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**The marketing techniques of William Hogarth
(1697-1764), artist and engraver.**

Mark McNally

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of Master of Letters**

Department of History, Durham University

2014

The marketing techniques of William Hogarth (1697-1764), artist and engraver.

Abstract

In its commercial gearing, the eighteenth-century publishing industry updated and extended popular print. New productions included an increase in the number of newspapers, books such as the novel and the engraved print which, as a repeatable commodity, became a feature of a society in which art was considered a commercial activity as well as a cultural one. The prospect of art becoming as much a commercial entity as an endorsement of cultural status provided enterprising artists such as William Hogarth with the opportunity to satisfy the requirements of an expanding, diverse and literate audience on terms with which they would be familiar. This related not only to the creation of a narrative form of art within the framing strictures of the book and text, but also the establishment of a direct link between the artist and the ‘public at large’ by the strategic use of newspaper advertisements and the competitive promotion of works through the subscription process. These key entrepreneurial activities are considered alongside the securing of intellectual property rights for artists by Hogarth through his successful promotion of the Engravers Copyright Act 1735 which made artists independently responsible for the production and distribution of their own work.

Chapter One outlines the conceptual framework for the analysis and interpretation of contemporary society in the early eighteenth-century. This takes into account changes in cultural gradations and the effect these had on commercial trading patterns and aesthetic interpretations of art. Chapter Two provides an overview of the background and upbringing of William Hogarth and the trajectory of his career as he became influenced by commercial opportunity and the prospect of a more open and diverse market for art. Chapter Three identifies technical developments in print and publishing during the period and demonstrates how these and the subscription process provided William Hogarth with commercial opportunities not previously available to artists. The creation by Hogarth of the visually attractive subscription ticket as an artistic item in its own right is considered along with a social analysis of sixty-four signed subscription tickets as a guide to audience composition. Chapter Four analyses the use of advertising in London newspapers by William Hogarth and the specific strategies he adopted on a print by print basis. It also provides fresh evidence of which newspapers were most advertised in and the prints which featured most frequently. Chapter Five reveals the extent to which auction sales in London, as unregulated sales events, responded to, and assisted in the commercialisation of art as an exchangeable commodity once it had left the artists hands. This demonstrates the extent to which the quest for cultural capital of an increasingly large consumer base exerted a formative influence on the commercial and marketing techniques of eighteenth -century art.

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Statement of Copyright

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May 2014

Mark McNally

Dedication

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my parents who never had the opportunity to extend their love of learning.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Preface

In his *Notebooks* on British Art in the first half of the eighteenth century, George Vertue provides an insight into the character and abilities of contemporary artists of whom he had a particular knowledge. One such artist was William Hogarth, a fellow member of *The Rose and Crown Club* founded in 1704 for ‘eminent artificers of this nation’ which met weekly in a public house of the same name.¹ In his *Notebooks*, Vertue is less flattering than Horace Walpole who devoted an entire chapter to Hogarth in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762) despite having the evidence of the manuscript notes he purchased from Vertue’s widow in 1756 to draw upon following her husband’s death in 1745.²

The reason for the difference in this personal assessment may lie in Vertue’s close association with Hogarth as a fellow artist and his first hand observation of the business methods which came to characterise Hogarth’s distinctive brand of self-promotion. Said to have been a ‘modest and honourable man’, Vertue comments frequently on Hogarth’s ‘overweening self-confidence and assurance; of his amazing conceit and of his “cunning, art-ful contrivances” in forwarding his own interests and the sale of his works’.³ Clearly, Hogarth’s unique business acumen and the commercial techniques he employed to attract the newly affluent buyers who came to characterise the changing social composition of the contemporary art market were at odds with colleagues such as Vertue.

¹ J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art* (Oxford, 1996), p. 584.

² In Chapter IV, ‘Painters in the Reign of King George II’ of his *Anecdotes of Painting*, Walpole begins by saying how ‘Having despatched the herd of our painters in oil, I reserved to a class by himself that great and original genius, Hogarth; considering him rather as a writer of comedy with a pencil rather than as a painter’. *Anecdotes of Painting in England: with some account of the principal artists; and incidental notes on other arts. Collected by the late Mr. George Vertue. And now digested and published from his original MSS. By Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. The fourth edition, with additions and portraits.* Vol. 4 (London, 1796).

³ W.T. Whiteley, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799*, Vol.1 (London, 1928), p. 32.

The commercial importance of the print engraved from his own paintings enhanced by technical innovation such as the introduction of the mezzotint and tonal variation was not lost on Hogarth.⁴ In his hands the print became a ‘thing for the many’ and led to his success almost overnight with the *Harlot’s Progress*, the first of his ‘modern moral cycles’ in 1732.⁵ The ability to appeal to the puritan spirit of the England of his day established Hogarth’s position as a leading moraliser and an artist able to lead opinion instead of reflecting it.⁶

According to Louise Lippincott, the art market became flooded with new types of patrons in the first half of the eighteenth century. The resultant dislocation between supply and demand produced chaos of a most stimulating and constructive type and provided opportunities for experimentation and diversification for the more enterprising artist.⁷ As art became less the preserve of the rich and famous, and increasingly accessible to a more diverse group of consumers created by changes in the distribution of wealth in the wider society, artists such as Hogarth recognised the opportunities to be had in the readjustment of existing trading practices for promoting art and reacted in an imaginative fashion.⁸

It is in this context that Vertue’s comments regarding Hogarth’s commercial self-interest have to be considered. For example, when Hogarth decided in 1751 to sell by auction the six-picture series *Marriage-a-la-Mode*, Vertue records how ‘Mr Hogarth is often projecting schemes to promote his business in some extraordinary manner... and proposes to sell them to the highest bidder by way of tender’. Furthermore, Vertue observes how Hogarth ‘puffed this in news papers for a long time before hand’.⁹ This exercise in direct marketing which became the hallmark of Hogarth’s more entrepreneurial approach to art failed however, with only one bid for *Marriage-a-la-Mode* being made by a ‘Mr. Lane of Hillingdon’.¹⁰ The attempt to sell in such a novel fashion, works which openly satirised certain habits of fashionable society,

⁴ Invented by the German artist, Ludwig Von Siegen in 1642 the mezzotint process relies on dot-based hatching or stipple engraving by metal teeth which hold the ink better during the process of printing. This improves tonal variation and the potential of the print to more accurately reflect the original painting from which it has been drawn. Compared to previous woodcut traditions, the scope for better quality images was greatly increased making the print more attractive as an item of fine art.

⁵ B. Gray, *The English Print*, (Michigan, 1969), p. 25.

⁶ Ibid, pp. 26-27.

⁷ L. Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London* (New Haven, 1983), p. 72.

⁸ T.M. Bayer and J.R. Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England* (London, 2011), p. 86.

⁹ The Eighteenth Volume of the Walpole Society, *Vertue Notebooks*, (Oxford, 1930), Vol.III, p. 156.

¹⁰ Whiteley, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799*, p. 122.

the very demographic group that made up this particular project's potential consumer base, was, as a marketing strategy, doomed to fail.¹¹

This was however, a rare example of Hogarth's business instincts letting him down. The only other notable occasion being the ill-fated attempt to sell by subscription his version of *Sigismunda mourning over the heart of Guiscardo* in 1761, previously painted by the Italian artist Francesco Furini, in attempt to demonstrate that he could equal the works of the 'Old Masters'. Being unable to obtain the services of the French engraver Ravenet due to a previous business disagreement and in the light of the painting's poor reception, Hogarth put a stop to the subscription and returned all the fifty deposits made.¹²

This thesis will examine the ways in which William Hogarth succeeded in grasping the commercial opportunities presented by an art market composed no longer solely of an aristocratic, upper-class elite resting upon concepts of individual patronage and traditional understandings of historical painting and portraiture, but also of an affluent consumer drawn from the emerging professional and commercial classes who valued art as much for its ability to reflect contemporary social and philosophical considerations as for notions of intellectual connoisseurship. Analysis of the business practices and the commercial and marketing techniques employed by William Hogarth once he moved from painting Conversation Pieces into the more lucrative market of the mass produced print is intended to provide the basis for an understanding of how he became one of the most successful artists of his period.¹³

The popularity of prints as objects of consumption prompted Vertue to comment in 1745 that 'the most remarkable for works done or doing in England (...) the late and daily increase of Engraved works done by undertakers painters &c. in London is much beyond in any degree ever was in London before'.¹⁴ The same commentator had earlier recorded the popularity of Hogarth's first major commercial success the *Harlot's Progress* for which 'daily subscriptions had come in' and 'by the painter I have been assured 1240 sets were printed'.¹⁵ By becoming the leading exponent of the highly repeatable print engraved from his own

¹¹ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 62.

¹² R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (London, 1989), p. 195.

¹³ The Conversation Piece as an informal group portrait was a genre of painting imported from the Netherlands at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was particularly popular with the 'middle-class' buyers torn between their desire to emulate the aristocracy and a keenness to display the fruit of their profit-making activities in portraits of themselves and their property. C.Gould and S.Mesplède, *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present* (Farnham, 2012), p. 7.

¹⁴ Vertue, *Notebooks*, Vol VI, pp. 200-203.

¹⁵ Ibid, Vol III, p. 58.

paintings, William Hogarth developed a successful business model based on a new and impersonal relationship with an anonymous audience of consumers whose only common denominator was that they belonged to a 'republic of means' rather than one based on social and cultural status.¹⁶

The way in which Hogarth went about making direct contact with his audience and the methods he used to attract public interest in his products are examined in Chapters Three and Four and provide a key element of this thesis. These methods included the skilful use of frequent and strategic newspaper advertising as a means of announcing proposals to sell his prints. These sales methods bore a distinctive familiarity for readers which Hogarth achieved by borrowing from the literary tradition of subscription, as well as originality in the creation of the visually attractive and collectable subscription ticket as an expression of contractual obligation.¹⁷ In forming such a personal connection Vertue records how Hogarth was able 'by natural strength of himself chiefly... able to rise to a surprising height in the publick esteem'.¹⁸

The thesis will therefore acknowledge Hogarth's ability to anticipate the arrival of a new art market based on the 'public at large' and his entrepreneurial instincts which matched the expectations of this new market in terms of pictorial imagery and aesthetic considerations. It will also explore Hogarth's creative use of philanthropic activity and keen sense of commercial awareness which gave him access to public spaces within which paintings could be exhibited at a time when artists were denied such exposure. Not only did Hogarth lift the commercial barriers which had previously limited the artist's ability to reach the public directly, he also recognised that altruistic involvement with the humanitarian projects of his time took him into the company of wealthy, titled and middle-class donors who might be tempted to buy some of the paintings on display or at least become familiar with the artist and his work for future reference.¹⁹

The significance of the Engravers Copyright Act 1735 promoted by Hogarth, and its consequences for the emancipation of the artist are also fully explored throughout this thesis as an example of the way in which his commercial instincts extended beyond innovative

¹⁶ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 36.

¹⁷The whole concept of subscription tickets as a form of commercial ephemera will be considered in more detail in the chapter 3, 'Print and the Subscription Process'.

¹⁸ Vertue, *Notebooks*, Vol.III ,p. 123.

¹⁹ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 56.

marketing measures to include the more fundamental issues such as protecting the ownership of his product.²⁰ By taking ownership of his own works and the exclusive right to publish and market them William Hogarth established a direct route to a growing and more socially diverse audience for art.²¹

From a Client Economy to a Market Economy

In his biography of Netherlandish artists, *Schilderboek* published in 1604, the Flemish born Dutch painter and poet, Karel van Mander (1548-1606) observed that ‘art follows wealth for its rich rewards’.²² Thus, to reap the rewards of economic success, art must follow the path wealth takes. This astute remark associates the flourishing of the arts with money and holds good for the evaluation of all art markets such as in London at the beginning of the eighteenth century as the gradual replacement of church, state or aristocratic patrons by middle class consumers gave rise to new patterns of trading and new types of art production.²³

The background to the commercial and artistic decisions which determined the trajectory of William Hogarth’s career is best understood against the marked expansion of the English art world at this time as art increased as a commercial activity as well as a cultural one.²⁴ The greater freedom of artistic expression and the move from a client economy in which artists fulfilled the wishes of the patron as the end consumer, to a market economy in which a more socially diverse audience began to exert a profound influence on product development explains how the mass-produced reproductive print satisfied aesthetic considerations and became the catalyst for change in the commoditisation of art. It is in such a scenario that the commercial and marketing techniques applied by William Hogarth found common purpose.

These commercial instincts were accompanied by artistic innovation. Although the middle-classes were only one aspect of the multi-faceted ‘market-place’, Hogarth identified mass-produced prints engraved from paintings on themes familiar to the public as the product likely to satisfy the expectations of this new body of ‘consumers’. To make the prints relevant to the wider buying public, Hogarth designed them as new forms of representation which

²⁰ Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works*, p. 10.

²¹ J. Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London, 1998), p. vii.

²² Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 1.

²³ Ibid, p. 1.

²⁴ Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 6.

were structurally indebted to the fashionable new literary genres.²⁵ For example Ronald Paulson considers that Hogarth created images that could be ‘read’ and assimilated into the consciousness of the reading public. This can be found in the depiction of leading characters such as the Harlot, Moll Hackabout, who represents a cross-breeding of Defoe’s Moll Flanders and John Gay’s Polly Peachum.²⁶ In this sense, all of Hogarth’s heroes, Moll Hackabout, Tom Rakewell, Francis Goodchild and Tom Idle were first cousins to their literary antecedents, Moll Flanders, Pamela Andrews, Mr Wilson and Mr Jones and were made relevant in an understandable fashion to an increasingly literate audience.²⁷

The Development of the London Art Market

The English art market centred upon London, developed during the early eighteenth century as part of the interlocking worlds of culture, politics and society. The dynamic role of consumption and the growing urge to own and display pictures as commodities, both novel and traditional, caused the market to expand to accommodate a more socially diverse range of consumers.²⁸ During the first half of the eighteenth century, artists competed for their own share of the market as new and enlarged sources of demand found their response in new types of art production and new forms of imagery.²⁹

The commercial and cultural environment that led to William Hogarth’s rise to prominence as an independent artist-publisher can only be fully understood therefore against the background of this burgeoning art market, centred on London. As Europe’s cultural centre of gravity began to shift northwards, immigrant artists increasingly came to regard London as a safe refuge for both political and religious asylum from European hostilities and an opportunity to prosper in a more socially diverse and expanding art market.³⁰ In such circumstances, Louise Lippincott considers that the opportunities presented were such that whilst ‘competition from abroad was not always welcome, foreign ideas and tastes were

²⁵ F.Ogée, ‘From text to image: William Hogarth and the emergence of a visual culture in eighteenth-century England’, in D.Bindman, F. Ogée and P.Wagner, *Hogarth.Representing nature’s machines* (Manchester, 2001), p. 4.

²⁶ R.Paulson, ‘Emulative consumption and literacy. The Harlot, Moll Flanders, and Mrs. Slipslop’, in A. Bermingham and J.Brewer (eds.), *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800* (London, 1995), p. 388.

²⁷ Ogée, ‘From text to image: William Hogarth and the emergence of a visual culture in eighteenth-century England’, p. 11.

²⁸ D. Ormrod, ‘The Origins of the London Art Market’, in M.North and D.Ormrod (eds.), *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800* (Ashgate, 1998), p. 181.

²⁹ Ibid, p.182.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 182.

increasingly assimilated and adapted in the service of English needs'.³¹ It was in such economically stimulating conditions that English artists such as William Hogarth were able to develop their own brand of artistic innovation within what Helen Berry describes as an 'increasingly distinctive bourgeois public sphere'.³²

Opinion on the reasons for, and the timescale within which the London art market developed from a relative 'backwater' in the seventeenth century to the cultural centre of European art in the early to middle decades of the eighteenth century vary. According to John Brewer it was due to 'the pent up demand for European painting and an acquisitiveness that was only satisfied when (import) controls were lifted' whereas David Ormrod takes the longer view that the growth of the London art market was a protracted process well under way before the Glorious Revolution and that a slowly expanding market only began to take off when 'economic growth and low taxation of personal wealth created a favourable climate for the growth of the fine and decorative arts'.³³

Iain Pears contends that the London art market was caught unprepared for the consequences of the vast increase in all types of commercial exchange from the beginning of the century which were too great to be contained in a small and essentially amateurish system of auctions and booksellers unaccustomed to the substantially larger customer base which accompanied economic expansion.³⁴ Commercial pressure had the effect however of splitting the art market away from other areas of trade and creating a distinct environment within which specialist art auctioneers, print sellers and enterprising artists such as Hogarth were able to function independently rather than as emissaries for wealthy patrons.

Louise Lippincott strikes a more nuanced view however and contends that there was a transitional phase in the period 1720-1760 during which marginal occupations such as print sellers, auctioneers and art dealers grew into successful commercial enterprises in response to an increasingly cultivated audience, greater public interest in the fine arts and the existence of a thriving commercial print trade.³⁵ Prior to 1733 there were only two specialised shops selling prints in London, whereas by the end of the century, print shops existed in every

³¹ Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 4.

³² H. Berry, *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late-Stuart England* (Ashgate, 2003), p. 16.

³³ J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (New York, 1997), p. 204. D.Ormrod, 'Art and its markets', *Economic History Review*, LII, 3 (1999), p. 549.

³⁴ I. Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680-1768* (New Haven, 1988), p. 58.

³⁵ Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 164.

major town such was the growth in engraved prints accompanied by a sophisticated network of print sellers, art dealers and auctions.³⁶ This interest was generally proportionate to the 'increased purchasing power of the middle-classes and the gradual shift from patronage to market mechanisms which led to greater specialisation, the diversification of genres and process innovation'.³⁷

The acquisition of paintings and works of art had traditionally been assumed to take place outside the anonymous market by inheritance, as gifts or through commissions or foreign travel. The emergence of a more public market for goods at the turn of the century however provided commercial opportunities which the art world was quick to respond to.³⁸ This commercial expansion depended ultimately according to Lippincott on 'the growth of the audience for reproductive prints', an audience that was 'becoming socially and economically more diverse'.³⁹ In effect the art market shifted, rather than evolved from an artisanal trade 'on demand' to a market economy where greater profits were to be had from the sale of many goods at affordable prices to the newly affluent 'middle-classes' rather than by selling luxury goods to the elite. Market forces, were prime agents therefore responsible for changes in traditional understandings of what constituted artistic subject matter. In this new more commercial environment Solkin reflects how artists 'soon learned that many of the rules they had long accepted as absolute imperatives would have to give way to the higher laws of supply and demand'.⁴⁰

By shifting the balance from historical painting to pictorial modes with the broadest possible attraction to a new audience, opportunities arose for the production of paintings designed for mass reproduction. Aided by the introduction of mezzotint and improved tonal variation and intended to appeal to an anonymous audience rather than being commissioned by a patron as the end consumer, this resulted in a new form of art created for, and shaped by market forces, one in which the artist as producer was able to make a subjective assessment of consumer requirements based on signals from the demand side.⁴¹

³⁶ B. Cowan, 'Art and Connoisseurship in the Auction Market 1660-1730', in N. De Marchi and H. Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450-1750* (Turnhout, 2006), p. 264.

³⁷ Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, pp. 2-3.

³⁸ Ormrod, 'The Origins of the London Art market', p. 182.

³⁹ Lippincott, *Selling art in Georgian London*, p. 148.

⁴⁰ D. Solkin, *Painting for Money. The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1993), p.2.

⁴¹ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 2.

Making Pictures Marketable

As an essentially urban and commercial phenomenon, prints in the early eighteenth century developed to serve the needs of a population that was congregated in towns and especially in major centres of population such as London.⁴² In her treatment of class (by name and number) in eighteenth-century Britain, Penny Corfield considers that ‘the atmosphere of social change was particularly characteristic in urban and commercial circles; but they were very much the new cultural lodestars. ... The pluralism of wealth, the visibility of the middle class, and ‘uppishness’ of the once ‘lower orders’ were the corollaries of economic change’.⁴³ Maxine Berg suggests that nowhere was the shifting place of class structures in consumer culture more evident than in the public consumption of art. The expansion of luxury goods to include items of art and the print, not just for the elite market, but increasingly for middling and bourgeois consumption was part of the flowering of a ‘material culture’.⁴⁴

This assessment is supported by Carol Gibson-Wood in her research into auction sales catalogues and domestic inventories made between 1695 and 1715. These reveal that in an age that witnessed an unprecedented range of people with the means to acquire greater quantities and types of material possessions, thousands of English men and women were buying pictures to decorate their homes suggesting distinctive patterns of middle-class picture consumption in London in this period.⁴⁵ Probate inventories from the City of London and Westminster Parish records taken in the period 1695-1715 confirm the popularity of affordable ‘prints’ and ‘pictures’ as domestic embellishments that middle-class Londoners could afford to buy.

The inventories reveal that a surprisingly large number of middle-class London houses had pictures on their walls at the turn of the century. Of the 100 households considered from the City of London, 62 included pictures (both paintings and prints) and of the 110 examples from Westminster, 30 had pictures suggesting that the City picture owners had on average

⁴² S. O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850*, (London, 1999), p. 162.

⁴³ P.J. Corfield, ‘Class by Name and Number in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *History*, Vol. 72 Issue 234 (1987), p. 60.

⁴⁴ M. Berg, ‘New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth-century England’, in M. Berg and H. Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury - Consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester, 1999), p. 64.

⁴⁵ C. Gibson-Wood, ‘Picture Consumption in London at the end of the Seventeenth Century’, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 84, No. 3 (Sept, 2002), p. 492.

more than did the Westminster sample.⁴⁶ Furthermore, although no firm figures are available, it is estimated that London alone had about 25,000 middle-class households around 1700. Hence, if each householder purchased at least one picture, a minimum of 25,000 pictures would be accounted for. However, Gibson-Wood's probate inventory sample suggests that approximately 45 percent (over 11,000 residences) contained an average of 12 paintings each. This would mean that about 132,000 paintings were found in middle-class London homes around the turn of the century.⁴⁷

This increase in the public consumption of art is epitomised by what Lippincott describes as a market flooded with new and varied types of patrons such as clergymen, collectors, gentry, professional people and aristocratic women, less hidebound in their tastes, who came to outnumber aristocratic buyers.⁴⁸ Both Lippincott and Gibson-Wood therefore support the view of this period as one in which art and connoisseurship became gradually incorporated into the cultural and domestic life of the English upper and middle classes when patrons were spending more money than before.⁴⁹

The emergence of a more public market for goods at the turn of the century provided commercial opportunities to which the art world was quick to respond for example the increasing availability and quality of prints as a more affordable form of popular art. William Hogarth was at the forefront of artists keen to exploit the opportunities of this new commercial age and a developing art market which regarded paintings and prints as commodities to be displayed for their decorative purposes rather than expressions of aesthetic judgement.⁵⁰ In keeping with the intellectual freedom that the public-at-large provided, Hogarth turned his thoughts to 'a more new way of proceeding, viz., painting and engraving modern moral subjects, a field not broken up in any country or any age'.⁵¹ The prints spoke with wit and satire to a wider audience than Hogarth had ever experienced before and

⁴⁶ The probate inventories rarely described the subject matter or size of the pictures, the identity of the artist or whether they were paintings or prints. Gibson-Wood, 'Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century', p. 493.

⁴⁷ Gibson-Wood, 'Picture Consumption in London at the end of the Seventeenth Century', p. 495.

⁴⁸ Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, pp 72-73. This view is also expressed in similar terms by W. Vaughan, *British Painting. The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner*, (London, 1999), p. 8.

⁴⁹ Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 72.

⁵⁰ The increase in 'homeliness' reflected the growth as well as the composition of the middle-class and required the production of pictures 'to live by' and capable of being hung on the wall of the home in which the Englishman spent most of his time. Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 175.

⁵¹ Burke, J., (ed.), *The Analysis of Beauty. With rejected passages from the manuscript drafts and autobiographical notes. William Hogarth, 1697-1764*. (Oxford, 1955), p. 216.

provided a cultural immediacy that assisted the reader in decoding the narratives by using their imagination and interpretative experience.

In the commercial environment of the eighteenth century, painters had to consider in addition to audience demographics, different aspects of production, distribution and the sale of their products. Subject, composition and formal execution all affected the commercial success of any given painting and became part of the negotiation between artistic aspiration and middle-class values.⁵² The subjects that Hogarth chose for his successful series of ‘modern moral cycles’ reflected these issues and focussed on matters of contemporary concern principally to the middle and upper classes. In doing so he demonstrated an entrepreneurial awareness lacking in the majority of his contemporaries, that of innovation and product differentiation.⁵³

He realised that greater profits could be derived from the sale of many goods at more modest prices than by painting on commission to the elite. The earning potential of the mass-market print also boosted the price of his original works from which the prints were derived. This business model also allowed dealers and booksellers who turned to the print, to tap into a substantially larger customer base, ‘a still more numerous body of the community not possessing the means to purchase the original works of the painter, but who were able to acquire the next best substitute - engravings and imitation drawings’.⁵⁴

In this respect Hogarth’s entrepreneurial instincts came to the fore in much the same way as they did when advising Jonathan Tyers on the potential of the Vauxhall Gardens for displaying art. The description of the gardens by Solkin applies equally to the approach adopted by Hogarth to his ‘modern moral cycles’ as

‘an economics of art production responsive to the character of the modern public sphere - an economics predicated first and foremost on the need to satisfy the interests of an exceedingly large audience, many of whom had little understanding of or sympathy for the finer points of connoisseurship’.⁵⁵

The appeal of the print as a commercial opportunity was not lost on Hogarth. Images produced at low cost and in large numbers provided artists and print sellers with the ideal

⁵² C. Gould and S. Mesplède, ‘From Hogarth to Hirst: Three Hundred Years of Buying and Selling British Art’, in S. Gould and S. Mesplède, *Marketing Art in the British Isles 1700 to the Present* (Farnham, 2102), p. 30.

⁵³ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 52.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 119.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 55.

mass market product especially if, as in Hogarth's case, you were capable of taking control of the production process by both painting *and* engraving. In his own words, Hogarth considered the engraved print as the catalyst for both artistic and commercial ambition and as 'the most likely answer to my purpose provided I could strike the passions, and by small sums from many, by the sale of prints which I would engrave from my own pictures, thus secure my property to myself'.⁵⁶ In what became Britain's great age of printmaking, Hogarth's commercial instincts served him well as reproductive prints came to outnumber original works by at least fifty to one by the end of the century.⁵⁷

Furthermore, despite his own limitations as an engraver, Hogarth's early commercial instincts were such that formal appearance was not always the crucial factor it would be with later prints. Rather, Hogarth's economic assumptions were such that the mass produced print relied 'neither on great correctness of drawing or fine Engraving but on the contrary would set the price of them out of the reach of those for whom they were clearly intended'.⁵⁸ This statement demonstrates Hogarth's astute sense of market awareness and his matching of prints to specific audiences as his strategy of advertising in selected London newspapers will later demonstrate.

For example *Marriage-a-la-Mode* (1745) was aimed specifically at a more elevated audience hence his assurances in the newspaper advertisement (Fig.1) that the prints priced at one guinea for the set would be engraved by 'the best Masters in Paris, after his own paintings...' suggesting a desire to positively exclude the uneducated public.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 85.

⁵⁷ R. Godfrey, *Printmaking in Britain* (New York, 1978), p. 10.

⁵⁸ Burke, *The Analysis of Beauty. With rejected passages from the manuscript drafts and autobiographical notes. William Hogarth, 1697-1764*, p. 226.

⁵⁹ D. Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times* (London, 1997), p. 31.

MR. HOGARTH intends to publish by Subscription, SIX PRINTS from Copper-Plates; engrav'd by the best Masters in Paris, after his own Paintings; representing a Variety of *Modern Occurrences in High-Life*, and called MARRIAGE A-LA-MODE.

Particular Care will be taken, that there may not be the least Objection to the Decency or Elegancy of the whole Work, and that none of the Characters represented shall be personal.

The Subscription will be One Guinea, Half to be paid on Subscribing, and the other half on the Delivery of the Prints, which will be with all possible Speed, the Author being determin'd to engage in no other Work till this is compleated.

N.B. The Price will be One Guinea and an Half, after the Subscription is over, and that no Copies will be made of them.

Subscriptions are taken in at Mr. Hogarth's, the Golden-Head in Leicester Fields; where may be had, all his engrav'd Works.

Fig.1 Daily Post and General Advertiser 2 April 1743

Once his success allowed him to become artistically autonomous however, Hogarth turned his attention away from the lucrative middle and upper-class market and towards the 'lower sorts' with his 'instructional prints' of the later 1740s and 1750s such as *Industry and Idleness*, *Gin Lane*, *Beer Street* and the *Four Stages of Cruelty*. These prints were priced accordingly so as not to put them out of reach to those in authority, such as Poor Law overseers and Masters of Apprentices, and were usually of a lesser quality engraving in keeping with their pricing structure.⁶⁰ The dominant theme of the prints was their

⁶⁰ The four sets of prints were priced 'in the cheapest manner possible' at either 1s per print 'as fine engraving was not necessary and to keep the purchase of them within the reach of those for whom they were chiefly intended', or on different paper at 1s 6p 'in a better manner for the more curious'. Paulson reports how *The*

‘correctional’ quality rather than the more satirical-moralising nature of earlier successful prints dealing with issues related to the more affluent and often impressionable sections of society such as the aspiring middle-classes.⁶¹ The evident narrowing of his intended audience seems to suggest that Hogarth in the later stages of his career was as much concerned with being seen as a ‘public-spirited gentleman’ as a successful entrepreneur.⁶²

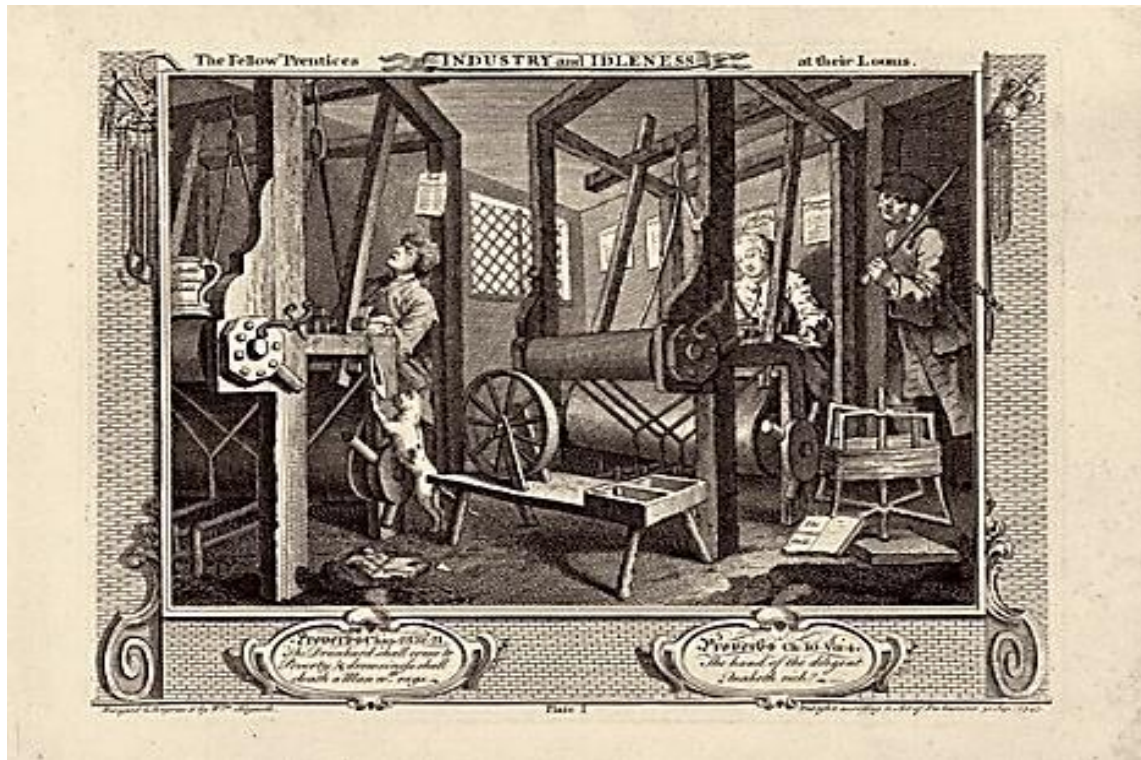


Fig.2 Industry and Idleness Plate One: The Fellow ‘Prentices at their Looms 1747

The expanded consumer base available to artists such as Hogarth offered print sellers a higher and steadier cash flow with reduced risk and transformed the prospects for those with the experience and infrastructure to market and distribute the new goods to an audience based predominantly in the metropolis, but increasingly as transportation improved throughout the country to the provinces.⁶³

Four Stages of Cruelty had ‘the brutal simplicity of woodcuts’ so as to reach the largest possible audience. Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works*. Third Revised Edition, pp. 129-152.

⁶¹ The distinctly different nature of Hogarth’s later more ‘correctional’ prints can be demonstrated through his use of excerpts from scripture on each of the twelve plates that went to make up the *Industry and Idleness* series. See Fig.2. A similar approach was adopted with *The Four Stages of Cruelty*.

⁶² Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times*, p. 32.

⁶³ T.Ballanger, ‘Publishers and writers in eighteenth century England’, in I. Rivers (ed.), *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1982), p. 19.

Before the development of specialised print shops, publishers had to rely upon the existing network of booksellers for marketing and distribution purposes. As there was already a dependence on engravers as illustrators in the book trade, readers were familiar with print as a culture. This allowed Hogarth to create a genre of print which was distinctly literary and narrative in character and functioned as a form of pictorial writing. By inserting his own activity within the predominant paper culture of the period, the popularity of Hogarth's works became such that they soon began 'to occupy the same place and same function as books in the domesticity of the middle-classes' and in doing so provided him with a steady stream of income.⁶⁴

Although William Hogarth was successful as an artist in developing and promoting his new brand of art in the form of reproductive prints based on 'modern moral cycles', he was nevertheless reliant upon the co-operation of the print seller in the production and distribution of the prints on a scale that ensured a healthy return on the investment made by both in terms of time and effort. Consequently, he formed business relationships with the more prominent publishers and print sellers such as Thomas Bowles, John Boydell, Robert Sayer, Samuel Simpson and Philip Overton with whom Hogarth co-operated in the publication of his illustrations which accompanied the original *Hudibras* series in 1726.

Whilst Hogarth was realistic enough to acknowledge his limitations in the commercial distribution process, he was nevertheless able to retain his artistic and financial independence by the astute use of advertising in prominent London newspapers and studio sales which attracted a cross-section of potential patrons, provided social intercourse and became part of the fashionable urban viewing cycle. The strategic manner in which Hogarth packaged his work for sale, often by subscription, and the way in which he used newspapers as a medium to promote his work in terms of frequency, choice of title and length of run, demonstrates a level of business acumen missing amongst the majority of his contemporaries who displayed a distinct reluctance to utilise direct media.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Ogée, 'From text to image: William Hogarth and the emergence of a visual culture in eighteenth-century England', p. 4.

⁶⁵ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 52.

Methodology

As an empirically based research exercise the extent to which this thesis verifies contemporary patterns of commercial activity and audience composition for William Hogarth is reliant upon the quality and extent of primary sources. Diana Donald has commented how records of prints, their ownership and catalogues of sales during the early to mid-eighteenth century are ‘thinly scattered across libraries and museums such that surviving records represent only a vestige of the huge volume of ephemera that once existed, but a vestige that is still richly suggestive’.⁶⁶ This statement underpins the value of this research effort which has taken full advantage of the limited resources that are currently available in the public domain. The claims made therefore are considered to be well justified on the basis of the material examined and representative of the market for Hogarth’s prints at the time.

There are therefore inherent problems with several of the historical sources due to the ephemeral nature of prints and auction sales catalogues. These have been addressed separately in each relevant chapter within the context of the specific research area in question. For example, Chapter Three considers a representative example of a signed subscription ticket for each of the fourteen prints known to have been sold by Hogarth in this manner. Not only do these visually attractive and collectable subscription tickets demonstrate the artistic and commercial skills of Hogarth, they also provide biographical information which allows for a social analysis to be made of Hogarth’s audience as it fluctuated across the different stages of his career.

The Appendix to this thesis sets out, where known, biographical details of the balance of the sixty four signed subscription tickets revealed as a result of this research. As such, the appendix represents an archive in its own right. This overall analysis confirms the ‘higher end’ composition of Hogarth’s audience, taken to include the ‘commercial and professional’ classes, in the formative and earlier stages of his career. This is in contrast to the evident narrowing of his intended public later in the 1750s and onwards through the more ‘corrective’ prints as a means of social improvement directed specifically towards those in authority responsible for apprentices and other young persons who may become criminals.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ D. Donald, ‘The Popular Print. London’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 141. (1999), p. 490.

⁶⁷ Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times*, p. 32.

The print archive of signed subscription tickets is scattered. These prints have been drawn primarily from collections at the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge University, the British Museum Prints and Drawings Room and the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University. These are the three main sources for organised collections of eighteenth-century subscription tickets bearing the name of the patron and signed by Hogarth. There will clearly be other examples of signed subscription tickets in either private family collections or scattered elsewhere in academic departments or museums. Whilst the scope of this research exercise has been restricted to these main known holdings, it is contended that the sixty-four signed tickets, whilst only a small percentage of the total number of tickets issued by Hogarth, nevertheless provide sufficient evidence to demonstrate the innovative way in which he adapted the subscription process to promote his own product, and on which assumptions concerning the predominantly upper-class and cosmopolitan nature of the audience in the early successful parts of his career and beyond can be made.

The strategic way in which Hogarth advertised his prints alongside other literary products and competing consumer goods in terms of price and description, the choice of newspaper and the frequency of advertisements is covered extensively in Chapter Four. The importance of the metropolitan press to Hogarth in advertising his products has been covered in some detail principally through the Burney collection of eighteenth-century newspapers and relevant secondary sources which examine the role of newspapers in the development of advertising across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The presumption of a reading public which has been described by Mark Hallett during this period as becoming ‘resolutely metropolitan, relatively literate, moderately affluent and eclectic in its tastes’ is an essential pre-requisite to the analysis of Hogarth’s advertising strategy, which newspapers he advertised in, and for how long.⁶⁸

In considering the broadening of the newspaper reading public and the increase in advertising as a source of revenue and a means of reaching a wider audience of consumers, the works of Benjamin Collins, C.Y. Ferdinand, John Jefferson Looney, Hannah Barker, Jeremy Black, James Raven, Isabel Rivers and the studies undertaken by Schweizer and Klein on the use of advertising in newspapers as a sophisticated marketing technique figure prominently.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ M.Hallett, *The spectacle of difference: graphic satire in the age of Hogarth* (New Haven,1999), p. 25.

⁶⁹ Details of these sources are provided appropriately in Chapter Four mainly and in the bibliography.

Chapter Five deals with those auction sales catalogues that have survived from 1720-1764, the main period of Hogarth's career. The principal locations for research into auction sales catalogues have been the British Museum, Prints and Drawings Room where catalogues are bound in chronological order, the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Barber Institute for Fine Art at Birmingham University which also provides a valuable source of research outside London with records held in an unsystematic but basically chronological order. Sotheby's annual records held on microfilm at The Rare Books and Prints section of the British Library provide a limited but revealing selection of catalogues which contribute to a greater understanding of the auction market and its social composition during the early to mid-eighteenth century.

The images of prints and their provenance contained in the digital collection of prints held at the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University provide a valuable back-up to the research findings especially as regards the holdings of Horace Walpole who was an avid collector of Hogarth prints and provided aristocratic endorsement of Hogarth's popularity.⁷⁰

Despite these limitations, the thesis provides a unique insight into the entrepreneurial initiatives employed by William Hogarth as he responded to the changing relationship between the artist and the consuming public. This thesis demonstrates through the commercial techniques he adopted how the marketing of art kept pace with contemporary patterns of consumption.

Conclusion

This thesis contributes to the vast body of academic material on William Hogarth by providing a fresh perspective and a tangible, empirically based assessment of the way in which his marketing techniques were an essential factor in his success as an artist. It fills a lacuna in Hogarthian scholarship not previously researched in any systematic manner to provide evidence of the innovative and practical nature of these techniques such as repeated advertising in selected London newspapers and the innovative use of the subscription process.

It also provides empirical evidence to build upon and consolidate previous understandings of audience composition and shines a light on how this changed during the various stages of his

⁷⁰ http://www.library.yale.edu/walpole/collections/library_collections.html

career, from the early success of his ‘moral-cycles’, when it was drawn predominantly from members of the aristocracy, the cognoscenti, fellow freemasons, close friends and professional artists, to the more ‘corrective’ prints once he became artistically autonomous, and more concerned with influencing those in authority and responsible for the well-being of apprentices and young boys at risk through criminal behaviour.

Close analysis of signed subscription tickets and the subscription register for the *Election Series* of prints along with a review of the advertising strategy Hogarth adopted on a print by print basis across the main London newspapers circulating at the time support these claims and underline the enterprising way in which Hogarth went about promoting his art.

The chronology of change asserted by this thesis relates to the early to mid-eighteenth century and more specifically to the period 1730-1764 during which William Hogarth established himself as an artist of some stature and a leading entrepreneur in the promotion of his work. The period has also been identified by John Brewer in his assessment of early eighteenth-century culture as ‘post-courtly’ and one when ‘men and women came to see themselves and their society in a new way’ as ideas and attitudes began to find greater expression in the arts due to advances in printing techniques, better quality engravings on metal and the increased distribution of books through the subscription process.⁷¹

According to Brewer, the commercialisation of the arts increased as society became more urban and notions of taste and politeness were believed to be best nurtured in towns and cities.⁷² This assessment has been supported by Penny Corfield, Maxine Berg and Carol Gibson-Wood as it relates to ‘middle-class’ attitudes to art as a commodity and patterns of consumption.⁷³

By identifying this period as one of fundamental change allied to the articulation of a distinctive middle-class urban culture, the thesis challenges the notion of a ‘coherent cultural epoch’ across the ‘long eighteenth century’ as expressed by Amanda Vickery and emphasises the specific commercial and dynamic spirit of the period and the part played by William Hogarth in the commercial and cultural development of art.⁷⁴ This approach acts as a critique

⁷¹ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. xix.

⁷² Ibid, p. xviii.

⁷³ See pages 20/21 - for how these commentators address the issue of urban middle-class identity and attitudes towards art.

⁷⁴ A. Vickery, *Behind closed doors: at home in Georgian England* (New Haven, 2009), p. 19.

in many respects of existing studies on the eighteenth century and emphasises how the enterprising commercial and marketing initiatives adopted by Hogarth allow for specific audience analysis through surviving subscription lists, signed subscription tickets and auction sales catalogues to be made.

This thesis makes a series of claims therefore relating to the marketing techniques of William Hogarth and presents evidence to support his reputation as an enthusiastic self-publicist who borrowed from commercial design and in doing so challenged the fixed notion of the place of the arts in a period when art moved out of the court and into the public marketplace. By providing empirical evidence to verify the marketing techniques adopted by William Hogarth and the audience that these were aimed at, the thesis brings a fresh perspective to existing studies which have acknowledged the rise of the arts in the early to mid-eighteenth century but have failed to associate these fully with the marketing and commercial practices by which artists such as Hogarth came to liberate themselves from the domination of booksellers and become responsible for the promotion and distribution of their own work.

This first chapter has outlined the conceptual framework for the analysis and interpretation of contemporary society in the early eighteenth century and has taken account of changes in cultural gradations and the effect these had on commercial trading patterns and aesthetic interpretations of art. It has introduced the concept of a more diverse ‘public market’ for art and highlighted the way in which artists like William Hogarth took advantage of improvements in print technology and changing perceptions of art to maximise their career potential.

The key elements of this thesis cannot be fully understood unless they are considered against the contextual environment of the period and an appreciation of the background and circumstances that shaped the trajectory of Hogarth’s career. Chapter Two provides a platform for the detailed consideration of Hogarth as an enterprising artist confident of his own abilities. It is only by tracing the contours of his early career from a ‘jobbing engraver’ to a painter of portraits, historical and biblical scenes and eventually a leading exponent of the successful Conversation Pieces, that the decision to invest his time more profitably by engraving popular prints from his own paintings can be readily appreciated.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art market in England*, p. 5.

Chapter Three identifies technical developments in print and publishing during the period and demonstrates how these and the subscription process provided William Hogarth with commercial opportunities not previously available to artists. The creation by Hogarth of the visually attractive and collectable subscription ticket as an artistic item in its own right is considered along with a sample social analysis of the fourteen prints sold in this way as a guide to audience composition. The appendix to this chapter provides further convincing evidence of the social composition of Hogarth's patrons for these prints by examining the sixty four signed subscription tickets identified as a result of this research.

Chapter Four provides a quantitative and qualitative analysis of Hogarth's advertising practices in London newspapers on a print by print basis. It also provides fresh evidence of which newspapers were most advertised in and the prints which featured most frequently.

Chapter Five reveals the extent to which auction sales in London, as unregulated sales events, responded to, and assisted in the commercialisation of art as an exchangeable commodity once it had left the artist's hands. This demonstrates the extent to which the quest for cultural capital of an increasingly large consumer base exerted a formative influence on the commercial and marketing techniques of eighteenth-century art.

The overarching theme of this thesis can be summarised as an examination of the marketing techniques of William Hogarth as part of the commercialisation of art in the early to mid-eighteenth century. Furthermore, analysis of his audience through the evidence of signed subscription tickets, the type of London newspapers he advertised in, and the identity of those who collected his goods through the mechanism of the auction, confirms previous assumptions of it as being composed largely in the early to mid part of his career of the well-resourced upper to middle sections of society, including the professional and commercial classes, supplemented by close friends and professional acquaintances before becoming specifically directed in the late 1740s and the 1750s to those in positions of authority and responsible for social improvement.

Chapter 2

William Hogarth (1697 – 1764)

Preface

In the mid-1720s after years of engraving silver-plate, shop cards and book illustrations, William Hogarth's career as an independent artist began in earnest with his illustration of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* in 1726. At this time the status of the profession remained one of being almost totally dependent on patronage as regards specific commissions for historical and religious paintings, individual portraits and Conversation Pieces. The desire for artistic autonomy was however underway as the arts became more commercial, less courtly and more urban.¹ Any assessment of William Hogarth as an artistic innovator will focus on the way in which he developed a new art form based on visual-verbal references, narrative and images for effect almost as a graphic version of the book which appealed to the growing reading public along with periodicals, the novel and theatrical performances. To a considerable extent, Hogarth as a visual artist built on these phenomena.²

Ronald Paulson suggests that Hogarth's prints in the early to mid- eighteenth century opened up new avenues of interest and provided a more commercially minded audience with real life representations of everyday life as they constructed a form of dynamic visual record in phase with the main trend of thoughts of the time by 'producing a graphic version of the page of a book whilst at the same time avoiding many of its limitations'.³ By opening up what Paulson describes as 'an alternative space', Hogarth developed a new *product* which corresponded to, and 'caught an expanding audience on its own terms'.⁴ This breakthrough in understanding which represented a radical change of attitude, came about largely through Hogarth's

¹ J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (New York, 1997), p. xviii.

² R. Paulson, 'Henry Fielding and the problem of deism', in R.D. Lund (ed.), *The Margins of Orthodoxy: heterodox writing and cultural response 1660-1750* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 243.

³ R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (London, 1989), p. 7.

⁴ R. Paulson, 'Emulative consumption and literacy', in A. Bermingham and J. Brewer (eds.), *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800* (London, 1995), p. 385.

promotion of the print as a dynamic visual record of contemporary life, in much the same way as Van Heemskerck's depictions of 'drunken drolls and wakes' in the late seventeenth century and Laroon's genre of the urban poor in the 'cries of London' and provided 'a tangible link between image and society which was attractive to a growing audience who saw it not only as an extension of, but equivalent to what was being offered in books and on the stage'.⁵

This chapter locates William Hogarth as artist and innovator within the context of the period described by Maxine Berg as one of expanding literary and cultural consumption.⁶ In doing so, the way in which he based his early 'moral cycles' on the morality of moderation in a realistic way provides the focus for a short, but incisive account of how he enhanced both his professional and financial status by the imaginative use of the print as a link between image and society and a form of social conversation.⁷

In her review of the Hogarth tercentenary, Judy Egerton considered that 'too much current writing about Hogarth is repetitive, presenting him chiefly as pugnacious, xenophobic, self-centred and curmudgeonly'.⁸ Whilst much of this is accurate and well supported by evidence, less has been made of Hogarth as an extraordinarily innovative artist with an acute insight into the commercial and aesthetic tendencies of contemporary society. This innovation applied as much to the way he developed marketing and commercial techniques hitherto unknown to the artist, as to the way in which he transferred his professional skills from one genre of painting to another, eventually concentrating on print engraving to suit the new moral climate of the time that seemed to preoccupy the emerging prosperous commercial sorts especially.

This chapter traces Hogarth's early beginnings and the circumstances in which his life and career developed. It sets the scene and prepares the ground for a review of the factors which shaped his career, the intense dislike of the commercial practices which restricted artistic copyright and his desire to penetrate the upper sections of society for both artistic and personal reasons. The chapter will also take a brief tour of Hogarth's career by selecting

⁵F.Ogé, 'From Text to Image: William Hogarth and the Emergence of a Visual Culture in the Eighteenth Century', in D.Bindman, F. Ogée and P.Wagner, *Hogarth. Representing nature's machines* (Manchester, 2001), p. 13.

⁶ M. Berg, 'From consumption to consumer culture', in M. Berg and H. Clifford (eds.) *Consumers and Luxury; Consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850*, (Manchester, 1999), p. 1.

⁷ F. Ogée, *The Dumb Show: image and society in the works of William Hogarth* (Oxford, 1997), p. 12.

⁸ J. Egerton, 'The Hogarth Tercentenary', *Print Quarterly*, xv, 3, September 1998, pp. 322-8.

examples of his work as it developed from the early satirical commentaries on social and political issues such as *The South Sea Bubble* 1721. This will be followed by a review of his Conversation Pieces which provided him with much success before moving on to the ‘modern moral subjects’ for which he became famous. The review will end with the more ‘instructional prints’, which were aimed at young apprentices and the lower sorts and were jointly promoted with his close companion Henry Fielding, by then Chief Magistrate for Westminster.

It will also unpack and investigate the motivation behind his ‘modern moral cycles’ by way of gaining an insight into and understanding of his didactic-commercial approach to art in an increasingly commercial setting. It is only by framing this background that a proper understanding can be gained of the promotional and commercial activities employed by Hogarth as a self-styled entrepreneur, the way in which his art developed to satisfy audience expectations, and to what extent it was influenced by contemporary events. Whilst being heavily influenced by conventional literary satire, Hogarth broke new ground by incorporating real personages into his stories to make them popular as pictorial art and as a form of prose fiction.⁹

(The images used in this chapter are intended as specific examples of Hogarth’s art as he moved from one genre to another and are meant to be representative only).

Introduction

William Hogarth was born in November 1697 in the neighbourhood of Smithfield Market and in the parish of St Bartholomew the Great in London, the eldest of three children and the son of schoolmaster, Richard Hogarth who had moved to the capital from near Bampton near Westmorland in the North West of England to set himself up as a composer and publisher of Latin and English dictionaries for use in schools. Richard saw himself as a literary man but due to being let down in business matters by his bookseller was required to spend a period in the Fleet prison for debtors. As was the habit in those days, his family went with him.¹⁰ This experience would resonate with William Hogarth throughout his career and its effect on his commercial and artistic ideology cannot be overestimated. He became apprenticed to Ellis Gamble as a plate engraver in 1713 and became independent by 1720. It was to these early

⁹ R.E. Moore, *Hogarth’s Literary Relationships*, (Minnesota, 1948), p. 15.

¹⁰ W. Vaughan, *British Painting-The Golden Age* (London, 1999), p. 26.

life experiences and the disadvantages that he had to overcome that Hogarth 'returned throughout his career for his most powerful images'.¹¹ As the son of a man who had been betrayed by aristocrats who had falsely promised him patronage, and by tradesmen who had continually exploited his intellectual gifts, Hogarth realised 'I had before my eyes the precarious state of authors and men of learning- I saw the difficulties my father went through whose dependence was chiefly on his pen and the cruel treatment he met with from Booksellers'.¹² His father died in 1718 when William was twenty, a premature loss which 'was partly occasioned by the usage he had met with from this set of people and partly by disappointments from great men's Promises'.¹³

The sense of resentment caused by his father's early death is evident in much of Hogarth's subsequent commentaries on contemporary business practices and the way in which he promoted his own work independently through the imaginative use of the subscription process and the issue of tickets as images and artistic items in their own right. This expression of self-promotion was carried out by the strategic placing of advertisements in the popular London press at a time when total weekly circulation figures of all titles has been estimated at 100,000.¹⁴

Throughout his career Hogarth would strive for financial security and status by drawing on early memories of his father's demise. This experience would influence his commercial relationships with booksellers and the successful pioneering of the Act for the Encouragement of the Arts of Designing, Engraving and Etching 1735 later to be known as 'Hogarth's Act'.¹⁵ This was the artist's way of emancipating himself from aristocratic patronage and putting himself directly in the hands of the public. In doing so it not only gave engravers and designers exclusive rights to promote and distribute their works. It also prevented them from being pirated by other agents and booksellers and, in Hogarth's case elevated them as superior engravings and to the status of 'high art'.¹⁶

¹¹ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 2.

¹² D. Bindman, *Hogarth*, (London, 1981), p. 9.

¹³ Ibid, p. 9.

¹⁴ The figures relate to 1746 and cover the five dailies, the six thrice- weeklies and the weekly publications circulating in the metropolis. M. Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*, (London, 1987), p. 190.

¹⁵ 'After having had my first plates Pirated on all sides and manner, I applied to Parliament for redress which not only has so effectually done my business but has made prints a considerable article and trade in this town, there being more business of that kind done in this Town than in Paris or elsewhere'. S. Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth* (New York 1973), p.xxvi.

¹⁶ J.L Clifford, *Man Versus Society in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 144.

Once out of his initial apprenticeship as a silver engraver in 1720 but lacking the patience needed to acquire and deploy the skills necessary for reproductive engraving, Hogarth began his career as a jobbing engraver of low priced designs for cheap novels, shop cards, funeral tickets and other forms of ephemera. However the narrowness of this type of ‘mechanick’ trade apprenticeship and his determination to succeed, no doubt fuelled by his family’s early misfortunes, led to his first attempt in 1721 to reflect popular opinion through political satire with the production of two prints, *The South Sea Bubble* and its companion work, *The Lottery*. Both were sold through the established artist-bookseller arrangement which bears little resemblance to Hogarth’s later use of innovative marketing methods designed to release him from such restrictive practices. Each print employs numerous figures as part of the common crowd in pursuit of monetary gain, and emphasises how rampant speculation can lead to vice and folly.¹⁷

Didactic in purpose and middle class in values, both prints reveal how early Hogarth’s interests and moral inclinations were being formed. In *The Lottery* he created crowded street scenes, reminiscent of the Dutch manner, to castigate the influence of foreigners on London life by including religious figures of different faiths playing dice in a manner suggestive of the Roman soldiers at the scourging of Christ casting lots for his cloak. In this respect, Hogarth foreshadowed his later artistic tendencies to subvert ‘high art’ to emphasise his own style and highlight the contrast between foreign art based on distinct religious themes, and the more native realism of his own patriotic pictures.¹⁸

This was in keeping with the distinctive nature of British art of the period which emphasised naturalism and modernity, was essentially patriotic in its composition and increasingly supported by a new audience, made up of rich merchants and their families less hidebound in their tastes and more inclined to treat art increasingly as a commodity rather than evidence of patrician values.¹⁹ It is within this context that Hogarth developed as an entrepreneur, painting more for an urban, literate market than to commission.

From an early age Hogarth realised he had a naturally good eye and a talent for capturing everyday images ‘more truly than that seen by a camera obscura’ without having to draw on

¹⁷ Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 13.

¹⁸ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, p. 2.

¹⁹ Vaughan, *British Painting-The Golden Age*, p. 12.

the spot.²⁰ This method of retaining images meant that Hogarth could engage in his studies and pleasures at the same time through the observation of everyday life whether comical or tragic. The inhabitants of scenes recreated by this method were the public who Hogarth regarded as ‘Subjects I considered as writers do- my Picture was my stage and men and women my actors who were by Mean of certain Actions and expressions to Exhibit a dumb shew’.²¹ By being both instructive and amusing Hogarth believed he had hit upon the method of art most suitable to his disposition, that of reproducing images of real life directly from his own mind.

Early Career - Engravings

Once aware of this ability to accurately depict everyday life in all its variety, Hogarth produced prints related to themes closely related to contemporary life to expose what he considered to be the foibles of the age.²² The fashion for foreign style Palladian architecture and entertainment such as masquerades, harlequin plays and Italian operas while English playwrights such as Shakespeare were being ignored, provided the basis for the first of his satirical prints, *Masquerades and Operas* 1723-4, also known as ‘*Taste of the Town*’.²³ The inspiration for Hogarth in the design of this print was a sense of affronted patriotism together with the frivolity on which such entertainment was based. For example a harlequin cheapens a great play and a masquerade gives pleasure through disguise and ‘a licence for tongues to seduce and hands to roam through the promiscuous mingling of people’.²⁴

By making fun of foreigners and the Burlington circle with their enthusiasm for Palladian architecture, Hogarth challenged the shallowness he associated with such trends and the dangers this fashion presented for the more impressionable and ambitious in metropolitan society.²⁵ By invoking the English rather than the classical past Hogarth was almost certainly allying himself with the painter Sir James Thornhill whose daughter he would later elope

²⁰ J. Burke (ed.), *The Analysis of Beauty* with rejected passages from the manuscript drafts and autobiographical notes- William Hogarth, ‘Autobiographical Notes’ in *The Analysis of Beauty* (Oxford, 1955), p. 206.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 209.

²² Vaughan, *British Painting- The Golden Age*, p. 25.

²³ It is possible that *Masquerades and Operas* was an attempt by Hogarth to side with Thornhill in his struggles with the leaders of the new taste for Palladian architecture. The Earl of Burlington and the painter William Kent are both lampooned by Hogarth by being placed on top of a pediment with figures of Michelangelo and Raphael in adoration beneath. Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 17.

²⁴ J.White, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2012), p. 295.

²⁵ Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 17.

with and marry and who had a significant influence on his career, both in terms of style and in obtaining commissions.²⁶

Despite the popularity of his *Masquerades and Operas*, Hogarth made little profit due to 'pirating' and was forced to continue with book illustration. His next serious attempt to make a name for himself through engraving came with the production of a series of twelve plates in illustration of Samuel Butler's satire on Puritanism *Hudibras* in 1725-26. These separate plates were printed and sold by subscription through Philip Overton, an established bookseller despite Hogarth's assertion that he 'found this tribe exactly as my father had left them when he died. A monopoly of Print sellers equally destructive to the Ingenious....'²⁷

The large *Hudibras* series comprising twelve plates was generally considered a work of high ambition. In his notes, the contemporary chronicler Vertue, paid tribute to Hogarth's 'greatness of pencilling, spirit and composition without Copying other painters or Masters immediately by the force of Judgement....'²⁸ Despite the relative success of his *Hudibras* plates, it still did not bring Hogarth any closer to escaping from the system of dependence on an established bookseller for access to the market and distribution. It was also clear to him that he lacked the finesse of touch to reach the heights of the engraving profession.

Fine engraving was increasingly a French monopoly and Hogarth knew he had neither the patience nor the time to persevere in the face of financial necessity. For example he commissioned the established French engraver Simon Ravenet to engrave the six-plate *Marriage-a-la-Mode* series (1745) in keeping with his assurance of their 'French elegance'.²⁹ Besides, his own gifts and interest lay in original composition. Subject painting was held to be the more elevated profession of a painter in oil. It had a higher standing among intellectuals and was generally considered to afford the native born artist a steadier living.³⁰

²⁶ Thornhill, Serjeant Painter to the King, was one of the few established English artists capable of winning lucrative commissions in the face of foreign competition. He painted the dome of St Pauls Cathedral in London and the Great Hall of the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich which he covered with a series of allegories on the Protestant succession. Vaughan, *British Painting-The Golden Age*, p. 111.

²⁷ Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 205.

²⁸ Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 24.

²⁹ D. Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times*, (London, 1997), p. 31.

³⁰ D. Morris, 'Satire and Refinement in Hogarth's London' in D. Morris (ed.), *William Hogarth-The Artist and the City* (Manchester, 1997), p. 11.

Beginnings as a Painter

Hogarth's almost immediate impact as an oil painter is probably due in part to the instruction he received from Sir James Thornhill whose home he was said to visit regularly despite claiming to be self-taught. Nevertheless, the rapidity of his rise from silver engraver to a more than proficient artist surprised his contemporaries. In his record of contemporary artists and collections, Vertue notes how 'Mr Hogarth's paintings gain every day so many admirers that happy they are that can get a picture of his paintings which make him surprisingly forward the master he now is'.³¹ The capacity to capture the 'natural likeness' which Vertue considered came from a natural talent for 'imitation and mimickry' discovered as a child together with memory training and repeated observation allowed him to capture images in their original form by developing 'the habit of retaining in my minds eye whatever I designed to imitate without directly drawing it at the time'.³² In doing so he disregarded the conventional practice of producing sketches and drawings before committing oil to canvas. He would later explain his highly original approach of putting a premium on spontaneity in his *Analysis of Beauty* 1753 which 'proposed an aesthetic of the middle range which subordinates the beautiful and sublime to the everyday world of human choice and contingency', a theory through which he contended that he 'was able to connect his Serpentine line with Michelangelo and Renaissance Art'.³³ The first painting to catch the public imagination was his depiction of the final scene from the *Beggar's Opera*, (fig.3), a theatrical production which provided a satirical reflection of contemporary politics and society.

³¹ Vertue, *Vertue Notebooks*, Vol. III, p. 41.

³² Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 30.

³³ R. Paulson, *Analysis of Beauty* (New Haven, 1997), p. 236.



Fig.3. The Beggar's Opera Scene III 1728-1731

The first version of his painting *The Beggars Opera* marked his entry into the ranks of popular contemporary native artists. The success of the ballad-opera play was remarkably fortuitous for Hogarth both in its timing and as a work of satire, humour and pathos and it provided a model for a kind of art well suited to his gifts. The play by John Gay had an appeal that cut across all sections of society. Unlike conventional forms of opera and masquerades, it satirised Italian opera which was extremely popular with the theatre-going set and used familiar tunes and characters to draw out the main themes of political corruption and injustice.³⁴ The development of the 'deep fore stage' brought actor and audience into close contact and enhanced the sense of involvement and the creation of a real life experience.³⁵

As a visual medium the success of the play lay in its reflection of life as theatre with real actors playing the fictional, but recognisable parts of well-known figures in the contemporary

³⁴ Bindman, *Hogarth*, pp. 32-36.

³⁵ S. O'Connell, *London 1753* (London, 2003), p. 16.

political world. For example, Macheath for Walpole chimed with opposition political opinion of the 'Robinocracy' as an immoral and self-serving administration. Telling a story about London's low-life criminals and prostitutes, it implied that there was little to distinguish these from the rogues who ran the country. The only difference was that the former were caught and punished for their misdemeanours. Hogarth was able to revel in and exploit the satirical undertones of the plot by incorporating in his painting of the final scene, recognisable members of the fashionable audience, almost on stage, whose private lives off stage are hinted at by relationships between the actors and the audience thereby reversing the role of all the protagonists.³⁶

The Conversation Piece

The relative success of *The Beggar's Opera* convinced Hogarth that there was a future in painted scenes from contemporary life. His immediate projects were *The Denunciation* and *The Christening* (fig. 4), a pair of paintings which set out to expose secular and ecclesiastical vice within the setting of human folly.³⁷ In doing so Hogarth, displayed his secular-aesthetic anti-clerical side by exposing the inattention of the participants to the sacrament being performed and by parodying the dim-witted curate and the parson who is more concerned with ogling the young girl standing by his side whilst the father is more concerned with checking his appearance in the mirror, prefiguring the vanity of the selfish in many of his later works.³⁸ This disregard for the clergy and the Anglican emphasis on liturgy and sacrament rather than faith by good works would be a constant theme throughout Hogarth's moral cycles as he sought to expose what he considered to be the hypocrisy of many in Holy Orders. The emphasis on proper behaviour in prints from his early career allowed Hogarth to be conveniently cast after his death by the Anglican clergyman and author, Doctor John Trusler as a great 'moraliser' in *Hogarth Moralised* 1768. Trusler had been commissioned by Hogarth's widow Jane who wished her husband to be regarded and understood in the best

³⁶ D. Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times* (London), p. 92.

³⁷ Although not included by Paulson in the Hogarthian canon, Bindman cites *The Christening* (Private Collection) as an early example of how Hogarth used religious convention to expose what he considered to be the impropriety of the religious and the secular in acting out their own human follies. Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 36. Vertue also records how the painting of 'a small piece of several figures representing a Christening being lately sold at a publick sale for a good price, got him much reputation'. Vertue, *Notebooks*, Vol.III, p. 41.

³⁸ Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 36.

possible light when in fact several of his more popular works were deliberately suggestive and bordered on 'low art' in the opinion of many artistic observers.³⁹



Fig.4. The Christening - William Hogarth 1729

The emergence of the Conversation Piece marked a significant break in the style of portraiture with which the century had opened by providing an ideal of restrained elegance played out in the most decorative of sessions and offering a pictorial arrangement with which Hogarth's patrons could comfortably identify.⁴⁰ Whereas previously, sitters seemed solely concerned with the act of posing for their portraits, the Conversation Piece centred on the narrative, representing individuals engaged in activities such as conversing, playing cards and drinking tea surrounded by displays of their wealth.⁴¹

The task of legitimising conversation for the purpose of portraiture could only have been achieved once luxury and virtue had been reconciled. Hogarth made an important

³⁹ Vertue considered that 'his genius seems very strong and conversant with low life'. *Notebooks*, Vol III, p. 136.

⁴⁰ M. Hallett and C. Riding, *Hogarth*, (London, 2006) p. 17.

⁴¹ Morris, *William Hogarth-The Artist and the City*, p. 11.

breakthrough with his depiction of *The Wollaston Family* 1730 (fig.5) by using his superior powers of observation to support the contemporary middle class socio-economic view of acceptable progress.⁴² This social acceptability was confirmed by Vertue's description of the piece as 'a large Conversation painted of Men and Women of the families of Woollastons and containing at least 18 or 20 persons sitting at cards and (drinking) tea' and is described by Vertue as a 'really a most excellent work by Hogarth containing the true likeness of the persons, shape, air and dress- well disposed, genteel agreeable and freely painted'.⁴³



Fig.5. The Wollaston Family - William Hogarth 1730

⁴² William Wollaston descended from a wealthy wool merchant was MP for Ipswich 1715-54. History of Parliament online at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/wollaston-william-1693-1757>

⁴³ Vertue, *Notebooks*, Vol. III, p. 46.

Ease and comfort within the family as a distinct unit was possible within the Conversation Piece which offered as no other historical document did ‘the possibility of enumerating material possession to the point of fetishisation and confirmed the synthesis of commerce, virtue and social acceptability through the sensible accumulation of tasteful objects’.⁴⁴ Through such paintings Hogarth was able to provide an assessment of how contemporary society in experiencing rapid commercial expansion, was able to reconcile wealth within the dictates of Christian and classical morality.⁴⁵

His own morals find expression in his instinctive distaste for gambling as a pastime designed to lead to ruin, no doubt influenced by his own father’s ill-treatment at the hands of unscrupulous booksellers. This is set against the sensible use of games such as whist which is depicted in the painting as an acceptable card game which does not involve cheating and greed but allows the players to indulge in mixed social intercourse.⁴⁶ Therefore whist provides the perfect antidote within the family setting to those activities which Hogarth would identify in ‘The Rake’s Progress’ with disastrous consequences.

The family theme within the Conversation Piece was followed up by *The Cholmondeley Family* 1732 in which Hogarth depicted two active and vivacious children playing a game and causing a large pile of books to topple.⁴⁷ Contrasted with the placidity of the adults, it also contained ‘the seeds of allegory and suggests the ephemeral state of childhood’.⁴⁸ Hogarth deliberately adopted this contrasting approach to emphasise the innocence of childhood within the family unit which is at odds with the lifestyle of his subsequent morality tales, ‘*The Harlot’s Progress*’ and ‘*The Rake’s Progress*’ and in doing so warns of departing from the moral standards set by a society becoming predominantly middle class.

The later large group portrait, *The Graham Children* 1742 reinforced Hogarth’s use of the Conversation Piece to demonstrate a new degree of emotional depth by depicting the ‘fleetingness of childhood as suggested by the distinctive behaviour of each child according

⁴⁴ K. Redford, ‘From the Interior to Interiority: The Conversation Piece in Georgian England’, *Journal of Design History*, Vol.20, No.4 (2007), p. 291.

⁴⁵ D.H. Solkin, *Painting For Money* (New Haven, 1992), p. 2.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 88

⁴⁷ George Cholmondeley was the second earl of Cholmondeley and an officer in the Life Guards. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5344>, [accessed 13 Oct 2013]

⁴⁸ Bindman, *Hogarth* p. 41.

to age and the rich fabric of allusion to the passing of time'.⁴⁹ The parents Dr and Mrs Daniel Graham lived in Pall Mall and Dr Graham was apothecary to the Royal Household and the Chelsea Hospital.⁵⁰ These three Conversation Pieces demonstrate the wealthy professional and middle class clientele that Hogarth aimed to attract. This life size group portrait was intended to reinforce the value of the family in contrast to the transient and flimsy pleasures offered by contemporary London society.

As though to suggest a contrast to the orderly and sober scenes depicted in the Conversation Pieces Hogarth turned the genre on its head and created what could be considered an 'anti-Conversation Piece' in *A Midnight Modern Conversation* 1732/3 (fig.6). Whereas members of the gentry or aristocracy had been depicted in the conventional form of the Conversation Piece sipping tea and complacently conversing with each other perhaps over a genteel game of cards, this version of a Georgian drinking party was meant as an instructive contrast and provided a cautionary, visual demonstration of the perils of alcohol, but in a humorous way rather than the more didactic approach he would adopt later with the lower classes in his *Gin Lane* 1752.⁵¹ The clock shows 4 a.m. and the drunken scene depicts the revellers in various states of intoxication with the clergyman the best practiced and therefore less inebriated, a point Hogarth would wish to make reflecting his antipathy towards the clergy in general. The unconventional nature of the portrait impressed Hogarth's contemporaries who saw it not as an anti-drinking satire but as comic English art and a robust defence of native 'freedom'. Those in the artistic establishment however regarded it as confirmation that Hogarth indulged in 'low art' and was ill suited to face painting.⁵²

The painting was made into a black and white print several years later and became popular on the continent, especially France and Germany appearing on fans, pottery and snuffboxes.⁵³ The Meissen Porcelain Company in Dresden, Germany showed great initiative in reproducing the scene rather appropriately onto a punch bowl (fig. 7).⁵⁴ Although the application of

⁴⁹ William Hogarth by D. Bindman *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13464>, [accessed 13 Oct 2013]

⁵⁰ National Gallery 'Take One Notes' at <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/william-hogarth-the-graham-children>, [accessed 13 October 2013]

⁵¹ F. Antal, *Hogarth and his place in European Art*, (London, 1962), p. 95.

