

The Fire of Faction

Sources for Paul Sandby's Satires of 1762–63

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On 23 September 1762, 'The butifyer, a touch on the times. Also a poor man loaded with mischief, or John Bull and his sister Peg ... Likewise the Fire of Faction' were announced in *The Public Advertiser*, the first three of a series of seven satirical prints created by Paul Sandby (1731–1809) in late 1762 during the negotiations for the Treaty of Paris that ended the Seven Years' War. Six were published – anonymously – and a seventh remained unfinished; early versions of two of the prints, *The Butifyer* and *The Fire of Faction*, also survive.¹ The prints are described individually in Stephens and George's catalogue of satires in the British Museum, and a couple have featured in articles on other topics, as will be noted later in this paper.² An earlier group of satires from 1752–53 was discussed by Quilley in the 2009 Sandby exhibition catalogue and in various books on William Hogarth, for example Paulson.³ This group, however, has never been examined as a whole before. This article discusses the context within which these prints were made and identifies the imagery and literary sources employed in them.

The Treaty of Paris marked the end of the Seven Years' War, 1756–63. This conflict, principally between Great Britain and France, had involved most of the major European powers and their trading and colonial empires in North America, the West Indies, India and the Far East. There had been some notable British successes: the capture of Quebec in 1759; the capture of the French sugar islands of Guadeloupe in 1759 and Martinique in 1762; defeat for the French in India with the fall of Pondicherry in 1761; and for the Spanish with the loss of Havana in the West Indies and Manila in the Philippines. Secretary of State William Pitt the Elder (1708–78) was given the credit for these victories. He was consequently very popular with the City of London and merchant classes which benefitted from

the acquisition of new trading territories.

During the course of the war King George II (1683–1760) died and his grandson George III (1738–1820) came to the throne in 1760. In September 1761 Pitt resigned and John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute (1713–92), favourite of the Dowager Princess of Wales and erstwhile tutor to George III became Secretary of State. He had already become a Privy Counsellor, and was installed as a Knight of the Garter in September 1761 – the garter was to appear prominently in most of the satirical prints subsequently aimed at Bute.⁴ In May 1762, on the resignation of the Duke of Newcastle, Bute was made First Lord of the Treasury (in other words, Prime Minister). He immediately embarked on peace negotiations with France, at first secretly and then more formally. Ambassadors were exchanged, the duc de Nevers (known as the Duke of Nivernois in England) arriving in London, and the Duke of Bedford setting off for Paris on 6 September 1762. Preliminary terms were signed on 3 November, ratified by Parliament on 9 December, going into effect on 10 February 1763.

Pitt's resignation had been greeted with dismay in some quarters. A letter, admittedly partisan, to the *London Evening Post*, described the 'general and unaffected concern at his resignation ... so visible in every Briton's countenance ... [which] plainly indicates how deeply his merit is rooted in our affection'.⁵ The writer called on 'Freedom's sacred monarch, George III' to allow the country to:

still reap the fruits arising from the service of so faithful a counsellor in government, whose abilities were so eminently distinguished in the prosecution of a just and necessary war; and we make no doubt of their being equally so, in the accomplishment of a safe and honourable peace.

Bute was very unpopular.⁶ It was only fifteen years since

1. A. V. Gunn, *The Prints of Paul Sandby (1731–1809) A Catalogue Raisonné*, Turnhout, 2015, nos. 174–82.

2. F. G. Stephens and M. D. George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol. 4, 1761–70, London, 1883 (hereafter BM Satires). Most images can be found on the British Museum online database.

3. G. Quilley, 'The Analysis of Deceit: Sandby's Satires against Hogarth', in *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain*, edited by J. Bonehill and

S. Daniels, London, 2009; R. Paulson, *Hogarth, His Life, Art, and Times*, New Haven and London, 1971.

4. F. Russell, *John, 3rd Earl of Bute: Patron and Collector*, London, 2004, pp. 43–44.

5. *London Evening Post*, 8–10 October 1761.

6. See J. Brewer, 'The Misfortunes of Lord Bute: A Case-Study in Eighteenth-Century Political Argument and Public Opinion', *The Historical Journal*, xvi, 1973, pp. 3–43.



THE BRUISER, C. CHURCHILL (once the Rev. 4) in the Character of a Russian Hercules, Regaling himself after having Kill'd the Monster Caricature that so sorely Gall'd his Virtuous friend the Heaven born WILKES! — But he had a Club this Dragon to Drub, Or he had ne'er don't I warrant ye. — Drawn of Wm. Hogarth. Design'd and Engraved by W. Hogarth. Price 1 s. 6 d. Published according to Act of Parliament August 1. 1763.

287. William Hogarth, *The Bruiser*, 1763, etching and engraving, 376 x 282 mm (New Haven, Yale Center for British Art).

the defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie at the battle of Culloden, and the whiff of Jacobitism still hung about the Scots. There was a perception, too, that Scotsmen were thronging to England in search of positions in government. 'Every obsolete useless place has been revived, and every occasion of increasing salaries has been seized with eagerness.'⁷ And the terms of peace were also enormously contentious. In simplified terms, England would keep French territory in North America but give up other gains including the French Caribbean islands. Spain would recover Cuba, and France would continue to have fishing rights in Newfoundland. The agreement was described variously as 'an immature and precipitate peace' or 'an injudicious, inglorious and uncertain peace' and supporters of the war felt that too many gains were being too easily given up.⁸ A battle of words and images commenced. The same day that Bute became Prime Minister, 26 May 1762, also saw the appearance of the pro-ministry paper *The Briton*, written by Tobias Smollett; this was followed soon after by *The Auditor* produced by the Irish writer and actor Arthur Murphy. Opposed to these was the *Monitor*, a publication of several years' standing, which was now joined by the *North Briton* from John Wilkes's pen.⁹ Their arguments were disseminated further as other newspapers regularly included extracts from all four publications.¹⁰

The seven etchings under consideration here were not unusual. At least 200 satirical prints covering the same issues were published in the second half of 1762 and the early months of 1763, and most of them embody strong, not to say virulent, anti-Scottish and specifically anti-Bute sentiment; the later ones incorporate allusions to the pro-peace party.¹¹ A typical example, *The Jack-Boot, Exalted*, appeared in May 1762.¹² Punning on his name, the accompanying verses identify Bute as 'a muckle boot of wondrous size' ('muckle' being archaic Scottish for something very large) and describe how 'in one hand he a whip does hold, in the other sums of British gold, which he with partial care dispenses among his clan as recompenses.' A Highlander brandishing a sword exclaims: 'Awa wi ye to the diel [devil] mon [man] and mak room for us bonny ladds'.

