

XVIII

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‘Quis ineptae tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus ut teneat se’*: London, an eighteenth-century city in turmoil?¹ Samuel Johnson’s *London* and William Hogarth’s *Gin Lane

In many respects eighteenth-century London was a golden period of prosperity for the city. It was a period of economic affluence, with newly established international trade links, increased industrialisation, and extensive development and generation as its boundaries sprawled out ever wider. Yet, this prosperity came at a cost and was underpinned by an ugly underbelly. This paper, fundamentally, is concerned with this ugliness and the way it is represented in Samuel Johnson’s *London* and William Hogarth’s *Gin Lane*. In addition to the representations of the physical world themselves, of particular interest to this paper is the psychological turmoil and anxiety that often manifested itself behind the depictions of instances of physical strife and hardship.

The eighteenth century represented a period of accelerated change for Britain. It was a century that saw greater global exploration, further reaching international trade networks,² increasingly rapid imperial expansion, mass urbanisation,³ and encompassed the beginning of the industrial revolution and the development of a more *modern* consumer society.⁴ It was in London, perhaps, where such changes manifested themselves most patently and where the beginnings of many of the phenomena that would later characterise and define the modern world were witnessed. Its population increased sharply from around six hundred thousand inhabitants in 1700 to just under a million in 1801,⁵ and mass construction was seen across the city with the completion of St Paul’s Cathedral in 1707 and the new bridging of the Thames at Westminster (1750) and Richmond (1777). Eighteenth-century London saw the mass propagation of the coffee house, daily newspapers, Britain’s

¹ Juvenal, *Satire* 1.30-32.

² One is able to observe the growth of British overseas trade in the expansion of the country’s merchant fleet. From 3300 ships with a total tonnage of 260,000 in 1702, it grew to over 8100 with a tonnage of 590,000 in 1764, and 9400 with a tonnage of over 695,000 in 1776 – Anderson (2000) 71. There was a sharp increase in British exports over the course of the 18th century: Between 1699 and 1701 British exports totalled £3,784,000, between 1752 and 1754 this rose to £6,350,000 and during the years of 1772 and 1774 exports rose further still to £8,487,000 – Davis (1962) 290.

³ Sharp population growth in conjunction with a progressively more industrialised economy caused mass urbanisation throughout the eighteenth century. In 1650 just 8.8% of the population of England and Wales lived in towns with a population above ten thousand people, but by 1800 this figure had risen to 20.3% - Ogilvie (2000) 101.

⁴ Overall domestic consumption increased from £10.5 million in 1688 to £34 million in 1770 and home consumption per household grew from £10 to £25 over the same period - Langford (1989) 64.

⁵ George (1922) 328.

first professional police force, the shop window, and the foundation of the British Museum, arguably the world's first state-funded and 'public' museum in 1753.



Figure 1. Giovanni Canaletto, *London - The Thames from Somerset House Terrace towards the City*, oil on canvas 1751, 107.9 x 188 cm. Royal Collection Trust.

And, yet, despite these accounts of generation, commercial prosperity, and cultural augmentation, it was London's streets and people that also provided the inspiration for the apocalyptic depictions of Hogarth's *Gin Lane* and Johnson's *London*:

'But all whom Hungar spares, with Age decay;
Here Malice, Rapine, Accident, conspire,
And now a Rabble Rages, now a Fire;
Their Ambush here relentless Ruffians lay.
And here the fell Attorney prowls for Prey;
Here falling Houses thunder on your Head,
And here a female Atheist talks you dead'.⁶

This, clearly, is not the eighteenth century London of pretty squares, idyllic Canalettian imagery (figure 1),⁷ public museums, and increased disposable income, just as Hogarth's depictions of hunger, death, destruction and bedlam in *Gin Lane* (figure 2) are not either.

⁶ *London* (1738) 12-18.

⁷ Interestingly painted in the same year as Hogarth's work (figure 2).