⁵² H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting with some account of the principal artists in the Reign of George II*, Volume 4 (Twickenham, MDCCLXII. [1762]), p. 183.

⁵³ Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationship*, p. 9.

⁵⁴ The punchbowl with *chinoiserie*, typical of late seventeenth, early eighteenth century porcelain is made of English delftware and is said to have belonged to Hogarth. It now resides in the Victoria and Albert Museum C.37&A.

Hogarth's images onto porcelain fell outside the copyright laws he had successfully pioneered in 1735 to prevent the 'pirating' of his prints, he is likely to have been flattered by such new innovations which both confirmed and widened his popularity as a successful contemporary artist.

Within a few short years Hogarth would abandon painting Conversation Pieces due to the 'drudgery' involved and the fact 'that manner of painting was not sufficiently paid to do everything my family required'.⁵⁵ Consequently he turned his mind to 'a new way of proceeding, viz painting and engraving modern moral Subjects a Field unbroken up in any Country or any age'.⁵⁶ This shift in career direction demonstrates Hogarth's acute market awareness and his pragmatic approach to art as a commercial enterprise rather than an exercise in aesthetic judgement.

⁵⁵ Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 216

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 216.



Fig. 6. A Midnight Modern Conversation 1732/3



Fig.7. Meissen Punch Bowl and Cover- A Modern Midnight Conversation 1734. Victoria and Albert Museum C.37&⁵⁷

⁵⁷ See <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/>

The First Modern Moral Subjects: Before and After, a Harlot's Progress and a Rake's Progress

By the early 1730s Hogarth had achieved a solid position in society and an improving reputation as a native artist of some stature. He had moved his studio to Leicester Fields where he was to remain throughout his life. The use of the term 'modern' when describing his new series of prints might be said to reflect their more 'novel mode' and the distinction between contemporary and classical- ancient definitions of morality and the virtuous citizen.⁵⁸ For Hogarth, contemporary definitions of *moral* were likely to be conforming to a standard of what is good and right, similar to that in Johnson's Dictionary which defines the word as 'reasoning or instructing with regard to vice and virtue'.⁵⁹

The first paintings of a distinctly 'moral' nature came with two versions, one indoor and one outdoor, of the same two-painting series '*Before and After*' 1730-31 which clearly set out, for the female viewer especially, the dangers of seduction and the realistic depiction of illusion and reality. The illusion is depicted in the erotic delight which precedes the sexual act and is contrasted with the messy reality and bewilderment that inevitably characterises the post-coital state.⁶⁰ The erotic nature of the paintings is likely to have stemmed from Hogarth's tendency to titillate given that he 'revelled in the company of frank speaking and hedonistic gentlemen'.⁶¹ Interestingly, Mrs Hogarth did not include '*Before and After*' in those prints sold by her after Hogarth's death as they were likely to have diminished the image she wished to portray of her husband in the new moral climate of the later decades of the century. As a result, the posthumous publication of an explanatory commentary of Hogarth's prints entitled 'Hogarth Moralised' by the Rev John Trusler in 1766 did not make any reference to the prints.

This tendency for sensuality is confirmed in the '*Harlot's Progress*' which although a narrative based on a conventional morality tale, had an immediate appeal in the titillating depiction of vice and made Hogarth complicit in the marketing of the Harlot's body.⁶² Vertue's account of the genesis and reception of the series reveals how the initial designs depicted 'a common harlot just arising about noon out of bed, this whore's dishabille careless

⁵⁸ Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, p. 7.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 65.

⁶⁰ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, p. 37.

⁶¹ Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 53.

⁶² B. Fort and A. Rosenthal, 'The Analysis of Difference' in B. Fort and A. Rosenthal (eds.), *The Other Hogarth-Aesthetics of Difference* (Princeton, 2001), p. 5.

and a pretty countenance and air- this thought pleased many and some advised him to make another to it as a pair which he did. The other thoughts increased and multiplied by his fruitful invention till he made six'.⁶³ The originality of the plot however has to be set against Addison's essay in number 266 of the *Spectator* 'A Consideration of poor and public Whores' in which he mentions seeing 'the most artful Procuress in the Town examining the most beautiful Country Girl who had come in the same wagon with my things'. This may well have provided Hogarth with material for the first plate of the *Harlot's Progress* and concentrated his mind on the plot for the remaining five others.⁶⁴

A Harlot's Progress was engraved from six pictures painted c 1731 and issued in April 1732 to twelve hundred and forty subscribers.⁶⁵ The story is told as if each painting or engraving is the act of a play or chapter in a novel. No verbal narrative is given though signs in the forms of notices and discarded letters and wrappers complement the action in most scenes. By cleverly arranging his images left to right, Hogarth leads the viewer across the scene and in doing so creates an unfolding scenario for the viewer to interpret as he intended them to. The result according to Paulson was a significant development in English Art, the 're-encoding of political and social issues in fiction... by using the image of the exploited and sentimental prostitute'.⁶⁶

Part of the theatrical nature of Hogarth's pictures was the inclusion of instantly recognisable locations such as Covent Garden and The Rose Tavern, both well known landmarks, which made it possible for the viewer to plot both the *Harlot's* rise and fall and later, the *Rake's* similar demise on a map of London making the prints especially topical and relevant.⁶⁷ Hogarth took the opportunity throughout the early 'cycles' to expose many of his favourite targets as well as drawing attention to the perils that await susceptible young girls newly arrived in the capital from the provinces or the countryside and impressionable young men whose inheritance leads to their downfall rather than true happiness. The success of the engravings was extraordinary. They had a wide appeal, especially to middle class convictions and brought instant success and established him almost overnight as one of the most sought

⁶³ Vertue, *Notebooks* Vol III, p. 58.

⁶⁴ Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, p. 11.

⁶⁵ Vertue records in his notebook 'he had daily subscriptions coming in, in fifty or a hundred pounds in a week- there being no day but persons of fashion and Artists came to see the pictures'. Vertue *Notebooks*, Vol III, p. 58.

⁶⁶ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 4.

⁶⁷ Ogée, 'From Text to Image: William Hogarth and the Emergence of a Visual Culture in the Eighteenth Century', p. 11.

after artists of the day.⁶⁸ The appeal of the *Harlot's Progress* with its combination of image and meaning led the contemporary poet John Bancks to comment 'Thy *Harlot* pleased and warned us too-What will not gay instruction do?'⁶⁹

The popularity of the print was such that in 1740 it was reproduced onto a porcelain plate (fig.8) by Meissen Porcelain at Dresden, in Germany following a similar initiative with *A Midnight Modern Conversation* (fig.6) which had proved to be a commercial success.



Fig.8. Meissen Porcelain Plate- The Harlot's Progress Plate Two- 1734. Victoria and Albert Museum C.240.⁷⁰

The second in Hogarth's great moralising cycles followed in 1734 with *The Rake's Progress*. Consisting of eight paintings, it is generally recognised as forming a semi- continuous narrative with the *Harlot's Progress* and firmly established Hogarth as a leading observer of contemporary behaviour, in this case how 'commercial society encourages its members to

⁶⁸ See also footnote 65 above.

⁶⁹ Hallett and Riding, *Hogarth*, p. 16.

⁷⁰ See <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/>

pursue misguided and irrational fantasies of opulence and status'.⁷¹ The Rake is depicted as the male counterpart of the Harlot who suffers through pursuing social advancement at the cost of his own moral integrity and ultimately his sanity. The parallel tales tell of young people who can no longer distinguish vice from virtue and suffer fatal consequences by trying to move out of their social class by aping their superiors.

As in 'The Harlot', he takes the opportunity to expose the futility of the upper classes in their slavish addiction to the trappings of social advancement. The Rake's Levee similarly depicts the 'foolish extravagances of the *haute monde* and reveals their essential emptiness', the obsession with acquiring the trappings of contemporary aristocratic culture, the gardener, the French tailor and the Handelian composer.⁷² For Hogarth, middling sort values had no place in such a setting. A whole range of messages are deployed throughout the paintings ranging from the folly of imitation and the certainty of self-destruction to the well-developed sub-plot involving Sarah Young, the Rakes' former companion who attempts unsuccessfully to save him, and in doing so represents the middle class virtues of work, thrift, loyalty and Christian benevolence.⁷³

As well as the moral messages set out in the visual images, Hogarth is also considered to have deliberately inserted a sub-plot within the images to convey other less obvious messages such as use of the cover of the bible as shoe leather by the Rake's miserly father. Not only does this expose miserliness as a fault but it shows 'the holy writ as falling into oblivion' and demonstrates how Hogarth uses the bible as 'a subversive signifier within the pictorial discourse of his work'.⁷⁴ Bernd Krysmansky is a leading exponent of this theory and has suggested that Hogarth desecrated subjects central to Christian art by placing them in the context of low, immoral pictures and in doing so used the 'Rake's Progress' as an 'Anti-Passion' in disguise.⁷⁵ In this respect he is in agreement with Shesgreen who suggests that in the *Harlot's Progress* Hogarth deliberately inserted images with biblical overtones.

⁷¹ Solkin, *Painting For Money*, p. 79.

⁷² Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, plate 28.

⁷³ Ibid, plate 35.

⁷⁴ P. Wagner, 'Satirical Functions of the Bible in Hogarth's Graphic Art', *Etudes Anglaises* No.46 (Paris, 1993), pp.141-166.

⁷⁵ B. Krysmanski, *Hogarth's A Rake's Progress: an 'Anti-Passion' in disguise* (Dinslaken and Ratingen, 1994), pp. 2-3.

For example in Plate II the pictures on Moll's bedroom wall express Old Testament themes of retribution and forecast her ultimate fate.⁷⁶ The extent to which such an understanding could be reasonably expected of the audience Hogarth attracted is however questionable given that the initial success of the *Harlot's Progress* appears to be based more on popular curiosity and entertainment rather than complex interpretations of contemporary religious opinion. This interpretation is supported by contemporary evidence.⁷⁷ This thesis concentrates on the more realistic reception of Hogarth's 'moral cycles' at levels likely to be evident in the more discerning professional and commercial classes as being verbal - visual narratives for self-reflection and judgement rather than manifestos of English enlightenment thinking on religious belief.

After the Harlot and the Rake - New Challenges

Religious Historical Painting

The success of the 'modern moral cycles' made Hogarth virtually independent of the market and gave him the freedom and confidence to take on other challenges. He began to present himself as the leader of a national school of painting speaking out for the native artist against the assumption of connoisseurs whose taste had been formed on the grand tour and who considered Italian masters as the only paintings worthy of serious consideration. In doing so he seems to have been inspired by his late father-in-law, Sir James Thornhill who had died in 1734. For example, in his essay signed 'Britophil' of October 1737 in response to French criticism of Thornhill, Hogarth satirised the practice of picture dealers importing shiploads of 'Dead Christs, holy families Madonas and other dark dismal objects which fix on us poor English the characters of universal dupes'.⁷⁸ He continued with this approach by securing a large scale wall-painting commission at St Bartholomew's Hospital which he offered to paint for free and in doing so deprive the originally commissioned Venetian painter Jacopo Amigoni of a lucrative fee.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, p. xxi.

⁷⁷ John Nichols records on how after being shown a copy of the *Harlot's Progress* at a Board of Treasury meeting and the 'striking likeness of Sir John Gonson' in the first plate of the print, 'each lord repaired to the print-shop for a copy of it'. J. Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; with a catalogue of his works chronologically arranged and occasional remarks*. (London, 1781).

⁷⁸ Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 102.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 98

Hogarth's incentives to do biblical-historical compositions were complex. He wanted to prove himself as a painter and secure his own artistic credentials. He also wished to obtain orders from the aristocracy who were still inclined towards 'uplifting' historical pictures in the traditional sense as well as tapping into prevailing middle class convictions of humanitarianism and charity. He described this latest phase in his career by saying, 'I quitted small portraits and family conversations and, with a smile at my own temerity, commenced history painting'.⁸⁰

His first excursion in this new direction came with *The Pool of Bethesda* 1736 (fig.9) at St Bartholomew's Hospital. The theme of Christ helping the lame man into the healing waters once they had been 'stirred' by an angel sent from heaven was obvious for a hospital and instantly recognisable. He chose to paint the mural on the sweeping staircase of the main entrance rather than as originally intended in a separate large room. In this way he hoped to attract as wide an audience as possible. By adopting this theme Hogarth intended to appeal to those middle class convictions of humanity and charity identified by Margaret Hunt and Peter Earle in their assessment of 'middling sorts' morality, such as consciousness of virtue and evangelically inspired value systems.⁸¹

In this painting, Hogarth achieved his 'moralising' purposes by humanising to a new degree his small classical figures such as children, which he democratised by giving them a genuine part to play in the overall context of the painting, unlike the previous Italian masters who had merely used their figures to fill up the grand architectural setting.⁸²

⁸⁰ Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 216.

⁸¹ M. Hunt, *The Middling Sort- Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England 1680-1780* (London, 1998), p. 210. P.Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class* (London, 1989), pp. 62-65.

⁸² Bindman, *Hogarth*, pp. 100-102.

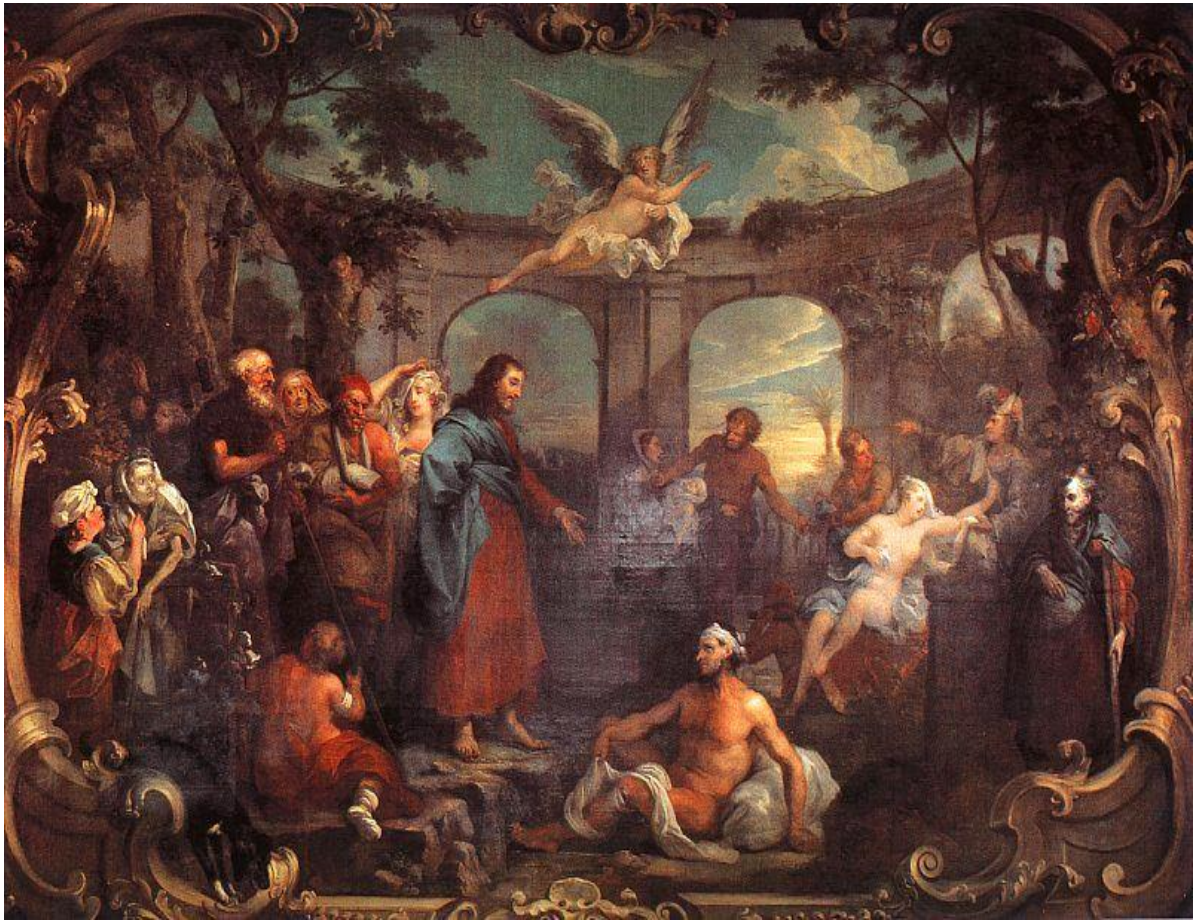


Fig.9. The Pool of Bethesda 1736

The second in the biblical- historical series, *The Good Samaritan* 1737 (fig.10) was similarly chosen to emphasise the virtues of charity and compassion in keeping with Hogarth's own latitudinarian view of practical humanity in contrast to religious based authority and is certainly the 'parabolic embodiment of the Christian ethic *outside* doctrine and the clerical structure'.⁸³ He may well have received advice on this topic from his friend Bishop Hoadley who had recently preached a sermon on the subject emphasising the supremacy of good works over faith, a theme the painting was in entire conformity with.⁸⁴ On completion of the two paintings for St Bartholomew's Hogarth remarked that 'the puffing in books about the grand style of history painting put me about trying how that might take place; so having a stroke of this business before, I painted a great staircase at St Bartholomew's Hospital with

⁸³ R. Paulson, 'Henry Fielding and the problem of Deism' in R. Lund (ed.), *The Margins of Orthodoxy: heterodox writing and cultural response 1660-1750* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 257.

⁸⁴ Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 120.

two scripture stories for charity. I thought this might prove it more easily attainable than is imagined.’⁸⁵

According to David Bindman, *The Good Samaritan* bears the marks of Bishop Hoadley whose latitudinarian views would have chimed with those of Hogarth and his interest in charitable works rather than orthodox patterns of institutional worship.⁸⁶



Fig.10. The Good Samaritan 1737

Although Hogarth interrupted the biblical-historical phase of his career to concentrate on what he considered to be the more interesting and lucrative depictions of contemporary street life in London, he returned to this theme of charitable benevolence in the early 1740s by which time his artistic credentials were secure. His St Bartholomew's paintings had

⁸⁵ Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 216.

⁸⁶ Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 86.

established his credentials as an English history painter of a religious- charitable nature and were instrumental in him being allowed to exhibit in the Foundling Hospital for abandoned children of which he was both a benefactor and a governor in 1740.⁸⁷

The hospital had been the personal initiative of retired sea- captain, Captain Coram and was symptomatic of the increasing philanthropic mentality of the middle classes in those decades.⁸⁸ It reflected the very embodiment of a humane and civilised society which practised charity by targeting social problems in an institutional way, less personal for example than the anti-slavery crusade and newer forms of sentiment and philanthropy which would become the hallmark of the later decades of the century.⁸⁹

For Hogarth, the Foundling Hospital also appealed to his commercial sensibilities as it represented the opportunity to publicly display paintings which, in the absence of organised exhibitions, would have otherwise not been seen by large numbers of potential patrons. Soon after the establishment of the Hospital on its present premises at Bloomsbury, Hogarth presented the Governors with his portrait of the founder, Captain Coram (fig.11) and later in 1746 his suitably themed 'Moses Brought Before Pharaoh's Daughter' (fig.12), a move which led to the subsequent involvement of other artists such as Thomas Gainsborough Francis Hayman, Joseph Highmore, Thomas Hudson, Joshua Reynolds, Allan Ramsay and John Michael Rysbrack.⁹⁰ As a public institution therefore, the hospital became the site for expressions of social virtue as well as a public space for the neglected work of British artists.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 226.

⁸⁸ F. Antal, 'The Moral Purpose of Hogarth's Art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*: Vol 15, No.3/4, (1952), p. 175.

⁸⁹ Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, p. 142.

⁹⁰ A number of other paintings featured landscape themes, representing other London hospitals were also donated by the artists Richard Wilson, Haytley, Wale and Gainsborough. W.T.Whiteley, *Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799* (London, 1928) Vol.1, p. 163.

⁹¹ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 227.



Fig.11. Captain Coram 1740



Fig.12. Moses Brought Before Pharaoh's Daughter 1746

The success of this latest biblical subject encouraged Hogarth to take on the more ambitious subject of Paul before Felix 1748 (fig.13), a judicial theme suitable for Lincoln's Inn Hall, one of the four 'Inns of Court' and home of the English legal establishment. By taking the opportunity to demonstrate the proper method of heroic painting in the elevated style associated with Raphael's cartoons, Hogarth sought to test his artistic credentials with the best whilst continuing to include moral messages in what now passed as 'high art'.⁹²

Despite the overtly religious approach employed by Hogarth, he nevertheless took the opportunity to employ his comic attributes in the subscription ticket version of the print

⁹² Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, pp. 153-154.

(fig.14) by satirising Rembrandt's realism and the 'grossly physical and particularized' model of the characters.⁹³



Fig.13. Paul before Felix 1748

⁹³ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, pp. 152-153.



Fig. 14. Paul before Felix Burlesqued 1751

The final painting in the biblical-historical series followed some years later with *The Bristol Triptych* 1753 painted for a fee of £525 in the great church of St Mary Redcliffe in Bristol. This commission was recognition of Hogarth's acknowledged prowess in this genre and was distinctly religious in content without the subtlety of a moral sub-plot unlike his previous efforts. The central panel depicts *The Ascension* and is complemented by the *Transfiguration*. These more theologically religious paintings are said to represent 'the efforts of a tired, aging and perhaps ailing man' especially as they were considered to be rather 'old-fashioned' in composition and lacking in the spontaneity of execution that Hogarth had shown in his earlier religious paintings.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 190.

There is likely to be much in this assessment as towards the end of his career Hogarth is generally considered to have felt isolated due to the impending establishment of a Royal Academy which he had been vehemently opposed to and a general discontent with the social and political situation of the times. In his last years his increasingly cantankerous behaviour alienated old friends such as John Wilkes. All this is likely to have increased Hogarth's morbid sensitivity to criticism when a more conciliatory approach was required.⁹⁵

The period between the successful commission at St Bartholomew's in 1736/7 and the continuation of the biblical-historical theme in the mid-1740s was marked by the close observation of events on London's streets and the alternative moral commentary on contemporary behaviour. His *Four Times of the Day* 1738 were executed at the request of Jonathan Tyers for Vauxhall Gardens, an amusement park popular with the aristocracy.⁹⁶ The four prints depict the progress of the day and the unfolding contrast of order and disorder on London streets through the carefully staged use of visual anecdotes. The action takes place within the recognisable areas of Covent Garden, Sadler's Wells, Charing Cross and St Giles-in-the-Fields. By locating the viewer within his own environment, the landscape gained its own legitimacy and made the task of comparison and the assimilation of information easier.⁹⁷

The subtle use of imagery caused Henry Fielding, one of Hogarth's closest literary associates to acknowledge that Hogarth was able to 'express the affectations of people on canvass so that they even appear to think and make the viewer do the same'.⁹⁸ The talent for creating typical characters is evident in the central figure of the 'prudish' lady on her way to church in the first 'Morning' scene (fig.15) disapproving of the libertine scenes outside *Tom King's Coffee House* whilst making the shivering boy beside her carry her bible. In one swift stroke, Hogarth summarises his sentiments as regards moral hypocrisy. He also takes the opportunity in the 'Night' scene (fig.16) to depict the drunkenness of a London street and critically alludes to his freemason connections with the close depiction of Sir Thomas de Veil, well known magistrate and freemason, recognisable in his regalia and being led home drunken, by the tyler, or doorkeeper of the lodge.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 214-215.

⁹⁶ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, Plates 42-45.

⁹⁷ Ibid, Plates 42-45.

⁹⁸ M.D. George, *English Political Caricature to 1792* (Oxford 1959), p. 15.

⁹⁹ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, pp. 106-108.

The successful depictions of everyday life with their humorous yet pointed observations and moral overtones, led to Hogarth's friend Henry Fielding asking him to decorate the preface to his novel *Joseph Andrews* 1742 claiming that he had been inspired in his own theory of the novel and its purposes by Hogarth's moral engravings which were 'calculated more to serve the cause of virtue, and for the preservation of mankind, than all the folios of morality which have ever been written'.¹⁰⁰

This endorsement was important in providing a theoretical underpinning for Hogarth's art as socially useful and 'a culture creating force with a more constructive, moral, pedagogic aim than before'.¹⁰¹



Fig.15. Morning 1738

¹⁰⁰ H. Fielding, *Joseph Andrews* (London, 1751), p. 4.

¹⁰¹ Antal, 'The Moral Purpose of Hogarth's Art', p. 170.



Fig.16. Night 1738

In 1745 Hogarth completed the latest in his 'modern moral subjects', *Marriage-a-la-Mode* which he chose to advertise as 'a Variety of Modern Occurrences in High Life' and was deliberately aimed at the sphere of the elite.¹⁰² As the title implies the target audience was the upper middle class and the aristocracy, a smaller and more select audience cultivated enough to recognise high quality engraving and perhaps themselves in the images.¹⁰³ This is not only clear by the prices which were in excess of his usual range but also by the emphasis in the advertisement that 'the prints would be engraved by the best Masters in Paris after his own paintings....'¹⁰⁴ The key theme of the series is the way in which marriage was often viewed as a crude commercial transaction for the purposes of social advancement with parents arranging their children's marriages without their consent. The idleness and pleasure seeking that characterised such loveless 'matches' were contrary to the values promoted by Hogarth.

The young Countess in the arranged marriage is depicted as casting off her middle class awkwardness and inhibitions by mimicking the life style of the aristocracy and being lured into a life of extravagance and debauchery. The surroundings in which the theme is enacted are meant to castigate the vices of those seeking the 'high life'. Fine porcelain, paintings, servants and pets are all essential ingredients of the aspiring, impressionable sorts. These surroundings are distinct from the environment in which 'The Harlot' meets her fate although the end result is the same. Despite the difference in locations, the temptations and pitfalls are the same for both the middle classes and the lower orders, namely the risks associated with emulation and a lack of moral consistency.¹⁰⁵

The series consists of six paintings which satirise human pretensions and expose the moral hypocrisy of those who pursue the high life for its own sake. For Paulson it is a 'searing pictorial critique of foreign art and fashion, aristocratic affectation, bourgeois aspiration and arranged marriage.'¹⁰⁶ This alludes to those who seek to gain social advancement by buying it rather than by earning it and in doing so contravene the middle class work ethic. The contemporary fashion for 'arranged marriages' between those who have mutually compatible economic interests is exposed as aristocratic arrogance and predetermined by circumstances

¹⁰² Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times*, p. 31.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 31

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, pp. 31-32.

¹⁰⁵ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, p. xv.

¹⁰⁶ Hallett and Riding, *Hogarth*, p. 18.

and lack of love to fail. The story is of the mutual alienation of a couple and their separate paths to destruction as they each pursue the characteristic vices of their social class.¹⁰⁷

The contrast of illusion and reality continues to figure prominently throughout the series along with images of the overdressed, self-admiring fop and a 'French-style' levee complete with hangers on and hints of a bagnio assignment (fig.17). In this series Hogarth scrutinises the upper reaches of society and the aristocracy. In doing so he exposes the manipulative ruling class but only in as much as they relate to, and exploit the classes below them.¹⁰⁸ The narrative takes its moral line from the same rational and polite assumptions as Hogarth's friend David Garrick's popular play *Lethe* (1740) which castigated arranged marriages and argued that marriage should only be based on affection.¹⁰⁹



Fig.17. The Levee-Marriage-a-la-Mode 1743

The success of Hogarth's prints by this stage, especially the *Harlot's Progress* and the *Rake's Progress* had been due to their ability to be assimilated by a broader public who derived

¹⁰⁷ Vaughan, *British Painting. The Golden Age*, p. 32

¹⁰⁸ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, p. xiv.

¹⁰⁹ Morris, 'Satire and Refinement in Hogarth's London', p. 15.

pleasure from seeing real people in paintings and drawings. For example, Vertue recognised three of the principal characters in the *Harlot's Progress* as Colonel Charteris the well-known lecher and rapist, Mother Needham the celebrated bawd and Sir John Gonson, the magistrate well known for his pursuit of prostitutes. He recorded this fact in his diaries when commenting on the popularity of the *Harlot's Progress*.¹¹⁰

In the case of *Marriage-a-la-Mode* however, Hogarth proposed a more elevated conception of his art and explicitly repudiated any reference to known contemporary characters which had contributed to the notoriety of the previous cycles in order to enhance the universality of his moral theme.¹¹¹ Despite this warning over seeking prototypes, Hogarth expected his audience to draw their own conclusions such as the fact that the monetary gain negotiated by the Earl for the marriage of his son and the social status achieved by the Alderman through the marriage of his daughter represented the worst aspects of arranged marriages.¹¹²

Hogarth - Artistic and Literary Influences

The satiric tradition that Hogarth followed in much of his early career was similar to that of Henry Fielding some ten years later in his 'comic epic prose'. The influence of one on the other and the way in which they influenced and complemented each other in their respective careers has been well chronicled. The influence of Fielding the novelist-turned magistrate was especially marked in the later years of Hogarth's career as his prints acquired more of a 'corrective' style. The experiences of Fielding in regular contact with day-to-day criminality found pictorial expression in several of Hogarth's later key prints directed at the lower classes. These came about largely as a result of Fielding's publication in 1751 of *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers* which was aimed at the excessive consumption of Gin amongst the lower sorts, and especially mothers.¹¹³

This report highlighted the need for corrective legislation and was the central theme of Hogarth's *Gin Lane* which was contrasted by the companion print *Beer Street*. No attempt is

¹¹⁰ '...the story of how this girl came to Town, how Mother Needham and Col. Charteris first deluded her and how a Jew kept her. How she lived in Drury Lane. When she was sent to the Bridewell by Sir John Gonson Justice and her salvation and death'. Vertue, *Notebooks*, Vol III, p. 58.

¹¹¹ Bindman, *Hogarth*, p. 108

¹¹² Morris, 'Satire and Refinement in Hogarth's London', p. 14

¹¹³ According to Smollett in *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* 1752 'the suburbs of the metropolis abound with an incredible number of public houses which continually resound with the noise of riot and intemperance: they are the haunts of idleness, fraud and rapine and the scenes of drunkenness, debauchery, extravagance and every vice of human nature. 'Drunk for one penny, dead drunk for two pence, straw free.' M.R. Zirker, 'Fielding and Reform in the 1750s', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*: Vol.7, No.3, (1954), p. 5.

made to disguise Hogarth's opinion that 'in Gin Lane, every circumstance of its horrid effects are brought to view in that nothing but Idleness, Poverty, misery and ruin. Distress, even to madness and death'. Whereas in *Beer Street* (fig.18) Hogarth celebrates how England can, and should be through the healthy benefits of drinking beer, 'where all is joyous and thriving industry'.¹¹⁴

Not only is this a patriotic gesture and a sign of English robustness, it also regulates the lives of the London tradesman and the working classes. The print represents one of Hogarth's few gestures to express his ideas positively and is in stark contrast to *Gin Lane* (fig.19) which illustrates in an exaggerated manner, the effects of gin drinking on the working classes.¹¹⁵ In *Beer Street* the only sign of decay is the pawnbroker's sign which hangs limply over the redundant premises. Gin addiction however was seen as a social class phenomenon for both Hogarth and Fielding in the way that it undermined those in the lower sections of society and ruined mothers and families.

The contrast between the two prints was evident in that robust good health through drinking beer can be undone by the emaciation and death that inevitably follows the drinking of imported Dutch Gin. The passing of the Gin Act later in 1751 is said to have been in no small measure due to the combined efforts of Hogarth and Fielding in drawing the attention of society to the scale of the problem. The sale of the prints at the lower than usual price of one shilling was an attempt by Hogarth to make them affordable to the intended audience such as Poor Law Overseers and is in contrast to the commercial marketing of his earlier 'moral cycles' which were designed to appeal to a more affluent and socially conscious group of consumers.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, p. 226.

¹¹⁵ This positivity also extends to the pawnbroker's shop where the sign hangs limply as a mark of disuse.

¹¹⁶ The connection with Poor Law officials can be made by the fact that one of the two young girls in *Gin Lane* (shown on the left of the scene) has a badge on her arm indicating the workhouse she was attached to. Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times*, pp. 140-141.



Fig.18 Beer Street 1751



Fig.19. Gin Lane 1751

A similar joint Hogarth-Fielding venture to the *Gin Lane/Beer Street* duo had its origins in the extent of horrific crime inflicted on both animals and humans alike which Fielding came across as a Magistrate at his Court in Bow Street, Covent Garden. This prompted Fielding to produce the pamphlet *A Proposal for Making an Effectual Provision for the Poor, for Amending their Morals and for Rendering them useful Members of Society* 1751. This led to Hogarth producing the print series, *The Four Stages of Cruelty* 1751 of which *The First Stage of Cruelty* (fig. 20) and the final print, *The Reward of Cruelty* 1751 (fig.21) depict the horrors of London crime and the consequences of criminality and end with the gallows and ‘disembowelment in the dissecting room of the Barber-Surgeons’ Company’.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Bindman, *Hogarth*, p.180

The narrowing of his intended audience through these later more ‘corrective prints’ aimed at the lower-sorts is in contrast to the overt populism of his earlier series of ‘moral-cycles’ such as the *Harlot’s Progress*, the *Rake’s Progress* and *Marriage-a-la-Mode* when he was at the height of his career.¹¹⁸ There was much awareness of the deficiencies of the old paternalism and a recognition that the practical betterment of society lay increasingly in personal, rather than institutional remedies.¹¹⁹



Fig. 20 The First Stage of Cruelty 1751

¹¹⁸ Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times*, p. 32.

¹¹⁹ P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People* (Oxford, 1998) pp. 481-482.



Fig.21 The Reward of Cruelty 1751

Later Years

This chapter has traced the ideological course of Hogarth's career and in doing so has laid the foundation for an appreciation of his commercial motivation and an understanding of the marketing methods which characterised the early to mid-point of his career. The trajectory of Hogarth's commercial activity can be traced from the early book illustrations such as *Hudibras*, to the more secularised 'moral cycles' of the *Harlot's Progress*, the *Rake's Progress* and *Marriage-a-la-Mode*. In the later stages of his career however when his

reputation as a fashionable painter and popular engraver was firmly established, Hogarth became less focussed on specific class based moral concerns and turned his attention in company with Henry Fielding to what he considered were the broader social issues of the nation, such as the disorder of the 'lower orders' and at the same time those contemporary political issues in which he had both an artistic and personal interest.

For example his *March to Finchley* 1749-50 (fig.22) celebrated the Prussian efficiency of the Grenadier Guards and their victory over the invading Jacobite forces and highlighted the colourful diversity and variety of the London crowd from the soldier to the 'old hag', the prostitute and the ballad singer.¹²⁰ The painting was initially dedicated to King George II to reflect Prussian military efficiency. The gesture was reckoned however (by J. Ireland) to be misinterpreted by the King as a burlesque meant to poke fun and the painting was returned to Hogarth who organised a raffle as an incentive to potential subscribers of the print and the chance to win the original painting. Surplus tickets were donated to the Foundling Hospital of which Hogarth was a governor.¹²¹

In the event, the winning ticket was held by the Foundling Hospital and the painting remains hung there. The business acumen shown by Hogarth which saw him raise '900 pounds' from the 1800 tickets sold and still have the engraved plate to dispose of caused Vertue to remark 'say well is good, to do well is better...'.¹²² This ability to profit from art through imaginative means is the central feature of this thesis which sets Hogarth apart from his less entrepreneurial colleagues.

¹²⁰ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, pp. 142-145.

¹²¹ Ibid, pp.142-145.

¹²² Ibid, p. 142.



Fig. 22 The March to Finchley 1749-50

The extent of Hogarth's corpus by the early to mid 1750s reflected his status as an established artist of the period which allowed him to capitalise on this popularity. Publication of *The Analysis of Beauty* in 1753 which set out Hogarth's theories of beauty and grace and the *Election Series* 1754 which drew upon public discontent over political corruption and the frequency and general conduct of elections provided Hogarth with the opportunity of marketing in the same year not only these two key works, but previous major works either individually or in bound volumes at favourable rates.

There is a marked difference in the price of the prints from the earlier moral series such as the *Harlot's Progress* and the *Rake's Progress* priced at one and two guineas respectively to those directed specifically at the lower orders such as *Beer Street/Gin Lane*, the *Four Stages of Cruelty* and the twelve plates of *Industry and Idleness* priced more affordably at three

shillings, six shillings and twelve shillings respectively.¹²³ Also by adjusting the wording of his advertisements to offer his prints ‘the whole bound together with a sufficient margin left for framing’ (fig. 23) Hogarth suggested that his *oeuvre* had the essential qualities of a literary production and occupied therefore the ‘same function as books in the domesticity of the middle classes’.¹²⁴

*Prints Publish'd by W. HOGARTH, and are to be had at
his House in Leiceſter Fields, 1754.*

| | l. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| Marriage a-la-mode in fix prints | 1 | 11 | 6 |
| Harlot's Progreſs, in fix prints | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Rake's Progreſs, in eight prints | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Four times of the Day, in four prints | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Strolling actreſſes dreſſing in a Barn | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Midnight Converſation | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Southwark Fair | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Before and After, two prints | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Diſtreſs'd Poet | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Enrag'd Muſician | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Various Characters of Heads, in five groups | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Beer Street and Gin Lane, two prints | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Four Stages of Cruelty, four prints | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Moſes brought to Pharoah's Daughter | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Calais, or the Roaſt Beef of Old England | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Paul before Felix | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Paul before Felix in the manner of Rembrant | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Biſhop of Wincheſter | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| The effects of Idleneſs and Induſtry, exemplified in the Conduſt of two Fellow-Prentices, in twelve prints | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| Lord Lovat | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Country-Inn Yard | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Sleeping Congregation | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| March to Finchley | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Mr. Garrick in the Character of King Richard the third | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Columbus breaking the Egg | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Frontiſpiece | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| N. B. If any one purchaſes the whole together, they will have them deliver'd bound, at the Price of ten Guineas, and a ſufficient Margin will be left for Framing. | | | |
| <i>Where likewise may be had,</i> | | | |
| The ANALYSIS of BEAUTY, with two explanatory Prints, price 15 Shillings. | | | |
| <i>As Engraved</i> Four Large prints of an Election | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| <i>if above</i> Scene in France, Supposed at the time | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| <i>led list</i> Scene in England of an Intended Proſe | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| The Bench | 12 | 12 | 0 |

Fig.23. Hogarth's Sales List 1754- British Museum

¹²³ The pricing structure of *Industry and Idleness* was such that the ‘purchase of them was meant to be within the reach of those for whom they were chiefly intended’. Consequently, the engravings were available on cheaper paper and sold in all print shops for the less well-off and also on ‘a better paper for the Curious’. Hogarth noted with satisfaction in how ‘some masters gave their apprentices sets of the prints as Christmas gifts’ and that ‘he had even heard of a sermon preached on the prints’. Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, pp. 225-227.

¹²⁴ Ogée, ‘From text to image: William Hogarth and the emergence of a visual culture in eighteenth-century England’, p. 4.

Conclusion

Throughout his career William Hogarth found himself on the outside, or at best on the fringes, of the artistic establishment due to his opposition to foreign standards of artistic taste, for example the preference for ‘old masters’ and ‘darkened’ paintings and his own commercial preference for prints which expressed the reality of life which were considered as ‘low art’ by the establishment. Not surprisingly he developed and retained a natural sympathy for the underdog and the common people and revelled in deflating the pretensions of the high and mighty by appropriating texts and images circulating in the culture of his time.¹²⁵

The Protestant-Dissenter side of his background inherited from his father proved to be influential throughout his career both in the moral message of his cycles and the obvious distaste for anything continental that smacked of Catholicism both in artistic style and content. He delighted in drawing on what passed as popular culture, for example contemporary ballads, songs and theatre for much of his material. By using art as a form of moral discourse he held a mirror up to contemporary society in all its varied contrasts and drew upon these for reference.¹²⁶

The growth in literacy, periodicals, the novel and theatrical performances meant that the public became literate before it became experienced in the appreciation of visual art. By making this close connection with literature, Hogarth, as a visual artist saw himself as building upon the great English traditions of literature.¹²⁷ In a characteristic display of self-promotion he depicts himself in the portrait of 1745 (fig. 24) as resting on the books of three giants of British literature, Shakespeare, Milton and his more immediate predecessor Swift. Alongside these books his palette displaying the ‘line of beauty and grace’ suggested in the *Analysis of Beauty* takes equal precedence. In doing so he suggests he is their artistic equal and that the foundations of his art are clearly located in the genres of these literary predecessors.

¹²⁵ P. Wagner, ‘Hogarthian frames: the ‘new’ eighteenth-century aesthetics’ in Bindman, Ogée and Wagner (eds.), *Hogarth: Representing nature’s machines*, p. 38.

¹²⁶ Moore, *Hogarth’s Literary Relationships*, p. 12.

¹²⁷ Vaughan, *British Painting. The Golden Age*, p. 9.



Fig.24. Self Portrait 1745

The impact of Hogarth's 'modern moral cycles' as a form of satirical reflection on contemporary events was clearly appreciated by Jonathan Swift, well versed in similar commentaries. The moral-religious didactic nature of the 'cycles' caused Swift to pay tribute to the ability of Hogarth to capture the reality and absurdity of contemporary fashion. His reference to 'the soul' for example in the poem 'The Legion Club' 1736 dedicated to Hogarth suggests a spiritual dimension and a moral imperative to be reckoned with when adjudging personal behaviour;

How I want thee, humorous Hogarth!
 Thou, I hear, a pleasant rogue thou art
 Were but you and I acquainted
 Every monster should be painted
 You should try your graving tools
 On this odious group of fools:
 Draw the beasts as I describe them:
 Form their features while I gibe them
 Draw them like; for I assure you
 You will need no car'atura;_
 Draw them so that
 All the soul in every face ¹²⁸

This chapter has provided an overview of the ways in which Hogarth's career evolved from one phase to another and provides the context within which considerations of his commercial acumen and marketing techniques can be properly considered in the increasingly competitive market for luxury goods, one in which ownership of prints demonstrated possession of taste and knowledge of fashion.¹²⁹

As a general summary therefore, a greater understanding of the way in which commercial motivation both shaped and directed Hogarth's career can be gained together with an appreciation of how, in the face of establishment disapproval he proved to be the prototype of subsequent generations of artists who benefitted from his marketing techniques and a desire for artistic independence. William Hogarth died in his house at Leicester Fields on 26 October 1764 and his body was carried to Chiswick, near to his 'country home' for burial.¹³⁰ His friend, actor David Garrick composed the verse which appears on the headstone erected by friends in 1771;

Farewell Great painter of mankind. Who reached the noblest point of Art
 Those pictur'd Morals charm the mind and through the eye correct the heart
 If genius fire thee, Reader, Stay. If Nature touch thee, drop a tear
 If neither move thee, turn away. For Hogarth's honour'd dust lies here.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, p. 69.

¹²⁹ T. Clayton, *The English Print 1668-1802* (New Haven, 1997), p. xii.

¹³⁰ For a detailed description of ways in which transportation of the dead was carried out during the period according to social and economic status, see Chapter 5, 'Funerary Transport', pp. 119-142. in J.Litten, *The English Way of Death. The Common Funeral Since 1450* (London, 1991).

¹³¹ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, p. xxix.

Chapter 3

Print and the subscription process in early eighteenth-century London

Preface

In her wide ranging study of how the consumption of luxury goods transformed social practices in the seventeenth century and beyond, Linda Levy Peck reveals how refinement in the contemporary arts demonstrated an increasing demand for a wide variety of goods, including enamelling, miniatures, frescos, gilding and bronzing of frames, engraving, etching and printing.¹ The diaries of John Evelyn (1620-1706), English writer, gardener and diarist also reveal that the arts and science created new desires and new identities for the well to do as early as the sixteenth century and that cultural borrowing existed long before the expansion of luxury consumption in the early to mid- eighteenth century, the time frame within which this thesis is set.²

Market penetration in the arts was not therefore entirely new to the eighteenth century. The steady growth in luxury consumption linked to improvements in print manufacture and engraving techniques such as the mezzotint coupled with increased urban consumption provided new opportunities for artists such as William Hogarth. The opportunity for artistic and commercial initiative came about as the marketing of culture as a commodity developed from its previous, narrow court-base to a wider one described by Jurgan Habermas as the ‘bourgeois public sphere in which an urban bourgeoisie both creates and is created by a Paper

¹ L.L. Peck, *Consuming Splendor- Society and Culture in Seventeenth- Century England*, (Cambridge, 2005), p. 317.

² P. Francis (ed.), *John Evelyn's Diary*, (London, 1963).

Culture which allows its members to communicate with each other'.³ One way in which an increasingly urbanised society was able to express its new found confidence and economic prosperity was in the ownership of art and especially prints, ownership of which came to be regarded as expression of taste and knowledge of fashion.⁴

This chapter begins to examine the various commercial and marketing initiatives of William Hogarth notably as they relate to ways in which he used the subscription process to advance interest in his works. In doing so it will be demonstrated how he borrowed from the literary sphere where subscription had been a feature of the commercial promotion of the printed word for some time and had become an accepted method of securing investment in books before they had been completed. The adoption of similar enterprise benefitted Hogarth in the promotion and commercialisation of the visual arts at a time when artists had little choice but to rely on the monopoly of the print seller for retail exposure depriving them of direct contact with the public. In taking London as the backdrop and centre of national artistic activity, the chapter will acknowledge the astute use of the subscription process by William Hogarth and by way of comparison demonstrate how the author Henry Fielding benefited similarly.

In seeking to understand the desire for commercial artistic independence the chapter will also acknowledge the role of William Hogarth in securing intellectual property rights through the Engraver's Copyright Act 1735, which accepted for the first time, the legitimate right of the artist for the sole commercial distribution of his work in an age when shops and print sellers held a monopoly on the market.⁵ The art market was in the process of significant commercial and aesthetic development at the turn of the eighteenth century and subscription provided one way in which the opportunities available to the more enterprising artist could be realised.

The importance of social networks and subscription patronage as a means of sponsorship will be recognised for what they were, a means of breaking free from the established system of individual patronage, book and print sellers and the elevation of the professional status of the artist and author in a more enlightened climate of cultural modernity. Finally a systematic examination of subscription lists and signed subscription tickets will allow for a close analysis of audience make up and an assessment of the social status of those who bought Hogarth's works. In doing so it is intended to provide empirical evidence to support previous

³ D. Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times* (London, 1997), p. 29.

⁴ T. Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802* (New Haven 1997), p. xii.

⁵ R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Work* (London, 1989), p. 12.

assumptions that his audience was drawn from a wide cross-section of the upper and middling sorts and especially the more impressionable and ambitious commercial-professional classes.

Given the availability of material, this analysis will focus mainly on William Hogarth and the originality that he employed in elevating himself and the status of the artist in imaginative ways by making the subscription ticket not only a receipt, but a collectable item in its own right.⁶ In both cases it is proposed to examine the extent to which subscriptions came from those who were already known professionally or personally as in Fielding's case, or as Hogarth intended, from the upper sections of society whose patronage would provide a degree of exclusiveness and respectability. A systematic analysis of known surviving signed subscription tickets issued by William Hogarth has endorsed this approach by revealing that most of his subscribers came from the more affluent sections of society who regarded prints as representing 'a more dynamic and impressive picture of artistic life in Britain than paintings did' and whose decision to purchase would seem to be based as much on intellectual curiosity and entertainment as on morality.⁷

This chapter therefore establishes in Hogarth's case, the relationship between the subscription ticket, the print it introduced and how this changed from series to series. Similarly, the way in which the subscription list for Fielding's *Miscellanies* (1743) was arranged in order of social hierarchy will be used to demonstrate how the names of subscribers became as much *prima facie* evidence of patronage, friendship, kinship and family support as borne out of any genuine literary interest.⁸ Both exercises highlight the increased and extended use of collective patronage across the arts as an effective way of getting ambitious artistic projects off the ground as an alternative to the traditional methods of individual or institutional patronage which painters continued to crave.⁹

Although this investigation concentrates mainly on William Hogarth and the evidence that his signed subscription tickets provides for an analysis of his audience, by setting this alongside a more limited examination of Henry Fielding's subscribers for his *Miscellanies*, a broader understanding can be obtained as to how contemporary trading practices and business

⁶ B. Gray, *The English Print* (Michigan, 1969), p. 24.

⁷ Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, p. 129.

⁸ H. Amory, 'Virtual Readers: The Subscribers to Fielding's *Miscellanies* (1743)', *Studies in Bibliography*, Volume 48 (1995) p. 96.

⁹ Clayton, *The English Print*, p. xii.

relationships were influenced by marketing techniques such as the subscription process and by advertisements in popular newspapers, the subject of the next chapter. In doing so it is intended to demonstrate how new forms of artistic endeavour and innovation extended the potential audience for both Hogarth and Fielding beyond their own intimate circle of close acquaintances, family and friends and enhanced career prospects which would otherwise have had to rely on declining individual patronage and ‘commercial controls enforced by the trade’ and the dependence on established booksellers for retail exposure.¹⁰

Methodology

As far as this analysis of commercial practice relates to William Hogarth, it has focussed on the main part of his career starting with the hugely successful *Harlot's Progress* which launched his career in 1732 to his last print *Tailpiece* or *The Bathos* in 1764. It relies on signed subscription tickets issued for prints, drawn from established collections, and on subscription lists either printed or recorded in subscription registers for socio-economic analysis. Whilst the limitations of interpreting incomplete data are recognised, the findings of this research are nevertheless based on a systematic and scholarly approach on a print by print basis and have yielded much useful information concerning the social composition of the contemporary audience for Hogarth's popular prints.

Subscription tickets signed by Hogarth were retained by their owners, not just as ephemera, but as collector's items in their own right and as evidence of contractual obligation. They are exceptions to the rule as the vast majority of prints were bought casually and treated carelessly. More often than not the paper was of the cheap variety and easily destroyed meaning that those prints that survive are often in a fragile condition. They found their way, either through donation or purchase on the breakup of private collections to a variety of academic institutions such as the British Museum, the Royal Library at Windsor, the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University and the Yale University library itself. In other cases however they remain bound up with other illustrated ephemera and not catalogued in any systematic way. This research makes no claim to be comprehensive therefore other than it represents progress in what has otherwise been a neglected area of analysis.

¹⁰ J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (New York, 1997), p. 136

The following discussion considers a signed subscription ticket taken as an example from each of the fourteen prints identified from research as being sold by this method over the main period of Hogarth's career 1732-1764. It also traces the provenance of the ticket and its theme in the context of the print it is related to. The supporting appendix sets out in a more comprehensive manner, the results of research bringing together sixty four surviving signed subscription tickets issued for the fourteen prints sold by subscription with biographical details where these have been available to demonstrate the social composition of Hogarth's audience.¹¹ As a result of examining the sixty-four signed subscription tickets in this manner, the appendix acts as a record and an archive in itself and provides a solid basis for further research and analysis.

The appendix therefore needs to be read alongside, and in support of the analysis set out in the narrative, especially as it relates to Hogarth's target audience. The appendix does not therefore consider those other prints produced by Hogarth in the main period of his career, 1732-64 for which subscription tickets were *not* issued. Furthermore, later prints such as *Industry and Idleness/ Gin Lane/ Beer Street/ The Four Stages of Cruelty*, were of a distinctly moral-corrective nature and printed on different papers, with different impressions including the more basic woodcut at different prices so as to keep them 'within reach of those for whom they were chiefly intended' and were not therefore sold in the same commercial manner involving subscription as was the case with previous series.¹² In these circumstances, assumptions have to be made that the audience for these later prints for which 'fine engraving was not necessary' and which were 'calculated for the use and instruction of young children' were directed at a different audience to that of the more topical 'modern moral cycles' and kept within reach of those 'for whom they were chiefly intended', namely those in positions of authority in the supervision and care of young people.¹³

The conclusions to be drawn from an analysis of Hogarth's signed subscription tickets and the subscription lists of the *Hudibras* prints in 1726 and the *Election Series* in 1754 will however support the view that his audience was more often than not made up predominantly from the cultural and social elite from the same world of enquiry as readers of the *Spectator*

¹¹ In two cases, the same subscription ticket, *The Laughing Audience* and *Boys Peeping at Nature* were issued for more than one print.

¹² J. Burke (ed.), *The Analysis of Beauty with rejected passages from the manuscript drafts and autobiographical notes- William Hogarth, 'Autobiographical Notes' in The Analysis of Beauty* (Oxford, 1955), p. 225.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 225

and other periodicals, the same audience that also subscribed to books offering enlightenment on personal behaviour and new scientific and philosophical discoveries.¹⁴

The exercise therefore represents a step forward in an otherwise fragmented area and has resulted in expressions of appreciation from the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University and the Royal Library at Windsor, who had both long planned to catalogue their own collections, but had not done so until prompted by this research initiative. Some requests for assistance have been met with greater enthusiasm than others especially where research has cast new light on previously published material such as the identity of one purchaser of *A Chorus of Singers* (Royal Library Collection) in that the identity of the subscriber handwritten on the ticket suggests a possible alternative identity to that previously published.¹⁵

The fruits of this research in so far as it has brought to light material not previously in the public domain are evident by the incorporation of the previously unpublished title-page for Hogarth's *Hudibras* series of 1725 (figs 26 and 27 at pages 99 and 100 respectively) together with a list of subscribers on the reverse side. A biographical analysis of the subscribers has been carried out as part of this research exercise which demonstrates the social standing of the patrons and the type of audience that Hogarth will have aspired to attract. Both the title page and the printed list of subscribers can now be viewed on the British Museum Prints and Drawings online collection database (ref: S, 2.6).

The research has both consolidated and contributed to the existing body of academic material in the area of eighteenth-century prints and serves to provide a platform for future research opportunities. In doing so it provides documentary evidence in support of previously held assumptions concerning the eclectic makeup of Hogarth's audience during the formative period of his career when he succeeded in attracting a wide cross-section of society including the elites and upper gentry as well as the emerging professional and commercial classes.

In addition to compiling separate folders of signed subscription tickets with biographical details of subscribers in an attempt to analyse the audience, the print *Battle of the Pictures*

¹⁴ D. Bindman, 'Preface', p. xiii in D. Bindman, F. Ogée and P. Wagner (eds.), *Hogarth: Representing Nature's Machines* (Manchester, 2001).

¹⁵ Paulson in *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 83, identifies one purchaser of a *Chorus of Singers* as Thomas Baretti on an impression held at the Royal Library. An alternative identification is Thomas Birch, Secretary of the Royal Society and a regular subscriber to several of Hogarth's prints. See Appendix, Fig. 77.

1744/45, has been included. It was produced as a bidders ticket for an auction of Hogarth's more popular paintings being offered for sale. The subscription-lottery ticket, *Time Smoking a Pipe* 1761, has also been included. This was produced for his ill-fated painting of *Sigismunda* 1761, the engraving of which was unfinished at the time of his death in 1764 and was only completed for publication as late as 1795. Despite being of a different category to subscription tickets, these prints have been included as they provide further evidence of Hogarth's expert use of iconography in the commercial promotion of his works in a manner consistent with the more 'material' culture of the period.¹⁶

Intellectual Copyright

Despite new ideas of authority in art, architecture and literature, there remained a tension between the modern idea of the author, and the artist producing for the commercial market. Ownership of the product by the author, rather than by the patron, and the realities of piracy within the commercial market, led to Hogarth conducting a campaign to protect his prints. He had already been successful in the courts in 1728 over payment due to him for a tapestry design and turned to the law again to secure copyright for his own works, no doubt having in mind the booksellers' treatment of his father in withholding payment for a Latin dictionary which led to a spell in the Fleet Prison for debtors, an experience that resonated with Hogarth throughout his own career.¹⁷

The difficulties of the independent engraver were explained in a pamphlet entitled *The Case of Designers, Engravers, Etchers, Etc. Stated. In a letter to a Member of Parliament*, produced in 1734 to aid the passage of legislation.¹⁸ It seems reasonable to assume that Hogarth may have been influential in the production of the pamphlet although this cannot be proved beyond doubt. The key point the pamphlet wished to make however was the lack of opportunity for the independent engraver in the distribution of prints whereby 'Few of these artists in the present Condition of their Profession, have Houses conveniently situated for Exposing their Prints to sale; and Those, who have, have much more advantageous Ways of

¹⁶ P.Wagner, 'Hogarthian frames: the 'new' eighteenth-century aesthetics', p. 38 in Bindman, Ogée, Wagner (eds.), *Hogarth: Representing Nature's Machines*.

¹⁷ D.Jarrett, *England in the Age of Hogarth*, (New Haven, 1986), p. 131.

¹⁸ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 10.

spending their Time, than in showing their Prints to their Customers. The Shops are the only Places proper for this Purpose'.¹⁹

The resultant Engravers Copyright Act 1735 which protected the likes of Hogarth from piracy received the Royal Assent on 15 May and came into effect on 25 June 1735.²⁰ The Act forbade copies of an engraving without the designer's permission and imposed a fine of 5s for every impression of a pirated copy found in a print seller's possession. It was the first time that English copyright legislation had been extended to something other than literature and had been drafted with the assistance of William Huggins, a close companion of Hogarth's who is likely to have been well aware of the benefits for his artist friend.²¹ It also demonstrates that Hogarth must have been sufficiently well connected by this stage to have been able to secure sufficient support from within the political establishment for such legislation. However, 'Hogarth's Act', as it became known immediately, was found to have a loophole in that it only protected those engravings that involved original designs by the engraver. It nevertheless went some way to confirm the idea of intellectual property and copyright and reinforced the elevated status of the artist.²²

The development of the subscription process in this more commercially-minded period, when linked to the expansion of printed matter represented a shift in the nature of patronage and led to initiatives by artists such as Hogarth that would not have been previously possible or commercially viable. These initiatives both stimulated and thrived upon the intellectual curiosity of the period. They provided a dynamic to the subscription process whereby prints, along with historical portraits and valuable paintings were regarded as contributing to a wider struggle in which the novel, the ballad opera and the Shakespearean drama were championed as patriotic alternatives to classical and foreign models.²³ The fact that through the subscription process, the published print or book would become the property of the subscriber and confer upon the finished product, a sense of limited ownership was also attractive to the contemporary audience. This sense of ownership was fashionable especially as the finished

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 10.

²⁰ Hogarth deliberately delayed release of the *Rake's Progress* until the date the Act took effect and arranged for subscriptions to be closed two days before, ie; 23 June. This did not prevent poorly produced pirated copies appearing beforehand based on 'memorial' representation following visits to Hogarth's house under the pretence of viewing as prospective subscribers. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 12.

²¹ The Copyright Act 1709 had previously established the literary rights of authors in books and other writings.

²² The loophole was said to be the fault of the lawyer, William Huggins, a friend of Hogarth's. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 12.

²³ Clayton, *The English Print*, p. xiii.

product represented a transferrable commodity in a society that appreciated commercial enterprise.

Social Networks and the Market

The importance to Hogarth of close connections in the promotion of his career and especially in the subscription process can be best illustrated by his membership of the Freemasons. According to Jerry White the Freemasons were an eighteenth-century invention that provided an alternative society where friends and associates could be acquired by the middling classes outside the older established networks of organised religion and parochial loyalty.²⁴ The informal network of an all male club with elaborate rituals and regalia is likely to have appealed to Hogarth for a variety of reasons not least the opportunity it presented for social connections and career advancement. The popularity of the Freemasons in London where they were founded in 1717 can also be attributed to the sense of isolation that the city could create where family ties were weakened through migration and were often less evident than in more traditional communities.²⁵ Despite the Masonic espousal of ‘Liberty, Equality and Fraternity’, lodges managed to embrace exclusion and elitism through a strict and secret admissions procedure which relied upon personal recommendation and perpetuated its exclusivity. It was this openness yet exclusivity that appealed to William Hogarth and led to him joining the unnamed Lodge 41 which met at the Horne Tavern, Westminster in November 1725. The lodge had the Duke of Montagu as Grand Master and also included the Duke of Queensborough amongst its members.²⁶ These elevated members of society provided Hogarth with commercial opportunity and social patronage which he was not slow to exploit as this chapter will demonstrate.

In the Freemasons, Hogarth was able to socialise with lawyers, surgeons, bankers, politicians and aristocrats. His future father-in-law, Sir James Thornhill was a prominent member of the order and someone who Hogarth would have known of as part of the ‘brotherhood’. The artist and bookseller, engraver and printer, John Pine, who would later become one of Hogarth’s major subscribers was an active freemason and from 1725-41 published the annual official list of all lodges affiliated to the London lodges. Other prominent print sellers of the day such

²⁴ J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century; A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London, 2012), p. 121.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 120.

²⁶ M. Mulvey-Roberts, ‘Hogarth on the Square: Framing the Freemasons’, *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26 (2003), p. 251. W.J. Songhurst, ‘Ars quatuor coronatorum’, vol. lxix (1957), in R. Leigh and M. Beigent, *The Temple and The Lodge* (London, 1989), p. 399.

as Henry Overton and Samuel Sympson were also active members providing Hogarth with advice and assistance when he made his bid for artistic independence.²⁷

The internal membership structure of ladders fitted Hogarth's upward strivings and appealed to him with its coded stories, secret handshakes and dressing up.²⁸ His love of emblems and puns, which would define many of his prints, had their origins in the freemasons. The Masonic narrative of crime and punishment provided Hogarth with a frame within which he could devise a system of morality illustrated by symbols.²⁹ Membership of the Freemasons, along with the higher minded St Martin's Academy of Artists and the more 'libertine' Society of Beefsteaks represented that combination of egalitarianism and elitism which became characteristic of Hogarth's life. He was attracted to order but distrusted authority. He aspired to the heroic but was equally drawn to the mock heroic as elements that influenced his work significantly.³⁰ He appealed to that section of society which enjoyed the process of interpretation and the hidden narrative to be discovered by reading his prints rather than just seeing them as visual images.

The close knit Drury Lane acting circle and the literary fraternity with which Hogarth became associated also found the Freemasons attractive as part of their social circle and included Theophilus Cibber (son of Colly), Charles Lillie, theatre producer and Joseph Highmore, personal friend of Hogarth's and fellow governor of the Foundling Hospital who also donated paintings to it.³¹ Within this period of intense fascination for the freemasons, Hogarth came to be regarded almost as its artistic talisman as he both promoted the Order in several of his prints and later criticised it for excessive socialising and an over-reliance on symbolism and ritual.³²

As a source of social and artistic inspiration, the Freemasons provided Hogarth with plenty of material which he supplemented by association with members of other contemporary societies. These included the Society of Dilettanti of which George Knapp, fellow painter and art connoisseur was a member, and official painter to, and the Society of Antiquarians to

²⁷ Mulvey-Roberts, 'Hogarth on the Square: Framing the Freemasons', p. 251.

²⁸ J. Uglow, *Hogarth: A life and a world* (London, 1998), p. 149.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 149.

³⁰ Mulvey-Roberts, 'Hogarth on the Square: Framing the Freemasons', p. 251.

³¹ R.E. Blanchard, 'Was Sir Richard Steele a Freemason?' *Publications of the Modern Languages Association of America*, Vol. 63 (Sep, 1948), pp. 905-909.

³² See the analysis of *Night* in *The Four Times of the Day* and *The Reward of Cruelty* in Mulvey-Roberts, 'Framing the Square', pp. 259-263.

which James Theobald, fellow governor of the Foundling Hospital and subscriber to several of Hogarth's prints served as joint secretary between 1728 and 1735.³³ These represent a fair cross section of fashionable society into which Hogarth became integrated and drew upon as a form of professional and social network.

A similar network of family, friends and professional colleagues characterised Henry Fielding's *Miscellanies* 1743 when it became his first serious attempt to secure investment by subscription. Of the 427 subscribers, more than half were lawyers helping out a young professional colleague causing Fielding to admit 'I believe I owe not a tenth Part to my own interest'.³⁴ Despite this expression of professional allegiance, there were some notable expressions of support such as Robert Walpole who subscribed twenty guineas for ten sets on royal paper which he never took up, the gesture being interpreted as a response to Fielding's withdrawal as co-editor of the anti-Walpole *Champion* and the adoption of a more politically neutral stance as the need for acceptance in literary circles grew financially necessary.³⁵ The fact that Fielding's *Miscellanies* subscription list was as much about support for political, personal and professional connections can be demonstrated by the fact that 46% of the copies subscribed for were never delivered confirming that subscribing was as much about promoting as buying.³⁶ The hierarchal order of the subscription list and the social precedence that this established confirms that subscribers were mainly patrons who paid a surcharge of 55% merely for the pleasure of seeing their names in print whereas subsequent purchasers generally acquired their copies at a discount from the publication price and out of a genuine sense of literary interest rather than patronage.³⁷

Patronage and the Market

The method of book subscription as a form of fund raising can be traced back to at least 1617 with John Minsheu's *Ductor in Linguis*, when it was used 'to promote Books of a great bulk, which cannot be printed otherwise'.³⁸ The development of the print industry and newspapers at the turn of the century stimulated subscription initiatives involving authors,

³³ J. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: archaeology and identity in the British enlightenment* (New Haven, 2009), p. 92.

³⁴ B.A. Goldgar and H. Amory (eds.), *Henry Fielding- Miscellanies* (Oxford 1993), p. xvii.

³⁵ Ibid, p. xix.

³⁶ Amory, *Virtual Readers*, p. 103.

³⁷ Ibid, pp. 104-105.

³⁸ P.J.Korshin, 'Types of eighteenth-century Literary Patronage', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol.7, No.4 (Summer, 1974), p. 463.

friends and patrons as well as booksellers through advertisements in newspapers circulating in the metropolis and more latterly, the provinces.

The first substantial subscription launched in 1688 by Jacob Tonson, bookseller and printer and Richard Bentley, theologian was Milton's *Paradise Lost* some fourteen years after the author's death in 1674.³⁹ This was followed up by Tonson and Dryden's *Virgil* in 1697 which was the first major literary subscription undertaken involving a living writer. Both author and bookseller profited handsomely from the subscription and its success is likely to have encouraged Alexander Pope to follow with his hugely successful release of the *Iliad* in 1720 and the *Odyssey* in 1725-26 which earned in excess of £10,000 for Pope and inspired dozens of authors to launch or approach booksellers to part-organise similar subscription schemes.⁴⁰

The subscription method of selling prints and books became more prevalent as the century progressed. Subscription acted as a form of underwriting and brought about new associations and collaborations resulting in new trading practices linked to technological change in the print industry.⁴¹ Around 1730 there was a marked increase in the output of prints of English design. Advertisements in newspapers invited a down payment as an investment in books or prints in-progress which meant that sales could effectively be made before the book or print was finished. The increased number of newspapers as a means of advertising and the introduction of the Copyright Act 1735 together with a growing market for luxury goods all contributed to an increase in subscription as a means of attracting investment.⁴²

Moreover, the income from subscription sales usually went entirely to the artist or author before the print or book seller took their share, usually in the form of additional copies that they were allowed to retain for their own purposes. The public could be reached directly for the first time and the artist was not dependant solely on the shop windows of print sellers for access to a growing consumer audience.⁴³ Advertisements in the principal newspapers usually stated that subscriptions were being collected at a designated print shop which required the co-operation of an established print seller or as in Hogarth's case more often, at his studio in

³⁹ Ibid, p. 105.

⁴⁰ Korshin, 'Types of eighteenth-century Literary Patronage', p. 105.

⁴¹ J. Raven, 'The Book Trades' in I. Rivers (ed.), *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth Century England: New Essays* (London, 2001), p. 9.

⁴² J. Raven, *The business of books: booksellers and the English book trade 1450-1850* (New Haven, 2007), p. 223

⁴³ There were four daily newspapers circulating in London by the mid-century. Advertising revenues increased from £912 in 1713 to £3158 in 1734 and £7915 in 1754. Raven, 'The Book Trades', pp. 24-26.

Leicester Fields. The initial payment provided the subscriber with a guarantee of the first edition if it was a book, or in the case of Hogarth, a receipt in the form of a signed subscription ticket which also served as a collectable item in its own right and was more often based on a theme linked to the final product. In both cases, final payment by a specified date ensured delivery of the finished product and in the case of many books, public recognition of patronage in the form of a printed list of subscribers bound to the frontispiece.

In addition to this formal process, friends, family and acquaintances often acted as agents and generated subscriptions personally through their own contacts which they then channelled through the print or book seller. As such, the subscription process was not just a financial transaction between the consumer and the author-artist, but a collaborative exchange of support from within the close circle of family and friends which, more so in the case of book subscriptions than prints, did not necessarily require payment of the final instalment or delivery of the article in question. These public demonstrations of support through the subscription process were not necessarily designed therefore to secure value for money in the sense that subsequent subscriptions often meant that the product could be bought at a lower price than the first edition, a situation that invariably attracted the more conventional consumer less motivated by public demonstrations of family and friendship. Nevertheless, the subscription process provided investment opportunities for the artist-author and introduced a new dynamic into the relationship between the artist, the book and print seller and the audience that comprised not only family and friends and professional connections, but the wider consuming public who came to regard subscription as a way of demonstrating their social credentials and sense of taste.

