Bazile and Thibaut: or The Two Educations.*

[The following translation is made from the transcription printed in the *Annuaire des Artistes et des Amateurs*, 1861, pp. 266–273.]

1st Picture: *Birth of the young Bazile.*

Bazile (the elder) is with his wife, who has just been delivered; she holds the baby in her arms, with her head tilted back, resting against her husband; she is looking at him tenderly and holds one of his hands; the other lies upon her shoulder, and in this attitude, he seems to console her for the pains she has just endured. The young woman's mother, sitting at the foot of the bed, her hands pressed together, watches with pleasure the harmony reigning between her children, and the first sentiment of paternity; before the fireplace stands a (dry) nurse, into whose ear a young servant-girl laughingly whispers.

2nd Picture: *Birth of the young Thibaut.*

Young Thibaut is about to be sent off to his wet-nurse; it is the moment when he leaves his mother's room. The wet-nurse has taken charge of him and is about to place him on the horse waiting at the door: the mother, who is in bed, holds a soup which her nurse has just given her; her husband is by her side holding her hand, and pays very little attention to the departure of his son. The grandmother holds the hands of the foster-father, as if to engage him in the most pathetic way to take good care of her grandson.

3rd Picture: *Bazile at the age of four.*

Young Bazile, standing between his father and mother, takes their hands as if to reunite them after a quarrel. The mother makes a slight gesture of resistance as she gazes tenderly at her husband, who has passed his arm about her neck in order to kiss her. A maid at the door, about to leave the room, watches them laughing.

4th Picture: *Thibaut returned from the nurse.*

Young Thibaut returns from his nurse with all his baggage; the nurse presents him to his mother, who moves eagerly towards him; but the little boy recoils fearfully into the arms of the only mother he knows, and by this action, reproaches his real mother with his indifference.

5th Picture: *Bazile at the age of six.*

Young Bazile notices a poor man with a little boy, asking for alms; the scene is a big courtyard, beneath some stairs, which he seems to descend cautiously. Since he has nothing to give but his dinner, which consists of a piece of bread and two apples, he willingly sacrifices it, hiding himself as best he can; he anxiously watches a window above his head, to find out if he has been noticed. Unknown to him, his father and mother are watching him from the top of the steps, embrace each other and seem happy to see so generous a heart and good a disposition in their child.

6th Picture: *Young Thibaut begins to show his evil disposition.*

He is in his mother's room, holds a bird by the legs and plucks it alive. His grandmother, who is present at this barbarous action, is strongly opposed to it; she is pushed away with a great laugh by the child's mother. A young servant girl, standing behind the grandmother, weeps to see that the little bird will fall prey to a nearby cat which will devour it. The father, writing at a table in the embrasure of a window, seems to pay no attention to what is going on.

7th Picture: *Bazile at the age of eleven.*

Young Bazile has won the first prize in his class, consisting of two quarto volumes, which he carries back on his head, and a crown which he has under his arm; he is followed by four or five of his friends. His Mother, seeing him approach, runs to kiss him; his father is at the door with several people who seem to congratulate him on having so fortunate a son.

8th Picture: *Consequence of Thibaut's evil disposition.*

Young Thibaut is playing truant with four or five little boys of about his own age. He and his comrades are chased by a big dog from a poor man's vineyard, which they were robbing. Two peasants are about to bar their way, and they flee in terror by means of a stream.

9th Picture: *Bazile at the age of thirteen.*

Young Bazile is surprised at midnight by his father and mother, studying instead of resting. They remove his light with the gentlest reproach: the father points to his bed with one hand, and holds the lamp with the other; the young man, still seated before his table, turns to his mother and seems to beg her to permit him to continue his work.

10th Picture: *Dangerous weakness of Thibaut's mother.*

Thibaut's mother serves him breakfast in bed after 10 a.m., a time indicated by the rays of the sun. She is seated by his bed, holding a pot of jam for his breakfast. The grandmother also by the bed, furiously reproaches her daughter with spoiling her grandson, and seems to predict all sorts of misfortunes. The little boy bows his head with a mocking smile.

11th Picture: *Moving example for young Bazile, then aged fifteen.*

Young Bazile is taken by his father to a surgeon's, where he sees several patients disfigured by various ulcers devouring their faces, the fatal result of their debauchery. He is seized with horror and wants to leave, but his father holds him by the arm, saying "It is right that I should give you this warning, because we are going to leave each other; remember that life is full of terrible precipices, which are covered with flowers."

