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William Hogarth (1697–1764) and Book Illustration I: *Hudibras*, *Quixote* and the Littlecote House Murals

M. A. Katritzky

Abstract

This article progresses long-term researches on Hogarth and book history, the iconography of the skimmington and transnational receptions of Don Quixote, by introducing a substantial new group of images potentially illuminating Hogarth's lost activities as a young painter, before he turned 30 in 1727. Astoundingly, no previous research-based study of them exists. Unknown to Hogarth specialists and dismissed by art historians, they are in the painted room at Littlecote House. Within a complex decorative scheme broadly referencing themes of human folly and the cabinet of curiosities, two walls feature floor to ceiling composite murals uniting numerous episodes from the publications most significant for Hogarth's early career as a book illustrator: Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and its most successful English derivation, Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*. Butler's book-length poem is exceptionally significant: book-historically for its key role in copyright legislation and eighteenth-century British book illustration; art-historically for its central role in the early career of Hogarth, who published two sets of engravings illustrating *Hudibras* in 1726. Local historians attribute the Littlecote murals to unidentified amateur Dutch painters, working in the 1660s (when *Hudibras* was first published). Archive-based evidence first presented here confirms their dating not to the 1660s but the 1720s and supports Hogarth's presence at Littlecote House around 1724. This work is heavily indebted to the exemplary scholarship of two landmark publications of 2016, Elizabeth Einberg's authoritative catalogue of Hogarth's paintings (all post-1726) and Peter Black's groundbreaking exploration of Hogarth and house decoration. I here re-visit Hogarth's early practice of book illustration and house decoration with reference to a canon of pre-1800 *Hudibras* images, newly enlarged by situating the substantial Littlecote *Hudibras* mural within this context and its associated visual, literary and book historical traditions. With reference to the new images and evidence first presented here, I ask: is Littlecote's painted room a rightly neglected pastiche? Or does it deserve closer scholarly attention? Perhaps even as an exceptional unrecognized British art treasure? Should Hogarth specialists now evaluate an entirely new possibility: whether the challenging pre-1727 gap in Hogarth's early career as a painter can be addressed by identifying his earliest paintings at Littlecote House?

[archive]

I must confess, I have but little hopes of having a favourable attention given to my design in general, by those who have already had a more fashionable introduction into the mysteries of the arts of painting, and sculpture. Much less do I expect, or in truth desire, the countenance of that set of people, who have an interest in exploding any kind of doctrine, that may teach us to *see with our own eyes*. (HOGARTH 1772: 2)

1 Introduction¹

With particular emphasis on the patrons, engravers, publishers and house decorators accessible to the celebrated book illustrator and painter William Hogarth (1697–1764) through his attendance of London art academies during the early 1720s, this article progresses my long-term researches on Hogarth and book history, transnational receptions of *Don Quixote*, and the iconography of the skimmington: a performative English social shaming ritual related to the European *charivari*.² It considers English illustrations relating to the two books most significant for Hogarth's early career as a book illustrator: *Don Quixote* and *Hudibras*, both of which achieved bestseller status in seventeenth-century Britain. Here introduced is a substantial new group of images potentially illuminating Hogarth's lost activities as a young painter, before he turned 30 in 1727. Disregarded by art historians, unknown to Hogarth specialists and previously entirely unconsidered in this context, they are on the walls of the painted room at Littlecote House. Within a complex decorative scheme broadly referencing themes of human folly and the cabinet of curiosities, one wall features 26 separately framed "Dutch" genre scenes; two more feature floor to ceiling composite murals uniting numerous scenes from Europe's most popular work of fiction, Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra's epic novel *Don Quixote* (East wall), and its most successful English derivation, Samuel Butler's (1612–1680) book-length mock-heroic epic poem *Hudibras* (West wall; see Figures 3–7). Published in three parts in 1663, 1664 and 1678, *Hudibras* is exceptionally book-historically significant, both for its pioneering role in copyright legislation and for its pivotal inspiration for eighteenth-century British

1 My thanks, for useful discussions and for supporting this research, to Pauline Mobey (Littlecote's Curator and Guide), Oliver Crick and Pavel Drábek; to my Open University colleagues Clare Taylor and Sally Blackburn-Daniels, and colleagues in the English Department, the GOTH, HOBAR and MEM Research Groups, FASS Research Committee, FASS Facilities, SRIF, and Health & Wellbeing SRA, and to the external funders of GOTH (The Centre for Research into Gender and Otherness in the Humanities, School of Arts & Humanities, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, The Open University, Milton Keynes) for awarding follow-on funding for this interdisciplinary enquiry to be taken further at the 2nd Annual GOTH Research Symposium, May 2022. Images courtesy of Oliver Crick (Figures 4–7: © Oliver Crick); British Library (Figure 2 and journal cover image, Figure 9: © The British Library Board: BL 1078.a.10, plate 9; BL 1078.f.8, plate 9); British Museum (Figure 11: © The Trustees of the British Museum, Prints and Drawings, BM 1847,0508.19); Tate Gallery (Figure 1: Presented by Sir John Rothenstein, Photo ©Tate); Windsor Castle Library (Figures 8, 10: Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020); the author (Figure 12: © M A Katritzky); public domain (Figure 3: "By Ukiwi - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=92873759>"). For AJDK & EJIM.

2 See (KATRITZKY 2014; KATRITZKY 2020: 116, 129–130, 136; KATRITZKY "William Hogarth").

book illustrators. It is also of major art-historical significance for its central role in the early career of Hogarth, who published two sets of engravings illustrating *Hudibras* in 1726, one as book illustrations, the other as a stand-alone subscription print series.

Local historians attribute the Littlecote murals to unidentified amateur Dutch painters working during the 1660s, when *Hudibras* was first published. Heavily indebted to the exemplary scholarship of two landmark publications of 2016, Elizabeth Einberg's authoritative complete catalogue of Hogarth's paintings (none predating 1727) and Peter Black's groundbreaking exploration of Hogarth and house decoration (EINBERG 2016; BLACK 2016), the present article re-examines Hogarth's practice of book illustration and house decoration, suggests that they are closely related, revisits the known pre-1800 *Hudibras* images, and considers them in the light of the Littlecote mural. I here (i) suggest that Littlecote's painted room dates to the early 1720s; (ii) situate its substantial, complex *Hudibras* mural within the broader context of *Hudibras* iconography and its associated visual, literary and book historical traditions; and (iii) consider the possibility of involvement by Hogarth.³ His possible presence at Littlecote around 1724 is indicated by my reappraisal of his early patronage, suggesting that his two paintings *Children at Play I & II* (both dated 1730; EINBERG 2016: Cats.33, 34), may depict the children of Elizabeth Montagu's first marriage, at her childhood home, Littlecote, in the 1720s.

My new hypotheses address the place of the Littlecote mural in *Hudibras* iconography, the significance of book illustration and house decoration to Hogarth's economic agenda, and what circumstances could have placed him at Littlecote House during the early 1720s. They raise many questions:

- Is continued scholarly neglect of Littlecote's painted room still justifiable, or does it now deserve art-historical recognition?
- Perhaps even as a unique treasure of eighteenth-century British heritage?
- Can we more reliably identify the artists responsible for Littlecote's painted room?
- Can the challenging pre-1727 gap in Hogarth's career as a younger painter be addressed by identifying his earliest paintings at Littlecote House?

The enquiries initiated here are multi-disciplinary; successful progression requires the combined skills of many specialists. Here, I formulate my hypotheses, present the relevant images and evidence identified by my archival researches, and invite Hogarth specialists to assess and address these new possibilities.⁴

³ Relevant *Hudibras* images are summarized in the appendices, below. The secondary scholarship on *Quixote* iconography is vastly greater than that on *Hudibras* images; detailed consideration of the Littlecote *Quixote* mural is beyond the scope of the present article.

⁴ Not least via the *2nd Annual GOTH Research Symposium* (scheduled for May 2022) and its planned proceedings.

2 Hogarth and early *Hudibras* illustrations

Drawing on the indignities and deprivations of the Civil War, and inspired by the Sir Huddibras⁵ of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* as well as English editions of and commentaries on *Don Quixote*, Butler's anonymously published *Hudibras* is in three parts. Within a year, Part I, published in 1663 and an immediate bestseller, was re-issued in five authorized and four pirated editions (BUTLER 1663). Multiple editions of an "unauthorized" Part II (ANON 1663) were followed by an entirely differently worded Part II (BUTLER 1664), authenticated as Butler's by its later incorporation into all authorized combined editions. Part III followed two years before Butler's death (BUTLER 1678). Although Butler was a Royalist, and the main target of his satire was Puritanism, *Hudibras* struck a chord with readers of every social and religious group. Until 1709, every edition, official or pirated, was unillustrated. In May 1709, a syndicate including copyright shareholders George Wells (who sold his share to a nephew of the prominent publisher Jacob Tonson in October 1709) and Thomas Horne, published a freshly edited, three volume, unillustrated, octavo edition of *Hudibras* (BUTLER 1709a, 1709b, 1709c). Sensing a commercial opportunity, unscrupulous rival publisher John Baker pirated their text for the first illustrated *Hudibras* edition. In November 1709, he advertised this budget octodecimo publication (BUTLER 1709/10: 16 plates; see Appendices) as featuring the novel and desirable addition of "about 20 Cuts designed and engraven by the best Masters, with the Authors Effigies taken from the Original" (GOMEZ-AROSTEGUI 2010: 1299) (Figure 2). On 12 December 1709, over a dozen copyright holders and booksellers, including Thomas Horne and Jacob Tonson, petitioned Parliament to enact new copyright legislation. Three days later, Horne sued Baker for infringing a common-law copyright in *Hudibras* (BUTLER 1709a, 1709b, 1709c; GOMEZ-AROSTEGUI 2010: 1299–1309). These lawsuits, prompted by Baker's three volume 1709/10 pirated, illustrated *Hudibras*, guarantee *Hudibras* landmark prominence in copyright history.⁶ Meanwhile, in early 1710, Jacob Tonson's first illustrated edition of *Hudibras* (BUTLER 1710: 18 plates; see Appendices), with "several Cuts design'd and engrav'd by the best Hands", prompted Baker's vociferous retaliation:

Advertisement to gentlemen: Whereas Hudibras, in three parts, written by Mr. Samuel Butler, has hitherto been printed on a scandalous paper (to the great abuse of the publick): it is now printed on a very fine paper, and a new letter, illustrated with 19 cutts [...] notwithstanding the false insinuations of Mr. Jacob Tonson, in the Gazette of Tuesday Novemb. 22. 1709, which are design'd only to hinder the sale of the said book. This edition is sold [...] by John Baker. (BAKER 1709)

5 "More huge in strength, then wise in workes he was" (SPENSER 1590: 210, II.ii.17).

6 In 1735, a group of London book illustrators led by William Hogarth successfully petitioned Parliament for a bill strengthening book illustrators' copyrights (Act 8 Geo. II, cap. 13, see DOBSON 1891: 50).



Fig. 1: Francis Le Piper (attrib.), *Hudibras encounters the skimmington*, oil on panel, 23 x 44 cm. Davies/Britton series. London, Tate Gallery T00621.