Publication by Subscription

New modes of consumption and the marketing of culture as a commodity in the early eighteenth century encouraged commercial innovation from subscription publishing, to advertising in newspapers and retail by auction and sale catalogue.⁴⁴ The way in which William Hogarth and Henry Fielding used the subscription process followed a well-established pattern which relied upon newspaper advertisements to provide a description of the print or book to be produced with the anticipated date of completion and the price to be paid by initial deposit and balance on completion. In the case of prints where there was more

⁴⁴ Raven, *The business of books- booksellers and the English book trade*, p. 86.

than one set of images, the pricing was structured to encourage the purchase of the whole set rather than individual or part-set purchases almost as competitive packaging devices.⁴⁵ In Hogarth's case he enhanced the process by the issue of a signed subscription ticket which served both as an artistic manifesto in its own right and as an expression of contractual obligation.⁴⁶ This innovative feature of Hogarth's commercial and marketing practices is dealt with in some detail later in this chapter as it represents a marked development in the relationship between the artist and the purchaser by creating a contractual bond and a personal connection to affirm the transaction in keeping with contemporary notions of social and economic relationships.⁴⁷

There were more similarities than differences between the artistic and the literary in that subscribers of Hogarth's *Hudibras* series, his first attempt at this method of publishing, had their names recorded on the reverse of the title page (fig. 27) arranged in alphabetical order with their social status either 'Gent', 'Esq' or just plain Mr. In some cases details of profession and place of origin are noted and in the case of 'Mr Allan Ramsay', the Scottish poet and author to whom the series is jointly dedicated, it is noted that he subscribed for thirty sets. This is likely to have been in his capacity as a professional publisher. Nevertheless, the publication of a printed list of subscribers was an essential feature of the whole process as it recorded the subscriber's social status and demonstrated the cachet that went with being seen to collectively patronise without the difficulties often associated with the more personal patron-client relationship.

This was certainly the case with subscriptions to Fielding's *Miscellanies* which attracted a significant number of subscribers from the legal profession with whom Fielding had been originally associated. Furthermore, a high proportion of books at the top end of the market that benefitted from the subscription process included a list of subscribers which also indicated the number of copies an individual patron had ordered and whether these copies were on 'fine' (royal) paper or 'coarse' (demy) paper. This type of list was a way of publicly acknowledging the subscriber's status as a consumer and their willingness, not just to purchase their own copy or print, but to circulate others among their wealthy and tasteful

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 86.

⁴⁶ F.D. Leach, *William Hogarth's Subscription Tickets. A Vehicle for Eighteenth Century Satire on Contemporary Taste* (Iowa State University, 1937), Unpublished PhD thesis, p. 2

⁴⁷ S. Lloyd, 'Ticketing the British Eighteenth Century: 'A thing...never heard before'', *Journal of Social History*, vol. 46, no. 4 (2013), p. 860.

friends.⁴⁸ Subscription lists during this period provide evidence therefore of the social and cultural positioning of contemporary art and as such ‘delineate and confirm the audience’.⁴⁹

Henry Fielding - *Miscellanies* 1743

The circumstances that led to Henry Fielding offering the *Miscellanies* for sale by subscription in 1742 were similar to Hogarth’s successful use of the process some years earlier, namely the need to raise sufficient investment for getting artistic projects off the ground and securing both financial and social capital at the same time. This method of securing funding for book subscriptions as well as patronage and social largesse for the individual patrons had become well established by the turn of the century and showed real signs of growth due to the expansion of the print industry and developments in commercial newspaper advertising. The period 1617-1688 saw at least fifty four books published by subscription in London where the print trade was principally located, a trend that continued to increase into the next century as the following statistics confirm:

Table 1. Books Published by subscription in London 1700-1800⁵⁰

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| Before 1701 | 62 |
| 1701-11 | 71 |
| 1711-21 | 89 |
| 1721-31 | 222 |
| 1731-41 | 201 |
| 1741-51 | 208 |
| 1751-61 | 193 |
| 1761-71 | 220 |
| Total | 1266 |

The composition of the subscription list for Fielding’s *Miscellanies* reflected the professional and family support that characterised these ventures. As such it became as much an ‘extra-

⁴⁸ Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 165.

⁴⁹ M. Walsh, ‘Literary Scholarship and the Life of Editing’ in Rivers (ed.) *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth Century England: New Essays*, p. 211.

⁵⁰ Raven, *The business of books- booksellers and the English book trade*, p. 105.

literary' event and acted as part of the background to the literature itself.⁵¹ In essence, the decision to subscribe was based as much, if not more, on personal or professional association which avoided the need for direct contact and avoided the risk of offence or embarrassment. Given that many subscribers did not pay the second instalment and therefore forfeited their copy of the book, or ordered multiple copies and only took up single copies on full payment, the process resulted in what could be classed as a group of 'Virtual Readers' who invested, but did not exercise their right to ownership.⁵²

The only evidence that a subscriber took up the entitlement to the first edition of the book is the survival of the book itself; therefore whilst first editions of the *Miscellanies* are to be found, they are not as numerous as the subscription list would indicate. This would seem to confirm the role of subscription as a 'genteel form of patronage'.⁵³ In this respect the literary subscription process differed from the model operated by William Hogarth in that although some of his patrons were similarly motivated by personal friendship or Masonic association, they acquired in the process, a receipt in the form of a print, linked to the theme of the finished product which they retained regardless of future intentions.

Whilst it is tempting therefore to read the author's personality into that of his subscribers, it is a procedure that should be equally valid in reverse in that the list acts almost as a two way mirror of the relationship between author-artist and subscriber.⁵⁴ This might explain why subscribers were prepared to pay what amounted to a significant surcharge merely for the pleasure of seeing their names in print given that, as in the case of the *Miscellanies*, a second edition was advertised by the bookseller Andrew Millar, Fielding's partner in the exercise, some twenty days after the first edition for only fifteen shillings bound.⁵⁵

Many of these 'second edition' copies would be the surplus left over from the first run which had not been taken up by subscribers who regarded themselves as promoters and benefactors rather than readers; in such circumstances these books reverted to the ownership of the bookseller as part of the arrangement with the author. Subscribers no doubt financed the

⁵¹ Amory, *Virtual Readers*, p. 94.

⁵² Ibid, p. 95.

⁵³ Ibid, pp. 102-103.

⁵⁴ Goldgar and Amory (eds.), *Miscellanies by Henry Fielding, Esq*; p. 297.

⁵⁵ Amory, *Virtual Readers*, p. 104.

Miscellanies, but they were greatly outnumbered by subsequent purchasers and it is the latter whose judgement must be taken into any account of the book's literary success.⁵⁶

The size of the subscription list was therefore generally regarded as an indicator of professional recognition as well as a display of social support from family, friends and acquaintances. In Fielding's case the *Miscellanies* attracted 427 subscribers which made it 'reasonably impressive', compared to the median subscription list in this period of 200-250 names.⁵⁷ The receipts which form the basis of the list to be bound at the front of the first edition came from a variety of friends and associates who collected subscriptions on Fielding's behalf as well as those which came in direct response to the advertisement.

The alphabetical- hierarchical arrangement of the list by social designation was such that Royalty and Aristocratic rank took precedence over 'Mister' and 'Esquire' with the non-titled bringing up the rear. In all cases, the list also showed the number of copies being subscribed to and whether these were on the more expensive 'Royal-Fine' paper or on 'Ordinary – Coarse'. This in itself delineated the social aspects of subscription especially in the case of 'Royal-Fine' paper which avoided any taint of trade. For example, Prince Frederick subscribed for fifteen royal-paper copies but in the event only took up one, a gesture that encouraged others to act similarly although these subscribers deferred to his majesty by subscribing to no more than ten copies so as not to be seen to be over-reaching their social status.⁵⁸ Social protocol therefore dictated the extent of the subscription and avoided any excess of emulation.

William Hogarth and Subscription Advertising

The Hudibras Series 1725

William Hogarth's use of the subscription process can be traced back to the *Hudibras* series of 1725. This was the first occasion on which he demonstrated his abilities as 'an energetic self-publicist'.⁵⁹ Despite not including his own name in the notice in *The Evening Post* on 5 October 1725 (fig.25), he announced his proposal to use the subscription method in cooperation with a regular publisher and well known print seller, Philip Overton. Would be

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 104.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 102.

⁵⁸ Amory, *Virtual Readers*, p. 104. states that 149 copies were taken on 'Royal-Fine' paper and 258 on 'Ordinary- Coarse'.

⁵⁹ Bindman, *Hogarth and his Time*, p. 87.

subscribers were required to pay a down payment of five shillings and the balance of ten shillings by Christmas. This allowed Hogarth to raise enough cash from deposits to proceed beyond the seven plates already completed towards the twelve which comprised the set and meant he was able to announce the publication date in *The Post Boy* on 26 February 1726.

By this time he was also sufficiently confident to include himself in the publication notice. The frontispiece of the double-sided sheet (fig.26) which was issued as a title page indicates that the series was dedicated to ‘Allan Ramsay’, the Scottish poet and author whose family owned a print shop in Edinburgh which would explain why he ordered thirty impressions of the series, and ‘William Ward’, a Northamptonshire country gentleman and presumably a patron to be courted.⁶⁰

The reverse side (fig.27) contained the names of the 166 subscribers indicating where more than one set had been purchased as a sign of largesse or as an indication of the confidence that a print-seller might have in the product. The list is set out in alphabetical order with rank and status shown such as *Alderman of the City*, *Prebendary of Westminster*, *Gent.*, *Esq.*, *Bart* together with details in some cases of location where these are outside London, for example ‘of Christ church, Oxon’, ‘of St. Albans’ and ‘of Dublin’. A biographical analysis of the subscribers confirms the eclectic mix of Hogarth’s audience at this stage of his career, combining nobility-gentry with politicians, fellow artists and engravers, military and somewhat surprisingly religious figures from the dissenting and Calvinist wing of the Protestant church no doubt attracted by the satirical polemic of the poem and its attack on Parliamentarians and Cromwell by association. A summary classification of the subscribers is set out below (fig.28). Many of the names that appear on the list are also included in the signed subscription tickets which can be found in the appendix to this thesis showing a consistent level of support by many patrons.

⁶⁰ Ramsay had a son of the same name (1713-1784) who later became a successful portrait painter.

¶ Proposals for Engraving and Printing (by Sub-
scription) twelve Historical and most Diverting Prints, taken from
the celebrated Poem of HUDIBRAS (the Don Quixot of this Nation)
describing in a pleasant Manner the Humor of those Times, being
very finely engraved on 12 Copper Plates, each 14 Inches long ex-
cepting two. the Skimmings in, and burning the Rumps at Temple
Bar, which are 20 Inches in Length. The Price to Subscribers is 15 s.
the Set, whereof five to be paid down. The whole to be finish'd by
Christmas next, seven Plates being already done, and Specimens of
them to be seen at Phil. Overton's Printseller near St. Dunstan's
Church, Fleet-Street, and John Coopers in James-Street, Covent Gar-
den, where Subscriptions are taken in.

Fig.25 Evening Post - 5 October 1725

T W E L V E Excellent and most Diverting
P R I N T S;

Taken from the *Celebrated* POEM of *HUDIBRAS*,

Wrote by Mr. SAMUEL BUTLER.

Exposing the *Villany* and *Hypocrisy* of those TIMES.

Invented and Engraved on TWELVE COPPER-PLATES, by WILLIAM HOGARTH.

And are Humbly DEDICATED to

WILLIAM WARD, Esq; of *Great Houghton* in *Northamptonshire*; And
Mr. *ALLAN RAMSAY*, of *Edinburgh*.

What EXCELLENCE can Brass or Marble claim !

THESE PAPERS *better do Secure thy Fame :*

Thy VERSE all Monuments does far Surpass,

No Mausoleum's like thy HUDIBRAS.

Printed, and sold by PHILIP OVERTON, *Print and Map-Seller*, at the *Golden Buck* near
S^t *Dunstan's Church* in *Fleetstreet*; and JOHN COOPER, in *James-Street, Covent-Garden*. 1726.

Fig.26 Title Page to the Hudibras series 1726- British Museum

A LIST of such GENTLEMEN as have *Subscribed* towards the Promoting of this WORK.

A

Amuel Allen, *Gent.*
Joseph Allon, *Gent.*
The Reverend Mr. Allen, B. D.
Mr. John Arnold.
Mr. James Auderton.

B

John Barber, *Esq.* *Allderman of the City of London.*
The Reverend Dr. Barker, *Probandary of Westminster.*
John Boulter, *Esq.*
Mr. Thomas Big.
Joseph Blagrove, *Gent.*
Mr. Richard Butterfield.
Robert Bynal, *Gent.*
Mr. Edward Bathurst.
Mr. Henry Bulney.

C

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Compton,
Madam Crowley.
Madam Caxar.
Mrs. Champion.
Harry Cross, *Esq.*
Capt. Francis Clarke.
Capt. ----- Corance.
Capt. John Colvil.
Robert Chapell, *Esq.*
Mr. George Champion, *Merchant.*
Thomas Clendon, *Gent.*
Mr. William Cleaver, *Merchant.*
Samuel Chandler, *Gent.*
Thomas Cotton, *Esq.*
Mr. Samuel Curton, *Merchant.*
Mr. Thomas Clare. *Seven Setts.*
Mr. Carew, of Christ-Church, Oxon. *1*
Mr. John Clarke.
Mr. Edward Cotton.
Mr. John Clarke, *Engraver.*
Mr. Benjamin Cole, *Ditto.*
Mr. John Curryer.
Mr. John Collins.

D

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Derby.
Sir Edward Desbouverie, *Bart.*
Paunce Dod, M. D.
Knightley Danvers, *Esq.*
Col. George Duckett.
John Dodwel, *Gent.*
ancelot Dowbiggent, *Gent.*
an Peter Deimaretz, *Gent.*
Mr. Hugh Denison.

O

Richard Goddard, of Swindon, *Esq.*
Thomas Gape, of S. Albans, *Esq.*
Charles Gore, of Northampton, *Esq.*
Richard Green, *Esq.*
The Reverend Dr. Goode.
Mr. Henry Gilbert.

H

Sir Arthur Hallerigge, *Bart.*
Edward Hont, of Dublin, *Esq.* *Six Setts.*
Roger Hill, *Esq.*
Philip Harcourt, *Esq.*
William Hewet, *Esq.*
Ralph Harcourt, *Esq.*
The Reverend Mr. Gervas Holmes.
----- Hickman, M. D.
Samuel Hadley, *Gent.*
Thomas Harris, *Gent.*
John Hudson, *Gent.*
Mr. John Humphreys.

I

The Hon. John S. John, *Esq.*
Henry Jennings, of Shiplake, *Esq.*
Brigadier Joslyn.
Gist. Johnston, *Esq.*
----- Joy, *Esq.*
Capt. Jackson.
William Jones, *Gent.*
Mr. John Innocent.
Mr. Robert Jennings.

K

John Knap, *Esq.*
William Kaine, of Richmond, *Gent.*
The Reverend Mr. Knightley.
John Kennion, *Gent.*
Mr. Eli. Kirkall, *Engraver.*

L

The Reverend Mr. Letchmore.
Leigh Langley, *Gent.*
John Leuthal, of Stapleford, *Gent.*
Mr. John Lenton.
Mr. ----- Lloyd.

M

Francis Man, *Esq.* *Four Setts.*
Richard Moreton, *Esq.*
Benjamin Marriot, *Esq.*
Edmund Morris, *Esq.*
Sir Peter Joseph M. Morucci.
Anest Morici, *Esq.*

Mr. William Mead.
Mr. Edward Metcalfe.
Mr. William Matthews.

N

The Hon. Lord Newel.
William Newland, of Gutton, *Esq.*
John Nicholls, *Esq.*
Mr. Richard Nutt.

O

Henry Overton, of Charter-House Square,
Gent.
Mr. Daniel Ostridge.
Mr. George Oxborne.
Mr. Oldham.

P

Edward Peirson, *Gent.* *Two Setts.*
Harry Parker, *Esq.* *Two Setts.*
John Phillips, *Esq.*
Thomas Palmer, *Esq.*
John Palmer, of Symond's-Inn, *Esq.*
Henry Parson, *Esq.*
----- Proule, *Esq.*
James Porters, *Gent.*
Thomas Painton, *Esq.*
William Pawlet, *Gent.*
Mr. John Peyton.
Mr. Thomas Poulter.
Mr. John Poltock.

R

John Rolle, *Esq.*
George Rogers, *Esq.*
John Role, of Northampton, *Gent.*
Capt. John Romer.
John Robinson, *Gent.*
Mr. John Richards.
Mr. Thomas Reading.
Mr. Allan Ramsay. *Thirty Setts.*
Mr. Thomas Rich.
Mr. Thomas Rowe.

S

Sir Edward Smith, of Hill-Hall, Essex, *Bart.*
Samuel Strode, *Esq.*
George Sayer, *Esq.*
Richard Sydenham, *Esq.*
Jothua Smith, of Yarmouth, *Esq.*
John Sorocold, *Esq.*
Thomas Spooner, *Esq.*
The Reverend Dr. Savage.

Thomas Snow, *Gent.*
John Skinner, *Gent.*
Thomas Saunderson, *Gent.*
John Strong, *Gent.*
Mr. Thomas Smith.
Mr. Stuart, of Ludlow.
Mr. Charles Smith.

T

The Hon. John Trevor, *Esq.*
The Hon. Trevor, *Esq.*
The Rev. Dr. Tovey, *Fellow of Merton College.*
Mark Thorston, *Esq.*
Thomas Thoroton, *Esq.*
William Thursby, of Abington, *Esq.*
Samuel Thomson, *Esq.*
Charles Townshend, *Esq.*
William Townsend, *Gent.*
John Tanner, *Gent.*

V

----- Van Sittart, *Esq.*
The Rev. Mr. Thomas Vincent.
Mr. Du Vivie.
Mr. G. Vandergucht.

W

John Walter, of Surrey, *Esq.*
William Ward, of Houghton, *Esq.*
William Wykes, of Northampton, *Esq.*
Robert Weston, *Esq.*
James Wilson, *Esq.*
James Winstanley, *Esq.*
Robert Wilson, *Esq.*
----- Wilkinson, *Esq.*
----- Windham, *Esq.*
Martin Warren, M. D.
Robert Witham, *Gent.*
Mr. John Williams, of Dublin.
Mr. George White. *Four Setts.*
Mr. James Walsdale. *Two Setts.*
Mr. Thomas Wood.
John Webb, *Gent.*

Fig.27 Subscription List for the Hudibras series 1733- British Museum

| Category | Number |
|---|------------|
| Nobility and Gentry | 6 |
| Religious | 10 |
| Politicians | 3 |
| Military | 6 |
| Fellow Artists, Booksellers and Printmakers | 7 |
| Merchants | 9 |
| Medical Profession | 3 |
| Others- No Trace | 122 |
| Total | 166 |

Table 2. Subscribers to *Hudibras* 1733 by Classification

Although he had little choice under existing commercial arrangements but to sell the *Hudibras* plates on to Philip Overton, his partner-print seller, who in turn sold them on within the trade until they became worn out, Hogarth ‘often lamented to his friends the having parted with his property without having the opportunity to improve them’.⁶¹ The experience had however, not only improved his finances and made him a more recognisable name amongst the more innovative artists of the period, it laid the groundwork and gave him the confidence to make a bid for independence by launching the *Harlot’s Progress* series of prints through the subscription process in his own right.

Subscription Tickets

The use of the subscription ticket by Hogarth as a visual link to the theme of the print to be purchased fits with eighteenth-century definitions of what Sarah Lloyd describes as ‘early modern capacities to express contractual obligation through material objects’.⁶² The use of tickets multiplied during the period to cover a variety of situations ranging from plays, concerts, lotteries, and dinners to important church ceremonies. Tickets became a feature of urban print culture and had a physical presence. They became part of what Margaret Hunt

⁶¹ Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works*, p. 59.

⁶² Lloyd, ‘Ticketing the British Eighteenth Century’, p. 843.

describes as ‘commercial ephemera’ which shaped the practices and sensibilities of the literate middling sort.⁶³ In Hogarth’s hands subscription tickets became evidence of the engraver’s ability to graphically record the underlying themes of the print to which it was attached and represented the growing commercialisation of art. By tapping into the use of tickets as graphic expressions of economic exchange Hogarth created a new form of personal connection in the buying and selling of art. The subscription ticket represented more than entitlement to the finished product on payment of final instalments, it created new forms of enlightened thinking and a growing sense of art as a commodity to be acquired within the making of a modern society.⁶⁴

The use of the subscription ticket in Hogarth’s hands therefore represents not only innovative marketing in the acquisition of art but also marks rituals of exchange and a reconfiguration of the relationship between the artist as the independent author free from patronage, and the customer for whom the ticket itself has a distinct separate identity from the print to which it is related. As such Hogarth’s subscription tickets deserve individual attention for the way in which they open up the topic to which the print is related and for what they tell us about the social character of the audience for which they are intended.

Boys Peeping at Nature

The subscription ticket ‘Boys Peeping at Nature’ 1730/31 (fig.28) was the first to be issued as a receipt in connection with the *Harlot’s Progress* 1732 which effectively secured Hogarth’s status, both financially and professionally. George Vertue, engraver and antiquary whose notebooks recorded contemporary British Art, reported how Hogarth ‘had daily subscriptions come in, in fifty or a hundred pounds in a week, there being no day but persons of fashion and artists came to see these pictures’.⁶⁵ The purchaser was required to put half a guinea down as the ticket records and a further half a guinea on completion when the print would be delivered on presentation of the ticket. The subscription ticket shown is dated 12 March 1730, only eight days after subscriptions opened, and is made out to ‘Ebenezer Forrest’, fellow Freemason, lawyer, writer and friend of Hogarth. Being so closely associated with Hogarth, it is not surprising that Forrest was amongst the early subscribers as a sign of support and solidarity.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 848.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 860.

⁶⁵ Vertue, *Notebooks* Vol.III, p. 58.

Ebenezer Forrest was a member of the same Freemason Lodge as Hogarth and along with John Rich, manager of the Covent Garden Theatre, Hogarth and others founded the 'Beefsteak Club' on 6 December 1735.⁶⁶ He would later be the author of 'An account of what seemed the most remarkable five days of peregrination of William Tothall/ Samuel Scott/ William Hogarth/ John Thornhill/ Ebenezer Forrest', comprising a manuscript account with accompanying plates illustrated by Hogarth of a boisterous tour of the Thames estuary undertaken by the five close friends from 27-31 May 1732 to celebrate the success of the *Harlot's Progress*. This subscription is perhaps borne more out of friendship and, like Robert Streeter and George Lambert, listed in the appendix for this ticket, is more likely an expression of support rather than a commercial or artistic enquiry. As has been suggested already, Hogarth relied very much on close social acquaintances and fellow Freemasons in the promotion of his artistic reputation at this stage of his career. This dependency would decline as he became more popular in his own right.



Fig.28. Boys Peeping at Nature 1730-31

⁶⁶ <http://www.freemasonry.london.museum/archives.php>.

In this the first of his programmatic subscription tickets, art historian Willem Lash suggests Hogarth is pointing the way to his future intentions regarding artistic style.⁶⁷ The classical conventions and style of the ticket are in striking contrast to the contemporary London of the *Harlot's Progress*. By setting up the artist's own imitation of nature in the ticket to contrast with the typical Londoner's aping of fashion he is deliberately indicating his intention to introduce a new art form based on the narrative traditions of Dutch Art which relied very much on the viewer's visual knowledge of reality.⁶⁸

This new art form from which the *Harlot's Progress* would emerge as a modern method of entertainment and moral aesthetics was based less on conventional religious themes, and more on rational- humanitarianism and sought to address contemporary issues from a different perspective by involving the viewer as a responsible agent, rather than a mere bystander.⁶⁹ The print as a medium of graphic communication provided Hogarth with a set of themes and motifs which he turned into expressions of his own artistic and ethical values.

According to Lash, the viewer was in turn required to possess 'synthetic tuition' and a familiarity with the essential goals of the human spirit so as to be able to interpret the print as intended.⁷⁰ This new audience therefore saw Hogarth in a different light, one less jaundiced by the classical separation of styles and more prepared to put to one side the emphasis on critical data and concentrate more on the recording of observable reality and the immediate visual connection that they saw in the print even if this did require a degree of self-analysis. The content of the *Harlot's Progress* as a visual literary tale therefore approaches contemporary society in a different manner that both entertains and informs the viewers as they seek to interpret and decode hidden messages. The subscription became a huge success 'with persons of fashion and Artists coming to see the pictures' as George Vertue, engraver and antiquary records.⁷¹

The broad category of interest that Vertue suggests the *Harlot's Progress* attracted is somewhat at odds with the more restricted range of Fielding's subscribers for his *Miscellanies* 1741-2 who, as has been previously mentioned, came predominantly from

⁶⁷ W.F. Lash. 'Iconography and Iconology'. *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, at , <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T039803> [accessed November 11, 2013]

⁶⁸ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 75.

⁶⁹ P. De Voogd, *Henry Fielding and William Hogarth: The Correspondence of the Arts* (Amsterdam, 1981), p. 343.

⁷⁰ Lash, 'Iconography and Iconology'.

⁷¹ Vertue, *Notebooks*, Vol.III, p. 58.

family, friends and overwhelmingly, the legal profession who saw subscription as a form of professional and financial support whereas Hogarth's initial success with the *Harlot's Progress* appears to have attracted interest from across the metropolitan social and artistic spectrum. The subscription process eventually realised 1240 sets of prints and secured Hogarth's financial and professional future at a stroke.⁷²

The prints, although pirated immediately were so successful that Paulson reveals how they were copied on to fan- mounts, which Hogarth gave to maidservants in his own family and sets of cups and saucers so that even whilst taking tea, the conversation might turn to the prints as a commentary on contemporary society. The fashion of tea drinking at home by ladies adds to the significance of this and demonstrates the extent to which Hogarth had permeated the consciousness of the middling sorts and those sections of society who found this form of polite sociability fashionable.⁷³

The subscription ticket *Boys Peeping at Nature* was reissued in 1737-8 (fig.29) as a receipt for *A Strolling Company of Actresses Dressing themselves for the Play, in a Barn*; and for the four prints, *Morning, Noon, Evening and Night*. The design remained the same and it has to be assumed that the popularity of the *Harlot's Progress* and the interpretation of social behaviour in a new and different light meant that the classical depictions of the subscription ticket and their interpretation into contemporary circumstances continued to hold good for prints of the same genre but with a different theme. The images on the ticket remained the same except for the wording of the receipt which was made out to 'Jo Barbaroux' for whom no record can be found. In both cases, these first subscription tickets broke new ground by acting not only as receipts for deposits, but as supporting text to the print and artistic manifestos in their own right.⁷⁴

The third and final state of the ticket was issued in 1751 and re-worked as a subscription ticket (fig.30) for prints of *St Paul before Felix* 1748 which Hogarth had donated and hung in Lincoln's Inn, and *Moses brought to Pharaoh's Daughter* 1746 which had been similarly donated and hung in the boardroom of the Foundling Hospital of which Hogarth was a governor. By this time, the popularity of the subscription ticket itself and the sales with which

⁷² Ibid p. 141.

⁷³ The *Harlot's Progress* was later reproduced in 1740 on porcelain by Meissen Porcelain, Germany. See fig.7, page 49 in chapter 2.

⁷⁴ Ogée, 'From Text to Image: William Hogarth and the emergence of a visual culture in eighteenth- century England' p. 5.

it had already been connected were sufficient reason to continue with it albeit in a slightly amended form. Unlike the previous prints for which this subscription ticket was used, there is no discernible link between it and the two prints advertised. The re-worked subscription ticket shown is made out to 'John Danby Esq.', organist and composer.

The appropriateness of the theme for the Foundling Hospital and the association of orphaned children is clear. The public space that these venues provided for display at a time when artists struggled for suitable public venues to display their work represented an astute piece of self-publicity. It is no surprise therefore that he referred to these viewing opportunities in the advertisement (Fig.31) especially the Foundling Hospital as a way of cementing his reputation as a moral philanthropist.

The advertisement also referred to viewing opportunities at his studio for the two sets of drawings as well as his *Marriage-a-la-Mode* paintings which were eventually sold at auction on 6 June 1751 having failed to reach their 'reserve' price at a previous auction.⁷⁵ The design was altered from the previous two versions in that the peeping satyr was replaced by a board or canvas with a drawing of a draped woman's head hiding the lower part of the statue 'Nature'. This alteration was interpreted as Hogarth paying homage to his father in law and fellow Freemason, Sir James Thornhill as it had been 'schemed out' on his lines.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p114.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 76



Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
dabiturque Licentia Sumpta pudenter. Hor.

Rec. 2. May. 11 1737. of *Mr. Barber*
Half a Guinea being the First Payment for five Large Prints.
One representing a Strolling Company of Actresses Dressing them-
selves for the Play, in a Barn; and the other four *Morning,*
Noon, Evening and Night.
Which I promise to deliver on Lady day next on Receiv^{ing} half
a Guinea more. N.B. they will be 25 Shilling^s after y^r Subscription
is over

Wm Hogarth

Fig.29. Boys Peeping at Nature 1737-8



*Received Dec 2 1751 of John Dantby Esq;
5 Shillings being the first Payment for two large Prints
one representing Moses brought to Pharaoh's Daughter.
The other S^t Paul before Felix, w^{ch} I Promise to deliver
when finish'd, on Receiving 5 Shillings more.*

*N. B. They will be Seven and Six Pence
each Print, after the time of subscribing.*

Fig.30 Boys Peeping at Nature 1751

MR. HOGARTH proposes to publish by Subscription, Two Large PRINTS, One representing *Moses* brought to *Pharaoh's Daughter*; the other, *Paul* before *Felix*; engraved after the Pictures of his Painting, which are now hung up in the Foundling-Hospital and Lincoln's Inn Hall. Five Shillings to be paid at the Time of Subscribing, and five more on the Delivery of the said Prints.

For the first Payment a Receipt will be given, which Receipt will contain a new Print (in the true Dutch Taste) of *Paul* before *Felix*.

N.B. The above two Prints will be 7s. 6d. each after the Subscription is over, and the Receipt Print will be sold at a very extraordinary Price.

Subscriptions will be taken till the 6th of June next, and no longer, at the Golden Head in Leicester-fields, where the Drawings may be seen, as likewise the Author's six Pictures of *Marriage A-la-mode*, which are to be disposed of within the said Time, by a new Method, to the best Bidder.

Fig.31 General Advertiser 17 May 1751.

Chorus of Singers - 1732

This subscription ticket (fig.32) was issued in December 1732 in connection with the sale of Hogarth's *A Midnight Modern Conversation* and shows a rehearsal of the oratorio *Judith* written by Hogarth's close friend William Huggins whose portrait he painted, and who was largely responsible for the drafting of 'Hogarth's Act' in 1735 which established artists' intellectual copyright.⁷⁷ The ticket was designed by Hogarth as a popular expression of contemporary entertainment and, despite suggestions to the contrary, was said to include recognisable characters such as William Tothall, one of Hogarth's colleagues on the five day boisterous tour of the Thames estuary.⁷⁸

The subscription ticket acts on one level as an opportunity for Hogarth to illustrate contemporary events and personalities and on the other as a contrast between the shared affection of the singers 'and the different stages, degrees and types of drunkenness' amongst

⁷⁷ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, pp. 83-84.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 84.

the revellers at four o'clock in the morning (fig.33).⁷⁹ The punchbowl with *chinoiserie* decoration, typical of late seventeenth-, early eighteenth-century Chinese porcelain which acts as a central feature of the late-night revelry is said to have belonged to Hogarth. It now resides in the Foundling Museum, possibly as a gift from Hogarth.⁸⁰

Despite warnings to the contrary, commentators were not slow in identifying the personages implying a tendency to indulge in revelling. The character in the full-bottomed wig was said to be Abel Kettleby a 'vociferous bar orator, remarkable, though an utter barrister, for wearing a judge's wig'.⁸¹ He was also a subscriber to Fielding's *Miscellanies* later in 1743 demonstrating the similarities of the social circle within which Hogarth and Fielding moved. The signed subscription ticket shown is made out to Thomas Wright an astronomer and landscape gardener and unsuccessful candidate for the Royal Society who, although he lived mainly at Byers Green, County Durham also appeared on the fringes of high society in London and would regard his investment in Hogarth's prints as evidence of his social credentials.

⁷⁹ Ibid, pp. 84-85.

⁸⁰ K. Field, 'Catalogue' in Robin Simon (ed.), *Hogarth's Children* (Foundling Museum, 2007), p. 42.

⁸¹ Goldgar and Amory (eds.), *Miscellanies by Henry Fielding Esq.*, p. 330.



Fig 32. A Chorus of Singers 1732



Fig.33. A Midnight Modern Conversation 1733

The Laughing Audience- 1733

This subscription ticket was issued for the sale of two works, *Southwark Fair* and the *Rake's Progress* and was advertised in the *London Journal* on 22 December 1733 (fig.34). The advertisement invites subscriptions at Hogarth's studio where the pictures 'are to be seen'.⁸² Although completed by December 1733, delivery of *Southwark Fair* was held back until the *Rake's Progress*, which continued to be a work in progress was finished. The release of both prints was however delayed until 25 June 1735 so as to obtain copyright privilege.⁸³ It would appear that Hogarth anticipated the prospect of this and decided to link the sale of both so as to gain maximum protection.

The signed ticket (fig.35) is made out to the Duke of Queensborough who is likely to have been Charles Douglas, 3rd Duke of Queensberry 1698-1778, and a fellow governor of the Foundling Hospital which serves to underline how well Hogarth was able to use his connections.⁸⁴ The ticket shows the inside of a theatre and the reactions of different parts of the audience to an unseen play. The theatre is separated into sections and is meant to mirror contemporary society and the way in which it also operates at different levels.

This emphasis on social distinction and the discrepancy between appearance and reality is a key feature of *Southwark Fair* to which the print is connected. The Fair, which was held each year from 7-9 September was seen by Hogarth, not as the occasion of innocent enjoyment, but as an occasion of social corruption where beggars, idlers, gamblers, cheats, bawds, illusionists and prostitutes operated. In this sense, the moral ramification of the fair represented another form of theatrical production and was a microcosm of Hogarth's vision of a corrupt London society.⁸⁵

⁸² Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 86.

⁸³ Ibid, p. 87.

⁸⁴ W.C. Lowe, 'Douglas, Charles, third duke of Queensberry and second duke of Dover (1698–1778)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press), online edn, May 2009, at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7877> [accessed 28 Jan 2014]

⁸⁵ F. Haslam, 'The Doctor's Progress in Hogarth's London' in D. Morris (ed.), *William Hogarth-The Artist and the City*, (Manchester, 1997), p. 65.

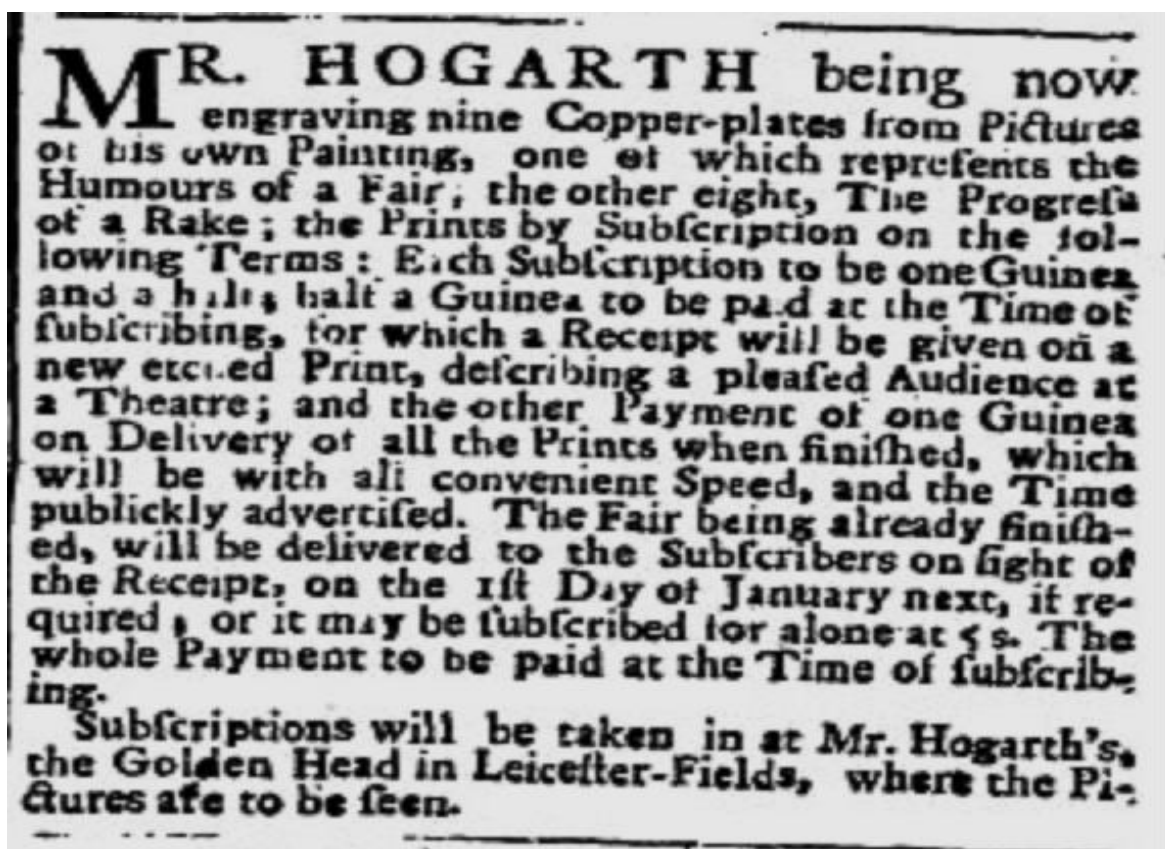


Fig.34. London Journal -22 December 1733

The *Rake's Progress* which the subscription ticket introduces features Tom Rakewell the ultimate protagonist and *parvenu* who exploits two women as he endeavours to be something that he is not. By aping the vices of the wealthy bourgeois he represents the ultimate folly of those who seek to transcend their natural place in society and are eventually duped and fall from grace.⁸⁶ There would appear therefore to be a subliminal link between the subscription ticket and the two prints suggesting different levels of social identity and the consequences of a decline in 'moral' behaviour.

⁸⁶ Bindman, *Hogarth*, pp. 64-71.



Fig.35. The Laughing Audience 1733

Characters and Caricaturas- 1743

This subscription ticket (fig.36) was issued in connection with Hogarth's *Marriage-a-la-Mode* and was intended to differentiate between the use of 'character' as a true expression of nature in art and the fashionable practice of *Caricaturas* imported from Italy in the late sixteenth century, which exaggerated and distorted features for the sake of effect and reduced art to the burlesque.⁸⁷ For Hogarth this form of representation was a fashionable Italian fad practised by amateurs who relied upon exaggerated distortion or the reduction of the human face for meaning whereas the more conventional method of expression relied upon a variety

⁸⁷ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, Plate 49.

of facial expressions for effect and fell short of caricature as a result. Such was the confusion that often existed in people's minds on the distinction between the two, that Hogarth attempted to explain the difference, perhaps with a sense of frustration;

'Character is strongly marked in the living face and may be considered an index of the mind. To express with any degree of justness in Painting requires the utmost efforts of a great master. Caricatures is divested of every stroke that hath a tendency to good Drawing; it may be said to be a species of lines rather by the hand of chance than by skill.'⁸⁸

The subscription ticket had a dual purpose. To delineate clearly the distinction between the two methods of artistic communication for the benefit of the illiterate and those in thrall of fashionable art imported from abroad, and to establish the basis of his *Marriage-a-la-Mode* which was designed to attack the cynical opportunism of elements of both the middle class and the aristocracy and the practice of arranged marriages, rather than the more companionable model which was the hallmark of the urban commercial and professional groups.⁸⁹

This irregular type of arrangement epitomised for Hogarth the shallowness of social emulation which ignored the essential ingredient of love between two persons and was reminiscent therefore of the difference between *Caricatures*, with its emphasis on artificiality for effect, and the more conventional practice of *Character* depiction which was based more on reality than an imagined world.⁹⁰ In doing so the print took its moral line from Defoe earlier who had denounced 'family marriage for the preservation of estates, keeping up names and relations and the like' and David Garrick's play *Lethe* (1740) where Lord Chalkstone remarked on his arranged marriage as 'I married for a fortune; she for a title. When we both got what we wanted, the sooner we parted the better.'⁹¹

This subscription ticket was especially welcomed by Hogarth's close friend and colleague, Henry Fielding who also took issue in the preface to *Joseph Andrews* with the practice of distorting features with the 'aim of exhibiting Monsters not Men and all Distortions and Exaggerations'. For Henry Fielding, Hogarth was able to 'express the affections of men on

⁸⁸ Fitzwilliam Museum, *Hogarth's Albums, Volume Seven*, p. 27.

⁸⁹ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, Plate 51.

⁹⁰ Bindman, *Hogarth and his Time*, pp. 100-101.

⁹¹ L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (Harmondsworth, 1979), pp.181-225. Cited in D. Morris, 'Satire and Refinement in Hogarth's London' in D. Morris (ed.), *William Hogarth-The Artist and the City*, (Manchester, 1997), p. 15.

canvas' without recourse to the use of *Caricaturas*, so that his figures '*seem to breathe* and it is to much greater applause *they appear even to think*'.⁹²

The subscription ticket shown is made out to 'John Huggins Esq.', the notorious warden of the Fleet prison and father of William Huggins, a close friend of Hogarth's.

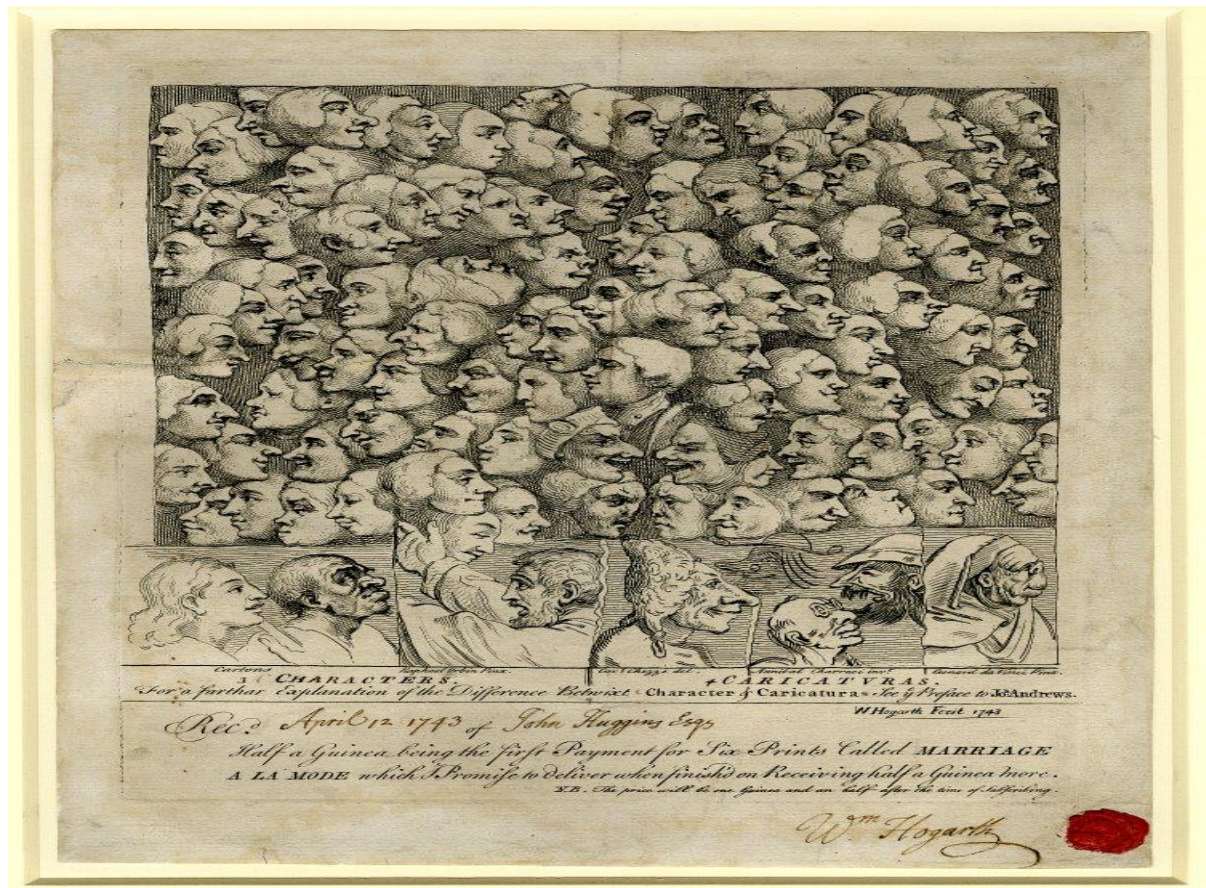


Fig. 36 Characters and Caricaturas 1743

Mask and Palette - 1745

This subscription ticket (fig.37) was issued in connection with Hogarth's portrait of his close friend *David Garrick in the character of Richard III*. The publicity that the print attracted enhanced Hogarth's status as a patron of the national theatre as well as his own as an established artist and benefitted Garrick in the wider context as a leading actor in roles from English drama.⁹³ The ticket in question is made out to a 'Mr Flackton', likely to have been

⁹² Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 113.

⁹³ Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, p. 91.

Mr William Flackton, bookseller and musician from Canterbury who had 'not paid'.⁹⁴ The design of the ticket is clearly meant to depict the theatrical nature of the print with its emphasis on the conventional 'props' usually associated with the arts such as the masque, the artist's palette and the laurel wreath circling a script.



Fig.37. Mask and Palette 1745

A Stand of Arms, Musical Instruments etc - 1749

This subscription ticket (fig.38) was issued in connection with *The March to Finchley* 1750 and anticipates the patriotic military theme of the print which was intended to commemorate the successful engagement of His Majesty's better equipped and more disciplined army, with that of the invading Jacobite forces with their less effective weaponry. The ticket shows sword, musket, drum and kettledrum, pickaxe, pistol, bagpipe, shield and two flags: all

⁹⁴ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, Jan 2008, at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/72298> [accessed 24 Oct 2013]

objects used in war. Those on the left such as bagpipe and shield are considered appropriate to the primitive Scots and therefore indicative of the Stuart culture, whereas the weapons on the right are British and by definition more effective. The scroll on the front shows the arms of Great Britain and Scotland with a pair of scissors cutting the lion rampant of Scotland out from the shield.⁹⁵

The ticket shown is made out to the Duke of Richmond, otherwise known as Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond and a staunch Whig. Another in the collection and included in the supporting appendix is made out to the Duke of Portland, known as William Bentinck, courtier and landowner. Others include James Theobald, fellow of the Royal Society, past President of the Society of Antiquaries and fellow governor of the Foundling Hospital. This social mix is typical of the network of aristocrats and establishment figures that characterised Hogarth's acquaintances by this stage of his career and confirms his credentials as an artist of stature and a person of social standing in his own right.

⁹⁵ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 141.

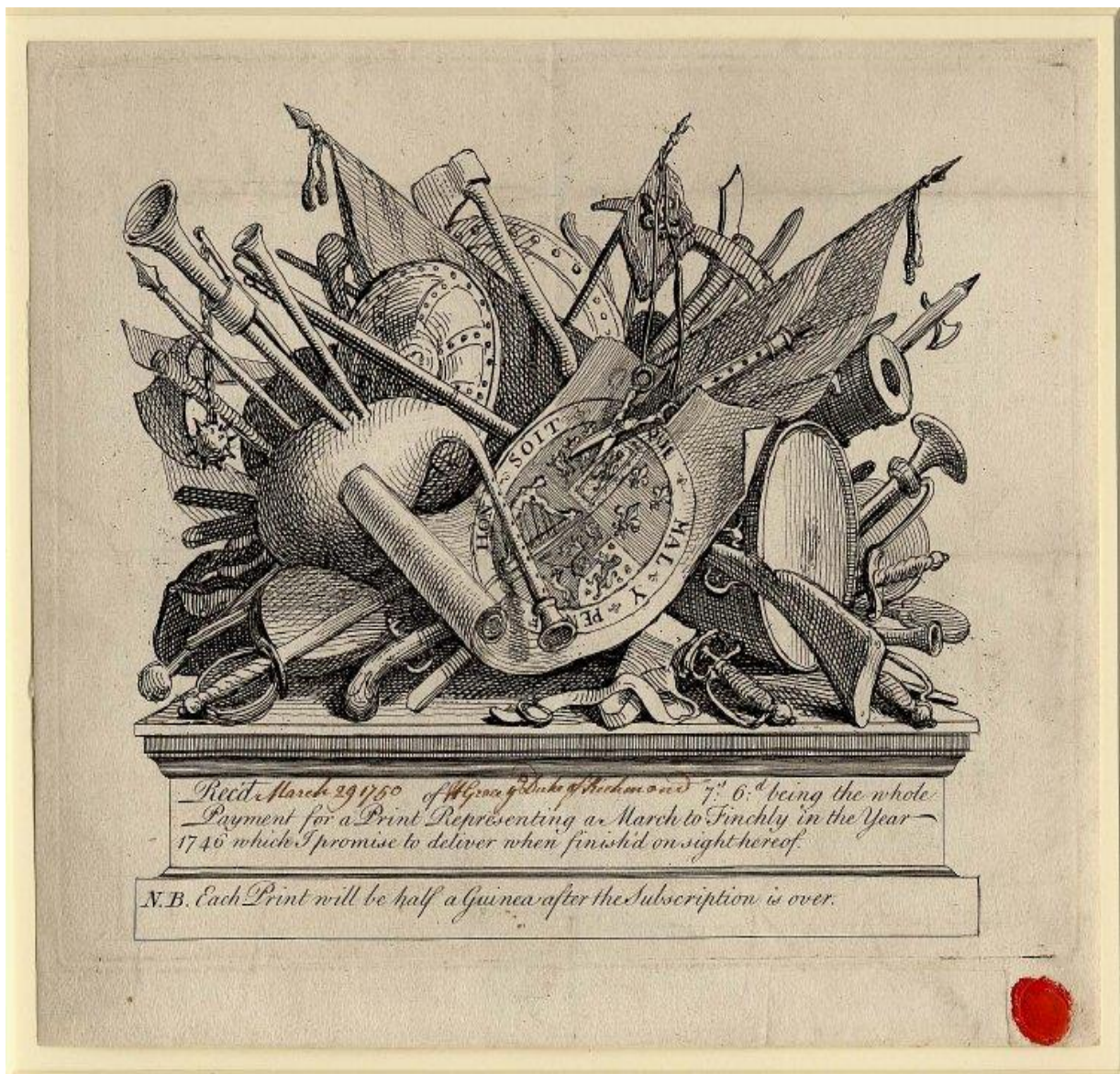


Fig. 38. A Stand of Arms and Musical Instruments etc 1749

Paul Before Felix Burlesqued - 1751

This print was issued as a subscription ticket (fig.39) for *Paul before Felix* and *Moses Brought to Pharaoh's Daughter* and coincided with the demand for Rembrandt's etchings which had reached England at about this time. As a patriotic artist, Hogarth responded to this by satirising Rembrandt's style and produced characters of a 'grossly physical' disposition which he alluded to by clothing the gallery folk in traditional Dutch dress. Furthermore, the etching was set against a darkened background to resemble the faded etchings of the 'masters' which Hogarth despised and often raged about.

The scene itself is reminiscent of previous classical depictions of the courtroom scene which recalls the appearance of Paul before Felix, the Roman procurator at Caesarea, pleading his case as a Roman citizen not to be punished for proclaiming that Jesus was the messiah who had been sent to proclaim salvation, not only to the Jewish nation, but to the Gentiles also.⁹⁶ The ticket pokes fun at the whole episode through the burlesquing of the main characters and especially at 'Rembrandt's realism and his use of grossly physical and particularized people'.⁹⁷ It is therefore ironic that the ticket became so popular that Hogarth decided to sell it as a separate print and adapted *Boys Peeping at Nature* (fig.30) to replace it as the subscription ticket.

The subscription ticket shown is made out to 'Mr Fazakerley' almost certainly Nicolas Fazakerley, treasurer of Lincoln's Inn when Hogarth was awarded the commission to paint *Paul before Felix*.

⁹⁶ Bindman, *Hogarth*, pp. 122-123.

⁹⁷ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, pp. 152-153.

demonstrating his own prowess and the essential simplicity and common sense nature of the solution.⁹⁹

The point clearly is that of being wise after the event and having the way pointed out. The connection with Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* lies in his use of two eels on a plate to form the "Serpentine Line of Beauty", an artistic form which he likens to the discovery of a "new world" of art in the same way that Columbus had discovered a new world in the continent of America.¹⁰⁰ Hogarth therefore anticipates criticism and even ridicule for his claims to have discovered new theories about the movement and shape of the body in art.

The ticket shown is made out to 'John Ranby', surgeon to the King's household and associate of Hogarth's and claimed to have been used by Fielding as the model for the surgeon character introduced into *Tom Jones* as well as being mentioned by him in his final *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* 1755. Ranby is indicative of the elevated status of many of Hogarth's subscribers and was for a while, a close neighbour of Hogarth at his country home at Chiswick.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times*, p. 169.

¹⁰⁰ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, pp 156-157.

¹⁰¹ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23106> [accessed 24 Oct 2013]

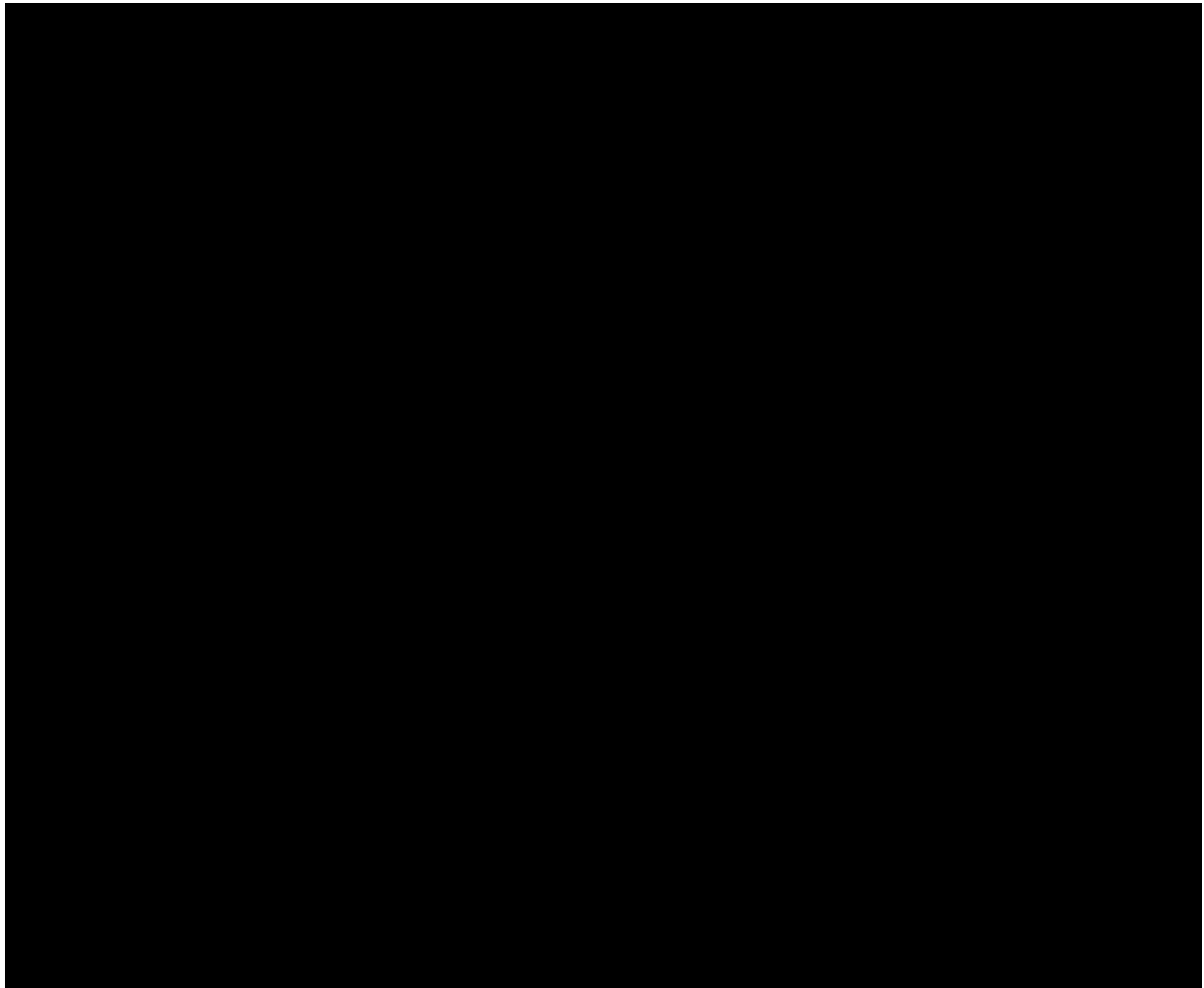


Fig.40. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752. Christ's College Cambridge, on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Crowns, Mitres and Maces - 1754

This subscription ticket was issued in various states for the *Election Series* 1755-1758 which consisted of four plates designed to commemorate the notorious Oxfordshire election of 1754 historically reckoned to mark the last upsurge of Jacobitism. The four plates were arranged in such order as to track the sequence of events from 'An Election Entertainment', to 'Canvassing For Votes', followed by 'The Polling' and finally 'Chairing the Members'.¹⁰²

The initial subscription opened on 28 March and ran till 31 May 1754 offering two options for purchase. Option one concerned the first plate only, 'The Election' at 5/- deposit and 5/6d on delivery (fig.41). This attracted 509 subscribers including members of royalty such as

¹⁰² Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, pp. 161-162.

HRH The Prince of Wales, HRH Princess Dowager of Wales and Prince Edward who are listed as the first three subscribers in recognition of their royal status but with no details of their investment as this would not be matter for public disclosure. However, the royal seal of approval which their support provides would have undoubtedly enhanced the status of the entire series and encouraged other prominent members of society to subscribe similarly.

The first page of the register for the first print only (fig.42) reflects the hierarchical order of the subscribers.¹⁰³ This fact is endorsed by the social standing of subscribers such as Royalty followed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and members of the aristocracy including The Earl of Effingham, His Grace the Duke of Portland, the Rt Hon. Edward Fox, the Rt Hon. The Earl Cooper and the Rt Hon. Earl of Cardigan. Thereafter, subscribers appear to be listed in no systematic fashion other than the order in which they appear to have registered their interest with details of how many prints were being taken where this is multiple copies. Whilst the majority of the 509 subscribers would have been motivated by genuine interest, it is likely that the subscriptions of royalty and prominent members of the aristocracy may have been expressions of fashionable interest, a fact that is endorsed by their inclusion in the 296 subscribers to the first plate only but their failure to follow up their initial interest, unlike the 213 subscribers who registered for the full set of prints on terms of an additional 15/- and a balance of 16/6d on completion.¹⁰⁴

A biographical analysis (table 3.) of the subscription register for the first print with the option to subscribe for the remaining three prints reveals the social composition as being one of a distinctly aristocratic, upper-class, professional- based set of subscribers clearly interested in acquiring the prints for their contemporary political and popular interest. The inclusion of provincially based booksellers such as ‘Mr James Leake of Bath’ who ordered four sets and ‘Robert Taylor’, bookseller in Nantwich, Cheshire demonstrates the extent to which interest in Hogarth had extended beyond London to the provinces due to increasing reach of the metropolitan press and the thrice weekly post runs.

The broad social range of subscribers is testimony to Hogarth’s appeal across the well-resourced ranging from the aristocracy to the mercantile-professional classes, fellow artists and the print industry. The interest of the clergy and politicians is no doubt due to the way in

¹⁰³ Subscription Register for *The Election Series* 1754 British Library Add.22394 folio 1v

¹⁰⁴ Subscription Register for *The Election Series* 1754 British Library Add.22394 folio 1v

which Hogarth criticises the way in which elections are being fought with allegations of bribery and corruption. This critique of political behaviour has both moral and political connotations and is likely to have proved popular and relevant to both politician and clergy alike. Despite the 338 subscribers for which there was ‘no trace’, it is nevertheless considered that this analysis confirms the widespread nature of Hogarth’s appeal across contemporary society.

The subscription register (fig.43) for the remaining three prints was launched separately on 24 February 1755. The first page of the register for the continued subscription (fig.44) reflects a similar social make-up as for the first print but in lesser numbers due perhaps to the fact that subscription for the complete set of prints requires a greater financial investment and a more committed interest than for just the first print only. Analysis of the subscription register for the remaining three prints (table 4.) confirms the social composition of the 163 subscribers to be along similar lines as that for the first print, namely the upper strata of society with notables such as The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Shaftesbury, Hugh Campbell, politician and Third Earl of Marchmont and a Captain Wynyard.¹⁰⁵

Commercial interest is shown elsewhere in the register by prominent London-based printmakers such as ‘William Birch’ and the engraver ‘Claude Crespigny’ as well as provincial interest from ‘J. Combe’ of Exeter, ‘Mathew Allison’, bookseller from Falmouth, Cornwall, ‘Edward Easton’ of Salisbury, ‘John Palmer’ of Bristol and even Irish interest from ‘Francis Adams Esq’ from Dublin. Both subscription registers therefore provide empirical evidence to support long held assumptions as to the social composition of Hogarth’s audience at this stage of his career as being distinctly upper-class and drawn from the political, religious and social elites of contemporary society as well as trade interest from both the metropolitan market and the provinces due to extended newspaper distribution and improved mail routes.

¹⁰⁵ Ian Maitland Hume, ‘Campbell, Hugh Hume, third earl of Marchmont (1708–1794)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14143> [accessed 19 Jan 2014]

March 28

1754

Subscribers
to the First PRINT of an
ELECTION

called the
Entertainment

Five Shillings paid down, and Five
Shillings and six^{pence} more on the delivery
of the Print when finish'd.

LIKewise

To the whole SET consisting of

- 1st The Election Entertainment*
- 2^d The Canvassing for Votes*
- 3^d Polling at the Hustings*
- 4th Chairing the Members*

One Guinea paid down and one
Guinea more on the delivery of all
the Prints.

Fig.41. Subscription Register for The Election Series 1754 British Library

Add.22394 folio 1v

| 1754 | Payments | Shillings To the first Print | Guineas To the four Prints 2 |
|----------|--|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| March 28 | His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales | | |
| 28 | Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales | | |
| 28 | Prince Edward | | |
| 28 | The Hon. Henry Fox Esq ^r <small>has no Regt.</small> | | £ 5 0 |
| 28 | The Right Hon ^{ble} the Earl of Eppingham | | 1 1 0 |
| 28 | John Parrot Esq ^r | | 1 1 0 |
| April | Henry Rapin Esq ^r - Five Sh ^s | | 5 5 0 |
| 5 | Spencer Cooper | 5 | |
| 5 | John Palmer Esq ^r | | 5 8 0 |
| 2 | The Right Hon ^{ble} Earl Cooper | | 1 1 0 |
| 2 | M ^r Samwell Draper | | 1 1 0 |
| 3 | D ^r Garnier | | 1 1 0 |
| 3 | The Right Hon ^{ble} Earl of Cardigan | | 1 1 0 |
| 3 | Lady Cardigan | | 1 1 0 |
| 3 | James Ralph Esq ^r | | 1 1 0 |
| 3 | Alaue Grove Esq ^r | 5 | |
| 4 | M ^r Perry Rec ^d of M ^r Perry the whole for four sets | 8 8 | 2 2 0 |
| 4 | M^r Perry | | 2 2 0 |
| 5 | John Monro M ^d | | 1 1 0 |
| 6 | John Ranby Esq ^r | | 1 1 0 |
| 6 | Jos ^{ph} Vanhatton Esq ^r | | 1 1 0 |
| 8 | D ^r Smalbrooke | | 1 1 0 |
| 8 | D ^r Hay | | 1 1 0 |
| 8 | The Hon ^{ble} M ^r Townly | | 1 1 0 |
| 13 | M ^r Cavendish | 5 | |
| 13 | Lady Dyrart | 5 | |

Fig.42. Subscription Register for the Election Series (First Print) 1754- British Library Add.

22394 folio 2.

The Election Series 1754- Subscribers (509) to the First Print

| Category | Number |
|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Royalty | 4 |
| Nobility-Aristocracy | 42 |
| Prominent Clergy | 22 |
| Politicians | 11 |
| Military | 6 |
| Artists-Printmakers-Booksellers | 40 |
| Provincial Booksellers | 7 |
| Mercantile-Professional | 22 |
| Judiciary-Legal | 6 |
| Medical Profession | 11 |
| Others- No Trace | 338 |
| Total | 509 |

Table 3. Election Series Classification of Subscribers to the First Print 1754

1755
Feb 24

Subscribers
to the three remaining
PRINTS
of an
Election
Viz Canvassing for Votes
Polling at the Hustings
and
Chairing the Members
Fifteen shillings paid down and
Sixteen Shillings & 6 pence more on
the delivery of the Prints

15
16
31

Fig.43. Subscription Register for the Election Series (Three Remaining Prints) 1755- British Library Add. 22394 folio 21v.

1755
 Feb 24 Charles Mankope Esq.
 W Campbell Grosvenor Square
~~Max^d Stewart Esq~~
 The W. Hon^{ble} the Lord of Shaftsbury
 The W. Hon^{ble} the Countess of Shaftsbury
 The Pres^d in C. Street
 Payne
 W. W. on Date
 Capt. Wyngard
 William^s
 Rich. DuStorty
 Eleanor Spragg
 W. Rush
 25 John Mayer
 — Tho. Weston Esq of Lincoln
 — The W. Hon^{ble} the Lord of Shaftsbury

Fig.44. Subscription Register for the Election Series (Three Remaining Prints) 1754- British Library Add. 22394 folio 22.

The Election Series 1755- Subscribers (163) to the Three Remaining Prints

| Category | Number |
|----------------------------------|------------|
| Royalty | 0 |
| Nobility-Aristocracy | 15 |
| Prominent Clergy | 9 |
| Politicians | 6 |
| Military | 2 |
| Artists- Printmakers-Booksellers | 10 |
| Provincial Booksellers | 6 |
| Mercantile-Professional | 6 |
| Judiciary-Legal | 2 |
| Medical Profession | 3 |
| Others- No Trace | 104 |
| Total | 163 |

**Table 4. Election Series- Classification of Subscribers to the three remaining Prints
1755**

Different versions of the subscription ticket were issued to reflect whatever purchase option was being taken up. The first state of the ticket (fig.45) relates to purchase of the first of the four plates. The one shown is made out to ‘William Hunter’, physician, anatomist and man-midwife and a member of the professional classes who Hogarth became popular with as sales of his more successful prints testify.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004) at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14234> [accessed 24 Oct 2013]



Fig.45. Crowns, Mitres, Maces Etc. 1754

The second state of the print (fig.46) made out to 'Henry Raynor' for whom no record can be found, refers either to the purchase of the last three plates of the series hence the deletion of the reference to the first plate or to the purchase of the first plate only, the line through it showing that it had been received. This would suggest that Hogarth may have had a pile of receipts ready to be issued and amended according to the number of plates being purchased.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 161-162.

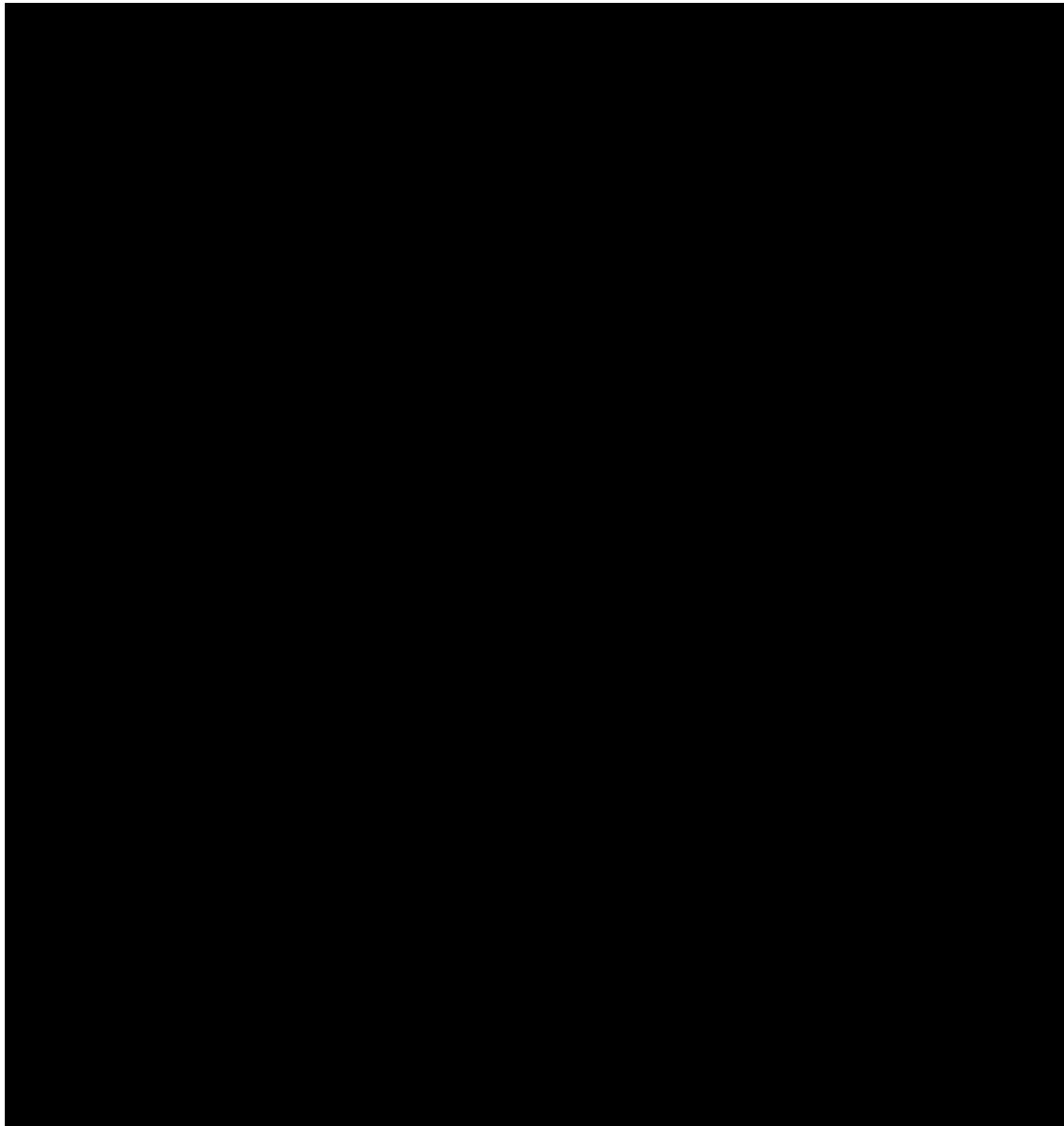


Fig.46 Crown, Mitres, Maces etc 1754. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

The third state of the ticket (fig.47) differs from the first two in that the crown of the Prince of Wales, has been altered into that worn by the younger sons of the King, in this case the Duke of Cumberland, who Hogarth supported for appointment as Prince Regent.¹⁰⁸ The ticket shown is made out to 'Thos King', actor and theatre manager and close friend of David

¹⁰⁸ The appointment of the Prince of Wales as regent was only a contingent proposal. Due to his unpopularity however, an advisory committee including the Prince appointed the Princess Dowager of Wales instead. This was confirmed later by an Act of Parliament. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 162.

