

The Lives of Kitty Fisher

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Lucy Locket lost her pocket
Kitty Fisher found it;
There was not a penny in it,
Only a ribbon round it.¹

This essay is concerned with the identity and the representation of an eighteenth-century courtesan. The known facts about the life of Catherine Mary Fisher (or Fischer) are few: she was introduced into public life by Ensign Anthony George Martin; she is reputed to have lived in Carrington Street, Mayfair; she died at Bath in 1767 and was buried at Benenden on 23 March of that year, having married John Norris, MP for Rye.² She is invariably referred to by the cat-like diminutive 'Kitty'. Less reliable sources give her birth date as 1738 and claim that she was probably the daughter of a German-born Lutheran silver-chaser who was apprenticed at an early age to a milliner.³ The marriage, it is suggested, took place in Scotland to prevent the interference of the groom's parents; Norris was regarded as a degenerate and, it is said, having made his mistress his wife, he was reformed with her assistance.⁴ Since the marriage is said to have taken place in 1766, only a year before her death, this hardly seems credible. The generally reliable W. T. Whitley, quoting Fresnoy in the *Middlesex Journal* 1769, states that she was a lady's maid, while elsewhere she is cited as being the daughter of a stay-maker.⁵ Owing to the portraits painted of her by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Kitty Fisher has maintained a visibility not accorded to her contemporaries in the beau monde but, even here, there are contradictory accounts. Casanova asserts that he did not trouble to have her because she did not speak French (evidently a pre-requisite for making love) but Graves and Cronin, quoting the *Town and Country Magazine*, April 1770, claim that she spoke French with great fluency.⁶ There are various accounts of her first appearance as a courtesan, the most reliable probably being the scandalous memoir of Admiral Keppel and another courtesan named Mrs Wells, printed in the *Town and Country Magazine* four years after Kitty Fisher's death. According to this, it was Commodore Keppel, a friend of Reynolds, who took notice of the eighteen-year-old beauty but, though he supported her 'in a state of sumptuous affluence', she moved on. It is to this memoir that we owe the story that Kitty died 'a martyr to the cosmetic art, at a time when she had least occasion to risk her health in promoting her beauty, having married a man of family and fortune'.⁷ This memoir also reiterates the leitmotif of the satirical literature on Kitty Fisher,

namely her greed. The most celebrated manifestation of this, hearsay though it be, is enshrined in Casanova's typically boastful account of his meeting with Kitty and is worth quoting in full:

We went to the Walsh woman's, where the celebrated Kitty Fisher came to wait for the Duke of xx, who was to take her to a ball. She had on over a hundred thousand crowns' worth of diamonds. Goudar told me I could seize the opportunity to have her for ten guineas, but I did not want to do so. She was charming, but she spoke only English. Accustomed to loving with all my senses, I could not indulge in love without including my sense of hearing. La Walsh told us that it was at her house that she swallowed a hundred-pound bank note on a slice of buttered bread which Sir Richard Atkins, brother of the beautiful Mrs. Pitt, gave her. Thus did the Phryne make a present to the Bank of London.⁸

A 'bank note' at this period means an IOU or a cheque, thus, as Casanova suggests, the incident had the effect not only of extraordinary profligacy but also of a coarsely defiant gesture to one of the nation's most venerable institutions, the Bank of England. As Mary Douglas points out, consumption of goods is a ritual process and a bank-note cannot serve as a gift but always suggests a payment; the story of Kitty's consuming a bank-note thus underlines the business nature of the transaction.⁹ Moreover, since bank-notes were regarded as ephemeral and unreliable by comparison with gold and coins as currency for transactions, the courtesan was probably also humiliating her lover who should, rather, have given her gold or jewels. The ideal in courtesan fiction is to be set up, as was Fanny Murray, with 'a splendid equipage, a numerous retinue, an elegant furnished house, and a handsome allowance [...] a wardrobe of the most gorgeous apparel, and a casket of the [*sic*] valuable jewels'.¹⁰

While the existence of Kitty is not to be doubted, the name 'Kitty' appears to have been popular for actual or fictitious courtesans, perhaps as a consequence of Kitty Fisher's success: *The Fruitless Repentance; or, the History of Miss Kitty Le Fever* appeared in 1769 and 'Kitty' is exhorted to 'repent, a settlement procure, / Retire, and keep the Baliffs from the door' in verses by Edward Thompson published three years after Kitty Fisher's death.¹¹ There are also other contenders for the 'Kitty Fisher' of the nursery rhyme, including two celebrated courtesans of the time of Charles II.¹² Nonetheless, the eighteenth-century Kitty is referred to extremely widely and seems to have a strong claim to the identity of the recipient of Lucy's pocket. In addition to the satirical publications concerning Kitty Fisher listed at the end of this essay, there are many allusions to her. For example, *The Critical Review* in 1762 discussing a newly published book, *The Kept Mistress*, asserts that the author 'seems to have discovered himself in a quotation from a piece that once appeared as an *Apology for the Conduct of K- F-r*'.¹³ Kitty Fisher allegedly appears in Thomson's *Country Dances* (1760) and as the minor character of Kitty Willis in Mrs Cowley's *The Belle's Stratagem*.¹⁴ Moreover, Lucy Lockit appears in the contemporary *Beggar's Opera* by Gay.¹⁵ The content of the rhyme appears to allude to some kind of succession in relation to the loss of virtue for purposes

of monetary gain: the 'pocket' or purse or jewel case (which in Freudian terms is equivalent to the female sexual organ)¹⁶ commonly features in monetary exchanges for sexual favours. Casanova, for example, before giving a young woman he desires 'proofs of my passion' gives her two bills of exchange which she immediately goes and puts in her jewel case; this kind of imagery is also central to our understanding of Hogarth's painting, *The Lady's Last Stake*, in which the female subject has gambled her jewels and is on the point of placing her final stake, her virtue.¹⁷ We may understand the nursery rhyme as a cautionary tale about the financial instability of women of easy virtue: Kitty will fill the purse she has inherited but it may soon be as empty as when she received it.

