

FROM PAINTINGS TO OPERA: DISCOVERING THE REIMAGINATION OF WILLIAM  
HOGARTH'S *A RAKE'S PROGRESS* IN IGOR STRAVINSKY'S *THE RAKE'S PROGRESS*

A Dissertation  
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty  
of the  
North Dakota State University  
of Agriculture and Applied Science

By  
Hong Liang Ng

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF MUSICAL ARTS

Major Program:  
Music

August 2021

Fargo, North Dakota

North Dakota State University  
Graduate School

---

**Title**

FROM PAINTINGS TO OPERA: DISCOVERING THE  
REIMAGINATION OF WILLIAM HOGARTH'S *A RAKE'S PROGRESS*  
IN IGOR STRAVINSKY'S *THE RAKE'S PROGRESS*

---

**By**

Hong Liang Ng

---

The Supervisory Committee certifies that this *disquisition* complies with North Dakota  
State University's regulations and meets the accepted standards for the degree of

**DOCTOR OF MUSICAL ARTS**

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE:

Dr. Tyler Wottrich

---

Chair

Dr. Cassie Keogh

---

Dr. Robert Groves

---

Dr. John Cox

---

Approved:

7/7/2022

---

Date

Dr. John Miller

---

Department Chair

## ABSTRACT

*The Rake's Progress* (1951) is a well-known satirical opera in three acts with an epilogue by Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), with a libretto written by Wystan Hugh Auden (1907-1973) and Chester Kallman (1921-1975). This opera is based on William Hogarth's (1697-1764) series of eight paintings, *A Rake's Progress* (1734), which inspired Stravinsky during his visit to the Art Institute of Chicago on May 2, 1947. Even though many scholars have conducted discussions on the opera itself, there is little scholarship on the influence of Hogarth's paintings on Stravinsky's opera. This dissertation considers how Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman translated Hogarth's series of satirical paintings into a period opera to which audiences in the mid-twentieth century could relate. As I am a collaborative pianist that works extensively with singers and opera projects, I aim for this document to be helpful as a guide for singers, vocal coaches, or other interested individuals who wish to have a fresh perspective on this opera.

I have divided this dissertation into three parts. In the first part of my disquisition, I investigate Stravinsky's motivation to write this opera by researching the societal culture, in both early-eighteenth-century London and the mid-twentieth-century United States. In the second part of this paper, I track the collaborators' creative decisions in altering the opera's narrative. I review the libretto of the opera and the iconography of Hogarth's series of paintings which consists of religious and cultural symbols reflecting Hogarth's perspective on morality during his time. I also consult modern scholarships in interpreting the narrative and proceed to establish the relationship between the libretto and Hogarth's paintings. In the third part of this dissertation, I critically analyze selected arias of the opera to investigate how Stravinsky employs neoclassicism in bringing the libretto to life in the music.

Ultimately, this dissertation provides a fresh perspective on Stravinsky's opera by giving a better understanding of Hogarth's views on morality and culture in eighteenth-century London through his series of engravings as well as how Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman translated Hogarth's intentions for their own purposes in this opera, *The Rake's Progress*.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank my family, who has shown enormous support from overseas, supporting me unconditionally on this journey in pursuing my doctoral studies. I would also like to thank the friends I have made along the way. Without their support, I would not have been able to make it this far.

I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Tyler Wottrich, who has been a tremendous support throughout these past few years. He has been a wonderful mentor, friend, inspiration, and confidant. He has opened many doors for me in my life and helped me to develop to the best of my abilities in the area of my passion. He helped me significantly with my writing in creating this document. I would also like to thank my fellow committee members, Dr. Cassie Keogh, Dr. Robert Groves, and Dr. John Cox, who have been willing to take the time to read my document and be a part of this journey. Lastly, I would like to thank Dr. Annett Richter who has helped me tremendously through the sharing of her vast knowledge of writing and her wise advice.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
LIST OF APPENDIX FIGURES.....	x
INTRODUCTION.....	1
THE INSPIRATIONS FOR THE OPERA <i>THE RAKE'S PROGRESS</i> .....	6
William Hogarth in Early Eighteen-Century London.....	6
Igor Stravinsky in the Mid-Twentieth-Century United States.....	14
The Convergence of Cultures.....	16
CREATIVE DECISIONS OF THE COLLABORATORS.....	20
Alteration of the Plot.....	20
Reimagining the Characters.....	23
Religious and Mythological Subjects.....	30
The Writing Style of the Libretto.....	33
CRITICAL ANALYSES OF SELECTED ARIAS FROM THE OPERA <i>THE RAKE'S PROGRESS</i> .....	36
Tom Rakewell's "Here I Stand," Act 1, Scene 1.....	39
Anne Trulove's "No Word From Tom," Act 1, Scene 3.....	44
Baba the Turk's Aria, Act 2, Scene 3.....	52
CONCLUSION.....	56
REFERENCES.....	59
APPENDIX A. WILLIAM HOGARTH'S <i>A RAKE'S PROGRESS</i> .....	63

## LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Orchestration of the three operas .....	38

## LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. <i>A Rake's Progress, III: The Orgy</i> . Painting by William Hogarth, 1734. ....	7
2. <i>A Rake's Progress, VI: The Gaming House</i> . Painting by William Hogarth, 1734. ....	8
3. <i>The South Sea Scheme</i> . Engraving by William Hogarth. 1722.....	10
4. Excerpt of the use of the harpsichord when Nick Shadow appears in the scene. ....	24
5. <i>A Rake's Progress, VIII: The Madhouse</i> . Painting by William Hogarth, 1734. ....	26
6. An excerpt from <i>My Spectre around Me Night and Day</i> (1800) by William Blake and <i>Plate III. A Brothel</i> by John Hoadly.....	33
7. An excerpt from <i>Dear Doctor; I have Read Your Play</i> (1817) by Lord Byron and <i>Plate III. A Brothel</i> by John Hoadly. ....	34
8. An excerpt from Tom Rakewell's aria in act 2, scene 1 of <i>The Rake's Progress</i> , and <i>Plate III. A Brothel</i> by John Hoadly.....	34
9. An excerpt of "Nel tuo seno amico sasso" from Handel's opera <i>Giulio Cesare</i> (1724) showing the use of dotted rhythm in the orchestral accompaniment. ....	40
10. An excerpt of the aria "Ah Fuggi il traditor" from Mozart's opera <i>Don Giovanni</i> showing the use of dotted rhythm in the orchestral accompaniment. ....	40
11. An excerpt of Tom Rakewell's aria in Act 1 Scene 1 showing the use of dotted rhythm in the orchestral accompaniment. ....	41
12. The structural diagram of Tom Rakewell's aria in Act 1, Scene 1. ....	42
13. The formal structure of the libretto of Tom Rakewell's aria in Act 1 Scene 1. ....	43
14. The structural analysis of Anne Trulove's Act 1 Scene 3 aria. ....	45
15. An example of the phrase structure from the prelude of "No Word from Tom", Act 1, Scene 3. ....	46
16. The structure of the libretto of Anne Trulove's aria in Act 1, Scene 3.....	47
17. An example of notated ornament in the vocal line. ....	48
18. An example ornamental pattern in the vocal line. ....	48
19. An excerpt of the orchestra accompaniment resembling musical patterns from the early eighteenth century. ....	49



20.	The structural diagram of the cabaletta "I go, I go to him". .....	50
21.	An example of the repeated chordal figures and arpeggiated chords in the orchestral accompaniment of "Die Hölle Rache" from Mozart's <i>Die Zauberfölte</i> . .....	51
22.	An example of the repeated chordal figures and arpeggiated bass line in the orchestral accompaniment of "I go, I go to him" from Act 1, Scene 3 of <i>The Rake's Progress</i> . .....	52
23.	An example of a melismatic vocal passage from "I go, I go to him" in Act 1, Scene 3 of <i>The Rake's Progress</i> . .....	52
24.	The structural diagram of Baba the Turk's aria in Act 2, Scene 3. ....	53
25.	An example of the melismatic passage example on the vocal line.....	54

## LIST OF APPENDIX FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
A1. <i>A Rake's Progress, I: The Heir.</i> Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.....	63
A2. <i>A Rake's Progress, II: The Levee.</i> Painting by William Hogarth, 1734. ....	64
A3. <i>A Rake's Progress, III: The Orgy.</i> Painting by William Hogarth, 1734. ....	65
A4. <i>A Rake's Progress, IV: The Arrest.</i> Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.....	66
A5. <i>A Rake's Progress, V: The Marriage.</i> Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.....	67
A6. <i>A Rake's Progress, VI: The Gaming House.</i> Painting by William Hogarth, 1734. ....	68
A7. <i>A Rake's Progress, VII: The Prison.</i> Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.....	69
A8. <i>A Rake's Progress, VIII: The Madhouse.</i> Painting by William Hogarth, 1734. ....	70

## INTRODUCTION

Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) was inspired by William Hogarth's (1697-1746) series of satirical paintings, *A Rake's Progress* (1734), after he visited an exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago on May 2, 1947.<sup>1,2</sup> He then collaborated with librettist Wystan Hugh Auden (1907-1973) and later with Chester Kallman (1921-1975) to compose the opera *The Rake's Progress* (1951). *The Rake's Progress* impacted the musical world of the mid-twentieth century as the first full-length neoclassical staged opera. The collaborators conveyed their social message through an eighteenth-century moral fable, Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress*. Despite there being established scholarly discussions involving Hogarth's paintings and Stravinsky's opera separately, there has been a deficit of academic discussion regarding the gaps between the artworks. It is essential to examine the societal and cultural background of Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* and how that backdrop influenced Stravinsky in writing an opera based on the paintings. This research aims to show the importance of understanding the background of an operatic work such as *The Rake's Progress* through identifying the cultural underpinnings and state of the society surrounding the creation of both artworks during their respective periods, as well as the process by which Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman reimagined Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* into an opera. This Introduction will provide a brief background of both artworks, Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* and

---

<sup>1</sup> Paul Griffiths, "The Makers and Their Work," *The Rake's Progress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 10.

<sup>2</sup> There are two contradicting facts on the actual date Stravinsky went to the Hogarth's exhibition. There is no catalog archive of Hogarth's exhibition on May 2, 1947, from the Art Institute of Chicago, but the exhibition *Masterpieces of English Painting: Hogarth, Constable and Turner* consisted of Hogarth's other artworks such as *Marriage a-la-mode* that place between October 15 – December 22, 1946. According to author Chandler Carter, a reliable diary of Vera Stravinsky mentioned that the couple went to a Hogarth exhibition on December 5, 1946. However, multiple credible sources, including Stravinsky himself, and a collection of pictures and documents edited by Vera Stravinsky and Robert Craft stated that he saw a Hogarth exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago on May 2, 1947.

Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress*, the significance of the study, its limitations, and the structure of this dissertation.

William Hogarth lived in a time in the early eighteenth century when London flourished as a metropolis. Hogarth began his career as an engraver, after which he produced a wide range of art, including portraits, historical paintings, prints, conversational pieces, and satirical cartoons. He was most well-known for his series of didactic works at the peak of his career around the 1730s-1740s, namely *A Harlot's Progress* (1731), *A Rake's Progress* (1734), and *Marriage a-la-mode* (1745). These three series of satirical paintings satirize societal phenomena of eighteenth-century London while challenging the audience's views on the morality of those paintings. These phenomena include prostitution and gambling, which became more prevalent in eighteenth-century London. Hogarth also satirized the aristocracy, dramatizing those activities that could be seen as immoral. These moral paintings have been popular enough to live on for centuries through continued exhibitions and as inspiration for other artistic mediums.

When Igor Stravinsky discovered Hogarth's works in an art exhibition on May 2, 1947, Stravinsky was already an established composer, pianist, and conductor. Modern scholarship divides Stravinsky's compositional output into three periods. In his first period, the "Russian period," from approximately 1907 to 1919, Stravinsky experimented with characteristically Russian musical devices and primitive textures, with some of his well-known works of the time including the three famous ballets, *Firebird* (1910), *Petrushka* (1911), and *The Rite of Spring* (1913). After gaining international fame from his ballets, Stravinsky traveled more extensively. His compositions of his second period trended toward neoclassicism, in that he incorporated allusions to the musical style of previous eras, ranging from the seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century. Some of his well-known neoclassic works include the *Symphony of Psalms*

(1930) and the ballet *Orpheus* (1947). The opera *The Rake's Progress* (1951) was his last neoclassical work before transitioning to serialist works, which comprised the final compositional period of his musical career. In the years following his arrival in the United States in 1939, Stravinsky had been interested in composing a full-length opera in English but had not yet found a suitable topic for one. Upon discovering the Hogarth exhibition at the Chicago Institute of Art in 1947, Stravinsky saw the potential of the series of satirical paintings *A Rake's Progress* as a series of operatic scenes and decided to compose an opera based on the narrative of the satirical paintings.

In hiring Wystan Hugh Auden to be the librettist of the opera, Stravinsky took upon the recommendation of Aldous Huxley (1894-1963), who was Stravinsky's life-long friend, neighbor, and an established writer and philosopher. Auden also arrived in the United States in 1939 and was an established English poet known for writing on various topics, including love, politics, and religion. His poetic style features various tones and forms ranging from old to modern English. One of his well-known long poems, *The Age of Anxiety* (1947), won the Pulitzer Prize for poetry in 1948 and addressed contemporary issues of culture and society. *The Age of Anxiety* was written in Anglo-Saxon alliterative style, which was a literary style of the Early Middle Ages. This poem demonstrates the use of historical literary style to address a contemporary topic and thus established the suitability of Auden as the librettist for Stravinsky's neoclassical opera *The Rake's Progress*; Auden was able to write a libretto in early eighteenth-century literary style that conveyed a contemporary message. In the process of working on the opera, Auden invited his then partner, Chester Kallman, an American writer and poet, to collaborate on the libretto.