Garrick demonstrating yet again the artistic and literary clientele that Hogarth tended to attract.¹⁰⁹

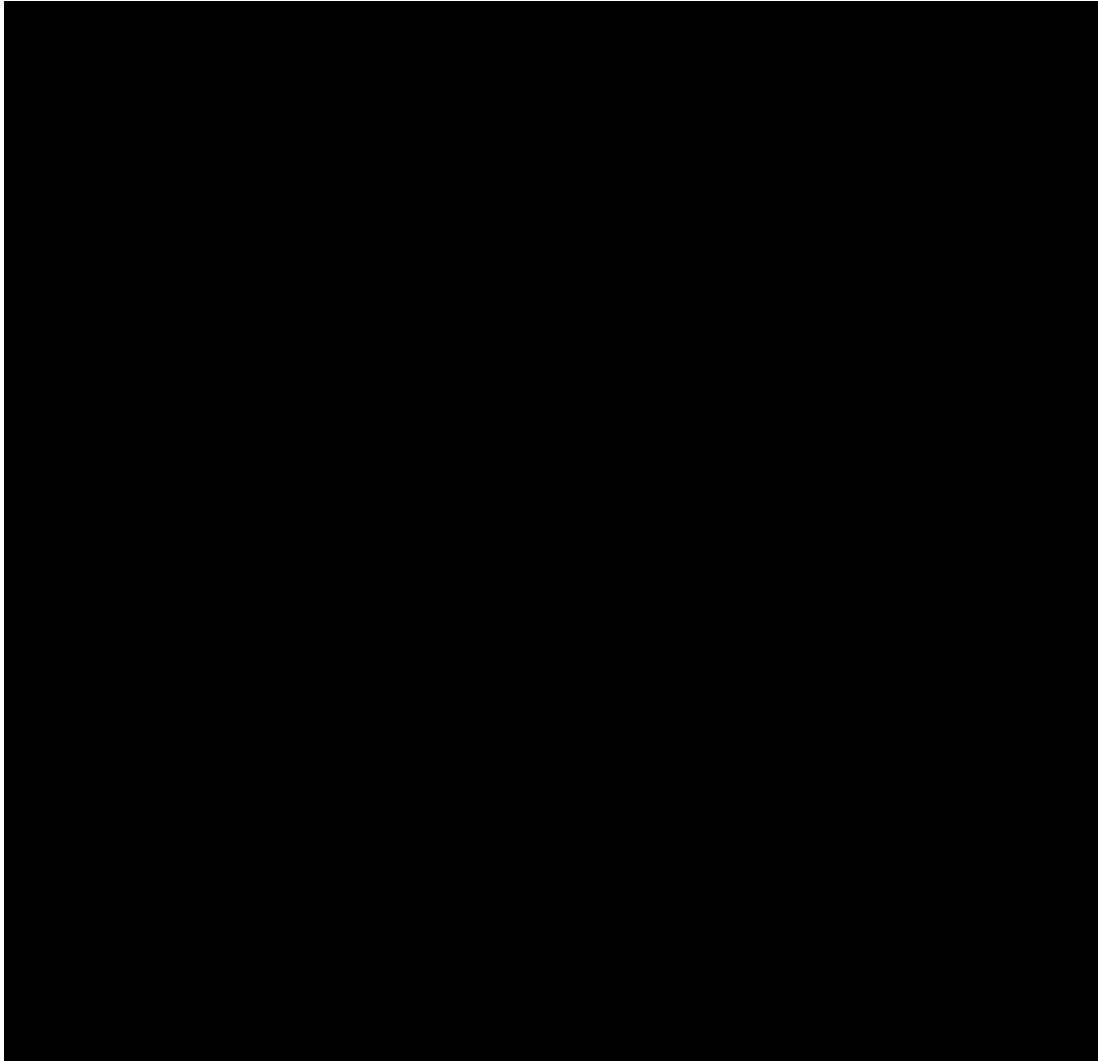


Fig.47. Crowns, Mitres, Maces Etc 1754 Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum

The fourth and final state of the print (fig.48) was issued in February 1755 with amended wording to indicate that it is a receipt for the final three plates. The ticket shown is made out

¹⁰⁹ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, Jan 2007 , at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15600> [accessed 24 Oct 2013]

to 'Mr Nassau', fourth earl of Rochford, diplomat and politician and in many respects the type of titled patron Hogarth would wish to attract.¹¹⁰

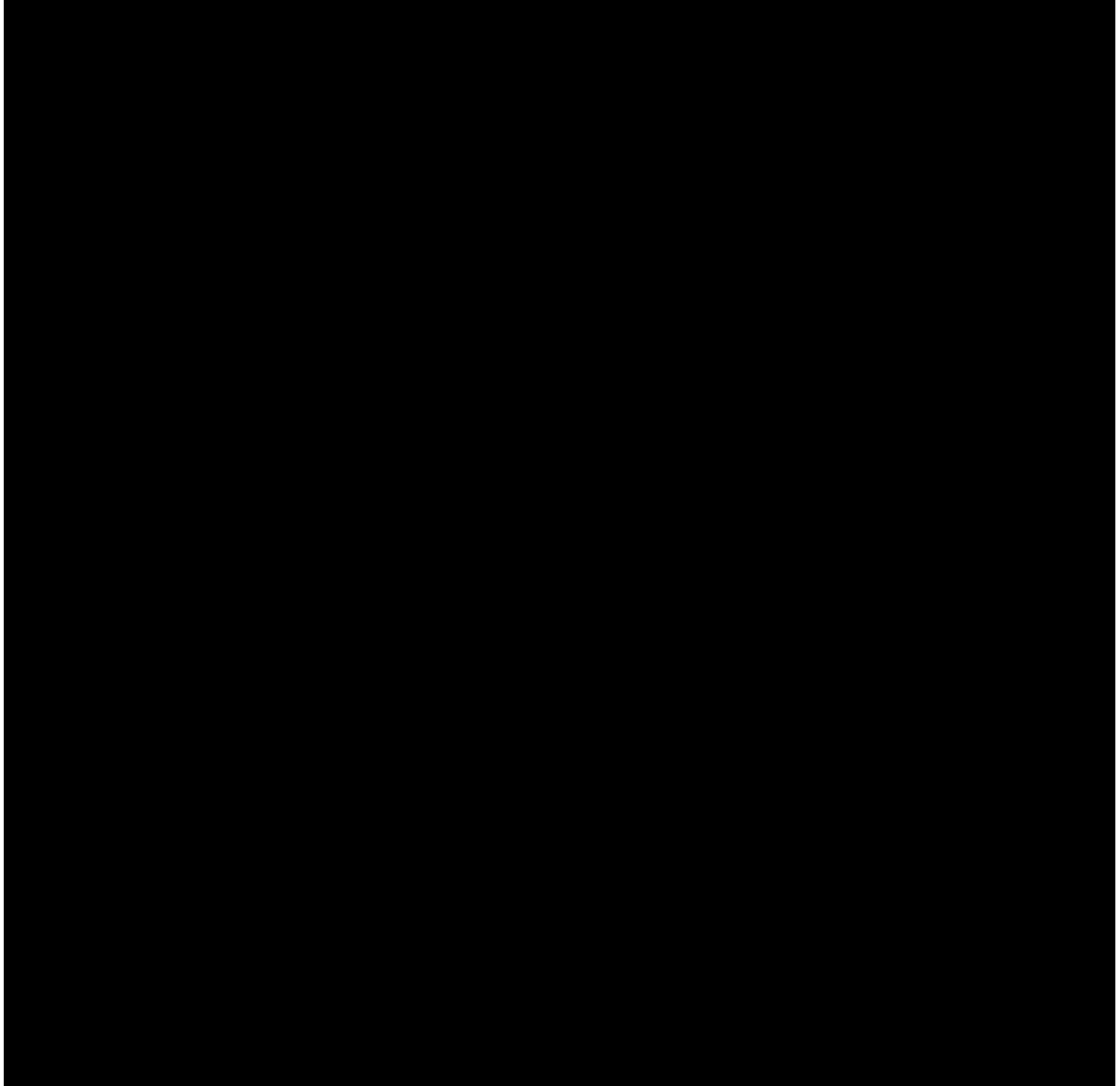


Fig.48. Crowns, Mitres, Maces Etc 1755. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum

¹¹⁰ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, Jan 2007 , at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15600> [accessed 24 Oct 2013]

Battle of the Pictures - 1745

This etching was used as a bidder's ticket for Hogarth's private auction of nineteen paintings which included some of his more notable such as *A Harlot's Progress*, *A Rake's Progress* and *The Four Times of Day*. The manner of disposal is indicative of Hogarth's confidence and self-belief. In the event, the auction was not a great success raising only £427. 27s.¹¹¹ The advertisement (fig.49) for the auction set out the unusual conditions of sale and explained that the pictures would go to the highest bidders based on written submissions at predetermined times. It also stressed that admission could only be gained through possession of the engraved ticket. Although the etching was not issued as a receipt as part of a subscription process, it nevertheless served a similar purpose in that the theme was linked closely to the purpose of the auction in that it emphasised the preference for modern paintings rather than the contemporary practice of buying paintings fashioned in the ancient style.

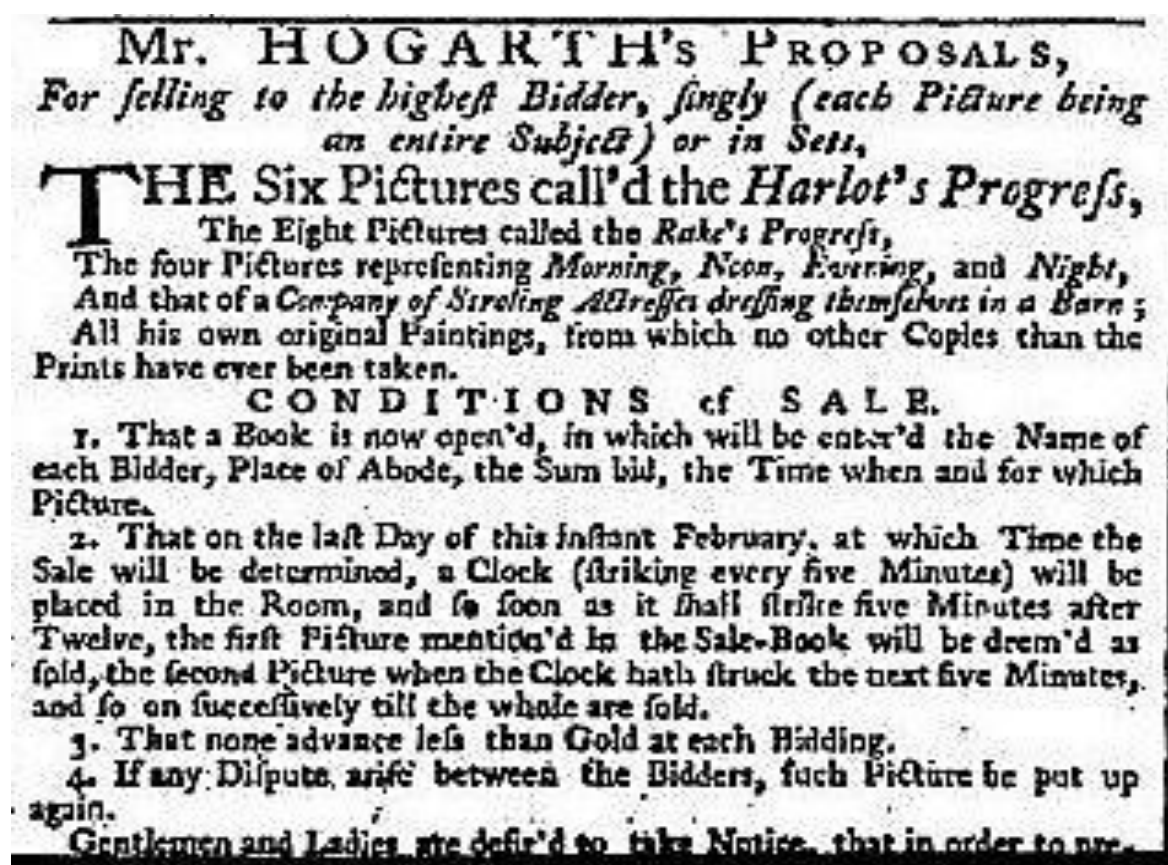


Fig.49. Daily Advertiser 18 February 1745

¹¹¹ *The Harlot's Progress* sold for 14 guineas each, *The Rake's Progress* 22 guineas each, *Morning* for 20 guineas, *Noon* for 37 guineas, *Evening* 38 guineas and *Night* 26 guineas. *Strolling Actresses* raised 26 guineas. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 114.

The etching (fig.50) seeks to expose the mass production of Old Masters stacked in a row with 'ditto' in the top right corner as well as drawing attention to the contemporary fashion for acquiring the more conventional religiously themed paintings. These are shown in elevated ranks before Hogarth's auction house on the right. The building on the left is meant to be where the auctioneers who play upon the pretensions of self-proclaimed connoisseurs are housed. The weather vane on the roof of the building has had the traditional, N, E, S, and W replaced by P, V, F and S to emphasise what Hogarth considers the practice of 'puffing' counterfeit Old Masters to a gullible audience. The overall theme is reminiscent of the war between ancients and moderns which flared up at the beginning of the century and was part of contemporary satire being practiced by Swift in his *Battle of the Books* 1704 and later by Pope and even Fielding.¹¹² In this context, Hogarth was definitely on the side of the moderns.

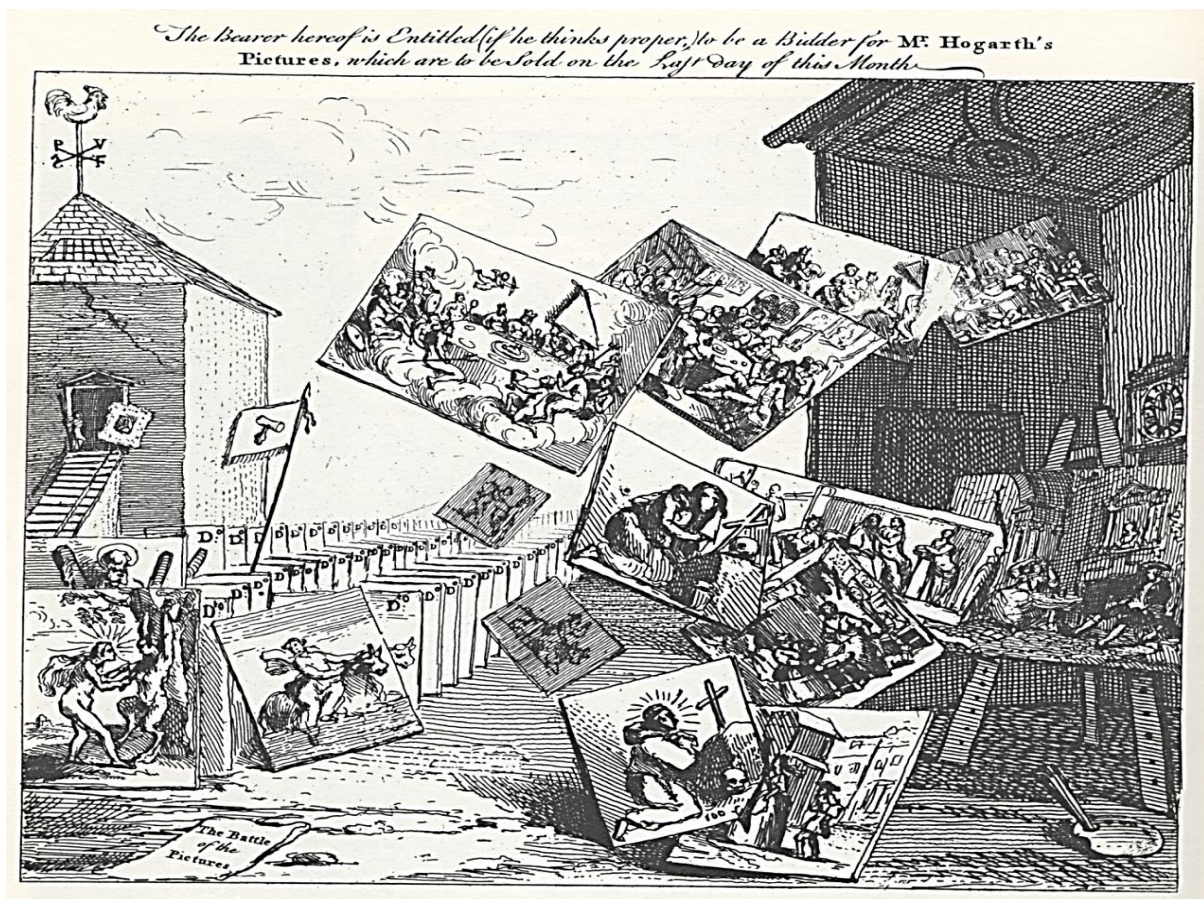


Fig.50 Battle of the Pictures 1745

¹¹² Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 114.

Time Smoking a Picture - 1761

This print (fig.51) was intended as the subscription ticket for the ill-fated painting *Sigismunda* which Hogarth intended as a response to the extravagant sum of £404.5s paid by Sir Thomas Sebright for a previous version wrongly attributed to the Italian artist Antonia Allegri da Corregio, and subsequently proved to have been painted by Francesco Furini, the Italian baroque Painter. Incensed that such an outrageous sum had been paid by an English patron for a painting of dubious foreign origins, Hogarth responded to a commission by Sir Richard Grosvenor to paint a picture of his own choice and at his own price by embarking upon his own version of *Sigismunda*, the price of which would be set at no less than that paid for the Furini-Corregio version.¹¹³

The generous arrangement offered by Sir Richard had however been on the expectation that Hogarth would produce a painting of the same style as *The Lady's Last Stake* he had done for Lord Charlemont. On being advised of Hogarth's intentions, Sir Richard felt unable to accept the *Sigismunda* painting which prompted an angry exchange of correspondence, as result of which Hogarth offered to forget the contract and proceed on his own account. The subscription was withdrawn within three weeks of its issue and all monies returned as Hogarth could not find a suitable engraver.¹¹⁴ For once, Hogarth's commercial and artistic instincts had let him down.

The subscription ticket has to be interpreted against the background of these earlier events and Hogarth's well-known hostility to foreign 'masters' and the 'gentlemanly taste for old and darkened Italian paintings'.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 194-195.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p.195.

¹¹⁵ Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times*, p. 113.

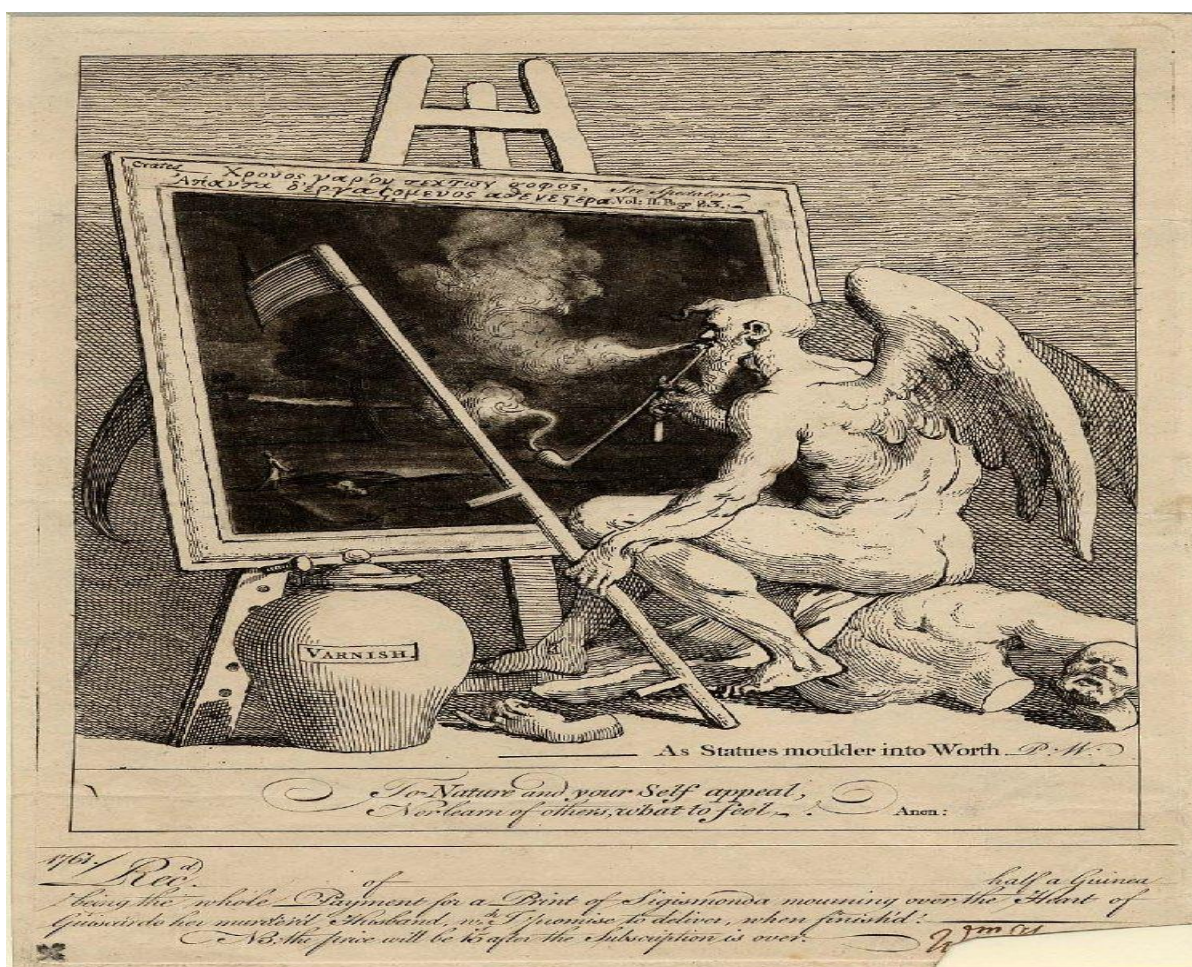


Fig.51. Time Smoking a Picture 1761

Conclusion

The arrival of new goods, new modes of shopping and the reshaping of identities through consumables in the early eighteenth century underline according to Linda Levy Peck, the connection with the economy and previous social behaviour in seventeenth-century England.¹¹⁶ The early eighteenth century is generally regarded however as ushering in a new era of business practices in the selling of popular art and literature. In its increasingly commercial gearing, James Raven considers that the eighteenth-century publishing industry updated and extended popular print through innovative marketing techniques that accentuated product familiarity, fashion and emulative buying.¹¹⁷ This is largely correct in that

¹¹⁶ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 3.

¹¹⁷ Raven, *The Business of Books: booksellers and the English book trade 1450-1850*, p. 223.

technological changes in the print industry coupled with new trading associations between author and bookseller and increased literacy levels came to fruition at this time along with the rise of newspapers and commercial advertising.

The increased attraction of a print culture helped shape ideas related to social status, consumer confidence and behaviour when it came to the acquisition of art and literature, previously considered the domain of aristocrats and the wealthy.¹¹⁸ The existence of sales catalogues and newspapers also point to the fact that there was a growing demand for art from an audience that was becoming increasingly numerous and sophisticated and regarded prints as demonstrating possession of taste and fashion.¹¹⁹ The press, which saw rapid expansion during the period due to the deliberate lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695, the subsequent relaxation of controls and improvements in the layout of newspapers and prints, became increasingly read by upper-class and middle-class consumers, a readership it shared with books and magazines in contrast to the larger, but less exalted readership of chapbooks and ballad sheets.¹²⁰ These developments provide the context within which William Hogarth made full use of contemporary innovations, including the subscription process, to further their artistic careers in a period of increasing intellectual curiosity and defiant patriotism.¹²¹ The subscription process accompanied the commercialisation of art and became a technique for identifying and recording patronage.

The collective patronage that emerged as a result of the subscription process proved to be a much more effective way of getting ambitious artistic projects off the ground than individual sponsorship. Subscription publishing for printed matter continued to increase along with the changing commercial potential of the audience more often targeting specific client groups, professions and family-friend networks.¹²² For many, subscribing became an exercise of patronage or vanity rather than borne out of a desire to own or appreciate the product for its artistic or literary worth. It was not uncommon for booksellers to have additional copies left on their hands to dispose of as extra profit given that the take up of orders was often less than the number originally ordered. For example, for Fielding's *Miscellanies* (1743), 149 royal-

¹¹⁸ Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, p. xii.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. xii.

¹²⁰ Black, *The English Press 1621-1861*, p. 19.

¹²¹ Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, p. xiii.

¹²² Ibid, p. 52.

paper and 258 ordinary-paper copies were delivered to subscribers, though the total print run for each was 250 and 1000 respectively.¹²³

When comparing subscription to conventional retail methods usually involving individual transactions with a bookseller it is important to recognise that purchase by subscription represented a more intimate form of patronage which did not involve the abstract exchange of a commodity but was rather a demonstration of elite patronage and support. According to Michael Suarez subscribers provided the process not only with economic capital but also with cultural capital. As such, subscribing represented ‘a form of conspicuous consumption and of public approbation in a way that conventional retail purchasing did not’.¹²⁴ The subscription process was therefore related to, and sustained by innovative methods of advertising and elite status networking as this chapter demonstrates either through the legal profession in Fielding’s case, or in Hogarth’s case, the Freemasons, professional colleagues and close associates.

To suggest however that the development of the commercial market began in earnest at the beginning of the eighteenth century is an exaggeration. It was only as printing and engraving techniques became more refined and the commercial development of metropolitan society gathered pace and matured that the more traditional methods of patronage and elite networking gave way to a market in which specialist entrepreneurship developed in response to increased spending on leisure products and services and emulative buying.¹²⁵

For Hogarth the subscription process proved to be lucrative and instrumental in the successful promotion of his career. He achieved success at a time when the art world was expanding rapidly and was able to promote his ambitions through an increasingly sophisticated press to a wider market in which identities of authorship and intellectual copyright enhanced professional status and provided him with greater artistic and commercial standing.

This chapter has provided concrete evidence to support the contention that the subscription process was an integral part of the process by which William Hogarth attracted support in the promotion of his work. The innovative manner in which he adapted the subscription process for his own particular purposes through the issue of signed subscription tickets as a visual

¹²³ Amory, ‘Virtual Readers’, p. 104.

¹²⁴ I. Rivers (ed.), ‘The Production And Consumption Of The Eighteenth-Century Poetic Miscellany’ in *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth Century England: New Essays* (London, 2003), p. 220.

¹²⁵ Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 225.

instrument and a personal connection between the artist and the customer demonstrate his business acumen and commercial awareness. The detailed analysis of the subscribers for the *Election Series* of prints further confirms the wide ranging top-down support he attracted across society, especially in the metropolis and increasingly from the provinces as distribution networks and newspaper coverage increased.

Chapter 4

Advertising in London Newspapers

1725-1764

Introduction

The history of London newspapers and their development and impact on the social and cultural life of the capital has received much scholarly attention. Despite Neil McKendrick's acknowledgement of newspaper advertising as part of the 'entrepreneurial assault on the consumer market of the eighteenth century' in *The Birth of a Consumer Society* however, there remains a surprising lack of specialist study into the role of advertising within London newspapers as an agent in the formation of literary, economic and social behaviour in the capital.¹ According to C.J. Sommerville in *The News Revolution in England*, the development of the advertisement in the post- Interregnum period provided human interest amongst printed news and served to 'encourage discussion in a world of mundane factuality'.² Newspaper advertisements were becoming one more way of engaging with the public. They formed a mental landscape of consumption that became an important constituent of urban modernity.³

As a way of attracting the attention of the ordinary reader there was no better means of communication and marketing than the newspaper advertisement which was in itself the subject of great interest, if only for its entertainment value. For example, on 14 September 1710 Joseph Addison wrote in *The Tatler* that 'It is my Custom, in a Dearth of news, to entertain my selfe with those Collections of Advertisements that appear at the End of all our

¹ N. McKendrick, 'George Packward and the Commercialisation of Shaving. The Art of Eighteenth -Century Advertising', in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (London, 1982), p. 146.

² C.J. Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Information* (New York, 1996), p. 67.

³ J.Stobart, A.Hann and V.Morgan, *Spaces of Consumption. Leisure and Shopping in the English Town, c.1680-1830* (Abingdon, 2007), p. 171.

publick Prints'.⁴ The pleasure derived from reading newspaper advertisements was also captured by William Cowper in *The Winter's Evening* section of the poem *The Task*;

There, forests of no-meaning spread the page
In which all comprehension wanders lost
While fields of pleasantries amuse us there
With merry descants on a nation's woes
The rest appears a wilderness of strange
But gay confusion, roses for the cheeks
And lilies for the brows of faded age
Teeth for the toothless, ringlets for the bald.⁵

Technological developments in printing, and the lapse of the 1695 Licensing Act which removed pre-publication censorship, were key reasons for the surging production of newspapers and resulted in an increase in titles, their volume and in regularity. There were six daily titles circulating in London in 1730, a number which despite some fluctuations would stay the same for the next twenty years.⁶

The advertisement dominated the newspaper business. To accommodate increased advertising demand, printers altered column format to the extent that by 1730 many newspapers assigned more than a third of all their columns to advertisements.⁷ According to R.B. Walker, the perception of the commercial utility of advertising meant that 'for the ordinary reader there was no better means of communication and marketing than the newspaper advertisement...'⁸

The press in the early eighteenth century was largely read by the middle and upper ranks who continued to form the backbone of the readership, a readership it shared with books and magazines, in contrast to the larger, but less exalted readership of chapbooks and ballad sheets.⁹ Newspapers found in private households, coffee-houses, inns and reading rooms therefore provided an ideal opportunity for the more enterprising artist to reach the public

⁴ *The Tatler*, (ed.) Donald F. Bond (Oxford, 1987), Vol.3 p. 166. Cited in Michael Harris, 'Timely Notices: The Uses of Advertisements and its Relationship to News during the Late Seventeenth Century.', pp.153-156 in J. Raymond, (ed.) *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1999).

⁵ J. Sambrook (ed.) *William Cowper, the Task and Other Selected Poems* (London, 1994), p. 145.

⁶ J. Raven, *The Business of Books: booksellers and the English book trade 1450-1850*, (New Haven, 2007), p. 258

⁷ Ibid, p. 258.

⁸ R.B. Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650-1750', *Business History*, Vol. 15(2): (1973), pp.125-6

⁹ J. Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1987), p.19.

direct, and cut out the middle-man.¹⁰ The more sophisticated the reading audience became however, the more extravagant some of the claims made and with that came a certain amount of scepticism.

The task for William Hogarth, the sole focus for this research, was to maintain his artistic credibility and distance himself from the elaborate promises made by other less refined items which ranged from 'Cures for Barrenness in Women' to 'Invitations to see at first hand the famous African mentioned by William Childes in his Treatise on Hermaphrodites' (see figs 61 and 62 for examples of typical page layout). The increasing sophistication of newspaper advertisements by mid-century also meant that readers were well skilled in assessing the competing claims made. Even Doctor Johnson accepted in 1759 'that the trade of advertising is now so near to perfection, that it is not easy to propose any improvement'.¹¹

William Hogarth was able to establish himself as a popular contemporary artist and engraver largely as a result of his skilful use of the medium aimed at 'the coffee-house set and the London clubs, the leisured market with time on its hands, money to spend, and always in search of novelty, diversion and improvement.'¹² In doing so he embarked upon a practice that would have horrified the court painters, that of advertising his own works in newspapers and in doing so became almost wholly independent of wealthy patrons by means of his own earnings.¹³

This chapter will demonstrate through empirical evidence drawn from existing established sources, the variety and persuasive nature of Hogarth's advertisements in London newspapers which help explain his success as an artist in a market becoming increasingly informed as consumer demand gathered pace in a period of increasing affluence.

Despite research opportunities to highlight the important role of advertising when explaining patterns of consumption, the most recent specialised study is contained in the 1973 article by R. B. Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers 1650-1750'. Forty years ago Walker explained that newspapers and advertisements during this period were 'a source for literary, economic and social history' and represented an 'underexploited mine for bibliographical

¹⁰ C.Y. Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford 1997), p. 17.

¹¹ *The Idler*, London, 20 January 1759. Vol. 1, p. 224. Cited in Walkier, 'Advertising in Newspapers, 1650-1750', p. 129.

¹² McKendrick, 'The Art of Eighteenth Century Advertising', p. 153.

¹³ Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, p. 11.

studies and social and economic history'.¹⁴ This is especially the case when examining the impact of advertisements on the popularity of prints at a time when a marked redistribution of income and an increase in disposable middle class wealth stimulated demand for a broad range of domestic goods.¹⁵

The use of advertisements as a means of penetrating the market provided William Hogarth with the opportunity to put himself in touch with a wide public to promote his prints in a manner not previously considered by artists. Tim Clayton in *The English Print 1688-1802* comments how this distinctive, new marketing style was dependant in part upon a sophisticated press and eventually, upon a national and international information network centred on England, France and the Netherlands.¹⁶ This chapter therefore attempts to fill a gap in modern historiography by locating print and its literary and commercial uses within the wider setting of the cultural dynamics that were shaping contemporary society by examining how the advertising of prints in newspapers responded to consumer behaviour in London.

This research has produced both a quantitative and qualitative analysis of advertisements in London newspapers during the period taking into account the workings of the contemporary print market and the broader marketplace for printed products as a form of urban entertainment.¹⁷ It has focused specifically on the entrepreneurial marketing methods used by William Hogarth to appeal across the social spread of the audience taking into account contemporary definitions of taste and aesthetics. The individual newspapers that Hogarth chose to advertise in, the frequency and pattern of advertisements, whether singly or repetitive and the audiences that they were likely to attract, gives a clue to contemporary consumption patterns and the way in which he adapted his marketing techniques to match the product to the target audience.

¹⁴ Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers', pp. 112-113.

¹⁵ Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper*, p. 24.

¹⁶ Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, p.18.

¹⁷ M. Hallett, *The spectacle of difference; graphic satire in the age of Hogarth* (New Haven, 1999), p. 20.

Methodology

The primary research material required to carry out an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the advertising methods used by William Hogarth during this period has been drawn from two key sources. Firstly, the 17th-18th century Burney Collection of newspapers which provides a largely comprehensive record of the major titles of the period. Secondly the British Library newspaper collection held on microfilm at the Colindale annex, London. This has provided a valuable supplementary source of information both to confirm existing knowledge derived from the Burney Collection and also to fill in gaps by accessing newspapers not held online by Burney, especially the less popular and short-lived titles such as the *Old Whig* or *The Consistent Protestant* which was only published from April 1736 to July 1737. These key sources provide data on which an assessment can be made as to the extent to which Hogarth was able to penetrate the market for consumer goods and the specific clientele that he sought to attract by advertising in the newspapers they were generally expected to read.

This empirical research adds to and supports existing assumptions concerning the composition of Hogarth's audience as well as the wider cultural aspects of eighteenth-century London life. In this respect previously held assumptions concerning the type of person likely to have been attracted by Hogarth's innovative style of artistic satire and moralising are further reinforced and confirmed by the research data which suggests that Hogarth's advertisements were aimed at a distinctive category of readership found predominantly amongst the commercial classes who were rapidly coming to epitomise the economic and cultural character of the capital in which 11 per cent of the total adult population lived.¹⁸

The research focus has therefore been essentially concerned with London newspapers given the economic and artistic activity of the capital and their readership as a guide to contemporary patterns of discourse. This does not ignore the impact that certain newspapers such as the *London Gazette*, which was published thrice-weekly, had on the provinces as it began to reach the adjacent shires with the introduction of regular turnpike trust-post services. This meant that areas within a radius of eighty miles, for example Northampton, Oxford and

¹⁸ N.McKendrick, 'The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England', in McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society* p. 11.

Cambridge had access to newspaper advertisements for prints offered for sale by the likes of Hogarth and were within reasonable travelling distance for the more wealthy type of client in the habit of making occasional visits to the capital.¹⁹

The analysis has focussed on determining three inter-locking key factors:

- Identifying the newspapers most frequently used by Hogarth and the frequency of the advertisements, whether single or multiple as part of a marketing strategy so as to highlight variety in promoting particular prints or grades of engraving to different social groups.
- What readership the newspapers most frequently used were likely to attract so as to gauge the target audience and whether this was linked to particular print themes especially topical events and/or popular individuals.
- The style and wording of the advertisements together with an analysis of pricing structure so as to make comparisons with advertisements for other comparable luxury items, often being advertised in the same edition.

In order that this analysis can properly consider new patterns of consumption in the early eighteenth century, it is necessary to consider how, as an artist, Hogarth's newspaper advertising strategy, that of targeting specific social groups for particular prints through selected newspapers, broke new ground in an increasingly commercialised culture in which the first steps were being taken towards patterns of uniform, mass consumption.²⁰

The legibility of eighteenth-century advertisements varies across publications and leads to some reproductions used in this chapter being of a better quality than others. This is unavoidable and a degree of understanding is therefore called for in reading some of the examples which are essential given their importance as supporting evidence to the narrative in question.²¹

¹⁹ J.J. Looney, 'Cultural Life in the Provinces: Leeds and York 1720-1820', in A.L. Beier, D.Cannadine and J.M. Rosenheim (eds.), *The First Modern Society* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 23.

²⁰ E.A.Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650-1750', *Past and Present*, No. 37 (July 1967), p. 51.

²¹ This applies specifically to figs. 61-62 which are meant to provide typical examples of how Hogarth's advertisements figured alongside other comparable items. The emphasis is more on demonstrating page lay-out rather than the individual wording of any specific advertisement.

Research Focus

The key area of research has been the period 1725-1764 when Hogarth decided to strike out and advertise in his own right rather than rely upon the conventional arrangements that required an established print seller to promote the sale of the print and direct all enquiries to his salerooms rather than to the artist. This underwriting role made the artist dependant on the publisher not only for the promotion and sale of the print but invariably required that the plates be sold to the publisher who was then able to issue further print runs later if the market made this a viable proposition. The early period of Hogarth's career was spent engraving coats of arms, letterheads, illustrations, benefit tickets and shop cards, the staple diet of a 'jobbing' engraver trapped in the conventional working arrangements and dominated by the print seller, rather than the engraver.

It was only in 1724 when he published his first independent venture, *Masquerades and Operas* or *Bad Taste of the Town* as it became more popularly known, that he began to experience the vagaries of the market and especially the widespread practice of piracy. The advertisement in the Daily Courant on 27 February 1724 was the first occasion on which Hogarth used his own name and the premises from which he operated in any public notice.²² The next significant initiative launched independently by Hogarth was, *A Just View of the British Stage* which he advertised just once in the Daily Post on 10 December 1724.²³ These were the isolated attempts of a relatively unknown artist-engraver to break into the contemporary and lucrative print market, which, without the support of a reputable print seller with well-located premises and an established client base, was almost impossible to achieve.

It is not proposed to use this early period, when Hogarth was still relatively unknown, as the basis of any solid analysis of his distinctive style of promotion. This only became evident once he had sufficient self-confidence following the success of the *Hudibras* series in 1725-26 which had been jointly promoted with Philip Overton, the well-known publisher and print seller which led subsequently to him advertising in his own right beginning with *The Harlot's*

²² R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (London, 1989), p. 47. The Daily Courant was one of the most popular newspapers published in London during this period. It is estimated to have sold some 600 copies a day in 1702 and continued to be one of the most read newspapers despite increased competition. Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 258

²³ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 55.

Progress in 1732.²⁴ This period marked the beginning of his ‘modern moral subjects’ which he considered to be ‘a field unbroken up in any Country or any Age’.²⁵ It is this canon of works that has been the subject of analysis as it bears Hogarth’s own imprint and reveals much of his marketing strategy and the audience that he sought to influence through the newspapers that they were generally expected to read.

A summary of all newspaper advertisements sponsored personally by Hogarth over the period 1726-64 is shown in Table 5 starting with the most frequently advertised in newspaper, the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, as well as the number of different prints involved and the period covered. This reveals that there were 352 separate advertisements in 26 different newspapers covering 45 individual prints, sometimes advertised simultaneously in more than one newspaper and usually over a period of no more than two weeks. The statistics have also been analysed on a print by print basis to show in Table 6 which prints were most frequently advertised and over what period. A cross-reference of the two tables provides the basis for an analysis of the way in which Hogarth managed the advertising process and provides a pointer to those prints which he promoted more heavily and in which newspapers. A more visual interpretation of the data set out in Tables 5 and 6 is also shown in Charts 1 and 2 respectively.

Conclusions can be drawn as to the purchasing preferences of consumers by comparing other advertisements in the same editions and by drawing upon the known characteristics of the newspaper such as ownership and political stance. A small selection of typical pages from the more popular contemporary newspapers showing the variety of goods being advertised is shown in Figs. 61 and 62, by way of comparison showing a typical cross- section of goods on offer such as maps, playing cards, medals and books. In this way, retail advertising can be used as a general indicator of topicality and the ideas that most interested and excited consumers and this helps to locate print advertising in the competitive market for luxury goods and the urban market place generally.²⁶

²⁴ Ibid, p.59.

²⁵ Burke, William Hogarth. *The Analysis of Beauty. With Rejected Passages from the manuscript Drafts and Autobiographical Note*, p. 216.

²⁶ Clayton, *The English Print*, p. xiii.

Newspapers and the Consumer

Print advertising did not develop in isolation. It existed as a response to an increased interest in consumer culture and had a dynamic relationship with the news of the day which it often sought to exploit through products such as popular portrait prints in response to interest in individuals or events.²⁷ The lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695 and removal of pre-publication censorship stimulated the establishment of newspapers and led to the development of advertising as a means of communication and persuasion and a valuable form of income as successive taxes sought to stem the flow of popular, and often anti-government journals.²⁸ Changes in the number and type of newspaper became apparent almost immediately. For example, the prominence of the establishment-favoured London Gazette with its staple diet of legal government notices, some foreign and domestic news and more importantly, details of horse race meetings aimed at the country gentry, began to be slowly eroded as new competitors took advantage of an increasingly cosmopolitan audience interested in the arts and especially the theatre and innovations in literature and printed products generally.

The founding of three tri-weekly newspapers in May 1695 immediately after the lapse of the Licensing Act, the anti-government Post Boy, the Post Man, the Whig supporting Flying Post followed by the first daily, the Daily Courant in 1702 made for a less specialised and more crowded market becoming increasingly dependent on advertisements for both income and interest.²⁹ The Daily Advertiser which appeared in February 1731 as a single leaf became the first newspaper to 'consist wholly of Advertisements, together with the Prices of Stocks and Names and Descriptions of Persons becoming bankrupts' and was ahead of its time as a daily newspaper which relied principally on advertisements as its source of revenue.³⁰

The introduction of evening newspapers was aimed specifically at the socially superior class and when coupled with theatre notices, made for a highly distinctive metropolitan readership which William Hogarth will have been familiar with. Advertisements breathed life into the

²⁷ The retail advertising of portrait prints during the period, especially those of controversialists such as Henry Sacheverell and Bishop Benjamin Hoadley, has been specifically addressed in the PhD thesis, C.H.L. George, 'Topical portrait print advertising in London newspapers and the Term Catalogues 1660-1714' (Durham University, 2005), p.14.

²⁸ C.R. Kopf, 'Libel and Satire in the Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol 8, No.2, Winter 1974. p. 153.

²⁹ Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers'. p. 116.

³⁰ G.A. Cranfield, *The Press and Society* (London, 1978), p. 56.

market for prints and the language of the notices provides concrete evidence that some, if not all prints, were meant for display purposes either in the home as domestic decoration or, as was often the case, on coffee shop walls where they could be admired and discussed by the wider audience as part of the contemporary debate.³¹

This is a useful entry point to analyse the various newspapers that Hogarth used always bearing in mind the precarious state of the industry which saw some newspapers more successful than others, a situation which often led to merger and re-title or collapse. In the first instance it is proposed to adopt a chronological analysis of Hogarth's advertisements by looking at the frequency of advertised prints and the newspapers used. In this way it is possible to gauge the social cross-section of the newspaper audiences and suggest explanations for the frequency of the advertisements. The appendices show the total number of advertisements per print, the number of newspapers advertised in, and the period over which the advertisements appeared. They are therefore an essential resource in the analysis of Hogarth's entrepreneurial business acumen and provide empirical evidence to support the conclusions made concerning Hogarth's advertising strategy. On the wider front they demonstrate the increasing versatility of newspapers and their advertisements as a reflection of a society which regarded the reading of advertisements as a source of information, pleasure and entertainment.

Advertising Prints

The first serious attempt by William Hogarth as an energetic self-publicist to actively promote prints in his own right was *Hudibras* in 1725 for which he engraved twelve plates to accompany Samuel Butler's popular satirical poem, an anti-puritan, royalist classic which was co-sponsored with Philip Overton, the regular publisher and well known print seller.³² Not surprisingly the choice of newspaper for the initial advertisement on 5 October 1725 was the popular pro-Tory London Evening Post, published three times per week and sold in selected coffee houses like *Tom's and Will's* at Covent Garden and the *Chapter House* in 'Paul's Alley' known as a recognised rendezvous for publishers and booksellers.³³ The advertisement secured sufficient orders for a second round of advertisements of a more concerted nature in three different newspapers, the Post Boy on 3, 5 and 26 February 1726,

³¹ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 461.

³² Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, p. 59.

³³ Walker, 'Advertising in London's Newspapers', p.121

the Daily Post which under its proprietor Richard Nutt had acquired ‘an opposition flavour’, on the 25 February and 15 June 1726 and the periodical British Journal on 15 May 1726.³⁴

This strategy was clearly one of targeting pro-Tory newspapers so as to capitalise on the anti-Puritan theme of the *Hudibras* prints. The success of *Hudibras* led to Hogarth obtaining commissions such as the execution of the two paintings *The Pool of Bethesda* and *The Good Samaritan* for St. Bartholomew’s Hospital, an institution dominated by Tory governors and physicians. This demonstrates the benefits to be gained from perceived political association despite the fact that Hogarth was said to be a Whig sympathiser.³⁵

The relative success of *Hudibras* gave Hogarth the incentive to independently promote his next project, *A Harlot’s Progress*, the first of his ‘modern moral cycles’ in April 1732, and in doing so cut out the retailer and retain all the profits himself. By advertising in selected popular newspapers, artists could make direct contact with their public. This method of communication not only allowed Hogarth to describe the print, but also to reveal details of the subscription process, the price of the prints and dates by which payment had to be made. He was also able to announce his intention to produce an etching, linked to the theme of the print which would serve as an expression of contractual obligation, and as a collectable item in its own right.³⁶

Newspaper advertisements kept subscribers informed of the progress of the project and when to eventually collect their sets, or as occasionally happened, an explanation as to why completion had been delayed.³⁷ In any event, the need to keep subscribers informed of progress explains in part the reasons for multiple advertisements although invitations for the casual reader to visit Hogarth’s house and inspect his other works made repeated advertising good business sense.

The first notice (fig.52) of the *Harlot’s Progress* as a publication by Hogarth in his own right appeared in the popular Daily Post on successive days, the 26 and 27 April 1732 and explained in some detail the unique sequence of prints together with an explanation of each

³⁴ Richard Nutt (1693-1780), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: online edition, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/73737>, accessed 30 April 2014].

³⁵ P. Monod, ‘Painters and Party Politics in England 1714-1760’, *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Spring, 1993), p. 389.

³⁶ S. Lloyd, ‘Ticketing the British Eighteenth-Century: ‘A thing... never heard of before’, *Journal of Social History*, vol. 46. no. 4 (2013), p. 843.

³⁷ Delays occurred notably with delivery of the *Rake’s Progress* in 1735 due to impending legislation to prevent piracy.

scene. The topicality of the print is evident by the fact that in the advertisement, Hogarth barely disguises the identity of two of the more notorious real life characters, Colonel Charteris in the description of plate one and Sir John Gonson in plate three. The ability of the print to avoid libel by such flimsy means gave it a distinct advantage over the written word and contributed in no small measure to its success. Both characters were essential ingredients of what was deliberately intended to be a commentary on the alleged abuse of political patronage by the 'Robinocracy' and the vigorous prosecution of prostitutes by Westminster magistrates. The obvious likeness of Gonson was such that when shown at a meeting of the Board of Treasury, 'each lord repaired to the print shop for a copy of it'.³⁸ Clearly the advertisement had had its desired effect.

The comprehensive nature of the advertisement suggests therefore not only a sense of confidence in the distinctiveness of the prints as a way of describing the predatory nature of the capital and the dangers this poses to the more naïve, but also its potential for attracting the attention of the reader in the face of competition from other advertisements on the same page as well as adding to the pleasurable nature of reading advertisements.

The choice of the Daily Post for the launch of the subscription suggests an audience made up in part by professionals such as lawyers and especially the mercantile classes 'who looked for straightforward accounts of their everyday lives presented in a manner that was unadorned and lucid'.³⁹ The price of the prints at 'a guinea a set' was expensive in comparison to other similar luxury articles but suggests that the target audience was considered to be well capable of affording such a price. The use of repeat advertisements suggests an attempt to reach as large a public as possible.

The initial success of the publication according to Vertue, was such that, 'there being no day but persons of fashion and Artists came to see these pictures' making Hogarth almost overnight into a celebrity which guaranteed both his financial and artistic status for some time to come.⁴⁰

³⁸ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, pp. 80-81.

³⁹ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, p. xiv.

⁴⁰ Vertue, *Notebooks*, Vol. III, p. 58.

This Day is publish'd,

THE HARLOT'S PROGRESS : Or, The

Humours of Drury-lane. In Six Cantos. Being the Tale of the noted Moll Hackabour, in Hudibrastick Verse, containing her whole Life ; which is a Key to the Six Prints already publish'd by Mr. Hogarth.

- I. Her coming to Town in the York Waggon ; her being betray'd by an old Bawd into the Arms of Col. Ch——res ; her early Improvement in the Sweetness of Fornication ; and some Dialogues, serious and comical, between a Country Girl in the Waggon, and a Parson.
- II. Her living with a Jew ; some merry Intrigues in the Jew's House ; with satyrical Pictures in the Jew's Chamber.
- III. Her living in a Bawdy-house in Drury-lane ; her Extravagance, Company, Bawdy-house Equipage, Pictures, and other Drury Decorations ; with her being detected by Sir J—G—.
- IV. Her Usage at Tothill-Fields Bridewell ; with some merry Adventures of Fops, Pimps, Whores, Bawds, and Panders, who were committed to keep her Company.
- V. Her Sickness and Death ; Disputes between two noted Quacks, Temple-Bar and Bow-Bell Doctors, on the Nature of her Distemper, and her last Will and Testament.
- V. Her Burial ; the Funeral Pomp of Harlots in Triumph ; six Mutes, Sisters of the Trade ; the Parson, a very Wag ; the Clerk, a Sly-Boots ; and the Undertaker, one of the Family of the Sad Dogs.

Printed for B. Dickinson at Inigo Jones's Head, against Exeter-Exchange in the Strand, and R. Mountague at the General Post-Office in Great Queen-street near Drury-lane ; and sold by J. Brotherton at the Royal Exchange, R. Ware in Amen-Corner, A. Dodd near Temple-Bar, J. Brindley in Bond-street, J. Jolliff in St. James's-street, and J. Stagg in Westminster-Hall. Price 1s.

Fig.52. Daily Post 26 April 1732

The initial success of the *Harlot's Progress* resulted in Philip Overton, the established print seller who had published the successful *Hudibras* series as a business associate of Hogarth's, advertising (fig.53) in the Daily Post on 17 May 1732, soon after Hogarth's initial advertisements, his own intention to publish further copies of the *Harlot's Progress* 'taken from the originals of Mr. Hogarth' suggesting a degree of co-operation with the artist.

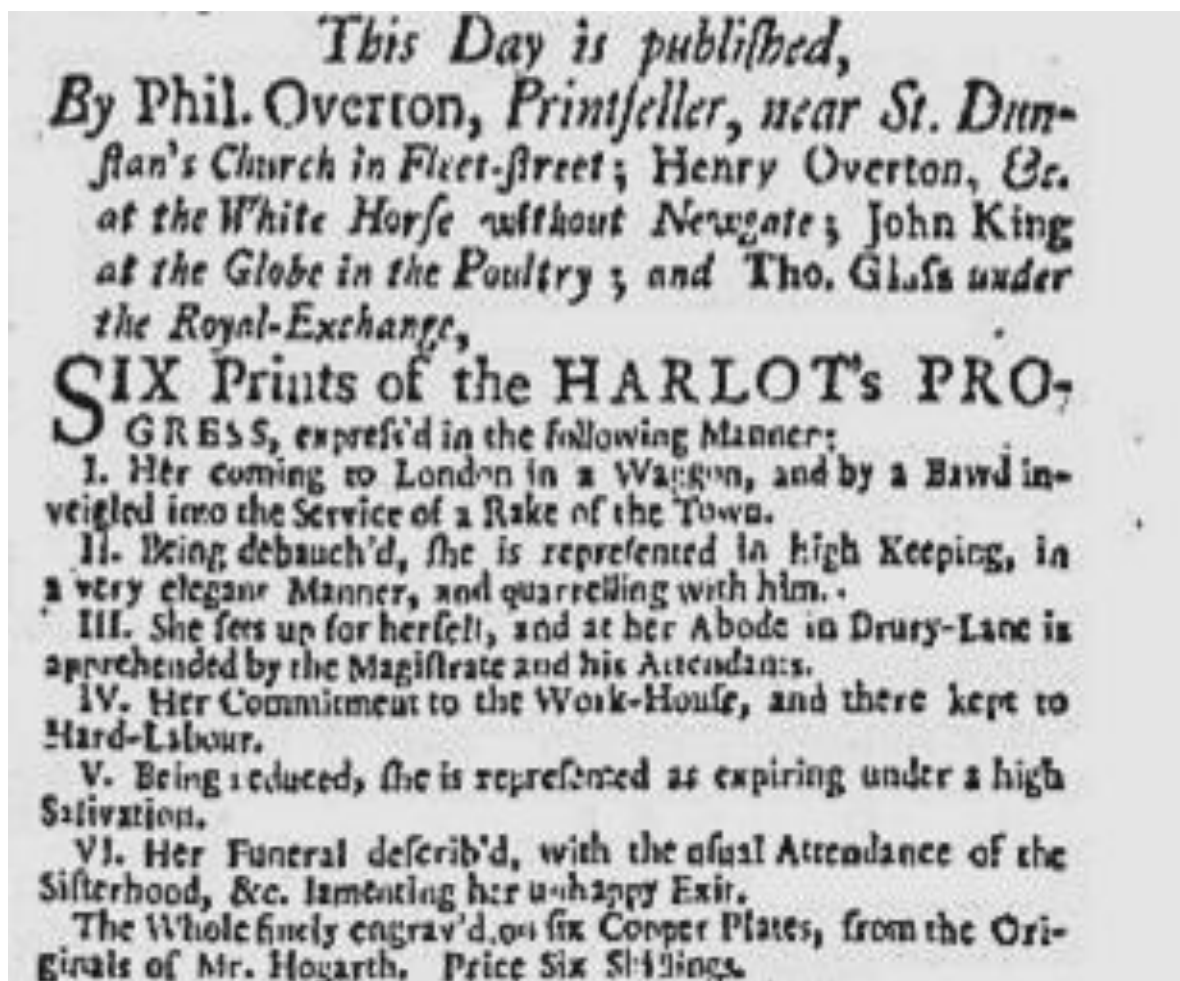


Fig.53. Daily Post 17 May 1732

The success of the *Harlot's Progress* launched the major phase of Hogarth's career as an artist. He was able to capitalise on this popularity by adding a riddle to the narrative which accompanied the prints and advertised an amended version printed in a new grey tint to enhance the quality of the final product making it even more attractive as a decorative piece of art.⁴¹ Advertisements for the amended version appeared in the Daily Post on the 4 and 12 December 1732 and played to the same metropolitan audience which represented a confidence, not only in the updated product, but also in the artist's own ability to capitalise on his currency as an innovative and popular contemporary artist.

Following the huge success of the *Harlot's Progress* in 1732 Hogarth chose to advertise his next print, *A Midnight Modern Conversation* in the London Journal on 24 February 1733

⁴¹ The popularity of the prints even extended to them being copied onto fan-mounts which Hogarth gave to maidservants in his family. Paulson, Hogarth's *Graphic Works*, p. 77.

setting out details of the subscription process and the amount required for deposit and balance by due dates. The single advertisement might indicate a confidence in being able to cover the costs of producing the print due to his new found financial security and suggests that the level of the interest shown by subscribers to the initial advertisement made repeat advertising unnecessary in this instance.

The London Journal which was reputed to have a socially superior readership was the choice also for advertisements over two successive weeks, 22 and 29 December 1733 (fig.54) for both the completed *Southwark Fair*, known initially as *Humours of the Fair*, and the yet to be completed *The Progress of a Rake*, later to be named the *Rake's Progress*. The advertisements not only outlined the subscription process with the usual deposit and balance details but promised subscribers a 'new etched print describing a pleased audience at a theatre'.⁴² This would later become the subscription ticket, *The Laughing Audience* (fig.35) and demonstrates the potential of the advertisement as a vehicle for conveying both factual subscription details along with information about the print itself. It is also worth noting how Hogarth is now sufficiently well known to be able to invite customers to pay their subscriptions at his studios in Leicester Fields where the pictures and other of his works could be seen, such is his self-confidence now that he is no longer 'the property of picture dealers and held by them in vassalage and dependence'.⁴³

⁴² London Journal (1720) (London, England), Saturday, December 22, 1733; Issue 756.

⁴³ J. L. Clifford, *Man Versus Society in Eighteenth Century Britain* (London, 1968), p. 28.

MR. HOGARTH being now engraving nine Copper-plates from Pictures of his own Painting, one of which represents the *Humours of a Fair*; the other eight, *The Progress of a Rake*; the Prints by Subscription on the following Terms: Each Subscription to be one Guinea and a half; half a Guinea to be paid at the Time of subscribing, for which a Receipt will be given on a new etched Print, describing a pleased Audience at a Theatre; and the other Payment of one Guinea on Delivery of all the Prints when finished, which will be with all convenient Speed, and the Time publicly advertised. The Fair being already finished, will be delivered to the Subscribers on sight of the Receipt, on the 1st Day of January next, if required; or it may be subscribed for alone at 5s. The whole Payment to be paid at the Time of subscribing.

Subscriptions will be taken in at Mr. Hogarth's, the Golden Head in Leicester-Fields, where the Pictures are to be seen.

Fig.54. London Journal 29 December 1729

Notice of delivery on 25 June 1735 of both *Southwark Fair* and the *Rake's Progress* was published by advertisement in *The Craftsman* on 24 May 1735 and a week later in the *London Evening Post* on 31 May 1735. The notice explains that the delay in delivery had been due to the introduction of legislation designed to prevent piracy of the prints. The choice of *The Craftsman* is interesting in that it was the leading anti-Walpole political journal of its time well known for its opposition to the government and the corruption associated with the 'Robinocracy'.⁴⁴ Readers are likely to have included members of the aristocracy such as Viscount Bolingbroke and the Earl of Bath who established the newspaper as well those commercial and merchant sorts with similar Whig tendencies.

⁴⁴ Scene One of the *Harlot's Progress* shows leading Walpole supporter, Colonel Charteris lurking in a doorway as the young Moll Hackabout alights from the York coach suggesting Charteris's lecherous reputation as valid. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, pp. 77-78.

Clearly there was an audience in waiting for such a message. The need to achieve political balance however so as not alienate potential customers highlights the dilemma for artists of the period. As Paul Monod suggests, 'art was an unstable business without much professional patronage and its practitioners had to find clients wherever they could'.⁴⁵ Along with other artists Hogarth realised as the arts became more commercial, less courtly and more urban, that he had to address both sides of the political divide in order to extend the appeal of his work.⁴⁶

The tri- weekly London Evening Post, another popular newspaper with known anti-government views was used by Hogarth to carry the same advertisement but this time on five separate occasions, 31 May, 3 June, 5 June, 12 June and 17 June 1735. This was the first time that Hogarth had used multiple advertisements over such a short period and demonstrates an awareness of marketing techniques intended to achieve a heightened awareness amongst the reading public of his prints.

This period represents a marked stepping up of publicity by Hogarth who seemed well suited to self-promotion and continued with four consecutive monthly advertisements featuring promotion of the *Rake's Progress* from June-September in the weekly London Daily Post and Advertiser which had secured the backing of the five main London theatres who had agreed to advertise in it.⁴⁷ As such it had cornered the market for those readers with a theatrical interest who will have been a key target audience for Hogarth. Even those who did not frequent the theatre regularly may have bought the newspaper to read the various advertisements out of a sense of entertainment. The newspaper also carried a high percentage of book and property advertisements and refused to include notices for quack medicines which would indicate a high social class of readership.⁴⁸

The same advertisement giving notice that *The Rake's Progress* was now published together with a new edition of *Hudibras* appeared in The Craftsman on two consecutive weeks, the 12 and 19 July 1735. This followed up the initial advertisement of 24 May 1735 in the same publication and completed the process by informing readers of the first notice how they may obtain the finished prints.

⁴⁵ Monod, 'Painters and Party Politics in England 1714-1760', p. 370.

⁴⁶ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. xviii.

⁴⁷ Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers', p. 122.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 123.

During this period there is evidence of much competition amongst the popular London press for custom which led to a review of the size and content of publications to satisfy the preferences of the reading public. The mix of news, domestic and international, letters and articles on a variety of topical subjects ranging from religious matters to artistic and literary review, began to increase along with a greater appreciation of newspapers and advertisements as a marketing tool and a source of income.⁴⁹ The political inclination of newspapers can allow for a reasonable assessment to be made of the social status of its readership and this will undoubtedly have been a factor in the placing of advertisements to match the theme to the audience.

There were occasionally opportunities to capitalise on topical political issues such as Hogarth's painting of the notorious Simon Lord Lovat in September 1746 not long after he had been sentenced for treason.⁵⁰ In doing so Hogarth recognised the notoriety of Lovat and the likely demand for copies of his portrait before he was beheaded for treason. Consequently the whole length print drawn from life was advertised (fig.55) on 20 September 1746 in the widely read anti-government London Evening Post and was reckoned to have been a successful 'one-off' initiative. Priced at 1s/-, the demand was such that Hogarth was said to be 'taking in £12 per day' at the height of the print's popularity. A copy of the print was even sent by Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann at his summer home in Florence.⁵¹

The opportunity is also taken in the advertisement to offer for sale from Hogarth's studio and 'print shops', David Garrick 'in the character of Richard the Third, in the Tent Scene' (fig. 56) which had been completed a year earlier in 1745. The advertisement therefore capitalised on public interest in well-known individuals and reflects a keen sense of market awareness.

⁴⁹ Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial newspaper* p. 32.

⁵⁰ Simon Lord Lovat, Scottish Jacobite famous for his violent feuding and changes of allegiance which eventually resulted in him being beheaded in 1747.

⁵¹ Horace Walpole Correspondence, Yale University Press, at <http://images.library.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence>.

*This Day is publish'd,
Price One Shilling,
A Whole Length Print of SIMON Lord Lovat;
drawn from the Life, and etch'd in Aqua Fortis, by
William Hogarth.
To be sold at the Golden Head in Leicester-Fields, and at
the Print Shops.
Where also may be had,
A Print of Mr. GARRICK, in the Character of Richard
the Third, in the Tent Scene. Price 7s. 6d.*

Fig.55. London Evening Post 20 September 1746



Fig.56. David Garrick as Richard III- 1745

An interesting attempt to widen the range of Hogarth's audience was his decision to advertise the same two prints, 'Simon Lord Lovat' and 'Garrick as Richard III', separately in George Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* on 15 November 1746 and 27 June 1747 stating clearly that they were being 'imported to be sold on behalf of the painter'.⁵² Clearly Hogarth appreciated the potential of tapping into other markets similarly cosmopolitan in outlook as London and which would be familiar with the two personalities being advertised. These two advertisements appear to have been an isolated attempt to break into the Dublin market, which had a social profile similar to that of London. Interestingly Hogarth made no attempts to advertise in the Edinburgh newspapers or the American colonies both of which may have offered similar commercial opportunities.

Having been closely associated with the anti-government *Craftsman* and *The London Evening Post* when advertising *The Rake's Progress* on successive occasions in May and June 1735, Hogarth elected to advertise his next two prints, *Before and After*, in the *Daily Gazetteer* the main pro-Walpole newspaper on 18 December 1736. Whether these prints with their salacious content were considered inappropriate to readers of the pro-Tory press, for example ministers of the Anglican church and those of a more conservative disposition is a matter of conjecture given that there were likely to be those on both sides of the political divide who would find the content amusing. It is more likely that as Paul Monod suggests he wished to adopt a bipartisan approach by avoiding party labels so as to spread himself evenly across all shades of political opinion and appeal to as wide an audience as possible.⁵³

This political balancing act continued with the advertising of the prints *The Distressed Poet* and 'four other etchings', namely *A Chorus of Singers, Pleased and at a Play, Scholars at a Lecture* and *Quacks in Consultation* in both the pro-Walpole *Daily Gazetteer* on four successive occasions the 5, 7, 9 and 11 March 1737 and in the anti-government *The Craftsman* just once on 9 April 1737. These show how Hogarth appealed across the political divide and was able to capitalise on his popularity by offering to sell four other etchings which had previously been available for sale as recently as 1732 and were now being offered

⁵² George Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* (Dublin, Ireland), Saturday, June 27, 1747; Issue 2117.

⁵³ Monod, 'Painters and Party Politics in England 1714-1760', pp. 392.

again by a clever amalgamation ‘either single or bound’ alongside the recently finished *The Distressed Poet*.⁵⁴

The practice of advertising across a range of popular newspapers and the political spectrum continued with the prints *Four Times of Day* and *Strolling Actresses* which signify the continuing popularity of Hogarth as a leading contemporary artist. Over the period 22 April to 27 May 1738, advertisements appeared in the pro-Walpole Daily Gazetteer on 29 April and 4, 13 and 20 May, and in the opposition newspapers the Daily Post on 26, 27 and 29 April, the London Evening Post on 22 and 25 April and the Craftsman on 27 May 1738. This concentrated approach to the advertising of prints on a successive basis over a relatively short period in key popular newspapers covering alternative political opinions represents a calculated and methodical approach to advertising at a time when competition within the broader market place for printed goods was intense.

Furthermore, the advertisements not only gave information to subscribers as to when they should collect their prints on payment of the balance due, but also offered engraved prints of his deceased father-in-law, Sir James Thornhill’s paintings of the cupola in St Paul’s Cathedral.⁵⁵ The opportunity to sell some of Thornhill’s more famous prints along with his own and enhance his reputation by association is further evidence of Hogarth’s commercial instincts.

The establishment of the London Daily Post and General Advertiser by Henry Woodfall and the decision of the five main London theatres to advertise in it made it an obvious choice for Hogarth in seeking to reach the more cosmopolitan literary and artistic enthusiasts as well as those wishing to associate themselves with the more fashionable elements of contemporary London society. It was in this newspaper that Hogarth chose to advertise *The Enraged Musician* on nine separate successive occasions from 13 November to 12 December 1741 stating that it was to be regarded as a companion piece to the previously advertised *The Distressed Poet*. This concentrated approach represents a significant degree of self-confidence and a willingness to employ the effect of repeated advertising as a way of reinforcing his brand of popular print.

⁵⁴ Two of the prints, *A Chorus of Singers* and *Pleased and at a Play* had had been originally issued as subscription tickets for a *Midnight Modern Conversation* and *Southwark Fair* and *The Rake’s Progress* respectively and their re-issue suggests how popular they had been in their original state.

⁵⁵ London Evening Post (London, England), Tuesday, April 25, 1738; Issue 1630.

It seems that buoyed by the success of the *Harlot's Progress* and the *Rake's Progress* and his subsequent works which seemed to transcend social class and appeal to the broader public, Hogarth deliberately turned towards a more elevated conception of his art with *Marriage-a-la-Mode* which he advertised most heavily in the popular London Daily Post and Advertiser as well as the London Evening Post and the Daily Advertiser. To the artistic elites such as Sir Joshua Reynolds Hogarth's art to date appeared low and vulgar dealing with 'low and confined subjects' rather than classical themes.⁵⁶ This opinion was also held by Hogarth's contemporary George Vertue who admired the 'view and genius' of his prints but qualified this assessment by describing Hogarth's art as 'very strong and conversant with low life as heretofore'.⁵⁷

It was to refute these insinuations that Hogarth advertised his intention to make elaborate preparations for the engraving of the *Marriage-a-la-Mode* series 1743 and his insistence on 'French' elegance suggesting a desire to positively exclude the uneducated public. The advertisement in the popular London Daily Post and General Advertiser (fig.57) emphasises that the prints would be 'engrav'd by the best Masters in Paris' and that 'Particular Care will be taken that there may not be the least Objection to the Decency or elegancy of the whole Work'. There appears to be a deliberate strategy of marketing this series of prints in a more comprehensive way both in terms of repeated insertions and in the use of several different newspapers.

It remains Hogarth's most heavily advertised set of prints throughout his entire career as if to emphasise the distinction between this print and its predecessors. There is speculation however that these tactics did not produce the sales he might have expected given that 'the satire rests on the privileged classes' to whom the message was intended and who may have been resistant to such associations.⁵⁸ This might explain why he never advertised on such a large scale again preferring to focus his advertisements over a shorter and more restricted range.

⁵⁶ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, p. xiv.

⁵⁷ Vertue, *Notebooks*, Vol. III, p.136.

⁵⁸ D.Bindman, *Hogarth*, (Norwich, 1981), p. 167.

