

8-30-2018

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Recommended Citation

Beirne, Piers. "Raw, Roast or Half-Baked? Hogarth's Beef in Calais Gate." *Theoretical Criminology*, vol. 22, no. 3, Aug. 2018, pp. 426–444, doi:10.1177/1362480618787174.

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Article

Raw, roast or half-baked? Hogarth's beef in *Calais Gate*

Theoretical Criminology
2018, Vol. 22(3) 426–444
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sagepub.com/journals-permissions
DOI: 10.1177/1362480618787174
journals.sagepub.com/home/tcr



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Abstract

Scholars of human–animal studies, literary criticism and art history have paid considerable attention of late to how the visual representation of nonhuman animals has often and sometimes to great effect been used in the imagining of national identity. It is from the scrutinies of these several disciplines that the broad backcloth of this article is woven. Its focus is the neglected coupling of patriotism and carnism, instantiated here by its deployment in William Hogarth's painting *Calais Gate* (1749). A pro-animal reading is offered of the English artist's exhortation that it is in the nature of 'true-born Britons' to consume a daily dish of roast beef served with lashings of francophobia and anti-popery. The article suggests that alert contemporary viewers of *Calais Gate* would nevertheless have noticed that Hogarth's painterly triumphalism ironically rekindles the repressed memory of English military defeat and territorial loss. Because the political and religious borders between England and France were so easily defaced and refaced, the accompanying air of uncertainty over national identity would also have infiltrated the perceived authenticity of English roast beef. The article draws on animal rights theory, on nonspeciesist green criminology and on green visual criminology in order to oppose the historical dominance of human interests over those of other animal species in discourses of abuse, cruelty and harm.

Keywords

Calais Gate (*Or, O the Roast Beef of Old England*), francophobia, Hogarth, nationalism, patriotism–carnism couplet, popery

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Introduction

Scholars of human–animal studies, literary criticism and art history have paid considerable attention of late to how the visual representation of nonhuman animals (henceforth, ‘animals’) has frequently and sometimes to great effect been used in the imagining of national identity (Baker, 2001: ch. 2; Chez, 2016; Cozzi, 2013; Franklin, 2014). It is from the scrutinies of these several disciplines that the broad backcloth of this article is woven. Its particular focus is the neglected visual coupling in mid-18th-century Britain of patriotism and ‘carnism’; that is, a cluster of speciesist and typically masculinist ideologies that encourages humankind to consume the flesh and by-products of other animal species (Gålmark, 2008; Joy, 2001).¹ In the continuing project of opposing the historical dominance of human interests in discourses of abuse, cruelty and harm, the article draws on animal rights theory (Adams, 2015; Benton, 2007; Regan, 2004), on nonspeciesist green criminology (Beirne, 2009, 2014, 2018; Sollund, 2014; White, 2017) and on green-visual criminology (Beirne and Janssen, 2014; Brisman and South, 2013).

It must be said that at the beginning of the 18th century ‘Britain’ (read ‘England’) was a legal and ideological fiction which had been cobbled together, often with great physical and cultural violence, by the rise of parliamentary sovereignty and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, by the defeat of Irish Catholicism, by the Acts of Union (1706–1707) uniting the kingdoms of Scotland and England and by the Hanoverian accession of 1714. Enter carnism. Important cultural messages about a people are indeed conveyed not only by which particular edibles they regularly consume or are encouraged to consume (*beef*, for example, if they eat the flesh of animals such as cows, bulls and oxen) but also by how their foods are prepared (e.g. *roast* beef) and by and for whom they are reared and slaughtered (e.g. *English* roast beef). Though its heroic virtues had been fleetingly touted c.1600 in Shakespeare’s *Henry V* (Act 3, Scene 7), not until the early 18th century was the consumption of roast beef popularized as an item in an imagined identity of Englishness. Some of the details of this pairing of patriotism and carnism were spelled out, for example, in Daniel Defoe’s (1701/1705: 14, emphases in original) *The True Born Englishman* (‘Fierce as the Briton...[a]nd English Beef their Courage does uphold’) and in Joseph Addison’s (1709) *Tatler*, exhorting English soldiers to eat ‘English roast beef thrice daily—[t]his excellent food’.

In what follows I instantiate the neglected couplet of patriotism and carnism as it was deployed by the English artist William Hogarth (1697–1764) in his painting *Calais Gate* (*Or, O the Roast Beef of Old England*) (1749). To this end I offer a microhistory of Hogarth’s exhortation in *Calais Gate* that it is in the nature of every ‘true-born Briton’ to consume a daily dish of English roast beef served with generous lashings of francophobia and anti-popery.

Caution! Seeing through real animals

In order to approach the animal edibles represented in Hogarth’s *Calais Gate* one must first see through the lifeblood and bones of *real* animals. Hogarth’s bonding agents: the bones and skins of horses and rabbits and eggshells from ducks and chickens. His paints: these are mixed with animals’ fat and their ground and charred bones. His paintbrushes:

hair from the bodies, nostrils and ears of horses, oxen, pigs and squirrels. Hogarth's attire: in his self-portrait in *Calais Gate* his leather tricorne hat is made from the skin of cattle; his periwig is crafted from the hair of horses or goats; although they are hidden from view, his feet and ankles are likely encased in buckled half-boots or buskins made from the skin of pigs and cattle. (This list of Hogarth's art supplies does not include such extras as the animal edibles that might have sustained him while he sketched and painted.)

Calais Gate (Or, O the Roast Beef of Old England)

The first time any one goes from hence to france by way of *Calais* he Cannot Avoid being struck with the Extreem different face things appear with at so little a distance as from Dover a farcical pomp of war, parade of riligion and Bustle with little with very little bussiness in short poverty slavery and Insolence (with an affectation of politeness) give you even here the first specimen of the whole country nor are the figure less opposite to those of dover than the two shores. fish women have faces of [*word illegible*] leather and soldiers raged and lean.