Figure 2. William Hogarth, *Gin Lane* (second state); print, 1751, 36 x 30cm

It is, in short, the morbid, almost apocalyptic depictions of London found in these works that are the main focus of this paper. Yet, while the manifest and physical portrayals of degradation, briefly underscored above, are certainly of interest, perhaps more important to this study are the latent anxieties that bubble beneath their surfaces. In this regard, this essay is as much interested in the representation of physical turmoil in London during the eighteenth century – hunger, crime, disease etc. – as the motivations, anxieties and psychological turmoil of its inhabitants that informed their articulation and conception in these works. By this brief introduction, however, I do not wish to suggest that Johnson’s *London* and Hogarth’s *Gin Lane* have the same preoccupations, represent London’s physical turmoil in the same way, or have the same anxieties and ideals behind their depictions. Indeed, though both works are manifestly concerned with instances of physical turmoil and strife in eighteenth-century London and, though both works certainly seem to resonate with each other, ultimately the sentiments and ideals that underlie their manifest imagery are quite different.

The scene presented to us in *Gin Lane* is one of sheer physical turmoil. Printed for the first time on 15th February 1751, Hogarth's work, set in the quarters of eighteenth-century St Giles, depicts a grotesque insight into the ugly underbelly of a city that was, purportedly, entering its golden age of prosperity.⁸ Widespread hunger and starvation are conspicuously articulated by the skeleton-like man slumped in the foreground of the print, and by another voraciously attacking a bone together with his dog.⁹ Death lingers in the air: our attention is sharply drawn to a man, hanged by his own hand in one of the many derelict buildings located in the right side of the print; a coffin swings morbidly overhead instead of a shop sign; and, in the very centre of the work, a body is lowered gloomily into a coffin. Crime pervades the work too with the depiction of a riotous mob¹⁰ brandishing furniture and tools as weapons and, most shocking of all, an instance, seemingly, of infanticide.¹¹ Greed is another particularly prevalent theme of the work: the greed of the gin drinkers whose lust for the spirit fuels their degradation into poverty and crime; the greed of the distillers of the drink itself whose prosperity comes at the loss of the inhabitants and adjacent businesses – underscored by the hanged man swinging from the rafters – and greed fed by the unrelenting commercialism of free market mercantilism of the eighteenth century that has yielded great affluence for 'S. Gripe' the pawnbroker at the cost of those with whom he does business: the carpenter sells the tools with which he should make his living, and the housewife the pots and pans that represent the objects with which she should perform function in society. Noticeably here the pawnbroker's shop sign stands above the church steeple in the background and the statue of the monarch (George I),¹² with which it is topped, underscoring a twisted hierarchy of sorts in which making money and greed occupy a position of greater significance in this world than the church and monarchy.

Johnson's *London* tells a similar story. The 'Hunger' (12) and 'Poverty' (48, 159, 177) of the city's inhabitants are again prevalent, as are the derelict buildings that they occupy where 'falling Houses thunder on your Head' and the living conditions are so poor that one may as well be inhabiting a dungeon: 'rent the Dungeons of the Strand' (215).¹³ The widespread criminality of London too – unsurprising when 'All Crimes

⁸ Whilst the reality of how great an issue the *Gin epidemic* of the eighteenth century actually was – see Abel (2001) – it is fair to say that there was a problem. Gin consumption in England had risen from negligible levels at the start of the century up to 19 million gallons per annum by its mid-point – Barr (1995) 188; Porter (1999) X. Indeed, in Holborn in 1750 one in every five buildings sold gin – George (1964) 41.

⁹ The 1730s witnessed a decade of bad weather and cold winters, which went down in collective memory as "the hard winter of 1739". This led to widespread famine and a sharp increase in the poor rate both nationally and in the capital – Habakkuk (1953) 131.

¹⁰ Perhaps here resonating the riots held against the Gin Taxes of 1743?

¹¹ Infanticide, aside from its inherently shocking nature, was a particularly poignant example of criminality in connection with the consumption of gin. In 1744 Judith Defour murdered her two-year-old daughter for the clothes on her back, which she sold in order to feed her gin habit – Dillon (2002) 208. Moreover, this period saw extremely high infant mortality rate in London: 20.2 deaths per 100 live births by the age of 2 years in the period 1730-9 – George (1964) 408.

¹² Paulson (1993) 21.