12th Picture: *Conduct of Thibaut at the age of fifteen.*

Young Thibaut insults a servant-girl of his own age: the father and mother come running up at her cries. The scene is a kind of country barn. Two peasants, a man and an old woman, arrive and are pained to view the indifference and adulation of the young man's father and mother. The girl is standing full of tears, dishevelled, her breasts uncovered; in vain she complains of the insult offered her; chucking her under the chin, the father seems to say, with a leer, "Come on, my child, it won't kill you."

13th Picture: *Bazile's departure.*

Young Bazile leaves his home, and receives his father's blessing. The scene takes place in a lower room. The father is seated in an armchair, near the window; his son arrives in travelling clothes, ready to leave: he drops on one knee at his father's feet; his father places his left hand on his shoulder, and blesses him with the other, saying "Go, prosper! Your father blesses you." The mother, standing with her hands raised, seems to say "Oh God, protect his youthfulness!" His younger sister, leaning against the fireplace, is bewailing the moment which will separate her from her brother. The half-open door reveals the horse which will take him to his destination.

14th Picture: *Thibaut and Baziyle go to live together with an attorney, in a place near the seashore.*

Young Thibaut leaves his home. The scene is set by a river, where a boat lies ready; various travellers hurry to climb aboard, two friars, a Capucin monk, two or three women and a few other people are spectators of the scene which I shall outline. Young Thibaut is holding his mother by the hand and is about to embrace her, when a woman of the people arrives with her daughter, who tearfully reproaches him with having abused her. He stands by, amused; the father pushes her away roughly, but the grandmother, sensitive to the girl's misfortune, secretly hands her a bag of money in order to compensate her for her disgrace.

15th Picture: *Noble action of Bazile at the age of eighteen.*

The English have descended upon the coast, and approach the town in order to pillage it. Young Bazile has joined the volunteers, and fights with such bravery and skill that he is regarded as responsible for having destroyed the enemy. He returns to the town, all covered with wounds, and is complimented by the mayor and the principal citizens.

16th Picture: *Consequence of Thibaut's bad conduct.*

Young Thibaut profits from the chaos and terror in the town, by abducting the daughter of the attorney he is living with. The girl has taken away all the money and jewelry she could find. They are finally arrested two leagues outside the town; the father, overwhelmed with the deepest anguish, with bowed head and daring to look at no-one, brings his daughter back by the hand. Thibaut, tightly bound and tied to the constabulary horses, returns in this state to the town, followed by an indignant crowd.

17th Picture: *Bazile at the age of nineteen.*

Young Bazile is entrusted with the task of receiving a prince who is passing through the town: he acquits himself so well, that he is admired by everyone and particularly the prince, who asks him what he does, and what is his condition; pleased with his replies, the prince asks him to follow him as his first secretary. Young Bazile accepts the proposal.

18th Picture: *Belated reproaches of Thibaut's parents upon his bad conduct.*

Young Thibaut spends a year in prison, and is visited there by his father and mother, who reproach him with his evil conduct and with the misfortunes he has brought upon his family. He is seated on a mean wooden stool, his head resting against the wall on one of his hands, with an unfeeling air; to the left, a mean wooden bed, a jug of water, and a mean table. His room is illuminated by a little steel-barred square window.

19th Picture: *Return of Bazile.*

Young Bazile, before arriving at his parents' house, passes by Manon Bastier, the daughter of a rich farmer who lives two leagues from his father's. He has loved this young girl from his most tender childhood, and stays at her home for two days. As he is about to leave, he obtains the consent of the father and mother. The mother places her daughter's hand in that of the young man, as the firmest assurance of her promise, and gazes at him in a friendly way. The young girl lowers her eyes, and blushes as she follows her mother's wishes. The father is at the young man's side, with his hand resting upon his shoulder, and in this attitude looks smiling upon this innocent scene, which takes place in the presence of several servants and some neighbors. At the back of the courtyard, animals and various agricultural instruments are visible.

20th Picture: *Thibaut, protected by Bazile, returns home.*

Young Thibaut leaves prison through the intervention of Bazile, and returns to his home, where he finds his mother in the last extremity of the grief caused her by the loss of more than half her property, which she sold to save her son's life. She is sitting up in bed; her husband is suporting her: her head has fallen forward upon her breast, like someone approaching her last moment; she speaks in a faint voice to her son, and seems to be still reproaching him with his bad conduct. He is standing at the foot of the bed, his arms crossed, displeased with his mother's sermon; he looks grimly to one side. His grandmother, also supporting her daughter, is between the bed and the wall, and appears torn by the most acute pain.