Hogarth (1753/1955: 227–228)

Setting the scene(s)

In the late summer of 1748 William Hogarth travelled from London to Paris, via Dover and Calais, across the body of water known by the English as the (English) Channel and by the French as La Manche.² As Morieux (2015: 150–151) indicates, such differences in naming are captured nicely in the titles of the legal texts on which the respective judicial and political authorities tended to rely: the English on Selden's *Mer Clausum*, for example, and the French on Grotius's *Mare Liberum*. Almost needless to say, it was in much more than their respective nomenclatures of this 22 mile/35.4 kilometre strait that England and France differed. They also clashed in their concepts of ownership and control of the water that each of their lands bordered ('territorial limits')—differences which had serious reverberations for the instigation and settlement of conflicts over navigation and safe passage, fishing rights, piracy, smuggling, espionage and so on.

During his visit to Paris, Hogarth—who in some quarters there was recognized as a creative English artist with a flair for comic history painting—was boorishly dismissive of French customs.³ For whatever reason he decided to cut short his stay in France, once again finding himself in the port town of Calais, seeking a packet boat back to England. But bad weather intervened. Awaiting a favourable wind for his delayed return passage, Hogarth decided to bide his time by sketching in the vicinity of the old seaport fortifications. It was a poor decision.

It is hard to know how much trust should be placed in the particulars of any of the several contemporary reports of Hogarth's brief sojourn in Calais. Piling one embellishment upon another, they vary considerably in their respective accounts of exactly what Hogarth did in Calais and what the French authorities there did to him and to his companion, Francis Hayman, the accomplished English artist and fellow member of London's eccentric *Sublime Society of Beefsteaks*. But from the published reports it can reasonably

be surmised that, while awaiting his return passage to England, Hogarth sketched the Gate, the drawbridge and perhaps also some of the other English-built fortifications in medieval Calais (Hogarth, 1753/1955: 228–229; Ireland, 1798, 3: 349–350; Nichols, 1781/1833: 31–32; Walpole, 1748/1885: 123).⁴ On his drawing of the Gate in situ Hogarth (1753/1955: 228) himself later reflected, in his own peculiar way:

As I was santering about and obseving them & the gate which it seem was build by the English when the place was in our possession there is a fair appearance still of the arms of England upon it as I conceild none of the memorandum I had privately taken and they being found to be only those of a painter for own use it was Judged necessary only to confine me to my lodging till the wind changed for our coming away to England where I no sooner arrived but set about the Picture.

For his suspicious-looking sketching in Calais Hogarth was arrested as a spy and carried before the governor—‘had not the peace actually been signed [...] [the Governor] should have been obliged to have him hung up immediately on the ramparts’ (Walpole, quoted in Uglow, 1997: 464).⁵ After an interrogation, during which it was demanded that he produce from his sketchbook proof positive of his vocation as an artist, Hogarth handed over several caricatures of the French inhabitants of Calais. The authorities were apparently much diverted by the artist and by his impromptu creations. His sketching was found to be innocent and the charge of espionage was dismissed. Placed under house arrest, a humiliated and irate Hogarth soon boarded ship for England.

After his arrival in Dover Hogarth repaired to his studio in London’s Leicester-in-the-Fields. Here he immediately set to work on a new oil-on-canvas, the vengeful *Calais Gate* (see Figure 1), which was completed in late 1748 and has been described by Hogarth’s leading biographer, Ronald Paulson (1992: 355), as ‘a meticulous performance, as careful and finished as *Marriage à-la-mode*’;⁶ It has been additionally referred to as ‘[p]robably the best known anti-Catholic picture of the period’ (Haydon, 1993: 47). A few months later, London’s *General Advertiser* (8 March 1749) announced the appearance of an unreversed print, *O the Roast Beef of Old England (The Gate of Calais)*, which had been reproduced from an engraving by Hogarth, assisted by Charles Mosley. (The print was so named after a nationalist ditty of 1745 composed by Richard Leveridge: ‘*A Song in Praise of Old English Roast Beef*’.) The announcement advertised that:

This day is published, Price 5s. A Print Design’d and Engrav’d by MR HOGARTH; representing a PRODIGY, which lately appear’d before the Gate of Calais. O the Roast Beef of Old England; &c. To be had at the Golden-Head in Leicester-Square, and at the Print Shops.

Both the 1748 painting and the 1749 engraved print (on display at London’s Tate Britain) have been variously referred to as ‘*Calais Gate*’, ‘*The Gate of Calais*’ and ‘*O the Roast Beef of Old England (The Gate of Calais)*’. It is Hogarth’s 1749 print that is reproduced here and to which, unless otherwise noted, the article refers to as *Calais Gate*. This preference for the print is made not only because of the prohibitive financial cost of reproducing the 1748 painting but even more so because the print’s high-definition detail offers a much clearer image than the painting, especially in both bottom



Figure 1. *Calais Gate (Or, O the Roast Beef of Old England).*

Printed copper engraving.

William Hogarth, 1749.

Reproduced with permission of La Clé des langues (Clifford Armion, dir.) and ENS Média (Vincent Brault, photo).

corners. The print and the painting are not identical, however. The main difference between them stems from an accident: after its completion, the painting fell down and a nail pierced the cross atop the gate. In order to hide this blemish, Hogarth patched the painting and introduced a corvid atop the cross (Nichols, 1781/1833: 110–111). The corvid, likely a raven, does not appear in the print.

Calais Gate was conceived by Hogarth as part of his longstanding project for a new and distinctive British art based on iconoclasm and savage satire. It exemplifies how, during the 1740s, his passion to assert his and others' Englishness had become the main aspect of his art. (Even during this most patriotic of periods, while Hogarth sought to extricate himself from the intellectual and aesthetic dominance of French art, he was still markedly under its sway and somewhat dependent on its monied admirers and distribution networks.)