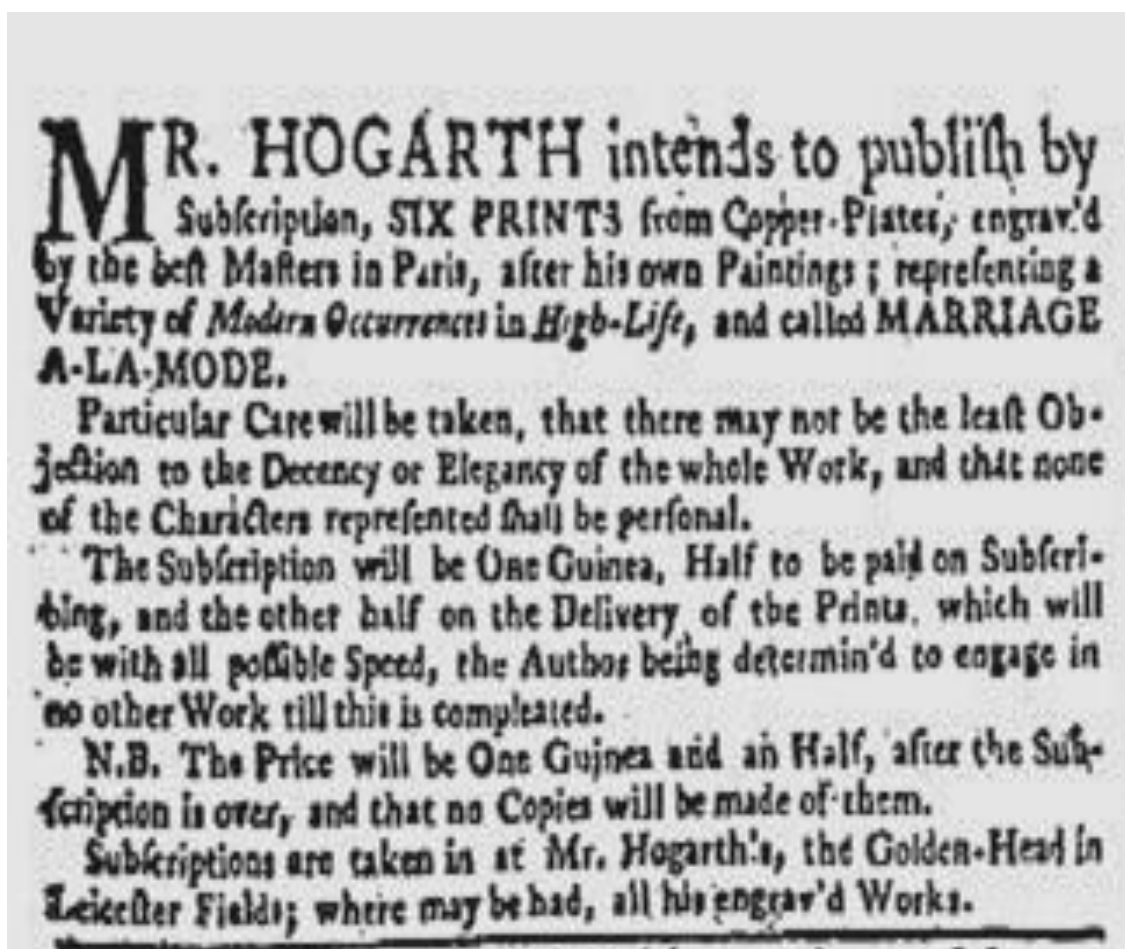


Fig.57. London Daily Post and General Advertiser 2 April 1743

The most heavily used newspaper for *Marriage-a-la-Mode* was the London Daily Post and General Advertiser in which Hogarth described the theme of the print and the subscription details on thirty nine occasions almost daily from 2 April through to the end of May 1743. This was by far the most comprehensive set of advertisements that Hogarth had commissioned. A parallel set of advertisements with the same information appeared in the Daily Advertiser and the London Evening Post on five and three occasions respectively in early April 1743 almost in a supporting role. The initial launch therefore was focussed on the period April-May 1743 and involved these three popular newspapers with an overriding emphasis on the London Daily Post and General Advertiser.

Thereafter the advertisement process was one of information on the progress of the print's completion using the London Daily Post and General Advertiser as the sole vehicle on eighteen occasions from June to mid-November. The high concentration of advertisements

over a relatively short period represents an ambitious attempt by contemporary standards and suggests that Hogarth may have secured preferential rates from the newspapers given their need to attract income in order to remain competitive and popular. The completion of *Marriage-a-la-Mode* was announced on fifteen occasions from 5 April through to 30 April 1744 once again using the London Daily Post and General Advertiser as the sole platform. Overall the heavy advertising of *Marriage-a-la-Mode* represented a bold and distinctly commercial approach by Hogarth but one that turned out to be less successful than hoped for.

The experience of multiple advertisements specifically timed and appearing in selected newspapers employed with the promotion of *Marriage-a-la-Mode* was predictably followed by a more conventional approach by Hogarth as he reverted back to the promotion of prints already available namely the *Harlot's Progress* and the *Rake's Progress* but with additions to differentiate them from the first editions and make them more saleable. He advertised these second edition prints twice, on 3 and 8 February 1744 in the previously lightly used Daily Advertiser which by the mid-1740s, was selling over 2,500 copies more than its rival the London Daily Post.⁵⁹

This practice of reissuing previously lucrative prints continued with the stated intention in the Daily Advertiser on 1 and 8 November 1744 to make a further impression of the *Harlot's Progress*, the on-going popularity of which continued to offer Hogarth the prospect of further financial gain without the painstaking effort of a new project. These tactics had contributed to the success of the Daily Advertiser and its choice by Hogarth for these advertisements is likely to have heavily influenced not only its sales, but also the number of customers likely to have frequented the business and commercial venues where it was posted.

As for other groups such as the cognoscenti, they had their own favoured coffee houses such as the *Smyrna* in Pall Mall, *Buttons* in Covent Garden or the *Bedford Coffee House* on the piazza close to the entrance of Covent Garden Theatre where they will all have had access to newspapers bearing Hogarth's advertisements.⁶⁰ By reaching into these areas of potential custom through regular and sustained newspaper advertisements William Hogarth demonstrated a high degree of commercial awareness and market awareness not much evident in any of his competitors.

⁵⁹ Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade*, p. 17.

⁶⁰ Hallett, *The spectacle of difference*, p. 40.

For example, Louise Lippincott considers that only Arthur Pond, painter, print seller and art dealer could be considered to be as commercially aware as Hogarth in promoting his goods through newspaper advertisements during the period 1735-1751 and even then on a much more limited scale.⁶¹ As for his other contemporaries, for example the artists Thomas Hudson and Francis Hayman, there is no evidence of commercial activity involving newspaper advertisements. Research indicates that neither appears to have engaged in the promotion of their work through the public media. Only Joseph Highmore advertised in newspapers and even then only infrequently such as five occasions in the London Evening Post over the period 8-24 May 1744 when he advertised twelve of his prints by 'the best French engravers' including one of *Pamela* after his own painting. There were similar sporadic efforts from the likes of Thomas Gainsborough in 1777 and Allan Ramsay (Snr) the poet in 1720-21 but no artist ever used the popular metropolitan press in such a systematic and strategic manner as William Hogarth.

Motivated by the prospect of the relatively easy re-issue of his more successful prints Hogarth publicly advised original subscribers of the *Harlot's Progress* of his intentions to make a second impression 'unless notified by 1 December next'. The advertisement appeared on three separate occasions over a period of eight days, on 8, 13, and 16 November 1744 in the Daily Advertiser together with the announcement of *Marriage-a-la-Mode* which was in 'great forwardness' and for which subscriptions were now being taken.

The repetitive nature of the advertisements over a short period indicates a great confidence in the medium as an effective way of communicating with potential customers and indicates a degree of momentum which Hogarth must have sensed and put to best use to capitalise on his popularity.⁶² The original subscribers promptly responded through the same newspaper on 15 November that they would agree to release Hogarth from the original agreement not to reissue the *Harlot's Progress* on condition that he would authorise additional copies of the previously issued *Four Times of the Day* and *Strolling Actresses* for sale to the same subscribers.

This exchange between the artist and his customers demonstrates the versatility of newspaper advertisements as a method of communication in an age of increasing commercial awareness. The exchange of correspondence concluded with a single notice in the Daily Advertiser on 3

⁶¹ L. Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, (New Haven, 1983), p. 50.

⁶² Daily Advertiser (London, England), Thursday, November 1, 1744; Issue 4376.

January 1745 that this latest impression of the *Harlot's Progress* was now ready and available for inspection and sale at Hogarth's premises in Leicester Fields. This whole exchange must have provided the regular reader with interesting evidence of the traffic in news and social interaction and contributes to the understanding of newspaper advertisements as pleasurable and entertaining.

The next attempt at a coordinated set of advertisements occurred with Hogarth's auction of nineteen paintings including *A Harlot's Progress*, *A Rake's Progress*, *The Four Times of Day* and *Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn*. The printed proposals for the auction formed the basis of advertisements in the *Daily Advertiser* on eight occasions from 11 to 25 February 1745 and the *London Evening Post* on five occasions from 2 to 23 February 1745.

The advertisements were quite specific as regards details of the auction process which were quite different to that of other public auctions. For example bidding would only be allowed by those in possession of the previously acquired engraved bidder's ticket in the form of the etching *The Battle of the Pictures* which itself became a collector's item in due course. The use of these two newspapers which Hogarth had previously used is consistent with his efforts to attract interest from both the popular and upper echelons of society that were generally expected to read these particular editions.

In the event, the advertisements did not produce the level of interest that such a coordinated effort might have otherwise been expected to. The sale disappointed and Hogarth only received £427.7s in total. The Duke of Ancaster, Lord Great Chamberlain of the Royal Household was the main purchaser demonstrating Hogarth's appeal to the aristocracy.⁶³ Given the disappointing outcome overall the experience showed how even a well-planned advertising initiative was no guarantee of success.

Following this disappointment Hogarth returned to safer options, for example his single advertisement on 7 February 1746 in the now renamed *General Advertiser* for *Marriage-a-la-Mode*, re-issued for sale to the general public now that the subscription process had expired.⁶⁴

⁶³ Ibid, p. 124.

⁶⁴ The *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* became simply the *General Advertiser* from March 1744 and continued to attract theatre playbills as a valuable source of revenue. Theatre-goers would buy the newspaper to see what shows were on and other readers to keep up to date with the contemporary social scene.

The metropolitan market continued to be the focus of Hogarth's attention as he advertised his *A Country Yard at Election Time* for general sale in the General Advertiser, twice on 27 June and 3 July 1746 and, for the first time, in the St. James Evening Post on 30 June, 11 and 14 July 1746. The decision to advertise may well have been influenced by the fact that Hogarth's close friend David Garrick had become a part-owner of the newspaper which was firmly in the anti-government stable.

The deliberate use of advertising in sequence in more than one newspaper continued with the heavily didactic *Industry and Idleness* which, over twelve frames, told of the different fortunes of two apprentices. The intention was made clear in the advertisement which stated that the prints were 'proper to be read by every youth throughout the kingdom' and were consequently priced reasonably at 1s/- per set for a specific audience of parents, relatives or employers in contrast to those prints which were offered for sale to the likes of collectors on 'better paper for the curious at 14/- per set.'⁶⁵

The advertisement appeared on seven occasions in the popular London Evening Post across an extended period of 15 October 1747 to 19 March 1748, possibly suggesting the need to stimulate flagging sales, as well as the General Advertiser on a more concentrated five occasions 17 October to 29 October 1747 and, for the first and only time, the General Evening Post on twelve occasions from 22 October 1747 to 16 January 1748. This sequence of advertising represents a return by Hogarth to more regular advertising to stimulate sales since *Marriage-a-la-Mode* and is indicative of the importance he attached to the twelve-plate *Industry and Idleness* series aimed at Masters with responsibility for the welfare of apprentices and Poor Law Overseers.

The next set of advertisements was for the print *Gate of Calais* or *O The Roast Beef of Old England* which appeared on eight occasions over the short period of 8 to 18 March 1749 in the General Advertiser which was becoming the most heavily used of all the newspapers by Hogarth given the variety and range of its audience. The *March to Finchley* featured only once in the General Advertiser on 28 April 1750 with details of the subscription processes as well as offering the novel opportunity to win the original painting to those who chose to pay the initial deposit of 3/6d of the 7/6d total price. Thereafter the price of the print would increase to half a guinea. The same advertisement appeared in the London Evening Post on

⁶⁵ London Evening Post (London, England), Thursday, October 15, 1747; Issue 3113.

four occasions from 14 to 28 April 1750 and later on 29 December 1750 and 1 January 1751 announcing that the print was now ready for collection by subscribers.

The success of this advertising strategy can be measured by the fact that Hogarth secured 1100 pounds worth of tickets for the original *March to Finchley* painting which he had valued at 200 pounds. Not only had he made a profit of 900 pounds on the ingenious scheme to raffle the original painting but he also had the engravings to dispose of at half a guinea each.⁶⁶ Once again, the advertisements had dealt effectively as a means of communication between the artist and public with details of the options available for purchase either by subscription or general sale. Despite Vertue's description of Hogarth's business acumen on this occasion as 'cunning artful contrivances which men of much greater merit could never get, or expect', he was nevertheless driven to acknowledge in the light of Hogarth's commercial success that 'to say well is good, to do well is better'.⁶⁷ In the event, the winning ticket came from the balance of those unsold which Hogarth donated to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital of which he was a benefactor. The painting remains hung in the boardroom of the Foundling Hospital.

The conscious decision to set the price of prints according to the theme and the intended audience was further demonstrated with the distinctively didactic *Gin Lane*, *Beer Street* and the *Four Stages of Cruelty* which were advertised twice in the widely read London Evening Post on 19 and 26 February 1751 priced at one shilling each being 'done in the cheapest manner possible in hopes to render them of more extensive use' with an alternative set priced at 1/6d being done 'in a better manner for the curious'.⁶⁸ Despite the relative lack of sustained advertising for these key prints, which formed the basis of Hogarth's campaign with his friend and magistrate Henry Fielding to draw attention to the moral decline of the lower classes, they became as popular as many of his more heavily publicised prints. This was perhaps due to the fact that they were primarily meant as social commentary and evidence of the need for reform rather than for commercial interest. This view is substantiated by the fact that the prints were sent to the Lord Mayor of the City of London, the Rt Hon. Francis Cokayne under cover of a dissertation with a frontispiece designed by Hogarth setting out the

⁶⁶ Vertue, *Notebooks*, Vol III, p. 153.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 153.

⁶⁸ London Evening Post (London, England), Tuesday, February 19, 1751; Issue 3641.

facts in support of the images, an event that was communicated by advertisement in both the London Gazetteer and the General Advertiser on 26 March 1751 (fig.58).

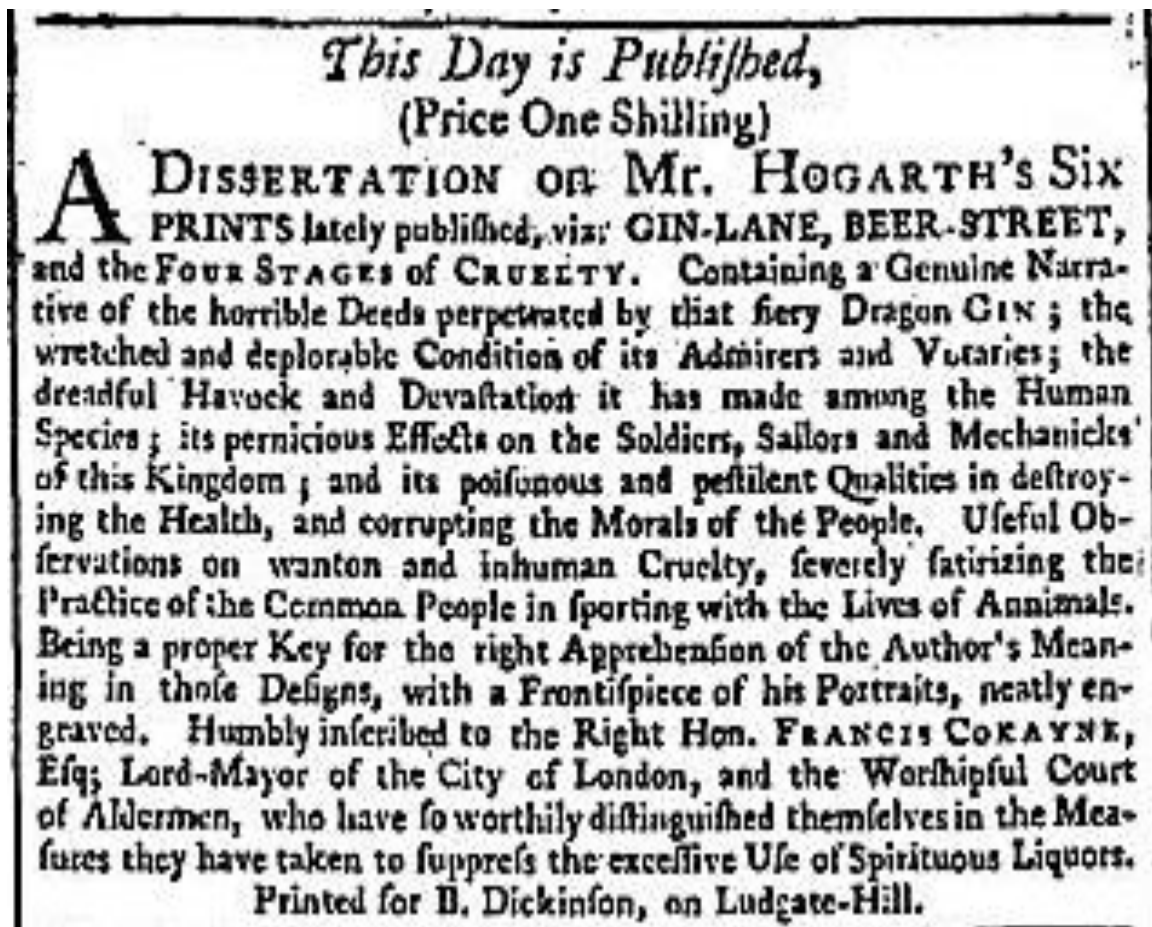


Fig.58. General Advertiser 26 March 1751

The sale of prints taken from two of Hogarth's paintings in St Bartholomew's Hospital now hanging in the boardroom of the Foundling Hospital, *Moses Brought Before Pharaoh's Daughter* and *Paul Before Felix* was the subject of advertisements inviting subscriptions in the General Advertiser on four occasions from 9 to 14 May 1751 and on three occasions, 28 May and 1 and 6 June in the London Evening Post. Both these newspapers appear to be favourites of Hogarth's given their popularity and readership which came closest to the type of audience he wished to attract, namely the prosperous and emulative amongst metropolitan society. The advertisement (fig.59) is notable for the comprehensive detail that Hogarth goes into to describe the process by which bids may also be submitted for the original *Marriage-a-la-Mode* paintings which he also offered for sale as part of an all-embracing package of prints.

This package included the subscription ticket *Paul before Felix Burlesqued* to be issued to customers who paid the deposit for the print of the same subject taken from the original painting. He also expresses in the advertisement his opinions concerning the continued preference of the market for the traditional ‘time darkened’ paintings rather than the contemporary work of native born artists.⁶⁹ This marks out advertising, not only as a means of promoting goods, but also as a way of expressing personal views to a wider audience on topical issues of a more general artistic nature. (The comprehensive nature of the advertisement is such that it has had to be shown on the following page.)

⁶⁹ London Evening Post (London, England), Saturday, June 1, 1751; Issue 3686.

Mr. Hogarth proposes to publish by Subscription,

TWO large Prints, one represents *Moses* brought to *Pharaoh's* Daughter; the other *PAUL* before *FELIX*. Engrav'd after the Pictures of his painting which are now hung up in the Foundling-Hospital and Lincoln's-Inn Hall. Five Shillings to be paid at the Time of Subscribing, and Five more on the Delivery of the said Prints.

For the first Payment a Receipt will be given, which Receipt will contain a new Print (in the true Dutch Taste) of *PAUL* before *FELIX*.

N. B. The above two Prints will be 7 s. 6 d. each after the Subscription is over, and the Receipt Prints will not be sold for less than One Guinea each.

Subscriptions will be taken 'till the 6th of June next, and no longer, at the Golden Head in Leicesterfields, where the Drawings may be seen; as likewise the Author's six Pictures of Marriage A-la-mode, which are to be dispos'd of in the following Manner, viz.

That each Bidder sign a Note, with the Sum he intends to give.

That such Notes be deposited in the Drawers of a Cabinet, which Cabinet shall be constantly kept lock'd by the said William Hogarth.

That each Bidder may, by a fresh Note, advance a further Sum, if he is out-bid, of which Notice shall be sent him.

That the Sum so advanced shall not be less than Three Guineas each Time.

That the Time of Bidding shall continue 'till Twelve o'Clock the 6th of June next, and no longer.

That on Friday the 7th of June next, the Notes shall be taken out of the Drawers, in the Presence of as many of the Bidders as please to attend; when it will appear who shall bid the most Money for the Pictures, to whom they shall be deliver'd, on paying the Money.

That no Dealer in Pictures will be admitted a Bidder.

As (according to the Standard of Judgment so righteously and judiciously establish'd by Picture Dealers, Picture Cleaners, Picture Framemakers, and other Connoisseurs) the Works of a Painter are to be esteem'd more or less valuable, as they are more or less scarce; and as the living Painter is most of all affected by the Inferences resulting from this and other Considerations equally candid and edifying, Mr. Hogarth, by way of Precaution, not Puff, begs Leave to urge, That probably this will be the last Suit or Series of Pictures he may ever exhibit, because of the Difficulty of vending such a Number at once to any tolerable Advantage; and that the whole Number he has already exhibited of the Historical or Humorous Kind does not exceed Fifty; of which the three Sets called, *The Harlot's Progress*; *The Rake's Progress*, and that now to be sold, make Twenty: So that, whoever has a Taste of his own to rely on, not too squeamish for the Production of a Modern, and of Courage enough to avow it, by daring to give them a Place in his Collection ('till Time, the suppos'd Finisher, but real Destroyer, of Paintings, hath render'd them fit for those more sacred Repositories, where Schools, Names, Hands, Masters, &c. attain their last Stage of Preferment) may from hence be convinced, that the Multiplicity at least of his (Mr. Hogarth's) Pieces, will be no Diminution of their Value.

As the Cabinet hath a Glass Door, the Sums bid will be seen on the Face of the Drawers, but the Names of the Bidders may be conceal'd 'till the Time of Bidding shall be expired.

Fig.59. London Evening Post 28 May 1751

The notice advising subscribers that two of the prints *Moses Brought to Pharaoh's Daughter* and *Paul before Felix* were available for collection appeared in both the Daily Advertiser on 29 February and the Covent Garden Journal on 14 March 1752 (fig.60) which is interesting given that neither had carried the initial advertisement. The choice of the tri-weekly Covent Garden Journal is almost certainly due to the fact that it had only been launched weeks before in January 1752 by Henry Fielding and was either a gesture of support on Hogarth's part or due to preferential advertising rates.

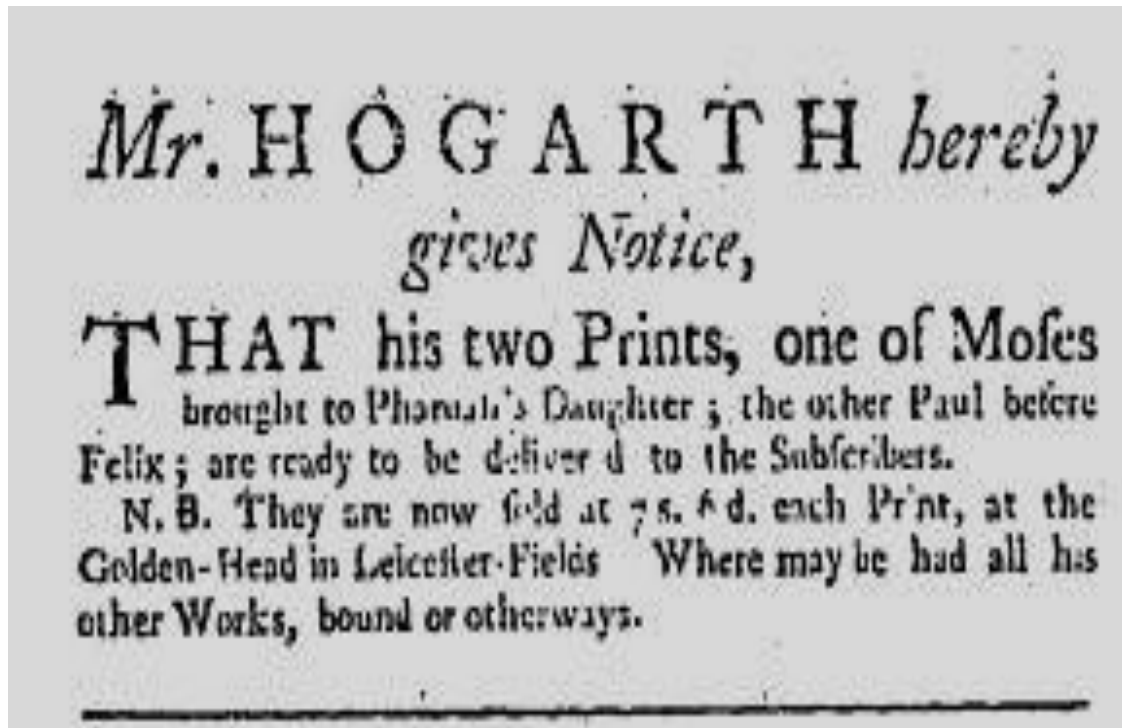


Fig.60. The Covent Garden Journal 17 March 1752

The *Analysis of Beauty*, Hogarth's personal interpretation of art theory with explanatory prints was the subject of widespread advertising, the most since *Marriage-a-la-Mode*. This was probably the case because it bore Hogarth's personal imprint as it sought to describe his own theories of visual beauty and grace in a manner accessible to the common man of the day.⁷⁰ The initial launch of the subscription for which the engraved ticket *Columbus Breaking the Egg* was issued, appeared in close sequence in three of the most popular newspapers circulating in London at the time, the London Evening Post on four occasions, 8 August, 16, 18 and 21 November 1752, the General Advertiser on five occasions, 16, 17, 18, 21 and 22

⁷⁰ Shesgreen, *Engravings by Hogarth*, p. xxviii.

November 1752 and the London Daily Advertiser twice on 24 and 25 November 1752. This represents a well-planned campaign to achieve maximum coverage of the main contemporary newspapers.

The notice of delivery to subscribers appeared in the Public Advertiser, the successor to the General Advertiser, on 7, 10 and 12 November 1753. The same newspaper announced on 3 and 10 January 1754 that the book was available for general sale along with the London Evening Post on 8, 15, 22 and 29 January 1754 together with, for the first time, the Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer on 9 February and 30 March 1754. The promotion of the *Analysis of Beauty* from subscription through to the announcement that it was to go on general sale using three main newspapers represents a significant effort by Hogarth and an astute use of the metropolitan press in order to cover, as far as possible, the main elements of his audience.

The publication of *Humours of an Election* in 1754 consisting of four separate paintings depicting what Hogarth considered to be the unethical and unsavoury conduct of a riotous Oxfordshire election in 1754 formed the basis of what turned out to be the last serious attempt at a systematic advertising campaign across the most prominent newspapers of the day, remembering that these changed from time to time. The advertisements appeared over a protracted period from the subscription announcement through to completion with intervening announcements giving the reasons for delay.

The featured newspapers were the increasingly influential Whitehall Evening Post- London Intelligencer, the ever popular London Evening Post and the now renamed Public Advertiser which continued to carry advertisements for London theatres. This was the first occasion that Hogarth had used the Whitehall Evening Post newspaper despite its existence since 1734 and this may be due to the fact that it had recently developed a lay-out whereby advertisements were carried only on its back page, the other three pages being given over to news and comments which lent it a more 'serious and weighty' feel.⁷¹

The advertisement inviting subscriptions for the first print in the series, *An Election Entertainment* featured in each of the above three newspapers from 30 March to 10 May 1754 on a total of nine occasions. The announcement that the print was ready for collection and that subscriptions continued to be taken for the remaining three plates, appeared in the

⁷¹ Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers', p. 122.

same three newspapers from 25 February to 15 April 1755 on a total of eleven occasions. The announcement that the four prints comprising the series were now ready for subscribers was published in each of the three original newspapers, once in both the Whitehall Evening Post and the London Evening Post on 21 March and 20 April 1758 respectively and eight times in the Public Advertiser on a more concentrated basis from 14 to 27 March 1758. A single advertisement also appeared on 9 March 1758 in the previously unused tri-weekly London Chronicle which had only been published since 1 January 1757. It can only be assumed that Hogarth may have recognised the increasing popularity of the recently established newspaper and decided to include it to exploit its novelty value.

The controversial print *The Bench*, engraved from the oil on canvas painting depicting three judges in various states of attention on the court bench, became known for its critique of the judiciary and was advertised on four occasions in the tri-weekly Whitehall Evening Post over the relatively short period of 2, 9, 12 and 14 September 1758. The emphasis on characterisation in the print led to a repeat of the explanation of the distinction between ‘Characters and Caricaturas’ as set out in the subscription ticket for *Marriage-a-la-Mode* in 1743. The same advertisement appeared once in each of the London Chronicle and the London Evening Post on 5 and 19 September respectively. In contrast to the advertising initiatives that accompanied several of Hogarth’s better known prints, *The Bench* fell into that category of Hogarth’s other less heavily advertised prints which usually appeared in more than one of the currently popular newspapers but were restricted to relatively short, concentrated periods often covering no more than two weeks on average.

The advertisements for ‘*Two Prints depicting preparations being made on the French coast to invade and on the English coast to oppose*’ appeared on seven occasions in the London Chronicle over a concentrated period covering 20 September to 23 October 1759. This was only the second time that Hogarth had used this newspaper and one can only assume that its popularity at this time must have been such that he considered it to be the best platform for these prints which had a distinctively anti-French and patriotic appeal. The London Chronicle continued as Hogarth’s preferred platform at this time for two advertisements on 1 and 13 December 1759 of his print *The Cockpit* along with the re-published *Moses Brought before Pharaoh’s Daughter* and *Paul before Felix Burlesqued* which had been issued originally as the subscription ticket for its namesake *Paul before Felix* in February 1752, but which had proved sufficiently popular in its own right to suggest the possibility of further income.

The use of Lloyd's Evening Post and the British Chronicle for the single advertisement on 13 February 1761 giving notice of the exhibition of Hogarth's painting *Sigismunda Mourning over the heart of Guiscardo* is significant in that it was the first and only time that he used the tri-weekly newspaper which had only been established since 1757 and differed from its rivals in that it appeared on Monday, Wednesday and Friday to fill the gap between the usual publication days of the other tri-weekly newspapers.

The print the *Five Orders of Perriwigs* turned out to be the last time that Hogarth advertised with any real intent and even then with much less intensity than earlier efforts which characterise the formative years of his career. The Public Advertiser which Hogarth had used frequently carried four successive advertisements for the print on 6, 7, 10 and 11 November 1761.

The Evening Post carried Hogarth's remaining advertisements before his death in October 1764. It was used for two notices of *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* on 29 April and 1 May 1762, twice for the publication of *The Times*, his commentary on the contemporary political situation on 7 and 9 September 1762 along with the Public Advertiser on 8 August 1762. and on three occasions, 26 May and 1 and 4 August 1763 for the two prints of *John Wilkes* and *The Bruiser* satirising Charles Churchill, ally of John Wilkes in the bitter personal attacks that came to mark Hogarth's final years.

Conclusion

The use of advertisements in newspapers had become an accepted method of retail publicity by the time William Hogarth made his bid for independence as an artist engraver with the *Harlot's Progress* in 1732. By this means Hogarth was able to put himself in touch with the wider public as prints became the principal medium for conveying visual information to those who wished to acquire an understanding of art but were unable to acquire original paintings.⁷² Along with the auction sale, newspaper advertisements responded to the considerable demand that existed for prints. All the major newspapers carried advertisements as a source of revenue and interest to their readers who regarded them not just as notices giving

⁷² Clayton, *The English Print*, p. xii.

information, but as rich sources of entertainment and a reflection of an increasingly consumer-orientated society.⁷³

Where to advertise, and how often, depended on which newspapers currently had the largest circulation or on the political and social complexion of their audience. In order to attract the attention of the increasingly sophisticated reader so that they might return to re-read the advertisement, they had to be constructed in such a way as to make them sufficiently interesting and informative and stand out from the other products on offer. The widespread competition for the reader's attention emphasises just how quickly advertising in newspapers became a feature of 'the crowded and competitive urban marketplace that existed for visual images, not just prints, but books, maps and other pictorial and literary publications'.⁷⁴

The wording of the advertisement and the amount of information to be included as well as the frequency of publication required an assessment of whether such investment was worthwhile. The making of such judgements had traditionally been the preserve of the wholesale print seller who had controlled the process by a mixture of copyright and availability of commercial premises which provided the buyer with a point of reference. This had begun to change as writers such as Pope with his translation and emulation of Homer and artists like Hogarth began to challenge convention and take control of their own destiny by advertising directly to the public in an increasing atmosphere of trade.⁷⁵

Print publication and the increased use of newspaper advertisements became a feature of an increasingly literate and commercial society. For example, the increased use of the subscription process and repeat newspaper advertisements demonstrate the commercial and marketing techniques that William Hogarth used to address the market. The detailed description of the prints on offer and their prices together with invitations for the consumer to inspect the goods in the artist's own shop or showroom had the effect of turning the whole promotion and inspection process into something resembling pictorial theatre with its own rhetoric of spectatorship and interpretation.⁷⁶

The inherently commercial nature of the print in the early eighteenth century and the marketing of culture as a commodity as Tim Clayton has demonstrated, allowed Hogarth to

⁷³ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 273.

⁷⁴ Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference*, p. 21.

⁷⁵ Antal, *Hogarth and his place in European Art*, p. 78.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 24.

make social connections with the consumer through newspaper advertisement in a way not previously available or considered appropriate for an artist.⁷⁷ Far from being considered a disreputable way of promoting goods or services, as had been the case previously with quack medicines and crooked doctors, the use of newspaper advertisements for prints as objects of consumption and indicators of taste and knowledge of fashion took on a more respectable identity and helped influence consumer behaviour as part of the social, economic and literary development of the capital.⁷⁸

By modern sophisticated standards of audience identification and target advertising, the way in which William Hogarth as a young and inexperienced artist operated in the early eighteenth century seems basic and lacking in an overarching strategy. This is not surprising especially as expertise in the promotion of prints had traditionally been the sole province of the print seller who had the infrastructure and the necessary capital to promote in a systematic way any print considered to have the potential of respectable sales. It is from this standpoint that any assessment of Hogarth's advertising strategy has to be considered taking into account contemporary attitudes towards artists and their prints alongside the range of other luxury items that were competing for the attention of an increasingly commercially-minded public.

Nevertheless, it is possible to detect a pattern of promotion based on early popularity, and the exploitation of potential through to the high points of the moral cycles in the mid- 1740s and early 1750s and the dwindling use of advertising as Hogarth became more selective and less dependent on it as a sales technique. What can be deduced from the information shown in the appendices is that newspaper advertising by Hogarth was at its height during 1732- 1751, a period that marks the first independent promotion of a print, the *Harlot's Progress*, through to *Marriage-a-la-Mode*, the 'high water mark' of his use of newspaper advertising. His final years saw him use the medium not so much as a platform for the promotion of his prints from a purely commercial point of view but as a mouthpiece for his political opinions in popular images such as *Wilkes* and *Churchill as the Bruiser*.

As the trajectory of his career began to provide him with social status and financial security, it is clear that Hogarth became more inclined to use advertising in newspapers to target

⁷⁷ Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, p. xii.

⁷⁸ Walker, 'Advertising in London Newspapers 1650-1750'. pp. 112-130.

specific audiences. The statistics support this contention given that there were eighty two separate advertisements over a two year period using the three most popular newspapers of the day with a clear emphasis on the London Daily Post and Advertiser which alone carried seventy advertisements. This indicates a clear and deliberate campaign of targeted publicity.

The overall strategy suggests a deliberately selective and targeted approach matching the print theme closely to the political and social complexion of the newspaper and its overall popularity. This is evident in the use of the anti-government and therefore politically sympathetic London Evening News when advertising the individual full length portrait prints of known Whig sympathiser, *Benjamin Hoadley*, the politically controversial *Simon Lord Lovat* and the theatrically popular *Garrick as Richard III*. The more major productions such as *Industry and Idleness*, the *Analysis of Beauty*, and the *Election Series* were advertised comprehensively but on a less lavish scale than *Marriage-a-la-Mode* earlier.

Individual prints continued to be advertised in the contemporary press but the evidence suggests that by the mid-1750s Hogarth had grown out of his earlier enthusiasm for extensive advertising following the disappointing returns of his heavily advertised *Marriage-a-la-Mode* and relied more on selective insertions in individually targeted newspapers. For example, his advertising of the *March to Finchley* in the popular London Evening Post demonstrates how the print had a dynamic relationship with the news of the day, one that Hogarth was keen to capitalise on. Prints were often bought as celebratory souvenirs in order to participate in contemporary events which Hogarth was keen to exploit among the political public, the lesser gentry, professionals and the prosperous merchants who were within the political nation but outside the circle of central power.⁷⁹

There is no doubt that William Hogarth became increasingly astute in his use of newspaper advertising during the early eighteenth century. He was by no means the only artist to engage in this form of public communication but was perhaps the most successful in that his *Harlot's Progress* represents a new episode in the marketing of an artist's own works. These advertisements effectively launched his career and led to him using the medium to communicate directly with the public to varying degrees as this chapter has demonstrated.

⁷⁹ Monod, 'Painters and Party Politics in England 1714-1760', p. 390.

General Post-Office, London,
Oct. 24, 1743.

WHEREAS the Troops of Great-Britain are marching or marched, into their Winter Quarters, in the Austrian Netherlands; and it is to inform the Publick, that all Letters directed to Officers, Soldiers, and others, belonging to, or attending on the said Army, will be sent from this Office free of the Foreign Postage; and that only the Inland Postage will be demanded for such Letters, so addressed or directed to the Army aforesaid, as come from out of the several Parts of the Country, without which, Inland Postage, the said Letters will not be forwarded.

By Command of the Post-Master-General,
GEORGE SHELVOCKE, Sec.

MR. HOGARTH intends to publish by Subscription, SIX PRINTS from Copper-Plates, engrav'd by him self, in Paris, after his own Paintings (the Heads for the better Perfection of the Characters and Expressions to be done by the Author;) representing a Variety of Modern Occurrences in High-Life, and called **MARRIAGE A-LA-MODE**.

Particular Care is taken, that the Work shall not be liable to Exception on Account of any Indecency or Impertinence, and that none of the Characters represented shall be personal.

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Whole Chances sold, and Chances divided into Shares, viz. HALVES, QUARTERS, EIGHTHS, and SIXTEENTHS.

Although the Purchase-Money of Chances, and Shares of Chances, is much less than of Tickets and Shares of Tickets, yet the Adventurer will have as good a Chance as a Prize by the one as the other.

The first Ticket that shall be drawn of ten, or the first five of ten, may be bought at a much cheaper Rate than in the common Way.

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Tickets Register'd, and in Time of Drawing daily Insured from Blanks.

Money for Blanks and Prizes as soon as drawn.

Just Arriv'd from ABROAD.
To be SEEN,
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From Ten in the Morning to Ten at Night,
THE FAMOUS AFRICAN mention'd by *William Chynoides*, Esq. in p. 124 of his *Anatomy*, where he gives an Engraving Figure, and a Description of the Parts; and by *Dr. Pagan* in his Treatise of *Hemiparesis*, though erroneously defin'd by this latter Author.

Those who saw this Curiosity in London in 1740, are all unanimous that it was then but a Wonder in Miniature in Respect of what it now is, Nature having so far improv'd it since that Time, that several Paintings and Figures, which were then taken of it, carry any Remembrance of it in its present State, which has render'd new ones absolutely necessary; not only the Parts by which the Sexes are externally distinguish'd, but also the whole Body from Head to Foot, is a most wonderful Mixture of Male and Female.

For a particular Description of the Parts, which distinguish the Sexes, we refer to the Short Account, in Latin, following.

"Scroti quippe vice funguntur Vagina Labia, Testiculos, binae
"largae & mobiles involuta. Clitoridis loco Penis Virilis ad
"quatuor minimum prominet digitos, ubi (quod sapienter fit) e-
"rigitur imperfectior quidem, sed ex Corporibus cavernosis.
"Glande Urethra, Praeputium & Franello vere confutunt. Ad-
"fert praeterea, plane ac in Malleolis, Meatus urinarius &
"Vagina fatus ampla, huc usque tamen nulla hinc ANDRO-
"GYNE effluuntur semen."

N.B. A new engrav'd Representation of the Parts in their present State, may be had at 6d. each. The Ladies attended by a prudent Gentlewoman. Attendance Abroad if desir'd. The Price for our shop Stay here only 2 s. each.

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THIS TAYLOR is a MAN. Being a curious History of a Taylor in the City of London, who from a mean Extradition, and the Trade of a Taylor, rais'd himself to great Employments, Riches and Honours, with a short Introduction, showing the Reason why it is here said, that *This Taylor is a Man*.

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On Monday the 14th Day of November next, at Edmonton in the County of Middlesex, about six Miles from London;
A Freehold Estate there, late belonging to
Mr. WILLIAM HARTLEY, decas'd. Consisting of a large House in good Repair, Coach Houses, Stabling for Seven Horses, a Barn, Brewhouse, Dovehouse, and several other Out-houses and Conveniences, with about nine Acres of Land, Part of which is a Garden, well planted and in good Order, with Fish-ponds well stored, and the New River Water laid into the House. The premises to be seen any time before the Sale.

And on the same and following Days will also be there sold by Auction, The Household Goods, Plate, China, Linens, a good Coach and Berlin, late belonging to the said Mr. William Hartley, decas'd. To be view'd three Days before the Sale.

For further Particulars, enquire at the said House; or of Mr. Hartley, in Hatton-Garden, Holborn.

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Tania, mulier erat. Virg.
Carnariae. Hor.
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A NEW TREATISE OF THE DISEASES OF THE EYES. Containing proper Remedies, and describing the Chirurgical Operations requisite for their Cure. With some new Discoveries in the Structure of the Eye, that demonstrate the immediate Organ of Vision. By *M. DE ST. YVES*, Surgeon Oculist of the Company of Paris. Together with the Author's Answer to *M. MABICARD*, Translated from the Original French.

By **J. S. COCKTON, M.D.**
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5. What Persons may be Executors of a Testament, and in what Capacity.
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HUNDREDS of Ladies who were deem'd incurably Barren, and very many who thought themselves too old to bear Children, have immediately conceived after taking three or four Doles of them only; and vast Numbers of Gentlemen, by taking them, have profreely become capable of propagating their Species, who before, thro' Impotency or Age, imagin'd it impossible.

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Fig.62. London Daily Post and General Advertiser 29 October 1743

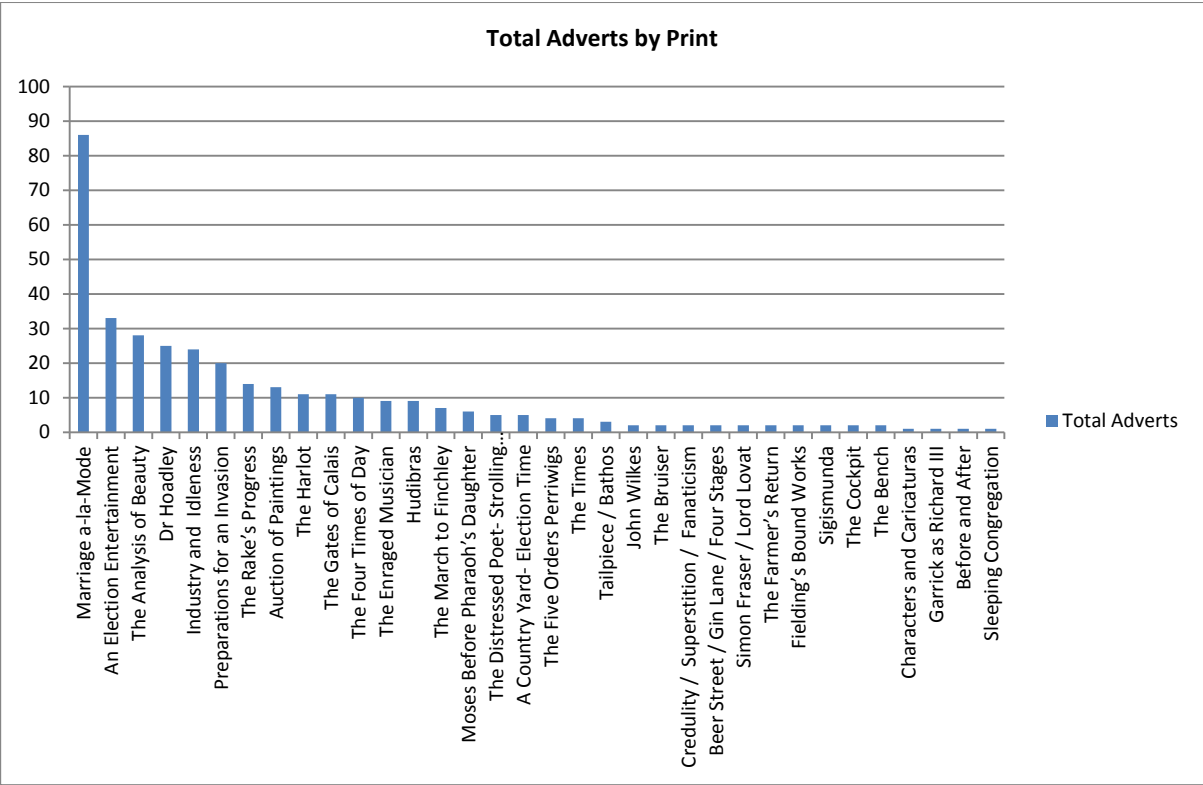


Chart 1: Total Advertisement by Print

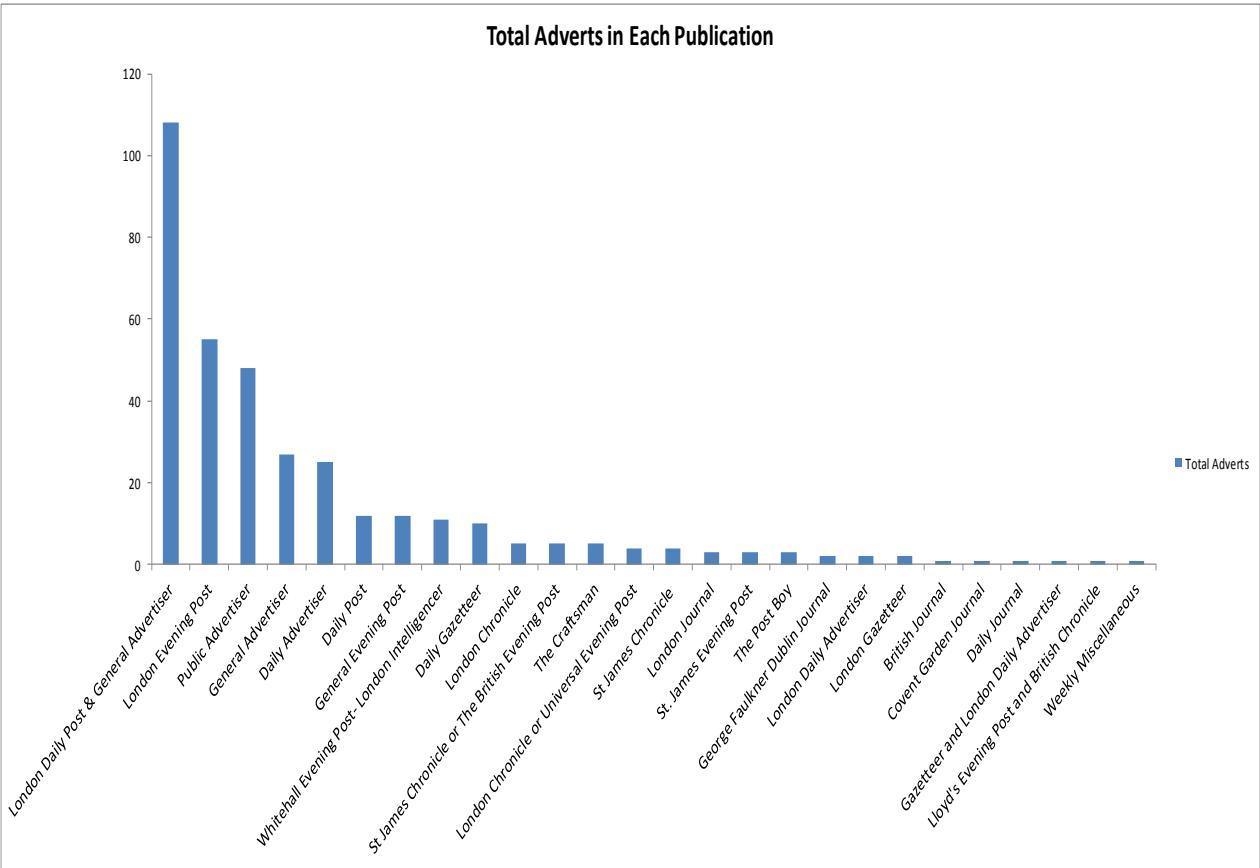


Chart 2: Total Advertisements in Each Publication

Table 5. Prints by Newspaper

| Pos- ition | Newspaper | Total Adverts | No of Different Prints Advertised | 1st Advert | Last Advert |
|---------------|--|------------------|--|-------------|----------------|
| 1 | London Daily Post & General Advertiser | 108 | 4 | 30/06/1735 | 30/04/1744 |
| 2 | London Evening Post | 55 | 15 | 21/11/1732 | 15/04/1755 |
| 3 | Public Advertiser | 48 | 8 | 07/11/1753 | 21/09/1762 |
| 4 | General Advertiser | 27 | 8 | 07/02/1746 | 22/11/1752 |
| 5 | Daily Advertiser | 25 | 6 | 07/04/1743 | 09/05/1745 |
| 6 | Daily Post | 12 | 5 | 25/02/1726 | 29/04/1738 |
| 7 | General Evening Post | 12 | 1 | 22/10/1747 | 22/10/1747 |
| 8 | Whitehall Evening Post- London Intelligencer | 11 | 3 | 09/02/1754 | 09/09/1758 |
| 9 | Daily Gazetteer | 10 | 4 | 30/10/1736 | 20/05/1735 |
| 10 | London Chronicle | 5 | 4 | 09/03/1758 | 01/12/1759 |
| 11 | St James Chronicle or The British Evening Post | 5 | 3 | 29/04/1762 | 06/08/1763 |
| 12 | The Craftsman | 5 | 4 | 24/05/1735 | 27/05/1738 |
| 13 | London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post | 4 | 1 | 20/09/1759 | 23/11/1759 |
| 14 | St James Chronicle | 4 | 2 | 07/09/1762 | 17/04/1764 |
| 15 | London Journal | 3 | 2 | 24/02/1733 | 29/12/1733 |
| 16 | St. James Evening Post | 3 | 1 | 30/06/1747 | 14/07/1747 |
| 17 | The Post Boy | 3 | 1 | 03/02/1726 | 26/02/1726 |
| 18 | Faulkner's Dublin Journal | 2 | 2 | 15/11/1746 | 27/06/1747 |
| 19 | London Daily Advertiser | 2 | 1 | 24/11/1752 | 25/11/1752 |
| 20 | London Gazetteer | 2 | 2 | 26/03/ 1751 | 29/02/1752 |
| 21 | British Journal | 1 | 1 | 15/05/1726 | 15/05/1726 |
| 22 | Covent Garden Journal | 1 | 1 | 14/03/1752 | 14/03/1752 |
| 23 | Daily Journal | 1 | 1 | 4/12/1732 | 04/12/1732 |
| 24 | Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser | 1 | 1 | 18/05/1763 | 18/05/1763 |
| 25 | Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle | 1 | 1 | 13/02/1761 | 13/02/1761 |
| 26 | Weekly Miscellaneous | 1 | 1 | 20/04/1762 | 20/04/1762 |
| | Total | 352 | | | |

Table 6. Prints by Frequency of Advertisement and Period

| Pos- ition | Print | Adverts | Period |
|---------------|--|------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | Marriage a-la-Mode | 86 | April - August 1743 |
| 2 | An Election Entertainment | 33 | March 1754 – April 1758 |
| 3 | The Analysis of Beauty | 28 | August 1752 – January 1754 |
| 4 | Dr Hoadley | 25 | July – November 1743 |
| 5 | Industry and Idleness | 24 | October 1747 – January 1748 |
| 6 | Preparations for an Invasion | 20 | March 1756 – Sept 1759 |
| 7 | The Rake's Progress | 14 | December 1733 – December 1744 |
| 8 | Auction of Paintings | 13 | February 1745 |
| 9 | The Harlot | 11 | December 1732 – November 1744 |
| 9 | The Gates of Calais | 11 | March 1749 |
| 10 | Four Times of the Day | 10 | April - May 1738 |
| 11 | Hudibras | 9 | October 1725- August 1744 |
| 11 | The Enraged Musician | 9 | November - December 1741 |
| 12 | The March to Finchley | 7 | April 1750 |
| 13 | Moses before Pharaoh's Daughter | 6 | March - June 1751 |
| 14 | The Distressed Poet- Strolling Actresses | 5 | March - April 1737 |
| 14 | A Country Yard- Election Time | 5 | June - July 1747 |
| 15 | The Five Orders Perriwigs | 4 | November 1761 |
| 15 | The Times | 4 | September 1762 |
| 16 | Tailpiece / Bathos | 3 | April 1764 |
| 17 | John Wilkes | 2 | May 1763 |
| 17 | The Bruiser | 2 | August 1763 |
| 17 | Credulity / Superstition / Fanaticism | 2 | April - May 1762 |
| 17 | Beer Street / Gin Lane / Four Stages | 2 | March 1751 |
| 17 | Simon Fraser / Lord Lovat | 2 | September – November 1746 |
| 17 | The Farmer's Return | 2 | April 1762 |
| 17 | Fielding's Bound Works | 2 | April 1762 |
| 17 | Sigismunda | 2 | February 1761 |
| 17 | The Cockpit | 2 | December 1759 |
| 17 | The Bench | 2 | September 1758 |
| 18 | Characters and Caricaturas | 1 | September 1758 |
| 18 | Garrick as Richard III | 1 | November 1746 |
| 18 | Before and After | 1 | December 1736 |
| 18 | Sleeping Congregation | 1 | October 1736 |
| 18 | Henry VIII / Anne Boleyn | 1 | January 1728 |
| | Total | 352 | |

Chapter Five

Auction Sales Catalogues: Circulation and Exchange

Introduction

This chapter continues to explore the commercial development of art in the eighteenth century by tracing the evolution of the auction sale as an unregulated and independent means of buying and selling pictures beyond the control of the author. It also demonstrates the social significance of the auction catalogue as it evolved to signal the emergence of a new category of bourgeois collector for whom purchase provided the principal means of forming and expanding collections.⁸⁰ The emerging acknowledgement of prints and drawings as independent and collectable categories of art in their own right is also recognised by their inclusion in sale catalogues. By such means a connoisseurial community composed both of owners and viewers, past and present was created allowing for a critical evaluation of prints to be made in line with contemporary standards of taste, fashion and aesthetic judgement.⁸¹

A review of auction sale catalogues helps endorse the standing of William Hogarth amongst the contemporary audience engaged in the acquisition of popular and fashionable art by providing empirical evidence to demonstrate the traffic in his prints once they had left his

⁸⁰ A. MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment-Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 2007), p. 63.

⁸¹ G. Warwick, *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe C1500-1750*, (Aldershot, 2002), p. 1.

hands. This also helps identify the social status of the collector and the extent of their holding, whether token or serious. The status of the print as an exchangeable commodity reinforces the concept of art as a cultural and commercial phenomenon of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and provides further understanding of the commercial and marketing techniques adopted by William Hogarth at a time when art was moving out of the Court and its reliance on patronage and into the public market-place.

Methodology

The entrance gate for much of this empirical research has been the *Repertoire des Catalogues de Ventes Publiques* by Fritz Lugt which is one of the most widely consulted art historical reference works with lists of the major holdings of European art historical reference works.⁸² This is the acknowledged reference tool which documents all known European holdings of prints, drawings and auction sales catalogues and has helped identify those London- based auctions held within the period 1725-64 containing prints by Hogarth. There are other European catalogues which are likely to include Hogarth's prints and other regional sales catalogues within Britain. This research effort has however focussed on the key holdings of auction catalogues circulating in London amongst metropolitan society as indications of Hogarth's 'collectability' amongst the artistic community.⁸³ It has been augmented by, and has drawn upon the observations of Horace Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England* and John Nichols, printer and publisher's *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth and a Catalogue of his Works* as contemporary accounts of Hogarth's popularity with details of his supporters.

This research has only considered known existing collections, especially those circulating in London during the period but for obvious reasons has not been able to study the contents of those catalogues which remain in family possession. The findings nevertheless shed some light on both the commercial and artistic value placed on Hogarth's prints during the period and allow for an assessment to be made as to his popularity amongst collectors and his prints as indicators of taste and fashion.⁸⁴ The limited nature of the research to known collections

⁸² F. Lugt, *Repertoire des Catalogues de Ventes Publiques* (Publications du Rijksbureau Voor Kunsthistorische en Ikonografische Documentatie-Centre National Neerlandais de Documentation Pour L'Histoire De L'Art et L'Iconographie 1938).

⁸³ Details of these catalogues are given on page 29.

⁸⁴ I. Pears, *The Discovery of Painting. The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768* (New Haven, 1998), p. 61.

has, by default, also revealed those collectors who *did not* include Hogarth's works in their portfolio and for assumptions to be made as to his popularity amongst the contemporary collecting community. The restricted scope of the research to key establishments such as the British Museum, the British Library, the Barber Institute and the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University has to be acknowledged. The research nevertheless represents a step forward in an area previously ignored and provides the basis for further similar research initiatives.

The social status and biographical details of the collectors of Hogarth prints identified in the main body of the chapter have been verified by the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography as well as research into probate records at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury held at The National Archives (TNA). Other lines of enquiry have included evidence from the private diaries of members of the upper classes. There remain however, some collectors for whom no biographical details have been found although judging by the clerical or aristocratic titles of several it is clear that the conclusions made concerning the middle to upper class nature of the audience remain valid.

The originality of this research has therefore revealed the extent to which trading patterns responded to market demand through the development of the auction sale catalogue as one way of bringing together the print owner and customer in a transaction of mutual interest. It has also produced empirical evidence to support previous assumptions concerning the social status of Hogarth's audience as being an eclectic mix of aristocrats, gentry, members of the upper classes, senior government officials as well as elements of the professional and commercial classes, wealthy merchants and successful tradesmen.

The Auction Sale

Previously restricted to the aristocracy, but now accessible to a wider audience, the art market at the beginning of the eighteenth-century had diversified to include not only prints usually imported from abroad, but increasingly those of native artists such as William Hogarth whose prints according to Horace Walpole, 'reflected the manners and follies of an age *living as they rise...*'.⁸⁵ The development of auctions and auctioneering in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been traced by Iain Pears as part of *The Discovery of Painting 1680-1768* and has illuminated research into the role of the auction sale as a way of assessing

⁸⁵ H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (Twickenham, 1762), Chap. IV. Painters in the Reign of King George II. p. 69.

William Hogarth's standing as an artist amongst the art buying public.⁸⁶ Evidence of contemporary attitudes towards William Hogarth can therefore be drawn both from the sale of his prints through the mechanism of the auction sale and the assessments of commentators such as Horace Walpole and John Nichols whose posthumous autobiographical anecdotes provide an up to date perspective of Hogarth's popularity.

The period 1680-1760 saw the virtual invention of the English art market as previously there was no permanently established commercial system which dealt with the distribution or redistribution of works of art. What transactions did exist were dominated by private deals or foreign agents. Buyers and sellers generally did their business personally and it was rare for a middle man to be involved except to give an estimate of the value of the goods being exchanged. Picture auctions which began to take place in London in 1682 developed to satisfy an increasing demand for paintings and prints and reflected a general increase of interest in the arts and made collecting an accepted and widespread activity commensurate with the increasing affluence of Londoners and an established part of the social round allowing for expressions of cultural imitation.⁸⁷ The acquisition of prints through the auction was not therefore to be understood as accumulation, treasure or hoarding, but a deliberate expression of intent and social emulation.⁸⁸

The auction as a type of sale originated in Holland and Flanders at the beginning of the seventeenth century and reached England as a form of selling goods in 1676 when it was used to sell the library of Lazarus Seeman. It quickly replaced 'outroping', defined as 'selling by voice for who gives most' and picture auctions became increasingly popular as part of upper - class fashion with paintings initially, and later prints, being offered for sale as luxury goods.⁸⁹ Auctions were held predominantly during the period of the London social season, from September to March when the gentry and aristocracy left their country seats and migrated to the metropolis. As interest in the arts increased, purchasing paintings and prints became an upper-class fashion with auctions being populated by the aristocracy, as well as members of the gentry. It was only a matter of time before this form of commercial exchange, for which the auction was ideally suited, provided an opportunity for more prosperous middling ranks to rub shoulders with the upper echelons of society, even if only on the pretext of seeing

⁸⁶ Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, pp. 57-68.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 106.

⁸⁸ S. Pearce, *On Collecting: An investigation into collecting in the European tradition* (London, 1999), p. 34.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 57.

works of art. All were implicitly there on the same terms as potential buyers with social boundaries being erased in a commercial enterprise which relied upon financial wherewithal rather than social status. Just as viewing collections was a sociable affair, so was their acquisition.⁹⁰

As part of her review of eighteenth-century auctions Cynthia Wall concluded that the auction supplied the additional promise of objects becoming available to a wider consumer public and the site for the disassembling of one instance of the existing world and the promise of reconstruction of a new one.⁹¹ This phenomenon was especially evident in the City of London where social relationships were increasingly based on what Weber called rational, rather than traditional patterns of action where contract was replacing custom as the dominant mode of behaviour between individuals in an increasingly commercialised society.⁹²

As Iain Pears explains, the auction became popular not only because of the great demand for pictures, but because they also established themselves as part of the social round through which aristocrats, upper gentry, senior government officials, wealthy traders and the commercial and professional classes crossed social boundaries and congregated in the same room. As a form of cultural imitation, the middling ranks saw the upper echelons of society buying art and decided to do likewise. The commercial consequences of the print being seen as a distinctive commodity to be acquired in its own right alongside other fashionable items such as paintings, coins and medals was due in part to developments in print technology. The introduction of mezzotint enhanced the appeal of the print as a work of art to a knowledgeable and affluent audience of print buyers in the capital who viewed the auction sale as an accepted method of commercial transaction.⁹³ The status of the auction sale was therefore symptomatic of the increasing market for mass produced prints and catalogues allowed an 'at-a-glance' assessment to be made of an artist's popularity or otherwise.

A section of the buying public had always been interested in the quality of paintings but it was only with the wider distribution of wealth that this group became big enough to make regular auctions of more expensive works feasible. The City had been slow to react to the demand for art as prosperity increased until it became evident that large numbers were well

⁹⁰ Pearce, *On Collecting: An investigation into collecting in the European tradition*, p. 62.

⁹¹ C. Wall, 'The English Auction: Narratives of Dismantlings', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 31 (1997), p. 3.

⁹² E.A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650-1750', *Past and Present*, No. 37 (July, 1967), p. 51.

⁹³ M. Hallett, *The spectacle of difference; graphic satire in the age of Hogarth* (New Haven, 1999), p. 20.

prepared financially and eager to buy. The vast increase in all types of commercial exchange resulted in the auction being able to uniquely satisfy the social and commercial demands of a new and distinctive audience.⁹⁴

Sheila O'Connell has emphasised that 'printmaking was essentially an urban and commercial phenomenon which developed to serve the needs of a population which congregated in towns.'⁹⁵ The increase in the output of English designed prints in the early eighteenth century when native artists such as Hogarth saw the commercial and artistic opportunities of an increasingly patriotic and supportive audience has been noted by Tim Clayton in *The English Print 1688-1802*.⁹⁶ It was in this environment that auctioneers came to realise that prints provided a remunerative staple more plentiful than paintings as the art market developed and a variety of activities moved out of the drawing rooms of the wealthy and into the commercial arena open, or semi open to the paying public, often at prices a large part of the prosperous middling sorts could afford.⁹⁷

This led to the organisation of the auction catalogue into distinctive sections covering paintings and prints separately as well as other artefacts such as coins, medals and books. Consequently, catalogues developed a dynamic of their own that contributed not only to the formal recording of collections, but also to the publication of holdings to a wider audience and provided the opportunity for an eager public to acquire art previously restricted to a privileged audience, if at all.⁹⁸ This chapter examines the evidence from known existing sources that catalogues provide to determine the extent of Hogarth's popularity as part of the commercialisation of leisure alongside foreign prints and other collectable items.

The market at this time was becoming increasingly diverse containing, not just aristocrats and the 'cognoscenti', but the newly emerging professional and commercial classes who sought to demonstrate their new found economic prowess and an ability to both discern and acquire prints as a means of displaying aesthetic taste and social status. Hogarth's prints were not aimed at the ordinary person in the street. They were aimed at a limited market and were a relatively expensive commodity. This research reveals the extent to which Hogarth's prints

⁹⁴ Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, p. 61.

⁹⁵ S. O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550-1850* (London, 1999) p. 11.

⁹⁶ T. Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, (New Haven, 1997), p. 67.

⁹⁷ J.J. Looney, 'Cultural Life in the provinces: Leeds and York, 1720-1820', in A.L. Beier, D. Cannadine and J.M. Rosenheim (eds.), *The First Modern Society* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 483.

⁹⁸ MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, p. 63.

came to be regarded as fashionable and commercially viable for exchange on the open market.⁹⁹ It also reveals from a selective examination of probate records and private diaries, a cross-section of successful merchants and others of the upper ranks who purchased Hogarth's prints as both fashionable and popular and as emblems of social awareness and status.

Research has revealed that Hogarth's prints were relatively expensive changing hands at prices which were rarely less than five shillings, equivalent to £65 in current terms. Using the multiplier suggested by Jerry White to translate old values into new and given that an annual income of £100-£125 was reckoned to be the benchmark for comfortable lower-middle-class life, Hogarth's prints were clearly beyond the means of any other than the reasonably affluent.¹⁰⁰ To this extent, Hogarth achieved his ambition of being accepted by the contemporary art fraternity and popular with the aristocratic and elite sections of society as well as the more prosperous merchants and successful tradesmen who sought to demonstrate their wealth by adorning the walls of their houses with prints and other notable luxury items as some surviving probate inventories demonstrate.¹⁰¹

There would have been a wider audience also in ale houses and taverns where prints purchased from the more popular print sellers such as Bowles and Overton are likely to have been on display. These are likely to have been coarse etchings or rough woodcuts. The originals in the proper state and capable of accurate interpretation would have been restricted to Hogarth's middle and upper class clients.¹⁰² This chapter provides evidence, drawn from auction sale catalogues of the more serious collectors to confirm such an understanding.

This research has also revealed the extent to which the foreign cartel of Italian, Dutch, French and Flemish works of art based on the conventional model of the Old Masters dominated the auction sale market and provides a measurement of Hogarth's popularity as a native artist.

⁹⁹ O'Connell, *Popular Prints in England*, pp.12-14.

¹⁰⁰ J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2012), p. xxi.

¹⁰¹ See the reference to Thomas Betts, glasscutter. Footnote 133 on page 209.

¹⁰² B. Fort, 'The Analysis of Difference', in B. Fort and A. Rosenthal (eds.), *The Other Hogarth* (Princeton, 2001), p. 5.

The Market beyond William Hogarth

It is generally accepted that William Hogarth's *Hudibras* in 1726 was the 'first of his works that marked him as a man above the common'¹⁰³. The *Best Edition Cuts* of the original print begin to feature in Samuel Baker's auction sales catalogues from 1732 at an average price of £0.3s, for example those bought by The Reverend William Masters of Clare Hall, Cambridge.¹⁰⁴ Clearly, the *Hudibras* prints gained Hogarth some prominence but it is universally agreed that it was the *Harlot's Progress* series of prints in 1732 that became the turning point in his career and brought him to the notice of the wider public such that he 'rose completely into fame'.¹⁰⁵

Records of Hogarth's prints in the sales catalogues of serious collectors began to appear in significant numbers as early as the mid-1730s and increased in number by the mid-1740s as auctions of posthumous collections began to feed through to the market. The catalogue of Sir John Meres, who had been heavily involved in the production of *The Daily Post*, *The London Evening Post* and the weekly *Universal Spectator* is a case in point.¹⁰⁶ The posthumous auction of his household goods in May 1736 included the *Harlot's Progress* which had only been published some three years previously and shows how quickly Hogarth caught the imagination of the leading figures in society. A similar example of Hogarth's popularity with the upper gentry was that of Brooke Bridges, son of the late Sir Mathew Bridges and a senior Customs official whose probated will shows lot 23 as 'Fifteen, of Horses, with the Harlot's Progress and Rake's Progress, after Mr. Hogarth'.¹⁰⁷

These expressions of interest in Hogarth were not confined to the home market. The Empress of Russia was even reported to have expressed 'uncommon pleasure in examining such genuine representations of English manners' and acquired a set of cups and saucers from China with the *Harlot's Progress* painted on them about the year 1739.¹⁰⁸ Domestic popularity amongst a cross section of contemporary society was however the main source of interest as evidenced in the sales catalogue of Thomas Pellet M.D. fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and friend of the serious collector Dr Richard Mead physician and

¹⁰³ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, p. 75.

¹⁰⁴ British Library - RB/1039/10MC.

¹⁰⁵ J. Burke (ed.), *The Analysis of Beauty with rejected passages from the manuscript drafts and autobiographical notes - William Hogarth 'Autobiographical Notes'* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 201-236.

¹⁰⁶ Barber Institute, Box 1730-60.

¹⁰⁷ TNA ref. PROB 11/682/386.

¹⁰⁸ J. Nichols. *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth* (London, 1785), p. 144.

antiquarian.¹⁰⁹ The auction on 7 January 1745 of his collection included first impressions of *Hudibras* at £1.9s and first impressions of both the *Harlot's Progress* and the *Rake's Progress* at the inclusive price of £3.10s which was more than the price of other comparable prints in his ownership.