Two further examples illustrate other issues raised by Bute's ministry. *The Hungry Mob of Scribblers and Etchers* refers to Bute's employment of writers and artists as purveyors of propaganda for his ministry.¹³ Bute is

shown dispensing coins to a group of writers and print-makers including Tory satirist John Shebbeare (1709-88); printmaker and dealer William Austin (1721-1820); William Hogarth (1697-1764) with a large burin tucked under his arm; the caricaturist and print-seller Matthew Darly (c. 1720-80); and Samuel Johnson (1709-84), who carries a scroll inscribed '300£ per annum' - he had recently been granted a pension by the King. The issue of pensions was sensitive for all factions; Johnson's acceptance of one in 1762 was regarded as particularly hypocritical, bearing in mind the definition of a pension he had written for his dictionary: 'In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country.'¹⁴ Wilkes quoted this definition in *North Briton* but began the issue with an epigram: 'Pension, which reason to the worthy gave / Add fresh dishonour to the fool and knave', thus excusing Pitt who had accepted one at the time of his resignation.¹⁵

The Peace-Soup-Makers. Or, A New Mess at the Bedford Head refers to the peace negotiations being undertaken by the Duke of Bedford on behalf of the ministry, embodied by Bute in tartan, and Henry Fox represented with a fox's head.¹⁶ Over a fire of French coal they are cooking up 'Pea-e Porridge (sic) without flavour by Sawney McBean Cook from the Highlands.' On the other side of the image, Pitt exclaims 'How I could spoil the mess in a moment,' while a companion enumerates 'Martinico Guadaloupe Goree Belisle etc etc to be restored.' The print was published, and the verses below the image were written by Henry Howard, who was to appear in one of Sandby's prints.

Not surprisingly most of these satires tended to be anonymous, as were those by Sandby. The proof of his authorship, apart from stylistic evidence, lies in the fact that he kept the plates and his son, Thomas Paul Sandby (c. 1768-1832), had them reprinted in the 1820s with a label describing them as:

Retrospective art, from the collection of the late Paul Sandby, Esq. R.A., sixteen etchings principally connected with Hogarth's analysis of the line of beauty; and illustrative of the times and political characters during Lord Bute's administration, several of these interesting plates have never before been printed. Price £1.5s.

This collection included Sandby's prints from 1753-54, specifically targeting Hogarth, as well as the 1762

7. *The North Briton*, no. 12, 22 August 1762.

8. *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, 25-28 June 1762; *North Briton*, no. 15, 11 September 1762.

9. Brewer, op. cit., pp. 12-15. *The Monitor or the British Freeholder* had been in circulation since 9 August 1755 and ran until issue 504, 20 March 1765. At this time it was written by John Entick and Arthur Beardmore.

10. For example *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, 25-28 June 1762.

11. Compare BM Satires, passim.

12. BM Satires 3860.

13. BM Satires 3844.

14. S. Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, London, 1755.

15. *The North Briton*, no. 12, 22 August 1762.

16. BM Satires 3882.

satires. The earlier etchings constituted a sustained campaign against Hogarth and his opposition to the establishment of an academy for artists. Hogarth disapproved of the proposed continental model, with paid professors, authority and regulations. He advocated the more casual, non-hierarchical way of teaching young artists that took place at his St Martins Lane Academy. In 1753 he published an aesthetic manifesto, the *Analysis of Beauty*. Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste. This was unfortunate timing as it coincided with the early discussions about an academy. It provided a perfect opportunity to ridicule Hogarth and his theories, in particular the idea that beauty could be expressed in a serpentine 'line of beauty' – a motif he included on the artist's palette in his self-portrait and on the title-page of his book. This line became an identifier of Hogarth in the subsequent satirical prints. In his biographical note about his father, Thomas Paul wrote:

Before the extraordinary merit of Hogarth was duly appreciated, Mr. Sandby joined with his friend (Charles) Churchill, in ridiculing him. After the publication of *The Analysis of Beauty* ... it was then the opportunity for the adversaries of Hogarth, and the friends of Churchill, to open upon him; and he was assailed from several quarters in burlesque prints, satirising his system; and some of the best of these were from Mr. Sandby.¹⁷

This is the only indication we have that Sandby knew Charles Churchill (1732-64); no other archival or literary evidence has so far come to light. It is just possible that Sandby and Churchill might have known each other in 1753, though a friendship dating from later years is more likely. Such a relationship would explain much of the content of Sandby's 1762 anti-Bute prints, and the prints in turn corroborate Thomas Paul's anecdote.

Churchill was the son of a clergyman. He went to Westminster School and then briefly to St Johns' College, Cambridge. In 1749 he made a Fleet marriage with Martha Scott and they went to live in Sunderland, returning to London in 1753. In 1754 he was ordained deacon and was given a curacy in Somerset. He took holy orders in 1756, and in 1758 he succeeded his father in his curacy and lectureship at St Johns', Westminster.¹⁸ He also wrote satirical poetry and in 1761 published *The Rosciad*, a satire about English actors. The money he

made from this, combined with his very unclerical behaviour, eventually led to him leaving the church in 1763. In consequence of the animosity the poem aroused in the theatrical world, he took to arming himself with a stout stick when he was out and about, a habit immortalized in Hogarth's 1763 engraving *The Bruiser* (fig. 287) and David Garrick's 1761 poem *The Fribbleriad*:

With colours flying, beat of drum,
Unlike to this see Churchill come.
And now like Hercules he stands,
Unmasked his face but armed his hands;
Alike prepared to write or drub,
This holds a pen, and that a club.¹⁹

At some point in 1761 or 1762, Churchill became acquainted with John Wilkes, the radical journalist and politician. Wilkes was the Member of Parliament for Aylesbury, a supporter of the Pitt/Newcastle ministry and of British participation in the Seven Years' War, and he was the founder of the anti-Bute paper the *North Briton*. Churchill and Wilkes became intimate friends, as can be gathered from their letters to each other.²⁰ Wilkes recruited Churchill to help him write and edit the *North Briton*, a direct response to Smollett's *Briton* and Murphy's *Auditor*. The first number was published on 5 June 1762, one week after *The Briton* first appeared.

In the first issue Wilkes invoked the liberty of the press as the birthright of every Briton, 'justly esteemed the firmest bulwark of the liberties of this country.'²¹ Thus setting the tone, he proceeded to abuse the author of *The Briton* roundly. 'This foolish Briton proceeds to produce himself amidst the parade of pompous professions, and vile alliterations.' And he trusts 'the monitor [will] continue to administer wholesome satire wherever it is merited, instead of that nauseous and fulsome panegyric, with which the Briton makes us sick'. In the early issues Wilkes purported to be writing as a Scot, looking for a place.

I thank my stars, I am a North Briton; with this almost singular circumstance belonging to me, that I am unplaced and unpensioned: but I hope this reproach will soon be wiped away, and that I shall no longer be pointed at by my sneering countrymen.²² Thus commenced the weekly jousting between the papers; artists entered the lists on either side as well.

In 1757 Hogarth had become Serjeant-Painter to the

17. T. P. Sandby, 'Memoirs of the Late Paul Sandby Esq. R.A.', *Monthly Magazine, or, British Register*, xxxi, June 1811, pp. 437-41; reprinted by P. Oppé, 'The Memoir of Paul Sandby by His Son', *Burlington Magazine*, lxxxviii, 1946, pp. 143-47.