Tonson's 17 illustrations pirated all but one of Baker's ("Hudibras and Ralpho made prisoners and carried to the stocks"), adding only one new scene ("Hudibras in Tribulation"). An illustrated edition published by Sawbridge in 1712 included both these scenes, but not "Hudibras beats Sidrophel and his man Whacum" (BUTLER 1712). These minor discrepancies between the seventeen illustrations of each of the 1709/10 Baker edition, 1710 Tonson edition and 1712 Sawbridge edition, whereby each left out one illustration included in the other two editions, was rectified in the 1716 and 1720 Tonson editions (BUTLER 1716; BUTLER 1720; see also STEPHENS 1873). Both contained 18 images closely based on the 18 *Hudibras* book illustrations of Baker's 1709/10 first illustrated edition (see Appendices).

Hogarth's mature painted oeuvre notably depicts Milton and Shakespearean or other drama (KATRITZKY, "William Hogarth"); as an engraver, his early engagement with book illustration is dominated by *Hudibras* and *Quixote*. Literary quotes in Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* (first published in 1753) suggest that he attentively read the authors he illustrated. Hogarth's earliest published book illustrations include 13 signed folio prints for Aubry de la Mottraye's *Travels* (1723); seven smaller prints for Apuleius' *New Metamorphosis* (1724); 15 head-pieces to John Beaver's *Roman Military Punishments* (1725), the five frontispieces to Sir Charles Cotterel's five-volume *Cassandra, a Romance* (1725) and 26 figures for John Blackwell's *Compendium of Military Discipline* (1726) (NICHOLS 1785: 10). Not all his bids for publishing commissions were successful. Around 1723, the publisher Jacob Tonson approached Hogarth and his academy tutor, John Vanderbank (1694-1739), about illustrating his prestigious planned Spanish language edition of *Don Quixote*, finally published only in April 1738 (CERVANTES 1738; HAMMELMANN 1969: 6; EGERTON 2004; MACKENZIE 2008;

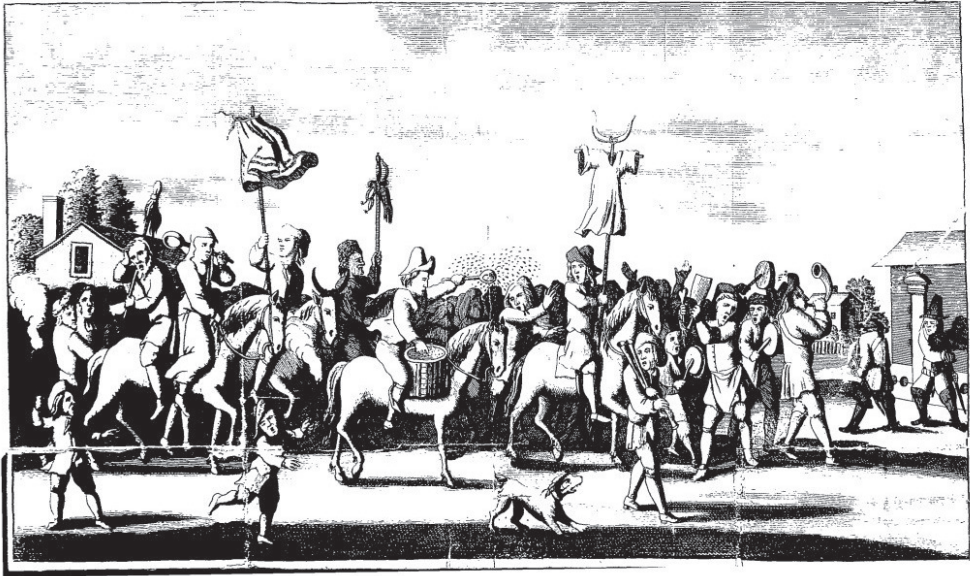


Fig. 2: Anon, *Hudibras encounters the skimmington*, engraving, 1709. In BUTLER 1709/10: II, plate 9. London, British Library, BL 1078.a.10.

PARDO 2020: 199–204). Already in 1721, Hogarth had incorporated references to *Quixote* in his satirical engraving *The South Sea Scheme* (HALLETT 1999: 59). Tonson passed over his *Quixote* designs, reassigned from the 1730s to the 1720s by Hammelmann (1969: 13) – of which six engravings⁷ and two preparatory drawings⁸ survive – in favour of Vanderbank’s (NICHOLS 1785: 435–436). Hogarth’s successful bid to illustrate Tonson’s less ambitious *Hudibras* edition (BUTLER 1726), also conceived around 1723, proceeded more swiftly. Featuring his “small” *Hudibras* series (Figures 8, 9), it was published in 1726, the same year as Hogarth’s stand-alone “large” series (Figures 10, 11). Their commercial success was decisive for the career development of Hogarth, who served his apprenticeship with the eminent London silversmith Ellis Gamble and also trained as a sign-painter, while aspiring to the prestige of the portrait and history painter (NICHOLS 1785: 6–7; NICHOLS 1833: 2). Viewed throughout the 1720s primarily as an engraver,⁹ Hogarth’s 1726 publication of his “small” and “large” sets of *Hudibras* prints, widely recognized as achieving the reputational

7 I. Funeral of Chrysostrum, and Marcella vindicating herself, II. The Inn-keeper’s wife and daughter taking care of the Don after being beaten and bruised, III. Don Quixote releases the galley slaves, VI. The unfortunate Knight of the Rock meeting Don Quixote, V. Don Quixote seizes the barber’s basin for Mambriño’s helmet, VI. The Curate and Barber disguising themselves to convey Don Quixote home.

8 Royal Collection, Windsor Library (OPPÉ 1950: cats.349, 350).

9 “Hogarth the Engraver is making a Print after them, which will give a juster Idea of them than I can” (ANON 1727: 13). In 1730, he is referred to as: “an ingenious designer and engraver” (NICHOLS 1785: 27).

breakthrough he needed to set up as a successful painter, is here also identified as a turning point in his evolving responses to optimizing his earnings through house decoration.

Hogarth's two *Hudibras* series of 1726 also mark a major milestone in British book illustration. Although most of the preparatory drawings for his "small" series have been lost (see Figure 8 and Appendices), his prints suggest Tonson's completely illustrated *Hudibras* editions of 1716 or 1720 as Hogarth's iconographic source for his illustrations to Tonson's May 1726 *Hudibras* edition.¹⁰ Dropping only two scenes (plates 4: "Hudibras attacking Crowdero" and 16 "The marriage of the 'good old cause'"), Hogarth's 16 prints follow the remaining subject choices of Tonson's 1716 and 1720 *Hudibras* editions, albeit less closely than some early specialists allow, with three introducing considerable compositional alterations ("Hudibras encounters the Skimmington", Figure 9; "Sidrophel examining the kite through his telescope"; "Burning the rumps at Temple Bar").

Hogarth was even freer with his "large" *Hudibras* compositions. Published by Philip Overton in February 1726, these 12 large format numbered prints were sold by subscription as a stand-alone print series (see Appendix B; DILLARD 2011: 230-232; CLAYTON 2008). Most of Hogarth's careful preparatory drawings of c.1725 for them still survive (Figure 10). Plate 1 provides a new "Frontispiece"; plates 4 and 10 ("Hudibras Triumphant", "The Committee") add two new subjects not previously represented in the book illustrations; plates 11 and 12 ("Burning the rumps at Temple Bar", "Hudibras and the lawyer") further develop compositional deviations evident in the "small" *Hudibras* series, while plate 7 ("Hudibras encounters the Skimmington", Figure 11) ignores these to develop a new take on the skimmington scene. Closely following Tonson's anonymously illustrated 1716 or 1720 *Hudibras* edition, Hogarth's "small" skimmington observes the low-key conventions of genre composition (Figures 8, 9). Hogarth's "large" *Skimmington* heightens the rustic riot's burlesque effect by innovatively borrowing the heroic scale traditionally reserved for the most respected artistic genre: history painting (Figures 10, 11) (ANTAL 1947: 38-9; BARLOW 2005: 60-83; KATRITZKY 2014: 59-84). Directly travestyng the retinues of classical triumphs, the massive musical instrument of its corpulent central horn blower, mockingly based on a faun in the Farnese Gallery's monumental *Procession of Bacchus and Ariadne* (ANTAL 1947: 39), draws attention to the martial din and motivating cuckoldry of Butler's skimmington episode.¹¹

Hudibras also inspired several sets of paintings. Unlike published book illustrations, whose date of publication indicates their *terminus ad quem*, incomplete documentation and preservation complicate their accurate identification, dating and attribution. In 1833, Hogarth biographer John Bowyer Nichols lists a set of *Twelve Pictures of Hudibras* left by the art collector John Ireland in 1810 (IRELAND 1791: I: 33) as Hogarth's earliest known paintings, dating to 1726. Dryly hedging his bets by noting that they are

10 BUTLER 1726 (reissued 1726 with the imprint: London: B. Motte). Both editions contain the same 17 engravings; see Appendices.

11 On cornucopia imagery, see also HOGARTH 1772: 53-54.



Fig. 3: *Landscape with scenes from 'Quixote'*, oil on panel, East wall, 'Dutch Parlour', Littlecote House.

“supposed by competent judges to have been painted by Heemskirk” (probably the London-born genre painter Egbert van Heemskerk III, active c.1700–1744; NICHOLS 1833: 349), Nichols supplements his sparse documentation with details of three distinct sets of *Hudibras* paintings, quoted from Ireland’s will:

In the mansion of Wm. Sawbridge, Esq. at East Haddon, co. Northampton, are twelve humorous Sketches said to be by Hogarth, illustrative of *Hudibras*. The late Mr W Davies, bookseller, in the Strand, had, in 1816, twelve small pictures of scenes in *Hudibras*, by Lepipre, a man under whom Hogarth is said to have studied;¹² and the subjects so familiar to all as

¹² Impossible if Le Piper: “dy’d in Alderman-Bury about 8 Years ago”, as claimed in 1706 (BUCKRIDGE 1706: 457).



Fig. 4: Detail: Figure 3 (above: *Don Quixote and Sancho Pancho ride blindfold through the Air upon a wooden Horse*; below: *Don Quixote's Adventure of the Lion's page*).

executed by Hogarth from *Hudibras*, are so similar to these twelve pictures, that Mr Davies considered there could not be a doubt of Hogarth having copied them. Mr J Britton has also a series of twelve designs on panel, illustrative of Butler's *Hudibras*, designed and coloured in a superior manner. He bought them, as painted by Hogarth, at Southgate's; but Sir Thomas Lawrence pronounced them to be by Vandergucht. (NICHOLS 1833: 349-350)



Fig. 5: *Landscape with scenes from 'Hudibras'*, oil on panel, West wall, 'Dutch Parlour', Littlecote House.

Hogarth's 1726 "large" *Hudibras* series (Figure 11) was "humbly dedicated to William Ward, Esq. of Great Houghton in Northamptonshire; and Mr. Allan Ramsay, of Edinburgh" (NICHOLS 1785: 143). In 1726, as well as Houghton, William Ward also owned East Haddon Hall, whose 12 *Hudibras* paintings John Conybeare describes as follows:



Fig. 6: Detail: Figure 5 (*Hudibras encounters the skimmington*, left-hand detail).