Calais Gate intersects with at least two longstanding graphic traditions. The first is the countercultural theatrical genre associated with the English stage and with the raucous street culture of fairs such as those celebrated annually at London's Southwark, St Bartholomew's and Smithfield (West Smithfield was the place of Hogarth's birth and

childhood). *Calais Gate* does indeed have the aesthetic look and feel of several of Hogarth's early benefit tickets and engravings, each of which is framed as if it were a set on the London stage. Among them were the cramped *Just View of the British Stage* (1724) and the noose-festooned and hugely popular *Beggar's Opera* (1728). Others portrayed the cramped interiors of carceral institutions, including Newgate, Fleet and Bridewell prisons and the Bedlam asylum (*James Spiller*, 1720; *William Milward*, 1728; *The Prison*, 1735; and *The Madhouse*, 1735). *Calais Gate* also intersected with the 'low' and 'impolite' genre established by Dutch painters like Adriaen Van Ostade and Egbert Van Heemskerck the Elder, the Flemish painter David Teniers and before him the several Breughels. Known for their strong colours and rowdy scenes of everyday life, paintings in this moralistic genre exercised a great attraction for the polemical Hogarth. Among them were those popularized by Pieter Breughel the Elder and his followers—in this regard, especially, *The Battle Between Carnival and Lent* (1559); *The Poor Kitchen* (1563); *The Rich Kitchen* (1563); and Rembrandt's *Slaughtered Ox* (1655), in which the sole aspect is a side of beef.

It is worth reflecting on the explicit presupposition of the paragraph above. When I say Hogarth's *Calais Gate* 'intersects with' rather than 'was influenced by' two long-standing graphic traditions, this signals my general agreement with Michael Baxendall's attempt to deflect or to kick the notion of cause just enough out of the way so as to be able to continue with the task of art criticism. 'Influence', he complains (Baxendall, 1985: 58–62; and see Carrabine, 2017),

is a curse of art criticism primarily because of its wrong-headed grammatical prejudice about who is the agent and who the patient: it seems to reverse the active/passive relation which the historical actor experiences and the inferential beholder will wish to take into account.

It should therefore be said that, by the time he painted *Calais Gate* in 1748 and reproduced it as a print the following year, Hogarth was already the far more active agent in the relationship identified by Baxendall. This is so for three reasons. Each of these had to do with the artist's knack of employing skilful business acumen to market his creations (Solkin, 1993). First, as the famous founder of a native British art, his very public success allowed an unusual degree of liberation from the yolk of having to solicit commissions from connoisseurs insistent that he conform to outworn existing genres, such as classical and religious painting (foreign Old Masters) or portraiture. By the mid-1740s, with demand very high for nearly everything he produced, his popularity allowed Hogarth the great luxury of producing almost whatsoever he chose.

Second, though artists' creations had heretofore no legal protection from the plagiarism of pirates and printsellers ('overgrown shopkeepers'), in 1734 Hogarth led an imposing group of artists, designers, engravers, etchers, writers and musicians, on whose behalf and for the public good he circulated a letter—'The Case of Designers &c...to a Member of Parliament' (Deazley, 2008)—to promote the Copyright Bill. The Bill proposed that engravers and artists retain exclusive rights to their work for 14 years after their original publication. With the enactment of the Engravers' Copyright Act (1735)—widely known as Hogarth's Act—would-be copiers were now obliged to secure engravers' and artists' permission to reproduce their work and to pay them royalties for doing

so. Failure in either respect was liable to a fine of five shillings for each copy made and discovered.⁷

Third, when after 1735 Hogarth wished to sell cheap printed copies of one of his paintings, then he engraved them at low cost in large numbers and sold the prints himself either directly from his Leicester-in-the-Fields studio or by advertisements in the newly formed media of broadsheets, handbills, flyers and newspapers. In one way or another he had become an affluent and powerful figure in the art world.

It is now time to turn directly to Hogarth's coupling of carnism and patriotism in *Calais Gate*.

View and perspective

Viewers of *Calais Gate* are actually standing under the arch in the outermost fortification, to the north of the old town. Hogarth directs his viewers to see through the arch to the Gate and then on to the town of Calais. In so doing he contrasts the poverty of French life with London's prosperous industry and seafaring activities, as seen through the eyes of the Venetian artist Canaletto in his 1747 painting *London Seen through an Arch of Westminster Bridge*, for example (Hardy, 2015).

Calais Gate permits several points of entry. Whichever of these is taken is ultimately of no great import. The most imposing *entrée*, however, is the Gate itself. Erected by English masons at some point between the beginning of the town's military occupation by Edward III in 1346 and the expulsion of the English by Duc François de Guise in 1558, the Gate is part of the outer wall. It is a tiered fortification. The inner Gate gapes. Its sharp teeth menace. At its top are three escutcheons engraved with royal heraldic arms—three English leopards rampant (or *lion-léopardés*) and the French fleurs-de-lys. In the wake of the sun-setting shadow that moves across the Gate from right to left, Hogarth has bathed the English coat of arms in bright sunlight. His intent in doing this was doubtless the revanchist one of creating a visual reminder of the English occupation of Calais and of English military and cultural superiority.⁸ In addition, it is also quite possible that the picturing of the English royal arms was a theatrical artifice invented by the artist and imposed by him on the *Porte du Havre*. Indeed, the accuracy of Hogarth's depiction of the Gate and its environs cannot be vouched for because by 1855 only the drawbridge remained (Paknadel, 1991).⁹

There is general agreement that since so much of *Calais Gate* is about food, the Gate itself must represent a mouth. But whereas Paulson (1965, 1: 203, 2003: 58; see also Rogers, 2003: 101) claims that Hogarth's picture is painted from the point of view of the stomach, that is, looking into the mouth or even, Bosch-like, into the Gate of Hell (Krysmanski, 1997), Dominic Janes (2012: 31; and see Janes, 2015: 25–40) cautions:

if we bear in mind Hogarth's inverted view of France, then we are looking from the stomach not into the mouth but into the rectum. The gate of Calais is where the visitor looks into France and it is [...] in other words, an arse. It was also from here that the English were shat out of the country.