There is little scholarship that discusses the relationship between Hogarth's series of satirical paintings *A Rake's Progress* and Stravinsky's opera. As a collaborative pianist, I have often been encouraged to fully understand the background of a musical work in order to be able to express the composer's original intentions and to be able to coach singers in these musical ideas. The aim of my research is to provide a clear picture of how Hogarth's series of satirical paintings *A Rake's Progress* inspired Stravinsky to compose an opera based on the narrative of the paintings. I will then discuss Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman's creative decisions in reimagining Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* as an operatic stage work, with critical analyses of three selected arias. This research will bring a fresh perspective on the gap between these artworks, regarding both of which there already exists well-established individual scholarship. As this document is comprised of historical research, my methodology is limited to a number of secondary sources in support of my arguments. I hope my research will serve as a prelude to further in-depth scholarship regarding Hogarth's series of satirical paintings *A Rake's Progress* and Stravinsky's opera *The Rake's Progress*.

This dissertation is divided into three parts. The first part provides historical background for both artworks. An understanding of the cultural phenomena of both historical periods will give insight into Stravinsky's choice of Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* as the narrative for his opera. The second part of the dissertation discusses the creative decisions made by Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman in reimagining the narrative of Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* to suit a mid-twentieth-century audience. Lastly, in the third part I critically analyze three arias that university-level vocal students commonly study in demonstrating the ways in which *The Rake's Progress* displays its eighteenth-century stylistic roots through a neoclassical musical realization. Through this research I will argue that understanding the underlying cultural, philosophical, and religious

messages of both Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* and Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress* is integral to successful performance preparation.

## THE INSPIRATIONS FOR THE OPERA *THE RAKE'S PROGRESS*

Various circumstances could have contributed to Stravinsky's choice of Hogarth's series of satirical paintings, *A Rake's Progress* (1734), as the subject of his opera *The Rake's Progress*. As the scholar Chandler Carter mentions in his book *The Last Opera: The Rake's Progress in the Life of Stravinsky and Sung Drama*, socio-political changes during the mid-twentieth century may have influenced Stravinsky's decision to compose *The Rake's Progress*.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, I investigate the inspirations behind Stravinsky's choice of Hogarth's paintings as the subject for his opera by comparing the social, political, and economic currents of early eighteenth-century London with those of the mid-twentieth-century United States.

### **William Hogarth in Early Eighteen-Century London**

Many of William Hogarth's paintings provide a realistic depiction of the city life in early eighteenth-century London. London developed rapidly in terms of population when the House of Hanover took over Great Britain, after the death of Queen Anne in 1714. Many who lived in rural areas went to the city to look for work, creating many opportunities for trades and services in urban settings. London offered the new middle-class a good deal of entertainment and opportunities for materialistic fulfillment with their newfound wealth at venues such as taverns, theaters, pleasure gardens, and shops featuring fashionable items.<sup>4</sup>

During the Hanoverian period, London became the center of culture, arts, and entertainment in Great Britain. While the quality of life for the middle class in London during the early eighteenth century increased, there was also growth in activities that undermined some of

---

<sup>3</sup> Chandler Carter, *The Last Opera: the Rake's Progress in the Life of Stravinsky and Sung Drama* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2019), 25, accessed December 10, 2020, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=TLXSDwAAQBAJ&pg=GBS.PT9>.

<sup>4</sup> Matthew White. "The Rise of Cities in the 18th Century," The British Library, October 14, 2009, accessed September 21, 2021, <https://www.bl.uk/georgian-britain/articles/the-rise-of-cities-in-the-18th-century>.



the accepted moral values of eighteenth-century British society. Brothels and gambling dens were among the most popular places, and they regularly preyed on those who spent their wealth irresponsibly. Covent Garden not only became a popular venue for theatrical productions such as John Gay's (1685-1732) *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), but it also became the city's main venue for prostitution. Brothels at that time were often disguised as taverns, coffeehouses, or "bagnios" to avoid the law.<sup>5</sup> Hogarth, who knew the district well, depicted the brothel in *A Rake's Progress*, as shown in Figure 1.



Figure 1. *A Rake's Progress, III: The Orgy*. Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.  
Source: SM P42. © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

---

<sup>5</sup> George F. E. Rudé, *Hanoverian London, 1714-1808* (Berkeley: University of California, 1971), 72.

Gambling was officially supported in lottery form through the Lottery Bill passed by Parliament in 1709. It was at first mainly an aristocratic form of entertainment before spreading to the lower social classes.<sup>6</sup> Gambling dens appeared in multiple locations; an especially popular one was the Old Club at White's on St James's Street.<sup>7</sup> Hogarth also depicted gambling houses in *A Rake's Progress*, as shown in Figure 2. Gambling led to many cases of financial demise, especially in the middle class.



Figure 2. *A Rake's Progress, VI: The Gaming House*. Painting by William Hogarth, 1734. Source: SM P45 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

---

<sup>6</sup> Rudé, 71.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

William Hogarth was born in 1697 in Bartholomew Close, London, Naturally, near Smithfield Market, which was close to Covent Garden.<sup>8</sup> Growing up in a lower-middle class household, he spent most of his childhood in his father's Latin-speaking coffeehouse<sup>9</sup>, which perhaps influenced his interest in contemporary London culture.<sup>10</sup> Hogarth established his career as an engraver around 1720, then as an illustrator around 1721. His interest in comic topics and satire led him to create art regarding contemporary societal issues. His first satirical themed engraving was *The South Sea Scheme* (1722). The South Sea Company was a joint stock company founded by Parliament in 1711 to reduce the national debt.<sup>11</sup> Many speculators invested in the company's stock in 1720, before the company failed, causing the stock market to crash in late 1720.<sup>12</sup> This crash revealed the political corruption of many of the company's directors and cabinet ministers.<sup>13</sup> Hogarth's satirical engraving on this subject established his reputation as a satiric artist.

---

<sup>8</sup> Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, vol. 1, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971), 17.

<sup>9</sup> Coffeehouses were significant social venues in seventeenth and eighteenth-century London, serving as meeting places for people to have conversations about current events, politics, gossip, and the stock exchange.

<sup>10</sup> Paulson, 17.

<sup>11</sup> Rudé, 32.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>13</sup> Paulson, 71-72.



Figure 3. *The South Sea Scheme*. Engraving by William Hogarth. 1722.

Source: The Met Museum, New York.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/396205>.

Hogarth devoted himself to painting around 1726, with *A Scene from The Beggar's Opera* (1731) solidifying his career as a painter. Despite being well-versed in many genres, Hogarth became primarily known for his *Progress* series. These satirical paintings were meant as didactic art and he intended to treat them like a representation of a theater work:

...compose pictures on canvas similar to representations on the stage... Let the figures in either pictures or prints be considered as players dressed either for the sublime—for genteel comedy, or farce—for high or low life. I have endeavoured to treat my subjects as

a dramatic writer: my picture is my stage, and men and women are my players, who by means of certain actions and gestures, are to exhibit a *dumb show*.<sup>14</sup>

*A Harlot's Progress* and *A Rake's Progress* reflected a perceived culture of vice undermining socially accepted eighteenth-century virtues. Hogarth called these series his "Modern Moral Subjects," which stood out successfully against the then-current predominance of Renaissance or mythological subjects in art.<sup>15</sup> Hogarth intended to provide moral lessons to the public through his satirical paintings. These two sets of "progress" paintings were reproduced as engravings shortly after. According to the author Peter Quennell, *A Harlot's Progress* serves as the counterpart of *A Rake's Progress*<sup>16</sup>, in depicting the fall of a young woman through the corruption of early eighteenth-century London society.

Hogarth produced *A Rake's Progress*, a series of eight satirical paintings in 1734, which were then engraved in 1735. *A Rake's Progress* depicts the rise and fall of Tom Rakewell, who inherits a great fortune from his wealthy merchant father but wastes all his money in London through prostitution and gambling. The resulting debt leads, at first, to his incarceration in Fleet Prison, and ultimately, to his confinement as a patient in the mental institution<sup>17</sup> at Bedlam.<sup>18</sup> Eighteenth-century German critic Georg Christoph interpreted the word "rake" as a good-for-nothing heir living their life as a bon-vivant and spendthrift.<sup>19</sup> Through this series of moral paintings, Hogarth likewise intended to satirize the corruption of so-called "rakes" by early eighteenth-century London society. In the first painting of *A Rake's Progress*, titled "The Heir,"

---

<sup>14</sup> Peter Quennell, *Hogarth's Progress* (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), 90.

<sup>15</sup> Carter, 44.

<sup>16</sup> Quennell, 120.

<sup>17</sup> The word "mental asylum" was commonly used back in the early eighteenth century, which has now appropriately changed to "psychiatric health institution". The word "mental institution" is used instead in this dissertation for appropriateness to both describing period works and the current social climate.

<sup>18</sup> Quennell, 127.

<sup>19</sup> Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, "A Rake's Progress" in *Lichtenberg's Commentaries on Hogarth's Engravings*, translated by Innes Herdan and Gustav Herdan (London: Cresset Press, 1966), 189-190.

Tom Rakewell is shown squandering his newfound wealth immediately following his father's death; a tailor is seen taking measurements of Tom for new clothes, strong boxes are being opened, and workers are renovating the room in the background.<sup>20</sup> This painting also includes Sarah Young, who had been promised in marriage to Tom but is seen being offered money from him to call off the wedding. Sarah seems to be heartbroken while being comforted by her angered mother. In the second painting titled "The Levee," Tom Rakewell has established himself as an aristocrat and is surrounded by professionals offering him services: a fencing teacher, a sword master, a dancer holding a violin, a gardener, and a musician on the bottom right of the tableau playing the harpsichord. In the background hangs Peter Paul Rubens' "Judgement of Paris." The image of Venus in this painting foreshadows the irony of Tom Rakewell's indulging sexual pleasure in Hogarth's next painting, titled "The Orgy." This painting shows Tom Rakewell indulging in sexual activities in a brothel, specifically the Rose, in Drury Lane, Covent Garden.<sup>21</sup> The prostitutes in the picture appear to have black dots on their faces, suggesting that they have contracted syphilis.

In the fourth painting titled "The Arrest," Tom Rakewell is shown being arrested by a police officer and a debt collector while wearing a fine suit to attend the festival of Saint David's Day (the first of March), also Queen Caroline's birthday.<sup>22</sup> Sarah Young, by contrast, is shown wearing the clean, modest clothes of a milliner<sup>23</sup>. She has arrived just in time to help Tom Rakewell, showing her continuing love for him. The fifth painting titled "The Marriage," shows Tom Rakewell marrying an old, rich maid to rid himself of his debt while scheming for more

---

<sup>20</sup> The series of paintings *A Rake's Progress* is included in the Appendix.

<sup>21</sup> William Hogarth and Aron M. Krich, *Marriage a La Mode, and Other Engravings* (New York: Lear, 1947.)

<sup>22</sup> Wife of George II, born March 1, 1683.

<sup>23</sup> Lichtenberg, 228.

wealth. The marriage takes place in the Church of Mary-le-Bone, as evident from the gallery in the background. Unfortunately, Sarah Young has found out about the secret marriage, and she is seen protesting in the background of the painting.

In the sixth painting titled “The Gaming House,” Tom Rakewell is seen in a gambling den spending the newfound wealth from his recent marriage. The location in the painting resembles White’s Coffee House in London, which Hogarth used due to the public’s familiarity with the venue following a fire there on May 3, 1733. This painting shows the continued fall of Tom Rakewell: he is shown in agony, with his wig torn off and gnashing his teeth. A fire can be seen breaking out in the background, but many people in the foreground show no acknowledgement of this unfortunate event. The seventh painting titled “The Prison” shows Tom Rakewell confined in the infamous Fleet Prison. The winged costume on the top right of the painting and the alchemist attempting to create gold in the background suggests Tom Rakewell trying to find creative ways to pay off his debt and escape the prison. The old maid, Tom’s new wife, is clearly frustrated with him, and Sarah Young can be seen having fainted from distress. The last painting titled “The Madhouse” depicts Tom residing in the mental institution at Bedlam, concluding the rake’s “progress” in this series of satirical paintings. Various characters of note are shown in this final painting with satirical intent. A trio is seen on the left of the tableau: a Pope imposter, a violinist, and a man wearing fine clothing—possibly posing as an aristocrat. One of the inner rooms, No. 54, shows a person in distress praying to a make-shift cross. Room No. 55 shows a person sitting like a statue while holding a scepter and wearing a crown, impersonating some sort of royal personage. A man in the foreground of the rooms is seemingly calculating the earth’s longitude, a man holding a make-shift telescope is seen posing as an astrologer, and a tailor, which alludes back to the first painting. Aristocrats are seen visiting

the mental institution at Bedlam as a form of entertainment. Tom Rakewell is shown half-naked, lying on the ground in the foreground, showing that his fortune had been stripped away at the end of his “progress,” with his rejected but faithful lover Sarah Young, at his side as his only consolation.

Hogarth’s series of paintings *A Rake’s Progress* shows many aspects of urban life in early eighteenth-century London and satirizes the perceived immoral side of that culture as a cautionary moral fable. Centuries later, the social statements in the paintings resonated with those that Stravinsky perceived in the mid-twentieth-century United States and led him to compose the opera *The Rake’s Progress*.

### **Igor Stravinsky in the Mid-Twentieth-Century United States**

When Stravinsky arrived in the United States in 1939, he resolved to write an opera in English. He was fond of composing works with the prosody of a given language, such as *The Nightingale* (1914) and *Mavra* (1922) in Russian, *Persephone* (1933) in French, and *Oedipus Rex* (1927) and *Symphony of Psalms* (1930) in Latin.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, it was not until eight years after his initial resolution that Stravinsky visited an exhibition of Hogarth’s *A Rake’s Progress* at the Art Institute of Chicago on May 2, 1947, at which time his intention to compose an opera in English was realized:

For many years I have harbored the idea of writing an opera in English... at an exhibition of English paintings, I was struck by the various Hogarth series as by a succession of operatic scenes. Shortly after, in conversation with my Hollywood friend and neighbor Aldous Huxley—who must be named godfather to my opera ... suggested Wystan H. Auden as librettist...<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Griffiths, 6-7.