21st Picture: *Arrival of Bazile at his father's.*

Young Bazile arrives at his father's house and is received by his family, who overwhelm him with caresses. Young Thibaut comes to thank him for having obtained his release; he is at the door, and, with a diffident air suggesting jealousy rather than repentance, he partly hides himself behind the father, because virtue always offends the guilty.

22nd Picture: *Thibaut persists in his bad conduct.*

Young Thibaut, having demanded in the most dishonest fashion what was due to him from his mother, abandons himself to the full fury of his passions, and loses what little money was left to him in a billiard-room, whence he is chased by some rogues who hurl billiard balls at him. The scene takes place at midnight: the neighbors run up with torches, which illuminate the scene in the most horrible fashion.

23rd Picture: *Favor shown to Bazile by the prince.*

Bazile returns to the prince whose service he has entered. He is charged with a very important mission for foreign lands; he acquits himself of it with the greatest distinction. As a reward, the prince obtains for him the post of magistrate in the largest town of the province. Bazile takes leave of his benefactor, who appears much affected by his protégé's departure. The scene takes place in the presence of the princess and some of her attendants.

24th Picture: *Horrible crime of Thibaut.*

Thibaut consorts with the women of a brothel, where he murders a young man in order to steal from him. He is arrested, dragged off to prison together with his accomplices, and thrown into the dungeon. After having been subjected to several interrogations, Thibaut appears in the dock before Bazile, now magistrate of the district. Bazile is filled with the most acute pain, cannot bear the sight of one of his former comrades on whom he is obliged to pronounce a death sentence: he averts his eyes. Two other judges are at his side; the clerk of the court is writing at a little table, and the turnkey, two soldiers, and a big dog stand at the door. The room is decorated with instruments of torture.

25th Picture: *Marriage of Bazile.*

Bazile marries Manon Bastier. Manon's tender farewell to her mother; the scene takes place in the presence of various village girls, her friends. Some weep, others laugh, each in her own way expresses pain or pleasure. The mother, standing by the horse upon which her daughter, in riding dress, is mounted, holds her hand and turns away her head in order to hide the tears choking her; her father seems to wish her every kind of happiness. The daughter at this moment seizes her father's hand to kiss it. Bazile, on horseback near his wife, impatiently awaits the end of all these compliments.

26th Picture: *Tragic end of Thibaut, then aged thirty.*

Thibaut is visited in his cell by his father and grandmother. The jailer stays by the door: he is holding the big dog by his chain and a bunch of keys; in the other hand, he has a torch which lights up the whole scene. The grandmother has her foot on the bottom step of the stairs leading to this cell; she is bent with age and misfortune. The father, already near his son, addresses these words to him: "Raise your head and look at me; see your father for the last time. The sword of justice does not strike fathers responsible for the evils of their children. I have cast you into the horrible abyss in which I see you, by not repressing your fatal instincts in childhood. You will serve as an example to thoughtless fathers, and I, in order to let posterity know the extent of my despair, shall kill myself before your very eyes." He strikes himself and falls into the arms of his mother, who falls a few minutes later. The jailer turns in horror, and seems to call for help.

End of the novel composed and dictated by Greuze, for the composition of a series of projected paintings.

Date: I have implied that Greuze was already thinking about a long "Hogarthian" sequence during the years 1765–1768/9, and that he dictated the scenario in or shortly after 1777. Greuze's use of an English military invasion of the French coast would also be apposite in 1777–78, when war had just broken out between England and the American colonies, with their French allies. The following drawings have been connected with the scenario: *La Bénédiction Paternelle* for scene 13; and *Le Départ de la Barcelonette ou la Privation sensible* (*The departure of the bassinet or the affecting deprivation*) for scene 2. Both drawings were exhibited at the Salon of 1769. A drawing called *Les Préjugés de l'enfance ou le Retour de Nourrice* (*The prejudices of childhood or the Return from the Nurse*), which may be connected with scene 4, was engraved in 1767.

Anita Brookner's unpublished thesis on Greuze, which is still the only comprehensive scholarly monograph on this important artist, contains a curious mistake in reading the final scene. She assumes that it is Thibaut, not the father, who commits suicide. Quite apart from the unlikelihood of the jailer, described as close at hand, permitting his prisoner thus to escape execution, such a conclusion would not have suited the artist's purpose, which was to arouse sympathetic horror for the fate of the repentant father.

13-5. Daniel Chodowiecki. [The Life of a Rake]. *Das Leben eines Lüderlichen.* Twelve etchings from the *Berlin Almanac* for 1774. B.M. (Engelmann 90).