The paintings form a single series corresponding to, but far from identical in their details with, the series of twelve large *Hudibras* engravings published in 1726 [...] some [...] amplify and improve upon the large engravings to which they correspond [...] The painting corresponding with Plate I, the allegorical frontispiece to the set of engravings, appears noteworthy, as showing that the twelve East Haddon pictures could not have been completed until after the large engravings had been published. (VIDEO 1874)¹³

Via sales to John Woodhall (1737) and Clarke Adams (1751), East Haddon was acquired by the Sawbridge family in 1780 (VIDEO 1874: 266–267). Throughout, the 12 paintings stayed in situ; evidently regarded as fixtures: integral elements of house decoration.

While it is unclear how many sets of *Hudibras* paintings were produced,¹⁴ and most are lost, 11 of the 12 Davies/Britton panels documented by Nichols have survived (BLACK 2016: 11n.34; see also Figure 1 and Appendix B). If Francis Le Piper (c.1640–95)’s accepted dates are at all accurate, their traditional attribution to him, together with a lively monochrome sketch of one panel (British Museum BM.1959,0307.10), requires acceptance that these 11 vividly coloured paintings were produced in the

¹³ Black (2016: 12 n. 25) tentatively identifies these panels with the Mellon/Jeannerat *Hudibras* paintings.

¹⁴ For instance, Nichols (1833: vii) also documents a painting then belonging to Mr. Willett: “*Hudibras vanquished by Trulla*, similar in design to Plate V. of ‘*Hudibras*’”.



Fig. 7: Detail: Figure 5 (*Hudibras encounters the skimmington*, right-hand detail).

seventeenth rather than eighteenth century, thus predating the monochrome prints of the 1709/10 illustrated edition of *Hudibras* by well over a decade. This would amply justify their identification as “the first recorded oils from a nondramatic English literary source [...] *Hudibras* was the first English poem ever to be painted in oils” (ALTICK 1985: 13–14, 376). Le Piper was an independently wealthy dilettante, celebrated as a skilled draughtsman, who only exceptionally worked with colour or for payment. His “room decorations” were less coherent series than individually produced monochrome sketches. The son of a successful Huguenot merchant, whose family had resettled from Flanders to Kent, he could not:

apply himself to the Studies of Learning, or have been a Merchant; but his Genius leading him wholly to *Designing*, he cou'd not fix to any particular Science, or Business, besides the Art to which he naturally inclin'd. Drawing took up all his Time, and all his Thoughts; and being of a gay, facetious Humour, his Manner was Humorous or Comical. He delighted in

drawing Ugly Faces [...] Having a good Estate of his own, [...] he wou'd never take any thing for his Drawings. [...] there is a Room, call'd the Amsterdam, which is adorn'd with his Pictures in Black and White. [...] He seldom design'd after the Life, and neglected the Part of Colouring; But yet he sometimes, tho very rarely, Colour'd some of his Pieces. (BUCKRIDGE 1706: 453–457)

Alternatively, the series may be eighteenth century; as quoted above, Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830) attributes it to Vandergucht (NICHOLS 1833: 350). The Flemish engraver Michael van der Gucht (1660–1725) trained his sons Gerard (1696–1776) and Jan (1697–1776) in his London workshop (CLAYTON 2004). They provided book illustrations to many London publishers, including John Baker. Baker's pre-1710 publications were mostly unillustrated. Very few featured two or three crude unsigned engravings, or a frontispiece portrait head generally signed by Michael van der Gucht (BOILEAU-DESPRÉAUX 1708; BOURIGNON 1708; D'AULNOY 1708; SACHEVERELL 1710), whose workshop I here suggest as a possible source of Baker's 1709/10 *Hudibras* engravings. Gerard van der Gucht engraved several frontispieces designed by Hogarth (see MILLER 1730; LOCKMAN 1731: I; FIELDING 1731), and was the main engraver for Vanderbank's designs, including those for Tonson's *Don Quixote* (CERVANTES 1738). His first major independent engravings (c.1725), perhaps in this connection, depict Charles Antoine Coytel (1694–1752)'s 28 *Quixote* tapestry designs (1716–23); also the subject of 12 engravings by George Bickham and J. Mynde published in 1725 by Philip Overton (c.1681–1745).

In 1842, their then owner, J Britton, attributed the Davies/Britton series to Benjamin van der Gucht (1753–1794). The youngest of Gerard's 32 children, he produced theatrical scenes and portraits before giving up painting around 1787 to concentrate on picture restoration and dealing (CLAYTON 2004; BENEZIT 2011):

Mr. Urban,– I avail myself of the medium of your useful periodical to make some inquiry about *Richard Wilson*, R.A. *J. H. Mortimer*, A.R.A. *B. Vandergutch*, and *J. Cleveley*. Of all these artists some particulars are given in the Dictionary by Bryan – Edwards's Anecdotes – Cunningham's "Lives of Painters, Sculptors," &c.; but not the information I require [...] By *Vandergutch* I have a series of twelve small pictures representing so many incidents in the adventures of *Hudibras*. They are slight but smart vigorous sketches, coloured in the true Venetian style; and some of them are equal in character, composition, and expression to any works of the best masters. They certainly far surpass the designs of Hogarth for the same author; yet I do not meet with any reference to this series of pictures, or to the other designs by the same master, in Bryan or Edwards. (BRITTON 1842: 450)

The Davies/Britton series shares no direct compositional links with Hogarth's 1726 *Hudibras* images, or his strongest visual influence, the book illustrations of earlier *Hudibras* editions (Figures 1, 2, 8–11), although only panel 5 depicts a scene not included in either the book illustrations or Hogarth's "large" engravings (see Appendix B). If painted by Le Piper, it represents a groundbreaking seventeenth-century artistic milestone

in terms of style, composition and genre, made even more exceptional by its lack of impact on early eighteenth-century book illustration. Alternatively, the series may be the work of Benjamin van der Gucht or another eighteenth-century book illustrator, perhaps in connection with some publishing commission or domestic house decoration scheme. While divesting the series of its exceptional artistic status, this later dating would identify the Davies/Britton series as a bold attempt, by a rival or successor of Hogarth, to break away from the compositional concept initiated by the 1709/10 *Hudibras* editions and promoted by Hogarth in 1726.

3 *Quixote* and *Hudibras* at Littlecote¹⁵

A similarly challenging lack of consensus also surrounds dating of Littlecote's painted room (Figures 3–7), of which, astoundingly, there is no previous research-based study. It fails to register in the considerable nineteenth-century literature on Littlecote generated by Scott (1813: cii–cviii), or even in most modern, heritage-focused accounts of Littlecote:

From Hungerford we drove to Littlecote, which is to be re-sold next week by the bloody tycoon who bought it lock, stock and barrel from the Wills family last month. It is very dreadful that these mushroom millionaires can speculate in this way with England's heritage. But it is not a nice house, an over-restored rich-man-of-the-Twenties house. Best things are the armour and buff jerkins from Cromwellian times that belonged to the Popham family. Interesting Cromwellian chapel, with pulpit but no altar, and original pews, screen and gallery. Great Hall, with shuffle [-board] table of inordinate length. Pretty library, with nice black Wedgwood plaster-cast busts over the bookcases which I coveted. Long Gallery, with restored ceiling. No, not a satisfactory or an endearing house. (LEES-MILNE 2008: 28 August 1985)

Informative accounts are rare and do not appear to predate 1895 (MALAN 1895). Assigned to the sixteenth century by Historic England (“Dutch Room with painted ceiling and walls C16”),¹⁶ the room is typically attributed to unidentified seventeenth-century artists. Here, I suggest that its cultural value deserves serious art historical recognition and consider its *Quixote* and *Hudibras* murals with reference to Hogarth's book illustrations.

Until the late twentieth century, Littlecote House in Wiltshire (near Hungerford, Berkshire; SU 37 SW Ramsbury), was a privately owned Tudor manor house complete with original furnishings and fittings. During the 1980s, most of these were auctioned

15 The Littlecote House murals were brought to my attention in the 1980s by Monica Murray (Society for Theatre Research), during my doctoral researches on commedia dell'arte iconography. I hugely thank genealogist Pauline Mobey, Littlecote's Curator and Guide, and commedia dell'arte specialist Dr Oliver Crick, for facilitating my researches at Littlecote in February 2020, generously sharing their time and knowledge and respectively providing me with their 2011 guide (MOBEY 2011) and invaluable photographs.

16 Available online at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1300540> (accessed 05 Apr 2020).

off and Littlecote was opened to the public, offering sights as historically, geographically and culturally diverse as its *in situ* fourth-century Roman Orpheus mosaic and Chinese Room, a Wild West re-enactment “Frontier City” and a 1,000-year Theme Park with smithy, falconry and medieval rare breed farm. Currently, it is a Warner Leisure hotel. Throughout, its most popular attraction remains a haunted room associated with the “Littlecote legend”, arising from persistent ghoulish rumours surrounding the murky circumstances of the estate’s transfer from “Wild” William Darrell (1539–89) to Lord Chief Justice Sir John Popham (1531–1607), whose family owned Littlecote from 1589 to 1929 (MOBEY 2011: 46–52). A possible influence on the plot of *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, a play of 1633 by John Popham’s great-nephew John Ford (HOPKINS 1994: 520), this legend inspired literary responses from writers such as John Aubrey, Charles Dickens, John Julius Norwich and, above all, Sir Walter Scott (SCOTT 1813).

Much less celebrated, although its integral interior decorations largely survived the wholesale asset-stripping of the 1980s by Littlecote’s last private owner (ANON 1985), is its painted room (Figures 3–7). The antiquarian Vernon James Watney wrote a traditional account of its provenance while himself living at Littlecote (MOBEY 2011: 95–96):

The Dutch Parlour [...] There is certainly a strong tradition that the pictures on these walls were painted by Dutch prisoners who were confined at Littlecote, so the probability is that they were prisoners taken in one of the naval battles in Charles II.’s reign, either off Harwich in 1665, or at the mouth of the Thames in 1666, or off the coast of Holland in 1673. In the accounts of the Constable of Hungerford in 1667 is the following entry, “Pd. 13 prisoners which came out of Holland 3d.” It is quite possible that these may have been the Dutch prisoners who came to Littlecote. (WATNEY 1900: 81–82)

This attribution, firmly enshrined in Littlecote’s official naming of its painted room as the “Dutch Parlour”, is widely accepted, from Nikolaus Pevsner (“Another C17 room is the Dutch Parlour, painted with Dutch genre-scenes, many of them painted complete with frames, and nails and ribbons to hang the feigned frames from”) and Miles Hadfield (“curious panels in the Dutch Parlour were the work of Dutch naval prisoners quartered at Littlecote in the 17th century”),¹⁷ to *Wikipedia*:

A unique room that can still be seen today is the so-called “Dutch Parlour”. A plaque in the corridor outside states that this was decorated with paintings by Dutch seamen who were captured in about 1666 in a war between England and the Dutch; these paintings cover the walls and the ceiling.¹⁸

Surprisingly rarely, as briefly in the foundational reference work on English wall paintings (CROFT-MURRAY 1960–1962: II: 317, quoted below), Littlecote’s *Hudibras*

17 PEVSNER and CHERRY 1975: 299; HADFIELD 1969: 167; see also MALAN 1895: 11–12, 17 (exceptionally depicting the murals and predating Country Life’s 27-9-1902 first feature on Littlecote (12: 400–409); FOSS and JOEKES 1980: 213; MOBEY 2011: 25–26.