18. W. C. Brown, *Charles Churchill*, Lawrence, 1953.

19. BM Satires 4084. D. Garrick, 'The Fribbleriad', in *The Poetical Works of David Garrick, Esq. Now first collected into two volumes with explanatory notes*, London, 1785, p. 23.

20. E. H. Weatherly, *The Correspondence of John Wilkes and Charles Churchill*, New York, 1954, p. xiii.

21. *The North Briton*, from no. 1 to no. XLVI Inclusive with Several Useful and Explanatory Notes, not Printed in any Former Edition to which is Added, a Copious Index to Every Name and Article, Corrected and Revised by a Friend to Civil and Religious Liberty, London, 1769.

22. *North Briton*, no. 1, 5 June 1762.



Designed & Engraved by W. Hogarth

The Times
Plate I

Published as the Act Directs
Sep. 7 1762

288. William Hogarth, *The Times*, Plate I, 1762, etching and engraving, 246 x 304 mm (London, British Museum).

King, and this position was confirmed by George III on his accession. On 7 September 1762 Hogarth published the pro-Bute *The Times*, Plate I (fig. 288).²³ This complex image shows the king's chosen minister Bute, depicted as a peacemaker endeavouring to extinguish the flames of war. Perched on stilts, disguised as King Henry VIII and operating a pair of bellows, William Pitt is stoking up the flames of conflict. Wilkes and Churchill are seen squirting water at Bute from the top of a nearby building. Wilkes wrote to Churchill on 9 September, 'Hogarth has begun the attack today – I shall attack him in hobbling prose, you will I hope in smooth paced verse.'²⁴ Wilkes's 'hobbling prose' appeared in the *North Briton* on 25 September 1762.²⁵ First

he accused Hogarth of plagiarism – a charge Sandby had brought against him in his 1753 prints.

John Bull's house in flames has been hackneyed in fifty different prints; and if there is any merit in the figure on stilts, and the mob prancing around, it is not to be ascribed to Hogarth but to Callot.

Then he described Hogarth's decline as 'entering into the poor politics of the factions of the day.' Then he hits below the belt:

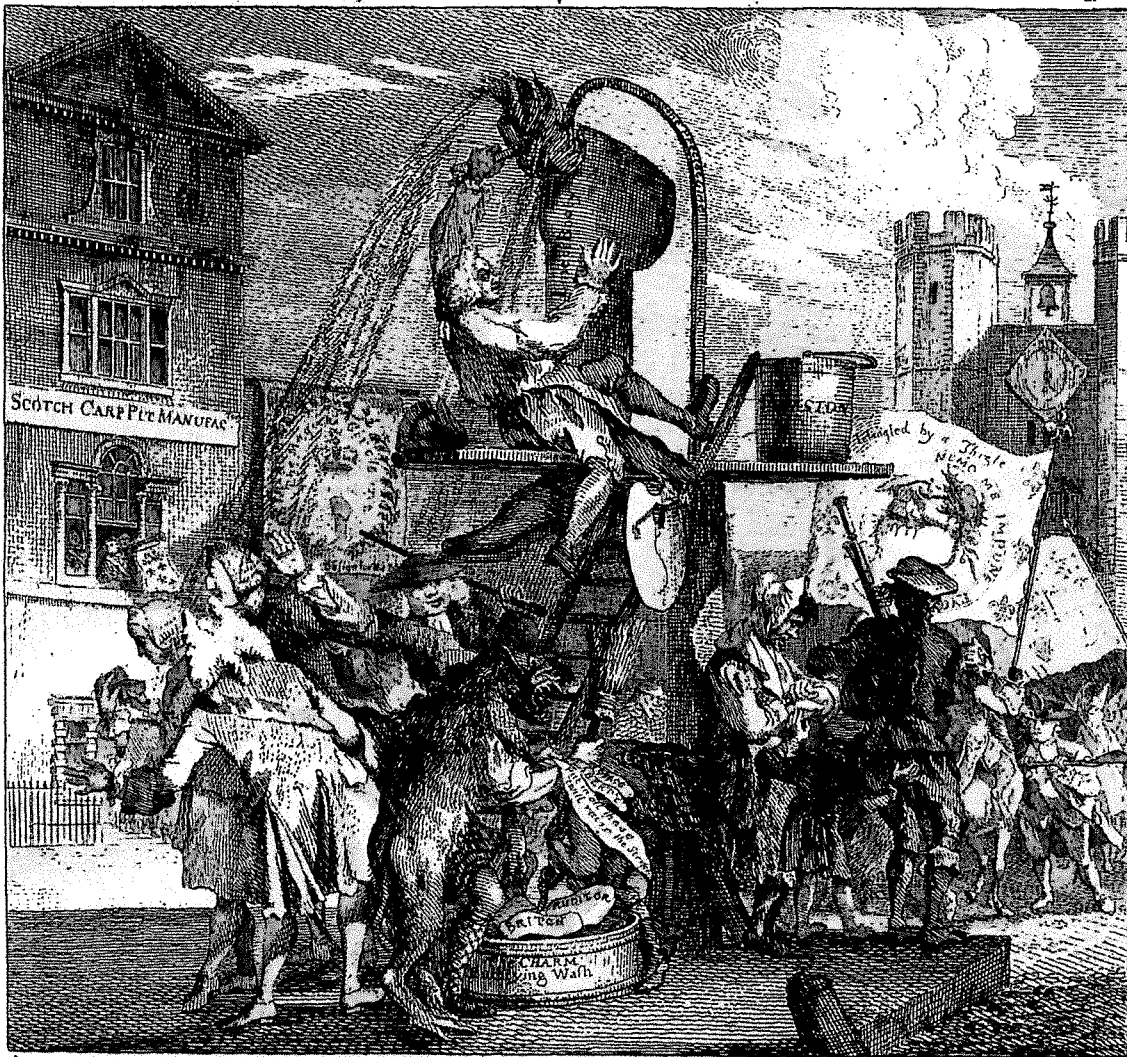
he is rewarded, and made serjeant painter ... I think the term means the same as what is vulgarly called house-painter; ... The post of portrait painter is given to a Scotsman, one Ramsay. Mr Hogarth is only to paint the wainscot of the rooms, or, in the

23. BM Satires 3970.

24. Weatherley, op. cit., pp. 14–15.

25. *North Briton*, no. 17, 25 September 1762.

The BUTIFYER. A Touch upon *The Times* Plate I



with what judgement ye judge ye shall be judged: Mat. Chap 7.2

In Justice to Mr Hogarth. the Engraver of this Plate:
 Declares to the Publick; He took the hint of the Butifyer.
 from a print of M^r Pope White washing Lord Burlingtons
 Gate, at the sametime Bepatring the rest of the Nobility.