<sup>25</sup> Eric Walter White, eds., *Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works*, 2nd ed. (London: The Trinity Press, 1979), 451.



Stravinsky immediately saw the potential of Hogarth's series of paintings as a dramatic theatrical work. He soon wrote a letter to Ralph Hawkes of Boosey & Hawkes regarding his interest in composing an opera based on Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress*. In this letter, Stravinsky suggested Auden as the librettist for his opera. Auden visited Stravinsky at his home in Hollywood a few months later and collaborated with Stravinsky in drafting the opera's plot and characters.<sup>26</sup> With Auden and Chester Kallman as co-librettists, Stravinsky composed *The Rake's Progress*, which became a statement on social and economic changes during the mid-twentieth century in the United States. Stravinsky did not intend to compose the opera as a reformer in the spirit of Wagner or Berg but took inspiration from the neoclassical movement as the most fitting musical aesthetic for his historically themed opera.<sup>27</sup>

Having arrived in the United States in 1939 from France as a touring pianist and conductor, Stravinsky was invited by Harvard University to teach for a year as a lecturer. After a brief touring period, he and his wife, Vera Stravinsky, settled in California in 1941. On December 28, 1945, Stravinsky and Vera became citizens of the United States.<sup>28</sup> Stravinsky's stay in the United States during and after World War II allowed him to witness the growth of the United States economically and socially.<sup>29</sup> His observation of the United States' economic growth and social development, his discovery of Hogarth's paintings, and his collaborations with Auden and Kallman prepared him to compose *The Rake's Progress* between 1948 and 1951.

---

<sup>26</sup> Vera Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 396-7.

<sup>27</sup> Griffiths, 2.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>29</sup> White, *Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works* 115-16.

## The Convergence of Cultures

There are some parallelisms between the development in economic and social structure of early eighteenth-century London and that of the mid-twentieth-century United States. During World War II, the United States experienced economic growth, and with the end of the war, the economy expanded even more rapidly, in what is known as the “Golden Age of Capitalism.” The economic prosperity in the United States at that time led to workers from rural areas migrating to urban areas to look for better job opportunities. In addition, President Franklin Roosevelt passed the G. I. Bill, which gave a number of benefits to veterans of World War II and allowed them to pursue better education and job opportunities.<sup>30</sup> These factors led to the rise of a middle class that could enjoy a more luxurious lifestyle with their newfound wealth. This economic growth in the mid-twentieth-century United States parallels similar development during the early eighteenth century in London, during which time the middle class became distinct as a social class that could enjoy a better quality of living.

Russell Lynes published a reprint of an article in 1949, that detailed societal stratification in the United States following World War II into the categories of “highbrows, lowbrows, and middlebrows.”<sup>31</sup> Lynes elaborated on each category of social structure and the lifestyle they led, mentioning that the highbrows usually held a profession that paid well and would allow them to lead a luxurious lifestyle. They owned branded items, wore stylish clothing, planned exquisite multi-course meals, and listened to classical music that was considered tasteful. They regarded themselves as the “intellectual elites” having received their education from wealthy, prestigious schools. They seldom played the role of creators of fine art but rather as critics of such. Lynes

---

<sup>30</sup> Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia, “G.I. Bill,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 28, 2020, accessed July 12, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/GI-Bill-of-Rights>.

<sup>31</sup> Russell Lynes, “Reprint: ‘Highbrow, Lowbrow, Middlebrow’ (1949).” *The Wilson Quarterly* 1, no. 1, 146-58, accessed April 21, 2020, [www.jstor.org/stable/40255171](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40255171).

illustrated lowbrows as having little interest in highbrow culture, enjoying economically accessible forms of entertainment such as jazz, comics, and movies. The highbrows in Lynes description can be seen admiring and being intrigued by lowbrow culture, which they regard as folk culture. Lastly, the middlebrows are portrayed as the bourgeoisie, which Lynes separated into two groups: the upper-middlebrows and the lower-middlebrows. Upper middlebrows attempted to live the lifestyle of the highbrows as much as their limited wealth allowed them to. Lower middlebrows, on the other hand, maintained a decent standard of living by consuming mass-produced commercial products. These mass-produced items imitated the products used by the highbrows but at a low cost.

The social structure that Lynes described parallels the social structure of early eighteenth-century London that likewise consisted of three distinct social classes: high class, middle class, and low class. The evolution of this three-tiered social structure is described by George Rudé in *Hanoverian London 1714-1808*, in which he discusses in detail the politics, economy, and society in London between 1714 and 1808. He quoted Daniel Defoe, an English writer in the eighteenth century, who organized the English society into seven categories:

The *great*, who live profusely.  
The *rich*, who live very plentifully.  
The *middle sort*, who live well.  
The *working trades*, who labour hard but feel no want.  
The *country people*, farmers, &c., who face indifferently.  
The *poor*, that fare hard.  
The *miserable*, that really pinch and suffer want.<sup>32</sup>

According to Rudé, this social class structure from Defoe was created before the Industrial Revolution had taken place.<sup>33</sup> Excluding the category of *country people*, this model of social

---

<sup>32</sup> Daniel Defoe, *The Review*, 25 June 1709, cited in *London Life*, 363, as quoted in George Rudé, "Men of Property" in *Hanoverian London: 1714-1808* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1971), 37.

<sup>33</sup> Rudé, 37.

class structure can be seen as dividing into three parts that represent the social structure in London during the early eighteenth century. The *great* and the *rich* represent aristocrats and wealthy traders, who both belonged to the high-class society of people living well on their wealth. The *middle sort* and the *working trades* represent the middle working class, including doctors, teachers, lawyers, and artists. Lastly, the *poor* and *miserable* represent the low class in the social structure. The correspondence of the social structure between early eighteenth-century London and mid-twentieth-century United States drew a closer connection between Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* and Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress*.

Aside from the parallelism between the social structure of the two periods, the moral message against rake culture in Hogarth's series could be expected to resonate with an American audience following World War II for multiple reasons. In Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress*, indulging in vice activities such as gambling and prostitution with newfound wealth resulted in disaster for many individuals of the newly distinct middle class. In a similar spirit, and as in the opera buffa of the Mozartian era, the epilogue of Stravinsky's opera *The Rake's Progress* shows the main characters returning to sing the moral lesson of the opera:

For idle hands and hearts and minds  
the devil finds works that to do.  
He has a work for you,  
for you and also for you.

The sentiment "For idle hands and hearts and minds the devil finds works that to do" can be seen to align with the spirit of the conservative movement that became more prevalent during years following World War II. Conservatism in this context referred to government-promoted sentiments of anti-communism, order, and tradition.<sup>34</sup> After World War II, the United States

---

<sup>34</sup> Marcos F Soles, "American Conservatism and the Idea of Democracy 1930-1980." (PhD diss., The New School, 2015), 114.

government encouraged the middle working class and soldiers returning from war to respect traditional values, personal responsibility, and working hard to bring food to the table.<sup>35</sup> With these factors in mind, the moral message that Stravinsky interpolated from Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* could well be seen to resonate with the conservative audience of the post-World War II United States.

The aforementioned societal currents of the respective periods seem likely to have inspired Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman to reimagine Hogarth's series of satirical paintings *A Rake's Progress* in opera form as *The Rake's Progress*. It was surely with these contexts in mind that the collaborators were successful in taking creative decisions toward translating the artworks to a different medium while being able to convey a relevant moral message to a mid-twentieth-century audience.

---

<sup>35</sup> Terence Ball, Richard Dagger, Peter Viereck, and Kenneth Minogue, "Conservatism." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 17, 2021, accessed December 11, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/conservatism>.

## CREATIVE DECISIONS OF THE COLLABORATORS

This chapter focuses on the creative decisions that Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman took in reimagining William Hogarth's series of satirical paintings *A Rake's Progress* as an operatic stage production. I will examine the plot alterations as compared to that of the paintings, the possible influence of Stravinsky's religious beliefs, the reimagination of the characters from Hogarth's series of paintings, and, lastly, the writing style of the libretto of *The Rake's Progress*. My sources include *The Rake's Progress* libretto, Hogarth's engravings, and the verses underneath the engravings. I also consult Joseph Kerman's (1924-2014) *Opera as Drama*, as he examines the music and libretto of Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress* in one of his essays, "Retrenchment: *Wozzeck* and *The Rake's Progress*." Innes and Gustav Herdan translated the commentaries on Hogarth's engravings by Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742-1799), which shed some light on the plot of Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* as well as several religious elements embedded in the engravings. It is worthwhile for the audience, vocalist, and coach to understand the changes made in this process of artistic translation between the two different art mediums in order to truly appreciate the influence of the early eighteenth-century satirical paintings by William Hogarth.

### **Alteration of the Plot**

Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman altered and expanded the narrative of Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* not only to fit the scope of a staged opera work but also to make it relatable to a mid-twentieth-century audience. The most significant of these alterations is probably the creation by Auden of a major through-line in the plot propagated by the satanic antagonist, Nick Shadow, who appears in the narrative in order to fulfill three wishes of Tom Rakewell at an unspecified cost. The fulfillment of Tom's first wish for pleasure is fulfilled in the brothel scene; his second

wish for happiness through the marriage to the bearded lady Baba the Turk; and his third wish through the invention of a machine that turns stones into bread in order that Tom would be the God-like savior of humanity. Tom Rakewell ultimately faces the cost of these wishes in the graveyard scene, Act 3, Scene 2.<sup>36</sup>

A few paintings in particular from Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* can show important examples of what the opera collaborators changed toward a better understanding of the relationship between the paintings and the opera. In the first painting of *A Rake's Progress*, Tom Rakewell inherits wealth from his recently passed father. Sarah Young can be seen as pregnant but rejected by her fiancée because of his newfound wealth. Tom has hired tailors to upgrade his clothes and workers to upgrade his living quarters. In comparison, in the first act of the opera, instead of inheriting wealth from his father, Tom Rakewell inherits wealth from a distant, recently-deceased uncle, the news of which is brought by Nick Shadow. This alteration allows the introduction of Nick Shadow as the antagonist of the opera. If the inheritance had come from Tom Rakewell's father, it would have been a stretch to require a third party to deliver the news. Nick Shadow ultimately schemes against Tom Rakewell and serves as a plot foil for the rest of the opera.

Another painting of interest is the sixth painting in Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress*, titled "The Gaming House." This painting depicts Tom Rakewell on the ground, pleading for his lost wealth in the gambling den. The individuals in the background of the painting are so preoccupied that no one has noticed a fire that has broken out at the back of the gambling den. This painting presents a clear satirical depiction of the catastrophic results of early eighteenth-century rakes' materialistic desires. In comparison, in the opera *The Rake's Progress*, Tom Rakewell dreams of

---

<sup>36</sup> Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1960), 151.

Nick Shadow producing a “fantastic Baroque Machine” that can turn stones into bread. Upon Tom’s awakening, Nick Shadow suggests that Tom invent, and mass produce this machine as it will make Tom a savior of humankind. Tom of course falls for the scheme and his invention turns out to be ineffective. This plot parallels mass production in the United States in the mid-twentieth century, as the government mass-produced consumer products, especially for the working class. This plot change demonstrates for a twentieth-century audience how a modern rake would fall into the trap of materialism. A further connection can be drawn to mass production as Hogarth himself mass-produced his artwork in prints for middle-class consumers.

Tom Rakewell faces judgment in the seventh painting, titled “The Prison,” in which he is imprisoned in the infamous Fleet prison in London. Sarah Young and Tom’s new wife can be seen in the picture, helpless to rescue Tom from his debt. In this painting, one can see many debt documents appear in front of Tom, implicitly leading to his madness and admission to the mental institution in the final painting, titled “The Madhouse.” In the opera *The Rake’s Progress*, Tom Rakewell instead faces judgment in the graveyard scene, Act 3 Scene 2, where Nick Shadow reveals his true nature as the devil and demands that Tom pay for the wishes Nick granted with his soul. However, Tom manages to escape his fate thanks to Anne Trulove’s loving influence. In retribution, Nick Shadow condemns Tom Rakewell to madness, resulting in his admission to a mental institution.

Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman included an epilogue in the libretto consisting of a moral lesson to be learned from the opera that is sung by the entire cast. Operatic composers of the eighteenth century had often included such epilogues to describe moral lessons learned from the opera. Such examples include Mozart’s *Così fan Tutte* (1790) and *Don Giovanni* (1787). We can see in Hogarth’s series of satirical paintings that Hogarth himself intended to show a moral



lesson through his narrative. The plot of Hogarth's paintings shows the rise and fall of a fictional rake, Tom Rakewell, who inherits a fortune from his deceased father and spends the fortune in a wasteful manner through promiscuous activities, eventually resulting in debt. In the end, Tom is confined to a mental institution.<sup>37</sup> Through this plot, Hogarth satirizes the rake culture of eighteenth-century London, showing rakes' aristocratic pretensions and inordinate, vainglorious spending. The immature attitude of the rakes inevitably leads to terrible consequences.

Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman translate the essence of Hogarth's moral lesson to the opera *The Rake's Progress* with the proverb "For idle hearts and hands and minds, the Devil finds a work to do," in the epilogue between rehearsal [281] – [309].<sup>38</sup>

### ***Reimagining the Characters***

Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman utilized material from the source, Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* both literally and philosophically. The operatic creators took creative decisions regarding the plot and characters of Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* to enhance the narrative of *The Rake's Progress* on stage. Tom Rakewell is presented in both the paintings and the opera as the protagonist. Tom is represented as an early eighteenth-century London rake, being a fashionable man involved in nefarious activities, often referred to as a "good-for-nothing." Don Giovanni from Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* is an eighteenth-century operatic representation of a rake, and there are many similarities between Don Giovanni and Tom Rakewell. Don Giovanni is a spoiled rakish aristocrat living a promiscuous life who ultimately receives a fatal judgment from the *Commendatore* at the opera's ending. Don Giovanni may have served as a source of

---

<sup>37</sup> Robert Etheridge Moor, "Grub Street Invades Hogarth" in *Hogarth's Literary Relationship* (University of Minnesota, 1948).