In 1849 Sir Joshua Reynolds' biographers recorded seven portraits of Kitty Fisher, a testimony to her continuing status as an object of fascination.¹⁸ Mannings and Postle in their recently published definitive *catalogue raisonné* of Reynolds' *œuvre* record only four (and six replicas) but they also record five portraits of 'Kitty Fisher', that is, works which have been given her subject name but which do not appear to be of her.¹⁹ There were frequent sittings in 1759 and Kitty Fisher's name appears again in Reynolds' sitters' books in 1761, 1762, 1764 and 1766. There is also a reference to 'Mrs. Norris' in 1769, two years after Kitty's death. By far the most reproduced images are that of Kitty Fisher seated, reading a letter (Petworth) and that of the courtesan in the role of Cleopatra (Kenwood).²⁰ There is also Nathaniel Hone's portrait of 1765 (Fig. 1) which, like much of the satirical literature, plays on the courtesan's name by including a black cat fishing in a bowl of goldfish.²¹ It may have also invoked, in the minds of viewers, Thomas Gray's 'Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat drowned in a Tub of Gold Fishes' ('With many an ardent wish, / She stretched in vain to reach the prize. / What female heart can gold despise? / What Cat's averse to fish?') or the famous passage in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* in which Cleopatra describes her lover as a fish caught and drawn up on her hook.²² Reynolds' close association with Kitty Fisher (as with other celebrated beauties like Elizabeth Gunning and with actresses like Mrs Abington) helped to make his fortune.²³ It also exposed him to criticism. The portrait's proximity to the prostitute's world of commodification and exchange, as Alison Conway has pointed out, in turn feminises the portrait painter, drawing attention to their shared dependency on the patronage of the aristocracy and their own acts of ostentation and self-display.²⁴ Kitty Fisher's identification with Reynolds enhanced her value; an advertisement for *Kitty Fisher as Cleopatra* that appeared in the *London Chronicle* in July 1759 indicates that the painting was owned by the subject herself at the time and it may therefore be inferred that she authorised the creation and sale of a print that became extremely popular.²⁵

Pejorative views of what was perceived as Reynolds' hasty manner of working could be effectively mediated through imagery of the courtesan's way of life. Thus one critic, noting that many of the portraits of Kitty Fisher remained in Reynolds' studio, observes that 'Kitty's liaisons lasted less time



1. Nathaniel Hone, *Catherine Maria Fisher*, 1765.
© National Portrait Gallery, London (2354)

than it took Reynolds to paint her, and the jilted lovers did not want to be reminded of her'.²⁶ It was also claimed that Reynolds was 'as injurious to the true principles of painting as a fine prostitute to the establishment of morals'.²⁷ Comments such as these have to be understood within the highly significant debates of the time concerning manners within which, as Mark Phillips has established, ideas of wealth and gender took on strikingly similar burdens; women, like commerce, were principal agents in polishing and softening social life, and the progress of women, like the advancement of trade, was regarded as an index of refinement or an incitement to luxury.²⁸ Kitty Fisher was a spectacular example of the latter.

The surviving portraits of Kitty Fisher allude to sexual misconduct with which, as Conway has pointed out, portraiture is associated from the Restoration court's promiscuity to the eighteenth century's advertisement of middle-class self-importance.²⁹ Indeed, Hone's portrait, in which Kitty is presented with a languorous expression in a state of semi-undress, seems explicitly to reference Lely's Hampton Court Beauties. According to Reynolds' sitters' books, Kitty began sitting to the artist on 18 April 1759, that is just over two weeks after publication of the fictitious *Juvenile Adventures* and of Kitty's own announcement, and the same year as *Kitty's Stream*, of which more shortly. The portrait that resulted from these sittings is a three-quarter-length with the subject leaning with folded arms on a table, dressed sumptuously in green silk and fine lace, and wearing pearls in her hair, a pearl choker of four strands, and very large pearl earrings. The composition is triangular, with Kitty's head at its apex, and the horizontal bands formed of the table, her crossed arms and spread lace sleeve decoration, and the broad cut of her corsage creating an intensely focused effect. Only the over-large sheet of paper which lies before her, extending across the table to protrude into the viewer's space, breaks this series of protective concentric zones. The date '2 June 1759' and the words 'My dearest Kit' are visible; in the engraved version the wording is 'My Dearest Life' and the suggestion that the wording in the painting has been retouched – in a way that anchors the image to the subject – is certainly plausible.³⁰ It is not known who commissioned this painting but it was rapidly engraved. The earliest mezzotint was copied by four other engravers, all with slight variations.³¹ According to Conway, the portrait comments simultaneously on women's relation to letters in general and on the specific circumstances of Kitty Fisher's career. The letter stands, she suggests, as the sign of the courtesan's desirability, just as her expensive clothes reflect the great wealth that she was able to generate.³² It should also be noted that the visual trope of women reading notes and viewing miniatures, most commonly represented voyeuristically and suggestive of transgressive moments, is here modified with Kitty gazing directly at the viewer, further reinforcing a sense of the porousness of the boundaries between private and public.³³

Reynolds went on probably in the autumn of 1759 to paint a second portrait, *Kitty Fisher as Cleopatra*, and, possibly, also two other portraits of which the

identity is less certain.³⁴ In life Kitty Fisher was associated not with pearls but with diamonds.³⁵ However, in representing her about to consume the largest pearl ever known as part of the wager Cleopatra had with Antony, Reynolds not only indulges his own propensity for learned allusions to history and history painting but also connects a courtesan reputed to have swallowed a bank-note to a quintessential moment of luxurious consumption.³⁶ He also inflects many of the themes that run through the satirical publications: the squandering of wealth, the dangers of seduction to masculinity and national interests, the threat of prostitution to marriage and legitimacy. The Cleopatra story was a sure way of communicating to a very wide public the construction of Kitty Fisher as an alluring and dangerous consumer of men's wealth.

Two years earlier, Sarah Fielding had published *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia*.³⁷ Among the subscribers were nobility like Lord and Lady Anson, the duchess of Marlborough, and the earl and countess of Northumberland, as well as literary and political figures like Ralph Allen of Prior Park, David Garrick, Edward Wortley Montagu (who purchased ten copies), Uvedale Price and Dr Schomberg. By the time she published *The Lives*, which appeared anonymously though knowledge of its authorship was widespread, Fielding had successfully established her reputation with six other works. A corrected second edition quickly appeared, in 1758. While Fielding made extensive use of Plutarch (available through the eighteenth century in many editions in Charles Fraser's translation), she also drew on other classical and modern sources to write what has been described as the most imaginative work of classical scholarship produced during the Augustan age and one which 'raises a number of questions about the ambiguous relationship in the eighteenth century between the novel, biography, and historiography', dealing with themes of marriage, and the individual in relation to the State.³⁸

The stated objective of Fielding in writing *The Lives*, in which the protagonists speak in their own voices of retrospective events, was to demonstrate 'the strongest contrast of any Ladies celebrated in History'. In other words, she offers the haughty and greedy harlot in contrast to the refined and virtuous wife. Here is how Fielding describes the banquet scene on which Reynolds based his painting:

One Evening when Anthony had provided a very expensive Supper, I told him in a Vein of Pleasantry, that his whole Entertainment was trifling in Comparison with what I could do; for I would provide him a Supper in which we might each of us consume more than the Value of Six Million Sesterces.