Published as the Act Directs Sept 1762

Price 1

The Fire of FACTION



The Fly MACHINE for SCOTLAND

Invented by Nobody Engraved by Sandbody

Perform'd if God permit by the BRITON. Places taken at the Sign of the TREASURY

—heap coals of Fire on his head and the LORD will reward thee! Now: Explained by the Bytanders

By Gued Lord! What the Devil have we got here?
 'Tis a Hellish good Scene, if the meaning was Clear.
 A meaning! why these things have seldom that got.
 We suppose that this here runs a rig on the Scot.
 Smoke M^r Hog Art, with his engine the Bellows
 Which blew up the Fire at M^r Bulls Ale house.
 He saild of a Booty tho, yet still he Puffs hearty
 To blow up the PITT for the Friends of his PARTY

There, his Fried Harry H...d, we easy can tell
 By his long Ass's ears, and the Cap with a Bell.
 Se Old Nick at Top there, the Devil rides clever.
 A Hellish good Guide for these Sons of the Graver.
 He seems to cry out, Stir the fire there, Mind me!
 Some Folks of Distinction are coming behind me
 For their Service above stairs, it is both just & proper
 We clear their Apartments and give them a Supper

Pull for as y^e Act Directs so 1762

A Poor Man Loaded with MISCHIEF. Or JOHN BULL and his SISTER PEG.
Brit. Antic. N^o 22.



SAWNEY MACKENSIE'S Comp^{ts} to ALL the SOUTHERNS
 And, he hopes they will very soon comply
with the following
 MODEST REQUEST

Each Fat Lugged Loon, which dwell in this Town
 I beg ye'll give up your Dominions
 And Gang to the North pass the River of Forth
 And Feed upon Crowdy and Onions

It will do muckle good to sweeten your blood
 And make ye All, light as a feather
 Give your feeling a twitch when ye've pick'd up the ^{tick}
 By Ligg'ing in Beds made of Heather.

In History we're told, King Jamie of Old.
 (To his Reason who dare to object?)
 To watch Day and Night took Muckle delight
 And swore twas too good for a Subject.

Yet we promise the thing which so pleasur'd our King,
 So gang from your Wives, and your Daughters.
 For Our Laddies in Town must make All their own.
 So prithee Gang soon to New Quarters.



292. Detail of Paul Sandby, *Rare Mackerel*, 1760, etching, 213 x 156 mm (London, British Museum).

phrase of the art, may be called their pannel-painter. Assuming Churchill and Sandby were friends, Sandby would be the obvious choice of artist to retaliate to *The Times*, reviving the art faction squabble from a decade earlier. But he may also have been in their camp for another reason. Sandby and his brother Thomas were beholden to the Duke of Cumberland, who was opposed to the peace being sought by his nephew, George III. The Duke appears in some of Sandby's prints as a heroic protector.

The sources of three prints by Sandby published on 23 September 1762 are various, but all demonstrate the artist's knowledge of the satirical tradition, both visual and literary, of which they formed a part (figs. 289-91). Some of the etchings contain references to other recent prints, and some contain allusions, implicit and explicit, to the poems of Churchill and to the *North Briton*. Several contain verses, which may have been written by Churchill or by Sandby himself, and Churchill appears in person in two of the images. A closer collaboration

could be conjectured – Churchill may have commissioned Sandby. A tantalizing sentence in a letter from Wilkes to Churchill hints at the possibility, 'Pray write by Tuesday's post. I beg you to send me all your political drawings, &c.'²⁶

The first print mentioned in the advertisement is *The Butifyer – a Touch Upon the Times*, responding directly to Hogarth's print in its title (fig. 289).²⁷ The text states explicitly that the inspiration came from another work supposedly by Hogarth, *Taste, or Burlington Gate*, published in 1732, which shows Alexander Pope whitewashing the gate to Burlington House.²⁸ Another source of inspiration may have been John Wilkes in a piece about political journalism, *A Peep into Futurity*. Wilkes compared the *North Briton* and the *Auditor*, and the personalities and targets of each publication, saying the writer 'sits down with encomiums on the right and obloquy on the left, ... with whitewash in one hand, and black-ball in the other, like Jupiter between the tubs of good and evil.'²⁹ This was not published at the time but was perhaps the subject of conversation amongst the friends.

In Sandby's print, Bute is symbolized by a giant jack-boot, labelled 'the line of booty', which Hogarth is splattering with whitewash.³⁰ The puns, both verbal and visual, proliferate. The boot hangs from the curved pole of a street lamp, on which is written 'the precise line' and below, Hogarth's palette, adorned with the line of beauty, dangles from the boot's spur. Hogarth's pot of paint is labelled 'pension', referring to his position as Sergeant-Painter. Under the platform Earl Temple, the Duke of Newcastle and William Pitt himself, recognizable from his distinctive profile, are being liberally splashed. Behind them Charles Churchill, in clerical garb, brandishes his stick at a Scotsman covered in a lion's skin who, with another man, stirs a tub of 'The Charm Butifying Wash', containing *The Briton* and *The Auditor*, with which to replenish Hogarth's pail. In the background a procession of Scotsmen issues forth from the 'Scotch carp pit manufac[tory]', marching to the tune of the bagpipes played by a ragged Highlander and led towards St James's Palace by an ape on horseback. This creature bears a standard inscribed with the motto of the Scottish Order of the Thistle and the words 'intangled by a Thizle', and adorned with the French fleur-de-lys. The gate is guarded by the Duke of Cumberland brandishing a musket.

Wilkes wrote in his attack on Hogarth that he was 'grieved to see the genius of Mr Hogarth ... entering

26. Weatherly, op. cit., p. 22, Letter 15, Monday, 18 October 1762.

27. Gunn, op. cit., no. 175.

28. BM Satires 1873.

29. Cited in A. H. Cash, *John Wilkes: The Scandalous Father of Civil Lib-*

erty, New Haven and London, 2006, p. 85.

30. T. P. Sandby's reprinted folio also contains an early version of this image, without the procession; Gunn, op. cit., no. 174.

into the poor politics of the faction of the day', and the artist appears again in *The Fire of Faction. The Fly Machine for Scotland* (fig. 290).³¹ This etching refers specifically to the part satirical prints were contributing to the conflict and contains allusions to other topical images. Several terrified figures cling to a giant engraver's burin which is heading straight for the fiery mouth of Hell. The falling figure with asses' ears and a fool's cap, decorated with the image of a donkey, is Henry Howard (fl. 1760-62), who had published a print of a zebra given to Queen Charlotte. The image was accompanied by some very indelicate verses referring to the Queen's ass.³² A retaliatory print, with which Sandby must have been familiar, showed Howard with asses' ears and wearing the cap and bells.³³ Hogarth, portrayed as a demon, appears faintly in the background, puffing up the infernal fires with a bellows, a direct reference to the figure of Pitt in *The Times*, Plate I. A demon carries a basket of fuel containing topical papers and prints labelled 'The Hungry Mob Auditor Briton The Times Plate 1 Scotch Coal.' Hogarth is also named in the doggerel verse below the image where he is nicknamed Mr Hog Art.