<sup>38</sup> Igor Stravinsky, Wystan Hugh Auden, and Chester Kallman, *The Rake's Progress Opera in Three Acts Fable* by W. H. Auden and Chester Kallman, Vocal Score by Leopold Spinner (Boosey & Hawks, 1951), 231-40.

inspiration for the collaborators of *The Rake's Progress* as they created their stage version of Tom Rakewell.

Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman's introduction of Nick Shadow as the devil in the opera implies that the collaborators were open to introducing religious or mythological subjects in the libretto to shape *The Rake's Progress* as a period piece for their purposes, translating the underlying moral subject of Hogarth's engravings. One interesting musical device that Stravinsky used is the harpsichord, which plays whenever Nick Shadow appears in the opera, suggesting to the audience that Nick Shadow is an ancient entity through association with what to modern audiences would be an archaic instrument.

The image shows a musical score excerpt from 'The Rake's Progress'. It is divided into two sections: 'Recitative' and 'Rezitativ'. The score includes vocal lines for Tom and Nick, and a harpsichord (Cemb.) accompaniment. The harpsichord part is marked 'poco >' and 'in p'. The lyrics for Nick are: 'Ma - ster, are you a - lone? Mei - ster, bist du al - lein?' and 'And sick at heart. Und krank im Her - zen.' The score also includes stage directions: '(Enter Nick. He has a broadsheet in his hand.) (Nick tritt ein mit einem Plakat in der Hand.)' and a measure number '27' in a box.

Figure 4. Excerpt of the use of the harpsichord (Italian: *Cembalo*, abbr. “Cemb.”) when Nick Shadow appears in the scene.<sup>39</sup>

Copyright: “The Rake’s Progress” by Igor Stravinsky

© 1951 By Hawkes & Son (London) Ltd. 1959 Renewed by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.

International Copyright Secured.

All Rights Reserved. For The Sole Use Of Hong Liang Ng, North Dakota State University.

<sup>39</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 79.

Nick Shadow's first name is presumably a reference to "Old Nick," which was a Christian nickname for the devil.<sup>40</sup> His last name, "Shadow", can be seen as an implication by Auden that Nick Shadow should be seen as Tom Rakewell's darker alter ego.<sup>41</sup> According to Auden:

The first thing then: what were we to do with the Rake...? Well, we began by splitting him in two—himself and his malevolent alter ego or shadow. The shadow could then propose various things, initiate actions to which he could response... On the other side of the shadow is Good Angel—Anne—the soprano...who would be awful bore at dinner but she just has to sing beautifully.<sup>42</sup>

Auden also described the master and servant roles in the opera could be artistically portrayed as "the inner dialogue of human personality," portraying Tom and Nick as a single individual consisting of the man and his Ego.<sup>43</sup>

Nick Shadow is absent from Hogarth's series of satirical paintings, *A Rake's Progress*. However, the paintings show the evilness of Tom Rakewell's actions and the consequences of those actions subtextually. Hogarth's Tom Rakewell is shown as a wasteful young man with a weak mind entrapped by the vice activities of the city. The pursuit of these vice activities, which could be seen as driven by Rakewell's "inner-demon," arguably represent the invisible "villain" in Hogarth's narrative. Though the "villain" is absent in Hogarth's paintings, he included religious symbolism numerous times in *A Rake's Progress*, especially in the last plate of the series, "The Madhouse," shown in Figure 5, where Hogarth hints at Christian symbolism. For example, one of the patients depicted in the nude in the middle ground on the right side appears

---

<sup>40</sup> James Lamar and Anne M Loechle. "Human, All Too Human: Hogarth and Stravinsky's Vision of Rake's Progress." *Interdisciplinary humanities* 32, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 16, accessed December 15, 2020, <https://ezproxy.lib.ndsu.nodak.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=112209574&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

<sup>41</sup> Carter, 62.

<sup>42</sup> Wystan Hugh Auden, Chester Kallman, and Edward Mendelson, *W.H. Auden and Chester Kallman: Libretti and Other Dramatic Writings by W.H. Auden, 1939-1973* (London: Faber and Faber, 1993), 621.

<sup>43</sup> Griffiths, 13.

to be begging for forgiveness in front of a makeshift cross. Another patient in an adjacent room is wearing a crown and holding a scepter, possibly symbolizing the political authority of Christianity in the eighteenth century. Hogarth may be even going so far as to suggest that the Christian church belongs to the context of the mental institution. Alternatively, Hogarth could be portraying the patients, including Tom Rakewell, as having been overcome by their demons, suffering from their sins, and seeking redemption.



Figure 5. *A Rake's Progress, VIII: The Madhouse*. Painting by William Hogarth, 1734. Source: SM P47 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

During their first plot draft, Stravinsky and Auden created their antagonist as a visible realization of the invisible “villain” from Hogarth’s narrative. The composer and the librettist

were both religious and often discussed theology during Auden's visits.<sup>44</sup> In the graveyard scene, in Act 3 Scene 2, the audience finally sees clearly that Nick Shadow is a demon who preys on weak-minded souls like Tom Rakewell. This "master and servant" narrative is presumptively influenced by the story of Faust, making Nick Shadow the Mephistopheles of the plot. Author Paul Griffiths mentions that in Stravinsky's first letter to Auden, Stravinsky suggested ending the opera with Tom Rakewell "in an asylum scratching a fiddle,"<sup>45</sup> an idea possibly drawn from Hogarth's final painting showing a patient playing a fiddle in the mental institution. However, the fiddle was also a significant symbol in Stravinsky's previous work, *L'Histoire du soldat* (1918), in which a soldier negotiates with the devil, suggesting a predilection to satanic figures.<sup>46</sup>

Faust is a well-known cautionary tale that could be told in any century, including the mid-twentieth century. Author Chandler Carter mentions that the German novelist Thomas Mann published the philosophical novel *Doctor Faustus* in 1947, a few years preceding the production of *The Rake's Progress*. Mann's *Doctor Faustus* represents a contemporary take on Faust in which a young composer sells his soul to the devil to gain twenty-four years of musical creativity, enabling him to innovate the twelve-tone compositional technique before he succumbs to insanity.<sup>47</sup> Mann's main character was heavily inspired by Theodore Adorno's philosophical essay on Arnold Schoenberg's atonal music. Theodore Adorno was a good friend of Mann's, and the musicologist who published *Philosophy of Modern Music*, which consists of two essays criticizing Schoenberg and Stravinsky separately on their compositional approach in contemporary music and how they were affected by society. Even though Stravinsky and Auden may not have read Mann's *Doctor Faustus* or Adorno's *Philosophy of Modern Music*, Auden

---

<sup>44</sup> Vera Stravinsky and Craft, 400.

<sup>45</sup> Griffiths, 10.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-12.

<sup>47</sup> Carter, 32-34.

had a personal connection with Mann, as Auden was once married to Mann's daughter, Erika. Auden maintained his friendship with Erika; thus, he may have had knowledge of Mann's subject and been influenced by the Faustian tale.<sup>48</sup>

Anne Trulove and Baba the Turk represent two other characters that underwent significant changes from their counterparts in Hogarth's artworks during Stravinsky and Auden's first draft in order to target a mid-twentieth-century audience. The original female protagonist in Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* was Sarah Young, a town girl who remained faithful to Tom Rakewell despite their broken engagement and numerous further betrayals. Even in the last painting, where Tom Rakewell has been admitted to the mental institution, Sarah remains loyal to him and comforts him though he appears to be ignoring her. Stravinsky and Auden transformed Sarah Young into Anne Trulove, highlighting by her last name her motivation by "true love," and caricaturing a naive and truthful character from the countryside as possibly compared to the cunning milieu of London.<sup>49</sup> This character served for Auden as the good conscience of Tom Rakewell, in contrast to Nick Shadow. Anne Trulove proves her goodness by ultimately saving Tom Rakewell from having his soul taken by Nick Shadow in the graveyard scene in Act 3, Scene 2.

In the fifth painting of Hogarth's series titled "The Marriage," Tom Rakewell marries a wealthy old maid, as he wishes to regain his fortune after being for the first time in debt. Stravinsky and Auden instead replaced the wealthy old maid with Baba the Turk, a bearded lady who contrasts with Anne Trulove in a number of ways. Anne Trulove is portrayed as feminine, young, and faithful, while Baba the Turk is depicted as masculine, erratic, and different. Nick Shadow suggests Tom Rakewell marry Baba the Turk after he wishes for happiness, somehow

---

<sup>48</sup> Carter, 34.

<sup>49</sup> Griffiths, 13.

persuading Tom into thinking of marrying Baba the Turk is a “gratuitous act,” that will lead to happiness through breaking free from conventional expectations.<sup>50</sup> Bearded women were known as entertainers who often performed in circuses during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, well-known examples including Josephine Clofullia, Jane Barnell, and Annie Jones. I believe Baba the Turk probably symbolized diversity and unconventionality for a mid-twentieth-century society. Joseph Kerman (1924-2014) mentions in his essay in *Opera as Drama* that Stravinsky’s designation of the bearded lady Baba the Turk as a *coloratura mezzo tessitura* may be an allusion to early eighteenth-century *castrati*.<sup>51</sup> *Castrati* were male singers who were castrated at a young age to maintain a higher *tessitura* resembling a woman’s voice. *Castrati* usually sang the female roles in late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century operas because it was often deemed inappropriate for women to perform publicly during that time. Hence, the character of Baba the Turk resembles a *castrato* role, and can be seen as a further nod to the time period of Hogarth’s paintings.

It is intriguing that the female characters in *The Rake’s Progress*, Anne Trulove and Baba the Turk, have assertive personalities more closely resembling women of the mid-twentieth century than those of the eighteenth century, both in the context of opera and of society. Joseph Kerman has pointed out that the narrative style of *The Rake’s Progress* resembles that of eighteenth-century operas such as *Così fan Tutte* and *Don Giovanni*. However, unlike *Così fan Tutte* and *Don Giovanni*, in which the female characters are dependent on the male characters, the female characters in *The Rake’s Progress* have a more assertive and independent attitude. Baba the Turk realizes the evil personality of Nick Shadow and the weak nature of Tom

---

<sup>50</sup> Carter, 135.

<sup>51</sup> Joseph Kerman, “Retrenchment: *Wozzeck* and *The Rake’s Progress*,” in *Opera as Drama*. (University of California Press, 1988), 194.

Rakewell and departs after the auction scene in the opera. Anne Trulove also leaves Tom Rakewell for good at the end of the opera after Tom Rakewell succumbs to insanity and is sent to the mental institute.<sup>52</sup>

### **Religious and Mythological Subjects**

Religion, especially Christianity, played a significant role in eighteenth-century English society. Greek mythology was also common in eighteenth-century art. Both Christian and Greek mythological symbols are seen in Hogarth's paintings and Hoadly's verses. Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman employed elements of Christianity and Greek mythology as part of their realization of *The Rake's Progress* as a period piece and also as an aid to the opera's moral lesson.

Georg Cristoph Lichtenberg (1742-1799) mentions several Christian elements in the last engraving of *A Rake's Progress*, titled "The Madhouse." The trio on the left of the engraving possibly representing Hope, Charity, and Faith in Christian. Hogarth also presents other religious symbols in this engraving, one example being a man praying in front of a makeshift cross in the first room, No. 54, and another example being a sketch of a church on the staircase near the trio of entertainers. Hogarth may have been making a satirical statement in closely associating emblems of the religious community with the patients in the mental institute. Lichtenberg also observes Greek mythological symbols in Hogarth's engravings, such as the painting of Peter Paul Rubens' "Judgement of Paris" that consists of Venus and Cupid, in the background of plate II, titled "The Levee."<sup>53</sup> Lichtenberg also mentions Hoadly's verse underneath plate II regarding Venus and Lyaeus, foreshadows the brothel scene of the next plate:

*Pleasure*, on her silver throne,  
Smiling comes, nor comes alone;  
*Venus* comes with her along,

---

<sup>52</sup> Kerman, 192.

<sup>53</sup> Lichtenberg, 207.



And smooth *Lyaeus*, ever young;<sup>54</sup>

Auden and Kallman use Greek mythological characters to evoke a satire of the brothel scene in Act 1, Scene 2. The choristers refer to themselves as Venus and Mars in rehearsals [128] – [129]<sup>55</sup>, and Nick Shadow refers to the prostitutes as Venus and to the customers as Mars in rehearsals [149] – [151]<sup>56</sup>. Auden and Kallman cleverly use the love of *Venus* and *Mars* to describe the characters' superficial love in the brothel:

A toast to our commanders,  
then from their irregulars.  
A toast, ladies and gentlemen,  
to Venus and to Mars!

In Greek mythology, Venus is the goddess of love, sex, beauty, and fertility, and she was married to Vulcan, also known as Hephaestus, the god of fire and the forge, who is depicted as an older god. However, Venus maintains an ongoing love affair with Mars, the god of war, who is depicted as young, handsome, and virile. In the story, they constantly make passionate love on Vulcan's marriage bed. Auden and Kallman cleverly use this story to satirize the customers and the prostitutes in the brothel as Venus and Mars; suggesting that they are likewise enjoying adulterous pleasure.

Another major Greek mythological reference occurs at the end of the opera, in which we get a glimpse of the tragic love story between Venus and Adonis. In Greek mythology, Venus falls in love with Adonis, who is described as a strikingly handsome mortal, but Adonis does not return Venus's love. Venus warns him against hunting for wild boar, but Adonis does not listen, resulting in his death after an attack from a wild boar. Venus eternally grieves her love for Adonis thereafter. In the last scene of the opera *The Rake's Progress*, Tom Rakewell succumbs

---

<sup>54</sup> Hogarth and Krich.

<sup>55</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 41.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

to insanity in the hospital of Bedlam and hallucinates that he is the Greek mythological character Adonis. When Anne Trulove comes to visit him at Bedlam, Tom describes her as Venus, the goddess of love. In the end, Tom suggests that he is dying as Adonis as in the classic tragedy:

My heart breaks,  
I feel the chill of death's approaching wing.  
Orpheus! strike from thy lyre  
a swan-like music.  
And weep, ye nymphs  
and shepherds of these Stygian fields,  
weep for Adonis, the beautiful, the young.  
Weep for Adonis, whom Venus loved.