Anthony replies, Fielding tells us, that he would lay a wager that she could not make good her words. Cleopatra continues:

The Night was appointed and I provided a Supper in which there was nothing extraordinary; whereupon Anthony fell into the utmost good Humour; and then taking one of the Pearls out of my Ears, which was equal in Value to the Sum above-mentioned, I dissolved it in Vinegar, and drank it off. I was going to take the other for Anthony to pledge me, when Lucius Blancus, who stood by,

caught it out of my Hand, and declared, Anthony had already lost his Wager; by which means he preserved it. Anthony looked at first a little confounded at my Device; on which I smiling said, 'these Pearls, that came into my Possession from a long Race of royal Ancestors, I would consume, as I would indeed the world itself, to give Anthony a Moment's Diversion.'³⁹

Although Reynolds' *Kitty Fisher in the Character of Cleopatra* was not seen at the time in public, Edward Fisher's mezzotint after the Reynolds painting was available. In treating the subject he – and his subject – profited both from Kitty's notoriety and from contemporary interest in the character of the Egyptian queen. He also, however, took a risk, for Cleopatra was seen not only as a fascinating, if dangerous, historical figure but also as a trope for rhetorical absurdity.

In *The Female Quixote*, first published in 1752, Charlotte Lennox's heroine, Arabella, is given (as the book's title suggests) to flights of fancy and to responding to perfectly ordinary everyday events in the hyperbolic terms of the fictional heroism of characters from classical literature and history. Cleopatra is one of Arabella's most admired models of conduct and is invoked several times in the novel. For Arabella she is 'that fair and glorious Queen' but the more rational members of her circle demand: '*Cleopatra* was a whore, was she not?' In dispute with her lover, Glanville, Arabella says: 'Therefore, in the language of Cleopatra, I shall tell you. –' She is not permitted to complete the sentence before the exasperated young man bursts out: 'Upon my Soul, Madam [...] I have no patience with that rigorous Gypsy, whose Example you follow so exactly, to my Sorrow: Speak in your own Language, I beseech you.' Glanville's father, a down-to-earth man, is less punctilious and, when Arabella embarks upon a eulogy of Cleopatra's eyes, interrupts her: '*Cleopatra!* cried Sir Charles: why she was a Gypsy, was she not?'⁴⁰ I am not suggesting here a direct connection between this popular and witty novel and Reynolds' painting. I am, however, indicating firstly that Cleopatra was, *a priori*, a problematic concept in this period capable of connoting bombastic absurdity in language and style, and secondly that her *persona* could be annexed either by the supporters of beauty or by those hostile to female sexual wiles who termed her a gypsy and a whore.

Writers on Kitty Fisher, who have been, by definition, in modern times writers on Reynolds, have acknowledged the significance of the print culture that surrounded her scandalous brief life. As Postle states, 'her face appeared in print-shop windows' at the same time as pamphlets concentrating, often in graphic detail, on her amorous pursuits were widely available for sale.⁴¹ Just what were these pamphlets and how they interacted with other forms of representation has not hitherto been explored.⁴² Of the nine published satirical pamphlets and broadsheets located three are dated: 1759, 1760 and 1762. The text of *Kitty's Stream* by Rigdum Funidos (1759) is reprinted undated with an additional title page but lacking the author's name as *The Adventures of the Celebrated Miss Kitty F---R*, and, again, as an anonymous undated broadsheet under the title *The Hundred pound Miss*. It is also referenced in

one of Paul Sandby's *Twelve London Cries Done from the Life* (1760), where a ballad seller holds a mock fishing-rod while his wife calls: 'Who'll fish in my fish pond'. *The Hundred pound Miss* is illustrated with three woodcuts of unconnected subjects: a lady in a hat with her hands in a muff, standing on a terrace with a backdrop of cypress trees; a gentleman in seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century dress kneeling before a seated lady in a landscape; a classical pastoral scene with two figures and buildings in the background.⁴³ Undated is *Horse and Away*. Kitty's death occasioned a three-part song to music by Henry Harington. Titled *An Elegy on Kitty Fisher Lying in State at Bath*, the lines run: 'A-las what boast hath blooming youth, since thus Florella Lies / Paleness o'er her Damask'd Cheek and Closed her Beauteous Eyes if fade those glories / of her face ah why such Frailty Trust, when Virtue still its sweetness keeps and Blossoms / Blossoms in the Dust and Blossoms in the Dust'.⁴⁴ We should also add to this list the engraved image *Kitty Coaxer Driving Lord Dupe*, undated but published by Bowles and Carver and now in a hand-coloured collection in the British Museum dated 1820. There are, then, six independent verbal texts, a song and a visual image. The copy of *Kitty's Stream* in the British Library is annotated and grangerised by J. Mitford who evidently combined dependable sources (references to Walpole and Dr Johnson) with the customary mix of fantasy ('Kitty Fisher when old').

Kitty's Stream establishes both the critical position and the thematic content of much that follows. Just when supremacy over the French is about to be achieved, the cream of the nation's manhood disregards its military, economic and political duties for the sake of a whore who demands extravagant fees for her services. It is the poet's duty to expose those 'Who from *Bellona's* dire alarms, / To revel in a harlot's arms, / Or from the *B---sh* Senate fly, / T'indulge in foolish lechery; / And give for one night's lodging more, / Than would maintain an hundred poor.'⁴⁵ Much attention has been paid to the significance of prostitution in economic discourse during the nineteenth century both in France and in England but interest in eighteenth-century courtesans and prostitutes has been more limited.⁴⁶ The threat of luxury and feminisation, seen by some eighteenth-century commentators as more deadly to national vigour than the threats of an overt enemy,⁴⁷ was encapsulated in the figure of the courtesan whose power was twofold: it persuaded men to forget their station in life and to stoop in inappropriate servitude which results in the disintegration of social order ('Their glorious Ancestors, I wot, / That bravely fought, are not forgot: / And even title, pension, place, / Will soon be look'd on with disgrace, / Soon ev'ry badge of dignity, / Wide scatter'd here and there, you'll see: / They'll give away their stars and garters / To porters, chairmen, boys, and carters')⁴⁸ and it tempted virtuous women to follow suit ('Nay, many a pious, virtuous dame, / Would never sure withstand the Flame, / If once within her eager hold / She felt the weight of so much gold...').⁴⁹ Much of the pamphlet is taken up with an amusing account of how Kitty cheats her clients – the lord advanced in years, the goatish peer, the naval wight, the fribbling lord worn out with gout – in order to increase

her takings of a hundred pounds a night. Finally the author indulges in some authentic-seeming bewilderment over just how a woman of so little apparent distinction ('... all that we can know of her / Is this – she was a Milliner') with no wit or sense and only impertinence can have taken London by storm:

What means this strange infatuation,
That rages at the head o'th' nation?
Is she alone the finest whore
Among, at least, an hundred score?
Are there not fairer on the town,
That walk the streets and take a crown?

Where, the author asks, will all this folly end? However, he concludes, to give the devil his due, 'the fault is not in her – but you.'⁵⁰

The Juvenile Adventures of Miss Kitty F---r published the same year is a prose work in the genre of the fictitious scandalous memoir supposedly translated from Spanish. It builds up its subject, praising her delicacy ('In all her amours there was something of the modest woman retained') and her refinement ('Her natural delicacy and good sense gave a refinement to the greatest carnalities, and most libidinous dissipations')⁵¹ in order then to condemn her for exploiting her clients. When trying to establish herself she is advised by another woman: 'Whilst a good-natured girl rots in an hospital, the jilt rides in her coach. The first rule of action is to declare perpetual war against the whole sex; love no man, but fleece and gilt them all as much and as often as you can.'⁵²

In this text, the stories of the hundred-pound notes are linked explicitly to male impotence. Meeting a count who is unable to consummate his marriage, Kitty expresses surprise that so fine a lady as his wife should not be able to gratify his desires. When he replies she is mistaken and that he married his wife for the sake of family connections and never could yet prevail upon himself to enjoy her, Kitty expresses surprise but he 'prevents her remonstrances by presenting her with a very handsome diamond ring'. She remains suspicious of his potency but he makes an appointment with her. He turns up with a very handsome gold snuffbox 'in which he put a note for two hundred pistoles'. He passes the evening with her 'and left her as much a maid as he found her'. The visit was repeated once a month. 'From these impotent lechers', the reader is informed, 'it was that Kitty gleaned such immense sums; so that with very little wear and tear she earned more money than any other woman of the same profession ever did before'.⁵³

A reference in *The Juvenile Adventures* to the incident in which Kitty fell from her horse⁵⁴ allows us to date the pamphlet *Horse and Away to St. James's Park* in which the episode is described. Printed at Strawberry Hill, this is a witty but controlled piece of reportage that differs in its sense of immediacy from the rest of the 'Kitty texts'. The witness of the accident recounts how:

Upon our coming up, we found it to be the celebrated Miss K---y F---r; her military attendant had raised her from the Ground. [...] The nymph was in tears,

but rather owing from Apprehensions of her Danger than the sense of Pain; for whether it was owing to any thing her Heroe had said, or from finding the danger over, she, with a prity childishness, stopped the torrent tears, and burst into a fit of Laughing. [...] A superb Chair soon arrived, [...] she flung herself into it, and away she swung through a Crowd of Gentlemen and Laides, who by this time were coming up. A sort of murmur was heard: but one Gentleman louder than the rest, spoke up, and though what he said was a little interlarded with a flower of rhetorick too common [...] yet the sentiment was honest, and the reprimand such as deserved. D--n my B---d, says he [...] if this is not too much. Who the D---l would be modest, when they may live in this state by turning. Why 'tis enough to debauch half the women in London.⁵⁵ [sic]

The imagery of riding and falling was exploited for its potential to suggest not only sexual misconduct but also the socially and economically destabilising effects of the courtesan's success. John Collet's image of Kitty Coaxer published by Carington Bowles is a straight reversal of acceptable behaviour indicating a world turned upside down:⁵⁶ Kitty drives the susceptible aristocrat, Lord Dupe, towards the aptly named 'ROTTEN Row'.

The furore created by the fall from her horse was, it seems, equalled by the fuss over the advertisement that she placed in *The Public Advertiser* on 27 March 1759.⁵⁷ This announcement is quoted in volume two of *The Juvenile Adventures*, the first volume of which is advertised in the same issue of *The Public Advertiser* as published that day at the price of three shillings, the second volume promised the next Thursday. Kitty's personal advertisement appears to be a riposte to that publication (which she knew was forthcoming) but it could equally be generally also in response to *Kitty's Stream*, to *Horse and Away*, or to other similar publications as yet unlocated. Her statement reads like a concoction of Johnsonian parody and was said to have been written not by Kitty Fisher but by her witty blue-stocking companion, Miss Summers (afterwards Mrs Skene).⁵⁸ It is unsurprising to find the courtesan's utterance attributed elsewhere as, it was universally agreed, her own language was 'in her Eye' and, as one writer expressed it: 'her Cheek, her Lip, nay, her Foot speaks'.⁵⁹ Here, in full, is the advertisement which, it is claimed in *The Juvenile Adventures*, 'even her greatest advocates could not avoid owning [...] extremely ambiguous, if at all intelligible' and by which she 'exposed herself more, than she had been either in the public papers, or in the print shops'.⁶⁰

'To err, is a Blemish intailed upon Mortality' and Indiscretions seldom or never escape from Censure; the more heavy, as the Character is more remarkable; and doubled, nay trebled by the World, if the Progress of that Character is marked by Success; then Malice shoots against it all her Stings, the Snakes of Envy are let loose; to the Humane and Generous Heart then must the Injured appeal, and certain Relief will be found in impartial Honour, Miss Fisher is forced to sue to that Jurisdiction to protect her from the Baseness of little Scribblers and scurvy Malevolence; she has been abused in public places, exposed in Print shops, and to wind up the whole, some Wretches, mean, ignorant, and venal, would impose upon the Public, by daring to pretend to publish her Memoirs. She

hopes to prevent the Success of their Endeavours by thus publicly declaring that nothing of that Sort has the slightest Foundation in Truth.