Hogarth does not appear in all of the etchings – some are more specifically anti-Scottish or against the peace plans. The third of the advertised prints was *A Poor Man Loaded with Mischief, or John Bull and his Sister Peg* (fig. 291).³⁴ This print has received a considerable amount of scholarly attention because it is one of the earliest images to feature John Bull.³⁵ Along with his Scottish sister Peg and his adversary Louis Baboon (Bourbon), John Bull first appeared in 1712. This symbol of England was invented by the Scottish writer John Arbuthnot (1667-1735), who used the characters in his *History of John Bull* to attack the Whigs, the War of the

Spanish Succession, the Duke of Marlborough and his wife Sarah, and issues of religion and tax. Scotland and England were compared thus:

John had a sister, a poor girl that had been starved at nurse. ... John was the darling: he had all the good bits, was crammed with good pullet, chicken, pig, goose, and capon; while Miss had only a little oatmeal and water, or a dry crust without butter.... Master lay in the best apartment, with his bedchamber towards the south sun. Miss lodged in a garret exposed to the north wind, which shrivelled her countenance. However, this usage, though it stunted the girl in her growth, gave her a hardy constitution; she had life and spirit in abundance, and knew when she was ill-used.³⁶

Sandby, however, is likely to be basing his print on a more recent appearance of John and Peg, a publication entitled *The History of the Proceedings in the Case of Margaret, Commonly Called Peg, Only Lawful Sister to John Bull, Esq.* This new allegory, reworking Arbuthnot's John Bull story, appeared in 1760.³⁷ Written as an argument in favour of allowing Scotland to raise its own militia, it was once attributed to David Hume, but is now given with some certainty to Adam Ferguson.³⁸ Already during the propaganda wars, John Bull had been used as a pseudonym in various letters written to the papers.³⁹ He also made an appearance in the *North Briton*, no. 7, on 17 July 1762. This issue was a spoof newspaper carrying short paragraphs of 'news' including the announcement that:

Some time since died Mr. John Bull, a very worthy, plain, honest old gentleman, of Saxon descent. He was choaked by inadvertently swallowing a thistle, which he had placed by the way of ornament on the top of his sallad.

31. Gunn, op. cit., no. 178. Stagecoaches were popularly known as 'Flying Machines'. There is an earlier, unpublished version of this image entitled *From London in a Straight Line* featuring Hogarth astride a huge pair of bellows; Gunn, op. cit., no. 177.

32. Compare BM Satires 3870.

33. *With a fool's head at the tail; The other side of the zebra*, BM Satires 3871.

34. Gunn, op. cit., no. 176.

35. See for example, G. Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: a Cultural History, 1740-1830*, New York, 1987, p. 48, plate 5; G. Newman and L. E. Brown, *Britain in the Hanoverian Age, 1714-1837: An Encyclopedia*, New York and London, 1997, p. 378; P. Mellini and R. T. Matthews, 'John Bull's family arises', *History Today*, XXXVII, May 1987, pp. 17-23; T. L. Hunt, *Defining John Bull: Political Caricature and National Identity in Late Georgian England*, Burlington, VT, 2003, p. xiii, 452; M. Taylor, 'John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England, c. 1712-1929', *Past & Present*, CXXXIV, 1992, pp. 93-128.

36. J. Arbuthnot, *The History of John Bull*, edited by A. W. Bower and

R. A. Erikson, Oxford, 1976, pp. 49-50.

37. *London Evening Post*, 23-25 December 1760, advertising the publication as 'Elegantly printed in small octavo, Price 2s 6d, sew'd' and *Public Advertiser*, 29 January 1761, giving notice of the second edition.

38. R. B. Sher, in his paper '"Let Margaret Sleep": A New Ferguson Letter (1809) on the Authorship of Sister Peg', given at the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society (ECSSS) / The American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Conference, Pittsburgh, April 2016, refuted the arguments in favour of Hume as the author which appear in the introduction to *The History of the Proceedings in the Case of Margaret, Commonly Called Peg, Only Lawful Sister to John Bull, Esq.*, 2nd ed., edited by D. R. Raynor, Cambridge, [1761] 1982.

39. See for example: *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, 2 July 1762; *London Chronicle*, 3-6 July 1762; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, 9 July 1762; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, 14 July 1762. *London Evening Post*, 8-10 October 1761, featured a letter from 'Sarah Bull', wife of John Bull, about Pitt's resignation.



*John Wilkes Esq.
 Drawn from the Life and Etch'd in Aquafortis by W^m Hogarth.
 Price 1s 6d.
 Published according to the Act of Parliament, May 4th 1763.*

293. William Hogarth, *John Wilkes*, 1763, etching and engraving, 354 x 232 mm (New Haven, Yale Center for British Art).

Sandby here appropriated propaganda from an earlier war for his own satirical purposes. And he combined the brother/sister, England/Scotland relationship from Arbuthnot and Ferguson with an image more commonly associated with matrimony, the poor man loaded with mischief. The subject derives originally from Jacob Cats's *Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuwen tijdt* (Mirror of old and new times) which contains an image of a man carrying on his shoulder a fashionably dressed lady who is extravagantly scattering coins from a bag.⁴⁰ Sandby might possibly have been more familiar with a print based on this concept, entitled *A Poor Man Loaded with Mischief, or Matrimony*, which depicts a man with a padlock and chain round his neck and burdened with a drunken woman, a monkey and a magpie.⁴¹ The print is undated so it is not possible to be certain about this source. Sandby is also likely to have seen the subject at the 'Grand Exhibition of the Society of Sign Painters' which took place in April 1762 'at the Large Rooms, the upper End of Bow-Street, Covent-Garden', advertised in the *St James's Chronicle* on 20 April along with a catalogue. This included no. 73, *A Man Loaded with Mischief* by Sympson.⁴² This exhibition was apparently organized by Bonnell Thornton, a friend of Churchill's from school days.⁴³ The subject was also used on a public house sign in Oxford Street, and Sandby knew that as well because something very like it appears in the background of *Rare Mackerel*, plate 8 of his *Cries of London*, published in 1760 (fig. 292).⁴⁴

The mischiefs with which the poor man is loaded appear in Sandby's print, but here they take on double personae. The poor man is now John Bull, the personification of England; the wife is Sister Peg, symbolizing Scotland and also Bute, identified by the garter prominently placed round the figure's left leg. The monkey has descended to the ground and become both the Arbuthnot character, Louis Baboon and the Duke of Nivernois, ambassador to England during the peace negotiations. He is offering Peg an olive branch and a bag of money decorated with the fleur-de-lys, while a fox (Henry Fox) makes off with a goose (the Duke of Newcastle). In the background a Dutch man (Arbuthnot's Nicholas Frog and also a beneficiary of the peace terms) watches a cobbler in a booth, who advertises 'Shoes and boots made or a new peace put upon old soles by

Mackenzie from North Briton'. Below the image, the text announces 'Sawney Mackensie's compts. to all the southerners and, he hopes they will very soon comply with the following modest request', couched in verse and recommending a move to Scotland for all the 'Southerners' to make room for the North Britons.