Another conduit into *Calais Gate* is provided by Hogarth's self-portrait. Hogarth has placed a profile of himself at centre far left (Figures 1 and 2). In fact, given his

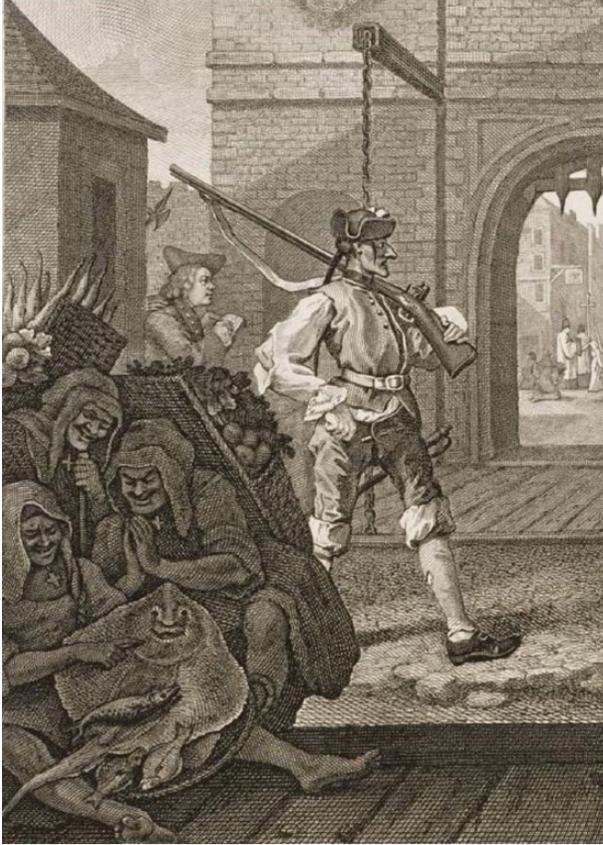


Figure 2. Detail: Hogarth's self-portrait in *Calais Gate* (*Or, O the Roast Beef of Old England*).

Printed copper engraving.

William Hogarth, 1749.

Reproduced with permission of *La Clé des langues* (Clifford Armion, dir.) and ENS Média (Vincent Brault, photo).

serviceable attire, his posture and his intense gaze, the artist himself is the only person in the picture who is not represented as an object of comedy or caricature. A soldier grasps Hogarth's shoulder with one hand, while wielding a pikestaff with the other. The long arm of French law, as it were, indicates Hogarth's impending arrest. About the meaning of his own presence here, he later commented 'I sat about the picture; made the gate my back-ground; and in one corner introduced my own portrait, which has generally been thought a correct likeness, with the soldier's hand upon my shoulder' (Hogarth, quoted in Ireland, 1798, 3: 349–350).

Though his self-portrait finds him caught in the act of sketching, *Calais Gate* does not indicate what Hogarth was drawing before he was arrested. Indeed, the particular images Hogarth inserted into *Calais Gate* and how he represented himself at work on his picture—with his imminent arrest implied by the hand on his shoulder, for example—thus

emerged not only from what he thought had happened while he was sketching but also on what patriotic and francophobic messages he wanted his audience(s) to receive. On this optical illusion Timothy Erwin (2001: 405) rightly comments '[t]he painting neither replicates the story of its invention nor serves as copy of the image securing Hogarth's release'.¹⁰

The exact centre of *Calais Gate* is occupied by an immense sirloin of beef. A cut of edible flesh hacked from the animal's back—*Bifteck à l'anglaise*—it has likely just arrived by boat from Dover. The *London Evening Post* (7–9 March 1749) reported that on a piece of cloth behind the sirloin the painting is inscribed 'For *Madm. Grandsire at Calais*', she being the wife of the English owner of the *Lion d'Argent* inn. The beef is red in the painting *Calais Gate*. Blood red. It is raw and uncooked, probably to be roasted later by its English recipients according to patriotic English standards. Pictured as red by Hogarth, the beef is set off even further by way of contrast with the bright white hairpiece and apron of the cook who carries it on the cobbled street. If that is his occupation rather than that of a porter or butcher (and presumably Madame Grandsire's, at that), the cook stumbles under the weight of the beef, pausing to catch his breath. His stumble also appears to be an act of partial genuflection. But does the cook bend his knee towards the beef or towards the friar? In light of Hogarth's theatricality, presumably it is towards both. As such, Hogarth intends him as a *French* cook, a chef: thin, unmanly and subservient to the priests and to their ruinous dietary restrictions.¹¹

Three Calaisiennes occupy the dark and shadowy left foreground. Each wears a crucifix around her neck. Two carry heavy loads of vegetables, signifying Lenten or fast-day fare.¹² The third is a fishmonger. All three gaze adoringly at what looks like a miraculous apparition of Jesus in the face of a flatfish (an early Christian symbol—*ikhthys*—for the Son of God). It is a clever Hogarthian pun to the effect that in this murky corner everybody flounders in a sea of superstition.¹³ Moreover, the small fishes between the fishmonger's legs occupy the same anti-Marian satiric posture—ridiculing the Virgin Birth and the Immaculate Conception—as did the dozen rabbits emerging from Mary Toft's skirts in Hogarth's earlier *Cuniculari, or the Wise Men of Godalming in Consultation*, (1726).¹⁴

In the middle foreground the principal actors worship the beef. The cook appears to be offering the beef to the friar, who halts the sirloin's forward progress. By his brown woollen habit and his girdle and crucifix pendant, the friar is recognizable as a Franciscan. To a Protestant English audience this Franciscan must have appeared as a creature from an alien planet. Indeed, he is. He is exotic not only because he is a Catholic friar but also because he is a member of an order that had been rendered largely invisible in England since its dissolution during the Henrecian reformation of the 1530s. In *Calais Gate* the friar is the Fat to the butcher's Thin, the hated epitome of clerical luxury and a classic target of Protestant outrage. He alone is depicted as corpulent. He lusts after the beef. He pushes his finger into it and squeezes its juices. He rubs his stomach in anticipation.