C. Fisher

As predicted by the author of *The Juvenile Adventures*, Kitty's public statement made her even more fair game for Grub Street. *Miss Kitty F--h-r's Miscellany*, which appeared the following year, comprises a collection of lewd poems appended to which is a series of observations on the antics described contained in a sermon by Methodists. The collection is dedicated to Kitty Fisher: who is 'now the object of universal desire from the hobbling, gouty Lord, down to the apprentice, who (his teeth watering) earnestly stares his affection to you'. Kitty is described as not an unworthy successor to Thais – spreading fire through the streets – rapid fire of love to all quarters of the city. Just as Alexander was roused to battle by reading Homer, so Kitty may be 'warmed for the tender skirmishes of your profession, by reading the following poems'.⁶¹

In *An Odd Letter*, also published in 1760, and *A Letter from a Lady* which probably dates from the same year, we find a new tone of high moral seriousness. The latter might almost be a commentary upon Fielding's *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia*. The celebrated Miss Kitty Fisher – and her male admirers – are subjected to a lecture on the virtues of marriage and the benefits of legitimate children. The man who engages in a dishonourable commerce with prostitutes will find he has to take 'all his pleasures by stealth', and if he has children he can neither enjoy the pleasure of them, nor own them, and he should not expect she who has been false to her own honour to be true to him. An eulogy on married bliss ('that happy Union of the two Sexes, which was first ordained by the all-wise Creator') follows and the *Letter* concludes with the advice to Kitty to accept the first advantageous offer she receives 'for tho' your Park discovery has obtained you many Admirers, the too frequent use of your blooming Charms, will subject them the sooner to decay, and perhaps reduce you from the greatest splendor to misery and want'.⁶²

Simon Trusty, author of *An Odd Letter*, adopts an even tougher stance for his eloquent twenty-nine-page essay. There is, he suggests, every reason why Kitty should have no objection to a public address since she has demonstrated a 'firmness to bear the public Eye', an ability to 'stand the Censures of the World unmoved' and to face down those who seek to devour her with their eyes.⁶³ The notion of reciprocal looking – of the public gaze in relation to 'the Artillery of [Kitty's] Eyes'⁶⁴ is developed through this relatively sophisticated text. Kitty is not only the 'Darling of the Age' but also 'the Admiration of every Eye',⁶⁵ and this dynamic is the precondition – this is one of the two major concerns of the author – for the courtesan's self-commodification. Where lies, is the underlying question, intrinsic value? The author, empty-handed, knows it is vain to approach Kitty Fisher personally. However, he has a treasure which is 'more valuable than any you possess, and throws forth a Radiance superior to the Diamond's richest

Water'.⁶⁶ This, of course, is 'truth'. Opposed to the author's conviction – that her triumphant days will be short, sickness will take the coral from her lips, smallpox may change every feature to deformity, and age will level her with the plainest of her sex⁶⁷ – is his amazed recognition of her ability to make money. 'You have found the Way of melting down your Youth into Treasure, and converting perishable Beauty into solid Gold', he tells her. She is an economic phenomenon, gobbling up global resources: 'the Persian Looms enrich your Train; the Peruvian Mines embroider your Petticoat; the Chilean Rocks adorn your Breast, and sparkle in your Hair'.⁶⁸ Like usury, gambling and joint stock companies, prostitution generates income without (the inference is) honest toil; its profits seem immeasurably great and its conduct uncontrollable. Moreover, most alarmingly, the courtesan is invariably female. It is, therefore, unsurprising that the author's attack focuses upon the unnatural character of the courtesan's way of life. As Alison Conway has argued, 'in its wilful refusal to march to the tune of marriage plots and maternal demands, the courtesan's body, in principle, flouts social expectation'.⁶⁹ Simon Trusty explicitly accuses Kitty Fisher of defying nature by refusing maternity and of aborting whatever infants she may have conceived:

This is the Voice of Nature and of your Sex; this cannot be stifled but by Violence... I do not suppose you may be wanting in the means Nature has prescribed for that End [...] but you are wholly averse to the State, and, often perhaps, by horrid Means, deprive yourself of one of the most natural and tender Pleasures a Woman can possess.⁷⁰

An Odd Letter addresses explicitly what is less prominent, but nonetheless present, in all the literature on Kitty Fisher, that is the problem of visibility. The mid-eighteenth-century metropolis was characterised by legitimate social locations designed for exposure to the gaze of others: the Royal Academy was one of the more complex environments with visitors inspecting each other often rather more than the representations of themselves as a social class that adorned the walls,⁷¹ but Vauxhall, the Pantheon, the parks, and the various theatres and assembly rooms were, as is well established, characterised by an almost frantic dedication to gazing, that is to visual inspection of humanity generated by individual and collective curiosity. The satirical literature generated by Kitty Fisher's celebrity is pre-occupied with the effects – titillating and depraving – of her visibility which is tantalising because of what is shown and hidden. As Conway suggests, Kitty's exhibitionism simultaneously reveals and conceals the prostitute's body, hence Trusty's conjectures about its gynaecological functions.⁷² Moreover, these authors achieve their effects by innuendo which is, linguistically, a comparable revealing-concealing device. The structure of these satirical works thus inflects the overall tensions that are thematised within them.

Writers on Reynolds, and on eighteenth-century caricature, have drawn attention to the discursive networks that connect different genres and media.⁷³ A brief look at small-scale objects, made of valuable materials as items of personal and monetary investment, will illuminate both the interconnectedness of imagery across media and the way innuendo functioned within libidinous representations. Both men and women treasured watches and snuffboxes but, owing to their format (possessing an exterior image surface that could be displayed and an interior one that could be hidden) it was possible to exploit them as objects aimed particularly at a masculine market. Watch papers were circles of fine fabric or paper inserted into watch-cases to protect against dust and print publishers issued portraits of celebrities specifically for this purpose. A watch paper survives featuring a portrait of Kitty Fisher, after Reynolds' Petworth painting, in a frame of hearts and Cupid's bows and arrows (Fig.2). The appearance of subjects that are faintly suggestive, like Roman Charity (in which a woman breast-feeds a starving old man), are common on the exteriors of watch-cases.⁷⁴ Of particular interest, however, is the genre described by their makers as 'montres lubriques' or 'lubricious watches'; by horologists they are now affectionately termed 'bonking watches' (Fig.3a-d).