Scholars discussing this print have described it showing John Bull, 'blind, with cuckold's horns and burdened with ugly Scotland'.⁴⁵ And Amelia Rauser comments that he has not yet 'coalesced into the type of fat citizen that he was soon to do in the 1780s'.⁴⁶ But no commentators have noticed the strong likeness of the figure of John Bull to John Wilkes. Wilkes famously suffered from a bad squint and was lantern jawed, features which are apparent in all his portraits and are exaggerated in the engraving Hogarth made during Wilkes's trial in 1763 (fig. 293).⁴⁷ In some portraits he also wears a wig that gives him the appearance of being horned. If Churchill could appear in two of Sandby's prints, why not also John Wilkes in the guise of John Bull, the champion of English freedom?

The subject of Scotsmen usurping the positions of southerners is the main topic in Sandby's next print, *The Flying Machine from Edinburgh in one Day, perform'd by Moggy Mackensie at the Thistle and Crown* (fig. 294).⁴⁸ During the autumn of 1762, Churchill was working on a new satirical poem, *The Prophecy of Famine, a Scots Pastoral*, which was to be dedicated to John Wilkes. In October Wilkes wrote to him asking 'Where is the Scottish Eclogue? I am all impatient for the honour you design me'.⁴⁹ Churchill sent Wilkes a few verses to show the work in progress and we can speculate that Sandby might have heard some of this as it was being composed. The poem repeatedly refers to the invading Scottish hordes arriving in London:

What waggon-loads of courage, wealth and sense,
Doth each revolving day import from thence? ...
Thence simple bards, by simple prudence taught,
To this wise town by simple patrons brought,
In simple manner utter simple lays
And take, with simple pensions, simple praise.

The verse has its visual counterpart in Sandby's print. This shows two scraggy Scotsmen, one looking decidedly 'simple', sitting astride a huge broomstick behind a witch. Beneath them a signpost points to London. On

40. J. Cats, *Spiegel van den voorleden en Iegenwoordighen Tijdt*, Dordrecht, 1635, II, p. 2, no. A2.

41. British Museum, inv. 1861,0518.938.

42. *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 20-22 April 1762.

43. Brown, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

44. J. Larwood and J. C. Hotten, *English Inn Signs*, London, 1866 (new edition 1951) plate, 16; Gunn, op. cit., no. 164.

45. Newman, op. cit., p. 48, fig. 5.

46. A. Rauser, *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity and Individualism in Eighteenth-Century English Prints*, Newark, DE, 2008, p. 118, illustrated p. 119, fig. 60.

47. BM Satires 4050.

48. Gunn, op. cit., no. 181.

49. Weatherly, op. cit., pp. 20-21; letter 15, Monday 18 October 1762.



294. Paul Sandby, *The Flying Machine from Edinburgh in one Day, perform'd by Moggy Mackensie at the Thistle and Crown*, 1762, etching, 275 x 241 mm (London, British Museum).

the lap of one figure is a sheet of paper inscribed 'Fingal', a reference to the ancient Gaelic poems of Ossian, supposedly found, but in fact written, by James Macpherson; the first part had been published in 1761. Sandby's characters seem to be based on the two starving shepherds in *The Prophecy of Famine*, described as:

Jockey, whose manly high-boned cheeks to crown,
With freckles spotted, flamed the golden down,
With meikle art could on the bagpipes play,
E'en from the rising to the setting day;
Sawney as long without remorse could bawl
Home's madrigals, and ditties from Fingal.

The main image is surmounted by inscriptions either side of ornamental scrolls around a cartouche which incorporates symbols of Scotland: a thistle, a set of bagpipes and a Highlander's targe and claymore, topped by a crown. The biblical quote from Joel 'The Garden of Eden is before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness' refers to a plague of locusts sent by God; Churchill describes Jockey and Sawney's mountain home as a desolate wilderness:

Far as the eye could reach, no tree was seen;
Earth, clad in russet, scorn'd the lively green:
The plague of locusts they secure defy,

For in three hours a grasshopper must die:
No living thing, whate'er its food, feasts there,
But the cameleon, who can feast on air.

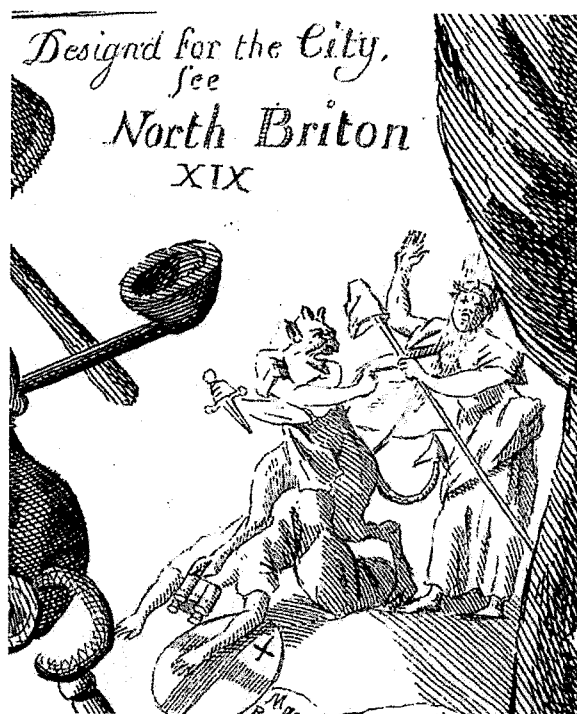
These links between Sandby's print and Churchill's poem are speculative, but the references from the *North Briton* are explicit in *A Sett of Blocks for Hogarth's Wigs* (fig. 295).⁵⁰ So also is the artistic dialogue, if one can call it that, between Sandby and Hogarth. Sandby's print is a direct response to a print by Hogarth published a year earlier entitled *The Five Orders of Perruicks as they were Worn at the Late Coronation Measured Architectonically*.⁵¹ Hogarth poked fun not only at the absurd fashions of wigs prevalent at the time but also at the measured drawings and descriptions of classical buildings by James 'Athenian' Stuart in his 1761 book *Antiquities of Athens*. A blockhead (normally used for making and storing wigs) stands in the lower corner of Hogarth's print, labelled 'Athenian Measure'. Sandby's print features a large number of blockheads 'for Hogarth's Wigs' as the title indicates. Many of the references are to Bute's colleagues, supporters and those whom he patronized; all of them are compared to blockheads. The Highland Fir is Bute; Bedford is shown with a hole where the piece/peace came out; a third is Francis Dashwood, Chancellor of

50. Gunn, *op. cit.*, no. 180.

51. BM Satires 3812.



295. Paul Sandby, *A Sett of Blocks for Hogarth's Wigs*, 1762, etching, 243 x 385 mm (London, British Museum).



296. Detail of fig. 295.

the Exchequer. The head crowned with a saucepan labelled 'These useless now' is the Earl Talbot, and refers to his position as Lord Steward of the Household and his notorious retrenchments in royal household expenses. The *North Briton* admired

many of his Lordship's new regulations, especially those for the royal kitchen. I approve the discharging of so many turnspits and cooks, who were grown of very little use ... It was high time to put an end to that too great indulgence in eating and drinking, which went by the name of Old English hospitality.⁵²