The extent to which the *Harlot's Progress* led to interest in Hogarth's prints is therefore clearly evident in sales catalogues of the 1730s and later along with the equally successful *Rake's Progress* published in 1735. Examples of this interest are evident in the catalogue of Mr Ismael Parbury (fig.63), one of the leading gold chasers working in London whose extensive collection was sold posthumously in December 1746 by Mr Cock, a reputable print seller in both the wholesale and retail print market.¹¹⁰ The collection (fig.64) also contained an impressive number of prints by leading Italian artists such as Caracci, Maratti, Rubens and Callot as well as Hogarth's *Garrick in the character of Richard III* which was listed as Lot 30 and sold for £1.6s together with his the *Harlot's Progress* and the *Rake's Progress*, *The Four Times of Day*, *Strolling Actresses* and *A Modern Midnight Conversation*. By being included alongside established foreign artists in the catalogue of a wealthy merchant, representative of a more prosperous and diverse collecting community, Hogarth's prints were clearly seen as both fashionable and commercially attractive.

¹⁰⁹ British Library - RB/1039/10MC.

¹¹⁰ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.3. A. Griffiths, 'A Checklist of Catalogues of British Print Publishers 1650-1830', *Print Quarterly*, No.1 (1984), p. 1.

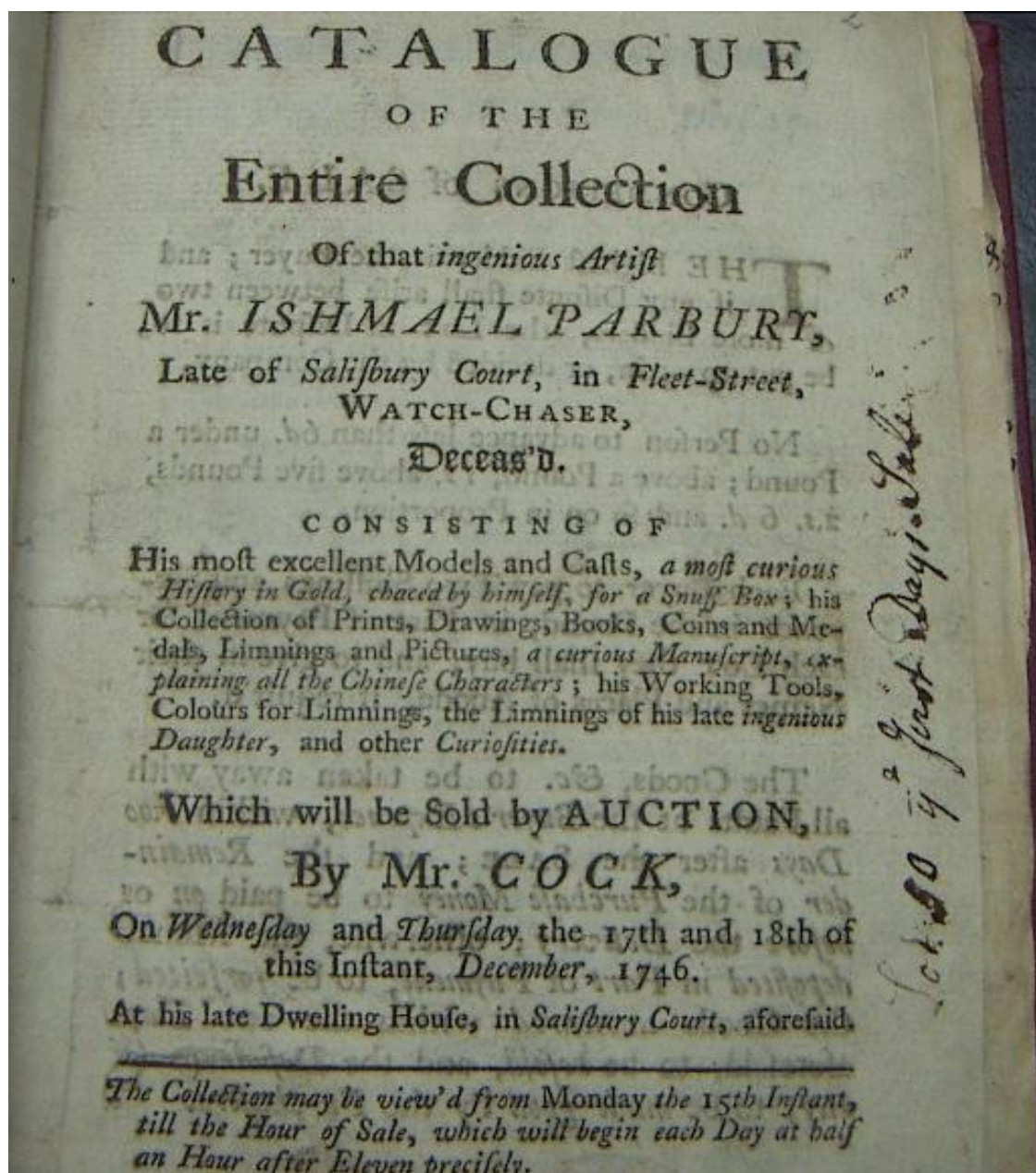


Fig.63. British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.3

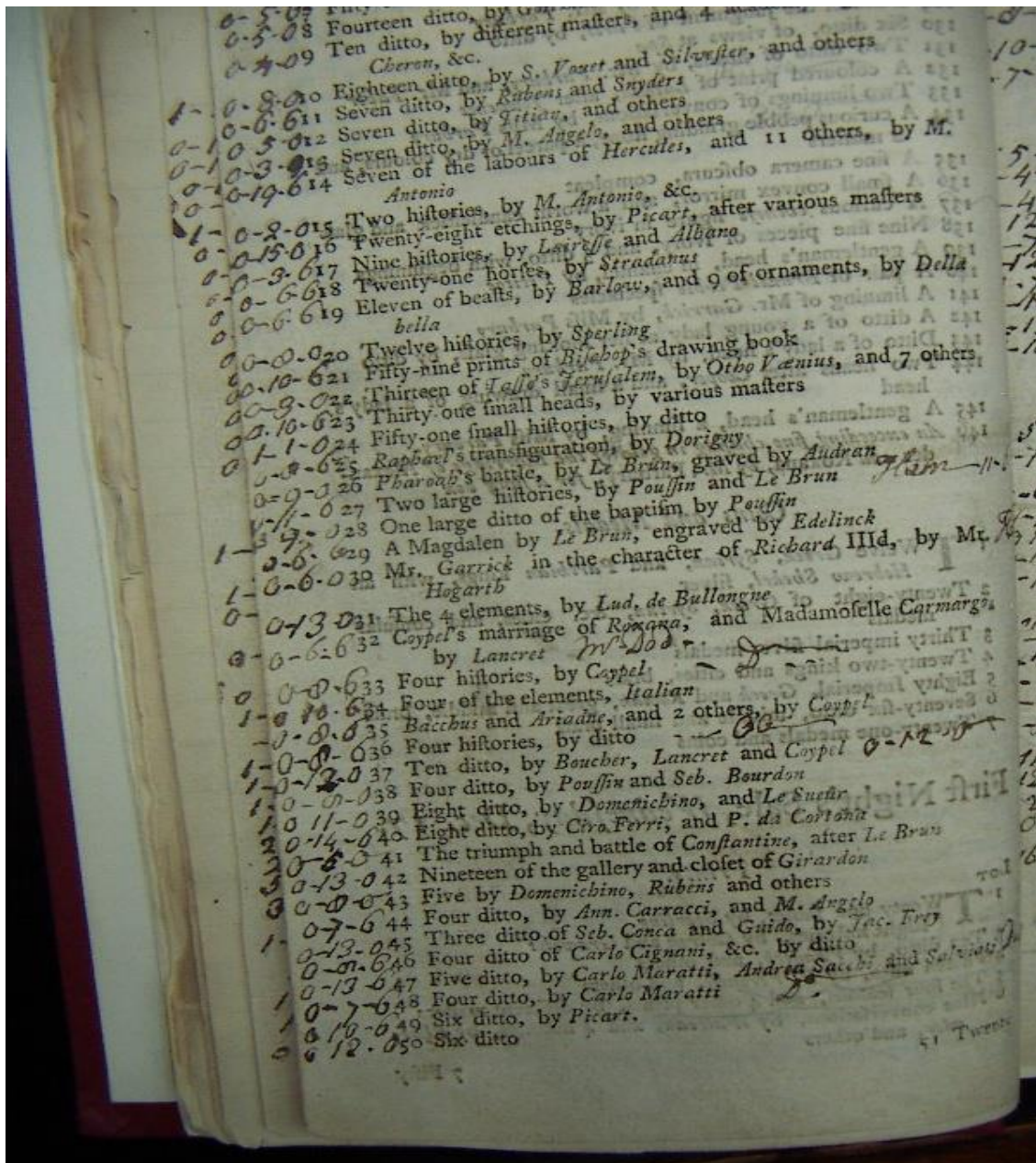


Fig.64. Lot 30. British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.3

The fact that Hogarth's more notable prints featured in the catalogues of leading collectors demonstrates the extent to which he had become accepted by specialists in this field. These included members of the cognoscenti such as Nathaniel Oldham, noted for his lavish spending on his collection and close friend of Joseph Highmore the painter. Other collections to feature Hogarth's prints include those of Sir Hans Sloane, physician and founder of the British Museum and Doctor Mead, both regarded as celebrated collectors.¹¹¹ Nathaniel

¹¹¹ Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, pp. 164-166.

Oldham's collection was auctioned on 25 February 1746 and contained the now familiar 'marquee' prints, *Hudibras* and the *Rake's Progress* which was bought by Doctor Nathaniel Chauncy, a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and keen collector of prints, coins and books.¹¹² The full extent of Chauncy's collection of Hogarth prints came to light when his own collection was sold posthumously by auction in May 1790 at the height of the 'Hogarthmania' period. The collection included first impressions of Hogarth's key works such as the *Harlot's Progress* and the *Rake's Progress*, the *Enraged Musician*, the *Election Series*, *Marriage-a-la Mode*, *Gin Lane/Beer Street* and the portrait print of *Sarah Malcolm*, sketched by Hogarth only days before her execution in Newgate prison for murder, and later painted in oils and engraved for sale to a curiously morbid public.¹¹³

The scale of William Hogarth's popularity with the contemporary artistic and literary community can also be gauged by the extent to which his prints were bought by other painters and writers of the period. Given the uniqueness of his style and the subject matter of his prints, it is not surprising that he attracted supporter and critic alike. His engravings marked the beginning of a distinct visual culture which Ogée considers allowed him to 'endow his images with a strong and epistemological status as texts at a time when science and the arts were trying to give shape to the great text of nature'.¹¹⁴ Supportive colleagues who bought Hogarth's prints included Lewis Goupy, the French painter and fellow student of the St Martins' academy and Thomas Morland of Pall Mall, both of whom included his prints in their catalogues when they were jointly sold in February 1747, as well as Christian Fredericke Zincke, the German born leading practitioner of enamel portraiture who had thirty two of Hogarth's prints in his catalogue sold in January 1748.¹¹⁵

Similarly, Peter Scheemaker, the Dutch sculptor and collector had Hogarth's *Marriage-a-la-Mode* and the *Rake's Progress* in his collection which was auctioned when he decided to retire in December 1755.¹¹⁶ The connection of interest in Hogarth amongst collectors can be

¹¹² British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.3.

¹¹³ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.6.

¹¹⁴ F.Ogée, 'From Text to Image: William Hogarth and the Emergence of a Visual Culture in the Eighteenth Century', in D. Bindman, F. Ogée, and P. Wagner (eds.), *Hogarth. Representing Nature's Machines*, (Manchester, 2001), p. 4.

¹¹⁵ Joseph Goupy, nephew of Hogarth's companion Lewis, was employed by the Prince of Wales in 1733 as 'tutor, painter, copyist and agent'. The proximity of Hogarth to such influence may have even enhanced his own standing in court circles. MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, p. 96. British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A.1.3.

¹¹⁶ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A.1.5.

demonstrated by the fact that Scheemaker's most important patron, Doctor Richard Mead, physician, collector and patron of the arts and close friend of Samuel Johnson also numbered Hogarth amongst his collection which was sold posthumously in January 1755.

Disposed of over thirteen nights due to its extensive nature, Doctor Mead's collection sold on 13 January 1755 included twenty prints by Hogarth (fig.65) and covered all his popular works such as *Before and After*, the *Four Times of the Day*, *Southwark Fair*, *Marriage-a-la-Mode*, the *Rake's Progress* and the *Harlot's Progress* as well as the book of prints and drawings the *Analysis of Beauty* published only two years previously and the subject of much controversy within the artistic community.¹¹⁷

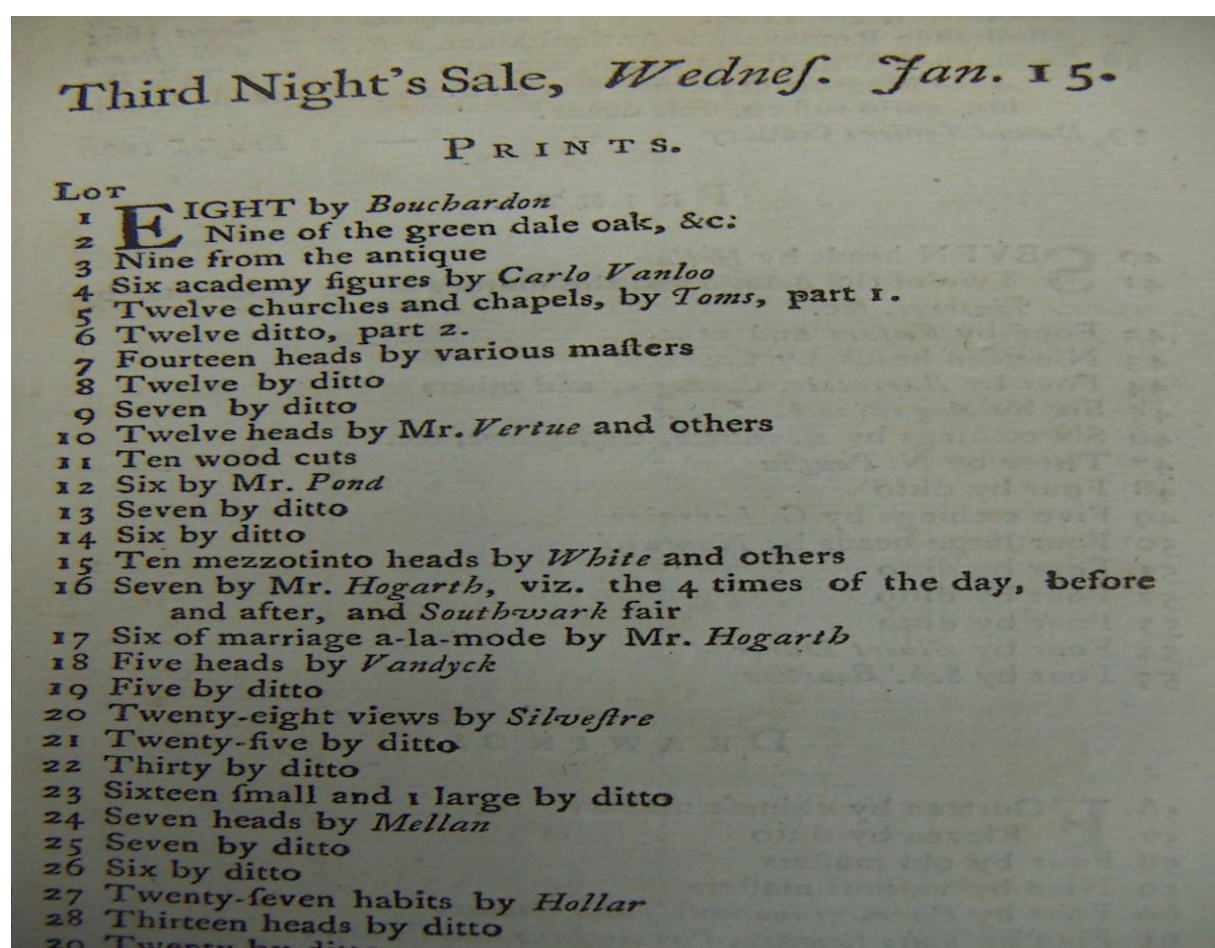


Fig.65. Lots 16 and 17 British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.3

¹¹⁷ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A.1.1, 1.8 and BL-RB/Sotheby 1755-1760/ Part 1 381.7.

The inclusion of eight prints by Hogarth in the catalogue of Jonathan Richardson the younger, eldest son of Jonathan Richardson the elder, portrait painter and writer, sold in 1762, provides further evidence of Hogarth's acceptance by the establishment-based artistic community which continued to draw heavily on Italian and French art. The majority of Richardson's collection contained drawings by Italian masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as drawings by Raphael and Rembrandt, yet the fact that he chose to include prints by Hogarth is recognition of his place within an increasingly influential school of English artists.¹¹⁸

The prestige attached to the inclusion of Hogarth amongst the collections of such leading figures of the artistic establishment was matched by his popularity with those prominent in theatrical circles such as John Rich, entrepreneur and owner of the Covent Garden Theatre whose collection sold posthumously in April 1762 and included Hogarth's *The Sleeping Congregation*, *A Portrait of Mr Rich's Gardener at Cowley* and perhaps most famously, *A Scene From the Beggar's Opera*, the contemporary satire on fashionable society which ran successfully at his theatre.¹¹⁹ This demonstrates the wide range of Hogarth's appeal across contemporary metropolitan society.

The extent of Hogarth's popularity is further endorsed by the possession of a large collection of his prints, 'finely bound' in the catalogue of Martin Folkes, late President of the Royal Society auctioned in January 1756, and Sir Clement Cottrell- Dormer, courtier and antiquary who left a full set of twelve *Hudibras* in his collection auctioned in January 1764. Mr Joseph Smith, H.M Consul at Venice, who had as expected, a large collection of Italian paintings in his collection, also found room for a book of prints by Hogarth shown as Lot 56 '*first impressions with many alterations and additions*'.¹²⁰ The fact that the Consul's collection includes Hogarth works is sufficient to warrant a statement on the catalogue front to the effect that it contains '*first Impressions of the works of Hogarth*' (figs 66 and 67). These three collectors confirm Hogarth's wide ranging credibility as a painter who could claim the attention of the influential and the well placed in society as well as the interest of the mainstream metropolitan audience.

¹¹⁸ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A.1.9.

¹¹⁹ Barber Institute, Box 1730-60. John Rich sold the original of Macheath going to execution taken from *The Beggar's Opera* by auction for 35/- to the Duke of Leeds who was said to have recognised himself, and other notable figures in the audience on the stage in the painting. Nichols. *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth*. p. 16.

¹²⁰ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.1/1.4/ 1.9.

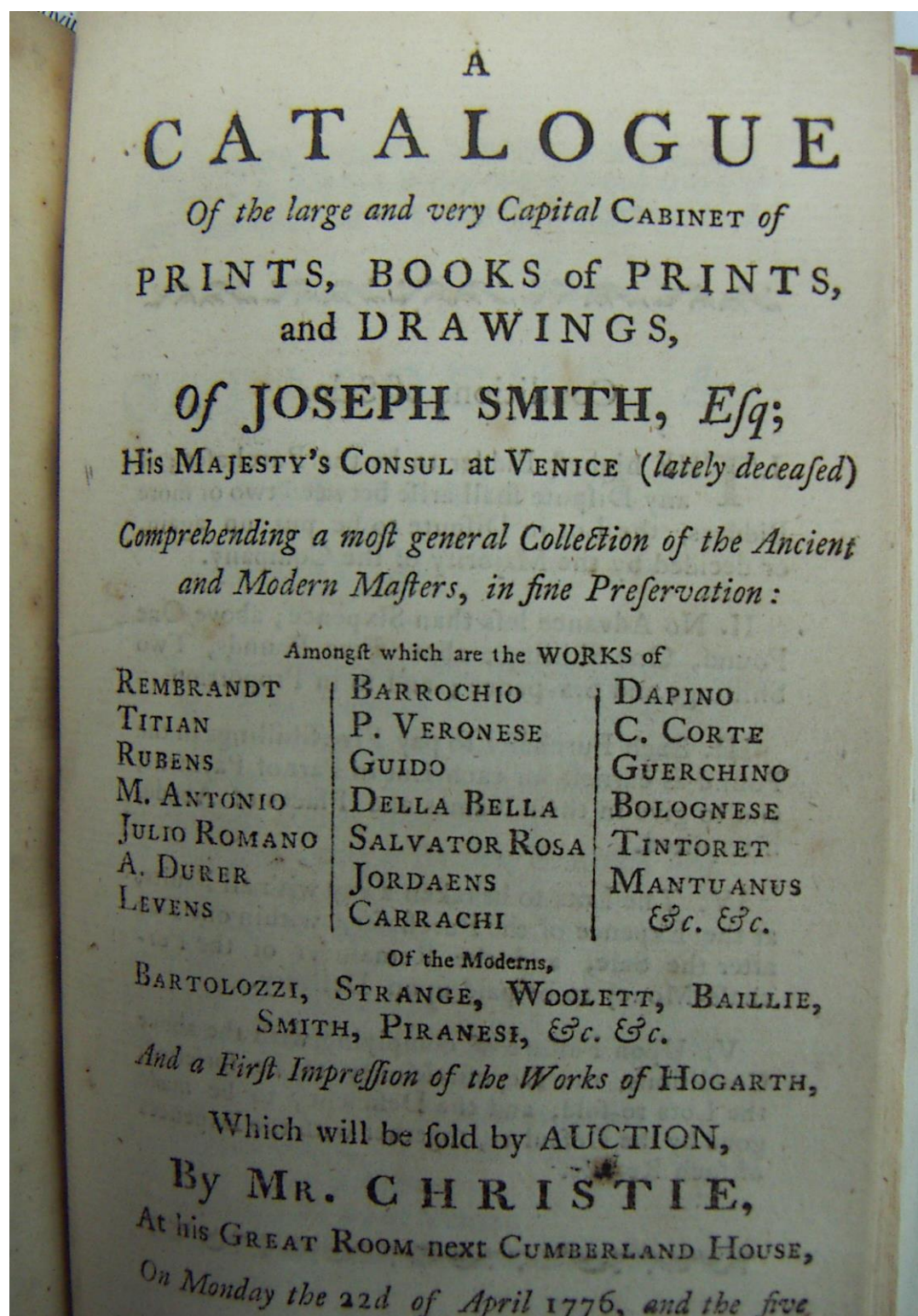


Fig.66. British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.8

- 47 Ditto
 48 Ditto
 49 Ditto
 50 Ditto
 51 Ditto
 52 Ditto
 53 Whole length of K. Charles I. by do.
very fine

Books of Prints.

- 54 Edwards's Natural History, 7 vol. *finely
 coloured, elegantly bound*
 55 Regenfuss's shells, published by the K.
 of Denmark, *most beautifully coloured, in
 Russia leather, gilt, &c.*
 56 HOGARTH'S WORKS, *first impressions, with
 many alterations and additional prints, not
 in the printed Catalogue*
 57 REMBRANDT'S WORKS, containing 500 of
 that Master and his disciples

Drawings.

- 58 Four drawings, landfhips, *Wyke, &c.*
 59 Four do. fhipping, *Vandevælde, &c.*

Fig.67. Lot 56 British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A.1.8

In a similar manner, Hogarth attracted support from like-minded individuals such as the American born historian and political journalist James Ralph, who was a companion of Henry Fielding with whom he founded the opposition journal *The Champion*. The catalogue of

Ralph's possessions which were auctioned in April 1762 shortly after his death included a print of the half-length portrait of Fielding done from memory by Hogarth.¹²¹

It is notable however that George Vertue, the contemporary engraver and antiquary who produced the most comprehensive account of visual arts of the period did not have any prints by Hogarth in his extensive collection. This may reflect his opinion of Hogarth as an artist of some 'genius and conversant with *low life*' rather than the 'higher' genres of art.¹²² By dealing with real persons and incidents and what were considered the 'vulgar' and 'plebeian' aspects of everyday life such as prostitutes and erotic scenes rather than ideas of beauty and grace, Hogarth fell short of the classical standards Vertue might expect of an aspiring artist. Instead his collection contained numerous prints of artists such as Durer, Vandyke, Rubens and Hollard.¹²³

Those fashionable collectors who lay outside Hogarth's immediate circle of acquaintances included fellow Freemasons David Garrick and fellow painter Joseph Highmore who bought his prints, often as a result of previous commissions. This was the case with Mary Edwards, well known art patron who lived openly with Lord Anne Hamilton for two to three years and whose son Gerald, Hogarth painted in his cradle in 1733. This led to Mary Edwards sitting for Hogarth for the portrait *Miss Mary Edwards* 1744 following the annulment of her marriage (fig.68). Her catalogue (figs.69 and 70) auctioned shortly after her death in August 1743 included 'an extensive collection of original pictures by Mr Hogarth' including Lots 17, 18 and 19 relating to 'twenty miscellaneous' by Mr Hogarth which sold for 5s-6d, the *Rake's Progress* which sold for £1.0s and *Morning, Noon, Evening and Night* and *Strolling Actresses in a Barn* which sold for 11s-0d.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Barber Institute, Box 1760-70.

¹²² Vertue, *Notebooks*, Vol. III, p. 136.

¹²³ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.1.

¹²⁴ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.3.



Fig.68. Miss Mary Edwards by William Hogarth 1742

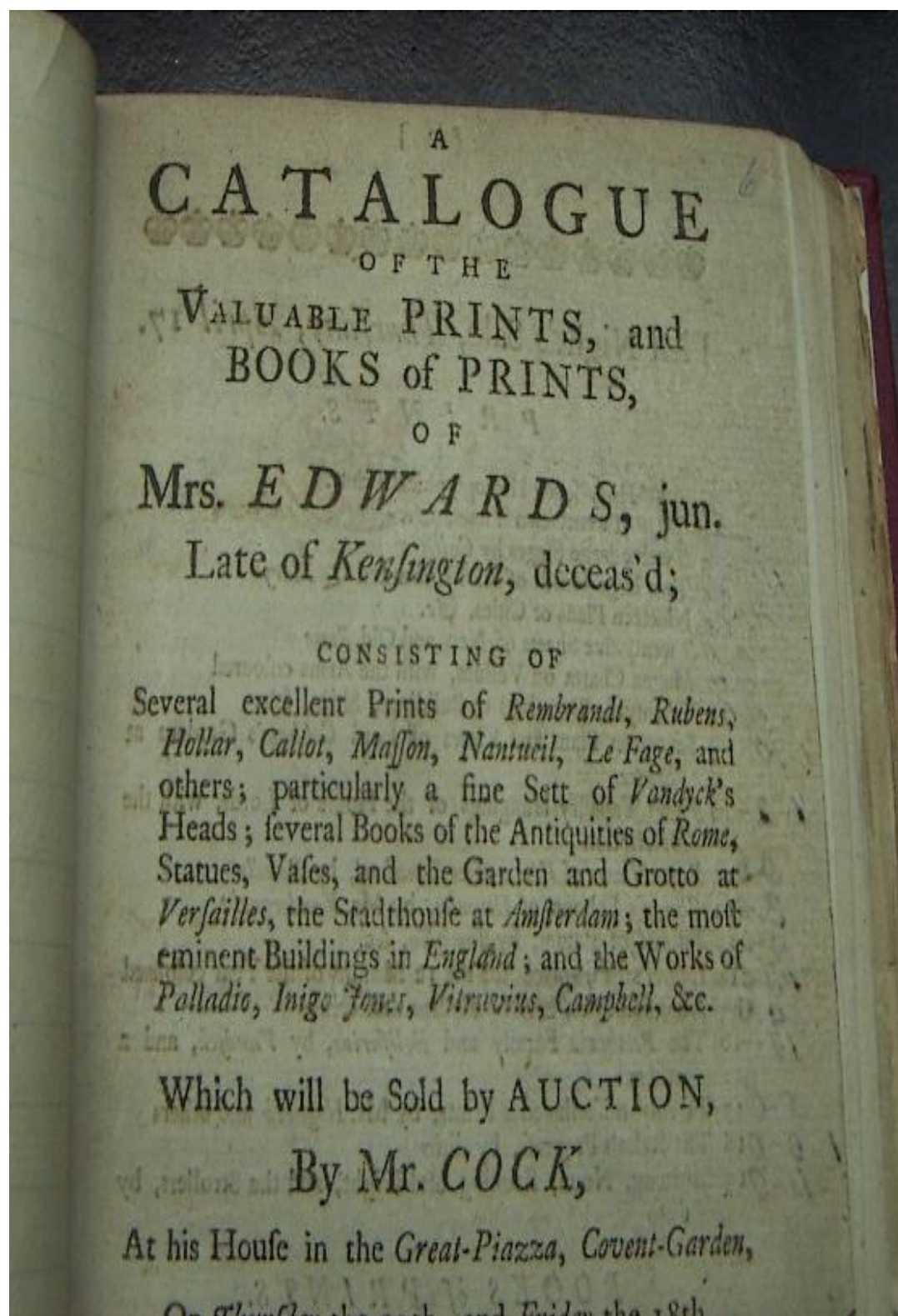


Fig. 69. British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.3



Fig.70. Lots 17-19 British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.3

A measure of Hogarth's popularity with the contemporary art market is the extent to which individuals and well established print sellers and auctioneers acquired copies of his prints in their own right and sold them on either as 'lots' within an auction of other items of art, usually imported from abroad, or as a specific auction concerned solely with Hogarth prints. This tended to occur more during the period after his death in 1764 to the end of the century, the period referred to as 'Hogarthmania' when it was not unusual for an entire auction to be devoted solely to his works (fig. 71).

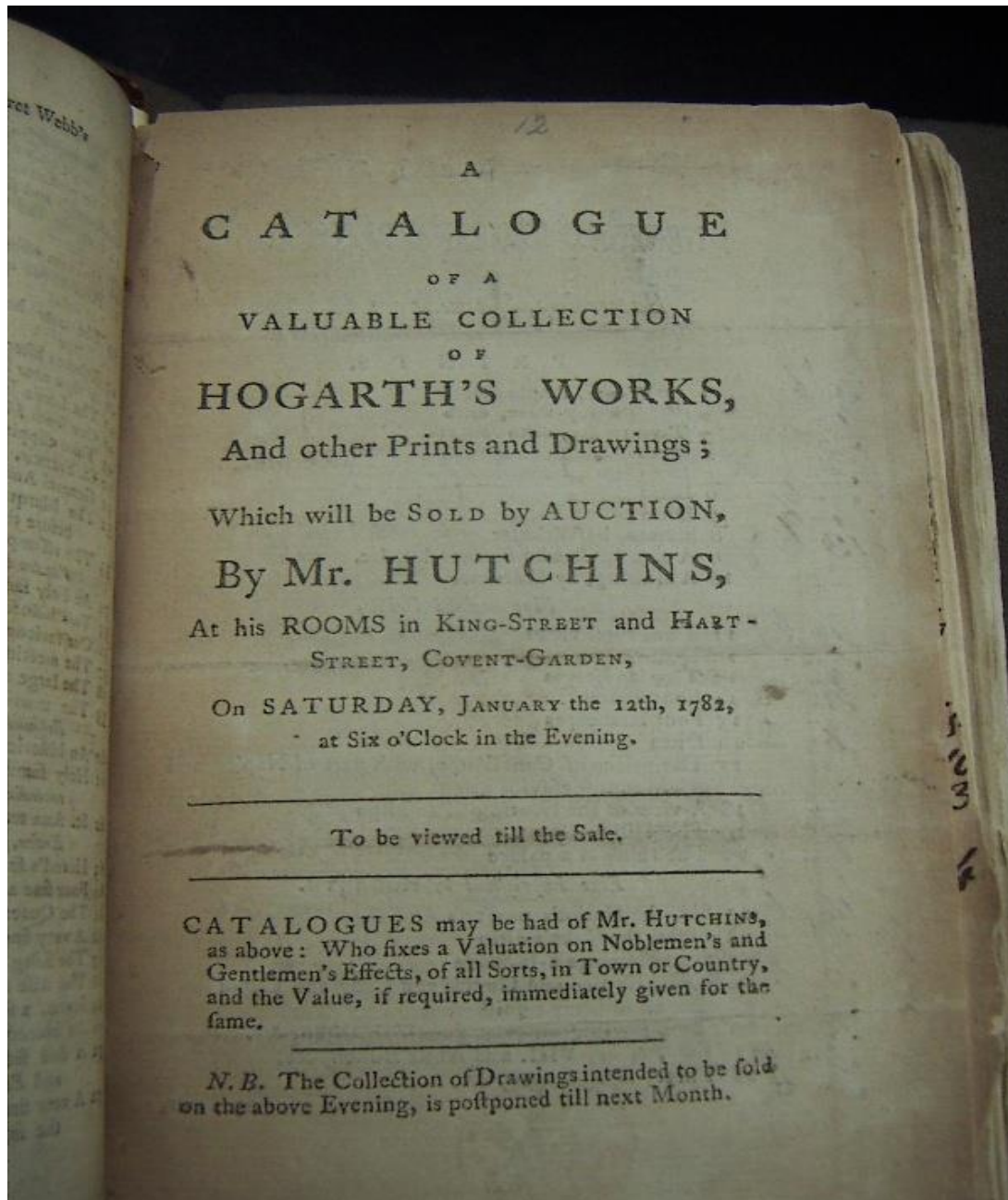


Fig.71. British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.1

The eagerness of individual print sellers to actively seek and offer Hogarth prints to the market suggests that their commercial worth made such a transaction attractive and relatively risk free given the popularity of his prints. At the beginning of the century the most obvious place to buy a print was at a picture shop usually located within the fashionable Covent Garden area. The principal outlets were the well established family outfits such as the Bowles and the Overtons along with the likes of John King and Thomas Taylor although other enterprising auctioneers soon recognised the upward trend in sales of prints and became active in the market.¹²⁵ One of these was Abraham Langford who had succeeded the eminent auctioneer Mr Christopher Cock and typified the popular trade in all kinds of items such as coins, medals, maps and prints. He issued a catalogue of ‘a genuine and choice collection of prints’ in January 1752 which contained *the small Hudibras, Industry and Idleness, the Rake’s Progress and the Harlot’s Progress* and the *Times of the Day*.¹²⁶

The Hogarth items must have met with some success as Langford repeated the operation the following month issuing a catalogue of ‘curious prints and drawings by celebrated painters’ in January 1753 which contained the most popular of Hogarth’s prints such as *The Harlot’s Progress, The Rake’s Progress, The Four Times of Day*, and *Marriage-a-la-Mode*.¹²⁷ It is testimony to Hogarth’s well established position amongst contemporary artists that these prints, which had been first offered for sale in the early 1730s, continued to hold their value some twenty years on and were considered sufficiently popular by professional auctioneers to attract a high level of interest.

The fact that Hogarth was still active himself in releasing new prints to the market is likely to have added currency to his earlier prints. Another indication of Hogarth’s well established popularity by mid-century was the auction by John Thane, dealer in prints, medals and manuscripts of ‘Books and Prints by the Most Eminent Ancient and Modern Masters’ which included Durer, Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, Hollard, Carraci and Watteau as well as Hogarth and nine ‘lots’ of his more popular prints which sold well, including *Marriage-a-la-Mode* for £1.16s, *Strolling Actresses* for 6s-0p, *The Distressed Poet* for 2s-6p, *The Turn*

¹²⁵ Griffiths, ‘A Checklist of Catalogues of British Publishers 1650-1830’, pp. 6-7.

¹²⁶ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.3.

¹²⁷ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.3.

About- Who'll Ride for 3s-0p, a *Collection of Heads* for 2s-0p, *A Laughing Audience* for 1s-6p, *Students at a Lecture* for 1s-6p and the *Sleeping Congregation* for 1s-0p.¹²⁸

Despite Hogarth's determination to cut out the retailer and trade direct with the public, thus avoiding the experience of *Hudibras* which had seen his profit greatly reduced and possession of his plates pass to Overton the publisher, he remained dependant on the print sellers for retail exposure of his work. For example Arthur Pond who was himself one of the leading print sellers of the day became a collector of Hogarth's works in his own right so much so that when Pond's own extensive collection was auctioned by Mr Langford in March 1760 following his death in 1758, it contained several Hogarth prints including *The Large Hudibras*, *The South Sea Masquerade*, *Caricatura*, *Mrs Garrick by Mr Hogarth*, *The Four Stages of Cruelty*, and the *Gin Street-Beer Street* duo, some 'framed and glazed'. The catalogue shows that the majority of the Hogarth items in the sale were subsequently purchased by Sir Edward Astley, a professional portrait painter.¹²⁹

The scale of Hogarth's early popularity following the instant success of the *Harlot's Progress* and its companion the *Rake's Progress* is reflected in the extent to which the prints featured in auction sales catalogues soon after they left Hogarth's hands and came onto the open market. This implies that the arbiters of taste were, as Brewer suggests, 'not just the cognoscenti, but the public, the collective body of those who had taste'.¹³⁰ As well as the serious collectors and the close circle of friends and acquaintances who bought Hogarth's prints there were many who admired his prints as sources of both pleasure and instruction having seen them either in print shop windows or on the walls of coffee houses and taverns.¹³¹ This made his work accessible to the wider public such as the more prosperous tradesman and extended his attraction beyond to a market otherwise not intended.

One such example of this market beyond the 'professional' collector is Thomas Betts, a prosperous businessman and glass cutter who would have epitomised those who aspired to fashionable displays of goods as evidence of their material success. The probate inventory of his two houses, and especially his suburban retreat at Lewisham, similar to Hogarth's at Chiswick, lists a number of framed prints including Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress*, as well as

¹²⁸ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.7.

¹²⁹ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SC A. 1.9.

¹³⁰ J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (New York, 1997), p. 291.

¹³¹ O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, p. 26.

eighty nine books including Samuel Richardson's '*Pamela*'. It is unusual to find such detail in a probate inventory and especially one that makes specific reference to prints and distinguishes them in their own right as possessions worthy of recording.¹³²

Whilst by no means extravagant, these displays of taste portray Betts as the typical genteel and successful self-made tradesman that Hogarth would have admired. The fact that the probate records of the likes of Thomas Betts are more scarce than the printed auction sales catalogues of the more wealthy has to be taken into account in making any assessment of Hogarth's wider audience. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the audience is likely to have been more cosmopolitan than available records suggest including those successful tradesmen who, like Betts, would have thought of themselves as gentlemen and be far richer than many of the urban gentlemen of leisure.¹³³

This contention can be substantiated by the extensive collection of Hogarth's prints built up by Ingham Foster, merchant-financier who is an example of a serious collector who was not an 'artist or person of fashion or a noted scholar'.¹³⁴ He was a man of commerce in the city and someone from Hogarth's own middling class. The *Gentleman's Magazine* printed the obituary: 'Mr Ingham Foster, ironmonger, of Clements-Lane, Lombard Street, a gentleman universally esteemed for his benevolence, and a skilful collector of curiosities has left a valuable library of books and prints, and a cabinet of coins and tradesmen's tokens, perhaps superior to most that now exist'.¹³⁵

It is clear that Hogarth's work had found its way into the collection of a man with a discerning eye especially as it included prints by Rembrandt described in the catalogue as being 'most beautiful impressions of the first class with the burr'. Lot 93 on 4 March was described as 'A most capital collection of Hogarth's works consisting of 280 prints of the first impression, with a variety of changes elegantly bound in 3 vols'.¹³⁶ The extent of this collection was only exceeded in number by that of Horace Walpole, yet there were several

¹³² A.Werner, 'Thomas Betts: an eighteenth century glasscutter', *Journal of the Glass Association*, 1, (1985), p. 16.

¹³³ Betts satisfies the criteria for 'genteel' tradesman suggested by Peter Earle as those who 'do not depend upon their own hands, living as they do by the profits of capital and by the employment of others'. P. Earle, 'The Middling Sort in London' in J. Barry and C. Brooks (eds.) *The Middling Sort of People. Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 145.

¹³⁴ www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_details.aspx?bioId=124837.

¹³⁵ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1762, p. 503. S.O'Connell, 'Unpublished lecture to Chiswick and Brentford Local History Society', c.2005.

¹³⁶ British Museum Prints and Drawings/ SCA 1.5.

occasions apparently when Foster noted with pleasure when he had a print that had been missed by Walpole.¹³⁷

Other examples of Hogarth's popularity amongst individuals not necessarily serious collectors can be seen in the acquisition by Gertrude Savile, daughter of a wealthy northern baronet, Sir George Savile, deputy Lieutenant of the West Riding, of eight prints of the *Rake's Progress* and the *Modern Midnight Conversation*. She had also embroidered the *Harlot's Progress* in silks on chair covers herself which demonstrates the extent to which Hogarth's prints had gained a foothold in popular- fashionable decoration.¹³⁸

Horace Walpole and the Anecdotes of Painting- Painters in the Reign of George II

In addition to the popularity that sales of Hogarth's prints by auction confirmed during his lifetime, it is also possible to gauge his standing amongst the social and artistic elite by reference to records of contemporary opinion such as Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, published in 1762, two years before Hogarth died and based on forty notebooks compiled by George Vertue the engraver and antiquary which was originally intended to be the first history of painting in England. Walpole had bought all Vertue's forty note-books shortly after his death in 1756 with a view to 'recording the lives of English painters' and is credited with turning a large mass of randomly made, chaotic and illegible notes into a well-documented account of contemporary art.¹³⁹

As memoirs of the Georgian social and political scene, Walpole's opinions are a useful primary source of material from which it is possible to make an assessment of the contemporary art scene and especially William Hogarth's status within that community. This came about largely due to the fact that Walpole devoted an entire chapter as a tribute to William Hogarth entitled *Painters in the Reign of King George II* in which, 'after having despatched the herd of our painters in oil', he promoted Hogarth as being in 'a class by himself and an original and great artist', considering him to be 'a writer of comedy with a pencil rather than as a painter'.¹⁴⁰ The ability of Hogarth to accurately record familiar life was, according to Walpole where his genius shone through, 'The Rake's levee room, the

¹³⁷ *Crickett Collection*, Local Studies Collection, Chiswick Library.

¹³⁸ A. Saville (ed.), *Secret Comment: The Diaries of Gertrude Savile, 1721-1757* (Nottingham, 1997), pp. 234-235.

¹³⁹ W.S. Lewis, *Rescuing Horace Walpole* (Yale, 1978), p. 97.

¹⁴⁰ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*. p. 26.

nobleman's dining room, the apartments of the husband and wife in *Marriage-a-la-Mode*, the Alderman's parlour, the bed-chamber and many others, are the history of the manners of the age.'¹⁴¹

As a self-styled arbiter of aesthetics and taste relatively new to the eighteenth century, and by working within the context of ideas being promoted by 'The Spectator' and the likes of David Hume, the Scottish philosopher, Walpole was able to suggest what might pass as taste in an increasingly polite society and especially welcomed the emergence of the print as a medium for 'catching the manners and follies of an age *living as they rise*'.¹⁴² The fact that he possessed the most complete collection of Hogarth prints believed to exist at that time, 365 in number, is testimony to his appreciation of him as an engraver and provided an *imprimatur* Hogarth could have scarce imagined at the outset of his career.

Despite his mildly disparaging account of Hogarth's ability as a history painter, Walpole's endorsement of Hogarth is highly significant, in that it raised his profile beyond that of a competent, yet skilled engraver, and elevated him to a status which provided him with financial security

John Nichols and the Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth and a Catalogue of his Works Chronologically Arranged and Occasional Remarks.

Although published in 1781, some seventeen years after Hogarth's death, the *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth and a Catalogue of his Works Chronologically Arranged and Occasional Remarks*, written by John Nichols, printer, publisher and editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, provides further evidence of Hogarth's appeal to the leading figures of contemporary mid- eighteenth-century metropolitan society. No doubt stimulated by Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* which did wonders for Hogarth's popularity, Nichols meticulously listed all Hogarth's known works and, where possible, gave details of those who had bought his works with a description of their status. In doing so Nichols confirmed previous understandings of the social composition of his audience. This was an eclectic mix of Anglican clergymen, writers, painters and engravers, physicians, antiquarians, members of

¹⁴¹ Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth and a Catalogue of his Works Chronologically Arranged and Occasional Remarks*, p. 22.

¹⁴² Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, p. 47.

the legal profession, fellow Freemasons and the aristocracy although the latter two were often the same.

These patrons included the likes of the Reverend Dr. Monkhouse of Queen's College, Oxford who purchased the *Beggar's Opera*, his fellow clergyman the Rev. James Towneley who was also a playwright and associate of both Garrick and Hogarth and Doctor Isaac Schomberg, physician to many of the influential in society.¹⁴³ Both Towneley and Schomberg bought 'first impressions' of many of Hogarth's more popular prints.¹⁴⁴ The wealthy merchant, Gainsborough DuPont bought the 'first impression' of *Paul before Felix* for twenty guineas and later sold it on privately to Mr George Ballard, one of the foremost antiquarians of the day.¹⁴⁵ Close friend Ebenezer Forrest, lawyer, writer and fellow traveller of Hogarth's owned many of his prints, including Hogarth's own drawings of the amusing events which took place during their trip.

Even Hogarth's early works such as *The Lottery* published in 1721 long before he became widely popular, attracted the interest of the prominent in society such as Andrew Caldwell, barrister and connoisseur of architecture and Thomas Chilcot, organist and composer and fellow freemason of the Royal Cumberland Lodge in Bath.¹⁴⁶ The original pictures of the marquee print, *Marriage-a-la-Mode* which was the subject of heavy promotion by Hogarth, and for which he had high hopes, was bought for the then impressive price of sixty guineas by William Lane, portrait and draughtsman engraver of Hillingdon, near Windsor.¹⁴⁷ Aristocratic patronage is evident in *The Laughing Audience* which was issued to Lord Biron as the subscription ticket for *The Rake's Progress* in 1733 and Sir George Hay, politician who Hogarth is said to have dedicated the fourth plate in the *Election Series* to.¹⁴⁸ Some acquisitions were destined to have an unhappy ending however such as the purchase of the original paintings of the *Harlot's Progress* by William Beckford, planter and politician, only

¹⁴³ Nichols, *Biographical anecdotes of Mr Hogarth*. p. 15

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p.65 In his will Hogarth instructed that 'Ten Guineas be presented to Dr. Isaac Schomberg in remembrance of me'. Given his occupation as a physician this gesture may have been in recognition of personal and professional attention during Hogarth's illness and in addition to the normal stipend. R.Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times* Vol II (New Haven, 1971), p. 508.

¹⁴⁵ Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth* , p. 66.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 68.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 107..

¹⁴⁸ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12719> [accessed 7 Nov 2013]. Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes of Mr Hogarth*, p. 142.

to lose them in a fire at his home at Fonthill in Wiltshire in 1760.¹⁴⁹ This evidence supports that provided by the auction sales catalogues earlier and firmly locates Hogarth's main audience amongst the upper echelons of society, members of the professions, fellow artists, engravers and writers as well as close friends.

Conclusion

The main thrust of this chapter has been to examine the role of the auction sale in the circulation and exchange of prints as items of fashion and indicators of taste alongside other items of fashion such as books, coins and maps. It has also sought to confirm Hogarth's popularity and standing within the art collecting community by carrying out a systematic examination of auction sales catalogues and through the writings of Horace Walpole and John Nichols to determine the level of contemporary interest in Hogarth's art and the social composition of his audience. The auction sale contributed to the complex social patterns that came to characterise the early eighteenth century with its emphasis on commercial status rather than traditional indicators such as money, land or title in an increasingly competitive and cosmopolitan environment.¹⁵⁰

The results of this research confirm that increasingly from the 1730s London became the focus for the increased circulation of art, both domestically and internationally as the centre of gravity within the international community changed from Paris to London as the century wore on.¹⁵¹ It was within this increasingly competitive and diverse artistic community that William Hogarth rose to prominence through the use of creative commercial and marketing techniques.

Selling art during this period had become an 'event'. The auction sale was one such 'event' within which it became possible to assess Hogarth's popularity and standing in terms of artistic credibility across a wider range of people than before, such as collectors from amongst the social elites and aristocrats as well as the professional and upper classes. Whilst Hogarth was responsible for his own achievements through various commercial and artistic initiatives it was the auction sale that independently measured the extent of his success within the collecting community.

¹⁴⁹ R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (London, 1989). p. 76.

¹⁵⁰ Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, p. 5.

¹⁵¹ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 84-85.

Chapter Six

Conclusion: The marketing techniques of William Hogarth (1697-1764) artist and engraver

In his testimony before the House of Commons Select Committee on the Arts, John G. Landseer engraver and antiquary stated that, ‘by the graver’s art, it has been as truly as elegantly said, “copper has been turned into gold,” for it is a vein of wealth both to the artist and to the state’. This statement, made by Landseer in the 1830s as part of his campaign to grant engravers full academic status of the Royal Academy asserts the significance of the print industry within the contemporary painting market in both visual and economic terms.¹ The mass appeal of the print and its economic potential had however originated a century or so earlier when artists such as William Hogarth began to take full advantage of commercial opportunities to meet what David Ormrod describes as an increasingly large consumer base.² As a result engravings fast became the financial engine of an expanding art economy and presented a more dynamic and impressive picture of artistic life in Britain than paintings did.³

Artists at the beginning of the eighteenth century continued to rely upon the traditional patronage structure and the support of individuals. Combined with a preference for all things

¹ J. Pye, *Patronage of British Art, A Historical Sketch* (London, 1845), p. 211, without providing a date. Cited in T.M. Bayer and J.R. Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England* (London 2011), p. 89.

L. Peltz, ‘Landseer, John George (1762/3–1852)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, May 2012, at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15986> [accessed 18 Jan 2014]

² D. Ormrod, ‘The origins of the London art market: 1660-1730’, in M. North and D. Ormrod (eds.), *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, pp. 167-186. Cited in C. Gould and S. Mesplède, ‘From Hogarth to Hirst: Three Hundred Years of Buying and Selling British Art’, in C. Gould and S. Mesplède (eds.), *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present* (Farnham, 2012), p. 5.

³ T. Clayton, *The English Print 1688- 1802* (New Haven, 1997), p. xii.

continental, this left English artists in limbo.⁴ Not surprisingly artists like Hogarth struggled to earn a satisfactory living. Reflecting on the development of his career in his *Autobiographical Notes* Hogarth describes how ‘Engraving in the first part of life till near thirty did little more than maintain myself in the usual gaieties of life but in all a punctual paymaster. Then married and turned a Painter of Portraits in small conversation Peices and with great success- but undertaking besides that manner of Painting was not sufficiently paid to do everything my family required.’⁵

The limited prospect of material success that these remarks imply provides the context for the way in which Hogarth responded eagerly to the opportunities of what Louise Lippincott describes as, ‘a transitional phase in the early eighteenth century in which English art began to move away from a system based on the court and patronage, to a more open and innovative art market’.⁶ Art forms and fashions were changing in response to their audiences. A large commercial print trade enabled a painter to establish his reputation without depending entirely on a few wealthy and well placed patrons and provided enterprising artists like Hogarth with opportunities unknown to his predecessors which he was quick to exploit.⁷

As new cultural and commercial identities began to reshape the demands of the art market in the early eighteenth century, Hogarth seized the opportunity to circumvent aristocratic patronage and espoused the cause of the new and patriotic buyers by catering to their demands.⁸ Liberated from a market dominated by portraiture and historical paintings of biblical subject matter, Hogarth took full advantage of an alternative space and created a genre of print that articulated the concerns of the middle-classes. The values that his graphic narratives articulated were very much theirs, in all their complexity and contradiction as were the commercialisation techniques he adopted with unique business acumen.⁹ These commercial techniques which set him apart from his contemporaries form the basis of this thesis and demonstrate how he catered for the needs of a new and diverse pool of buyers informed by values of their own and on terms which they could relate to.

⁴ L. Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London* (New Haven, 1983), p. 1.

⁵ J. Burke (ed.), *The Analysis of Beauty* with rejected passages from the manuscript drafts and autobiographical notes- William Hogarth ‘Autobiographical Notes’ in *The Analysis of Beauty* (Oxford, 1955), p. 215.

⁶ Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁸ Gould and S. Mesplède (eds.), *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present*, p. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

The eighteenth century has sometimes been characterised as a century of politeness and taste.¹⁰ According to John Brewer, the notion of politeness led to a special status being placed on ‘works of the imagination and the fine arts’.¹¹ Whilst it is easy to associate these social attributes with the most prestigious and wealthiest, Lawrence Klein considers that the vast expansion of the market for artistic goods cannot be explained unless similar appetites were present among much wider parts of the population. The affordable engraving demonstrated that polite ideals had also penetrated the stratum of the middling sort.¹²

In Hogarth’s hands reproductive engravings were the means through which paintings could be turned into objects fit for mass marketing.¹³ The eighteenth century was witness to an unprecedented growth in the production and dissemination of prints. The exactly repeatable graphic image extended the definition of ‘property’ far beyond the collector of elite objects such as paintings and became a commodity capable of being consumed on an individual basis and not limited as it had traditionally been to a patron or collector.¹⁴ The market of consumers for this product was extensive in a society with disposable income ranging from the aristocracy to the merchants and the professional and commercial classes. It is against this background that Hogarth’s acute sense of market awareness becomes evident especially as signals from the demand side had begun to indicate that buyers of art increasingly favoured living artists painting accessible everyday subjects, rather than ‘Old Masters’ and the many fakes forged at that time.¹⁵

Little has been made to date therefore of the commercial and marketing activities of artists such as William Hogarth in a period when painting became divorced from its serious origins and found its patrons not in the great nobles or civic institutions, but in theatre managers like John Gay and Jonathan Tyers the owner of Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens.¹⁶ This thesis goes some way to redressing the balance by providing evidence from the previously unexplored commercial initiatives of William Hogarth to demonstrate the extent to which his artistic and

¹⁰ J. Styles and A. Vickery (eds.), *Gender, taste, And material culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven, 2006), p. 19.

¹¹ J. Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century* (New York, 1997), p. 99.

¹² L.E. Klein, ‘Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century’, *The Historical Journal*, 45, 4 (2002), p. 891.

¹³ Gould and Mesplède, ‘From Hogarth to Hirst: Three Hundred years of Buying British Art’, p. 8.

¹⁴ R. Paulson, ‘Emulative consumption and literacy. The Harlot, Moll Flanders, and Mrs. Slipslop’, in A. Bermingham and J. Brewer (eds.), *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800* (London, 1995), pp. 384-385.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 11.

¹⁶ E. Einberg, *Manners and Morals- Hogarth and British Painting 1700-1760* (London, 1987), p. 13.

literary innovations were due to artistic self-promotion rather than traditional notions of patronage.

There is a wealth of artistic and literary scholarship on William Hogarth. His achievements and attitudes have influenced scholarly treatment of his period as a whole as well as specialised studies. These studies reflect various aspects of Hogarthian scholarship. For example, 'Hogarth the author', as an artistic writer and narrator of real personages and incidents with fictitious names satisfies the criteria set by Dr. Johnson's Dictionary as 'a writer in general' and 'the first writer of anything'.¹⁷

Considerations of 'Hogarth the moralist' rely upon his promotion of moral values and the devastating results of vice as depicted in his *Progresses* and later through his more 'instructional' prints. The moral utility of Hogarth's works was praised by his friend and author Henry Fielding claiming that they were 'calculated more to serve the Cause of Virtue, and for the preservation of Mankind, than all the Folios of Morality which have ever been written'.¹⁸

The case for 'Hogarth the theorist' rests primarily on his *Analysis of Beauty* which describes his theories of visual beauty and grace and the promotion of himself not only as a serious artist but also as a refined thinker and theorist.

In spite of his success as an artist- engraver it was as a talented painter in the 'Grand Manner' that Hogarth wished to be regarded. The success of his Conversation Pieces, his large history paintings which were donated to St Bartholomew's Hospital and the Foundling Hospital together with portraiture such as *Garrick as Richard III* are only selected examples from his *oeuvre* which serve to reinforce this understanding of 'Hogarth the painter'.¹⁹

This thesis has however focussed on 'Hogarth the entrepreneur' and adds to the unbroken chain of Hogarthian scholarship. It recognises the reciprocal relationship between art and wealth and the constant interaction between supply and demand which came to influence the development of the London art market at the turn of the eighteenth century and beyond.²⁰ By adopting a holistic approach to Hogarth this study seeks to deepen and broaden

¹⁷ S. Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language...* Vol. 1 (London, 1755). No Page numbers.

¹⁸ 17th-18th Century Burney Collection of Newspapers- *The Champion* (June 10, 1740).

¹⁹ M. Karayianni, 'Hogarth's Commentators: Interpreting and Recycling Hogarthian Art in Georgian England' (Unpublished University of Essex PhD Thesis, 2011), pp. 14-15.

²⁰ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 3.

understandings of the commercial, philosophical and aesthetic motivations that underpinned his art.

The main body of work on Hogarth has been dominated by Ronald Paulson who has written extensively on various aspects of Hogarth's career. A Marxist perspective focussing on the more utilitarian aspects of art linked to the principles of supply and demand and the way that this impacted on Hogarth's entrepreneurial activities has been provided by Frederick Antal, the art historian. Both David Bindman and Sean Shesgreen have been major contributors to existing historiography and have co-operated in exhibitions of his work. Frédéric Ogée has written extensively on the creation of a 'visual culture' and the social parity of text and image which allowed Hogarth to create new forms of imagery as the equivalent to what was being offered in books or on the stage.²¹

These accounts of Hogarth have concentrated on the artistic and literary aspects of his career taking into account the formative roles played by contemporary cultural, political and religious issues. This thesis has broadened the scope of investigation and has concentrated on the economic and commercial factors that caused Hogarth to consider the monetary benefits to be gained through process innovation within an anonymous and expanding art market.

The significance of the Engravers' Copyright Act 1735 is fundamental to any assessment of Hogarth's commercial and business acumen. Not only had his father suffered at the hands of unscrupulous book sellers, Hogarth himself records how 'having had my plates Pirated in all sides and manner, I applied to Parliament for redress which not only has so effectually done my business good but has made print a considerable gain of this country there being more business of that kind done in this Town than in Paris or anywhere else as well'.²²

He instigated this piece of legislation which was drafted with the assistance of his close friend William Huggins. Taking the Copyright Act 1709 for its inspiration, Hogarth's legislation secured the intellectual property rights of artists for fourteen years from the time of publication and allowed them to promote their own work independently.²³ Without the

²¹ F.Ogée, 'From text to image: William Hogarth and the emergence of a visual culture in eighteenth-century England', in D. Bindman, F. Ogée and P. Wagner (eds.), *Hogarth. Representing nature's machines* (Manchester, 2001), p. 11.

²² Burke (ed.), 'Autobiographical Notes', p. 216.

²³ The Copyright Act 1709 confirmed that all existing material remained the possession of existing owners whilst all new copies were protected as the property of the author for fourteen years with a possible fourteen years thereafter. J. Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London, 1998), p. 74.

security that this legislation provided for the artist it is impossible to imagine the commercial and marketing initiatives that followed. The Act provided Hogarth with the confidence necessary to take control of his own business affairs and to enter into commercial arrangements with print sellers for the publishing and distribution of his works on an equal footing.

This is not to suggest that William Hogarth was the only progressive figure in artistic circles. Louise Lippincott has highlighted the business activities of Arthur Pond, a typical eighteenth-century artist who diversified his activities and became a print seller, promoter, and art dealer.²⁴ Nevertheless, Hogarth was at the forefront of artistic commercial innovation and was moulded by the socio-economic changes of the period as this thesis has demonstrated. As the growth of the art market encouraged greater specialisation, Hogarth began to develop large-scale production techniques to meet a larger, more heterogeneous audience with different degrees of wealth.²⁵ In his hands, the artist was no longer a lowly ‘mechanic’ working to the brief of a patron but a key figure in the marketplace where the interests of the producer and the consumer met. The result of his commercial and marketing initiatives resulted in economic emancipation and acceptance within the circles of ‘respectable society’.²⁶

The marketing techniques adopted by Hogarth were not restricted solely to the promotion of his works through advertising in newspapers or the creation of the visually attractive and collectable subscription ticket as part of the subscription process. He was also conscious of the need to establish a public forum for the display of art and advised Jonathan Tyers, the owner of Vauxhall Gardens on the decoration of the supper-boxes to the extent of supplying two paintings himself.²⁷ In recognition of his assistance Tyers rewarded Hogarth with a life admission ticket in the form of an engraved medal (fig.72).²⁸

Also as a governor of the Foundling Hospital established by Captain Coram for ‘street children’ in 1741 Hogarth realised the potential of the hospital for the display of paintings before an audience of some social distinction. In effect, the setting up of a permanent art exhibition at the Foundling enhanced the social status of artists as independent producers in

²⁴ L. Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London* (New Haven, 1983), p. 9.

²⁵ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 5.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 53.

²⁸ British Museum Prints and Drawings, M&ME 1913,5-15,1

the business of devising ways to market their products in an age before the advent of regular public exhibitions for art. What Jonathan Tyers as a professional middleman did for the popular appeal of paintings at Vauxhall Gardens, painters inspired by Hogarth such as Sir Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Gainsborough, Francis Hayman and Joseph Highmore achieved for themselves through the Foundling Hospital as an exhibition opportunity.²⁹

As David Solkin has written, the building developed a dual purpose: ‘it was to be both an institution for abandoned children and a site for polite assembly, a place to care for and educate the poor and to refine and entertain their social superiors’.³⁰ In retrospect, the Foundling Hospital became a milestone on the path of Hogarth’s journey towards commercial success. It demonstrates his business acumen and an awareness of how circumstances could benefit his own purposes.³¹



Fig.72. William Hogarth’s Gold Admission ticket to Vauxhall Gardens. British Museum
M&ME 1913,5-151, AN35149001

²⁹ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 56.

³⁰ D.Solkin, *Painting for Money: the visual arts and the public sphere in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven, 1993), p. 160.

³¹ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 56.

The combined fruits of research across the three core chapters, three, four and five of this thesis provide concrete information concerning the well-resourced upper to middle class character of Hogarth's audience during the main part of his career. This is in contrast to the 'lower orders' in the later stages when his prints took on a more 'correctional-instructive' nature and were sold at prices so that 'the purchase of them became within the reach of those for whom they were chiefly intended'.³²

The overarching theme of this thesis can therefore be summarised as an examination of the marketing techniques of William Hogarth as part of the commercialisation of art in the early to mid- eighteenth century and the creation of a new artist-patron relationship in the market, akin to developments in authorship and literary works.

This thesis therefore makes a contribution to the vast body of literature on Hogarth and represents a unique and original contribution to existing knowledge by highlighting those areas of commercial and business enterprise which led to his success with the wider public. It was the originality of his marketing techniques that distinguished Hogarth from his colleagues. If one was to seek a personification of the artist as *homo economicus* during this period, the entrepreneurial pioneer William Hogarth would be without peer in eighteenth-century Britain.³³

³² D. Bindman, *Hogarth* (London, 1981), p. 167.

³³ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, p. 56.

Appendix

Signed Subscription Tickets

William Hogarth

Preface to Appendix

There are several known collections of Hogarth prints available for public inspection, notably at the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge University, the Royal Library at Windsor Castle and the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University all of which include samples of Hogarth's signed subscription tickets. There has however, to date, been no attempt to collate these signed tickets into one consolidated document. This appendix remedies that situation in a form that allows for inspection, comparison and analysis in a more systematic way than before and acts therefore as an archive in its own right. The appendix lists all known Hogarth's works during the main period of his career, 1731-1764 and indicates whether the painting or print was offered for sale by subscription. Where this was the case, the number of subscription tickets that have been located as a result of this research exercise is shown. In compiling this schedule, I am grateful to Sheila O'Connell at the British Museum for making available the results of her preliminary research into this same area which this exercise has been able to build upon to provide a more comprehensive assessment of Hogarth's use of the subscription process and a social analysis of his audience as a result.

The sixty four subscription tickets have been arranged on a print by print basis and are set out in date order. Biographical details are shown where these have been available either through the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, the Prerogative Probate Court of Canterbury for individuals with wealth in London at death at the National Archives or other similar databases such as Debretts relating to aristocratic and other similarly titled individuals. Inevitably, there are those who will remain 'unidentified' given the often unsystematic manner of recording names that are either indecipherable or abbreviated to such an extent as to render them untraceable within the conventional biographic databases available. The majority of subscribers have however been identified and their details are recorded alongside the first recorded entry in date order. Where there is more than one reference as was often the

case with the regular subscribers, the reader will be referred back to the first identified entry for biographical details of the subscriber.

Until 2 September 1752, Britain was on the Julian calendar, often referred to as the “Old Style” (OS) calendar. This made it eleven days behind most of the continent which used the Gregorian calendar, or “New Style” (NS) calendar. The Julian calendar placed the first day of the year on 25 March. Those entries before 2 September 1752 are in the Old Style unless otherwise noted.

Key to Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the descriptive headings to the prints

| | |
|-------|---|
| BL | British Library |
| BM | British Museum |
| FW | Fitzwilliam Museum |
| Lewis | Lewis Walpole Collection, Yale University |
| RL | Royal Library |

1. Boys Peeping at Nature - 1730

Ticket for the Harlot's Progress

Samuel Hill - 17 February 1730 (BM) - (fig.73) - No record

Ebenezer Forrest- 12 March 1730 (Lewis) - (fig.74) Lawyer and writer. Close friend of Hogarth and John Rich, proprietor of Lincoln's Inn Theatre. With others (22) he founded the 'Beefsteak Club' on 6/12/1735. Member of the same Masonic lodge as Hogarth and author of an 'Account of what seemed the most remarkable five days of peregrination' of William Tothall/Samuel Scott/William Hogarth/John Thornhill/Ebenezer Forrest with plates illustrated by Hogarth.

George Lambert - Undated (RL) - (fig.75) Landscape and scene painter in London's theatres. Signatory of the Engraver's Copyright Bill 1735 and like Hogarth was an elected governor of the Foundling Hospital in 1746. Member of the same Masonic lodge as Hogarth and member of the 'Beefsteak Club'.



Fig.73 Boys Peeping at Nature 1730/31- The British Museum

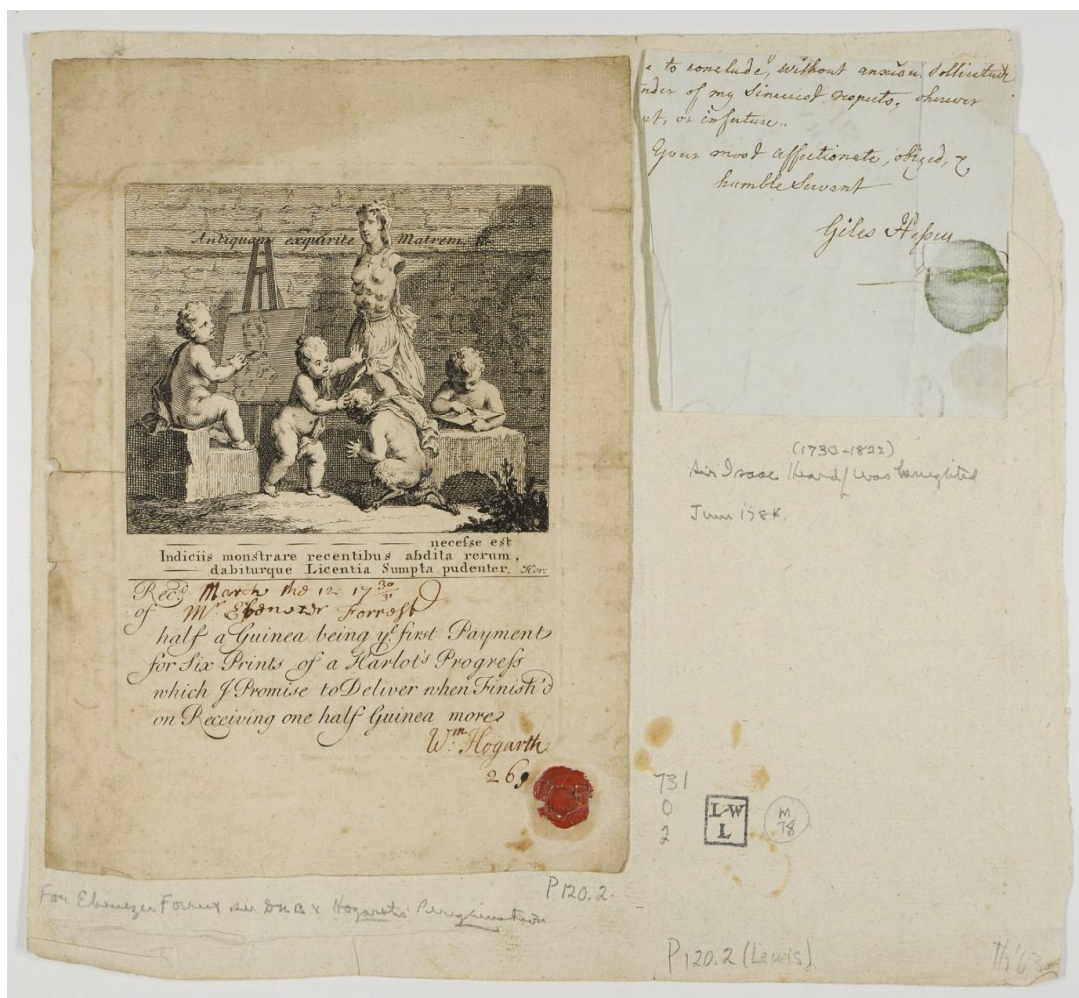


Fig.74 Boys Peeping at Nature 1730/31-The Lewis Walpole Library



Fig.75 Boys Peeping at Nature 1730/31- The Royal Library

2. A Chorus of Singers – 1732

Ticket for a Midnight Modern Conversation 1732

Thomas Wright - 22 December 1732 (BM) - (fig.76) Astronomer and landscape gardener. Originally from Byers Green, Spennymoor, County Durham, lived on the fringes of high society in London.

Thomas Birch - 27 December 1732 (RL) - (fig.77) Secretary of the Royal Society and part of the 'Hardwicke Circle' which exercised considerable influence in contemporary society. Birch was at the hub of the London learned world.

Henry Gray - 29 December 1732 (BM) - (fig.78) Mercer of Saint Clement Danes, Middlesex.

George Lambert - 27 February 1733 (RL) - (fig.79) See previous biography in 'Boys peeping at Nature'.