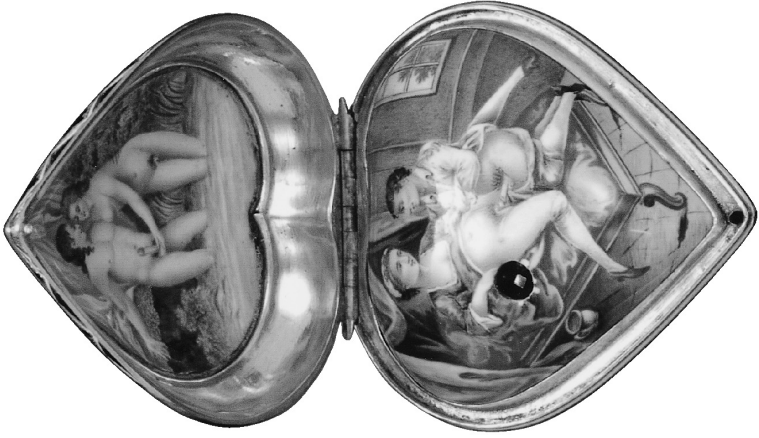
2. John June, after Sir Joshua Reynolds, printed for Robert Sayer, *Miss Kitty Fischer*, c.1759.
© The British Museum (1902-10-18-67)



3b. Gold and enamel heart-shaped automaton pendant watch, made by James Cox, London, c.1770, exterior back featuring pastoral scene with shepherdess and her bea with bagpipes. Antiquorum, Geneva



3a. Gold and enamel heart-shaped automaton pendant watch, made by James Cox, London, c.1770, exterior face featuring windmills with moving sails. Antiquorum, Geneva



3c. Gold and enamel heart-shaped automaton pendant watch, made by James Cox, London, c.1770, interior showing double-scene erotic tableau.
Antiquorum, Geneva



3d. Gold and enamel heart-shaped automaton pendant watch, made by James Cox, London, c.1770, interior showing decoratively concealed workings.
Antiquorum, Geneva

The mechanisms for these items were made in Switzerland from the second half of the eighteenth century into the early years of the nineteenth by the firm of Jaquet-Droz and Leschot. Imported into London by the jeweller and entrepreneur James Cox, they were mounted into cases which exhibited on the exterior banal bucolic scenes, family groups, or images of young women with birds or animals in the Greuzian mode.⁷⁵ Once opened, however, the escapement with its rhythmic movement was made to stage an explicit scene of copulation. The kind of smutty subjects found, for example, in *Miss Kitty F--h-r's Miscellany*, in one poem of which a woman waiting for an enema to be administered is pleasantly surprised to find the doctor penetrating her with his own member, are visually represented in the interiors of watch-cases.⁷⁶ The owner of the watch – reminded perhaps that time weakens arousal and diminishes potency – could hold in his hand a permanent, never-ending (as long as he kept the watch wound) enactment of desire while, at the same time, presenting to the world a blameless exterior. Those viewing it might, knowing the genre, suspect what was inside but the power to connect inside and outside views lay with the owner. The complicity that would be entailed in sharing the interior view would be similar in effect to making the connection required by a written innuendo – now you see it, now you don't.

It is possible that Kitty Fisher continued to inspire satirical literature until 1765;⁷⁷ what is certain is that expressions of admiration combined with invective continued at least until 1762, representing a remarkable duration of celebrity for an ephemeral character. It is appropriate to conclude with the verse text *A Sketch of the Present Times and the Time to Come* (1762) in which Kitty's present charms and what is viewed as the inevitable down-hill trajectory of her future are mapped out with graphic detail worthy of writers of a century later. You can see, the author tells us, that Kitty was 'finished for LOVE':

Your Figure was polish'd by Grace,
Love laughs in the Rose-dimpled Cheek;
Persuasion beams over the Face,
And good Humour attends when you speak.⁷⁸

Degradation and death lie in wait for Kitty, however, if she neglects 'Against white wintry Age [...] to arm'.⁷⁹ A terrible picture is painted of her fate as pimps feed on her like vermin while she wanders through wet streets:

Sickly she strols amidst the miry Lane,
While streaming spouts dash on her uncloath'd Neck;
By Famine pin'd; pinch'd by Disease-bred Pain,
Contrition's Portrait, and rash Beauty's wreck.⁸⁰

Five years later Kitty Fisher's untimely death – more probably from tuberculosis than, as alleged, from the effects of lead-based cosmetics – occurred at Bath, where, presumably, she was seeking a cure. And so was brought

to an end the brief but spectacular career of one of London's most celebrated courtesans. Adulated and vilified in equal measure, history has been kind in eradicating the Grub Street literature to leave Kitty enshrined in three compelling and effective painted portraits and a jingle recited to small children.

Appendix

Satirical Texts about Kitty Fisher

KITTY'S STREAM: or, the NOBLEMEN turn'd FISHER-MEN. London: A. Moore, 1759 [by Rigdum Funidos].
BL 11631.e.24 (with MS notes).

THE ADVENTURES OF THE CELEBRATED Miss KITTY F---R. OR, Who will Fish in a Silver STREAM with an hundred Pound BAIT. A Comic SATIRE, Addressed to the Gentlemen in the Interest of the above celebrated Miss. London: printed for the author, no date (repeats the text of *Kitty's Stream* with additional title-page).
National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, L.C. 2737 (20).

The Hundred Pound Miss; being the Adventures of the Celebrated Miss K---y F---r, who was lately stabbed nine Inches in Maryboon Gardens.
Lilly Lib. Indiana Univ. 7.2.51 PM HILL10.00, no date. Inscribed on cover-sheet in an old hand: 'An original and curious ballad relating to Kitty Fisher at Marylebone Gardens 1765 very rare' (repeats the text of *Kitty's Stream*).

The Juvenile Adventures of Miss Kitty F---r. London: Stephen Smith, 1759. 2 vols allegedly translated from Spanish.
Bodelian Lib. Vet. A5f.396.

*A LETTER from LADY ***** to the celebrated Miss K--- F---. Concerning their late Adventures in St. James's Park.* No publisher, no date.
Göttingen University Lib. 20 H. Brit. un vii, 2256 (4).

Miss Kitty F--h-r's Miscellany. with a Dramatic Sermon by Two Methodist Preachers. London: H. Ranger, 1760.
BL mic B8 96/7217 (8).