The Cocoa-tree was a chocolate house on St James's Street favoured by Tories and Jacobite sympathizers, and it featured in an exchange of political pamphlets. In the *North Briton*, Wilkes had named some 'worthy' recipients of Bute's patronage and 'besides the Scots I have already named, I would beg to recommend the patriots at the Cocoa-tree, if there are any left, who are still unprovided for by him.' Flanking the main image are Bute's literary and artistic supporters. To the left,

Smollett is identified by name as well as by his publication, Murphy just by the title of the *Auditor*. On the right Sandby identifies Hogarth with an engraver's burin, a palette with the 'Lines of Buty' and a scroll inscribed 'The Times A Grand Scheme for a new Academy the professors pension'd Before Hand'. Next to Hogarth's blockhead is one labelled K for Kirby, artist and author on architecture and perspective. Both this figure and that representing Bute are decorated round the neck with an instrument called the Architectonic Sector. The sector was designed by Bute, a fact which was clearly known at the time as demonstrated by this print, although its authorship is not revealed in Kirby's 1761 book, *The Description and Use of a New Instrument Called an Architectonic Sector*. Bute's authorship was mentioned in a biographical memoir of Kirby in 1808.⁵³ Another of Bute's propagandists is named within the print; written on an open book are the words 'Manuscript / Ralph against PITT / Liberty of the City by / the Instigation of a / Noble Scot Lord / and Co'. This refers to the political writer James Ralph. He had been working on a pro-Bute paper but died in January 1762. Sandby, Churchill or, more likely, Wilkes must have known about this unfinished work to include his name in the print.

Immediately above this is a direct quotation from the *North Briton*, no. 19. A panel, revealed behind some drapery, is inscribed 'Design'd for the City / see / North Briton / XIX' above three figures: Liberty, the Devil and the personification of the City of London (fig. 296). Responding to an article in the *Auditor* in which Smollett described the citizens of London as a rabble and mob, Wilkes wrote:

Ye worthy citizens of London, see! A foul mouthed ruffian with the spirit of a parricide and the inquisition, with the infernal rage of fiend broke loose from the regions of darkness, attack your favouring Goddess Liberty on her throne surrounded by you her most zealous votaries; rend her sacred vestments, besmear her with dirt, squirt his venomous excrements in her face, lash her with the keen whips of reproach, and at last to complete his malice, ... rush forward to plunge a dagger in her heart: O execrable parricide!⁵⁴

And Sandby has illustrated these words precisely, right down to the squirting of 'venomous excrements'.

A direct quote from the *North Briton* also appears in

52. *North Briton*, no. 12. Saturday, 12 August 1762. Wilkes was so merciless in his attacks on the Earl that Talbot challenged him to a duel, which took place on 5 October 1762.

53. J. Kirby, *The Description and Use of a New Instrument Called, an Architectonic Sector by which any Part of Architecture may be Drawn with Facility*

and *Exactness*, London, 1761; see also 'Biographical Memoirs of Mr. Joshua Kirby', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, CIII, 1808, p. 5 where it is described as 'an invention of the Earl of Bute, and constructed under his direction by that ingenious artist Mr George Adams'.

54. *North Briton*, no. 19, 9 October 1762.



THE EVACUATIONS.

or

AN EMETIC for OLD ENGLAND GLORYS — Tune Derry Down

Our Country OLD ENGLAND appears very ill
O Sick, Sick, at heart. Since she took a Scotch Pill
Behold her Blindfolded, the Quack is upon her
And ADMINISTERS, what makes her give up her hand
Derry Down

O Honour—Oh GRACE—oh disgrace veils our Treasures
Our Conquests thrown up, and fall into french MEASURES
Brother Gambler the F., that the Doze should not fail,
To loose her Back settlements, takes her intail.

Here's a PEACE of the Puffmasters wisdom—a Bubble
An empty exchange, for men money and Trouble
Aloft the Dutch Boor and the french ape are grinning
They laugh at our Losses and what they are winning

Observe. Oh Observe pray, the Bubbles Intention
See the Mountebanks Mob, how they catch at each Person
The Baboon opens a Shop for our new found Land Fish
And a Scotch Cook has dress'd us this peace of a Dish

From the Riot oak Decem^r 1762
x the Riot, is a piece of Spanish money. Gra'sted at present.

Martinique Guardeloupe, the Havannah ALL gone
What we've GLORIOUS been doing, INGLOBOUS undone
From her Patriot Statesman, her CULLODEN CHIEF
Britannia disconsolate begs for Relief

Behold on her shoulders a mantle of PLAID
As a Pall (for they'll bury OLD ENGLAND) is laid
Mourn Mourn oh ye Britons, for what she has lost
They will make her up, till she gives up the GHOST

On the Ensigns of LIBERTY some body treads
And we fear that the Somebody wrong headed leads
And Confident Brays, dinna heed, as this fust
We are not fra Kings (Guell Froth) Kings are fra us

I'll finish my Song—if you ask why I chuse
Such an Old fashioned Tune, to a new Fashioned Muse
Among freinds (but be mum) and the Secret Ill own
The Chorus my Countrymen sets us—we're down

The Motto to a Certain Arms

Published According to Act of Parliament by Mary
Dorrey in Little Rivers Court Leicesterfelds

the last of the six published prints, *The Evacuations*, dated December 1762 (fig. 297).⁵⁵ This is clearly directed at the peace treaty, for which preliminary terms had been signed on 3 November. As the *North Briton* complained,

The French king, by a stroke of his pen, has regained what all the power of that nation, and her allies, could never have recovered; and England, once more the dupe of a subtle negotiation, has consented to give up very nearly all her conquests.⁵⁶

Bute, Smollett and Fox stand on a mountebank's stage, trampling the symbols of Liberty underfoot. Bute, shown with the head of an ass, grasps Britannia who vomits up territories, while he simultaneously blows bubbles of peace and pensions. On the left, the beneficiaries of the peace – a Spaniard, a Dutchman and a Frenchman (the Duke of Nivernois) – watch from a balcony in front of a sign advertising 'Fine teas sugar tobacco and Havannah snuff by Velasque Never Nose & Co from over y way'. *North Briton* nos. 27 and 28 went into great detail about the perceived iniquities of the proposed peace treaty:

All the places we have conquered are actually ours, and I cannot sufficiently admire the complaisance of the French, who are willing to cede, as they are pleased to call it, what is already in our possession, and what they have no prospect of recovering.