In addition to these elements of Greek mythology, elements of Christianity form another connection between Hogarth's paintings and Stravinsky's opera. Auden mentioned in a letter to Stravinsky that he built the libretto around Nick Shadow's three wishes to Tom Rakewell: "Have made a few slight alterations in our original plot in order to make each step of the Rake's Progress unique, i.e.: *Bordel – Le Plaisir. Baba – L'acte gratuit. La Machine – Il désire devenir Dieu.*"<sup>57</sup> Nick first grants Tom his wish for fortune by giving him an inheritance from his "deceased uncle." Second, Nick grants Tom's wish for happiness by convincing him to marry Baba the Turk. Lastly, Nick grants him his wish for charity by giving him the idea of developing a machine that produces bread from stones, which will allow him to feed the poor. All these wishes end with the threat of damnation when Nick reveals himself to be the devil.<sup>58</sup> Through these plot workings, Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman present their moral theme "the devil will find work for idle hands." While the devil is not present in Hogarth's engravings, its presence is implied. Opera, as a theatrical art form, needs a visible antagonist for the drama, contrary to the

---

<sup>57</sup> Stravinsky and Craft, *Memories and Commentaries*, 151.

<sup>58</sup> Kerman, 194.

visual art, in which the antagonist might be more successfully implied. Nick Shadow, the devil, is the most suitable character for this purpose in the libretto.

### The Writing Style of the Libretto

As Stravinsky stated that the arias were to have been “reflective poetry,” the writing style of the arias by Auden and Kallman duly resembles that of the eighteenth-century poets Lord Byron (1788-1824) and William Blake (1757-1872). Eighteenth-century poetry often consisted of a balanced structure of verses and ending rhymes, which reflected ideals of the eighteenth-century enlightenment. The verses underneath Hogarth’s engravings of *A Rake’s Progress*, written by John Hoadly (1711-1766) in 1735, also feature a balanced structure of verses and ending rhymes. Hoadly, the son of a bishop,<sup>59</sup> was a friend of Hogarth, as well as a poet and dramatist. Figure 6 compares the writing style of Blake and Hoadly in balanced verses, while Figure 7 compares the writing style of Byron and Hoadly in ending rhymes. These examples demonstrate the characteristic poetic style of the eighteenth century.

<p><b>My Spectre around Me Night and Day - William Blake</b></p> <p>MY Spectre around me night and day { couplets          Like a wild beast guards my way;          My Emanation far within { couplets          Weeps incessantly for my sin.</p>	<p><b>PLATE III. A brothel. - John Hoadly</b></p> <p>O vanity of youthful blood, { couplets          So by misuse to poison Good!          Woman, ram’d for social love, { couplets          Fairest gif of pow’rs above;</p>
--	---

Figure 6. An excerpt from *My Spectre around Me Night and Day* (1800) by William Blake and *Plate III. A Brothel* by John Hoadly.

---

<sup>59</sup> Moor, 46.

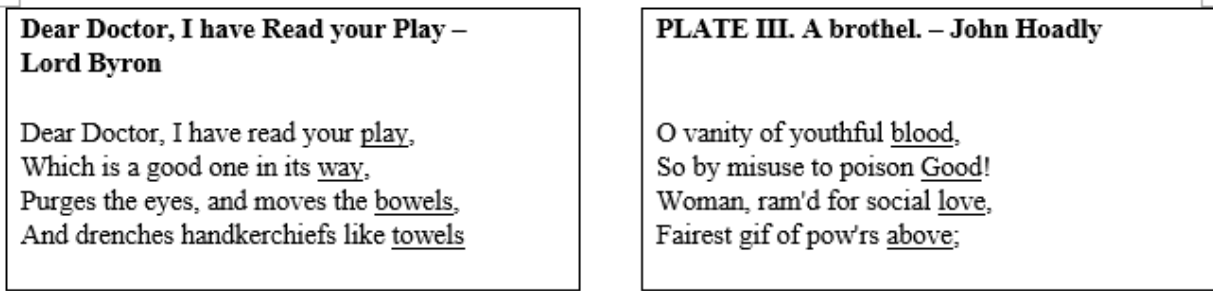


Figure 7. An excerpt from *Dear Doctor; I have Read Your Play* (1817) by Lord Byron and *Plate III. A Brothel* by John Hoadly.

Compared to Hoadly’s poetic writings in the verses underneath Hogarth’s engravings, Auden and Kallman’s lyrical writing style in most of the arias and various other occasions in the libretto vividly evokes the same eighteenth-century style, further distinguishing *The Rake’s Progress* as a period piece. For example, Tom Rakewell’s aria from Act 2, Scene 1 in rehearsal [1] – [9]<sup>60</sup>, and the verses underneath Plate III of Hogarth’s *A Rake’s Progress* in Figure 8, both show the balanced verse and ending rhyme structure typical of the eighteenth century.

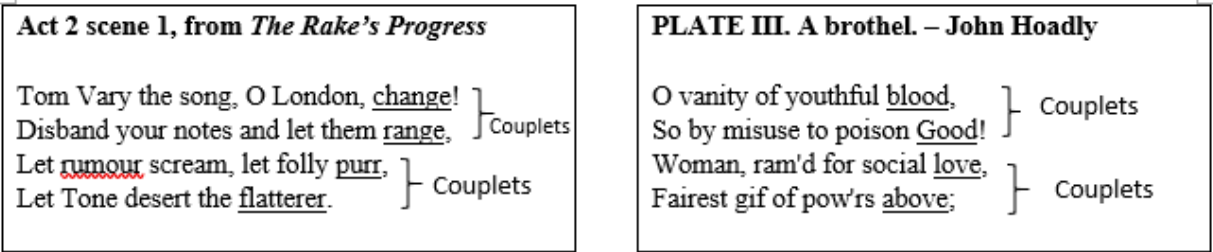


Figure 8. An excerpt from Tom Rakewell’s aria in Act 2, Scene 1 of *The Rake’s Progress*, and *Plate III. A Brothel* by John Hoadly.

Auden’s talent for writing in archaic English poetic style is shown in his previous work *Age of Anxiety* (1947), which he completed shortly before accepting the role of librettist for the opera *The Rake Progress*. As a result of Auden’s talent, the libretto of *The Rake’s Progress* succeeds vividly as a modern translation of Hogarth’s paintings *A Rake’s Progress* into an operatic stage work. Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman successfully reveal the underlying moral

---

<sup>60</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 71-79.

message of Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* from a modern perspective through early eighteenth-century materials.

## CRITICAL ANALYSES OF SELECTED ARIAS FROM THE OPERA

### *THE RAKE'S PROGRESS*

*The Rake's Progress* was the last neoclassical work of Igor Stravinsky before he ventured into serialism. Stravinsky utilizes neoclassical compositional elements to express the classical character of Hogarth's series *A Rake's Progress*. Stravinsky mentioned that he did not intend to reform opera as Gluck did but to stay closer to the spirit of neoclassicism by reviving the compositional elements of Viennese Classical music, including balanced formal structures, classical orchestral texture, classical rhythmical patterns, and diatonic tonal harmony. However, Stravinsky employed contemporary compositional elements such as unconventional meters and expanded tonal language, promoting modern aspects of neoclassicism.<sup>61</sup> Pandiatonicism is one of the significant neoclassical compositional techniques which uses the conventional diatonic scale without being limited by harmonic function. This is one of the compositional techniques used widely in *The Rake's Progress* to emulate operas from the eighteenth century while retaining the sound of modern compositions. In this chapter, I analyzed three arias from three of the main characters, Tom Rakewell, Anne Trulove, and Baba the Turk, to demonstrate how Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman translated the drama and the mannerisms of the characters from Hogarth's early eighteenth-century paintings through the music and libretto. I chose these three arias because they are commonly taught to younger singers for educational purposes, competitions, or role studies. The musical examples in this chapter use the vocal score of *The Rake's Progress* for conciseness and ease of reading.

---

<sup>61</sup> Arnold Whittall, "Neo-classicism." *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2001–; accessed June 2, 2021, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000019723>.

In general, the music of *The Rake's Progress* was inspired by eighteenth-century opera, especially Mozart's operas. The influence of Mozart's operas on *The Rake's Progress* are shown in a 1947 letter from Stravinsky to Ralph Hawkes, the founder of music publisher Boosey & Hawkes, which is found in *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents*, a collection of personal documents by Stravinsky's protégé, Robert Craft, and wife Vera Stravinsky. In this letter, Stravinsky requested four Mozart operas as "the source of inspiration for my future opera."<sup>62</sup> We can assume that Stravinsky's "future opera" was referring to *The Rake's Progress*, as he decided to write the opera around the time of his letter to Hawkes. Stravinsky expressed in his program notes for the premiere of the opera that he felt the format of musical numbers to be the best way to tell the story of *The Rake's Progress*, and thus constructed the frame of this opera using a succession of musical numbers, consisting of arias, ariosos, duets, trios, quartets, choruses, orchestral passages, and recitative sections, both *secco* and *accompagnato*.<sup>63</sup> This "musical numbers" opera structure is common in early eighteenth-century and earlier operas of such composers as Mozart, Gluck, and Handel. In addition to the use of this eighteenth-century format, Stravinsky also uses early eighteenth-century orchestral instrumentation, texture, and color comparable to that of Mozart's operas. The instrumentation of *The Rake's Progress* is similar to the instrumentation of Mozart's operas in that it consists of two flutes (one doubling piccolo), two oboes (one doubling *cor anglais*), two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, timpani, bell, harpsichord, and strings. As a point of comparison, the orchestration of Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* (1786) consists of two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two

---

<sup>62</sup> Vera Stravinsky and Craft, 397.

<sup>63</sup> Griffiths, 2.

bassoons, two horns, two clarini<sup>64</sup> or trumpets, timpani, and strings. The recitative sections in the Mozart operas are accompanied by *basso continuo*, usually consisting of a keyboard instrument such as a harpsichord joined by a cello. Another similar example would be Mozart’s opera *Don Giovanni*, which is orchestrated for two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, three trombones, timpani, strings, basso continuo, and mandolin.

Table 1. Orchestration of the three operas

Orchestration	<i>The Rake's Progress</i>	<i>Le Nozze di Figaro</i>	<i>Don Giovanni</i>
Woodwinds	Two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons	Two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons	Two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons
Brass	Two horns, two trumpets	Two horns, two clarini or trumpets	Two horns, two trumpets, three trombones
Percussion	Timpani, bell	Timpani	Timpani
Strings	Violins, violas, cello, double bass	Violins, violas, cello, double bass	Violins, violas, cello, double bass
Basso Continuo and incidentals	Harpsichord	<i>Basso Continuo</i> (Keyboard + Cello)	<i>Basso Continuo</i> (Keyboard + Cello), mandolin

Even though the harmonic language in this opera is progressive in comparison to the operas of the early eighteenth century, many musical numbers have clear key areas. In addition, the orchestral texture, musical rhythms, and ornaments were inspired by musical elements of the early eighteenth century. These musical elements assist in evoking the “doctrine of affection,” a theory of musical aesthetics that describes how music can produce various human emotions through compositional elements such as key area, rhythm, motif, and texture.<sup>65</sup> This philosophy was widely discussed by theorists of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In *The Rake’s Progress*, we see the doctrine of affection evoked through text painting. Further, in these three

<sup>64</sup> Clarini is the plural form of clarino. Clarino was a Baroque style of playing that uses the natural trumpet's upper register. This term eventually referred to natural trumpet players that are specialized in higher registers, usually serve as first trumpets in a Baroque orchestra.

<sup>65</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia, “Doctrine of the Affections” *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 2014; accessed June 6, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/art/doctrine-of-the-affections>.



selected arias, we observe how Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman were able to translate Hogarth's series of satirical paintings into an operatic work through eighteenth-century compositional elements.

### **Tom Rakewell's "Here I Stand," Act 1, Scene 1**

"Here I Stand" is the first aria in the opera that establishes the protagonist, Tom Rakewell. The music and libretto of this aria are highly influenced by early eighteenth-century artistic style. The structure of this aria is divided into two sections, recitative and aria, which constitute the conventional blueprint of numbered arias in eighteenth-century opera. Recitative sections usually consist of speech-like phrases that serve the purpose of furthering the drama or introducing the following aria. By contrast, arias are usually composed in a lyrical style and describe the character's inner emotions without furthering the drama.

In the recitative section of "Here I Stand," Tom Rakewell describes his frustration over his low social status, lamenting about hard labor and his ambition to gain fame and fortune through his wits rather than hard work. This recitative section is composed with orchestral accompaniment, like *recitativo accompagnato* in the conventional eighteenth-century operas. The recitative section is constructed with imbalanced phrases to create a speech-like narrative style, and we can observe that the words "I" and "my" mainly serve as the beacons that begin these phrases. Moreover, the word "I" is always sung on a G5, which is considered a high note for a tenor that immediately followed by a leap down to the middle range. The emphasis on the words "I" and "my" suggests that Tom Rakewell is a self-centered person exemplifying the nature of a rake.

In the recitative, the orchestral accompaniment consists of a dotted rhythm throughout, one of the rhythmic patterns composers commonly used during the early-eighteenth century, an example of which is shown in Figures 9 and 10.

The image shows a musical score for an excerpt from Handel's opera *Giulio Cesare*. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in the top staff and two staves for the orchestra (treble and bass clefs) below. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. The vocal line has the lyrics: "pol - to il mio - te - so - ro, nel tuo". The orchestral accompaniment features a prominent dotted rhythm throughout, with the bass line playing a continuous pattern of dotted eighth notes followed by sixteenth notes.

Figure 9. An excerpt of “Nel tuo seno amico sasso” from Handel's opera *Giulio Cesare* (1724) showing the use of dotted rhythm in the orchestral accompaniment.