Writing in French to a Berlin Academy official in February 1773 (Steinbrucker, p. 54, No. 68), Chodowiecki refers to some "Inscriptions" which one of his friends had made for his illustrations to the 1774 almanac and in which certain changes had been recommended by a Professor of the Academy. The context seems to indicate that the Inscriptions consisted of more than the few words appearing at present as captions, and were more in the nature of a commentary. Unfortunately this cannot be verified, because I have been unable to find any copy of the almanac itself, despite the most extensive searches. Almanacs were printed in editions of several thousands, but already by 1850 Engelmann states that complete runs of the *Berlin Almanac* are "extremely rare." The full title for the issue of 1780 is given by Engelmann, but I have been unable to find it even in Kayser's *Bücherlexikon: Berliner Genealogischer Calender auf das Schaltjahr 1780 mit Kupfern gezieret und mit Genehmhaltung der Königl. Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, herausgegeben 12°.* According to Lanckoronska the name was changed from *Genealogischer Calender* (in 1766) to *Historisch-Genealogischer Calender* (in the 1790s). There are copies of Chodowiecki's etchings by D. Berger and an edition with French captions for the French edition of the almanac.

13-6. Daniel Chodowiecki. [Progress of Virtue and Vice]. *Fortgang der Tugend und des Lasters.* Twelve etchings for the *Göttinger Taschen Calender vom Jahr 1778 bey Joh. Chr. Dieterich.* B.M. (Engelmann 188). Lichtenberg's commentary, as published in the almanac, translates as follows:

1 and 7. "These plates are eloquent of heavenly innocence, with complete lack of definition in the character. In the boy, an expression of attentive curiosity and tractability. In the girl, a similar expression, only less forceful, less searching, and more pleasing. . . . Below stand starkly eloquent insignia of the paths they can choose."

2 and 8. "As one can see, the choice is more than made here, although the lower heads would dearly love to choose again, were they given the opportunity. 2a. A clear conscience, sober cour-

age and the instinctive resolve to appear not a whit more than one is: the greatest ornament of the virtuous, and the most tolerable guise even for vice. In this head, as in the next of this career, is something that Hogarth sought and could not find. 2b. Inner disquiet, pricks of conscience, dissatisfaction with himself with no power of decision to reform. Crawling malignity, and altogether a nefarious uncertainty which provides the short cut to the gallows, if not somehow obstructed by social rank and family. I see him standing but one step away from the prisoner's bar of the courtroom, preparing to advance and bow before the judge. 8a. No connoisseur of virtue can withhold applause from this maidenly face, which seeks it so little. . . . Here there is little to tell, and explanation therefore superfluous. . . . 8b. Here there is all the more to tell. Traces everywhere of great revolutions. A female figure sunk through vice and disease into loathesome ugliness, and, at the coiffeur's, dragged a little way out again by the hair. Just the lacquered-on form of a smile, without its meaning; that has been sold off long ago. The hideousness of the outer corner of the right eye seems to have felt this dry preparation itself, which is why it has been given the little plasters as a consolation. Compare the eyebrows and eyelids of the heads on this plate. A pity that one cannot see the paint on the lower one. Any resident of a big city will see it there for himself."

3 and 9. "3a. Evidently the same one we saw as a boy and a youth. Filled with staunch determination, as near to aspiring to an eccentricity foreign to his nature as to committing highway robbery. 3b. Not so forceful a rogue as the preceding one. He has the air less of a tiger than a trapped fox. My feeling is that he is an expert in the manufacture of gold, but at the moment has none. His corporal property seems reduced to this coat, his spiritual property to a smattering of his native language, which he would presumably hire out, if he did not prefer to cadge on the basis of his good birth. The nose is one of those which Shakespear calls salamanders, after the element in which they live (i.e. fire), and clearly shows in what way this hero comforts his soul, when his fate oppresses him. 9a and b. The deserved reward for past life, harvested upon the cheeks of both heads. How characteristic is the sling worn by the lower one, in this frightful condition. Some people may wish to be reminded that the upper figure is not the grandparent, but the mother."