This was followed by a table showing on one side gains to be returned (Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, Desirade, Martinique, Right of fishing and curing on Newfoundland, St. Peter, Miquelon, Pondicherry, and all their settlements in the East Indies, Goree, Belleisle, St. Lucia) against territories Britain would retain on the other side (Minorca and three neutral islands).⁵⁷

In the print, Sandby shows Dr Smollett checking Britannia's pulse. She has been administered with an emetic and is spewing up all the territories that had been won. Sandby has taken the place names directly from the pages of the *North Briton* down to the exact words about Pondicherry etc. A scroll hanging from the balcony records what England will keep: 'England to have only Minorca and three neutral islands. Peace.' On the right hand side, Louis Baboon is holding a bowl to catch the 'evacuations'. Behind him is a shop selling Newfoundland cod, another cause of contention; *North Briton* no. 28 begins with a discussion of the right of the French to fish in the Newfoundland fishery,

a grant, which, if they improve it, will turn out to be a grant of the whole fishery, unless our wise ministry will contrive to erect sea-marks, to be visible through

the eternal fogs of those seas, and to have them guarded by the whole fleet of England.⁵⁸

Unlike the published prints, which in their size and layout (an image with lines of verse below) were similar to other satirical prints, the unpublished *The New Ministry* (fig. 298) is larger and the plate just needed a title to be complete.⁵⁹ With its architectural setting and complex crowd of characters, this print more closely resembles Hogarth's print *The Times, Plate I*. Most of the characters from the published prints reappear, most had also featured in the pages of the *North Briton*, and the allegiances are crystal clear. The themes are reiterated: opposition to the peace treaty and its beneficiaries, vilification of all Scots, Bute, his ministers and propagandists, and abuse of Hogarth on one side; City interests, Pitt the great patriot and his allies, the army and navy, and the Duke of Cumberland on the other.

The *mise en scène* unfolds in front of St James's Palace, identified as the Talbot Inn 'an ordinary on Sundays' (an ordinary being an inn which provides fixed-price meals). Next to the inn sign is a spoof of Hogarth's print *O the Roast Beef of Old England (The Gate of Calais)*. To the left, Charles Churchill and Alderman Beckford, supporters of Pitt, are comforting the personification of the City of London whose merchants supported the war – she weeps over a rejected petition. Hogarth, burdened by a Scotsman on his back, grasps a thistle in one hand and in the other a hog's tail which delineates the 'Line of Buty' over his artist's palette. The hog is running between the legs of William Pitt who is drawing his sword to deal with Henry Fox, who has his hand in John Bull's pocket. Behind Pitt is the Caledonian Coffee House, owned by Small Wit (Smollett), its gate posts surmounted by the figure of Liberty holding a thistle, and a statue of a Highlander, his claymore drawn and his targe inscribed with the date 1745. Behind Pitt is his brother-in-law, Earl Temple. The Duke of Newcastle is tumbling off John Bull's back, while the Duke of Bedford is thrusting a scroll inscribed 'Peace' down John Bull's throat. Behind Bedford, the Duke of Cumberland is supporting Newcastle with one hand while aiming his whip at the Duke of Nivernois, shown again as a French ape, who in turn has two strings attached to his wrist; one tethers the dove of Peace, the other is tied to the peace treaty in Bedford's hand. Lord Bute, seen again in the guise of Sister Peg, is on the ground, shouting into John Bull's ear and once more showing off his garter. The Archbishop of York and Lord Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice, are identified by the poster behind them:

55. Gunn, op. cit., no. 179.

56. *North Briton*, no. 28, 11 December 1762.

57. *North Briton*, no. 27, 4 December 1762.

58. *North Briton*, no. 28, 11 December 1762.

59. Gunn, op. cit., no. 182.



298. Paul Sandby, *The New Ministry*, 1763/64, etching, 258 x 367 mm (London, British Museum).

'York and Mansfield machines sets out [fr]om the Talbot Inn'. To the right, Arthur Murphy, editor of *The Auditor*, looks on. He wears a distinctive Kevenhuller hat and has a jackboot on one leg and a French sabot on the other. He stands in front of a disreputable Scot who is scratching his bare behind against a whipping post which is labelled 'Post for the Briton' (in other words Smollett). A young sailor, probably Edward, Duke of York, advances, drawing his sword and followed by another sailor armed with a cudgel. Overhead on the balcony, a Frenchman and Dutchman, both beneficiaries of the peace, look on with smug expressions while another Scot, sword inscribed '1745' clammers over the balustrade and a herald blows a fanfare on a trumpet, his tabard and banner decorated with the fleurs-de-lys and thistles.

The main scene is flanked on one side by an idle soldier and sailor, gathering cobwebs because the peace has left them unemployed, as noted by the *North Briton*:

But to let our fleets lie rotting in port, to suffer our men to be enervated with sloth, and to dissolve in in-

activity, to squander away our treasures, and to send out, merely by way of amusement and to take the air, our bravest admirals and our strongest fleets, at a time when we are engaged in war with France and Spain, these are instances of such a confident well-grounded superiority, as must strike terror into our enemies.⁶⁰

On the other side, a Scotsman is about to pull away one wooden leg of a limbless English soldier while striking him with his other one. Thomas Paul Sandby wrote that his father:

afterwards becoming better acquainted with the merit of Hogarth ... was the first to express his regret at having endeavoured in any way to depreciate the merit of so extraordinary a genius; and everything was done by Mr. Sandby to suppress his former publications; and no one could afterwards be more forward in expressing his unqualified admiration of this artist, with whom, indeed, he subsequently became acquainted.⁶¹

Other writers have assumed that the print was not published because the topicality of the subject had passed, but actually the battle was far from over.⁶² There

60. *North Briton*, no. 18, 2 October 1762.

61. Sandby, op. cit., p. 437.

62. See for example Quilley, op. cit., p. 47.

may have been more pressing reasons. The repercussions of the opposition to the Bute ministry and the peace carried on for some months, as did the animosity between Wilkes, Churchill and Hogarth. Already in November 1762, warrants had been issued for the arrest for seditious libel of Arthur Beardmore, editor of *The Monitor*, and its printers and publishers. Worried about this, the original printer of the *North Briton* had backed out, to be replaced by George Kearsley. The peace treaty came into effect in February 1763 and was the subject of the king's speech to parliament on 19 April 1763. Bute is likely to have written the speech although he had resigned on 8 April. Wilkes attacked the speech in the infamous *North Briton* no. 45 which came out on 23 April, and he was promptly arrested. Hogarth was present at the court hearing and produced his portrait engraving of Wilkes (fig. 293). Meanwhile, Churchill published his *Epistle to Hogarth*, to which the artist responded by re-working the plate of his own self-portrait and turning it into the image of Churchill as *The Bruiser*, a bear holding

a pot of ale in one arm and a cudgel in the other inscribed 'NB' and 'Iye 1 lie 5 lie 15'. Hogarth's pug is shown urinating on a copy of the *Epistle* (fig. 287).⁶³

Sandby might well have been alarmed at these developments and, perhaps deciding that discretion was the better part of valour, put the plate away. A complex and accomplished print like this would be much easier to attribute to him than the published prints, though it does seem Sandby was known to have been their author. An anti-Pitt print, showing the great commoner floating on a cloud of soap bubbles, was ascribed by the printmaker to 'Paul Sandwich' – playing with his name in the same way Sandby played with Hogarth's.⁶⁴ Sandby had a burgeoning career and a family to think about and may well have decided to dissociate himself from the 'fire of faction'. He seems to have been successful in covering his tracks. Only two years later he was making a series of paintings of the parkland at Luton Hoo, one of the estates belonging to the Marquis of Bute.

63. BM Satires 4084.

64. Gunn, op. cit., no. WA [wrongly attributed] 14.