18 Available online at *Wikipedia*: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Littlecote_House, accessed 23 Oct 2020.

and *Quixote* murals are identified as derivative pastiches of early eighteenth-century book illustrations. The room has attracted minimal scholarly attention beyond passing mentions in guide books and local histories and remains undocumented by specialists of Hogarth or British wall painting, including leading current authorities (BLACK 2016; EINBERG 2016; HAMLETT 2020). Despite their high significance for British Cervantes reception, the history of book illustration and the iconography of English *Quixote* and *Hudibras* illustrations, its murals also remain undocumented in these connections by Hispanists, art historians or book historians. They are here identified as key to eighteenth-century book history, and evaluated with reference to early *Hudibras* illustrations and previously unsuggested possibilities for their patronage and attribution.

Domestic rather than grand in proportion, Littlecote's painted room offers a cosy yet diverting space for smaller gatherings. Its North wall has large windows facing the gardens; the adjoining section of the West wall accommodates a fireplace. The ceiling mural, an *Allegory of Justice and Fame surrounded by putti*, features the coat of arms of the Popham family; the wooden panelling lining the entire East and South walls, and much of the West wall, is directly painted with figural and landscape scenes. The South wall, including the central door, is entirely painted with 26 *trompe l'oeil* individually framed and hung paintings, reminiscent of closely crammed shop signs of widely varying sizes, arranged in four tiers. The *Quixote* mural, flanked at each end by a narrow Italianate *Bacchanalia*, occupies the central part of the fully decorated East wall (Figures 3, 4); a third *Bacchanalia* was removed from the West wall and auctioned off.¹⁹ The *Hudibras* mural decorates the part of the West wall adjoining the South wall (Figures 5–7). At the top of the East and West walls, above the horizons of their respective landscapes, hang indoor scenes from *Quixote* (3) and *Hudibras* (5) in *trompe l'oeil* painted frames, “held up” by painted ribbons. The ceiling (with moderate success) and East wall *Bacchanalia* (unconvincingly) aspire to the grand baroque manner of European interior painters such as Antonio Verrio (c.1636–1707) or Louis Chéron, both brought to England by Ralph Montagu. The South wall knowingly draws on Dutch genre painting and “drolls”. These were categories of European painting then prized far above the work of living British artists by London dealers and connoisseurs, a hierarchy strongly contested by Hogarth, as in his print of 1745, *The battle of the pictures*, or his contribution to Bonnel Thornton's iconoclastic 1762 “Exhibition of Sign Paintings” (see THOMSON 1994; WHEATLEY 1909: 68–72). The *Hudibras* and *Quixote* murals, by contrast, introduce a hitherto unrecognized, breathtakingly innovative approach to English secular, interior decoration (Figures 3–7). Combining related literary episodes into one coherent landscape, they explore a theatrical, simultaneous, treatment of space, time and plot reminiscent of certain complex European renaissance painted schemes.²⁰

19 As eighteenth-century Dutch School: “A Bacchanale, within a painted border”, oil on panel; 129.5 x 99 cm, Sotheby's London, 11 February 1985 and Bonham's London, 28 April 2010, Lot 240 (MOBEY 2011: 26; Pauline Mobey, personal communication, 20 February 2020).

20 For instance, Benozzo Gozzoli (c.1421–97), *Journey of the Magi* murals, Chapel of the Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence.



Fig. 8: William Hogarth, *Hudibras encounters the skimmington*, ink and wash on paper, 12.6 x 22.4 cm, c.1724. Preparatory drawing for Hogarth's 17 "small" series of etchings for BUTLER 1726: plate 9. Windsor Castle, Royal Library inv. RL 13465.

Encouraged by tight publishing deadlines and budgets and reader expectation, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century book illustrators avoided creating their own compositions; adaptation was standard practice. With minor variations, the 16 engravings of the first illustrated English edition of *Quixote* (1687) form the basis for all pre-1726 illustrated English *Quixote* editions.²¹ My *in situ* examination confirms Littlecote's *Quixote* mural as firmly within this pre-1726 iconographic tradition (Figure 3), and the *Hudibras* mural's similar style and date. It cannot predate the eighteenth century, because, as also indicated by Croft-Murray, its iconographical links are to book illustrations not published before 1709 (Figures 2, 5-7):

East Wall: large compartment with incidents, in an extensive landscape, from Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* taken from the anon. engravings (after Francis Le Piper?) in the first illustrated

21 CERVANTES 1687: plates 1. Don Quixot Dubb'd a Knight Errant by the Innkeeper, 10; 2. Don Quixot's Encounter with the Windmills, 29; 3. Don Quixot and the Carrier Fighting for the Innkeepers Maid, 35; 4. Sancho Pancho toss't in a Blanket; 5. Don Quixots Encounter with the Flock of Sheep, 78; 6. Don Quixot releases the Gally-Slaves; 7. Don Quixot's Inchantment, 243; 8. Don Quixot Arrested, and carried home in a Cage, 255, 261; 9. Don Quixots Encounter with the Players, 339; 10. Don Quixots Adventure of the Lyons page, 363; 11. Don Quixot's Encounter with the puppits, 417; 12. Don Quixots Adventure of the Enchanted Bark, 427; 13. The Duke, Dutchess, and Don Quixot hunting the wild Boar, Sancho Pancho falling out of a Tree is catch'd by the Breech, 454; 14. Don Quixot and Sancho Pancho ride blindfold through the Air upon a wooden Horse, 477; 15. The Adventure of the Enchanted Head, 570; 16. Don Quixot conquer'd by the Knight of the White Moon, 582 (these indicative page numbers engraved on the images are imprecisely followed in actual copies of the edition).



Fig. 9: William Hogarth, *Hudibras encounters the skimmington*, engraving, May 1726. In BUTLER 1726: plate 9. London, British Library, BL 1078.f.8.

edition of 1710; above, incidents from the same work represented as a row of ‘pictures’ in black ‘frames’ suspended by ribbons from nails. (CROFT-MURRAY 1960–1962: II: 317)

The *Hudibras* mural in effect combines, into one single landscape painting, nine uniformly sized book illustrations with outdoor settings. Some feature prominently, others are relegated to the distance; five indoor scenes based on the same series of book illustrations are “hung”, *trompe l’oeil* fashion, above the skyline.

Littlecote’s *Hudibras* scenes all closely follow the engravings of pre-1726 illustrated editions of *Hudibras*. Like Hogarth’s “small” *Hudibras* series of 1726, they include all three of the scenes of which only two are included in each of the 1709/10, 1710 and 1712 *Hudibras* editions, suggesting that both the mural artist and Hogarth used the illustrated *Hudibras* edition of 1716 or 1720. Also like Hogarth’s “small” series, the Littlecote murals exclude plate 16 (“The marriage of the ‘good old cause’”). The other excluded scenes are plates 1 (“Hudibras sallies forth”), which the mural indicates in scene 2, and 17 (“Burning the rumps at Temple Bar”), which Hogarth substantially alters in both 1726 series (see Appendices). These are modest but significant indications of possible contact between Hogarth and the Littlecote artist. Stylistically and compositionally, the skill and vivacity with which the numerous episodes are depicted and combined within Littlecote’s *Hudibras* and *Don Quixote* murals suggest not mechanical plagiarism, but ambitious talent diluted by youthful inexperience. As well as their similarities to the published *Hudibras* and *Quixote* book illustrations that influenced the young Hogarth, several further factors support my impression of these panels’ thematic, compositional and stylistic connections with Hogarth and his circle. Their witty contextualization is within a decorative scheme whose dominant theme, human folly, draws heavily on

seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting, Jacques Callot's engravings and other European art known to have influenced Hogarth. At its best, the playful lightness of touch of their paintwork recalls the Glasgow *Hudibras* panel, and what Einberg memorably labels Hogarth's "restless, individual handling of paint – often more resembling a struggle with it" (EINBERG 2016: 11; see also Figures 4, 6, 7).

The known scenarios are that the Littlecote murals either date to the 1660s (thus pre-dating the 1709/10 *Hudibras* book illustrations, whose compositions they closely follow, by some four decades), or derivatively copy them. I here suggest a third hypothesis:

- Could these murals (Figures 3–7) represent an exploratory intermediate stage between the pre-1726 *Hudibras* book illustrations (Figure 2) and Hogarth's 1726 *Hudibras* images (Figures 8–11)?
- Conceived and painted by Hogarth? Before 1726?

Rather than making connoisseurship central to this enquiry, the following sections seek to identify historical evidence relevant to the dating and attribution of the Littlecote murals through careful attention to issues of genre and patronage.

4 Genre: Hogarth and house decoration

While Hogarth's involvement in the Littlecote murals has never previously been suggested, this possibility should not be ruled out simply because, before 1726, his artistic credentials could not attract a substantial house decoration commission, requiring at least two years of artistic work. Peter Black provides a precedent for going against the institutionally ingrained, longstanding, lack of art-historical interest in English painted rooms highlighted by Hamlett: "Murals' lack of transferability rendered them valueless in the burgeoning eighteenth-century art market of old masters, prints and copies, a fact that has negatively affected interest in them to the present day" (HAMLETT 2020: introduction). Focusing on Hogarth and house decoration, Black identifies a grisaille *Hudibras* painting he acquired for Glasgow's Hunterian Art Gallery as the only surviving scene from a set of *Hudibras* panels, attributes it to Hogarth and dates it to around 1724. Between his estimated dating of Hogarth's "small" and "large" *Hudibras* engravings, this predates any known paintings by Hogarth (BLACK 2016: 5–7). Noting that "only a handful of painted rooms have survived" by any eighteenth-century artists, and none by Hogarth, Black suggests that this panel's "materials, technique and style of execution point to the work of a house painter, working *in situ* in a panelled interior"; possibly one of a lost series recorded in 1824 ('Hogarth ... Twelve original and very spirited Sketches, being a Series of Illustrations to Hudibras, differing from those engraved after the same Master, *on pannel, in flat gilt frames* ... £26 5s', ANON 1824: 51), it was created for the lost painted room of some unidentified English stately home (BLACK 2016: 3–4, 11n.7). The Littlecote murals, not noted by Black, represent a rare surviving *in situ* example of this technique of painting directly onto the room panelling.



Fig. 10: William Hogarth, *Hudibras encounters the skimmington*, ink and wash on paper, 24.8 x 43.4 cm, c.1725. Preparatory drawing for Plate 7 of Hogarth's 12 "large" *Hudibras* engravings of February 1726. Windsor Castle, Royal Library inv. RL 13464.