In keeping with the smutty motifs that were so common in low Dutch genre pictures, the friar's erotic energy is only one of several lusty goings-on in *Calais Gate*. Emphasizing that in the 18th century hunger for food was widely employed as a metaphor for lust, Dominic Janes (2012: 27; see generally Krysmanski, 2010) insists that '[t]he pin in the fly of the French guard's trousers to the left of the picture points perkily, and phallicly,

towards the meat'; another [guard] 'is drooling out his soup (popular slang for semen) onto the ground'; onions like the Highlander's 'were regarded as an aphrodisiac because they produced heat and its round shape was associated with the glans of the penis such that 'onion frothing' and 'plucking Sir Onion' made their appearance as early modern slang for masturbation. The Scot's exhaustion, his testicular purse torn open, his pipe empty, is seemingly the result of profligate onanism' (Janes, 2012: 27).

To the friar's far left two military cooks are exiting the scene with a cauldron of *soup maigre* (thin gruel). Hungry, they are lean and ragged. Besides the arresting officer, there are four other uniformed soldiers in *Calais Gate*. Each is dressed shabbily from head to toe. Two are French sentries. Unappetizing gruel awaiting them, they gaze in awe at the English sirloin. One spills his meagre ration, so distracted is he by the beef. The other is the object of a visual pun: he appears to be suspended, puppet-like, by the chain that hangs from a beam in the portcullis. He is considerably outweighed by the blood-red English sirloin across the way.

Two other soldiers round out this scene. One is Irish, the other Scottish. Each is a supporter of the anti-Hanoverian Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart. Both had likely been routed at Culloden, then fleeing to France and exile after the failed '45 Jacobite rebellion. Their garments display evidence of battle. The Irishman stands, short and thin, clutching his spoon and bowl, hungry and staring in amazement at the sirloin.¹⁵ His comrade in abject poverty is Scottish, a highlander, clad as he is in a Jacobite tartan plaid with sporran. Mendicant, he leans against a wall, his only nourishment an onion and a small crust. His glass is empty. With no health to toast, he prays.¹⁶

This forlorn corner of *Calais Gate* reflects a hardening in the pro-Protestant and pro-English animosities of the mythic John Bull. Born of francophobia in the 1720s, this new John Bull also despises the Scots for exercising more political influence in Britain than was deserved by their small and backward population and by their feeble contribution to government revenue and commercial wealth.¹⁷ Contemporaneously, an anonymous poem—'Beef and Liberty' of 1748—rejoiced that Jacobite traitors were forced to 'cringe and starve on Galia's envy'd coast, [...] soups and sallads shall your board supply, and the kind priest absolve ye when ye die'.¹⁸

Hogarth's mockery of popish religion outside Calais Gate lies in stark contrast to the naked superstition inside the town. A clear line of vision directs the viewer, tunnel-like, towards this inner sanctum: traverse the wooden drawbridge, go through the latticed iron grille of the portcullis, then on into the town itself. There, hanging from a wall of the nearest visible building, a dove on a signboard advertises a tavern or coffee house. The dove (an image representing the Holy Ghost) oversees a Catholic ceremony below. If we viewers look hard, magnifying glass or binocular in hand, we can just make out a priest who holds a monstrance aloft for the adoring faithful. Hogarth offers no clue as to what this particular ritual might be. Perhaps it is a public Eucharist procession. Perhaps it is a stop on the lengthy route of devotions associated with the stations of the cross. Whatever it is, to the artist it is a despicable sight.

In Hogarth's xenophobic view the French are indeed burdened with the weight of numerous crosses. As Bernd Krysmanski (2010: 234) has it, the idea of carrying one's cross is visualized in *Calais Gate* 'first as a papist religious object [...] and secondly as a burden, intimated by the staggering cook in the foreground, who carries an enormous

sirloin of beef [to the English inn]'. Insightful as Krysmanski's comment is, it must be pointed out that the notion of carrying one's cross is visible in several other details. In the far-off town, for example, an acolyte clutches a Catholic cross. In his self-portrait, at left, the artist himself shoulders a cross. His is the arresting reach of French law. By his side the friar's cross dangles on his midriff. Two French sentries, their occupation weighing heavily on them, wear crosses on their tricorne hats. The three *Calaisiennes* wear neck-laced crosses. Theirs will strangle these poor souls. At its peak the Gate has a cross—the Protestant English cross of the peripatetic warrior Saint George. In the repaired version of the *Calais Gate* painting even the cross atop the gate has a cross. This cross is a member of the/, represented by Hogarth as a raven. In stark contrast to the popish dove of the Holy Spirit, the raven is omnivorous, crafty and alive. Back in the Tower of London, her avian conspiracy is zealously protected by... yeomen Beefeaters.

Defacing and refacing identities, human and animal, visible and invisible

Is *Calais Gate* a dark comedy? Certainly. It is an exemplar of comic history painting. Is it serious? Yes, deadly so. Its message and inevitable moral compass: however strong or fragile its place in the social fabric, the cultivation of a virtuous national identity is best accomplished if it is envisaged as a reverse image of the stereotypical vices of foreigners. Such an identity can partly be achieved, Hogarth believed, through what we eat. In the same way that our consuming passions do or do not fortify the body so too, epistemologically, they do or do not nourish the body politic. To Hogarth, native English food—especially beef—sustains liberty, parliamentary democracy and prosperity. French cuisine, to the contrary, reflects and encourages slavery, poverty and popish superstition.