4 and 10. "4a. Transparent goodness everywhere, complaisant general benevolence and conscious honesty. 4b. Except for the nose, this head could have grown out of the lower one on the second plate. It contains the whole alphabet of expressions of hardened, resolute wickedness. This thing seems to me to have been recently taken down from the gallows and pressed into the service of idleness, and will return to the gallows at the first opportunity. He has already received the punishment which nature metes out to vice, and awaits only the *coup-de-grâce* from above. Both are sunk in their thoughts. Those of the upper one seem to be disbursing the reward for some good deed, those of the lower one are performing the services of the hangman. 10a and b. Here again the strong suggestion of deserved recompense in the facial features and in the surroundings. In (b) enticement and reticence have changed places, in order to show vice in its deepest degradation. The heroine gets a cool reception from a fellow whose face is not exactly of the greatest delicacy."

5 and 11. 5a. "Whoever will know grace, whereby a clear conscience and simplicity of behavior become imprinted upon the face, even in old age, let him consider the head of this honest, thoughtful old man. Who would not wish to hear words uttered by such a mouth as this, in which no wrinkle on the face betrays mendacity, preaching experience and wisdom on whatever subject he choose. Solace must precede a physician such as this, and trust hasten to meet him everywhere. 5b. To judge from the dangerous folds over the left eye, he retains only the last remnant of inner peace, as of the pipe with which he consoles himself. The upper lip, which is of uniform width as far as the corner of the mouth, betrays much fine company. As he is, I do not know his rank. Had he a pen in the hand upon which he rests his empty head, I would take the opening through which we see him for an attic window, and the room for the study of a modern critic in our fatherland. 11a. The mother in the company of her son. I think I can recognise on her face inner joy and justifiable pride in her companion. 11b. (Artist's note: *she has stolen, and is maltreated.*) The heroine also in company. It would be terrible if it were the company of her son. Look at the eyes and mouth. Her terror is heightened by the cheeks which have grown slack with drunkenness and almost dead to her emotions."

6 and 12. "These need no explanation. They are the final scenes, comprehensible to all. I shall only make a few observations on the matron surrounded by the children of her children. A certain writer says, that a vicious, ugly old woman is the most horrible object on earth. But the contrary is also true, that one of the most admirable things is the domesticated matron, whose face as here shows so many unmistakable marks of goodness and a cheerful soul. Age never makes a face ugly as long as it is possessed of a soul, which dares to show itself without a mask. It only strips away the glamorous facade which conceals coquetry, obstinacy and wickedness. Where there is very ugly old age, the detached observer would have detected ugliness in the girl. . . ." [G.C. Lichtenberg.]

13-7. Daniel Chodowiecki. Scenes 3, 4, 5, and 6 from the series *Natürliche und Affektierte Handlungen, 2te Folge*, for the *Göttinger Taschen Calender auf das Jahr 1780*. B.M. (Engelmann 319).

13-8. Daniel Chodowiecki. [Pages from the life of an ill-educated girl]. *Blaetter zu dem Leben eines schlecht erzogenen Frauenzimmers*. Twelve etchings for the *Berlin Almanac* 1780 (cf. No. 13–5 above). B.M. (Engelmann 279).

According to his letter of September 6, 1779, to Anton Graff, Chodowiecki is sending the painter a presentation copy of this sequence.

13-9a, and 13-9b. Daniel Chodowiecki. *Instruction in the liberal arts* and *Unwelcome Visit*. Scenes 3 and 10 from *Das Leben eines schlecht erzogenen Frauenzimmers*, 1780 (enlarged). (See 13-8.)

13-10. Daniel Chodowiecki. Illustration to C.F. Bretzner, *Das Leben eines Lüderlichen. Ein moralisch-satyrisches Gemälde nach Chodowiecki und Hogarth*. 3 Theile, Leipzig 1787.

13-11. Daniel Chodowiecki. *Motives for Marriage. Marriage of Interest–Boredom. Forced Marriage–Despair*. Scenes 5, 6, 11, and 12 from the series *Beweggründe zum Heiraten*, for the *Göttinger Taschen Calender Auf das Jahr 1789*. B.M. (Engelmann 598).

13-12. Daniel Chodowiecki. [Reformation of Morals]. *Verbesserung der Sitten* (1787). B.M. (Engelmann 572).

Friedrich Nicolai devoted an almanac, illustrated by Chodowiecki (E. 167), to parody of the sort of gory folksong which was gaining literary respectability in the early days of romanticism: *Eyn feyner, Kleyner Almanach Vol schönerr echterr liblicherr Volcks*lieder, *lustigerr Reyen unndt kleglicher Mordgeschichte, gesungen von Gabriel Wunderlich, weyl. Benkelsengerrn zu Dessaw, heraus gegeben von Daniel Seuberlich, Schusstern tzu Ritzmück ann der Elbe, Berlynn unndt Stettyn 1777 und 1778* (A fine little almanac full of beautiful, authentic, charming folk-songs, merry and lamentable tales of murder sung by Gabriel Wonderful, formerly ballad-singer in Dessau . . .). See Lanckoronska, p. 201. In the *Berlin Calendar* of 1789, Chodowiecki etched a series of *Fashionable Follies* (*Modethorheiten*), based upon contemporary scandals reported in the *Berlinische Monatschrift* 1783–5.