The early eighteenth century saw radical changes in house decoration fashions. Floor to ceiling panelling was largely replaced by plaster walls, and the mid-century house painter was:

employed in Painting the Outside and Inside of Houses; which requires no manner of Ingenuity [...] When it was the Taste to Paint Houses with Landskip Figures, and in Imitation of variegated Woods and Stone, then it was necessary to serve an Apprenticeship to the Business, and required no mean Genius in Painting to make a compleat Workman; but since the Mode has altered, and Houses are only daubed with dead Colours, every Labourer may execute it as well as the most eminent Painter. (CAMPBELL 1747: 103)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given this increasingly low status of domestic painted rooms in the eighteenth-century artistic hierarchy, and Hogarth's high professional ambitions, evidence for his involvement in house decoration is weak and untransparent. During their bitter final dispute, his former friend John Wilkes insultingly suggests that the ageing artist values the Prussian King above his own monarch, and disparages his painterly skills as mere house decoration:

In England he is rewarded, and made serjeant painter to that very king's grandson. I think the term means the same as what is vulgarly called house-painter; and indeed he has not been



Fig. 11: William Hogarth, *Hudibras encounters the skimmington*, etching and engraving on paper, 27 x 50 cm, February 1726. In Hogarth, *Hudibras*, "large" series (London: Philip Overton, 1726): Plate 7 of 12. London, British Museum, BM 1847,0508.19.

suffered to caricature the royal family. The post of portrait painter is given to a Scotsman, one Ramsay. Mr. Hogarth is only to paint the wainscot of the rooms, or, in the phrase of the art, may be called their pannel-painter. (WILKES 1769: 54)²²

Shortly after Hogarth's death, a pseudonymous art critic snidely implies that he favoured coarse, outsized housepainter brushes over the delicate tools of the true artist:

Having lately lost the incomparable Hogarth, it is some Consolation to see Some Sparks of his Genius reviving in Mr. Collet. [...] We could wish however that the living Artist had rather attempted to refine on his Original, than followed him in the Coarseness of his Figures, which commonly relished of the Pound-Brush, rather than the Pencil. (ANON 1765: 4)

Following the death of their father in 1718, Hogarth supported his younger sisters Mary (1699–1741) and Anne (1701–71). He "began business, on his own account, at least as early as the year 1720", routinely accepting commissions for heraldry, printed and painted shop bills and signs, and modest house decoration (NICHOLS 1785: 10, 417–419; NICHOLS 1833: 296–299). These were so badly paid that Hogarth once protested by painting uniformly red the staircase compartment for which an elderly aristocrat had commissioned "Pharaoh and his Host drowned in the Red Sea" (a subject Hogarth revisited on the ceiling of "The marriage settlement", the first of his six *Marriage a-la-Mode* paintings; EINBERG 2016: Cat.169, c.1743–44). When admonished

²² See also (NICHOLS 1785: 80, 87).

by his parsimonious patron, he robustly requested payment for representing: “the Red Sea. Pharaoh and his Host are drowned as you desired, and cannot be made objects of sight, for the ocean covers them all” (NICHOLS 1785: 16). Right from the start painfully aware of the prejudices surrounding the fine art–crafts divide, and of the relative influence on his career prospects offered by the networks of his chosen training institutions, Hogarth somehow found the means to augment his formal apprenticeship to a silver engraver and training as a sign-painter with long-term attendance of prestigious fee-paying art schools. London’s first Academy of this type, offering students basic training, but also the opportunity to meet and interact with each other, tutors and potential collaborators and patrons, was set up in Great Queen Street in 1711 by England’s then most successful portraitist, Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723), who had trained with Rembrandt and other leading European artists (NICHOLS 1833: 24–25). German-born Kneller’s Academy tutors included the Paris-born Huguenot exile Louis Chéron (1660–1725) (CAST 2020). Hogarth started attending before 1720, when the academy, led from 1716 by his future father-in-law, Sir James Thornhill (1675/6–1734), whose daughter Jane (1709–1789) he married in 1729, was superseded by John Vanderbank and Chéron’s St Martin’s Lane Academy, whose life-classes introduced female models from 1722, and attracted established medical professionals such as the surgeon William Cheselden alongside art students (NICHOLS 1785: 7–8; SLOAN 2015: 394).²³

Possibly, Hogarth repaid his Academy tutors less with cash than with contribution in kind. Hogarth’s Academy attendance provided opportunities to meet many artists who received substantial commissions for book illustration and house decoration. In the 1720s, Hogarth assisted Thornhill with staircase pictures for No. 75 Dean Street, Soho (WHEATLEY 1909: 39), and an: “allegorical cieling by *Sir James Thornhill* [...] at the house of the late Mr. *Huggins*, at *Headley Park*, *Hants*. The subject of it is the story of *Zephyrus* and *Flora*; and the figure of a *Satyr* and some others were painted by *Hogarth*” (NICHOLS 1785: 27).²⁴ As a painter, Thornhill’s studio, however busy, could cater only to the house decoration requirements of the wealthy. During the eighteenth century, prints became increasingly accessible, as signifiers of “universal luxury”, to aspiring as well as affluent consumers (CLAYTON 1997: 129). Hogarth, who rarely used assistants, was well aware that “paintings are considered as pieces of furniture” (NICHOLS 1833: 30), and concerned to develop and encourage consumption of fashionable contemporary alternatives to the sets of printed portraits,²⁵ months or biblical stories, within the modest means of those who could not afford to decorate their houses with paintings or tapestries. His artistic and business practices knowingly promoted his own original prints to a comparable creative status to his autograph paintings (BREWER 2000: 28). His skills as an engraver enabled him to develop innovative marketing strategies for attracting a wider social range of patrons than that available to painters. Hogarth’s inside

23 See also BIGNAMINI and POSTLE 1991: 83–124.

24 “Minerva and History attended by putti symbolizing the Arts, one with a male portrait. Destroyed after 1808” (CROFT-MURRAY 1960–1962: I: 270).

25 See engraved portraits of Captain Macheath (*The Beggar’s Opera*), and the cleric Dr Henry Sacheverell on the bedroom wall in Hogarth’s *A Harlot’s Progress* III (EINBERG 2016: Cat.23, c.1729–31).

knowledge as a book illustrator underpinned his progression from providing publishers with commissioned images, to targeting the house decoration market with his innovative genre of freestanding performative²⁶ series of modern moral subjects, a new genre with vastly greater potential consumer appeal than obscure portrait groups. Here, his earliest significant watershed achievement is his “large” *Hudibras* series. His painted series were subordinate to their engravings, acquiring broad circulation – and full left to right narrative coherence – only in reversed print. More even than acknowledged by Black (BLACK 2016), house decoration fundamentally shaped Hogarth’s artistic and commercial agendas.

The practice of using Hogarth’s prints as house decoration is documented during his lifetime, as when the Scottish architect James Stuart (1713–1788) enhanced the parlour of his house in Leicester-fields “with some of Hogarth’s most popular prints, and upon a fire-screen he had pasted an impression of the plate called the ‘Periwigs’” (*The Five Orders of Periwigs*, 1761), or Edmonton schoolmaster John Adams hung the 12 framed plates of Hogarth’s longest engraved series, “Industry and Idleness” (1747), around his schoolroom, and regularly lectured his pupils on the virtuous and vicious examples of their two apprentices, Francis Goodchild and Tom Idle (SMITH 1829: I: 37, 184). Hogarth’s earliest biographer confirms the broader context:

The scarceness of the good impressions of Hogarth’s larger works is in great measure owing to their having been pasted on canvas or boards, to be framed and glazed for furniture. There were few people who collected his prints for any other purpose at their first appearance. The majority of these sets being hung up in London houses, have been utterly spoiled by smoke. (NICHOLS 1785: 450–451)

Charles (1775–1834) and Mary (1764–1847) Lamb document the longevity of this practice. Charles Lamb’s fictionalized lamentation of the 1822 demolition of Blakesware, seventeenth-century Hertfordshire country seat of the Plumer family, was first published in 1824 (reprinted in LAMB 1828). Having updated to a modern house nearby, the Plumers left the Lambs’ maternal grandmother, Mary Field, as Blakesware’s housekeeper and sole resident; until her 1792 death often visited by the siblings. On arrival, Mary Lamb’s:

first visit was always to a very large hall, which, from being paved with marble, was called the Marble Hall. The heads of the twelve Cæsars were hung round the hall. Every day I mounted on the chairs to look at them and to read the inscriptions underneath, till I became perfectly familiar with their names and features. Hogarth’s prints were below the Cæsars. I was very fond of looking at them and endeavouring to make out their meaning.

26 Lydia Hamlett’s presentation “Mural painting and performance, 1630–1730” (Society for Court Studies Annual Meeting 2019), valuably promoted the notion that murals should be viewed “less as static works of art and more as interactive elements within architectural interiors” (unpublished handout).

Charles Lamb recalls:

One of the earliest and noblest enjoyments I had when a boy, was in the contemplation of those capital prints by Hogarth, the *Harlot's* and *Rake's Progresses*, which, along with some others, hung upon the walls of a great hall in an old-fashioned house in –shire, and seemed the solitary tenants (with myself) of that antiquated and life-deserted apartment. (LAMB 1852: 540)

In 1799, after revisiting Blakesware, Charles Lamb writes to Robert Southey: “returned from Herts. [...] I could tell of an old marble hall, with Hogarth’s prints, and the Roman Cæsars in marble hung round”; in 1809 he reports to Samuel Coleridge that following their strenuous move to chambers at Inner Temple Lane, he and Mary convalesced in Wiltshire, where: “the country has made us whole. We came back to our Hogarth room [...] My rooms are luxurious; one is for prints and one for books” (LAMB 1852: 40, 234–235). Lamb’s executor Talfourd confirms that although this room’s “furniture is old-fashioned and worn [...] the Hogarths, in narrow black frames, abounding in infinite thought, humour and pathos, enrich the walls, and all things wear an air of comfort and hearty English welcome” (LAMB and TAULFORD 1855: I: 498). In 1817, when the siblings moved again, to Covent Garden, Mary informs Dorothy Wordsworth:

Charles has had all his Hogarths bound in a book; they were sent home yesterday, and now that I have them altogether, and with what I had written, and perceive the advantage of peeping close at them through my spectacles, I am reconciled to the loss of them hanging round the room, which has been a great mortification to me. In vain I tried to console myself with looking at our new chairs and carpets, [...] I missed my old friends, and could not be comforted —. (LAMB 1852: 310)

These extracts suggest the extent to which Hogarth created a new type of house decoration. Affordable to middle class as well as elite patrons, it depended not on slow, expensive painters like Hogarth’s father-in-law, but on modestly priced, mechanically reproduced, portable series of literary and “conversational” engravings. My suggestion here is that the Littlecote murals’ painted recreations of engraved book illustrations represent a significant step in this process.