The image shows a musical score for an excerpt from Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in the top staff and two staves for the strings (treble and bass clefs) below. The tempo is marked "Allegro" and the character is "Donna Elvira". The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#) and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line has the lyrics: "Laß ab von ihm und flich, ver- / Ah, fug - - gi il tra - di - tor, non". The string accompaniment, labeled "Streicher", features a dotted rhythm throughout, with dynamic markings of *f* (forte) and *p* (piano).

Figure 10. An excerpt of the aria "Ah Fuggi il traditor" from Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* showing the use of dotted rhythm in the orchestral accompaniment.

Source: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Don Giovanni*. Edited by Siegfried Anheisser. Berlin: Deutscher Musikverlag in der NS-Kulturgemeinde, 1935. Public Domain.

[https://imslp.org/wiki/Don\\_Giovanni%2C\\_K.527\\_\(Mozart%2C\\_Wolfgang\\_Amadeus\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Don_Giovanni%2C_K.527_(Mozart%2C_Wolfgang_Amadeus)).

Figure 11. An excerpt of Tom Rakewell's aria in Act 1 Scene 1 showing the use of dotted rhythm in the orchestral accompaniment.

Source: "The Rake's Progress" by Igor Stravinsky

© 1951 By Hawkes & Son (London) Ltd. 1959 Renewed by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.

International Copyright Secured.

All Rights Reserved. For The Sole Use Of Hong Liang Ng, North Dakota State University.

The key areas in the recitative section help to demonstrate the different emotions portrayed by Tom Rakewell. The music begins in the realm of C major, where Tom Rakewell questions his unfair treatment by society. Then in rehearsal [29]<sup>66</sup>, the music modulates to B major; this would not have been a conventional modulation in early-eighteenth century music. Thus, it heightens the emotion as Tom Rakewell answers his previous question with a sarcastic comment regarding how people with higher rank in society regard his situation as "pre-destined fate." The change of emotion is also supported by the change in instrumentation at rehearsal [29]<sup>67</sup>, which consists of bassoon, horns, and double bass.

<sup>66</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 11.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

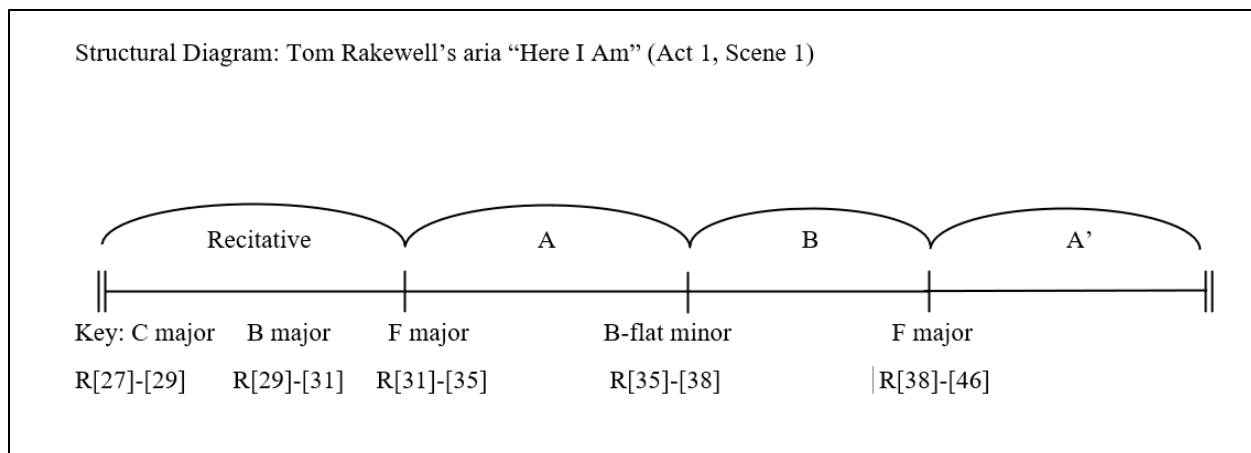


Figure 12. The structural diagram of Tom Rakewell's aria in Act 1, Scene 1.

The recitative is then followed by an aria that resembles a da capo aria, which is a formal structure that is commonly used in early eighteenth-century opera. The A section, from rehearsal [31] to rehearsal [34] + 5<sup>68</sup>, is set in the key of F major. The musical texture of the first part of the A section is contrapuntal with the first bassoon and vocal line in canon and the second bassoon with an independent subject. This is then followed by a melodic vocal line with string accompaniment in the second part of the A section. In the libretto of the A section, Tom Rakewell describes how Fortune has nothing to do with the results of hard labor. Then, in the B section, he laments that all hard work will, at last, be in vain. The music of the B section between rehearsal [35] and [38]<sup>69</sup> responds in the unstable key of B-flat natural minor with a thin and soft orchestration. The A section returns in rehearsal [38]<sup>70</sup> with the musical material from the previous A section back in the tonic key of F major. In this section, the libretto shows Tom Rakewell resolving to use his wits to improve his fortune until the day he dies. The last four stanzas of the aria end with a full orchestra and serve as the coda of the aria. This compositional

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 12-13.

<sup>69</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 13-14.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 14.

device at the end of arias was commonly used in the early eighteenth century and demonstrates the triumphant mood of the character.

The libretto of this aria is constructed in three balanced parts that reflect the ternary form structure of the music. The writing style of the libretto in this aria imitates the literary style of the early eighteenth century. The poetry is constructed with three balanced stanzas: eight stanzas in the A section, four stanzas in the B section, and eight stanzas in the return of the A section. It also makes use of a simple four-line rhyme scheme commonly used in early eighteenth-century literature.

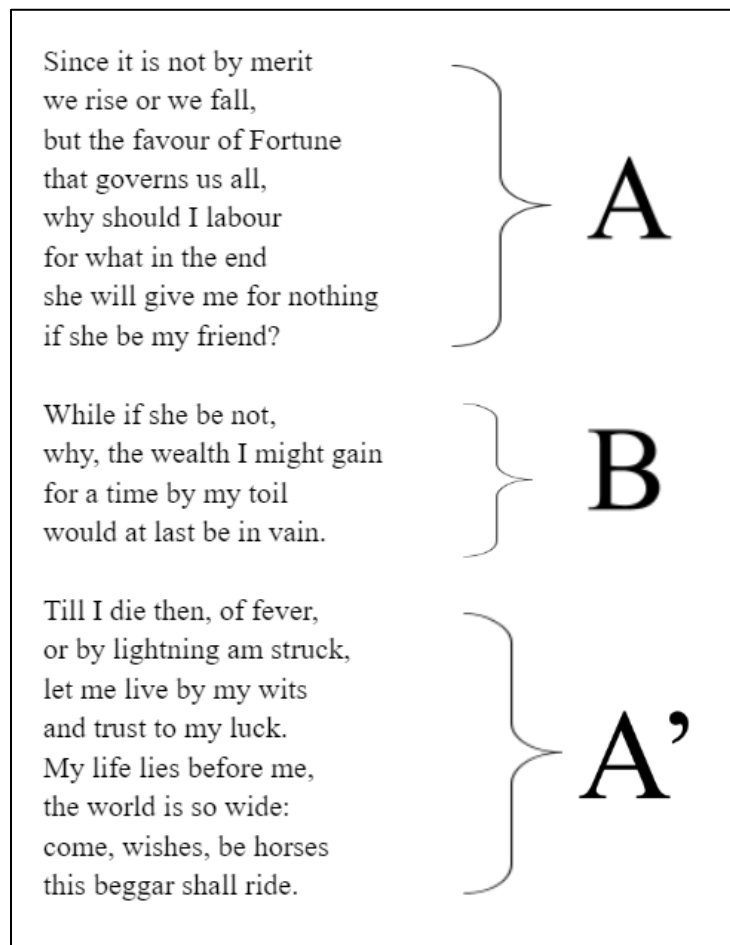


Figure 13. The formal structure of the libretto of Tom Rakewell's aria in Act 1 Scene 1.

Many compositional elements in this aria were inspired by early eighteenth-century music, which shows that the creators of the opera utilized these early-eighteenth-century musical elements in constructing the early-eighteenth-century setting. In addition, the character of Tom Rakewell was reimagined from William Hogarth's series of satirical paintings *A Rake's Progress* as a caricature of an early-eighteenth century rake through the music and libretto.

### **Anne Trulove's "No Word From Tom," Act 1, Scene 3**

Anne Trulove's recitative, aria, and cabaletta "No Word from Tom" in Act 1 Scene 3 serve as the finale of Act 1 of the opera. Anne Trulove shares characteristics with female heroines of some of Mozart's operas, including Donna Elvira from *Don Giovanni*, the Countess from *Le Nozze di Figaro*, and Pamina from *Die Zauberflöte* (1791). Like the original faithful heroine Sarah Young in William Hogarth's version of *A Rake's Progress*, Anne Trulove is portrayed as a domestic heroine who is loyal, loving, and sensitive. These qualities are shown through lyrical melodies and rich orchestral texture. Anne Trulove lives in the countryside with her father; as such, she is unlikely to have experienced London's city life and is possibly therefore assumed to live up to the moral expectations of early-eighteenth century society in terms of purity, politeness, virtue, and devotion.

"No Word from Tom" consists of two recitative sections, a slow, lyrical aria, and a fast, driven cabaletta. A structural analysis is shown in Figure 14. The slow-fast structure was likely inspired in part by the da capo arias from the Baroque and Classical periods, which mainly consisted of two contrasting sections. These arias usually began with a slow and lyrical A section and then burst into a faster B section before returning to the slow A section. Famous examples include the Countess's aria "Dove sono i bei momenti" from Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* and Cleopatra's "Piangerò" from Handel's *Giulio Cesare*. This formal structure also resembles that

of nineteenth-century *bel canto* arias, which featured two contrasting sections: a slow lyrical section often referred to as *cantabile* or *cavatina* followed by a *cabaletta* section that featured fast and rhythmic music. Some famous examples include Rosina’s aria “Una voce poco fa” from Rossini’s *Il barbiere di siviglia* (1816), Cenerentola’s aria “Non piu mesta” from Rossini’s *La Cenerentola* (1817), and Manrico’s aria “Di quella pira” from Verdi’s *Il Travatore* (1853).

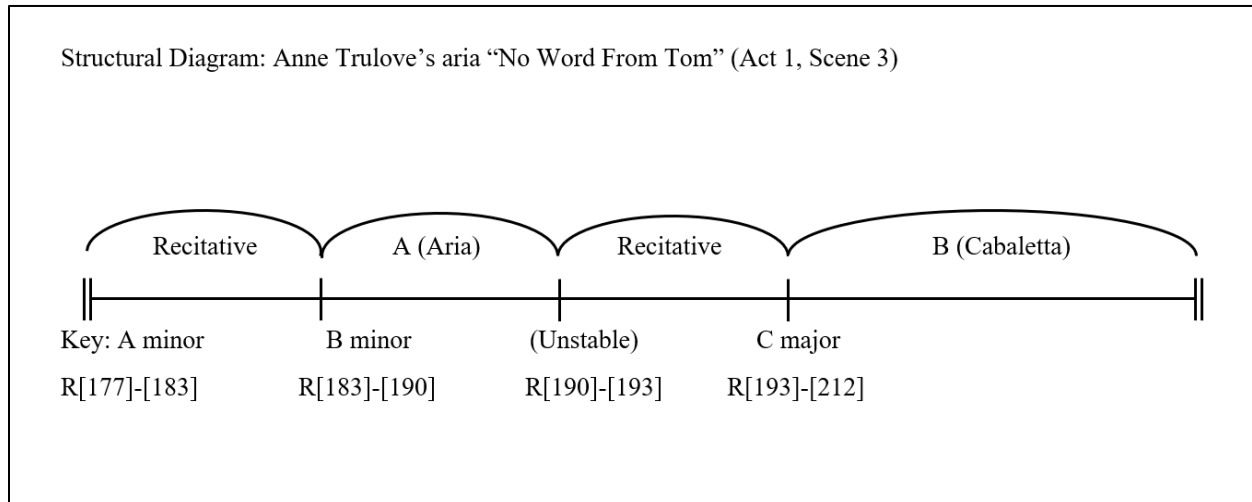


Figure 14. The structural analysis of Anne Trulove's Act 1 Scene 3 aria.

This scene opens with 24 measures of orchestral prelude which features a small wind ensemble consisting of oboes, clarinets, and bassoons. Even though the meter of this prelude is constantly changing, it is constructed with three 8-bar phrases that can each be seen as being formed of an antecedent and consequent, as shown in Figure 15. This balanced phrase structure is commonly used in the early eighteenth century as an element of Enlightenment-age structural balance.

177  $\text{♩} = 72$

*sfp dolce-andante*

*tr*

*tr*

Antecedent      Consequent

Figure 15. An example of the phrase structure from the prelude of “No Word from Tom”, Act 1, Scene 3.

Source: “The Rake’s Progress” by Igor Stravinsky

© 1951 By Hawkes & Son (London) Ltd. 1959 Renewed by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.

International Copyright Secured.

All Rights Reserved. For The Sole Use Of Hong Liang Ng, North Dakota State University.

The thin orchestral texture and A-minor tonality of the orchestral prelude illustrate the nighttime atmosphere in the garden of Anne Trulove’s house. The theme used in the orchestral prelude continues in the recitative section as well as the orchestra accompagnato section when Anne Trulove’s vocal line enters. The vocal line is not lyrical but rather inflected in a speech-like fashion. This is demonstrated toward the end of the recitative section in rehearsal [182]<sup>71</sup>: in the text “Love hears, love knows, love answers him across the silent miles, and goes,” the vocal line features leaps to express the strong emotion in the text. The end of this line is accompanied by chordal orchestra accompaniment with a cadence of  $a7-b7-C7$ .<sup>72</sup> This recitative section ends with a sort of half cadence in B minor, establishing the key of the following melancholic aria section.

The aria section is composed in a slower tempo with a lyrical vocal line. Like Tom’s aria in Act 1, Scene 1, the formal structure of this aria section is also organized using the standard form of eighteenth-century arias.