Alert viewers of *Calais Gate* would undoubtedly have noticed that the sun-bathed royal arms of England also conjure up a contrary spectre that sullies the memory of the conquest of French Calais in 1346. The opposite of Hogarth's intended triumphalism, this additional impression ironically rekindles the repressed memory of English military defeat and territorial loss: *Calais Gate* testifies to the awkward fact that England's 212-year dominion was forcibly severed in 1558 with the defeat and expulsion of her army from the town.

There is more.

Hogarth's picturing of the Gate and the royal arms of England and France, side-by-side, signifies not so much wished-for difference in respect of two national identities, as his several prejudices dictated, but similarity. The corpulent friar, the fisherwomen and all the superstitious paraphernalia in *Calais Gate* now take on a new meaning: he and they are undesirable reminders of the half millennium that stretches backwards from 1558 to the Norman conquest of 1066. During this *longue durée* England and France were shackled together—God forbid!—to popish Catholicism. To post-Henrecian Protestant England, worse still: the superstitions of this shared popish religion were reinforced by a ruling class whose machinery of state and law originated in Normandy and whose *lingua franca* was French. Although most early English monarchs were bi- or multilingual, for those 12 of them who lived between the Norman conquest in 1066 and Richard II's coronation in 1377, their chief spoken language at court was Anglo-Norman

French and their reading was in Latin. Favoured by royalty, aristocracy and the(ir) primitive state machinery, these several languages were unintelligible to the great mass of the population in England, Wales and Scotland. As such, they were *state* languages rather than *national* languages. As Anderson (2006: 41, emphasis in original) rightly stresses about the emergence in England of an *English* language, '[n]ot till almost a century *after* Early English's political enthronement was London's power swept out of "France"'. Indeed, only then was it possible to imagine an *English* state.

In this regard, Hogarth's audience must have had another look, flip-flop and askance, at the inclusion in several of his paintings of the Anglo-Norman '*Honi soit qui mal y pense*' (from 1344 the motto of the Order of the Garter) and '*Dieu et mon droit*' (first adorning the British royal coat of arms in 1714, supposedly *ad aeternam*). Indeed, these patriotic English symbols had been coined by and for French speakers. Rumour even had it that a *newfangle* air of 1737—'God Save the King!'—had been composed not in England but in France.

How did his French antagonists view Hogarth's *théâtre anglais*? If to the English the mention of Calais was ultimately to invoke the shame of a lost colonial outpost, then to the French the town they knew as *le pays reconquis* was a symbol of pride. His many admirers in Paris notwithstanding, the French literati saw some of Hogarth's visual tirades as all-too-typical of English bad taste. Bad taste, that is, especially in her antipathy towards France and Catholicism and in her envy of France's fine institutions; bad taste in her manic focus on the violence and excess in French history; and bad taste in her ambivalence towards her *civilité*, her *haute couture* and her fine cuisine. With France hemmed in geographically and opposed ideologically and militarily by the Protestant bulwarks of Britain, the Low Countries and Prussia, many of the compatriots of the French philosopher La Mettrie (1747: 7; see Dupuy, 2003) no doubt agreed with him when, barely a year before the completion of *Calais Gate*, he pointed his angry pen at England: '[r]aw meat makes animals ferocious, and men would become equally so with the same food. This ferocity gives rise in the soul to pride, hatred, contempt for other nations.'

Because the political and religious borders between England and France were so easily crossed and criss-crossed, defaced and refaced, the accompanying air of uncertainty must also have applied to the perceived authenticity of so-called national cuisines. Hogarth's last supper is said to have been one pound of beefsteak (Ireland, 1798, 1: 388), but one has to wonder whether the animal's flesh, likely bought and sold at nearby Smithfield market, only masqueraded as 'Made in England'.

Niceties abound. The English word beef (c.1300) derives from the Old French *boef* and before that from the Latin *bos/bovis* (*OED*). Did the patriotic consumers of roast beef fret about the pedigree of the cattle bought, sold and slaughtered in England? Was Englishness the true identity of these cattle? Not altogether, if the evidence of the well-known London agricultural surveyor John Middleton is to be believed. He reported, for instance, that cow-keepers in northern England preferred the Holderness 'which is supposed to give the largest quantity of milk [...] this breed of cattle were, most probably, first brought from Normandy' (Middleton, 1798: 329). Not altogether, too, if it was broadcast that some English cattle were reared from breeds that originated in Ireland, Holland and France. Moreover, in some regions, such as County Durham's Teeswater,

the majority of the breeding was done with the use of Dutch or Flemish cattle (Youatt and Martin, 1860). To pile one more uncertainty onto the myths and the deceit surrounding the pedigree of the Beef of Old England, another estimate (Young, 1786, 1: 378–379) has it that in the 18th century, in respect of barrels of the flesh of cattle and pigs, Britain annually imported huge amounts from Ireland (about 156,000) and from the American colonies (44,952).

Consider also how fractured must have been the identity assigned cattle raised on the small islands between the English and French mainlands. Both English and French invaders—and before them the Norse—had conquered and reconquered the islands known by the English as the Channel Islands and by the French as *Îles de la manche* or *Îles Normandes*. Given this frequent back and forth, on Jersey/*Césarée*, Guernsey/*Dgèrnésiais* and Alderney/*Aurigny* were the cattle there regarded by meat eaters and others as English or as French? Or were they Anglo-French/*Français-Anglo* and therefore cross-breeds of indeterminable status? To add to these categorical vagaries, the cattle of the *Aurignais* (who were named *vaches*, after their cows) were sometimes used to ‘improve’ stock in mainland Britain. Thus, ‘the beef of the Alderney is of the first quality’, it was reported, and ‘Alderney cattle, originally a French breed but has obtained so strong a hold in the Channel Islands and the neighbouring English coast’ (Copland, 1866, 1: 384–385).