Fig.76. A Chorus of Singers 1732 - The British Museum



Fig.77. A Chorus of Singers 1732 - The Royal Library



Fig.78. A Chorus of Singers 1732 -The British Museum



Fig.79. A Chorus of Singers 1732 - The Royal Library

3. The Laughing Audience - 1733

Ticket for Southwark Fair and the Rake's Progress

The Duke of Queensborough - 9 January 1733 (BM) - (fig.80) Likely to be Charles Douglas, courtier and politician and 3rd Duke of Queensberry 1698-1778

William Windham Esq - 12 December 1733 (FW) - (Fig.81) MP for Aldeburgh 1747-61 and Helston 1766-68

John Hess - 1 March 1734 (RL) - (fig.82) - No record.

James Gosset- 6 May 1735 (RL) - (fig.83) Frame maker and wax modeller. Made wax cameo portrait of Benjamin Hoadley.

William Huthwaite - 21 June 1735 (FW) - (fig.84) - No record.

Lord Biron - 18 December (Lewis) - unable to photograph.



Fig .80 The Laughing Audience 1733- The British Museum

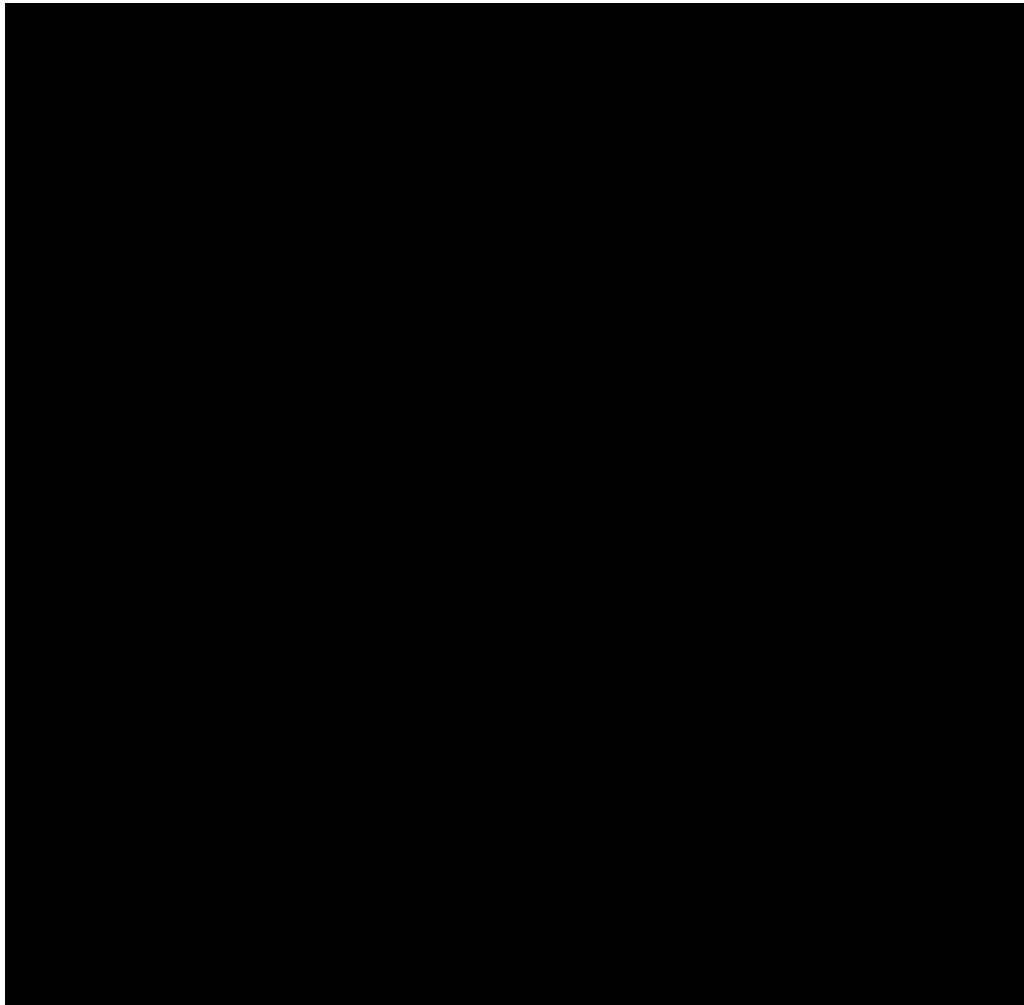


Fig 81. The Laughing Audience 1733. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.



Fig.82. The Laughing Audience 1733 - The Royal Library



Fig.83. The Laughing Audience 1733 - The Royal Library

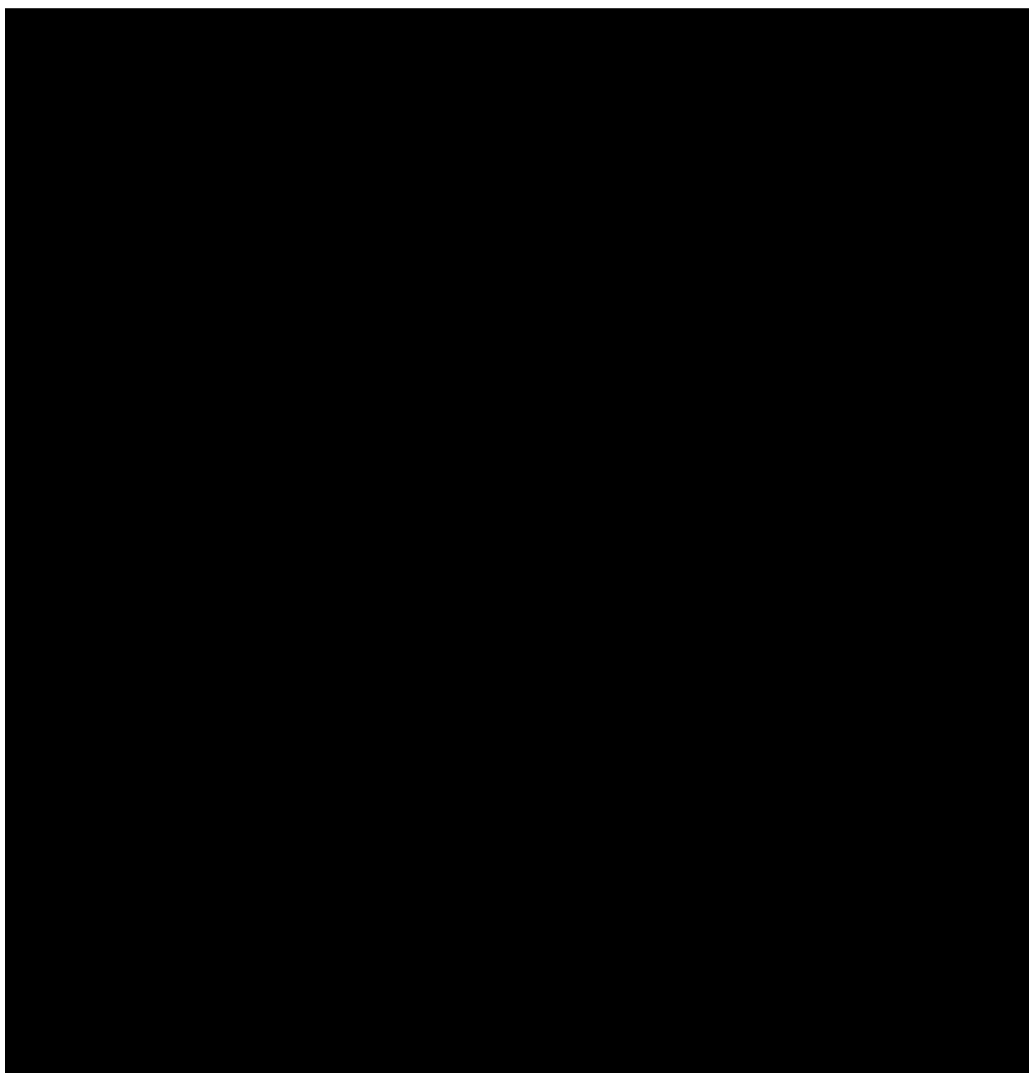


Fig.84. The Laughing Audience 1733 – Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum

Advertisement in the London Journal -22 December 1733 for Southwark Fair and the Rake's Progress. (fig.85)

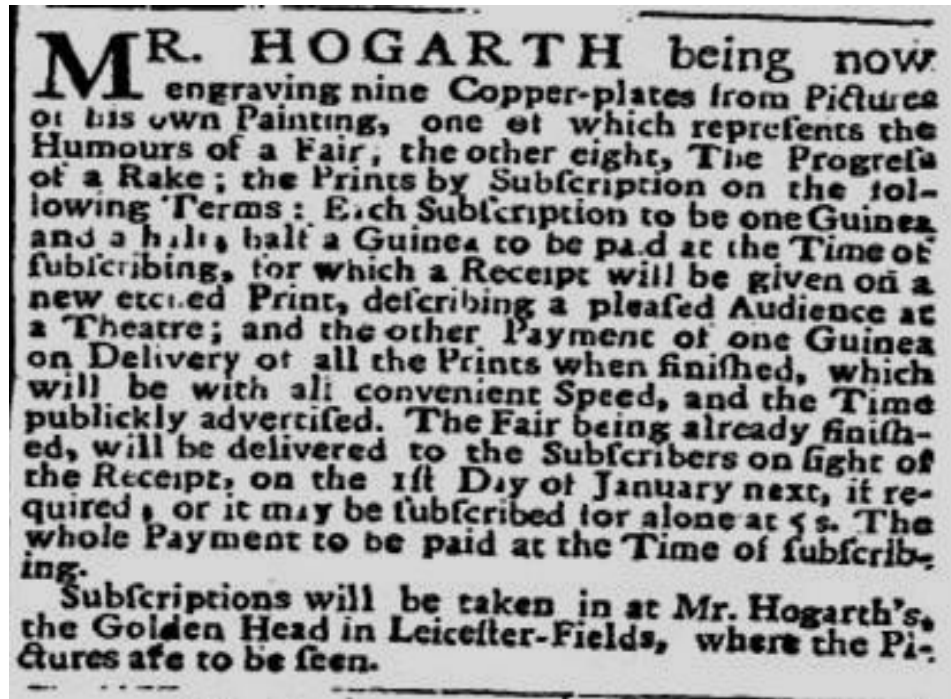


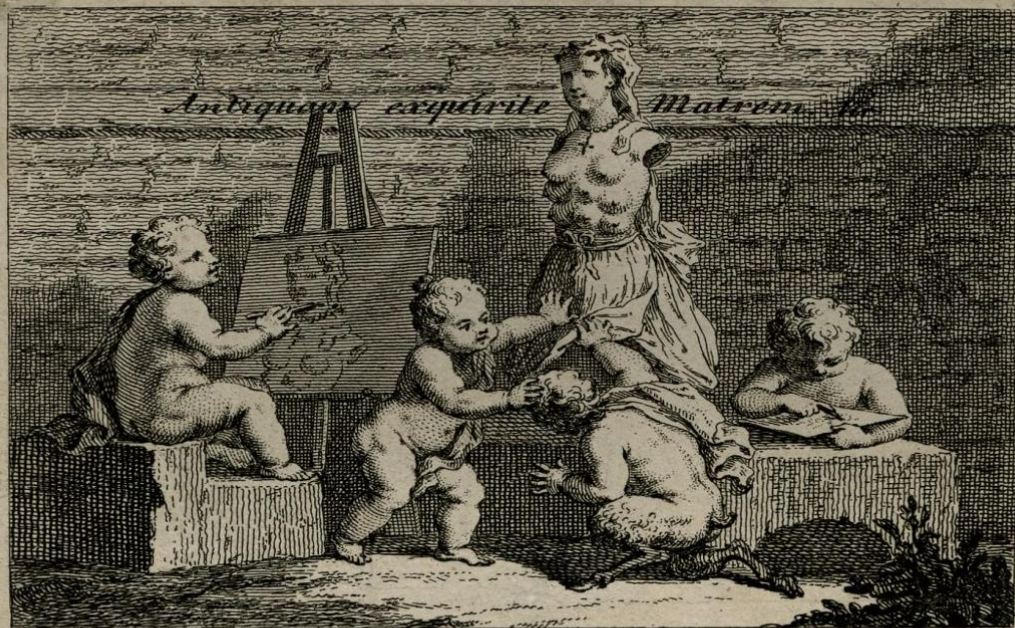
Fig.85. London Journal- 22 December 1733

4. Boys Peeping at Nature - 1737

Ticket for Strolling Actresses and Four Times of the Day

John Sexton - 17 March 1737 (BM) - (fig.86) - No record.

Jo Barbaroux - 11 May 1737 (BM) - (fig.87) - No record but possibly an interested French artist engraver.



Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum, necesse est
dabiturque Licentia Sumpta pudenter. *Kor.*

Rec.^d 1737.
Half a Guinea being the First Payment for five Large Prints.
One representing a Strolling Company of Actresses Dressing them-
selves for the Play, in a Barn; and the other four Morning,
Noon, Evening and Night.
Which I promise to deliver on Lady day next on Receiving half
a Guinea more. *N.B. they will be 25 Shilling after y^e Subscription*
is over

Fig.86. Boys Peeping at Nature 1737- The British Museum



neceffe est
Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
dabiturque Licentia Sumpta pudenter. Hor.

Rec.^d May. 11 1737. of Mr. Barber
Half a Guinea being the First Payment for five Large Prints.
One representing a Strolling Company of Actresses Dressing them-
selves for the Play, in a Barn; and the other four Morning,
Noon, Evening and Night.
Which I promise to deliver on Lady day next on Receiving half
a Guinea more. N.B. they will be 25 Shilling after y^e Subscription
is over

Wm. Hogarth

Fig 87. Boys Peeping at Nature 1737- The British Museum

5. Characters and Caricaturas - 1743

Ticket for Marriage-a-la-Mode

John Huggins - 12 April 1743 (BM) - (fig.88) Former Warden of Fleet prison and father of John Huggins, close friend of Hogarth's.

John Loyd - 24 April 1743 (FW) - (fig.89) - No record

Mr Millan - 28 April 1743 (BM) - (fig.90) - No record

Mathew Lamb - 4 May 1743 (Lewis) - (fig.91) Politician and lawyer. Later knighted.

John Townsend - 18 May 1743 (FW) - (fig.92) - No record

James Theobald - 5 May 1743 (RL) - (fig.93) Merchant and Antiquary. Freeman of the City. Fellow Governor of the Foundling Hospital.

George Sayar - 28 May 1743 (BM) - (fig.94) - No record

James Simpson - 2 December 1743 (FW) - (fig.95) Print Seller and Engraver

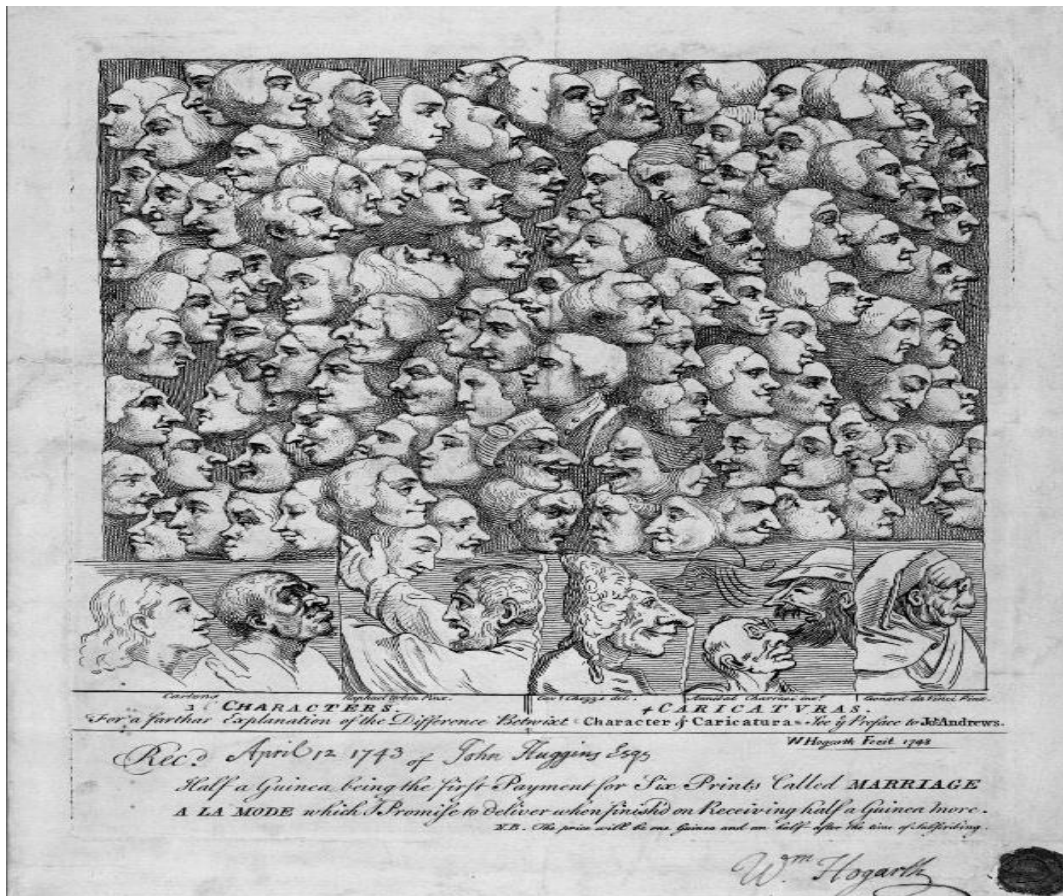


Fig.88. Characters and Caricaturas 1743 - The British Museum

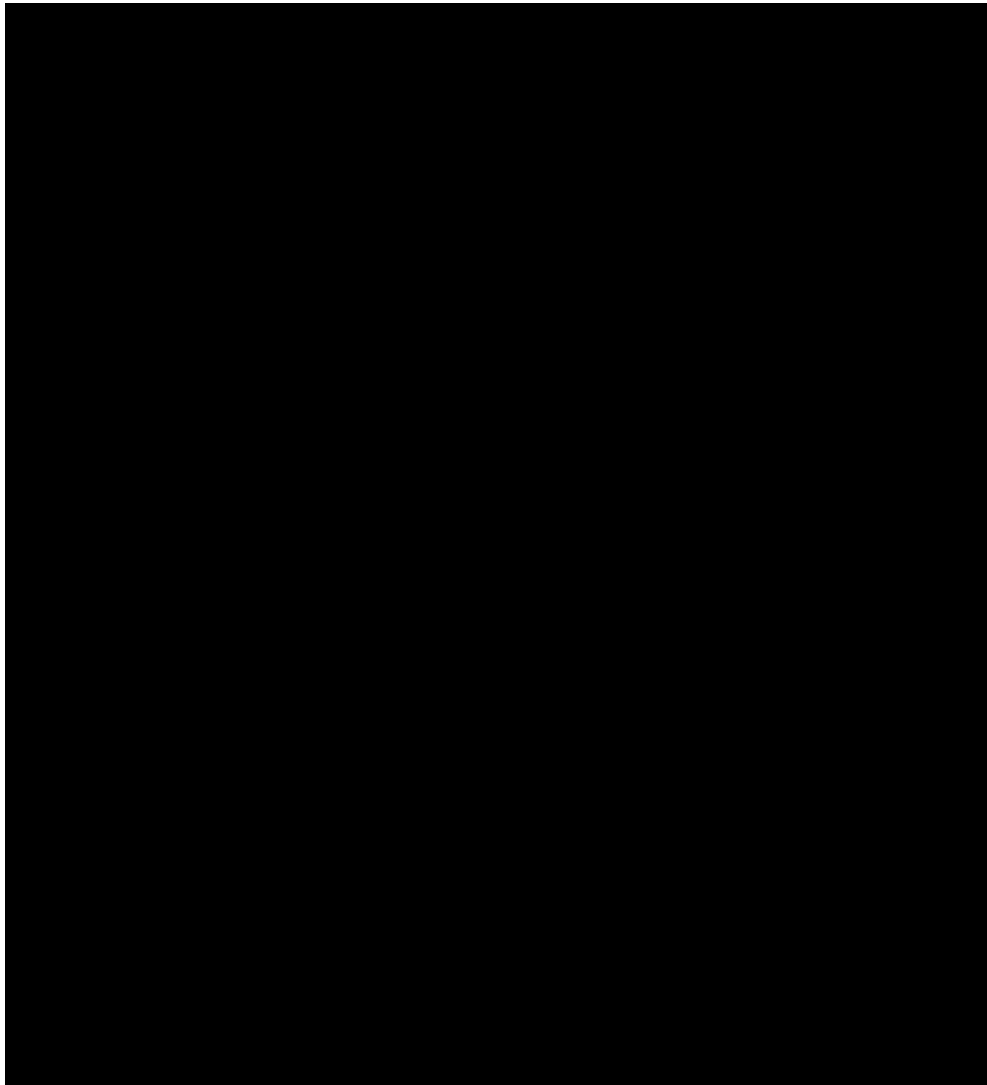


Fig.89. Characters and Caricaturas 1743. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

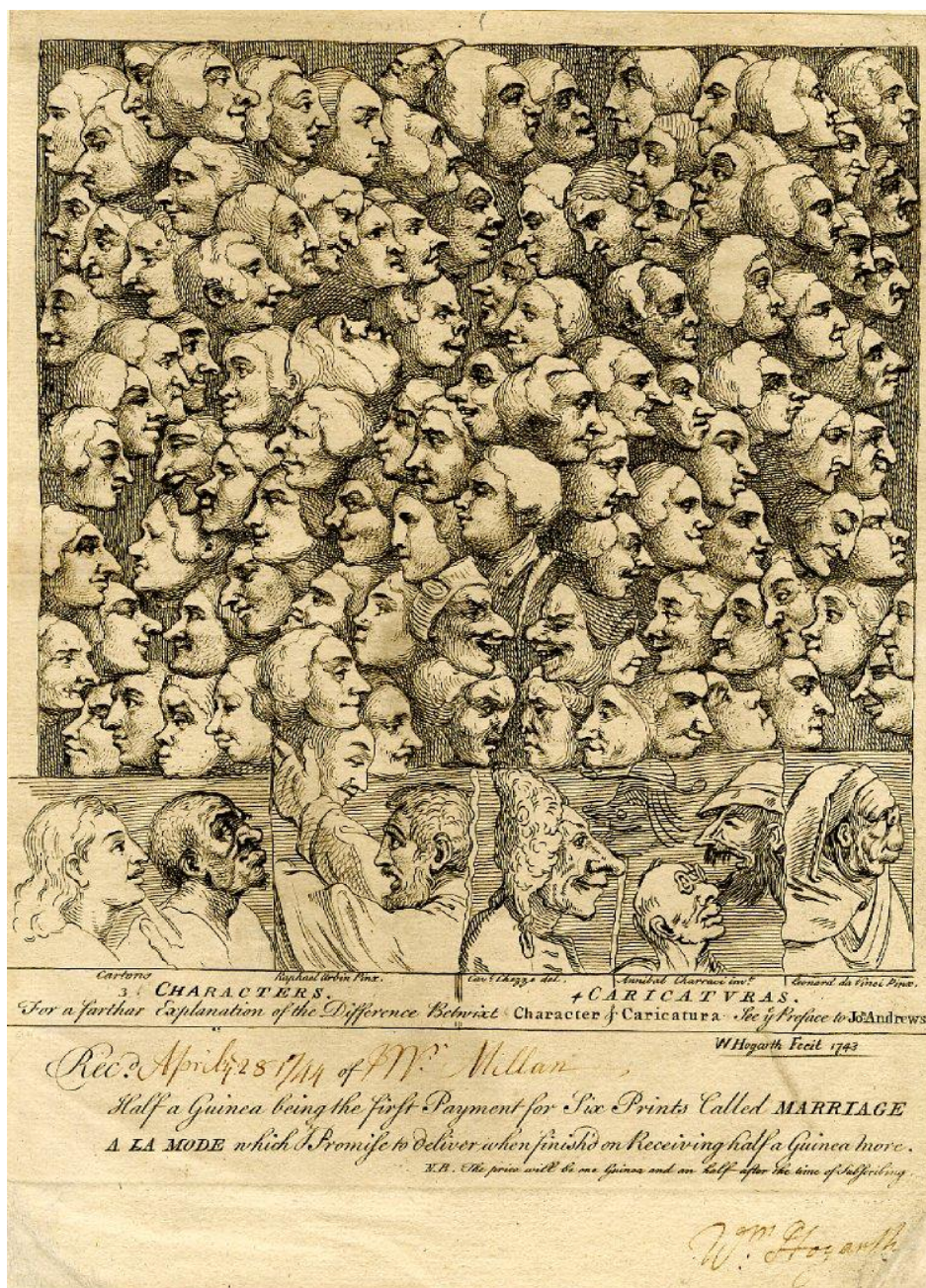


Fig.90. Characters and Caricaturas 1743 - The British Museum

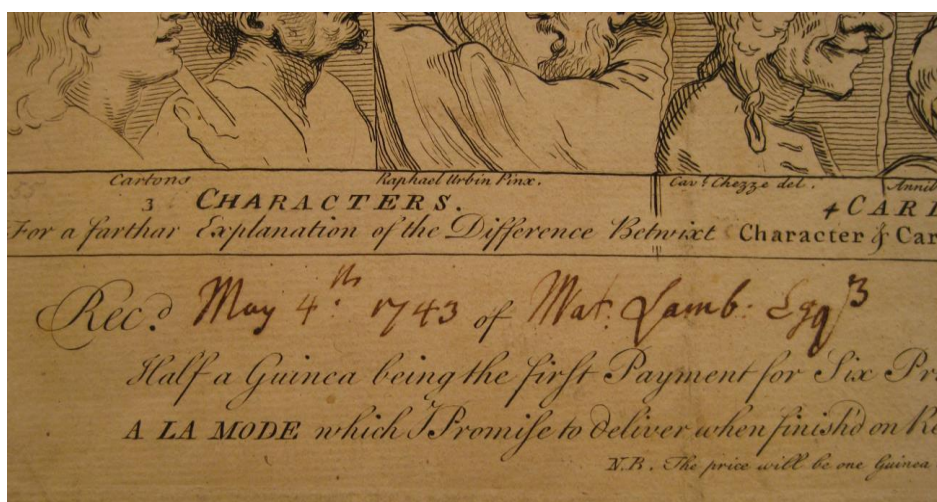


Fig.91. Characters and Caricaturas (Part) 1743 - The Lewis Walpole Library

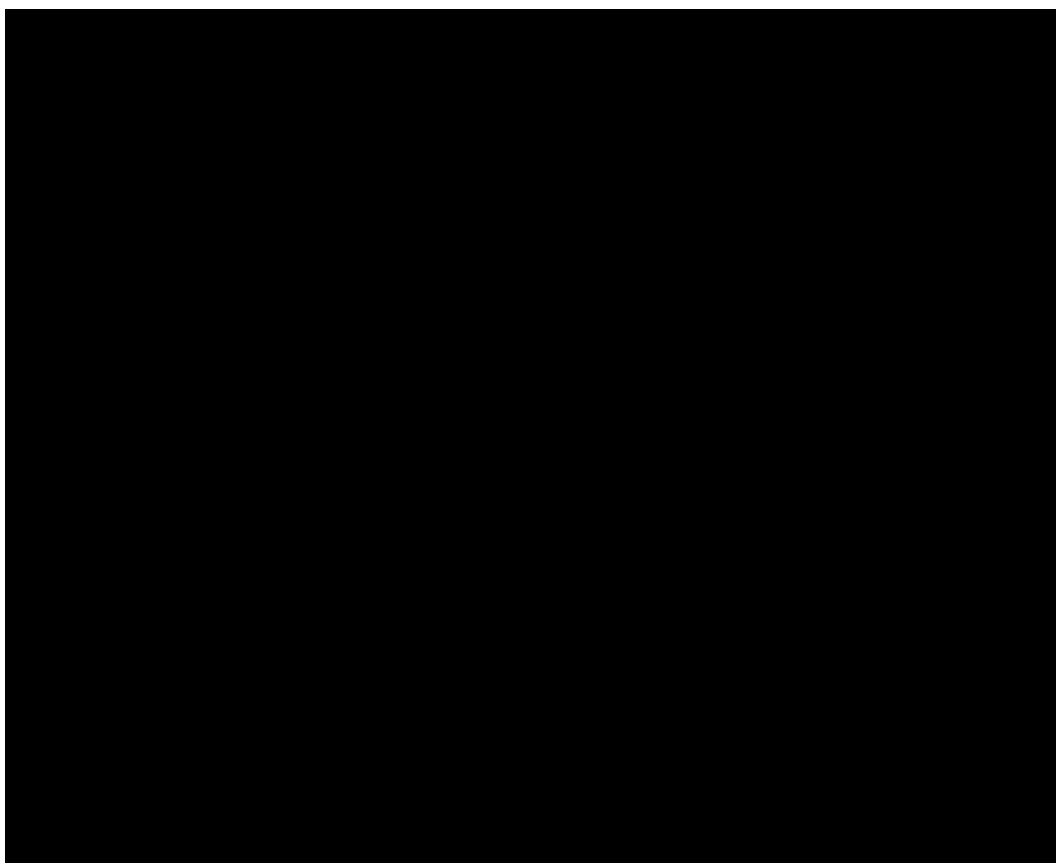


Fig.92. Characters and Caricaturas 1743. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.



Fig.93. Characters and Caricaturas 1743 - The Royal Library

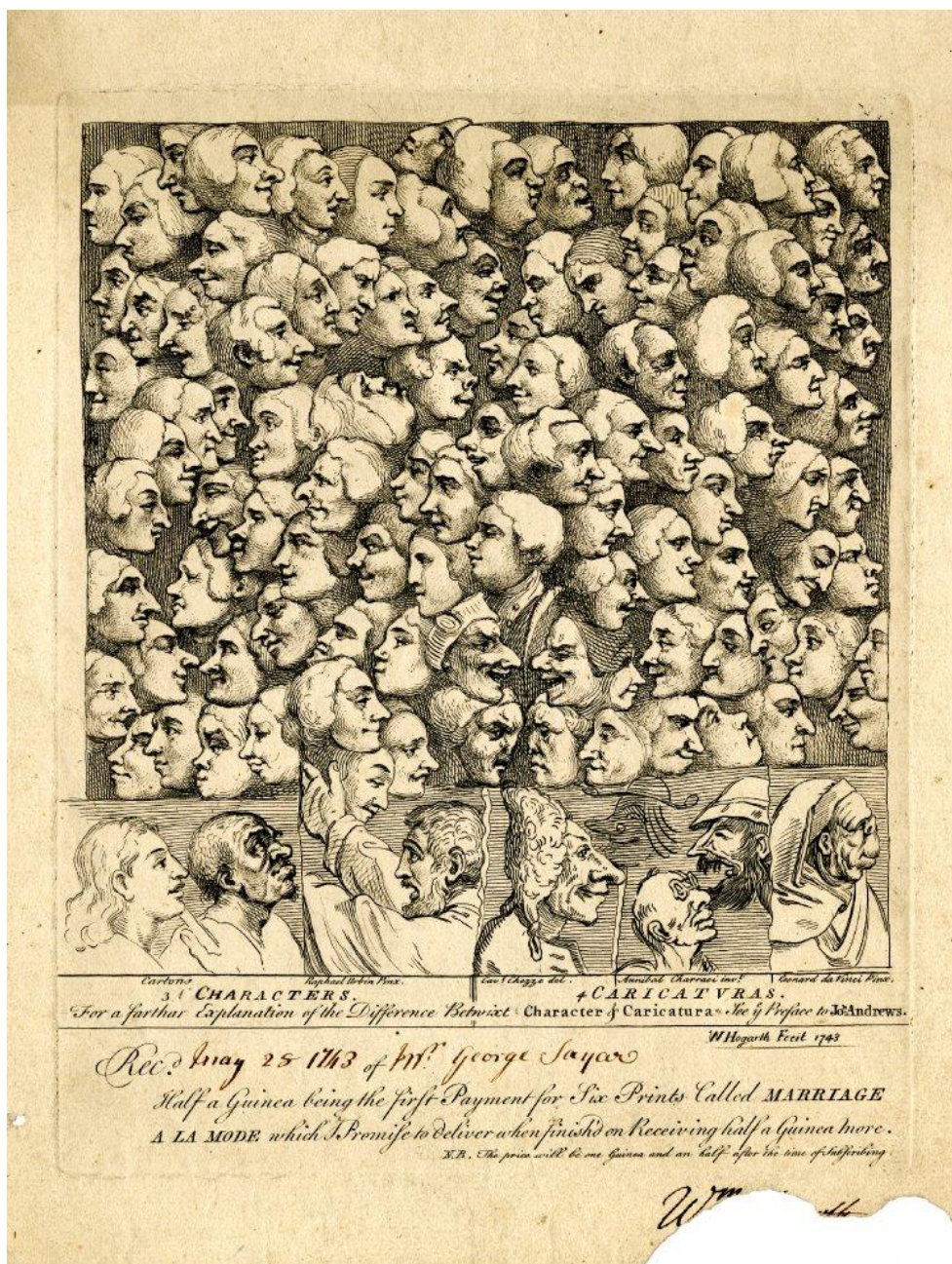


Fig.94. Characters and Caricaturas 1743 - The British Museum



Fig.95. Characters and Caricaturas 1743. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

6. Battle of the Pictures - 1744/45

Bidder's Ticket for Hogarth's Auction of Paintings (fig. 96)



Fig.96. The Battle of the Pictures - 1744/45

7. Mask and Palette - 1745

Ticket for Garrick in the Character of Richard III

Mr Flockton (not paid) – No date (BM) - (fig.97) - No record

Mr K Richardson – No date (FW) - (fig.98) - No record

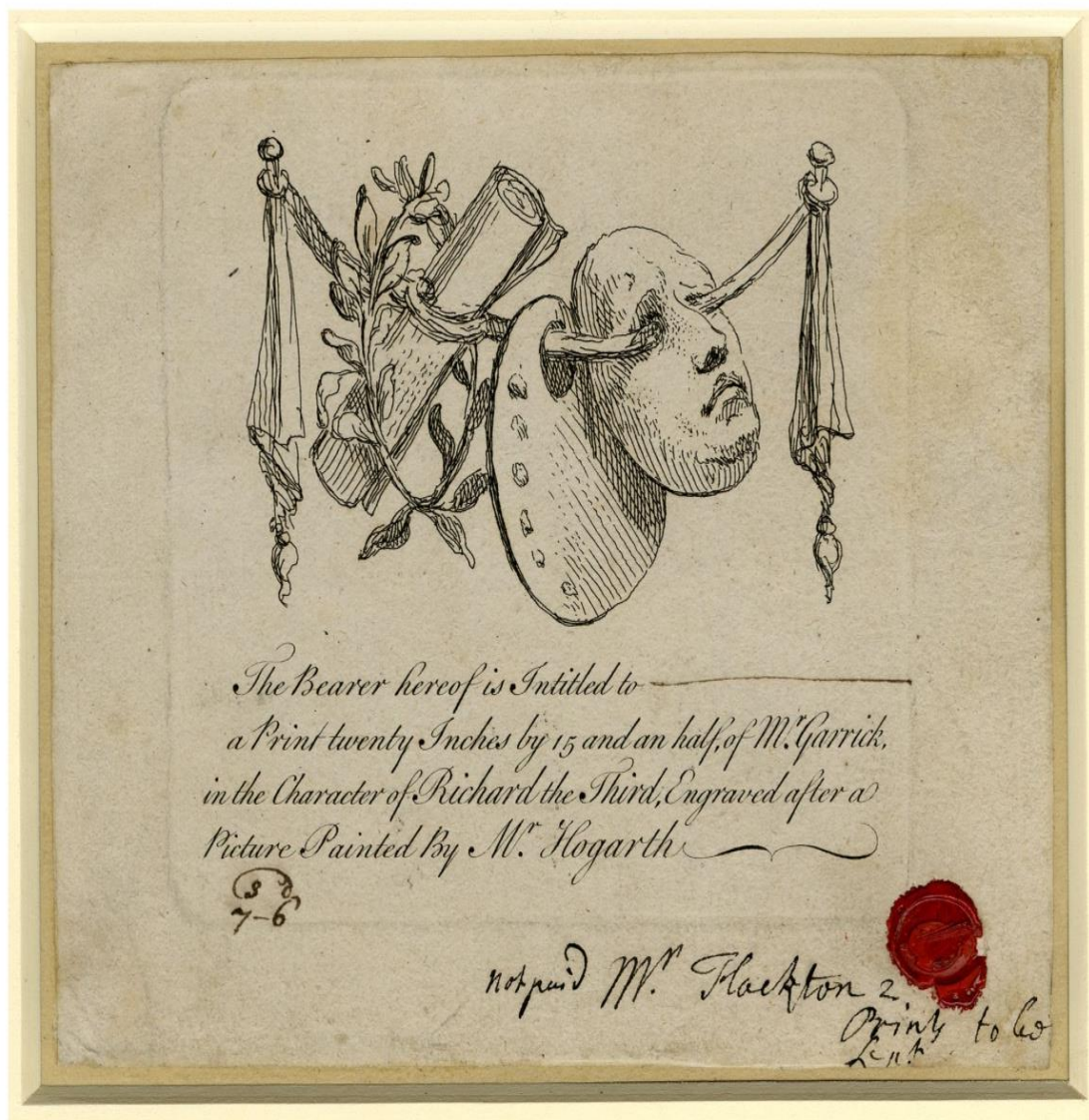


Fig.97. Mask and Palette 1745- The British Museum

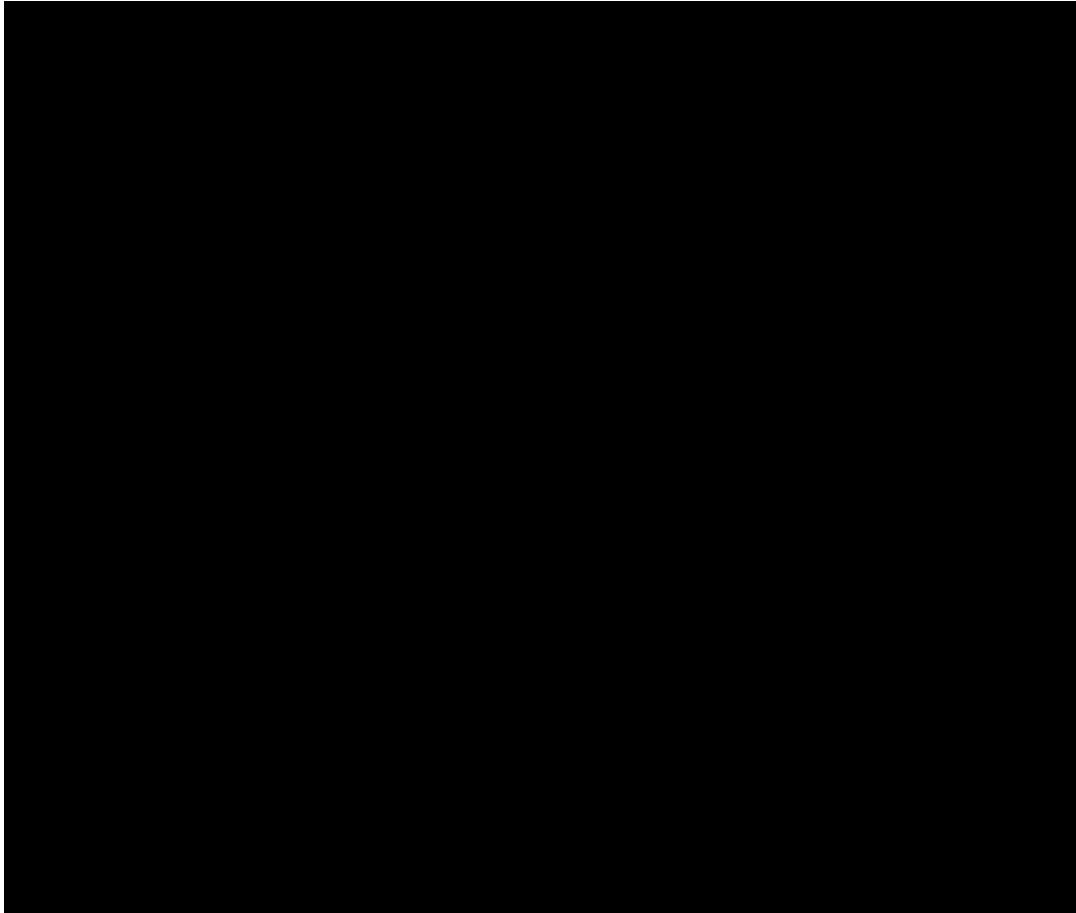


Fig.98. Mask and Palette 1745. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

8. A Stand of Arms, Musical Instruments etc - 1749

Ticket for The March to Finchley

William Townshend - 24 March 1750 (FW) - (fig.99) Politician and MP for Great Yarmouth 1723-38. Appointed Groom of the Bedchamber by Fredrick, Prince of Wales with whom he had a close friendship.

Duke of Richmond - 29 March 1750 - (BM) - (fig.100) Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond.

Samuel Scot - 2 April 1750 (FW) - (fig.101) Poet and writer.

Mrs Maddox - 14 April 1750 (FW) - (fig.102) - No record

James Theobald - 28 April 1750 (FW) - (fig.103) Merchant and antiquary, fellow governor of the Foundling Hospital.

Duke of Portland - 16 May 1750 (BM) - (fig.104) William Henry Cavendish, third Duke of Portland.

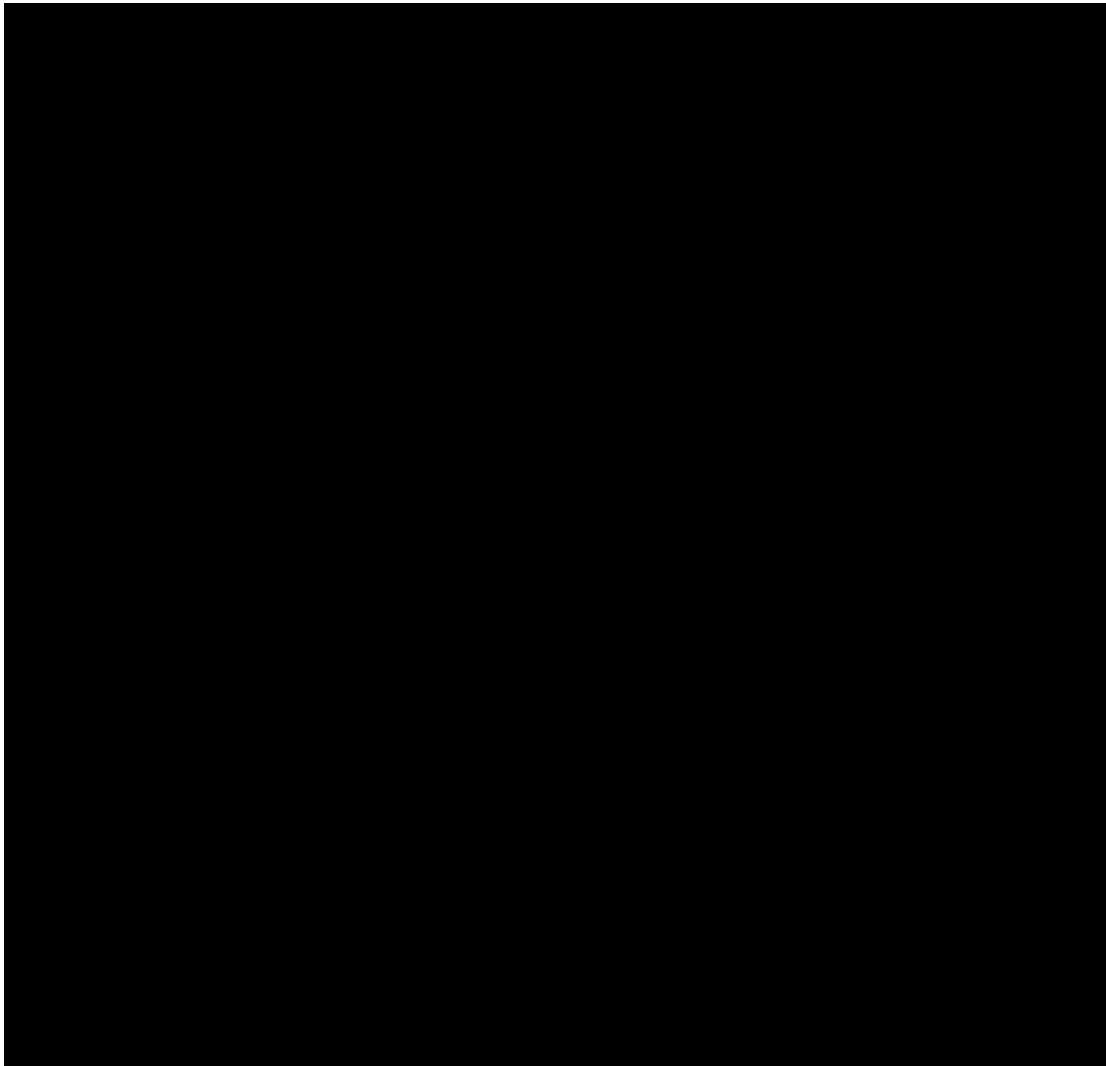


Fig 99. A Stand of Arms, Musical Instruments Etc 1749. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum.

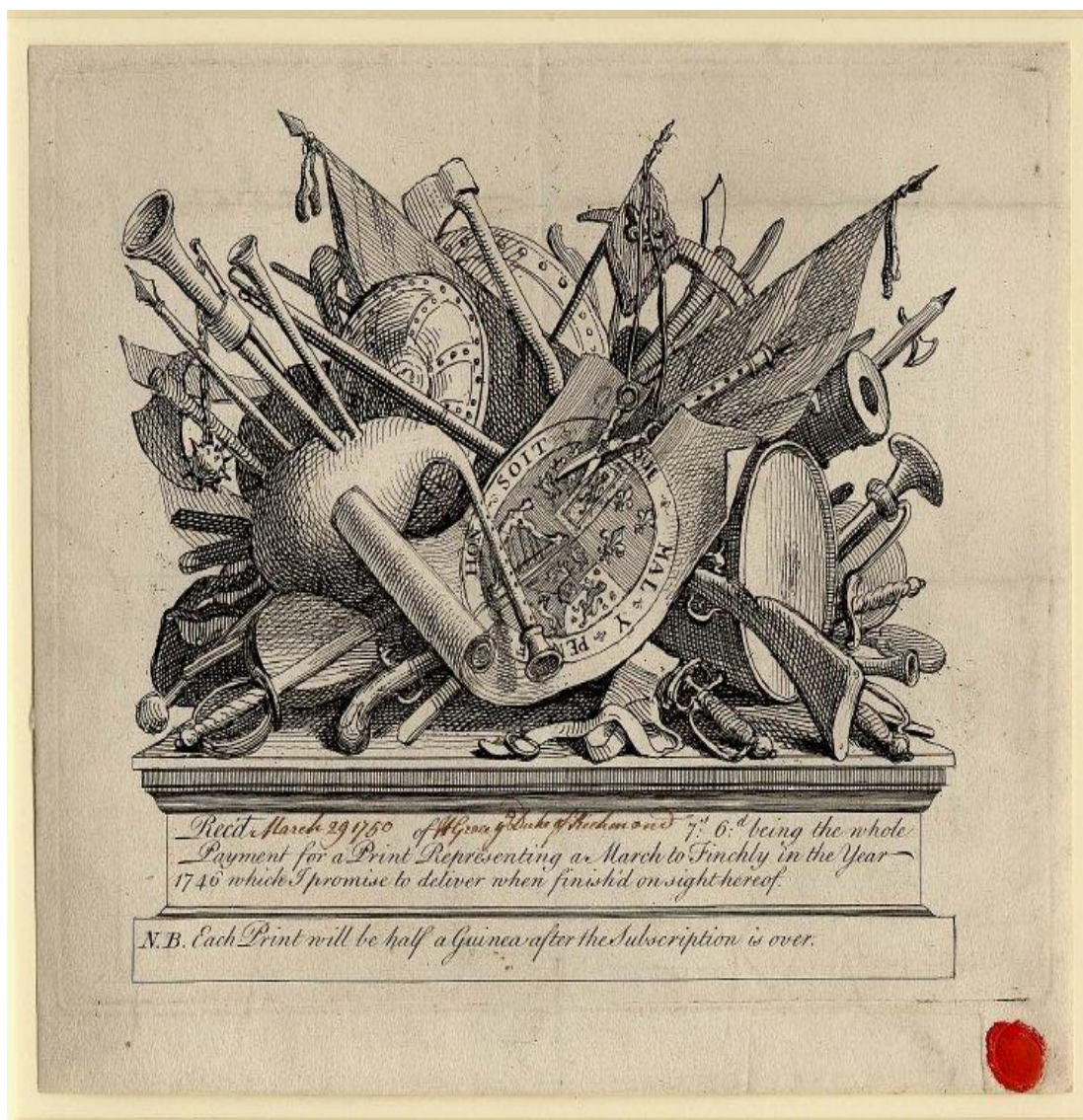


Fig.100. A Stand of Arms, Musical Instruments etc 1750 – The British Museum

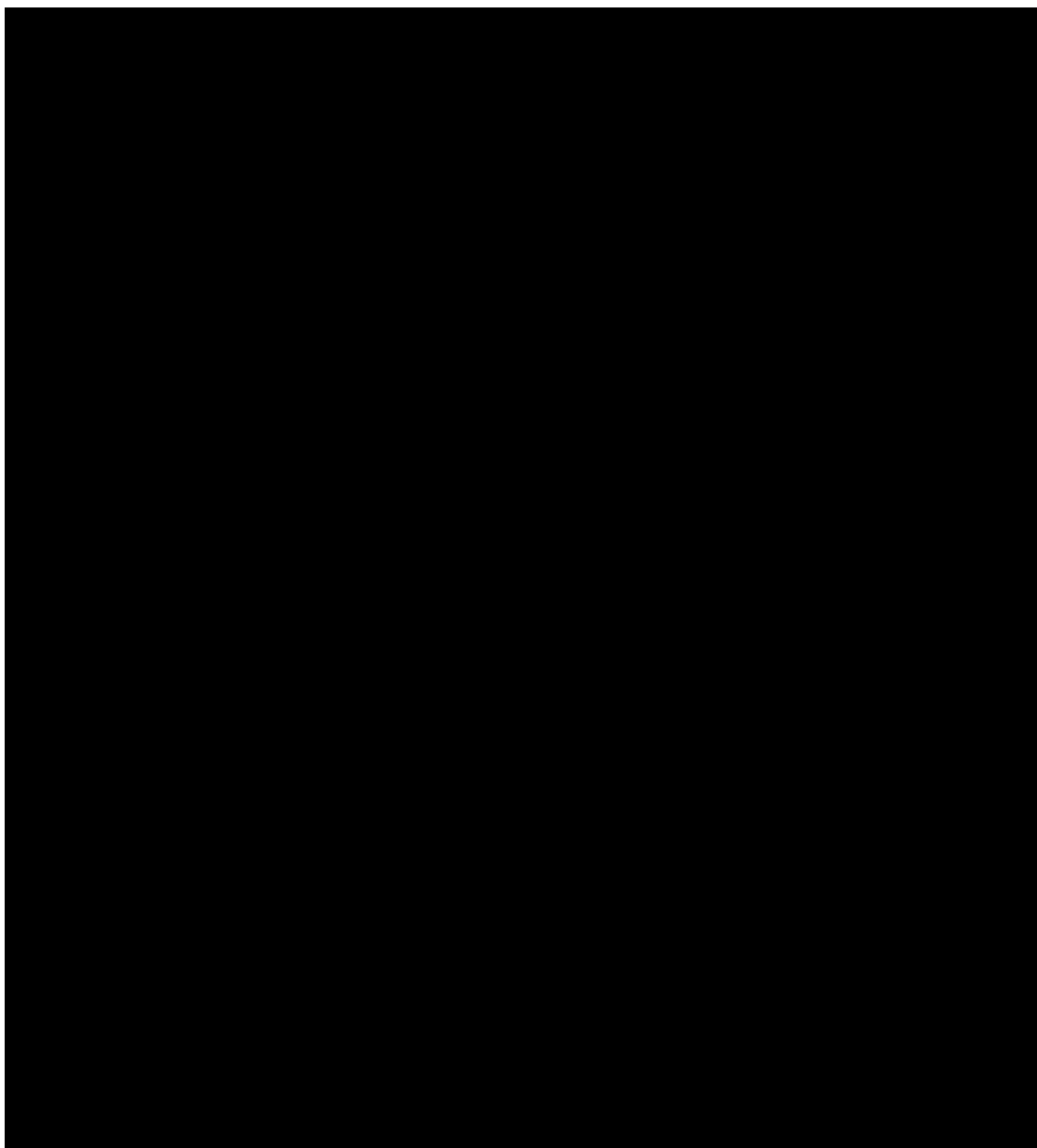


Fig.101. A Stand of Arms, Musical Instruments Etc 1749. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum



Fig.102. A Stand of Arms, Musical Instruments Etc 1749. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

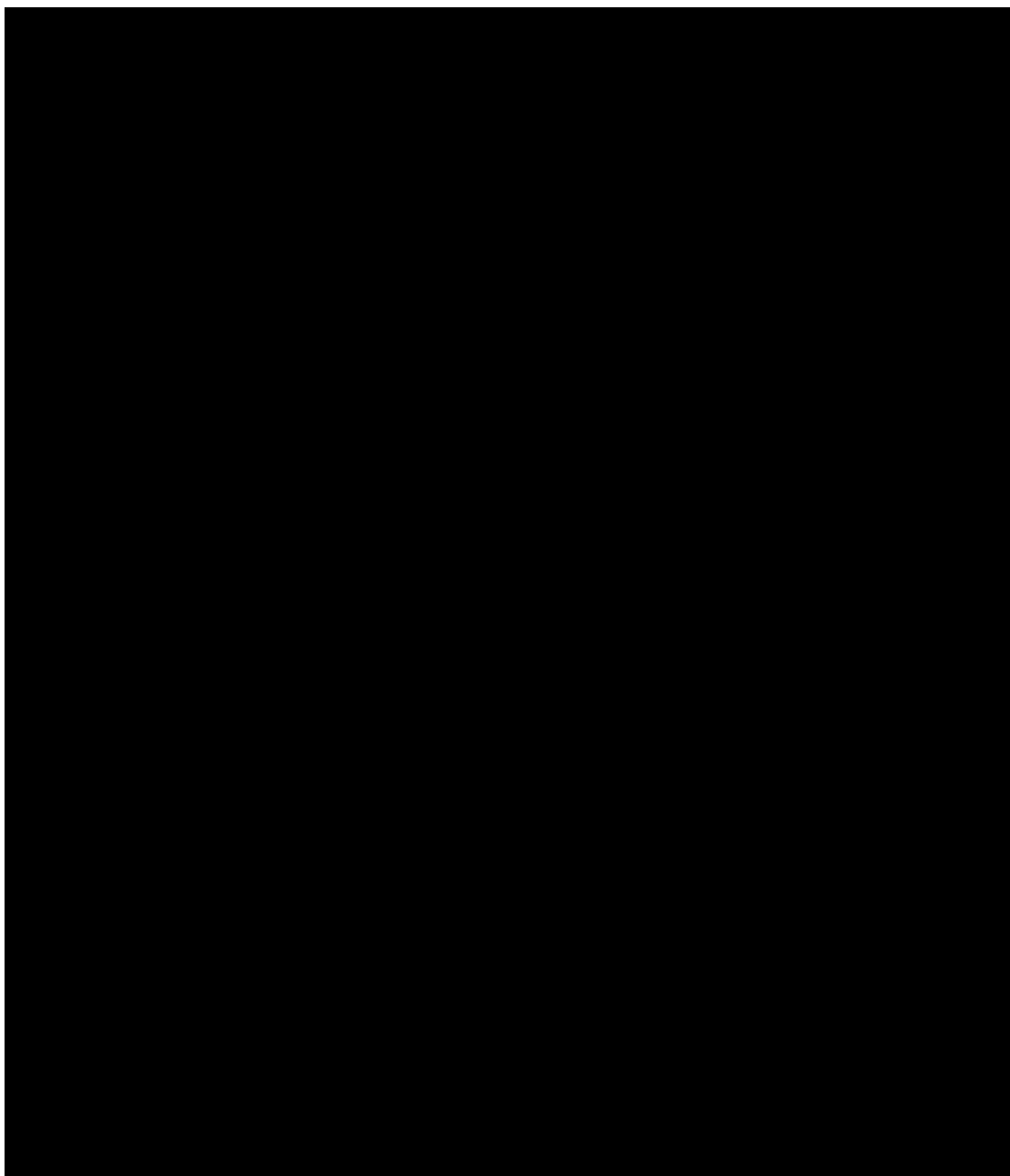


Fig.103. A Stand of Arms, Musical Instruments Etc 1749. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

9. Boys Peeping at Nature (reworked) - 1751

Ticket for Moses Brought to Pharaoh's Daughter and Paul before Felix

John Danby Esq - 2 December 1751 (BM) - (fig.105) Organist and composer.



Fig.105. Boys Peeping at Nature 1751- The British Museum

10. Paul before Felix Burlesqued 1751

Ticket for Paul Before Felix and Moses Brought to Pharaoh's Daughter 1751

William Hunter - 16 May 1751 (FW) - (fig.106) Physician, anatomist and man-midwife.

Mr Fazakerley - 5 June 1751 (BM) - (fig.107) Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn when Hogarth was awarded the commission to paint *Paul before Felix* in the main dining hall.

Col. Stephenson - 6 June 1751 (FW) - (fig.108) - No record

Thos Millisant - 6 June 1751 (RL) - (fig.109) - No record

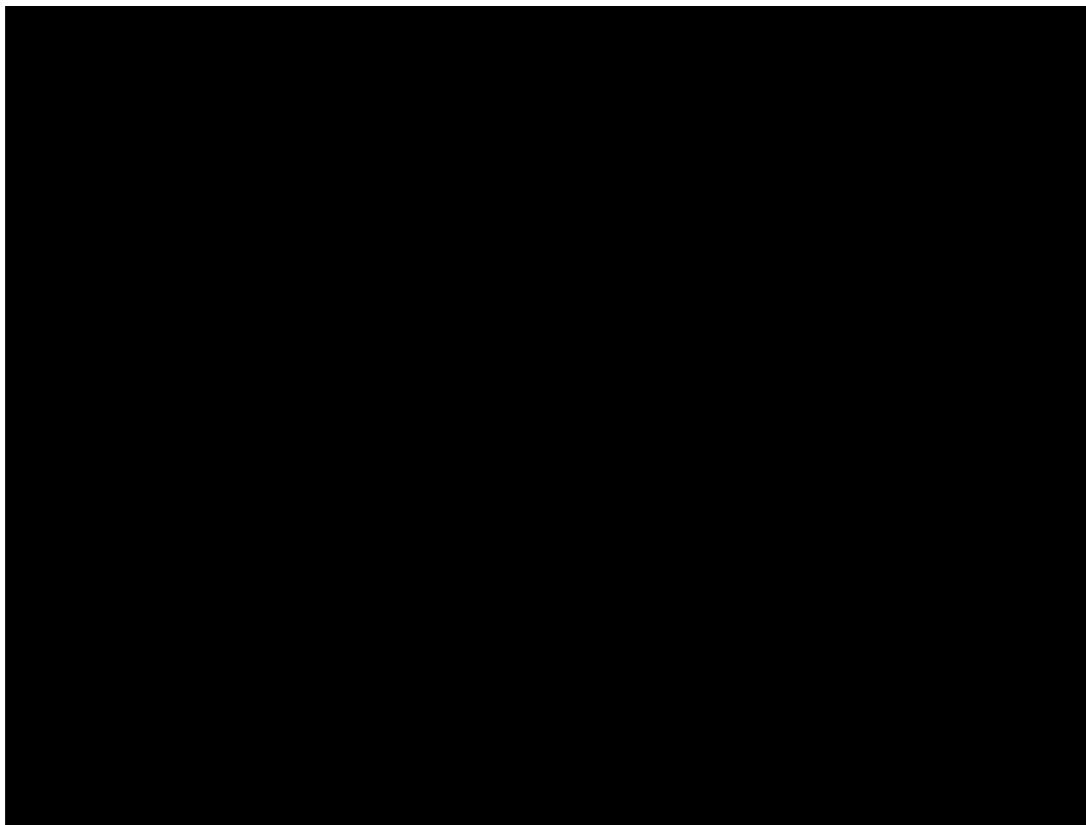


Fig.106. Paul Before Felix Burlesqued 1751. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

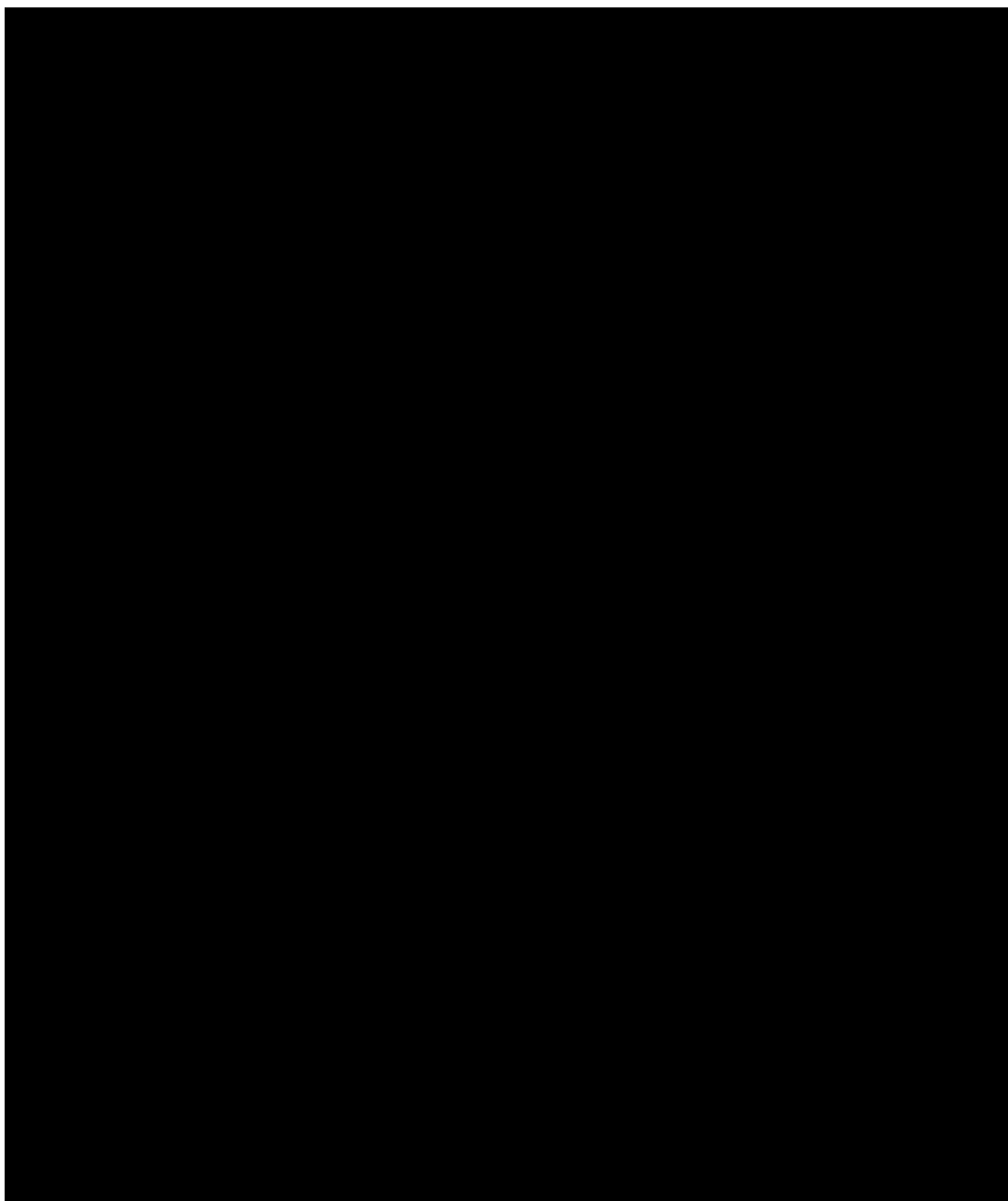


Fig.108. Paul Before Felix Burlesqued 1751.Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

11. Paul before Felix Burlesqued- Advertisement in the General Advertiser 15 May 1751 (fig.110)

MR. HOGARTH proposes to publish by Subscription, Two Large PRINTS, One representing *Moses* brought to *Pharaoh's Daughter*; the other, *Paul before Felix*; engraved after the Pictures of his Painting, which are now hung up in the Foundling-Hospital and Lincoln's Inn Hall. Five Shillings to be paid at the Time of Subscribing, and five more on the Delivery of the said Prints.

For the first Payment a Receipt will be given, which Receipt will contain a new Print (in the true Dutch Taste) of *Paul before Felix*.

N.B. The above two Prints will be 7s. 6d. each after the Subscription is over, and the Receipt Print will be sold at a very extraordinary Price.

Subscriptions will be taken till the 6th of June next, and no longer, at the Golden Head in Leicester-fields, where the Drawings may be seen, as likewise the Author's six Pictures of *Marriage A-la-mode*, which are to be disposed of within the said Time, by a new Method, to the best Bidder.

Fig.110. General Advertiser 15 May 1751- Fig.102

12. Covent Garden Journal – 29 February 1752 (fig.111)

Release of the Prints- Paul before Felix

Mr. HOGARTH hereby
gives Notice,

THAT his two Prints, one of *Moses* brought to *Pharaoh's Daughter*; the other *Paul before Felix*; are ready to be deliver'd to the Subscribers, at the Golden-Head in Leicester-Fields.

Where may be had all his other Works.

Fig. 111. Covent Garden Journal- 29 February 1752

13. Columbus Breaking the Egg - 1752

Ticket for The Analysis of Beauty 1753

George Burges - 2 April 1752 (BM) - (fig.112) Classical Scholar.

George Knapton - 19 April 1752 (BM) - (fig.113) Painter and art connoisseur.
Attended the St Martin's Lane Academy similar to Hogarth.

Thomas Lewis - 27 April 1752 (FW) - (fig.114) Actor and Theatre manager.

Richard Owen Cambridge - 28 May 1752 (FW) - (fig 115) Poet and essayist.

Henry Symonds Esq - 7 July 1752 (BM) - (fig.116) - No record.

John Ranby - 11 July 1752 (FW) - (fig.117) - Surgeon-in-ordinary to the King's Household and neighbour of Hogarth's at Chiswick where he succeeded Henry Fielding as tenant.

Charles Rogers - 4 August 1752 (BM) - (fig.118) Art Collector and Connoisseur.

William Hunter - 11 August 1752 (FW) - (fig.119) - Physician, anatomist and man-midwife.

Alexander Dobson - 7 October 1752 (FW) - (fig.120) - No record

Edward Saunderson - 21 November 1752 - (Lewis) - (fig.121) - No record.

Francis Cotes - 27 November 1752 (FW) - (fig.122) Portrait painter.

Miss Theobald - 28 November 1752 (FW) - (fig.123) Possibly related to James Theobald merchant and antiquary and fellow governor of the Foundling Hospital with Hogarth.