<sup>71</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 61.

<sup>72</sup> Carter, 135.



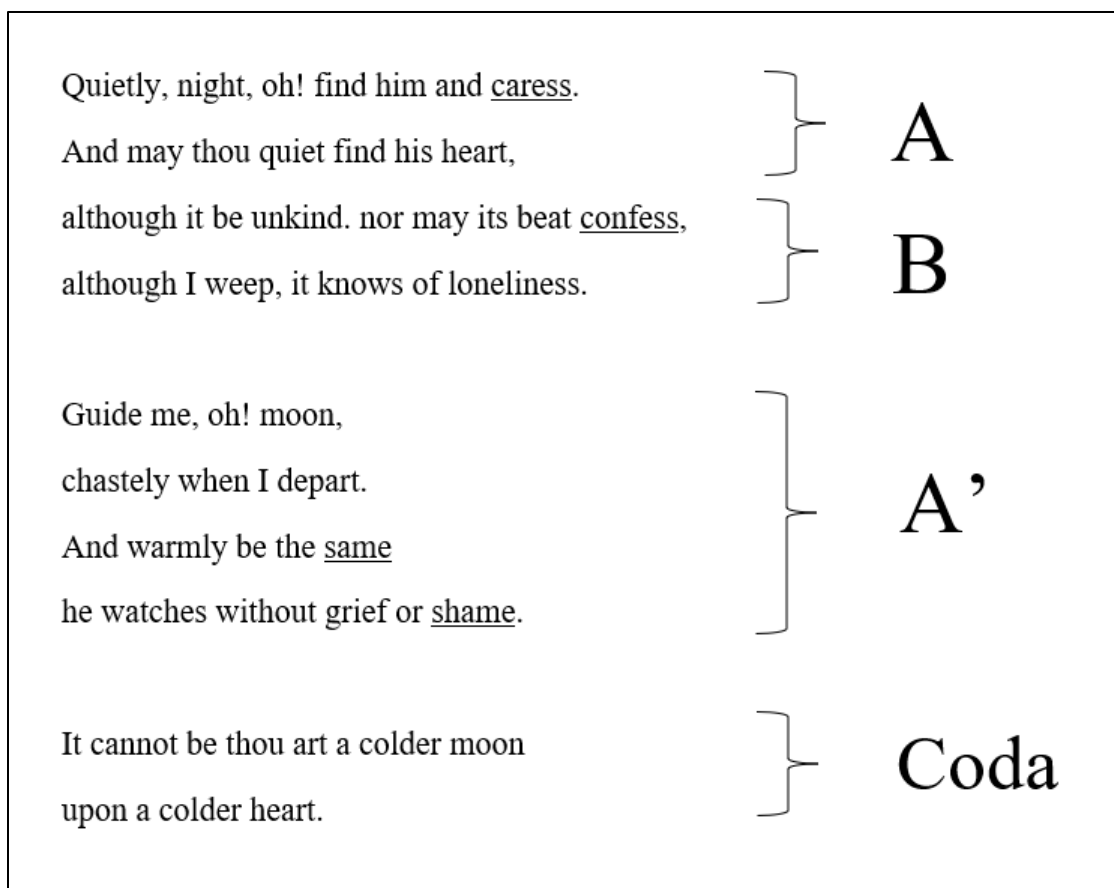


Figure 16. The structure of the libretto of Anne Trulove’s aria in Act 1, Scene 3.

The A section is established in B minor, then modulating to the closely-related area of E minor when a new motif is introduced in the vocal line in the B section at rehearsal [185] + 1.<sup>73</sup> The A section returns in rehearsal [187],<sup>74</sup> and even though the B section’s motivic material also returns, it is transposed to remain in the home key of B minor. The aria ends with a coda in which Anne Trulove expresses desperation on a high B before descending to finish the line unaccompanied. This dramatic musical writing expresses her desperate hope that she will still receive love from Tom Rakewell, “It cannot be thou art a colder moon upon a colder heart.”

<sup>73</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 62.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

The lyrical melody in this aria includes notated ornaments that enhance the dramatic expression of the lines; such ornaments are commonly found in arias from eighteenth-century opera. The first example of ornaments shown in Figure 17 shows the rapid thirty-second passing tones that occur throughout the aria. A second ornamental pattern is shown in Figure 18, which only occurs in the coda of the aria and heightens the intensity of Anne Trulove's emotional outburst.

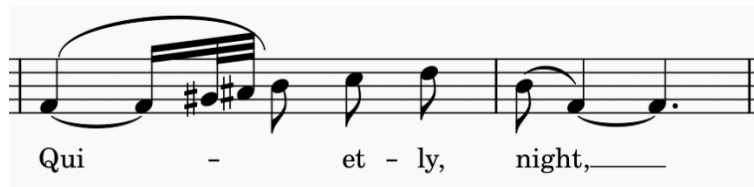


Figure 17. An example of notated ornament in the vocal line.



Figure 18. A further example of an ornamental pattern in the vocal line.

The voice line is accompanied by repeated chordal figures played by the string section while the wind section plays the motifs from the melody, as shown in Figure 19. This orchestral texture of melody accompanied by repeated chordal figures further demonstrates inspiration from early-eighteenth-century music. The repeating chordal pattern in the strings and the long-short pattern in the bass create a sense of urgency in the music and sets up the anxious mood of Anne Trulove.



Figure 19. An excerpt of the orchestra accompaniment resembling musical patterns from the early eighteenth century.

Source: “The Rake’s Progress” by Igor Stravinsky

© 1951 By Hawkes & Son (London) Ltd. 1959 Renewed by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.

International Copyright Secured.

All Rights Reserved. For The Sole Use Of Hong Liang Ng, North Dakota State University.

A brief recitative section follows this slow, melancholic aria, where Anne Trulove’s father interrupts by calling Anne’s name from the house. This brief recitative section is a straightforward *recitativo accompagnato* with the orchestra playing sustained chords underneath Anne Trulove’s speech-like singing. The orchestral accompaniment also includes a four-measure legato passage in rehearsal [190] + 2<sup>75</sup> that resembles motifs from the orchestral prelude at the beginning of the scene. The last four measures of this recitative in rehearsal [194]<sup>76</sup> are legato, lyrical, and composed in G major, serving as the dominant to C major, the key of the following *cabaletta*. The change of key in the last four measures serves as a dramatic plot device that signals Anne Trulove’s resolution to go to London and find Tom Rakewell.

The *cabaletta* “I go, I go to him”, is a vocally challenging piece, not only resembling the *cabaletta* sections of arias of the nineteenth century but also resembling faster arias from eighteenth-century operas such as Donna Elvira’s aria “Mi tradi quell'alma ingrata” from Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*. This particular aria from *Don Giovanni* expresses Donna Elvira’s resolution and vulnerability toward Don Giovanni, similar to Anne Trulove’s emotional

<sup>75</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 64.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

vulnerability and resolution to find Tom Rakewell. This *cabaletta* is composed in a conventional ternary form. It consists of three sections: the A section, in C major; the B section, in B-flat minor; and the A' section, which returns to the tonic key of C major and uses similar text as the A section.

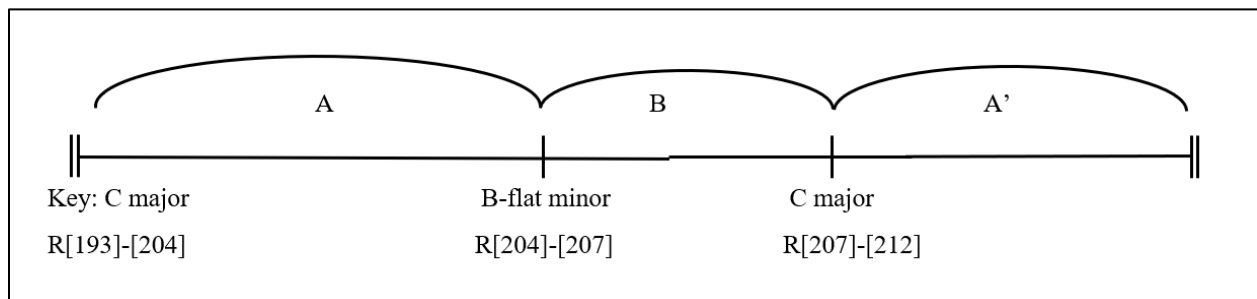


Figure 20. Structural diagram of the cabaletta "I go, I go to him".

The A section opens with an orchestra introduction establishing the tonic key of C major, the main thematic ideas, and the quickly-repeating accompanimental chords that characterize the whole *cabaletta*. This section features declamatory rather than lyrical vocal lines. The orchestral accompaniment is fast, vibrant, and *forte* in support of Anne Trulove's line expressing the unfaltering love that fuels her resolution to find Tom Rakewell. The B section modulates to the key of B-flat minor in rehearsal [204]<sup>77</sup> and features a rather lyrical vocal line. The orchestral accompaniment features sustaining notes but with the repeated chords in the bass that continue the underlying drive of the aria. This B section illustrates Anne Trulove's willingness to accept any outcome if Tom Rakewell were to change. The A section returns in rehearsal [207]<sup>78</sup>, and the music returns to the home key of C major. Like the earlier A section, this section features a strong, declamatory vocal line accompanied by rapid sixteenth-notes scalar passages and

<sup>77</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 68.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

repeated chordal patterns in the orchestra. The aria ends with a triumphant tonic passage that concludes the first act of the opera.

There are several neoclassical musical devices used in this opera that can be seen as being inspired by eighteenth-century opera. For example, the orchestral accompaniment often features repeated chordal figures, sixteenth-note descending scalar passages, and arpeggiated bass figures. Figures 21 and 22 compare the orchestral accompaniments of the two arias “Die Hölle Rache” from Mozart’s *Die Zauberfölte* and “I go, I go to him” from *The Rake’s Progress*. In addition to the aforementioned neoclassical devices, Stravinsky utilizes short melismatic passages that enhance the dramatic expression of the vocal line, as shown in Figure 15. All of these musical elements were commonly used in eighteenth-century.

K.d.N.

dich Sa - ras - tro\_ To - des - schmer - zen, Sa

Figure 21. An example of the repeated chordal figures and arpeggiated chords in the orchestral accompaniment of “Die Hölle Rache” from Mozart’s *Die Zauberfölte*.



Figure 22. An example of the repeated chordal figures and arpeggiated bass line in the orchestral accompaniment of “I go, I go to him” from Act 1, Scene 3 of *The Rake’s Progress*.

Source: “The Rake’s Progress” by Igor Stravinsky

© 1951 By Hawkes & Son (London) Ltd. 1959 Renewed by Boosey & Hawkes, Inc.

International Copyright Secured.

All Rights Reserved. For The Sole Use Of Hong Liang Ng, North Dakota State University.



Figure 23. An example of a melismatic vocal passage from “I go, I go to him” in Act 1, Scene 3 of *The Rake’s Progress*.

### **Baba the Turk’s Aria, Act 2, Scene 3**

In *The Rake’s Progress*, the composer and librettists replace the rich, old maid in William Hogarth’s fifth painting “The Marriage” with a bearded lady named Baba the Turk who performs at St. Giles’ Fair. Nick Shadow convinces Tom Rakewell to marry Baba the Turk as a liberating act in order to fulfill Tom’s desire for freedom. Baba, with her confidence, outspoken personality, and beardedness, stands out from the social norms of the early eighteenth century, which may explain Nick Shadow implicating her in his scheme to fulfill Tom Rakewell’s second wish for freedom. Baba becomes a second heroine and a contrasting caricature to that of Anne Trulove. Baba is portrayed as outspoken, talkative, and emotionally passionate in the music and libretto. Though the music in this aria seems modern in the chromaticism, erratic rhythmic

patterns, and metric displacement that is used to demonstrate Baba’s character, Stravinsky also utilizes neoclassical elements in this aria.

This aria consists of two fast sections with a brief unaccompanied “song” in between. The first section is a patter song in the key of F major, which is followed by an unaccompanied vocal section titled “Baba’s Song” in C, that suddenly erupts into a D minor aria after Tom Rakewell yells at Baba to sit down.

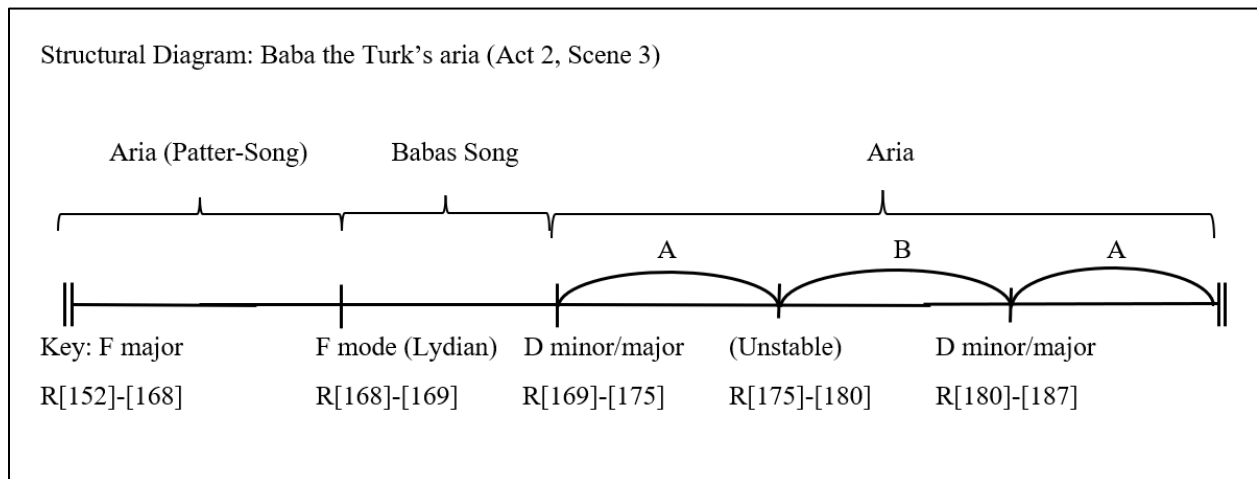


Figure 24. The structural diagram of Baba the Turk's aria in Act 2, Scene 3.