¹³ Johnson's tumbling buildings particularly resonate Juvenal's depiction of Rome's decrepit housing and her '*lapsus tectorum adsiduus*' – *Satire* III.7-8.

are safe' (159)¹⁴ is even more thoroughly articulated in Johnson's work with the depiction of 'theft' (68), perjury (68), corruption (180), assault (229), and murder in one's own home (236-241). Furthermore, as with *Gin Lane*, excessive greed pervades every corner of this work and, accordingly, so too does Johnson's critique of it.¹⁵ Just as the pawnbroker of *Gin Lane* acquires more wealth at the expense of others so too do the rich in Johnson's *London* where 'SLOW RISES WORTH, BY POVERTY DEPREST' (177). The fixation of its inhabitants on mercantilism and making money is strongly evidenced in the description of a place 'Where all are Slaves to Gold, Looks are Merchandise, and Smiles are sold, Where won By Bribes, by Flatteries impor'd, The Groom retails the Favours of his Lord' (178-181). In short, Johnson suggests that the driving force behind the existence of the people of this city is their desire to 'raise their Treasures higher than before' (205). Moreover, the power of the articulation of these largely socio-political problems of the city – crime, living conditions, greed etc. – is further highlighted by Johnson's juxtaposition of them with the tranquillity, peace, and ethical respectability in his portrayal, regardless of its fantastical nature or not, of the countryside.¹⁶ The countryside is presented to us as the 'happier place' (43) in opposition to the city with its 'pleasing Banks where verdant Osiers play' (45) and 'peaceful Vales' (46), 'where 'ev'ry Bush with Nature's Music rings' and 'ev'ry Breeze bears Health upon its Wings' (220-221). The ethos and occupations of the inhabitants of Johnson's countryside are far less centred on wealth generation and instead seek enjoyment in the immaterial, in the 'Evening Walk and Morning Toil' (223). In critiquing the city, therefore, the poet uses the countryside as a blank, albeit imagined, space that can be construed as a foil to the problems of the city.

However, while the images of these works highlight elements of the physical strife and turmoil London's inhabitants had to face during the eighteenth century, they all also suggest some of their psychological anxieties and apprehensions. In this regard, Johnson's juxtaposition of the city and the countryside in *London* is as much about contrasting crime 'rate' and greed as it is about a collective anxiety over mass urbanisation, increasing industrialisation, and the ideologies behind free market mercantilism. In *Gin Lane* too do such anxieties of commercial development manifest themselves. Indeed, in many respects *Gin Lane* succinctly articulates, via the grotesque imagery of the consequence of free citizens exercising their purchasing power within accepted ideological frameworks, the dangers of an unregulated, free market economy operating in a country in which disposable incomes of the lower classes were on the rise. *Gin Lane* expresses apprehensions regarding the tension of the growing importance of commerce and the position of labouring people in society, and the relationship between private desires and public and between moral reform

¹⁴ We might note that the word 'Crime' features four times in the work (66, 84, 159, and 258).

¹⁵ Indeed, Brean Hammond sees in Johnson's *London* 'the sustained condemnation of luxury' (2001) 92.

¹⁶ We might also note that this brand of bucolicism is particularly prevalent in the satirical works of Ancient Rome – Juvenal's Umbricius, the central character of the piece on which Johnson's work is modeled, is after all leaving Rome for the more rural Cumae –, and so too in its elegiac poets of the first century BC, who provided the inspiration for Juvenal et al. in this regard, were happy to '*divitias alius fulvo sibi congerat auro*' (Tibullus l.1) while they themselves led a vita... inerti... in agris (Tibullus l.5-11).

and economic utility. In short we find here the uneasy convergence of the emerging forces of capitalist development and the residual forms of pre-capitalist societies.¹⁷ Thus, regarding the print within this framework, the imagery of the pawnbroker's sign placed above the ancient and supporting structures of the church and monarch now has a new, more powerful resonance, conveying collective anxieties over the power of the consumer, the market, and a lower class with increased disposable income. Further to this, the use of imagery that subverts religious iconography also seems to manifest anxieties of self-identity in the face of mass consumerism, and there is a sense of old, national, longstanding values being corroded by the desires of the private consumer. We might also add, with regards to the consumption of gin, that intoxication also raised a very real metaphysical problem as the artificial transcendence of the mundane it represented vied with increasingly unstable notions of religious transcendence.¹⁸

Yet, perhaps where both of these works seem to manifest the greatest sense of internal conflict is in their depiction of foreigners and the articulation of their negative impact on eighteenth-century London. Johnson's work is strongly xenophobic, particularly against French immigrants to whom the author attributes much of the problems the city faces:¹⁹

'London! The needy Villain's gen'ral Home,
The Common Shore²⁰ of *Paris* and of *Rome*;
With eager Thirst, by Folly or by Fate,
Sucks in the Dregs of each corrupted State.'²¹