5 Patronage: Hogarth and the Montagus²⁷

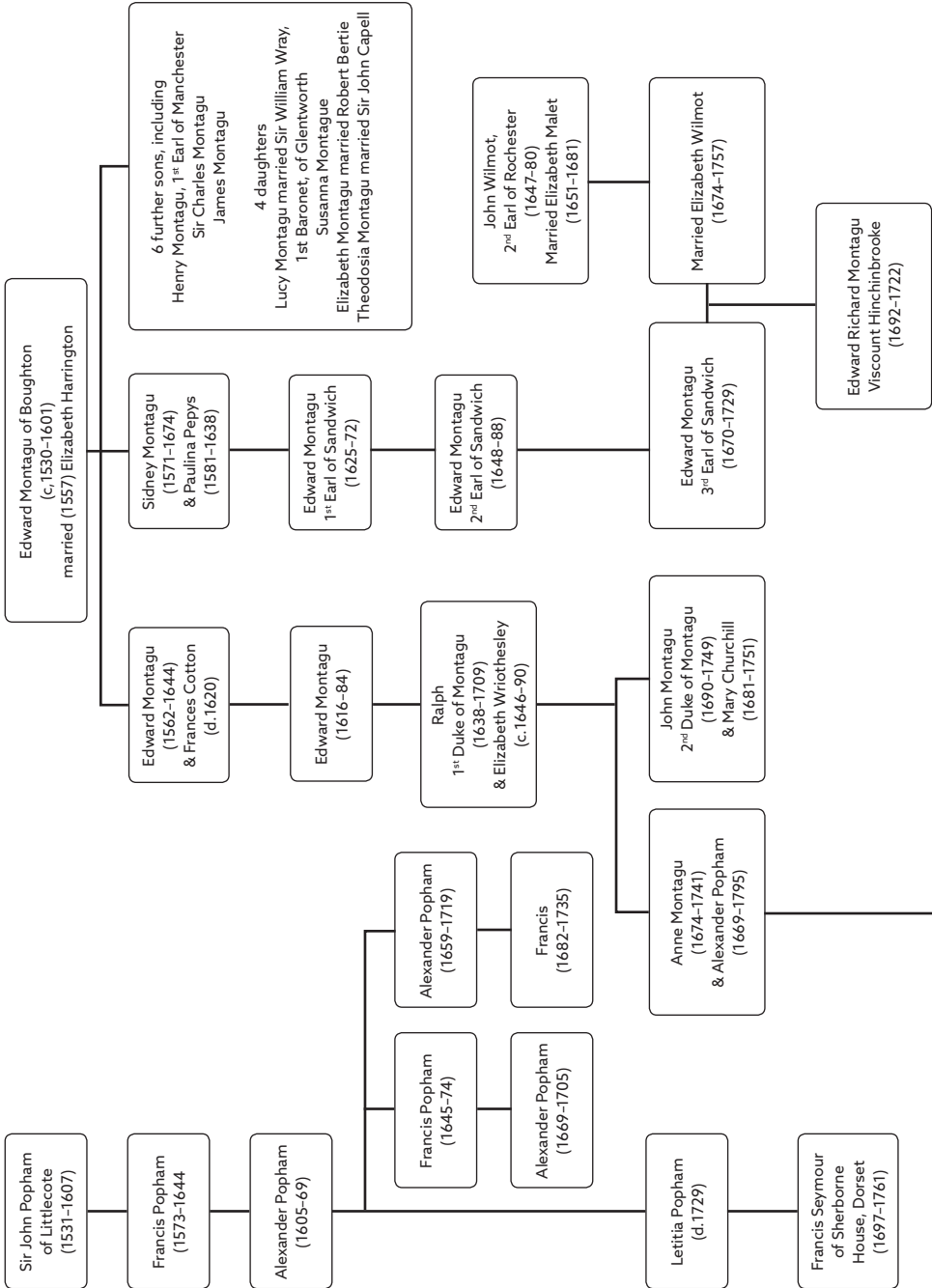
My investigation of patronage has uncovered previously disregarded circumstantial evidence, indicating Hogarth’s possible presence at Littlecote during the early 1720s, potentially dating the Littlecote murals (Figures 3–7) rather precisely within the period 1722–1725. One possible patronage route which could have brought Hogarth to Lit-

27 For Montagu, Popham and Rush family trees, see Figure 12.

tlecote in the 1720s is via his tutors, John Vanderbank and Louis Chéron, co-directors of the St Martin's Lane Academy between 1720 and 1724. Vanderbank's father, John Vanderbank the Elder (d.1717), ran a tapestry workshop in Great Queen Street, where Kneller opened his art academy (1711–1716), and welcomed the highly talented portraitist, draughtsman and illustrator Vanderbank as one of his first students. In between teaching, running a respected portrait studio whose sitters included leading members of the Royal Society, and taking on numerous publishing commissions (notably his highly illustrated book on horsemanship; VANDERBANK and SYMPSON 1729), Vanderbank continually returned to the theme of *Quixote*. In 1723, he drew *Quixote* in his library; some 35 of his oil sketches of the 1730s of scenes from *Quixote* appeared on the London art market before 1970,²⁸ and he produced 68 engravings for the 1638 Tonson *Don Quixote* edition (HAMMELMANN 1969: 11). Vanderbank's four sets of increasingly detailed preparatory drawings are based on instructions supplementing the 1638 edition, representing: "the first serious discussion [... of book illustration] in English" (OLDFIELD 1738; HAMMELMANN 1969: 6). They include preliminary drawings dated between 1726 and 1729 and 23 drawings of the 1730s, in much larger format than conventional commissioned book illustrations (all British Museum), and 64 monochrome drawings mostly dated 1729, removed, together with Vanderbank's drawing for the tailpiece to volume I and Thomas Rowlandson's design for the frontispiece to volume II, from an extra-illustrated copy of *Don Quixote* (CERVANTES 1818) in New York's Pierpont Morgan Library (cat.PML 4039–4047). In June 2016, at Peter Black's exhibition, I was struck by the Glasgow *Hudibras* panel's stylistic and compositional similarities to the Pierpont Morgan Library's Vanderbank drawings. This could indicate Vanderbank, rather than Hogarth, as the artist of the Glasgow panel and any related house decoration scheme. Alternatively, it could endorse the Glasgow panel's attribution to Hogarth: reflecting Vanderbank's deep artistic influence, during the period 1720–1724, on his pupil, Hogarth.

Little is known of Vanderbank's house decoration, of which only the c.1720 painted staircase of No.11 Bedford Row London survives (CROFT-MURRAY 1960–1962: I, 260; HAMMELMANN 1969: 3). Chéron turned increasingly from house decoration to book illustration during the eighteenth-century, for example collaborating with Sir James Thornhill on illustrating the Baskett Bible (Oxford 1717) and Tonson's Milton edition (London 1720). Strong early Montagu patronage, a key factor in establishing the identity of the Littlecote artist, has been underplayed ever since Hogarth's earliest biographer dismissed John 2nd Duke of Montagu (1690–1749) as "a certain vicious nobleman, whose name deserves no commemoration" (NICHOLS 1785: 233). Einberg suggests (EINBERG 2016: 85) that Hogarth may have gained Montagu patronage through the Freemasons, who possibly admitted Hogarth when Thornhill became a Senior Grand Warden in 1728 (WHEATLEY 1909: 39; see also Figure 12). Chéron was in London from around 1693, when Ralph, 1st Earl and later Duke of Montagu, commissioned

28 Current public locations include: Huntington Library, Manchester AG, Marble Hill House, Tate Gallery, York AG.



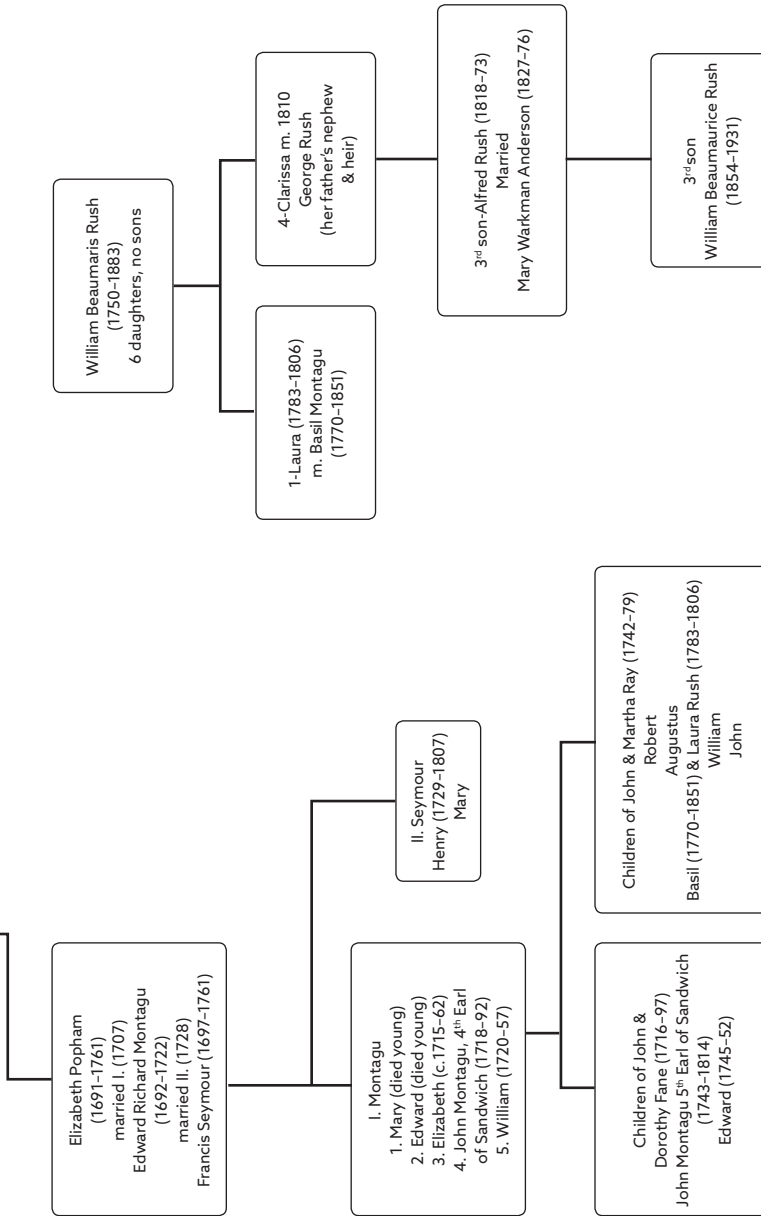


Fig. 12: Family tree: Montagu, Popham, Rush families (© M. A. Katritzky).

him to paint several mythological ceilings for his newly built country house, Boughton House, Northamptonshire, which Chéron, with varying degrees of success, worked on for over a decade (CAST 2020; HAMLETT 2013). The 2nd Duke, son and heir of Ralph and Elizabeth Wriothsesley (who died shortly after his birth), is depicted in the audience, in Hogarth's painting "The Conduitt Piece: A performance of Dryden's *The Indian Emperor, or The Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards* in the house of John Conduitt", commissioned in 1732 by John Conduitt, husband of Isaac Newton's favourite niece (EINBERG 2016: Cat.63). In 1730, the 2nd Duke commissioned two of Hogarth's most important early paintings, *Before and After II*, and a Montagu family group portrait which is lost, or possibly Hogarth's *Group of Six at Tea* (EINBERG 2016: 381, Cats.51, 47, 41–42), although George Vertue, who saw it in Hogarth's studio in 1730, acknowledged "four persons only the Duke of Montague and his Dutchess – the Lord Brudnal & a daughter of the Dukes lately married". On 1 January 1731 Hogarth, increasingly burdened with portrait commissions following his 1729 marriage to Jane Thornhill, details 10 family groups in his list of 17 unfinished paintings (EINBERG 2016: 381, appendix 3), including: "Another [ie 'A Family'] of five – the Duke of Montague" (EINBERG 2016: 84, 89).