A Sketch of the Present Times and the Time to come in an Address to Kitty Fisher. London: T. Waller, 1762.
BL RB 23.b.1598 (9).

HORSE and AWAY to St. JAMES'S PARK OR, a Trip for the Noontide Air. Who Rides Fastest, Miss KITTY FISHER, or her GAY GALLANT. No publisher, no date.
BL 816.m.19 (90).

An Odd Letter on a Most Interesting SUBJECT, To Miss K--- F--h-r. Recommended to the Perusal of the LADIES of GREAT BRITAIN. By Simon Trusty. London: J. Williams, 1760.

BL 1509/869.

KITTY COAXER driving LORD DUPE towards ROTTEN ROW. From the Original Picture by John Collet, in the possession of Carington Bowles, printed for Carington Bowles (no date) (hand coloured). No date.

BM Bowles and Carver, Caricatures, vol.ii, 282.b.2.

Henry Harington, *An Elegy On Kitty Fisher lying in State at Bath* [for three voices], London, c.1767 (BL gives 1780?).

BL G.805.e (5).

NOTES

1. This version of the well-known nursery rhyme is that given in I. and P. Opie, *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (Oxford 1951; 1992), no. 312. The version with which I was familiar as a child had a variant final line: 'But the ribbon round it.'

2. *Dictionary of National Biography*. The author of the entry relies on *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, 8, 29 July 1865, p.81-82 and 155, where it is stated that the Rector of Benenden, W. J. Edge, has informed the writer (G. W. J.) that the death of Catherine Maria, wife of Jn^o Norris, Jun. Esq. appears in the Benenden Register on 23 March 1767 and that she was buried in her husband's family vault in the chancel of the church. The reference to Carrington Street, Mayfair, attributed to Cunningham's *London*, appears to be erroneous as there is no reference to the courtesan in P. Cunningham, *A Handbook for London*, 2 vols (London 1849), either under Mayfair or under Carrington Street. My attempt to contact the contributor responsible for the new DNB entry has proved unsuccessful.

3. H. Bleakley, *Ladies Fair and Frail: Sketches of the Demi-Monde during the Eighteenth Century* (London 1907), p.64-65, gives her birth date as 1738. The milliner reference comes from a satirical pamphlet, *The Hundred Pound Miss* ('But all that we can know of her / Is this – she was a milliner. / Her parentage so low and mean / Is hardly to be traced I wean'). See Appendix.

4. Bleakley, *Ladies*, p.87, 90.

5. W. T. Whitley, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799* (London and Boston 1928), i.252. The passage is an attack on Reynolds' having accepted a knighthood; *Reynolds*, ed. N. Penny (London 1986).

6. G. Casanova, Chevalier de Seingalt, *History of my Life*, trans. W. R. Trask (New York 1970), vol.ix, ch.12, p.308. A. Graves and W. V. Cronin, *A History of Sir Joshua Reynolds, PRA* (London 1849), p.305.

7. *Histories of the Tête-a-Tête Annexed; or, Memoirs of Ad-I K-, and Mrs. WS-Ils. The Town and Country Magazine; or Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment for September 1771*, p.458.

8. Casanova, *History of my Life*, p.308.

9. M. Douglas, 'Why do People Want Goods?', in *Understanding the Enterprise Culture. Themes in the Work of Mary Douglas*, ed. S. Hargreaves Heap and A. Ross (Edinburgh 1992), ch.2, and M. Douglas and B. Isherwood, *The World of Goods. Towards and Anthropology of Consumption* (New York 1979), p.59. On paper money, see M. Shell, *Money, Language, and Thought: Literary and Philosophical Economies from the Medieval to the Modern Era* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1982). A. Conway, *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture and the Visual Culture of the English Novel, 1709-1791* (Toronto, Buffalo and London 2001), p.37, suggests that the episode refigures the representation of Kitty as Cleopatra about to swallow the pearl.

10. *Memoirs of the Celebrated Miss Fanny Murray* (London 1758; 1759), p.147. Here the patron is also Sir Richard Atkins.

11. [Mrs Inchbold], *The Fruitless Repentence; or, the History of Miss Kitty Le Fever* (London 1769); [Edward Thompson], 'The Meretriciad', in *The Court of Cupid* (London, for C. Moran, 1770), p.17-18.