This patter-song shows Baba breathlessly chatting away about the wedding gifts she and Tom have received during which time Tom remains uninterested. Patter-songs were commonly included in eighteenth-century operas, some examples of which include Bartolo’s “La Vendetta” in Mozart’s *Le Nozze di Figaro*, and Leporello’s “Madamina, il catalogo è questo” in Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*. Baba’s aria begins with an orchestral prelude consisting of clarinets and strings, the rapid repeating notes in the strings establishing the patter feeling of the song. The orchestral texture is rather thin in order to enable the lightness of the patter-song. The vocal line is rapid and monotonous, imitating breathless pattering speech. The phrase structure is rather erratic, veering back and forth between 6/16 meter and 3/8 meter. This first section ends with a very

brief conventional *secco recitative* section in rehearsal [167]<sup>79</sup> with Baba questioning Tom's uninterested demeanor. This patter-song section can be seen as serving as a replacement for a recitative section because the narration of the plot is progressing while Baba is describing to Tom Rakewell the gifts that they have received.

The patter-song is followed by a short, unaccompanied song that serves as a plot device before Baba's aggressive emotions are triggered by Tom. The unaccompanied song is unmetered and legato in contrast to the two surrounding rapid sections of the musical number. Baba's aria, "Scorned! Abused!" is a rage aria that resembles the rage arias of eighteenth-century opera, famous example of which being the Queen of the Night aria "Der Hölle Rache kocht in meinem Herzen" from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* and "D'Oreste, d'Ajace" from Mozart's *Idomeneo* (1781). Baba's aria is composed in D minor and opens with an arpeggiated D-minor scalar passage in the orchestra to set up a storm-like mood. In the A section of this aria, the vocal line is declamatory and angular, consisting of edgy intervals such as sevenths and tri-tones to produce the aggressive tone. The vocal line also features some melismatic passages that resemble vocal work from eighteenth-century opera, as in Figure 25. The orchestral accompaniment consists of tremolos, fast scalar passages, and leaps that work together to create an erratic mood.



Figure 25. An example of a melismatic passage in the vocal line.

---

<sup>79</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 119.



The B section starting at rehearsal [175]<sup>80</sup> proceeds through erratic and unstable key changes, which elevate the already aggressive character, and the section ends with a D-minor arpeggiation in the vocal line, with a pause before the A section returns. The A section returns in rehearsal [180]<sup>81</sup> with material from the opening section, and the aria ends with another erratic change of key to G major in rehearsal [184]<sup>82</sup>. The abrupt G chord serves as a surprise plot device to punctuate the moment when Tom Rakewell silences Baba with a wig.

These three arias from the three main characters in the opera show that the organization of the music and libretto in *The Rake's Progress* is heavily influenced by early eighteenth-century opera, especially Mozart's operas. This demonstrates how Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, utilize musical materials from the early eighteenth century to translate and reimagine the characters and atmosphere William Hogarth's series of paintings from that period, *A Rake's Progress*.

---

<sup>80</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 121.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>82</sup> Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman, 123.

## CONCLUSION

This study aimed to shed light on the inspirations behind Stravinsky's decision to compose an opera based on Hogarth's series of satirical paintings *A Rake's Progress* as well as to underscore the significance of understanding the background of any musical work. Through investigating the cultural events and the state of the society during the early eighteenth century and mid-twentieth century, we can observe how Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman reimagined Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* into an opera. This investigation introduces a fresh perspective on the neoclassical opera *The Rake's Progress* through a critical analysis of three arias that are commonly used to educate young artists.

The first part introduced the economic and societal state of early-eighteenth-century London. William Hogarth was an established artist during that time, known for various art genres and especially his satirical cartoons. Contemporary topics in early eighteenth-century London influenced a large portion of his artworks. His satirical artworks, or his "Modern Moral Subjects," as he called them, were popular amongst the public. His three most successful series of satirical paintings, *A Harlot's Progress*, *A Rake's Progress*, and *Marriage A-la-Mode*, tackle social issues of early eighteenth-century London. Each series narrates a story reflecting a different set of social problems, including prostitution, gambling, and arranged marriage. Hogarth conveyed his moral messages by satirizing the subjects in the paintings, such as rakes and aristocrats, dramatizing their tragic ends in consequence to their characteristic defects. Igor Stravinsky encountered Hogarth's works at an exhibition in 1947 at the Art Institute of Chicago and saw the potential of Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* to serve as the subject of a neoclassical opera. Stravinsky experienced the swelling United States economy of post-World War II and its effects on the culture of the mid-twentieth century. In this research, I have observed a

convergence of the economies and cultures of early eighteenth-century London and the mid-twentieth-century United States that can be understood as a source of inspirations for Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman in the creation of this opera. Between these two contexts we can first note similarities in social stratification: high class, middle class, and low class as compared to “highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow.” Secondly, the United States government after World War II acted to underscore the significance of family and work while discouraging “vice” activities such as prostitution and gambling, the same “vice” activities targeted by Hogarth in some of his artworks and likewise featured in the opera *The Rake’s Progress*. These intersections of culture between the two different periods are significant toward a complete understanding of the opera *The Rake’s Progress*.

The second part of this research detailed the relationship between Hogarth’s paintings and Stravinsky’s opera. Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman made changes in the plot and characters of Hogarth’s *A Rake’s Progress* to render the material more suitable to opera while remaining true to the underlying elements from the paintings. The collaborators added the character of Nick Shadow to create a physical manifestation of Tom Rakewell’s evil alter ego. Likewise, Sarah Young was changed to Anne Trulove to provide a clear contrast of good and evil between Anne Trulove and Nick Shadow. The bearded lady Baba the Turk replaced the wealthy old maid from Hogarth’s *A Rake’s Progress* as a fulfillment facilitated by Nick Shadow of Tom Rakewell’s desire for liberation. I then observed how Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman included religious and mythological subjects in the opera as a nod to early eighteenth-century British culture, in which religious and mythological subjects were prominent; these can of course be seen in Hogarth’s *A Rake’s Progress*. Lastly, I observed how Auden and Kallman used early eighteenth-century

writing style in the libretto to evoke an early eighteenth-century atmosphere in the neoclassical opera *The Rake's Progress*.

The third part feature analyses of three arias from *The Rake's Progress*: Tom Rakewell's "Here I Am" from Act 1, Scene 1; Anne Trulove's "No Word from Tom" from Act 1, Scene 3; and Baba the Turk's aria in Act 2, Scene 3. These analyses show how Stravinsky used compositional elements from the eighteenth century to depict these three prominent eighteenth-century characters, including orchestration characteristic of Mozart operas as well as rhythmic, ornamental, and tonal devices common to eighteenth-century music. These analyses also showed how these neoclassical elements in the music and libretto bring out the emotion of each character.

It is my hope that further research will be pursued regarding both Hogarth's series of satirical paintings *A Rake's Progress* as well as Stravinsky's opera *The Rake's Progress*. It is necessary to achieve a robust understanding of the underlying cultural, philosophical, moral, and religious messages of both the opera *The Rake's Progress* as well as the series of paintings the opera is based on in order to truly successful in performing this music and deepening our knowledge of the subject matter.

## REFERENCES

### Books and Book Chapters

- Auden, Wystan Hugh. *The Age of Anxiety: A Baroque Eclogue*. New York: Random House, 1947.
- Auden, Wystan Hugh, Chester Kallman, and Edward Mendelson. *W.H. Auden and Chester Kallman: Libretti and Other Dramatic Writings by W.H. Auden, 1939-1973*. London: Faber and Faber, 1993.
- Carter, Chandler. *The Last Opera: The Rake's Progress in the Life of Stravinsky and Sung Drama*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2019. Accessed December 10, 2020. <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=TLSXDwAAQBAJ&pg=GBS.PT9>.
- Cross, Jonathan. *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky*. Edited by Jonathan Cross. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Griffiths, Paul. *Igor Stravinsky, The Rake's Progress*. Cambridge, Cambridgeshire: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Hogarth, William, and Aron M. Krich. *Marriage a La Mode, and Other Engravings*. New York: Lear, 1947.
- Kerman, Joseph. *Opera as Drama*. Rev. ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Levitz, Tamara. *Stravinsky and His World*. Edited by Tamara Levitz. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Lichtenberg, Georg Christoph. *Lichtenberg's Commentaries on Hogarth's Engravings*. Translated by Innes Herdan and Gustav Herdan. London: Cresset Press, 1966.
- Michel, Henri, and Douglas Parmée. *The Second World War*. Translated by Douglas Parmée. New York: Praeger, 1974.
- Moor, Robert Etheridge. *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*. Minneapolis: Minnesota Archive Editions, 2010.
- Paulson, Ronald. *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*. Vol.1. New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art London by the Yale University Press, 1971.
- Quennell, Peter. *Hogarth's Progress*. New York: Viking Press, 1955.
- Rudé, George F. E. *Hanoverian London, 1714-1808*. Berkeley: University of California, 1971.
- Schwartz, Richard B. *Daily Life in Johnson's London*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

Stravinsky, Igor and Robert Craft. *Memories and Commentaries*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1960.

Stravinsky, Vera, and Robert Craft. *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978.

White, Eric Walter. *Stravinsky: A Critical Survey, 1882-1946*. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1997.

———. *Stravinsky, the Composer and His Works*. 2d ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

### Dissertation and Theses

Anderson, Jonathon N. "Genre and Audience Reception in *The Rake's Progress*." MA thesis, University of Houston-Clear Lake, 2019. ProQuest (AAT 27721091)

Danes, Robert Harold. "Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress*: Paradigm of Neoclassic Opera." PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 1972. ProQuest (AAT 7305031)

Roberts, Carolyn. "The libretto as literature: a historical and theoretical study with *The rake's progress* as illustration." MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1975.  
<https://doi.org/10.7939/r3-1zez-jj94>

Soler, Marcos F. "American conservatism and the idea of Democracy 1930-1980." PhD diss., The New School, 2015. ProQuest (AAT 3726158)

### Journal Articles

Chew, Geoffrey. "Pastoral and Neoclassicism: A Reinterpretation of Auden's and Stravinsky's 'Rake's Progress.'" *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5, no. 3 (1993): 239-63. Accessed March 12, 2019. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/823808>.

Cowie, Jefferson. "Introduction: The Conservative Turn in Postwar United States Working-Class History." *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 74 (2008): 70-75. Accessed December 19, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27673124>.

Lamer, James, and Anne M Loechle. "Human, All Too Human: Hogarth and Stravinsky's Vision of *Rake's Progress*." *Interdisciplinary humanities* 32, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 12-26. Accessed December 15, 2020. <https://ezproxy.lib.ndsu.nodak.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=112209574&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

Lynes, Russell. "Reprint: 'Highbrow, Lowbrow, Middlebrow' (1949)." *The Wilson Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1976): 146-58. Accessed April 21, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40255171>.

Tooze, Adam, and Ted Fertik. "The World Economy and the Great War." *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft* 40, no. 2 (2014): 214-38. Accessed June 2, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24368710>.

### Dictionary and Encyclopedia Articles

Whittall, Arnold. "Neo-classicism." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, 2001–. Accessed June 2, 2021. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.ndsu.nodak.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.19723>.

### Musical Scores

Handel, George Frideric. *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*. Piano reduction by Karl-Heinz Müller. New York: Bärenreiter, 2011.

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. *Die Zauberflöte*, KV 620. Piano reduction by Martin Schelhaas. New York: Bärenreiter, 2019.

———. *Don Giovanni*, K.527. Edited by Siegfried Anheisser. Berlin: Deutscher Musikverlag in der NS-Kulturgemeinde, 1935. [https://imslp.org/wiki/Don\\_Giovanni%2C\\_K.527\\_\(Mozart%2C\\_Wolfgang\\_Amadeus\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Don_Giovanni%2C_K.527_(Mozart%2C_Wolfgang_Amadeus)).

Stravinsky, Igor, Wystan Hugh Auden, and Chester Kallman. *The Rake's Progress; an Opera in Three Acts*. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1951.

Stravinsky, Igor, Wystan Hugh Auden, and Chester Kallman. *The Rake's Progress Opera in Three Acts Fable by W. H. Auden and Chester Kallman*. Vocal Score by Leopold Spinner. London: Boosey & Hawks, 1951.

### Video Recordings

Cox, John, *The Rake's Progress*. Glyndebourne, 2010. NTSC DVD.

### Websites

Ball, Terence, Richard Dagger, Peter Viereck, and Kenneth Minogue, "Conservatism." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, May 17, 2021. Accessed December 11, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/conservatism>.

Britannica T. The Editors of Encyclopaedia, "Doctrine of the Affections" *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2014. Accessed June 6, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/art/doctrine-of-the-affections>

———. "G.I. Bill." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 28, 2020. Accessed July 12, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/GI-Bill-of-Rights>.

White, Matthew. "The Rise of Cities in the 18th Century," The British Library, October 14, 2009. Accessed September 21, 2021. <https://www.bl.uk/georgian-britain/articles/the-rise-of-cities-in-the-18th-century>.



APPENDIX A. WILLIAM HOGARTH'S *A RAKE'S PROGRESS*



Figure A1. *A Rake's Progress, I: The Heir*. Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.  
SM P40 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.



Figure A2. *A Rake's Progress, II: The Levee*. Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.  
SM P41 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.



Figure A3. *A Rake's Progress, III: The Orgy*. Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.  
SM P42 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.



Figure A4. *A Rake's Progress, IV: The Arrest*. Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.  
SM P43 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.



Figure A5. *A Rake's Progress, V: The Marriage*. Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.  
SM P44 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.



Figure A6. *A Rake's Progress, VI: The Gaming House*. Painting by William Hogarth, 1734. SM P45 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.



Figure A7. *A Rake's Progress, VII: The Prison*. Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.  
SM P46 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.



Figure A8. *A Rake's Progress, VIII: The Madhouse*. Painting by William Hogarth, 1734.  
SM P47 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.