13-13. J. H. Ramberg. Caricature drawing of a horse and rider. After Stuttmann, Fig. 14.

13-14a. and 13-14b. J. H. Ramberg. *Rehearsal in Holland: Performance in September and October* (1787) *Publish'd Octr 18th 1787 by T. Harmar*. B.M. Sats. 7176–7 (Van Stolk 4958).

13-15 (1-25). Ramberg. [Life of Strunk the Upstart]. *Das Leben Strunks des Emporkömmlings* (1822–25). Twenty-five drawings in the Kestner Museum, Hanover. Ramberg's commentary, written in his own hand and preserved with the drawings, translates as follows:

1. Strunk shows speculative genius–goes into the feather business with Moses Israel. The poor peasant boy Strunk appears here as a gooseherd; he plucks the geese and sells the feathers to the wandering Jew Israel. His village lies on one side, Happyville on the other. The signpost points to the way which leads closely past the gallows.

2. Strunk at school, learning hard his one times one; he plays the sneak, which causes the schoolmaster to give whackings. The other boys exploit the situation to pursue various vices; one munches an apple behind his book, behind him another tries smoking tobacco from a bit of pipe; two others scuffle behind the stove. One lad sets the cat onto the schoolmaster's wig, for which the schoolmaster's wife, just leaving the kitchen, deals him in turn a blow with the cooking ladle.

3. Strunk as bowls boy recognizes his old friend and instructor the Jew Israel, who had led him into goose-plucking, and is now selling lottery tickets in a public garden to the waitress. Magnetic help in the bowling.

4. Strunk, developing into a hefty fellow, is introduced by his old friend Israel to the family of a count as a servant. The slightly decaying noble lord has his wig fitted on by his *valet de chambre*. The maid whisking the chocolate draws the athletic build of Strunk to the attention of the generously proportioned Countess.

5. Strunk's merits are recognized–he indulges with Israel in a little oat-speculation. Strunk at work. He plies the necessary shoe-brush, and attracts the attention of the Countess as she puts in check her husband playing chess with her. Meanwhile friend Israel brings off a little oat-speculation in the shed. The court chaplain

attempts to help the Count out of the check. The maid works the tea-machine.

6. Copious feeding has expanded Strunk enormously. His special talents have brought him promotion to Head Steward. He is here busy in the Count's archives, with his friend Israel who, in giving him wise and practical lessons in the economics of household management, recommends the help of an experienced old notary rummaging in the documents cupboard.

7. A little falling-out among friends, such as does sometimes happen when it comes to sharing the spoils, but has no consequences apart from a few brown welts about the ribs, to which good businessmen like Israel are already accustomed.

8. The wise lessons bear fruit. Like his wise predecessor the Majordomo Charles the Great, Strunk has reached a position where he is able to throw his noble master the Count out of his domains and mansion permanently and by legal means. Supported by an old faithful servant and led by his wife, who has had an heir during Strunk's administration, the Count and his family are about to mount an old cart harnessed with farm-horses, and the notary lurks behind the door so as to slam it at his heels. Strunk with friend Israel and his chaplain sit in an arbor; he takes little note of the Countess' gesture towards her heir, stills any first slight pricks of conscience with a bottle of wine and clouds of smoke, and is encouraged and comforted by his friend Israel, who at the same time helps himself to a reward for his efforts.

At this touching scene the chaplain takes an extra cordial. The Count's coat-of-arms is removed, but the horns surmounting it stay up on the wall.

9. Strunk goes in for big speculations and closes a deal in supplies (*Lieferungsgeschäft*) with a poor commissioner. After a splendid breakfast the commissioner hands over the business contract. This man is gifted by nature with the ability to look left and right at the same time, is thus a circumspect person, so that he is very conscious of the explanations and persuasive arguments with which Strunk and Israel are filling his pockets. The legal official at the writing desk, who is perpetually taking snuff, waits for the moment to press the notary's seal upon the contract. A servant in the background strengthens himself with the remains of the breakfast, which to judge from his attitude, was his preoccupation beforehand as well. Upon the screen behind the notary Fortune is seen being caught in flight by two devils.