This exceptionally early, extensive, patronage of Hogarth as a painter by John 2nd Duke of Montagu led me to re-evaluate two paintings Hogarth completed before compiling his 1731 list. Now in the National Museum of Wales, they are not strictly family groups as they depict only children (COWLEY 2018: 18n.8). Given that Hogarth produced family and conversation groups only from the late 1720s, and his list indicates that he rarely completed them in a timely manner, the *terminus ad quem* indicated by the inscribed dates, 1730, of *Children at Play I (The house of cards) & II (The dolls' tea party)*, situates them as his earliest group child portraits (EINBERG 2016: Cats.33–34; BENTON 2018: 14). Although the similar features of the five children in *I* identify them as siblings, the circa seven year-old boy and girl on the right, perhaps twins (EINBERG 2016: 71), seem paler and less robust than the central "infant boy" (EINBERG 2016: 72), his circa nine year-old sister and the lively circa five year-old left-hand boy about to demolish her elaborate house of cards with his flag. The oldest boy is missing from *II*, which features the same four younger children in front of a giant commemorative urn, helplessly witnessing the family dog destroying their dolls' tea-party. Here, I consider whether *Children at Play I & II* could have been commissioned by John's niece, Elizabeth, whose first marriage, in 1707, was to a grandson of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, her distant cousin Edward Richard Montagu, Viscount Hinchinbrook, who embarked on his Grand Tour directly after their wedding, returning to serve as MP for Huntingdonshire from 1713 to his death in 1722. Their five children were Mary and Edward, who both died young, Elizabeth (c.1715–1762), John (1718–1792), who succeeded as 4th Earl of Sandwich in 1729, and William (1720–1757) (DEBRETT 1823: 184; see also Figure 12).

Do the paintings' provenances support my hypothesis that *Children at Play I & II* could have been painted for Elizabeth Montagu? To commemorate her five children following the death of her husband? And then her four surviving children, after the

death of John's older brother Edward, and his succession as heir? *Children at Play I & II* (EINBERG 2016: 70) were unknown to the art world until sold as a pair at Christie's London, on 28 July 1926, by William Beaumaurice Rush (1854–1931). Suggesting him as a possible descendant of Sir William Beaumaris Rush, Einberg (72) notes that "it has not been possible to establish how, if at all, these pictures might relate to" the Rush family. Here, I can firmly link these paintings to the Rush and Montagu families (see Figure 12). William Beaumaurice Rush was the third son of George and Clarissa Rush's third son Alfred (BURKE 1882: II: 1389). As great-grandson of Sir William Beaumaris Rush of Wimbledon (born at sea off Beaumaris, Anglesey), he was a great-nephew of Laura Rush, eldest of the six daughters of Sir William, who had no sons, and was succeeded by George Rush, husband and paternal cousin of his fourth daughter, Clarissa (BURKE 1836: 61–62). In 1801, Laura Rush married Basil Montagu, eldest of the nine children of John, 4th Earl of Sandwich and his mistress, the singer Martha Ray. Around 1750, the 4th Earl commissioned one of Hogarth's finest children's portraits, of his second son from his marriage to Dorothy Fane, the short-lived Edward Montagu (EINBERG 2016: 202). Previously "not known to have been painted by Hogarth" (EINBERG 2016: 297), the 4th Earl is here identified as the oldest boy depicted in *Children at Play II*.

The 1730 *terminus ad quem* of *Children at Play I & II* suggests that they may have been commissioned in connection with Elizabeth's 1728 second marriage, to Francis Seymour. If they depict Elizabeth's children from her first marriage, their dates of birth suggest portrait sittings of around 1723–1724. Under what circumstances could Hogarth have portrayed Elizabeth's children in the early 1720s? Einberg (EINBERG 2016: 70) notes the marked architectural contrast between the background stately homes: "a grand Palladian building with a balustraded roofline" (*I*) and a traditional pitched roof stately home (*II*). Einberg rejects previous identifications as "The Fermor Children" or "The Children of the Earl of Pomfret", and an associated identification of the background building in *I* as Easton Neston, the Heskeths' Northamptonshire seat (EINBERG 2016: 72n.2). Pointing out that this leaves several children unaccounted for, Einberg tentatively identifies them as the children of Lieutenant General William Anne Keppel, 2nd Earl of Albemarle (1702–54) and his wife Anne Lennox (1703–89), who married in 1722 (EINBERG 2016: 73). If *Children at Play I & II* depict Montagu children, their background houses are likely to have Montagu connections. The first painting possibly depicts Boughton House, Northamptonshire, inherited in 1709 by Elizabeth's maternal uncle, John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, or Hinchinbrook House, Cambridgeshire, inherited in 1729 by her son John, 4th Earl of Sandwich. The second painting's background building could be Littlecote House, acquired for the Popham family by Elizabeth Montagu's paternal great-great-great-grandfather, Sir John Popham (see Figure 12). Inherited by Elizabeth's father in 1674, in 1705 Littlecote House passed to his paternal uncle, Alexander Popham (1657–1719), and almost directly thereafter to Alexander's young heir, Francis (1682–1735) (BURKE 1836: II, 196–201; MOBEY 2011: 75–77). Littlecote House was the family home to which Elizabeth's parents, Anne Montagu (1674–1741) and Alexander Popham (1669–1705) had moved in 1690, shortly before her birth, and in which they raised her as their sole child,

and it seems she returned there with her children as a widow, in 1722 (BROWN 1783: 25; BURKE 1882: II: 1293).

Children at Play I and *II* strongly reference the adult pursuits of card-playing and tea drinking, habitually chosen by Hogarth to represent elite leisure activities. Both are already prominent in his earliest major conversation piece, *Wanstead Assembly*. Identified by Nichols as: “the first piece in which he distinguished himself as a painter”, but also it long postdates his habitual practice of immediately sketching “any remarkable face which particularly struck him, and of which he wished to preserve the remembrance [...] he continually took sketches from nature as he met with them, and put them into his works” (NICHOLS 1785: 9, 15–17 see also EINBERG 2016: cat.20, c.1729–1731; CHEN 2009: 33). The ill-proportioned child portraits of *Children at Play* and their awkwardly inserted faces suggest an inexperienced painter, working from sketches rather than live sitters.²⁹ My hypothesis for Hogarth’s involvement at Littlecote suggests that Montagu family patronage of Hogarth was initiated not by the 2nd Duke in 1730, but by his niece Elizabeth Montagu during the 1720s, when she returned as a widow to her childhood home, Littlecote House. The death of a toddler is key to the symbolism of Hogarth’s finest child group portrait, *The Graham Children*; his child portraits habitually, and poignantly, associate childhood with change, vulnerability and mortality – the *vanitas* theme – to evoke the inescapable transience of human life (MARKS 2008: 43–44; RETFORD 2000: 26; RETFORD 2010: 76–77; BERRY 2019: 7; BENTON 2018: 11–15). If *Children at Play I & II* depict the Montagu children before (*I*) and after (*II*) the death of the heir, Edward, then Hogarth’s portrait sketches of Elizabeth’s children, culminating in a commission for *Children at Play I & II* in the late 1720s, could place him at Littlecote House during the early 1720s, when the painted room was created.

One (necessarily speculative) new scenario is that after Elizabeth’s return to her childhood home as a widow in 1722, she was involved in the decision to commission Littlecote’s painted room from Louis Chéron, the trusted house decorator of her father Ralph Montagu, perhaps with the assistance of Chéron’s long-term associate John Vanderbank. In which case, Chéron and Vanderbank may have brought in their pupil Hogarth as an assistant on the project; who may in turn have been unexpectedly left with a great deal more responsibility for the project than originally envisaged, when Vanderbank fled to France in May 1724 to escape being jailed for his debts, and then, shortly after Vanderbank’s return, Chéron died in London in May 1725. The room’s numerous jarring stylistic anomalies include the contrast between its smoothly competent “European” mythological ceiling figures and the novel, awkward “English” amateurishness of its bacchanalian nudes,³⁰ the uneven success of its informed attempts to evoke

29 This strangeness has not gone unnoticed: “The children are decidedly odd, with large heads, bulging eyes and small, doll-like bodies” (HUBBARD 2005); “what is so odd about these pictures is the overlarge heads placed on the little bodies, bringing to the picture more than a touch of Velázquez’s dwarves” (LAM-BIRTH 2005: 49); see also EINBERG 2016: 70.

30 Compare Hogarth’s curiously lumpy early nudes, eg: *The rake in Bedlam* (‘A Rake’s Progress VIII’, 1734, EINBERG 2016: Cat.81); *The Pool of Bethesda* and *The good Samaritan* (St Bartholomew’s Hospital staircase murals, 1735–1737, EINBERG 2016: Cats.90–91).

seventeenth-century “Dutch Drolls”, and the range of quality of execution of its individual *Hudibras* and *Quixote* cameos, from exquisitely painted recreations of the book illustrations (Figures 4, 6, 7) to botched pastiches. Many factors indicate the unplanned, chaotic mid-project handing on of responsibility for Littlecote’s painted room to an ambitious but inexperienced assistant. Could this have been Hogarth?

6 Conclusions

The Littlecote *Hudibras* mural’s compositional relation to early eighteenth-century book illustrations and Hogarth’s 1726 *Hudibras* engravings, comprehensively rule out the traditional 1660s dating (Figures 2, 5–11). Rather, it suggests a dating between 1716 and 1725. For the first time in British art, this wall presents the spectator with an episodic plot overview achieved by combining numerous related literary scenes into one coherently populated landscape. Regarding Hogarth attributions, Einberg acknowledges that the “greatest problems lie at the beginning of Hogarth’s career in the 1720s, about which relatively little is known”; her catalogue contains no Hogarth paintings predating 1727 (EINBERG 2016: 11). Here, striking compositional similarities between individual scenes of the Littlecote *Hudibras* murals and certain book illustrations are examined with reference to precisely this period of Hogarth’s poorly understood early career as a painter. Peter Black (BLACK 2016) intriguingly postulates Hogarth’s significant involvement with house decoration during the 1720s. I explore links between Hogarth’s early contributions to book illustration and house decoration, and identify the Littlecote *Hudibras* mural, in which a series of engravings is painted, as central to the key shift by which he established his financial security during the 1720s. This was his move to engraving series of paintings, in order to access a far broader social range of patrons than available to conventional house decorators, who worked with paint.

This work raises many questions. Could Littlecote’s painted room represent a deliberate intermediate exploratory stage between the early eighteenth-century *Hudibras* book illustrations and Hogarth’s 1726 *Hudibras* images? Painted during the early 1720s by artists in Hogarth’s immediate circle? Perhaps even Hogarth himself, in collaboration with his St Martin’s Lane Academy tutors John Vanderbank and Louis Chéron? In short, could the biggest gap in our contemporary understanding of Hogarth’s artistic career – the absence of paintings predating 1727 – be addressed by identifying his earliest paintings at Littlecote House? Close examination of issues of genre and patronage surrounding these questions reveals evidence supporting this hypothesis and illuminates early English book illustration, the iconography of *Hudibras* and Hogarth’s output during the 1720s. Intensive archival, field and library researches, detailed art and book historical analysis, specialist interdisciplinary collaboration and systematic tests, using recent powerful scientific developments in heritage studies, are required to supplement these researches, and to clarify dating of the Littlecote murals, and the nature of any role Hogarth may have played in creating them. The Littlecote murals have not yet attracted the accurate and thorough art-historical investigation they deserve, and

detailed consideration of these points are beyond the scope of the present article.³¹ Whatever the results of future heritage studies and art-historical evaluation, these murals are highly relevant to our understanding of Hogarth's evolving responses to book illustration and the eighteenth-century escalation in the production, marketing and consumption of cheap print. Regardless of whether this work identifies Littlecote's painted room as an exceptional previously unrecognized English art treasure, determining the relation of its murals to Hogarth's *Hudibras* and *Quixote* images will inform our understanding of what it took, in terms of creative processes, for our greatest British painter to progress from relatively derivative book illustrations to his increasing awareness of the commercial potential of the mass production of his prints, and the triumphant originality of his mature work, foreshadowed in his "large" *Hudibras* engravings.