To these several confusions must be attached the thorny reminder that the English Channel/La Manche is at once a strait separating Dover and Calais and a corridor connecting them. Hogarth’s *Calais Gate* is rude testimony to the power of this watery ambivalence. At some level, surely, his vitriolic satire was kindled by the worrisome revelation of proximity to France, while his anxiety over the imaginary community he knew as England was deepened by her geohistorical isolation. Plus ça change.

Inconclusion

This article has examined the workings of the patriotism–carnism couplet in William Hogarth’s *Calais Gate*. At least in three ways its business is quite unfinished. First, no attempt has been made here to assess *Calais Gate*’s precise contribution to the imagination of 18th-century British national identity. This task might usefully begin, however, with the placement of *Calais Gate* in the same historical trajectory as some of Hogarth’s other patriotic images. Prominent among these are the warmongering *March to Finchley* (1749), *France* (1756) and *England* (1756). Like *Calais Gate*, this trio also promoted carnism as a patriotic practice. Each encouraged their audience to sing nationalist ditties, such as the cantata *O the Roast Beef of Old England*. All four were displayed at carnivals, on feast days and in theatres and taverns. Printed images of puny and starving French soldiers in *Calais Gate* were used as recruiting posters for the British army until the end of the Napoleonic wars (Beirne, 2018: 143).

How effective were the results of Hogarth’s efforts? It is hard to say. It was not till much later—after two bloody centuries of militarism and empire-building—that a version of the Britain in which he so passionately believed actually came into existence. (To Irish Catholics alone this has always been crystal clear.)

A second issue is the question of how, in respect of the broad diversity of human–animal relationships in 18th-century Britain, the emergence and subsequent prosperity

of some of the key hallmarks of modernity were embraced at the very same moment as other, seemingly contradictory tendencies. How did a huge increase in beef consumption, for example, occur at the same time as the emergence of greater compassion for animal suffering? One answer to this question surely lies in the increasing invisibilization of large-scale sites of slaughter and butchery. Refined new sensibilities required the removal of these bloody, stinking and noisy places from the urban public gaze and their relocation to sparsely populated rural areas. Out of sight, out of mind. Albeit valuable as property, cattle remained largely outside the newfound circle of moral consideration.

This are(n)a is of course fraught with anachronism. The moral and ethical universe of mid-18th-century Londoners did not lead *them* to feel a conflict between enthusiasm for the theriocides associated with carnism, on the one hand, and revulsion at those resulting from animal cruelty and neglect on the other. A successful reception of the artist's message in the cartoonish *Calais Gate* was predicated on the unquestioned obviousness to its audience of the patriotic desirability of transforming cattle into nourishing English roast beef. Abstinence in this regard both artist and audience tended to dismiss as unpatriotic and eccentric. Indeed, Hogarth himself was well aware of the pained poetry of Margaret Cavendish and the eloquent prose of Alexander Pope, both strongly condemning the hunting, slaughter and eating of animals. But neither Hogarth nor his contemporaries paid such moralizing much notice. At the same time, in the famous *Four Stages of Cruelty* (1751) and in *The Cockpit* (1759) Hogarth condemned animal baiting and cruelty to horses, dogs, cats, cocks and birds, in particular (Beirne, 2015). Moreover, when it was committed in public and witnessed by foreigners, especially by French visitors to London, animal cruelty he saw as an embarrassing national disgrace. Between one expanding practice and the other, therefore, any question of conflict or contradiction is not *their* problem but *ours*.¹⁹

Third, there is still much to be done towards exposing the sites, historical and contemporary, visible and invisible, where harms to animals, to humans and to (the) environment(s) coincide. Because all animals and humans live in environments, these issues are of course sometimes one and the same. When in slaughterhouses, tanneries, fish-processing plants and tallow chandleries we humans render the flesh, the skin and the fur of other animal species fit for our consumption, certain troubling questions always arise: what is to be done with the blood, the offal and the sludge, for example? How and where are these wastes disposed of, with what consequences and for whom? Green criminology is very well positioned to grapple with such questions, as this 20th-anniversary of *Theoretical Criminology's* special issue attests.