Johnson depicts foreigners as nothing more than the worst criminals from the continent, the 'dregs' of society who beg and steal (107), parasites – 'The supple Gaul was born a Parasite' (124). However, it is not just that Johnson attributes many of the social problems of the day to French immigrants, but rather that their portrayal also manifests a great sense of collective anxiety over national identity in an age of rapid globalisation. In this regard, Johnson's work displays a genuine fear of London's mutation into a 'French metropolis' (96), the contamination of the British race – 'Nor hope the British Lineaments to trace' (101) –, and the irradiation of shared national values and ideals – 'Sense, Freedom, Piety, refin'd away' (105).²² As a reaction to the psychological anxiety caused by the threat to British self-identity, this work strongly criticises Walpole's government's passive stance on foreign policy and seeks to draw

¹⁷ White (2003) 37.

¹⁸ Nicholls (2003) 136.

¹⁹ Following the *dragonnades*, forced conversions to Catholicism, which began in 1681, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which outlawed the practice of Protestantism in France, hundreds of thousands of men and women were forced to flee France. Between 50,000 and 80,000 settled in England, with perhaps half this number eventually finding a home in the Greater London area – 'Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, 'Communities - Huguenot and French London', Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 12 March 2017).

²⁰ i.e. 'a sewer'.

²¹ Johnson, *London*, 93-96.

²² For the indication of a paranoid conscious of the enemy from within and the collective memory of the English Civil War see Varney (1989).

strength by nostalgically portraying times of former national glory.²³ The work fondly recalls that Greenwich was the birth place of Elizabeth I (22-23) – the ‘Dread of Spain’ (48), Edward III’s victories over the French at Crecy in 1346 – ‘Illustrious EDWARD! From the Realms of Day, the Land of Heroes and of Saints survey’ (99-100), the victories of Henry V over the French in the fifteenth century – ‘And lisp the Tale of HENRY’s Victories’ (120), and the ‘Blest Age’ (253) of ‘ALFRED’s golden Reign’ when ‘a single Jail... Could half the Nation’s Criminals contain’ (248-249). The nostalgic articulation of the glories of former monarchs is particularly significant and intimates that, at the very heart of the collective crisis of national identity, was the unease of being ruled by a foreign king, especially in the context of accelerated globalisation.²⁴ Accordingly, George II, of *Hanover*, is criticised in *London*: Johnson aligns George II with the delinquent immigrant who ‘gropes his Breeches with a Monarch’s Air’ (151), humourously confusing the identities of monarch and foreigner and, thus, underscoring the ‘terrifying’ and inescapable fact that the British monarch was a foreigner, not, perhaps, unlike those who come under heavy criticism in *London*.²⁵ In this regard, it makes sense that there seems to be a strong sense of Jacobitism throughout the work, with the expression of which further undermining the authority and legitimacy of the Hanoverian monarch.²⁶

Just as Johnson’s *London* manifests concerns of a threat to national identity by mass-immigration from the continent, *Gin Lane* articulates the dangers and anxieties of the corrosion of the Anglo-centric national habit of Beer drinking by the propagation of a *foreign* drink and custom. This threat can be well observed by the dual consideration of Hogarth’s *Beer Street* (Figure 3), the companion piece to *Gin Lane*, in which, in a similar vein to Johnson’s nostalgic regard of Britain’s former glories in war, nationalist pride in Britain’s beer and the customs and national identity behind its consumption are vividly depicted. Because of the consumption of beer over gin, order has been restored. The inhabitants of *Beer Street* are well nourished – as suggested by their portly physiques, which, of course, stand in contrast to the skeletal bodies of *Gin Lane*, the basket filled with fish, and the man wielding a giant ham, educated and cultured – as demonstrated by their capacity to read, and have well-respected occupations – as underscored by the many tools on display. We might also note that the hierarchy of church, monarch, and wealth generation has been restored to its proper order with the decrepit pawnbroker’s sign now drooping below the church spire and the monarch’s flag.²⁷ Thus, *Gin Lane* seems to manifest the same kind of latent anxieties on its surface as those we find in Johnson’s *London*.

²³ Examples of Johnson’s criticisms in *London* of the government’s foreign policy include: ‘English Honour grew a standing jest’ (30); ‘Explain their Country’s dear-bought Rights away, and plead for Pirates in the Face of Day’ (53-54); and ‘On Britain’s fond Credulity they prey’ (112).