10. Strunk with his companion Israel returns from the great business deal to his mansion, a millionaire. He has been raised to an Earldom, and his companion Israel has been given a barony. The former now calls himself *Graf Strahlenstrunk* (lit. Count Raystalk) and the latter Baron Laurelwreath.

With a felicitous display of dignity the Count receives the homage of his loyal subjects (who are however secretly scratching their ears); but the Baron is not yet happy in his new dignity, especially since the Count's mastiff runs fatally between his legs, thus totally destroying his beautifully studied attitude. They are received by their old friend and adviser the snuff-taking (?) notary. The schoolmaster approaches the noble lords with an address, which is to be handed over by a pretty peasant girl, and the choir of assiduously rehearsed village youth is kept in order by their famous bass, whereby the faithful old peg-leg with the fiddle also does his bit. Institutions for the care of the poor have not yet been introduced into the estates of my Lord the Count, whose opinions on this matter seem to be well-known to the splendid Marshall.

11. The two novice noblemen now devote themselves to the so-called noble passions, in all of which the Count excels. They can here be seen at their drinking orgy in combat uniform. Countless bottles have been emptied but the hero still sits upright. Weapon in hand, pipe smouldering between his teeth, he makes a perfectly controlled gesture towards a huge bowl of steaming punch, with which repeat order the butler staggers in. Although his wig covers his half-lit face, his Chaplain and true companion manages to stay upright by supporting himself on the broad back of his chief. He is followed by one lost in sweet sleep, then by one who, brimming over with tender sentiments of friendship for his host, offers him a heartfelt toast, but proves unable to regain the vertical. One snoring —one meditating half-asleep, tries to light his pipe at the broken candle, behind him a revolutionary (i.e. vomiting). Then follows one of our chief characters, the worthy notary, whose seat is within a few inches of leaving the chair, before landing firmly on the floor whence it can fall no further. To finish with he takes a pinch of snuff. A young hero tries to profit from this situation, is unable to find the aperture of the box, but sends down a dose of burning tobacco onto a man lying behind his chair. The Baron is still a beginner in this first noble passion; pitiful sensations frighten him into a prudent and timely withdrawal, which is however misconstrued by a youth sitting between two chairs, for he opens to him a friendly embrace.

12. Noble Passion II. The Baron is here completely in his element. He maneuvers the cards with practiced fingers. To judge from his enthusiastic and self-satisfied expression he does not suspect the storm hovering over his wig, that is the knotted stick of the old-fashioned gymnastics teacher, who is about to do justice to his virtuosity. The Count, and even the Chaplain (presumably in the foreground), descend to playing croupier to the game. A blood relative of the Baron transacts a little business on the side.

The fleeced students, etc., need no explanation.

13. Noble Passion III. It is easy to guess that the Count, as a stalwart peasant-lad, is not backward in the noble art of riding. As is indispensable to persons of rank, he has set up fine stables by means of crafty dealers and friends. The two gentlemen standing behind him look as if they were not dissatisfied with the transaction. His lordship amuses himself by giving some instruction to his friend (who is rather slow in the equestrian arts) and together with his English jockey takes noble pleasure in maneuvering the uncertain Baron over the saddle.

14. Noble Passion IV. Their gracious Lordships here prove themselves to be merciless Nimrods. Strunk charges with hounds and companions over the fence into the cornfields of his subjects. Any protest is answered with the hunting whip. The Baron, too, cheerfully follows his example, but as a wise and prudent man he has dismounted and sees whether his little steed cannot manage the jump on his own.

15. Noble Passion V. Animal baiting. The Count sits with some Anglomanes, fighting their dogs. The Baron, safely behind a stone, also enjoys the spectacle.

16. Noble Passion VI. The Count is decaying somewhat, and the consequence of excessively impassioned duty towards so many noble passions begins to leave its mark. His cranium and slashed shoes are evidence of this. In order to pass the time he therefore becomes a lover and patron of music. He has arranged here a musical entertainment on the occasion of the professional artistic tour of an Italian married couple. The voice and the tender, ardent glances of the Signora (it being as yet uncertain whether the latter are directed at him personally or at the solitaire on his finger) seem to have enflamed his heart and brought his tender feelings to melting point. The whole company shares his rapture, although the expression of this varies. The Baron beats time to the soft trill in which the Diva is engaged. The Chaplain drops his glass and is overcome by inexpressible hypersensuous and sensuous feelings. Even the notary forgets to bring the pinch of snuff to his twitching nose. Only the ladies in the background seem immune to the tender nightingale at this moment, when the bass accompaniment of the ruffian-faced Italian pauses, as do all the other instruments down to the flautist with the graceful lipping.