31 Impossible to address adequately at the time of writing (2020), I will return to them (and to currently inaccessible publications and archival documents) when circumstances allow.

Appendix A. *Hudibras* images to 1644: by source

	Dating / provenance	No of <i>Hudibras</i> images	Additional images	Medium / approx size	Attributed to	Purpose
1	17 th or 18 th c. British Museum (BM:1959.0307.10)	1 (12)	n/a		Francis Le Piper (c.1640-1695)	Preparatory drawing for panel 7
2	17 th or 18 th c. Tate Gall. etc Formerly: Davies (1816) Britton (1830)	11 (12) See Figure 1	n/a	o/panel 24x43cm	Francis Le Piper or Benjamin van der Gucht (1753-1794)	house decoration
3	<i>Hudibras</i> 3 vols (Published 1710, 1709, 1710: Baker et al)	17 (7+5+5) See Figure 2	+frontispiece bust of Butler	prints	Anon /Le Piper	published book illustrations
4	<i>Hudibras</i> 1 vol (Published 1710: Tonson et al)	18	+frontispiece bust of Butler (rectangular, signed Vertue)	prints	Anon /Le Piper	published book illustrations
5	<i>Hudibras</i> 1 vol (Published 1710: Tonson et al)	15	+frontispiece bust of But- ler (elliptical, unsigned)	prints	Anon /Le Piper	published book illustrations
6	<i>Hudibras</i> 1 vol. (Published 1711: Baker et al)	7	+frontispiece bust of Butler	prints	Anon /Le Piper	published book illustrations
7	<i>Hudibras</i> 1 vol (Published 1712: Sawbridge)	17	+frontispiece bust of Butler	prints	Anon /Le Piper	published book illustrations
8	<i>Hudibras</i> 1 vol (Published 1716: Tonson et al)	18	+frontispiece bust of Butler	prints	Anon /Le Piper	published book illustrations
9	<i>Hudibras</i> 1 vol (Published 1720: Tonson et al)	18	+2 frontispiece busts of Butler	prints	Anon /Le Piper	published book illustrations
10	Here tentatively dated to c.1722-1724 Littlecote House	15 (one com- posite mural). See Figures 3-7	One of 3 walls of painted panels; +painted ceiling	o/panel	Here associated with Hogarth	house decoration

	Dating / provenance	No of Hudibras images	Additional images	Medium / approx size	Attributed to	Purpose
11	c.1723-1725 Windsor	1 (16) See Figure 8		drawing	Hogarth (signed)	Preparatory drawings for published book illustrations*
12	<i>Hudibras</i> 1 vol., c.1723-1725 (Published 1726: Tonson et al)	16 See Figure 9	+frontispiece bust of Butler (signed Hogarth)	Prints 12.5x7.5cm	Hogarth (designed & engraved)	published book illustrations
13	c.1724-1726 Glasgow	1 (unknown)		o/panel 62x91cm	Hogarth	house decoration
14	<i>Hudibras</i> 1 vol (Published 1726: Tonson, Motte et al; Motte)	16	+frontispiece bust of Butler (signed Hogarth)	Prints 12.5x7.5cm	Hogarth (designed & engraved)	published book illustrations
15	c.1726 Windsor, Ottawa, BM	9 (12) See Figure 10		drawing	Hogarth (signed)	Preparatory drawings for print series
16	Published 1726 by Overton as a print series for purchase by subscribers.	11 numbered See Figure 11	+frontispiece	Prints 26x35cm	Hogarth (signed)	Print series
17	immediately post-1726 East Haddon Hall (Sawbridge Sale 1872)	(12)		o/canvas	Hogarth (based on his 1726 "large" print series, for co-dedicattee William Ward)	house decoration
18	<i>Hudibras</i> 1 vol (Published 1732: Tonson et al)	9	+frontispiece bust of Butler (signed J v d Gucht)	Prints 12.5x7.5cm	Hogarth (designed)	published book illustrations
19	1743	(12)		sketches	Isaac Whood (1688/9-1752)	Preparatory drawings for print series**
20	<i>Hudibras</i> 2 vols ed. Zachary Grey (Published 1744: Tonson et al)	16 (9+7) numbered	+frontispiece bust of Butler (signed G Vertue)	Prints 12.5x7.5cm	Hogarth (designed) Isaac Whood (adapted) J Mynde (engraved)	published book illustrations

	Dating / provenance	No of Hudibras images	Additional images	Medium / approx size	Attributed to	Purpose
21	18 th c Mrs G E Twining of Dulwich (Ireland sale, 1810)	(12)		oil	Hogarth /Heemskirk	Identified by Ireland as Hogarth's preparatory oil sketches for his "large" 1726 print series***
22	18 th c Rodd (1824)	(12)		o/panel	Hogarth	house decoration
23	18 th c Mr. Willett (1833)	1 (unknown)	n/a	oil	Hogarth	house decoration

Note: M – monochrome; C – colour; G – grisaille

* See also NICHOLS 1833: 392.

** Inner Temple, 10 May, 1743, Andrew Ducarel to the Rev. Dr. Zachary Grey: "I was at Mr. Isaac Whood's, the Painter, who shewed me the twelve sketches of Hudibras which he designs for you. I think they are extremely well adapted to the book, and that the designer shews how much he was master of the subject; and I do not doubt but they will be generally approved of by all connoisseurs" (NICHOLS 1818: 285–286; see also CUST and BURNETTE 2004).

*** IRELAND 1791: I: 33.

Appendix B. *Hudibras* images to 1644: by subject

	1709/10 Baker	1710 Tonson	1712 Sawbridge	1716 and 1720 Tonson	Littlecote House	1726 Hogarth "small" Prints/ (drawings)	1726 Hogarth "large" Prints/ (drawings)	Davies/ Britton
NEW COMPOSITION	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Subject unknown								Panel 12
Frontispiece	Butler	Butler	Butler	Butler	n/a	Butler	*Plate 1 (RCIN 913459)	n/a
Hudibras sallies forth (l.i.1)	*Plate 1	Plate 1	Plate 1	Plate 1		Plate 1	Plate 2 (RCIN 913460)	*Panel 1 Bute Collection, Mount Stuart
Hudibras' First Adventure (l.ii.835-868)	*Plate 2	Plate 2	Plate 2	Plate 2	Scene 1 See Figure 5	Plate 2	Plate 3 (RCIN 913461)	*Panel 2 216 x 435 mm. Tate T00620
The encounter with Talgol and Magnano (l.iii.858)	*Plate 3	Plate 3	Plate 3	Plate 3	Scene 2 See Figure 5	Plate 3		
Hudibras attacking Crow- dero (l.ii.912-949)	*Plate 4	Plate 4	Plate 4	Plate 4	Scene 5 See Figure 5			*Panel 3 Rye Art Gallery
Hudibras Triumphant (l.ii.1124-1127)							*Plate 4	*Panel 4 Bute Collection, Mount Stuart
The combat of Hudibras and Cerdon (l.iii.615-668)								*Panel 5 235 x 432 mm. Tate T00247

	Baker 1709/10	Tonson 1710	Sawbridge 1712	1716 and 1720 Tonson	Littlecote House	1726 Hogarth "small" Prints/ (drawings)	1726 Hogarth "large" Prints/ (drawings)	Davies/ Britton
Trulla attacks Hudibras (I.iii.769)	*Plate 5	Plate 5	Plate 5	Plate 5	Scene 3 See Figure 5	Plate 4		
Hudibras vanquish'd by Trulla (I.iii.823-826)	*Plate 6	Plate 6	Plate 6	Plate 6	Scene 4 See Figure 5	Plate 5	Plate 5	*Panel 6 Sotheby's London, 18 November 1981
Hudibras and Ralpho made prisoners and carried to the stocks (I.iii.961-973)	*Plate 7		Plate 7	Plate 7	Scene 6 See Figure 5	Plate 6		*Panel 7 232 x 432 mm. Tate T00248
Hudibras in Tribulation (II.i.115-121)		*Plate 7	Plate 8	Plate 8	Scene 8 See Figure 5	Plate 7	Plate 6	*Panel 8 Sotheby's London, 18 November 1981
Hudibras and Ralpho disputing (II.ii.30)	*Plate 8	Plate 8	Plate 9	Plate 9	Scene 9 See Figure 5	Plate 8 (NG Canada No.18481)		
Hudibras encounters the Skimmington (II.ii.586)	Plate 9 See Figure 2	Plate 9	Plate 10	Plate 10	Scene 7 See Figure 6	*Plate 9 (RCIN 913465) See Figure 8	Plate 7 (RCIN 913464) See Figure 10	*Panel 9 232 x 438 mm. Tate T00621 See Figure 1
Sidrophel examining the kite through his telescope (II.iii.399)	*Plate 10	Plate 10	Plate 11	Plate 11	Panel 1 See Figure 5	*Plate 10		
Hudibras visiting Sidrophel (II.ii.557-565)	*Plate 11	Plate 11	Plate 12	Plate 12	Panel 2 See Figure 5	Plate 11		*Panel 10 Rye Art Gallery

	Baker 1709/10	1710 Tonson	1712 Sawbridge	1716 and 1720 Tonson	Littlecote House	1726 Hogarth "small" Prints/ (drawings)	1726 Hogarth "large" Prints/ (drawings)	Davies/ Britton
Hudibras beats Sidrophel and Whacum (II.ii.1049-1064)	*Plate 12	Plate 12		Plate 13	Panel 3 See Figure 5	Plate 12	Plate 8	*Panel 11 Rye Art Gallery
Hudibras wooing the widow (III.i.155)	*Plate 13	Plate 13	Plate 13	Plate 14		Plate 13		
Hudibras Catechiz'd (III.i.1159)	*Plate 14	Plate 14	Plate 14	Plate 15	Panel 4 See Figure 5	Plate 14	Plate 9	
The marriage of the 'good old cause' (III.ii.82)	*Plate 15	Plate 15	Plate 15	Plate 16				
The Committee (III.ii.1505)							*Plate 10 (BM 1980 ,0510.20)	
Burning the rumps at Temple Bar (III.ii.1505)	*Plate 16	Plate 16	Plate 16	Plate 17		*Plate 15	*Plate 11 (RCIN 913463)	
Hudibras and the lawyer (III.iii.621)	*Plate 17	Plate 17	Plate 17	Plate 18	Panel 5 See Figure 5	Plate 16	*Plate 12 (RCIN 913462)	

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