12. Opie, *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, p.279-80.
13. *The Critical Review or, Annals of Literature* 12 (1762), Bodleian Hope add.533.
14. *The Belle's Stratagem: A Comedy of Five Acts [...] at the Theatre in Smock-Alley, by Mrs. Cowley* (Dublin, T. Bathe, 1781).
15. I. and P. Opie, *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, indicate the Thompson and Gay sources; Mrs Cowley's work is cited in the DNB.
16. See, for example, Freud's widely discussed case history of Dora, S. Freud, 'Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria' (1901-1905), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. J. Strachey, vol.vii (London 1953). See also *In Dora's Case: Freud, Hysteria, Feminism*, ed. C. Bernheimer and C. Kahane (London 1985).
17. Casanova, *History of my Life*, vol.ix, ch.11, p.304. On Hogarth's painting, see M. Pointon, *Hogarth's 'Sigismunda' in Focus* (London 2000).
18. Graves and Cronin, *History of Sir Joshua Reynolds*.
19. D. Mannings and M. Postle, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue of his Paintings* (New Haven and London 2000), vol.i.
20. Mannings and Postle, *Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue*, no.611, 612. The Petworth Portrait was engraved three times and the Kenwood portrait four times.
21. National Portrait Gallery, London. See J. Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits* (London 1977), vol.i, no.2354.
22. 'Give me mine angle, we'll to the river: there, / My music playing far off, I will betray / Tawny-finn'd fishes; my bended hook shall pierce / Their slimy jaws; and, as I draw them up, / I'll think them every one an Antony, / And say, "Ah, ha! y'are caught"' (Shakespeare, Antony and Cleopatra, II.v). Thomas Gray's ode was written in 1747 and first published in 1748, reprinted in the 1753 edition of Gray's *Six Poems*.
23. On the distinction in this period between actresses and prostitutes, see K. Crouch, 'The Public Life of Actresses: Prostitutes or Ladies?', in *Gender in Eighteenth-century England*, ed. H. Barker and E. Chalus (London and New York 1997); on Elizabeth Gunning, see R. Jones, "'Such Strange Unwonted Softness to Excuse': Judgement and Indulgence in Sir Joshua Reynolds's Portrait of Elizabeth Gunning', *Oxford Art Journal* 18.1 (1995).
24. Conway, *Private Interests*, p.39.
25. Conway, *Private Interests*, p.39.
26. *Reynolds*, ed. Penny, quoted in A. Conway, *Private Interests*, p.38.
27. A. Pasquin [John Williams], *Memoirs of the Royal Academicians; Being an Attempt to Improve the National Taste* (London 1794), quoted in Conway, *Private Interests*, p.39.
28. M. S. Phillips, *Society and Sentiment. Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1870* (Princeton, NJ 2000), p.147. I am grateful to Ludmilla Jordanova for drawing my attention to this work.
29. Conway, *Private Interests*, p.15.
30. *Reynolds*, ed. Penny, p.193.
31. The supposition that these are the engravers referred to in Kitty's announcement (the 'Baseness of little Scribblers and Scurvy Malevolence' and the abuse 'in public Papers' and 'exposure in Print Shops', *The Public Advertiser*, 27 March 1759, p.3) cannot be correct as it predates both portraits, neither of which was exhibited at the time, and the engravings which were published from June 1759. The inference that Kitty's complaint relates to prints after Reynolds' portraits is made first in *Reynolds*, ed. Penny, p.193, and adopted by M. Postle, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Subject Pictures* (Cambridge 1995), p.3, n.3.
32. Conway, *Private Interests*, p.47.
33. On this, see M. Pointon, "'Surrounded with Brilliants": Miniature Portraits in Eighteenth-Century England', *Art Bulletin* 83, no.1 (March 2001), p.48-71.
34. For details of the other portraits which may represent Kitty Fisher, see Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits*, vol.i., no.2354.
35. See, for example, Casanova, *History of my Life*.
36. The story of Cleopatra's banquet is first recounted by Pliny and is repeated by Plutarch, Boccaccio, Shakespeare and subsequent writers such as Nathaniel Hooke, the first volume of whose *Roman History* was published by Jacob Tonson in 1764. The visual quotations have been well rehearsed. See *Reynolds*, ed. Penny, Mannings and Postle, *Reynolds: A Complete Catalogue*.
37. S. Fielding, *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia* (London, Andrew Millar, printed by Samuel Richardson, 1757), ed. C. D. Johnson (London and Toronto 1994). Sarah Fielding was the sister of Henry Fielding. Although the objective is to contrast Cleopatra with the virtuous Octavia, the latter is given only 42 pages, as compared with 176 for Cleopatra.

38. Fielding, *Lives*, ed. Johnson, introduction, p.16.
39. Fielding, *Lives*, ed. Johnson, p.132-33.
40. C. Lennox, *The Female Quixote* (1752; Oxford and New York 1989), p.89, 116, 207.
41. Postle, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, p.3.
42. The exception is Conway, *Private Interests*, who draws upon *An Odd Letter* by Simon Trusty and on *Kitty's Stream* (for full details of this and all subsequent references to the satirical texts on Kitty Fisher, see Appendix).
43. The annotation giving the date of 1765 seems unlikely to be correct. The Sandby 'Cry' is illustrated in S. O'Connell, *London 1753* (London, British Museum, 2003, cat. no.1.58).
44. The *Apology for the Conduct of K-F-r*, referred to in *The Critical Review* of 1762 has not been located.
45. *Kitty's Stream*, p.3-4.
46. See, for example, Ian McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795-1840* (Oxford 1993), and M. Peace, *The Figure of the Prostitute in Eighteenth-century Sentimental Discourse: Charity, Politeness and the Novel*, PhD, University of York, 1997. T. Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis 1730-1830* (London and New York 1999). For the nineteenth century, see C. Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass. 1989); T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers* (London 1985); A. Corbin, *Les Filles de Noce: Misère sexuelle et prostitution (19^e et 20^e siècles)* (Paris 1978); L. Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven and London 2000).
47. See Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, p.148.
48. *Kitty's Stream*, p.6.β.
49. *Kitty's Stream*, p.8.
50. *Kitty's Stream*, p.13-15.
51. *The Juvenile Adventures*, ii.31.
52. *The Juvenile Adventures*, ii.108-109.
53. *The Juvenile Adventures*, ii.156-59.
54. "The song of "Kitty Fell" was in every mouth', *The Juvenile Adventures*, ii.165-66.
55. *Horse and Away to St. James's Park*.
56. On this theme, see N. Zemon Davis, 'Women on Top: Symbolic and Sexual Inversion and Political Disorder in Early Modern Europe', in *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, ed. B. A. Babcock (Ithaca, NY and London 1978).
57. Not, as given in Bleakley, *Ladies Fair and Frail*, on 29th.
58. This claim is made by C. R. Leslie and T. Taylor in *Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 2 vols (London 1865), i.163. They erroneously give the date of Kitty's advertisement as 30 March.
59. *A Sketch of the Present Times*, title-page.
60. *The Juvenile Adventures*, ii.167.
61. *Miss Kitty F--h-r's Miscellany*, p.iii, v-vi.
62. *A Letter from a Lady*, one page only.
63. *An Odd Letter*, p.1-2.
64. *An Odd Letter*, p.3.
65. *An Odd Letter*, p.6.
66. *An Odd Letter*, p.4.
67. *An Odd Letter*, p.29.
68. *An Odd Letter*, p.7.
69. Conway, *Private Interests*, p.37.
70. *An Odd Letter*, p.11-13.
71. This aspect of the life of the Royal Academy is discussed in *Art on the Line*, ed. D. Solkin (New Haven and London 2001).
72. Conway, *Private Interests*, p.37.
73. See, for example, Postle, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, p.3.
74. Examples are to be found in the Musée d'Horlogerie, La Chaux-de-Fonds. On watch papers, see S. O'Connell, *London 1753*, cat. no.3.11.
75. On James Cox, see M. Pointon, 'James Cox's Museum', *Economics and Art History*, ed. C. Goodwin, N. de Marchi and A. Wharton, special edn of *History of Political Economy* (Durham, NC 2000).
76. See R. Carrera, *Le Ore dell'Amore* (Lausanne and Geneva 1993), p.63.
77. See, for example, the annotation on *The Hundred Pound Miss* and the *Elegy*, published, allegedly, in response to her death.

78. *A Sketch of the Present Times and the Time to Come in an Address to Kitty Fisher*, part I, stanza iii.
79. *A Sketch*, stanza xxv.
80. *A Sketch*, stanza xx, xxi, xxiii.