17. While the Count and the Baron devote themselves to the noble passions, they have also decided to give a final polish to their education. Since it was often remarked that the Baron's deportment was lacking in a certain *je ne sais quoi*, he subjects himself to a few lessons from the best *maître de danse* in Paris, to the vast amusement of the Count and his French companion, etc. The Baron seems to be fed up with the strutting and turning-out.

18. The lofty pair use the opportunity of their presence in a great town to have themselves depicted in genuine antique costume as David and Jonathan, in a large historical portrait by the world-famous portrait painter Sir Albert Dawb. The immortal work is complete, and the Count busies himself with the payment. Has the Count permitted himself some imprudent observations over the extent of the remuneration? For the great artist seems to have had to remind him of the divine spark which inspires such works and which cannot be bought by all the treasures of the earth. The Baron compares his face in the mirror with the portrait and seems inclined to venture some slight criticism of the immortal man, perhaps over his (the Baron's) beauty. A grand couple are just entering the room for a sitting. The plump lady (apparently a fiery Italian) casts sparkling glances at the handsome little laquais with his well-muscled legs, who receives her at the door and whose choice testifies to the artist's taste and knowledge of the world; as does the dressing recess behind the great picture. The atelier is decorated with the great of this planet who witness to the general recognition of this great artist.

19. With his head asmoke the Count sits here in the booming restaurant Grignion in Paris, keeping three waiters in constant activity. All present in the room are agog with surprise and admiration—only the gourmand on the other side is distracted from the spectacle by his great appetite, which is however to be completely satisfied by the zephyr breezing up, as the dish proves. An old garçon shows the check listing just the hors d'oeuvre already consumed, to a Colonel who has eaten to bursting point and picks his teeth. The Count's mastiff sniffs suspiciously at the little bones left from the *haut-goût* dish.

20. The Count, whose increasing years necessitate pursuit of gentler passions, has taken the artist-couple (ruffian-face and the lovely singer)

as guests into his mansion. His friend the Baron, in the spirit of speculation, believes however that there is still good business to be done if he were to associate with the artist-couple. The company is formed. They exploit the opportunity of a violent attack of gout in the Count, whose sleep has been drugged. The scene of farewell takes place very quietly. The travelling coach stands before the door, nothing is in the way, only to the loyal mastiff does the scene appear suspicious, so he instinctively tries to stop the Baron and grabs him by the coat-tails.

21. But Nemesis follows this pretty trio. In the Apennines they fall into the hands of bandits. The coach is plundered. The divine nightingale is pulled away into the bush. The Signor defends himself bravely with the dagger, but is struck down with the butt-end; and the Baron? He prudently runs like a hare, but a bullet strikes him and an unfortunate hare in one shot.

22. Strunk, restored to health, sets up a philanthropic institute.

23. Strunk sets up a Sanitarium in grandiose style.

24. Strunk has organized a masonic lodge.

25. Strunk takes to miracle-working and becomes a Saint.

13-16. Goya. *Caprichos* (1799). California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation.

A commentary, written in Goya's own hand, is preserved in the Prado Museum: "6. The world is a masquerade. The face, the clothes, the voice—all are false. Everyone tries to appear what he is not. Everyone deceives and does not even know himself. 17. Auntie is no fool. She knows well that stockings must fit smoothly round the leg. 21. Hens are plucked by vultures. As the sayings go, 'Give and take,' 'Six of one and half a dozen of the other.' 37. It's hard to say, but the teacher is trying his best. 45. At eighty they suck little children dry; they who do not live more than eighteen years, suck big children. It looks as if man is born into this world and lives just to have the marrow sucked out of him. 65. Mother is sick and going out for a walk. God grant that she may recover. 72. No one ever escapes who wants to be caught. 80. When dawn breaks, they fly away . . . each to his place. The witches, hobgoblins, the dreams, the phantoms. It is lucky that such creatures only show themselves by night in the dark. No one has yet discovered where they hide in the daytime. If one were to succeed in trapping some goblins and showing them in a cage on the Puerta del Sol, one would make a fortune." (Slightly adapted from the translation in the Crown edition of Goya's etchings, New York, 1943.)

13-17. Goya. *Desastres de la Guerra* (etched c. 1810–20; first published in 1863). Plates 5, 36, 53 and 63. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation.

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THE EARLY COMIC STRIP

David Kunzle