²⁴ George II was the last British monarch born outside of Great Britain. He was even brought up in Germany.

²⁵ Johnson also critiques George II for the excessive amount of time the king spent abroad: ‘Lest Ropes be wanting in the tempting Spring, To rig another Convoy for the K—g’ (246-7). George II left Britain for Hanover in 1729, 1732, 1735, and 1736, decisions that were resented by ministers and the British public alike.

²⁶ For Jacobite sympathies in Johnson’s *London* see: Erskine-Hill (1995); Hammond (2001) 91-92; and Gerrard (2001) 53-55. We might also note that it is possible to align the internal *speaker* of the poem (35-End) with Johnson’s friend and Jacobite supporter Richard Savage – Folkenflik (1997) 106.

²⁷ The flag on the steeple of St Martin-in-the Fields was always raised on George II’s birthday, 30th October – Uglow (1997) 499.



Figure 3. William Hogarth, *Beer Street* (third state); print, 1751, 36 x 30cm

However, although these works are similar in that they both depict instances of physical turmoil in London in the eighteenth century and, though they both similarly manifest the concerns and preoccupations of the eighteenth-century Londoner, this does not mean that they identically attribute blame for the aforementioned problems, or that their socio-political perspectives are indistinguishable.

In this regard, Hogarth's *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street* prints seem to be, whether deliberately or not,²⁸ ideological state apparatuses in their articulation of those ideologies that served to legitimise the status quo and to maintain hegemonic order.²⁹ Rather than blaming social policy and the government for the poverty, squalor, and crime of eighteenth-century London, Hogarth's prints seem to attribute the blame to the drink itself and to those who drink it. Though the works certainly depict anxiety of free-market consumerism, they also suggest at the potential dangers of the poor

²⁸ Art is held within ideology and so reflects the conditions of its production, a 'reality' that is formed from ideology within each person, but is also capable of defamiliarising that 'reality', and, thereby, of distancing itself from ideology to a point where it allows the reader to perceive the ideology from which it springs. See Eagleton (1976) 64.

²⁹ For a consideration of Ideological State Apparatuses see Althusser (1971).

trying to pursue the hedonistic lifestyles of the rich, rendering them to be *essentially* different from the ruling classes and untrustworthy of the responsibility of living such a lifestyle. The prints also show a concern for the destruction of the national workforce (and so too, importantly, its army) as suggested by the juxtaposition of the productive workers of *Beer Street*, who serve as an example par excellence – tools at the ready, the king’s speech encouraging the promotion of commerce at hand – and the workers of *Gin Lane* who trade their means of production, their tools, for gin. Moreover, the differing constructed position from which one is forced to gaze at both prints fits with this. The spectator observes *Gin Lane* from a distant, privileged position, rendering the scene alien, and legitimising the onlooker: in short, you feel better than and above, literally, those you view. This is in contrast to the viewpoint of *Beer Street* where we view from within the scene, on the same level as those whom we gaze at, thereby legitimising those within the work and the ideals they adhere to. Hogarth’s prints, therefore, project an idealised representation of a society that accords perfectly with the governing ideologies of the day: the poor are encouraged to participate in and sustain a prosperous commercial society so long as they remain in a state of semi-development, subservient to civilised wage labour but confined to primitive appetites.³⁰

The projections of Hogarth’s prints stand in stark contrast with those of Johnson’s *London*, a work that seems, almost anarchistically, to subvert the status quo, to question dominant contemporary ideologies, to blame the government for the physical turmoil of eighteenth-century London and, ultimately, to sympathise with the poor and disadvantaged. Principally, we should note that the choice to imitate Juvenalian satire in the representation of London by Johnson is an inherently political one, placing the work within an anti-governmental tradition initiated by the classical satirists of ancient Rome and later received, most conspicuously, by Alexander Pope, three of whose later imitations of Horace came out in the twelve months before *London*. Johnson’s work actively blames the government of the nation and Robert Walpole in particular for the physical turmoil London’s inhabitants have to endure. Indeed, as has already been outlined in this paper, Johnson is especially critical of Walpole’s foreign policy to which he attributes a large degree of blame for the physical degradation of the city.³¹ The corruption and greed of both the government are underscored throughout and it is made clear that it is the ‘Senatorial Band, Whose Ways and Means support the sinking Land’ (245-246) with their corruption – ‘Here let those reign, whom Pensions can incite, To vote a Patriot black, a Courtier white (51-52)³² – and greed – ‘Let such raise Palaces, and Manors buy, Collect a Tax, or farm a Lottery’ (57-58). Walpole himself is heavily criticised, whose administration is deemed to have caused

³⁰ This accords well with the projection of nationalism and the pro-monarchy position of *Beer Street*.