Acknowledgements

I am especially grateful to Phil Carney for his comments on a draft of this article. Thanks as well to this journal's two anonymous reviewers and also to participants at the American Comparative Literature Association meetings held at Harvard University in March 2016.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. Exceptions to the neglect of the patriotism–carnism couplet include Rogers (2003) and the opening salvoes in Cozzi (2013).
2. The history of the entanglement of these warring spaces is discussed in MacColl (2004). In respect of *Calais Gate*, the coordinates of this conundrum are astutely pinpointed in Frédéric Ogée's (2005: 14–16) comments on Linda Colley's *Britons* (1992: 33–34).
3. John Ireland (1793, 1: ci), commenting on Hogarth's predilection for aggressiveness towards the French citizenry when he was on his trip to France, said that he was 'to the last, a gross uncultivated man'. On Hogarth's boorish behaviour in Paris see also Uglow (1997: 462–464).
4. See further Paulson (1992: 353–356).
5. The peace referred to here is the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle, signed by Britain, France and the Dutch Republic on 18 October 1748. It officially ended the War of the Austrian Succession.
6. See also Solkin (2015: 109). Hogarth's famous series *Marriage à-la-mode* (1743–1745) is his most humorous satire of key aspects of English aristocratic and upper-class culture, in particular its fawning infatuation with French haute couture and for which he reserved a vicious contempt.
7. About the Copyright Act (1735, 8 Geo. II, c.13) Deazley (2008—perhaps following Hogarth himself, 1753: 216) claims that '[b]y all accounts [it] proved remarkably effective'. But the evidence does not support this strong finding. Paulson (1971, 1: 366) does not go this far and Uglow (1997: 270–271) is quite circumspect about the Act's outcome. Paulson (1971: 366) also reports, moreover, that 'at [Hogarth's] death his widow noticed the damaging effect of piracies on her sales'. The Act was more successful in considerably raising the social status of engravers (Burke, in Hogarth, 1753/1955: xx).
8. In his *Samson* oratorio, composed in 1744 when England seemed most at risk from a Jacobite invasion from Scotland, GF Handel employed the Britain/Israel metaphor to hark back to *Judges 16* and Samson's feat of destroying Gaza's city gates by carrying them away on his shoulders. On Gaza's disempowered gates, see Erwin (2001: 404–407) and Dean (1959: 326–364).
9. It has been suggested (personal e-mail to the author from Phil Carney, 23 November 2017) that 'it is curious that the English insignia should remain after capture by the French, unless they signify not so much a national as an aristocratic line'. This interpretation would presumably also be the one favoured by Benedict Anderson (2006: 77), who points out that, given the relatively small size of traditional aristocracies, 'French' nobles could assist 'English' kings against 'French' monarchs 'not on the basis of shared languages or culture, but, Machiavellian calculations aside, of shared kinsmen and friendships'.
10. Or as Lieve Gies (2017: 344) puts it, '[g]enerating visual content does not just involve making [videos and photographs] but also reworking, embedding, tagging and cataloguing materials on a variety of platforms'.
11. The critic George Sala (1866: 301n) mused that the cook/chef hugs and fondles the beef but with 'a rueful twinge of muscle, as though it were his unkind fate to cook beef, but not to eat it. As well-bred spaniels civilly delight. In mumbling of the game they dare not bite.'
12. The dietary laws so ridiculed by Hogarth were a valued weapon in the quest for French national identity. But it is a matter of some dispute whether by the middle of the 18th century these laws were more influential than personal preference in decisions about what to eat. A study of Lenten and fast-day practices by Jennifer Davis (2005: 188) offers compelling, if somewhat contradictory, evidence that in addition to fish, frogs, eels and snails, 'the act of consuming meat [at this time] [...] while one's fellows consumed meagre meals appears to have been widespread'.

13. Hogarth's anti-poper is on display in the entire gamut of his artistic output, from *The South Sea Scheme* (1721)—in which he depicts the Catholic clergy's insensitivity to the misery caused by the bursting of the financial bubble—to the frightening *Enthusiasm Delineated* (1761)—wherein he uncovers many an anti-papist's nightmare, namely, a ranting Methodist minister suffering the loss of his hairpiece, under which emerges the tonsure of a Catholic monk. In the shockingly irreverent *Transubstantiation Satirized* (n.d.) Hogarth scoffs at the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation by depicting the Virgin Mary dropping her baby, Jesus, into a wind-powered thresher, from which edible communion hosts emerge to be administered by a priest to the faithful.
14. This same anti-religious imagery in *Calais Gate* and *Cuniculari* (1726) also appears in Hogarth's anti-Methodist *Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism* (1762).
15. In her catalogue raisonné of Hogarth's paintings, Elizabeth Einberg (2016: 295) notes that it was originally Theodosius Forrest (c.1752/1781) who identified this figure as an Irish mercenary, though the evidence for this claim is uncertain.
16. Hogarth (1753/1955: 228) himself recalled 'I introduced a poor highlander fled thither on account of the Rebellion year before brozing [i.e. much wanting – PB] on scanty french fair in sight of a Surloin of Beef a present from England which is opposed the Kettle of soup meagre.'
17. In 1762 John Wilkes, a member, like Hogarth, of the exclusive Sublime Society of Beef Steaks, announced the death of John Bull in an issue of the *North Briton*, as follows: '[he] was choaked by inadvertently swallowing a *thistile*, which he had placed by way of ornament on the top of his salad' (quoted in Taylor, 1992: 103, n. 16). On the tendency (then and now) to treat mid- to late-18th-century Scotland as an unproblematic, primordial given, see Anderson (2006: 88–90) and Nairn (1977: 106ff.).
18. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1748.
19. In the relative safety of an endnote—anachronisms be damned!—I can't help but chuckle at a recent letter to the *Guardian's* Notes and Queries: 'You'd have enjoyed listening to my 98-year-old mother about egg and bacon pie being called quiche. You'd have thought the French were the enemy during the second world war, judging by the way she spoke about them taking over the language' (WinnieOfOz, 27 August 2014). Note also the provocative comment in Jackson and Tomkins' (2011: 112) *Illustrating Empire* that 'chicken tikka masala, a British Asian hybrid, has recently been described as Britain's national dish'.

Iconography: Hogarth

Beggar's Opera, The, 1728, oil on canvas

Calais Gate, Or, O the Roast Beef of Old England, 1749, printed copper engraving

Cockpit, The, 1759, engraved etching

Credulity, Superstition, and Fanaticism, 1762, printed etching

Cuniculari, or the Wise Men of Godalming in Consultation, 1726, etching

England (Invasion Series 2), 1756, engraved etching

Enthusiasm Delineated, 1761, etching

Four Stages of Cruelty, The, 1751, four engraved etchings

France (Invasion Series 1), 1756, engraved etching

Gate of Calais, 1748, oil-on-canvas

James Spiller, 1720, printed etching

Just View of the British Stage, A, 1724, printed etching

Madhouse, The (A Rake's Progress 8), 1735, printed steel engraving

March to Finchley, The, 1749, oil on canvas

Marriage à-la-mode, c.1732, oil sketches
Prison, The (A Rake's Progress 7), 1735, oil-on-canvas
South Sea Scheme, The, 1721, etched engraving
Transubstantiation Satirized, n.d., aquatint etching
William Milward, 1728, printed etching

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