³¹ In addition to Walpole’s foreign policy, Johnson also directly critiques the government’s Excise Bill of 1733 (line 29) and the Stage Licensing Act of 1737. The latter is particularly significant, with Johnson lamenting, via the depiction of eunuchs on stage, the physical castration of a theatre’s capacity for political commentary and criticism: ‘With warbling Eunuchs fill a licens’d Stage, And lull to Servitude a thoughtless Age.’ (59-60).

³² Pensions were awarded to those who supported Walpole’s administration; ambassadors who were appointed by Walpole ‘were ready to gratify him with expensive gifts’ - Hardy (2014) 185.

the depravity not just within the socio-cultural and political realm but also in terms of individual morality and integrity. Thus, the poem, by representing Walpole as the corrupt and greedy Orgilio, criticises not only the policies of the administration but also the administrator himself: ‘Who shares Orgilio’s Crimes, his Fortune shares’ (83). Orgilio’s wealth, which is detailed thoroughly in the description of the erection of his extravagant palace (195-207)³³ and his pile of gold, which he greedily watches grow – ‘Orgilio sees the golden Pile aspire’ (208) –, stands in stark contrast to Johnson’s depictions of the poor and disadvantaged.³⁴ The unjustness of a society that refuses to recognise the worth of those who are not privileged in terms of power and resources is well captured in the lines ‘This mournful Truth is ev’ry where confest, SLOW RISES WORTH, BY POVERTY DEPREST’ (176-177).³⁵ The attribution of blame, therefore, and the ideological perspectives and criticisms raised in Johnson’s *London* differ significantly to those found in Hogarth’s *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street* prints despite the works’ common subject matter of physical turmoil and strife in eighteenth-century London.

In considering Johnson’s *London* and Hogarth’s *Gin Lane* this paper has examined these works’ depiction of physical turmoil in eighteenth-century London. Although the city was entering a period of economic prosperity, development, and growth, its inhabitants, especially the poor, had to endure a range of difficulties and hardships. Increasing crime rates, widespread food shortages, unemployment, and gin addiction, amongst others, were all aspects of London life, which are articulated in these sources, and were prevalent in the city during this period. This paper, however, has also stressed that, behind the depictions of physical strife, we are also able to observe some of the latent collective anxieties of the time, which manifest themselves there. These works both suggest that, with the rapidly increasing industrialisation, urbanisation, and globalisation of the eighteenth century, the identity and preconceived ideals of London’s inhabitants were tested and strained as they came to terms with a more modern, international, consumer society. Yet, it has also been established that, though the manifest preoccupations of both works might be similar, their socio-political standpoints and ideological considerations are quite different. In this regard, it has been detailed how Johnson’s work seems to subvert the status quo and critique the dominant ideologies of the time whereas Hogarth’s prints seem to uphold the former and legitimise the latter. Although these works possess a great deal of careful artifice and destabilising caricature and parody, this paper has, nevertheless, shown that they certainly offer interesting insights into the physical and psychological lives of London’s eighteenth-century inhabitants.

³³ The incident of destruction and eventual reconstruction of Orgilio’s palace in a more extravagant fashion is a direct reference to the magnificent palace of Walpole – Houghton Hall – in Norfolk that inevitably pointed towards not just an uninhibited access to the national wealth but also towards its unjust use for personal luxury and comfort – Hardy (2014) 194-209.

³⁴ We might note that while *London* was being written, Johnson was living a life of absolute penury. He and his dear friend, Richard Savage, were ‘living in cheap rooms, eating penny breakfast and eight-penny dinners in coffee houses and taverns’ Raghunathan (2014) 14.

³⁵ Johnson also vividly expresses the injustice of the treatment of the poor in stating that ‘All Crimes are safe, but hated poverty/ This, only this, the rigid Law persues/ This, only this, provokes the snarling Muse’ (159-160).

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