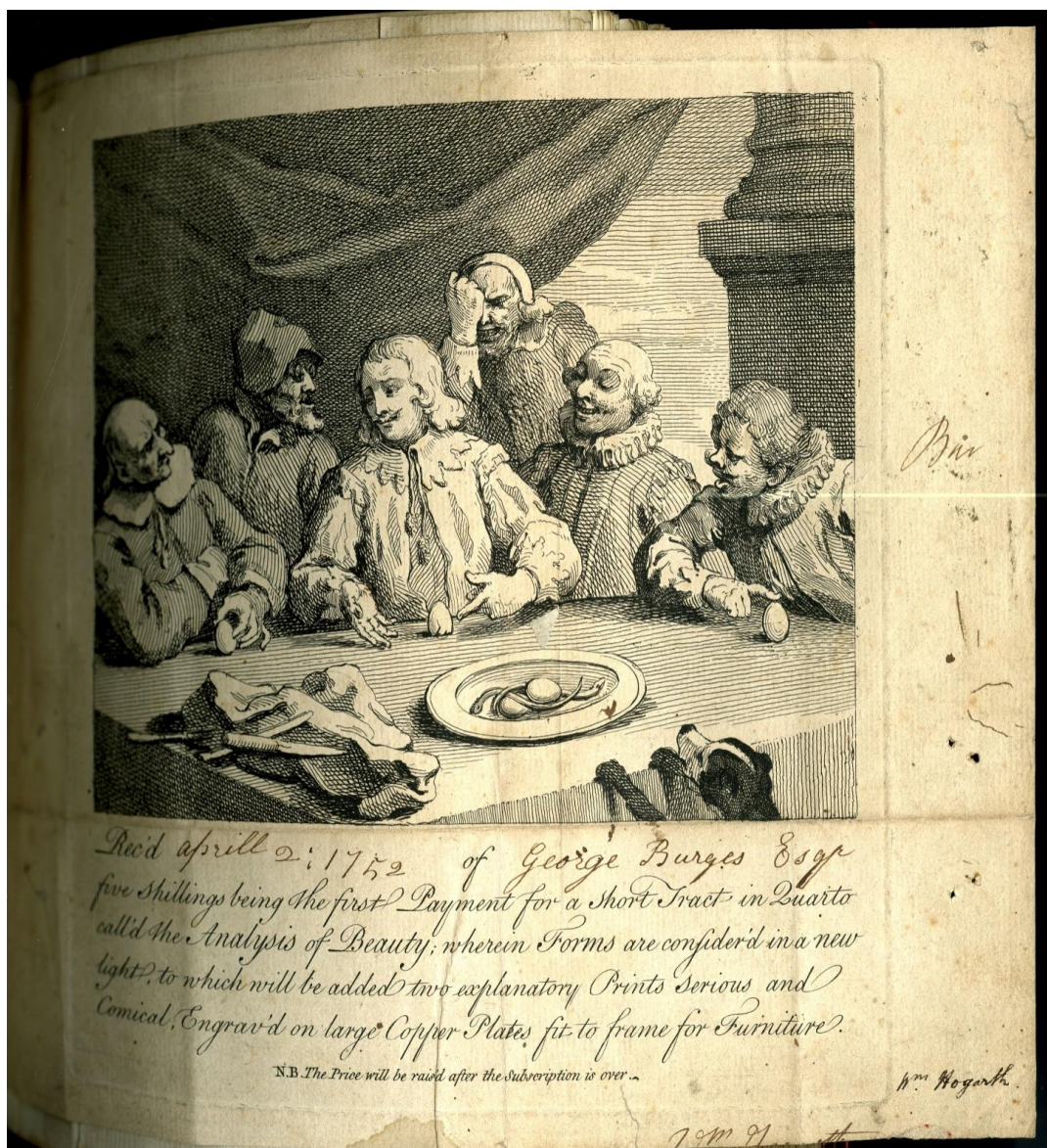


Fig.112. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752 - The British Museum

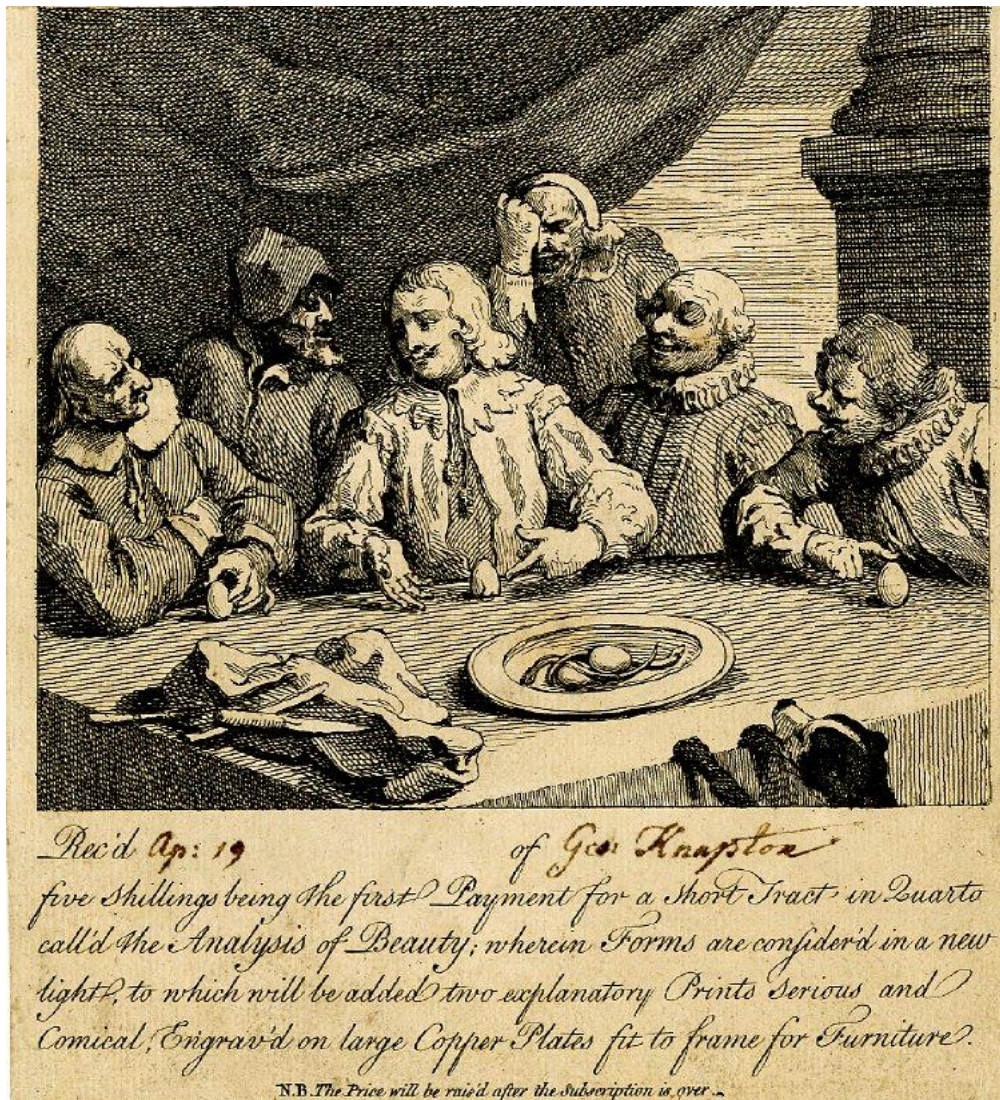


Fig.113. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752 - The British Museum

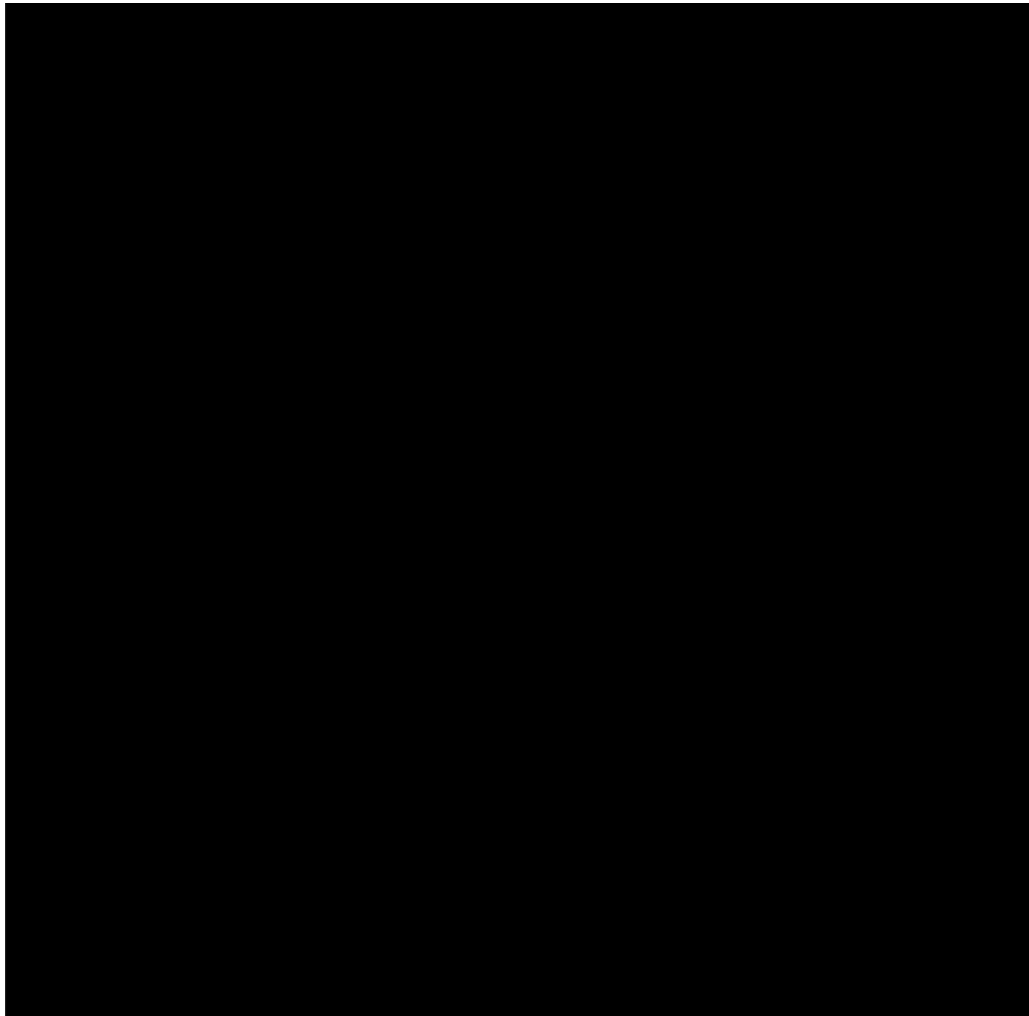


Fig.114. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

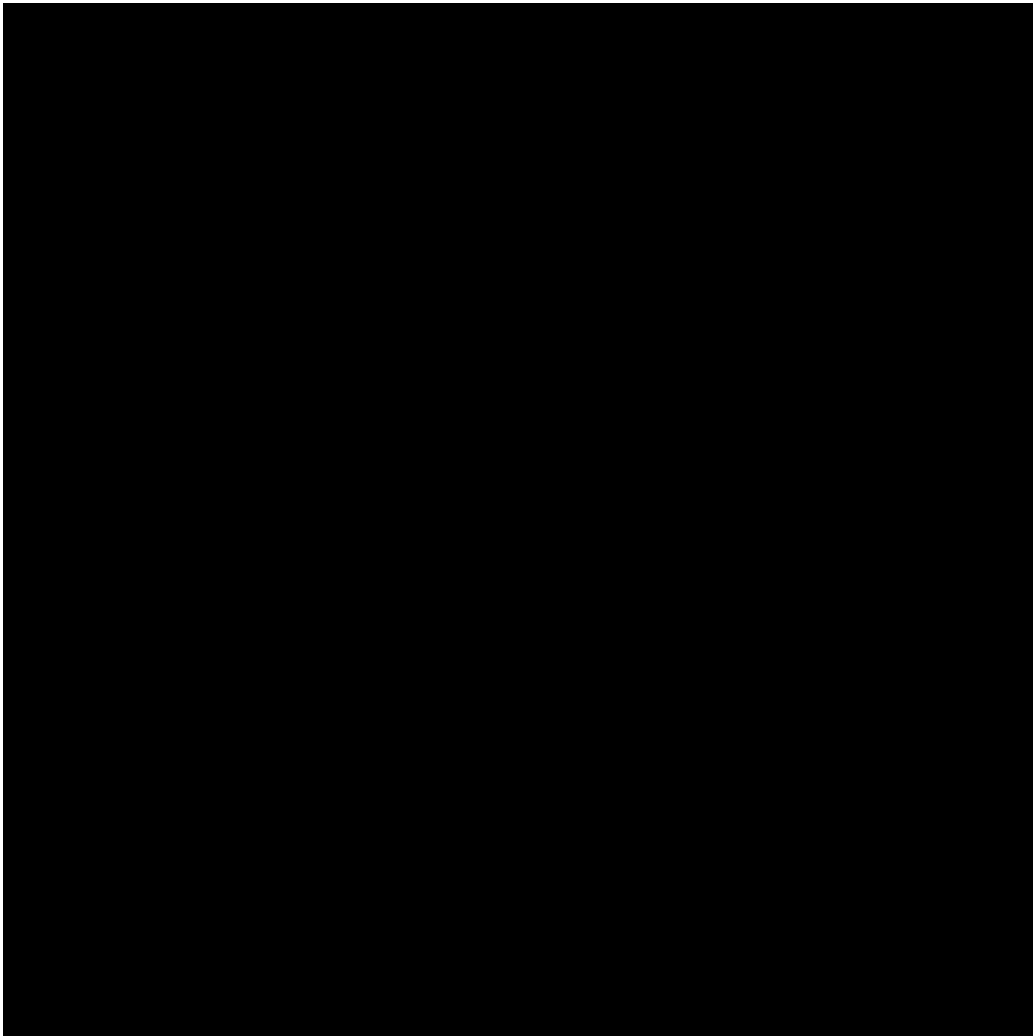


Fig.115. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to
The Fitzwilliam Museum.

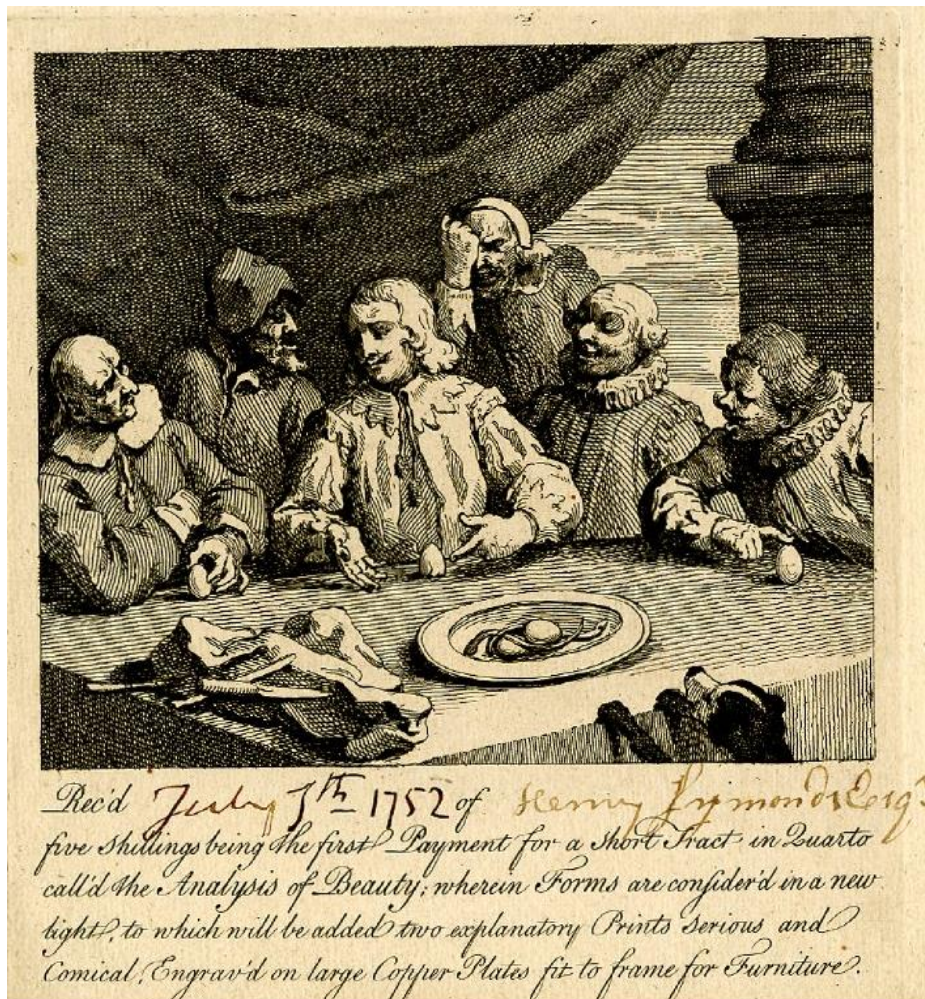


Fig.116. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752 - The British Museum

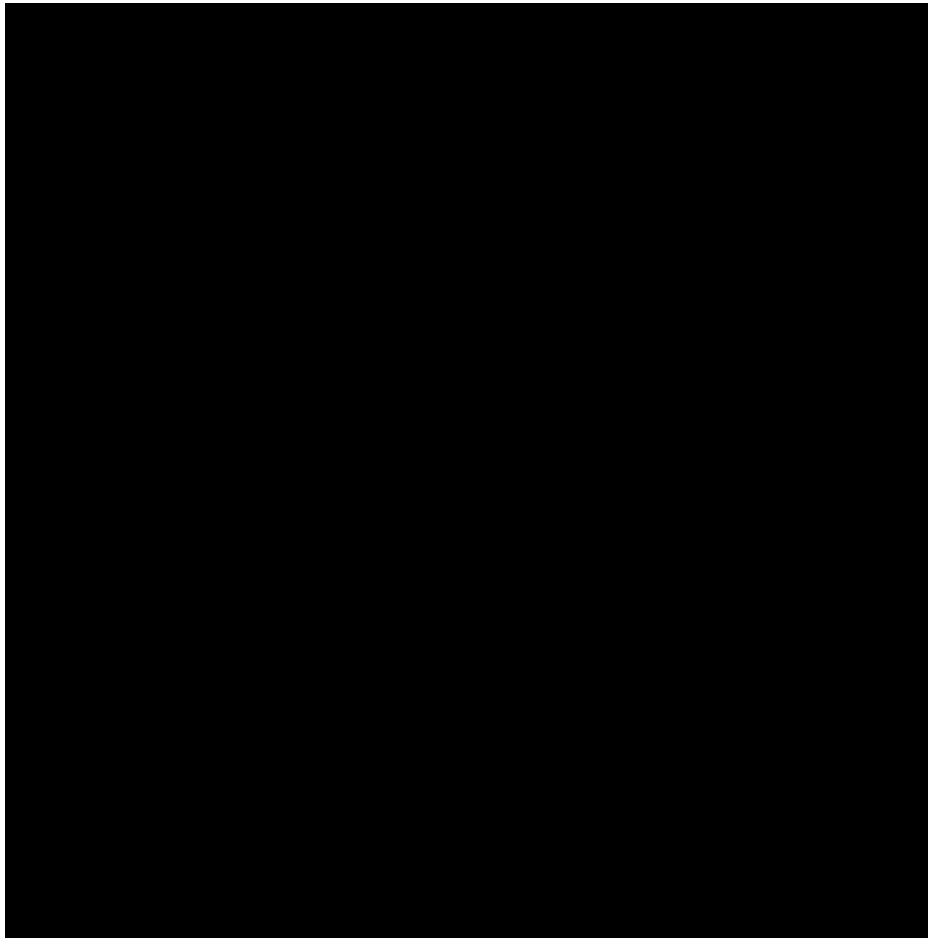


Fig 117. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.



Fig.118.. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1751 - The British Museum

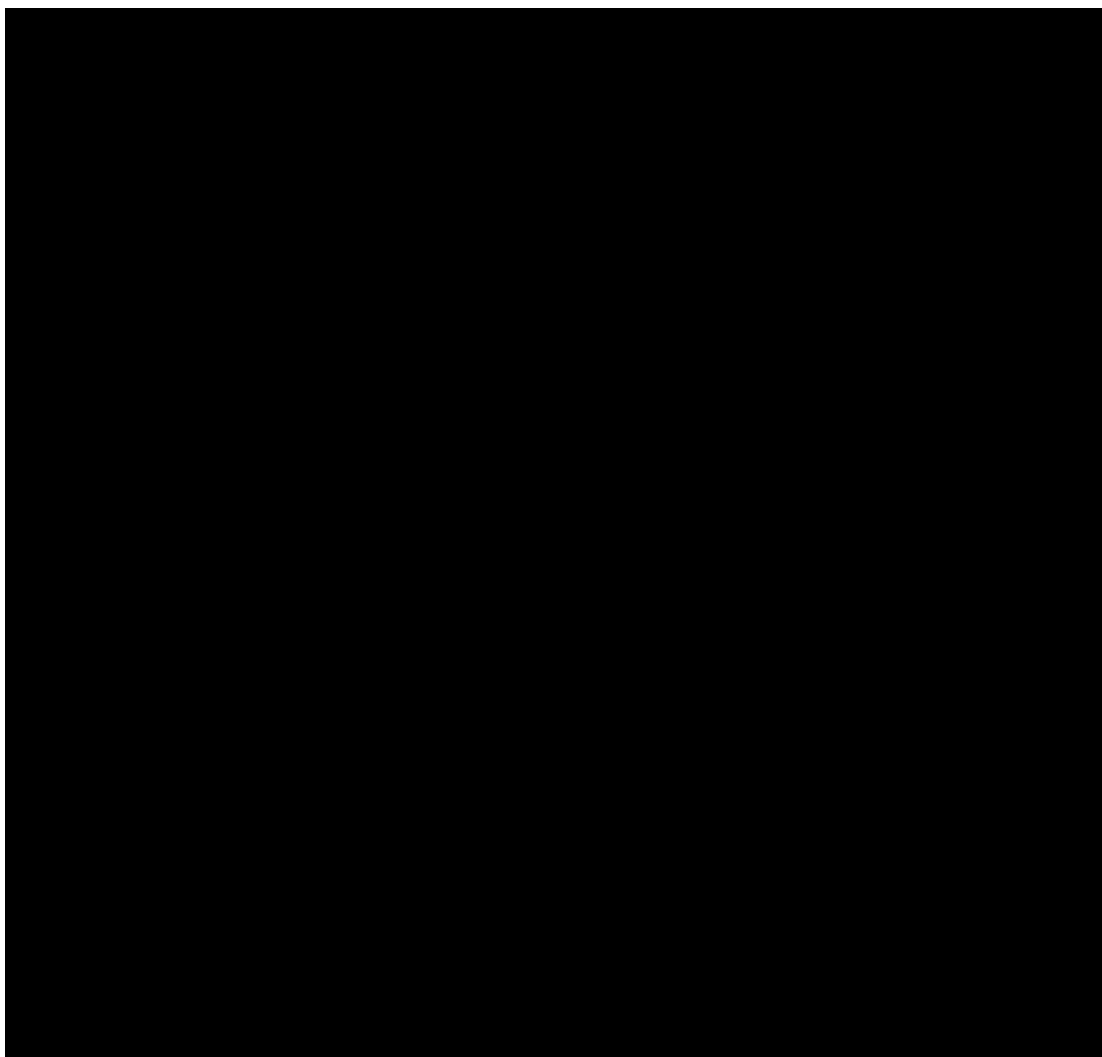


Fig.119. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

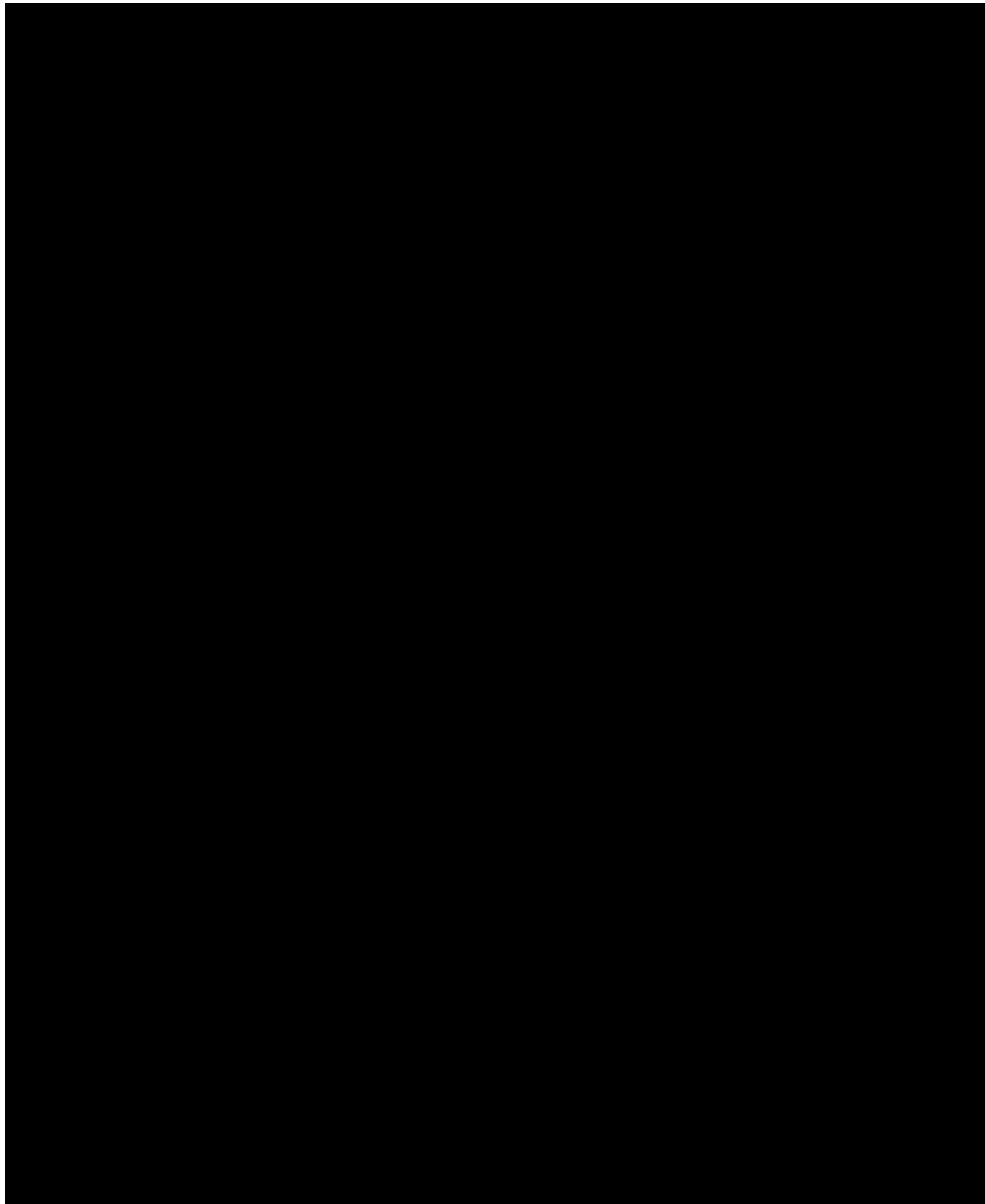


Fig.120. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

166 195
 8. November, 1752



Rec'd Nov. 21. 1752 of Edward Launderson Esq.
 five Shillings being the first Payment for a short Tract in Quarto
 call'd the Analysis of Beauty; wherein Forms are consider'd in a new
 light, to which will be added two explanatory Prints Serious and
 Comical; Engrav'd on large Copper Plates fit to frame for Furniture.

N.B. The Price will be rais'd after the Subscription is over.

W^m Hogarth

Fig.121. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752 - The Lewis Walpole Library

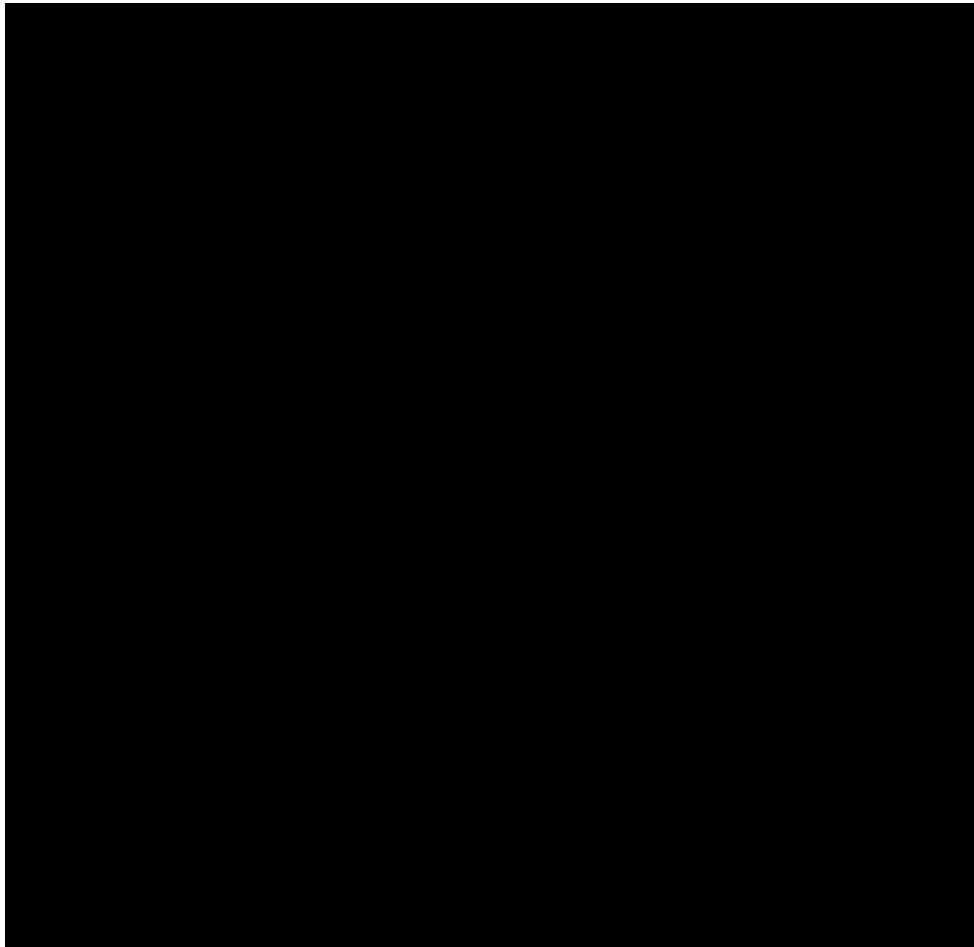


Fig. 122. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

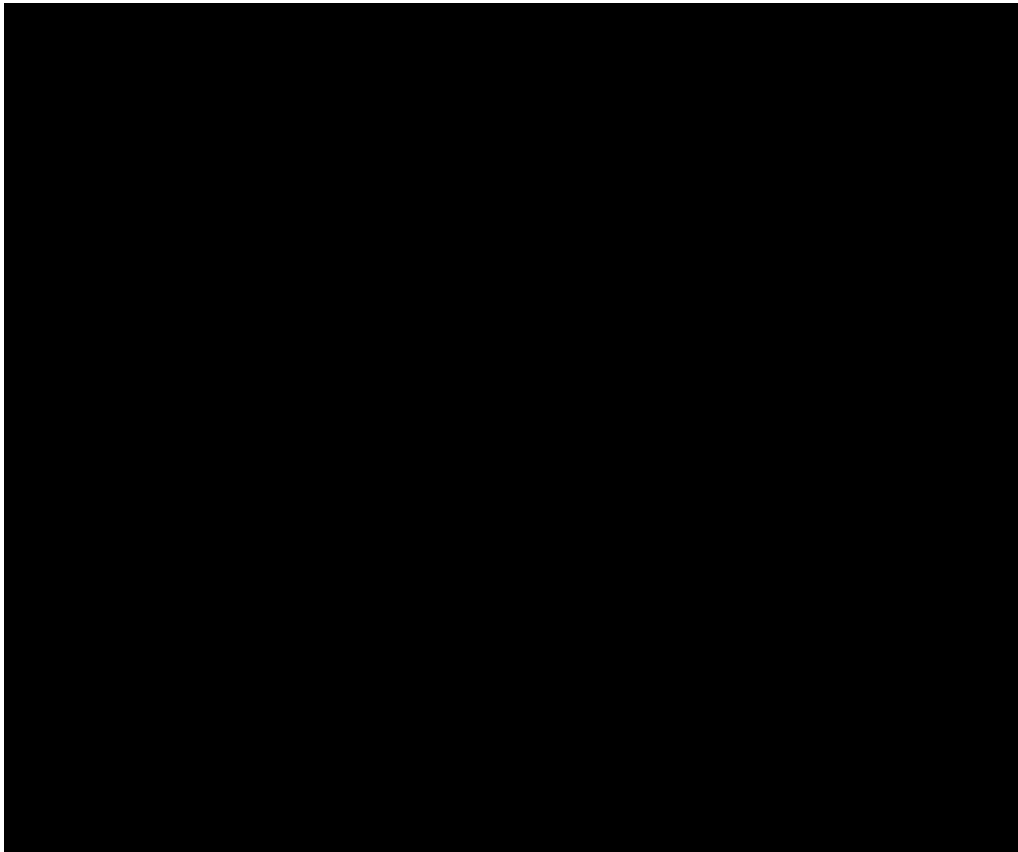


Fig.123. Columbus Breaking the Egg 1752. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

14. Crowns, Mitres and Maces - 1754

Ticket for an Election Entertainment 1754

Ralph Willett - 26 February 1754 - (FW) - (fig.124) Book collector and connoisseur.

Joseph Andrews Esq - 7 March 1754 - (BM) - (fig.125) Same name as the title of Fielding's novel of 1743. Possibly a 'nom-de-plume' for Fielding or a close colleague.

Henry Raynor - 1 April 1754 (FW) - (fig.126) Fellow Freemason and member of the same Lodge 41 which met at the 'Hand and Apple' Tavern.

Mr Nassau - 3 April 1754 (FW) - (fig.127) Diplomat.

Thomas Barras - 2 May 1754 (FW) - (fig.128) Gentleman of St George Hanover Square, Middlesex.

Samuel Vandeleall - 2 May 1754 (BM) - (fig.129) - No record.

William Dale - 3 May 1754 (BM) - (fig.130) - No record.

Charles Crespigny - 9 May 1754 (FW) - (fig.131) Engraver.

William Hunter - 31 May 1754 - (Lewis) - (fig.132) Physician, anatomist, and man-midwife.

Jonathan King - 31 May 1754 (FW) - (fig.133) Called to the bar at Gray's Inn on 12 July 1712.

Mr Robert Pine for Mr Benjamin Heath - 30 May 1754 - (BM) - (fig.134) Robert Pine, painter and son of John Pine engraver and close friend of Hogarth who depicted him as the fat friar in *The Gates of Calais*. Benjamin Heath, literary scholar and book collector.

Mr J Jones - 1 March 1757 - (BM) - (fig.135) - No record

William Blois - 9 June 1754 (RL) - (fig.136) related to Sir William Blois (d.1676) Mayor of the City of London.

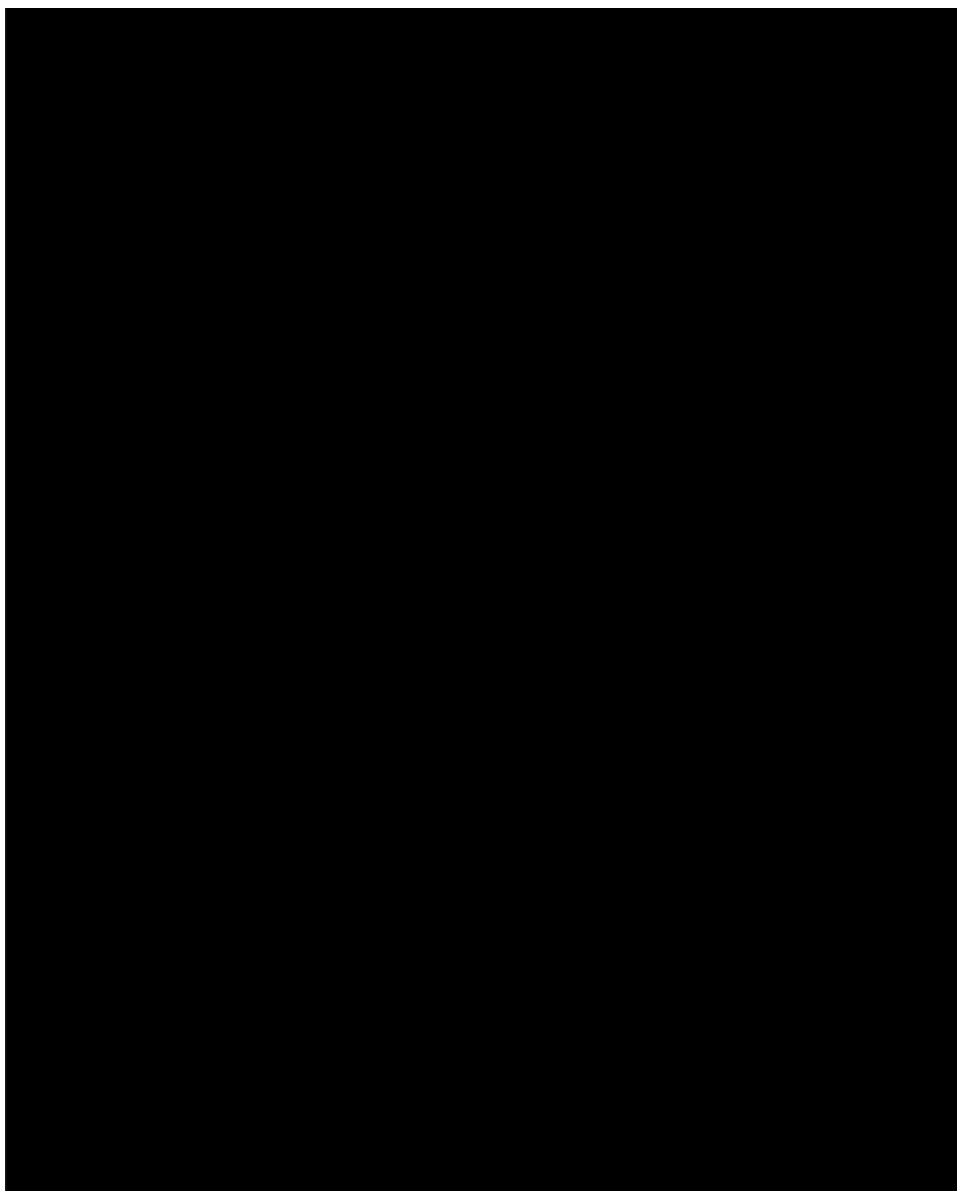
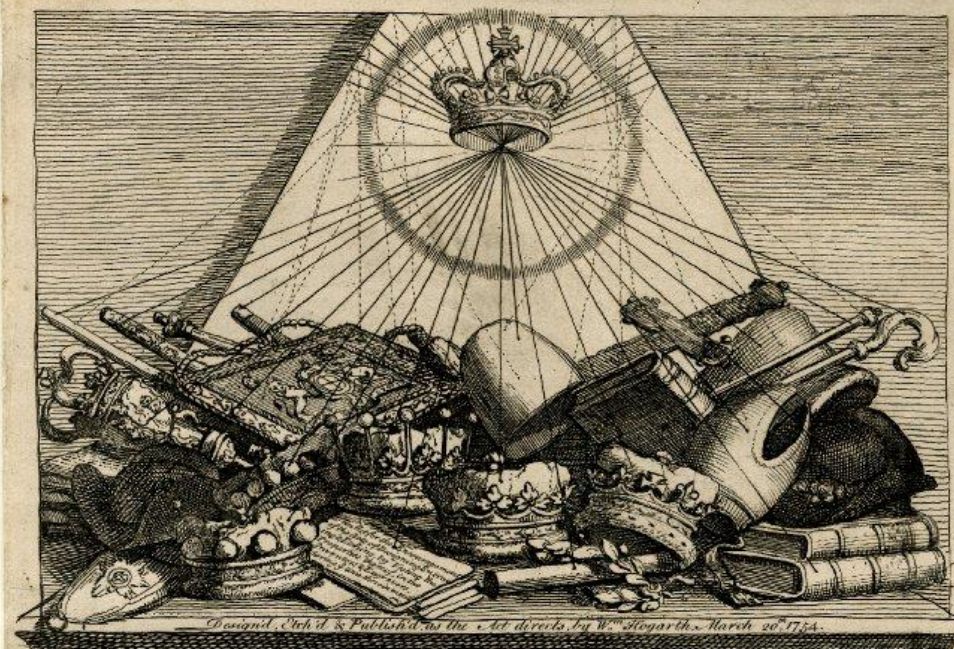


Fig.124. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.



In humble & grateful Acknowledgment
of the Grace & Goodness of the *Legislature*,
Manifested,
In the *Act of Parliament* for the Encouragement
of the Arts of Designing Engraving &c;
Obtain'd
by the Endeavours & almost at the Sole Expence
of the designer of this Print in the Year 1735:
By which
not only the Professors of those Arts were rescued
from the Tyranny Frauds & Piracies

of Monopolising Dealers
and Legally entitled to the Fruits of their own Labours,
but Genius & Industry were also prompted
by y^e most noble & generous Inducements to exert them-
selves. Emulation was Excited,
Ornamental Compositions were better understood,
and every Manufacture where Fancy has any concern
was gradually rais'd to a pitch of perfection before unknown.
Inasmuch that those of *Great Britain*
are at present the most Elegant
and the most in Esteem of any in *Europe*.

Rec^d March 9th 1756 of Joseph Andrews Esq^r being the first Payment
for three Prints, representing the Polling for Members of Parliament, Canvassing for Votes, &
Chairing of Members; Which I Promise to deliver when finished, on y^e Payment of 16^s & 6^d more.

N.B. The Price will be rais'd when the Subscription is over.

W. Hogarth

Fig.125. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754 - The British Museum

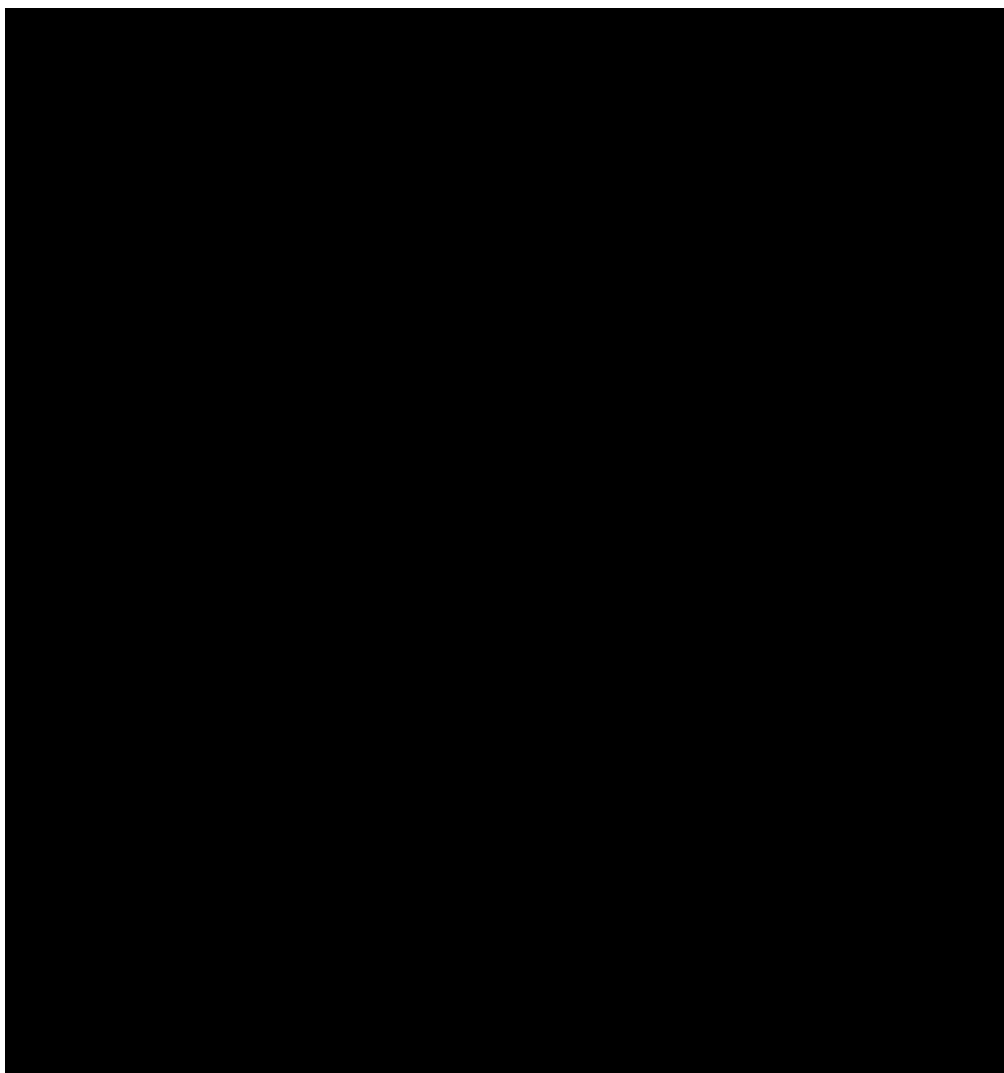


Fig.126. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

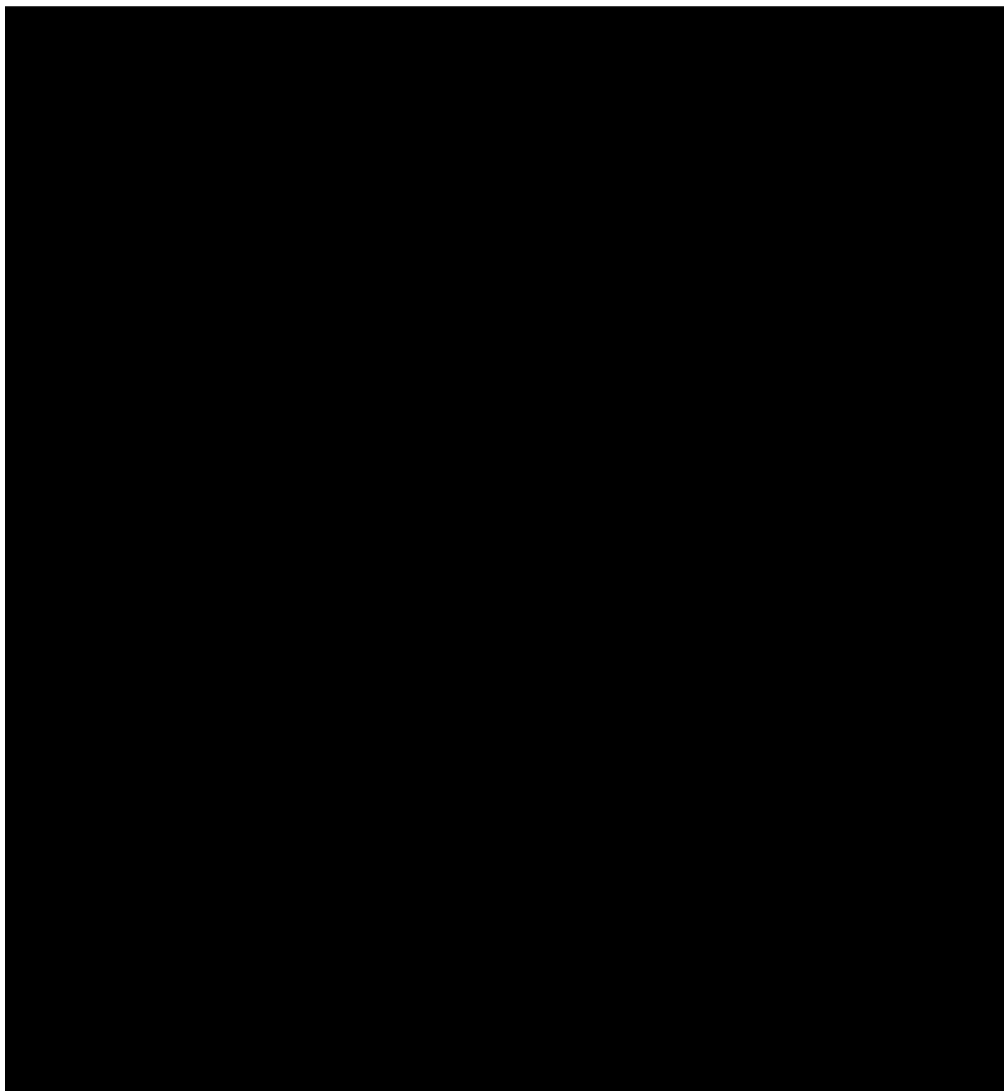


Fig.127. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

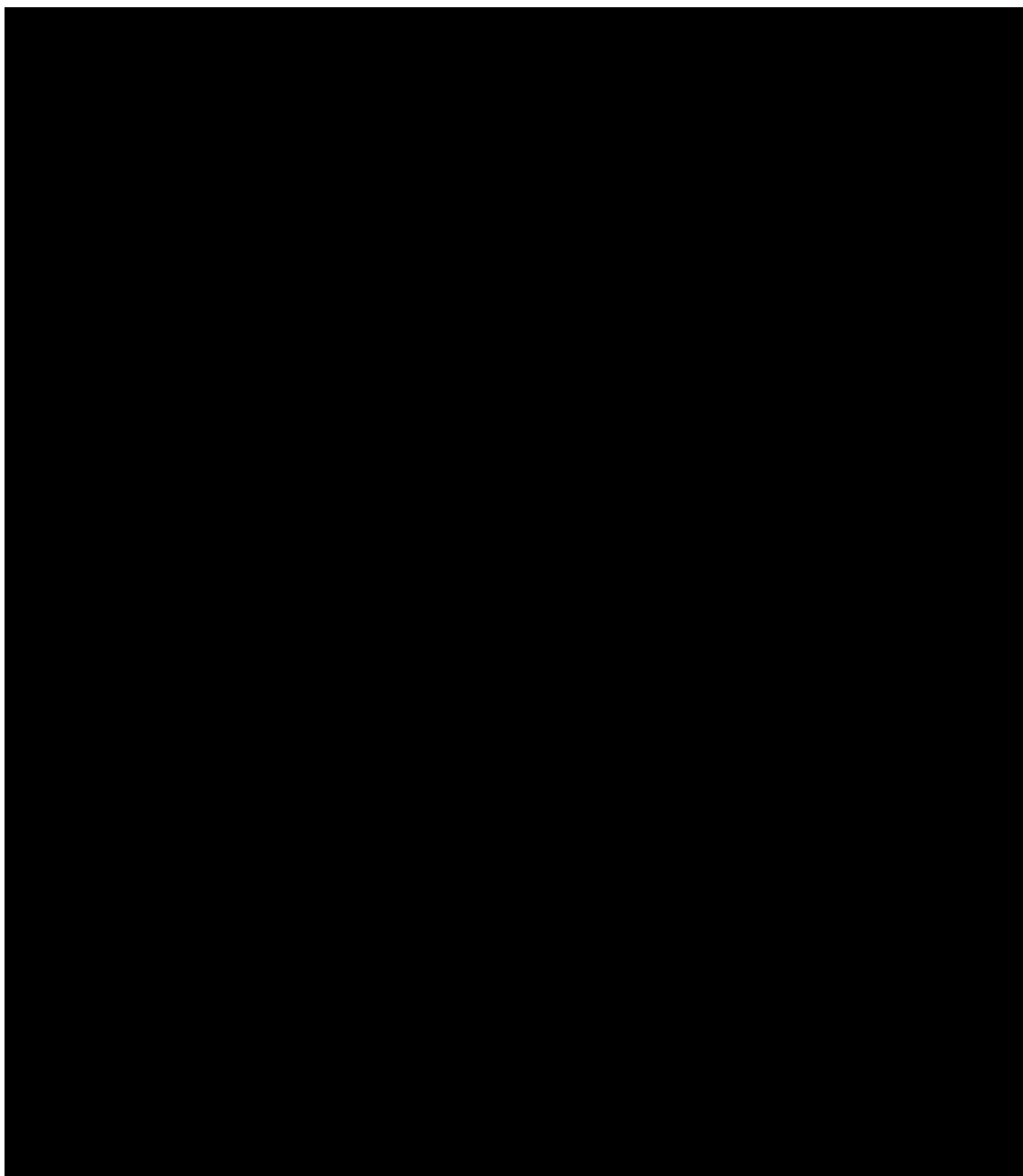


Fig.128. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.



Fig.129. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754 - The British Museum

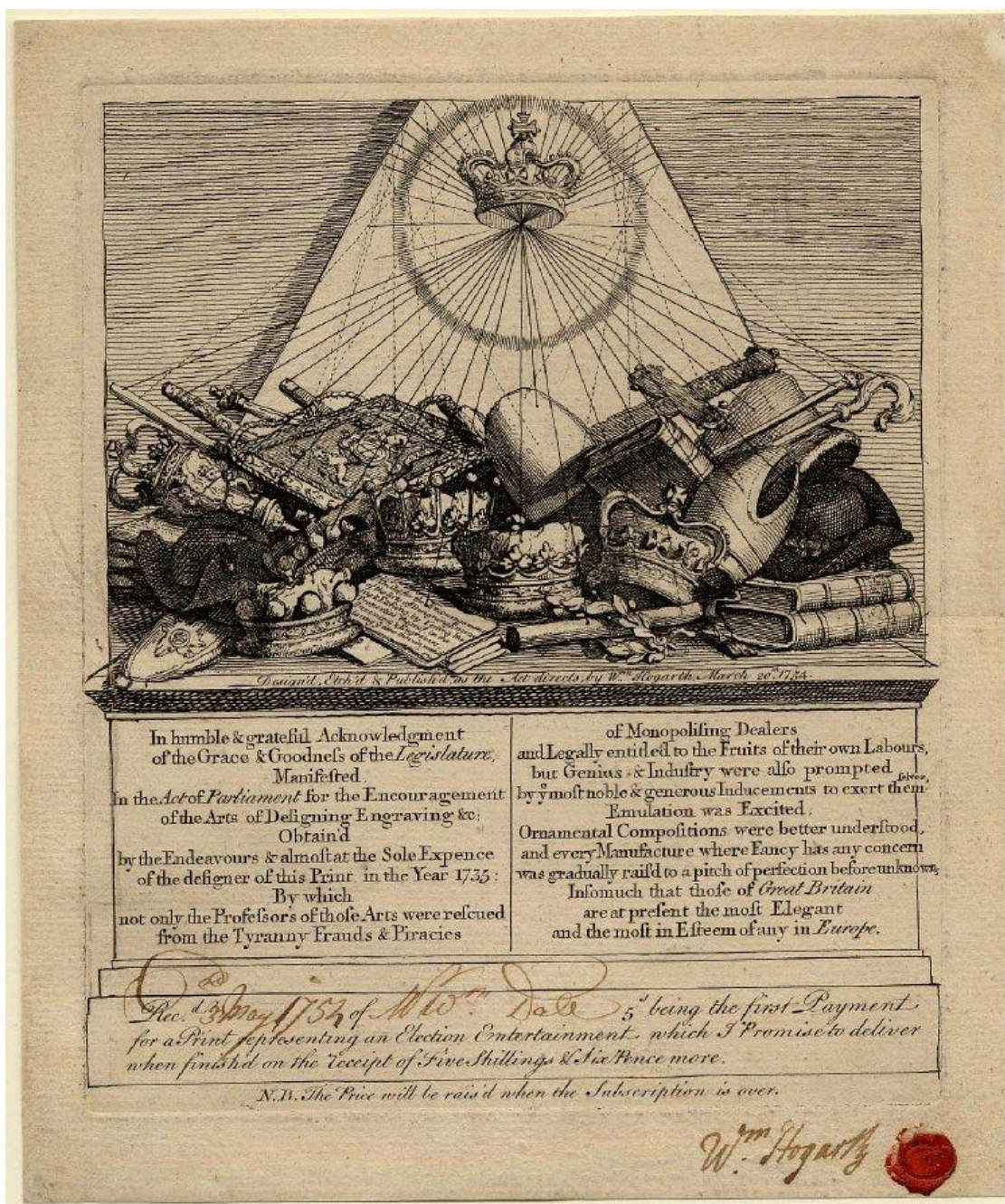


Fig.130. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754 - The British Museum

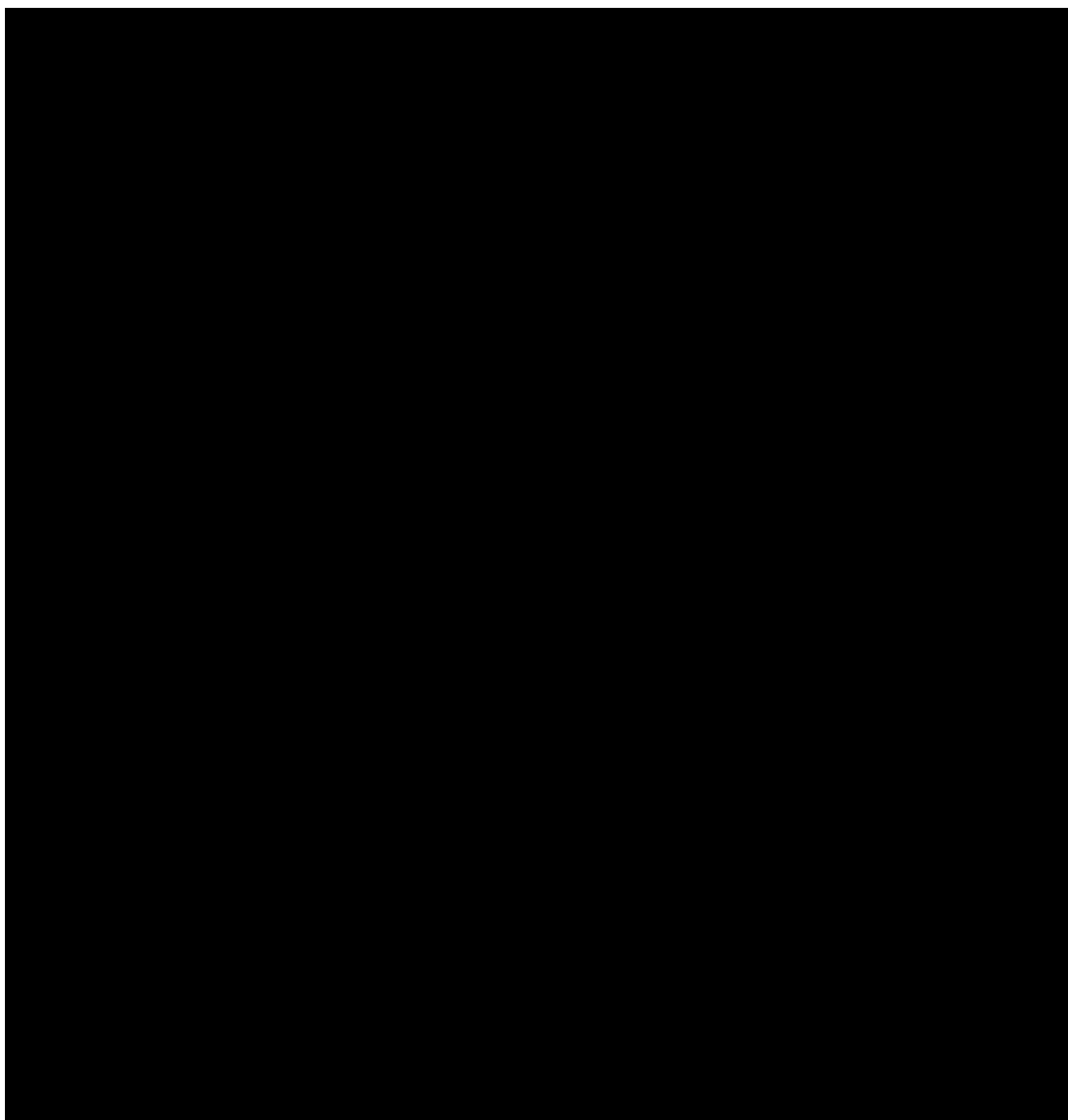


Fig. 131. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.

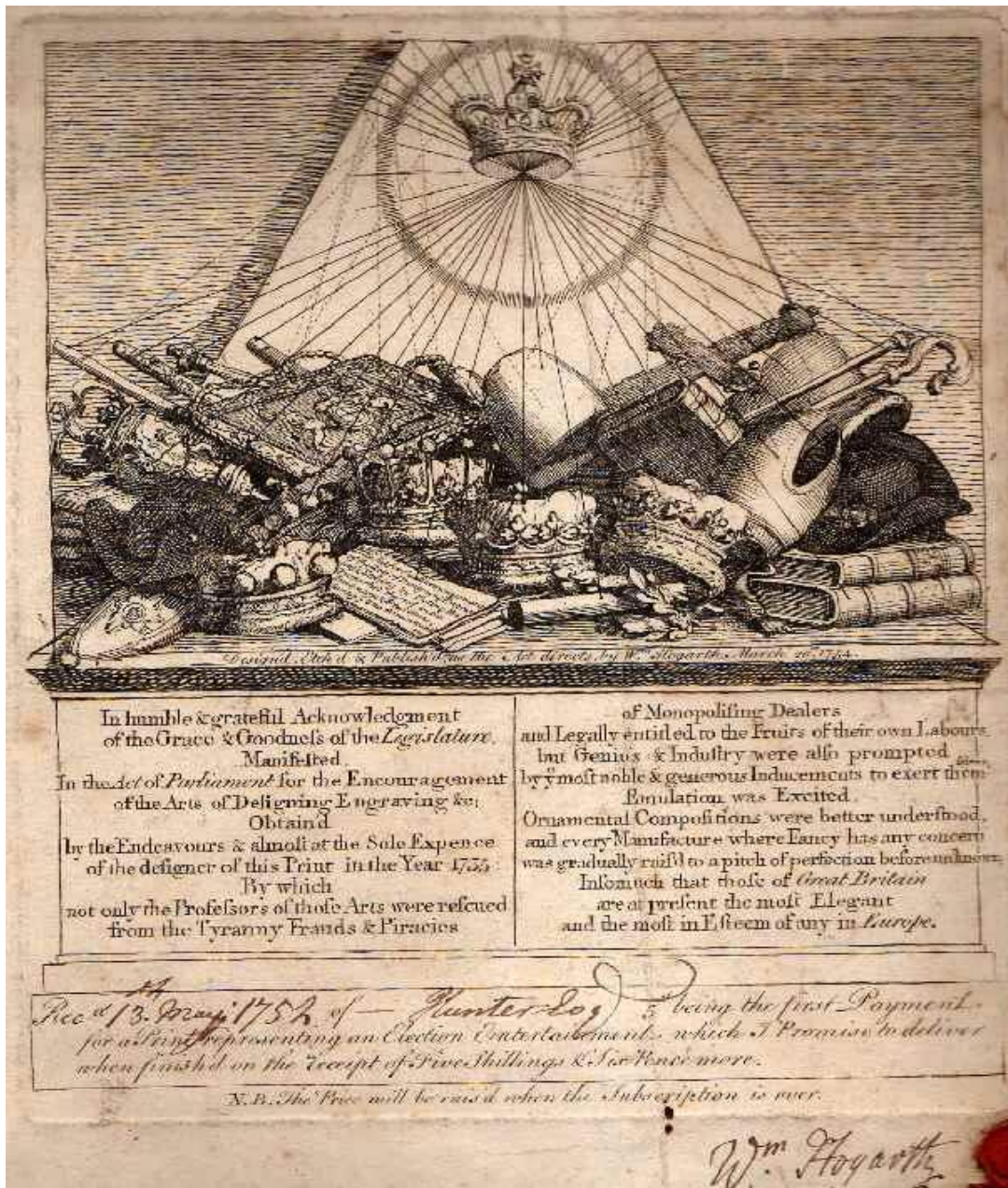


Fig.132. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754 - The Lewis Walpole Library

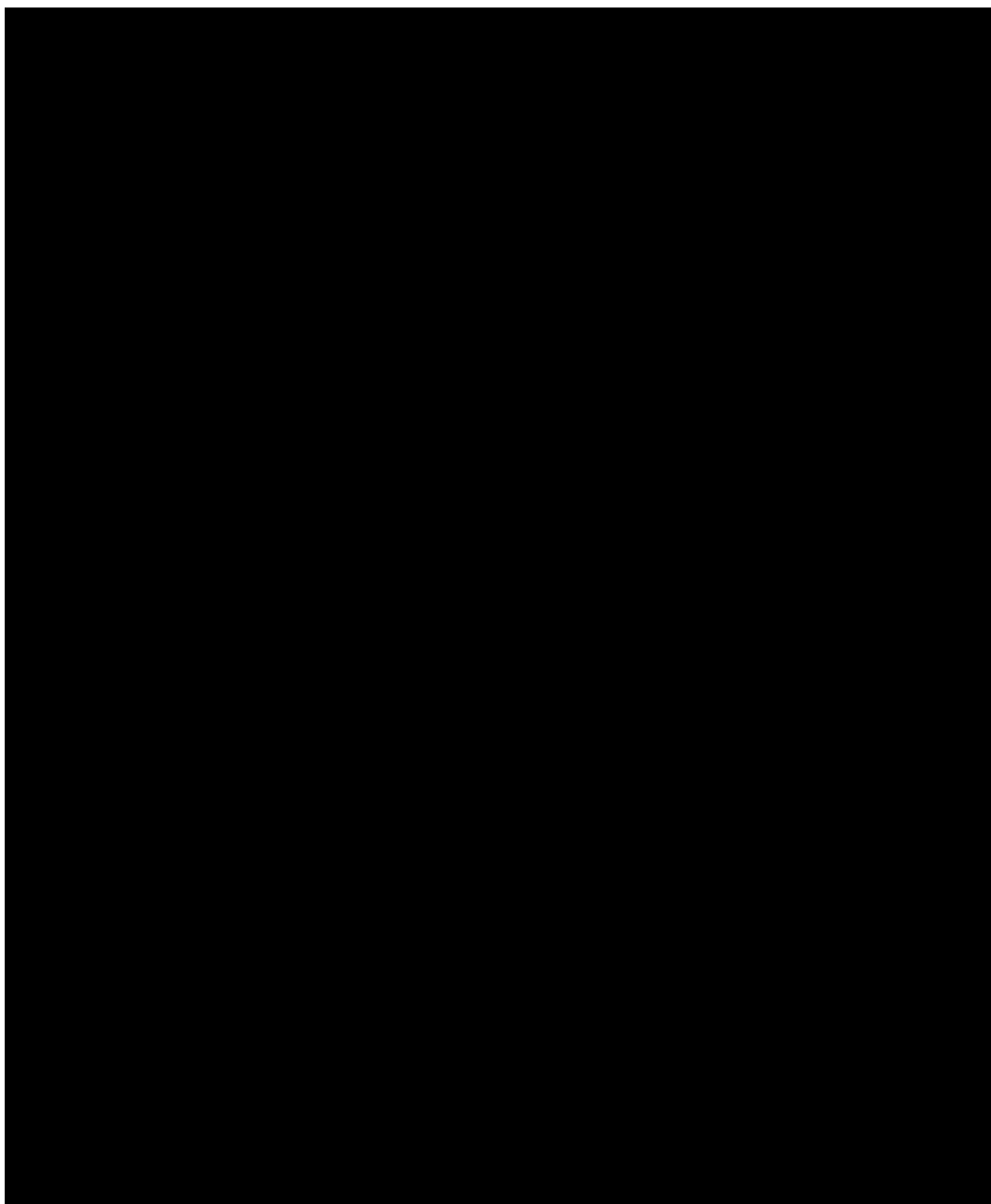


Fig.133. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754. Christ's College, Cambridge, on loan to The Fitzwilliam Museum.



Fig.134. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754 - The British Museum



Fig.135. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754 - The British Library

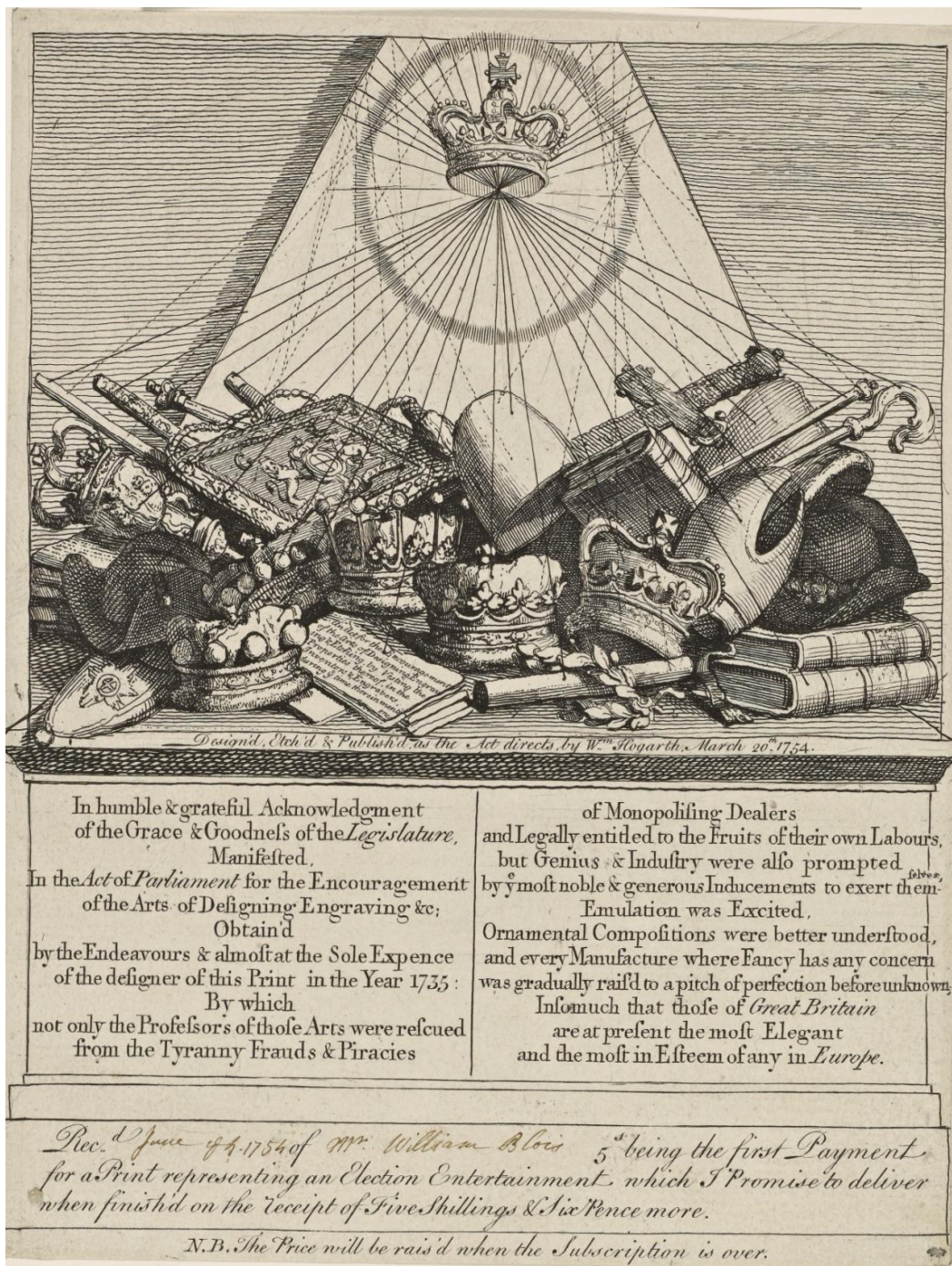


Fig.136. Crowns, Mitres and Maces 1754 - The Royal Library

15. Time Smoking a Picture - 1761

Subscription Ticket for Sigismunda

Mathew Graves - 29 May 1764 - (Lewis) - (fig.137) - No record



Fig. 137. Time Smoking a Picture 1761- The Lewis Walpole Library

Table 7. Hogarth's Prints: 1731-64

| No. | Title of Print | Date | Subscription Ticket | No. of Surviving Tickets |
|-----|---|---------|---|--|
| 1 | The Harlot's Progress | 1731 | <i>Boys Peeping at Nature</i> | 3 |
| 2 | A Modern Midnight Conversation | 1732 | <i>A Chorus of Singers</i> | 4 |
| 3 | Sarah Malcolm | 1733 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 4 | A Rake's Progress | 1733 | <i>The Laughing Audience</i> | 5 |
| 5 | Southwark Fair | 1734 | <i>The Laughing Audience</i> (same subscription ticket used as for the <i>Rake's Progress</i>) | Same as <i>A Rake's Progress</i> above. |
| 6 | The Sleeping Congregation | 1736 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 7 | Before and After | 1736 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 8 | Scholars at a Lecture | 1737 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 9 | The Company of Undertakers | 1737 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 10 | The Distressed Poet | 1737 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 11 | The Four Times of the Day | 1738 | <i>Boys Peeping at Nature</i> | 2 |
| 12 | Strolling Actresses dressing in the Barn | 1738 | <i>Boys Peeping at Nature</i> | 2 |
| 13 | Hymen and Cupid | 1740 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 14 | The Enraged Musician | 1741 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 15 | The Charmers of the Age | 1742 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 16 | Martin Folkes | 1742 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 17 | The Discovery | 1743 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 18 | Marriage A-La-Mode | 1743 | <i>Characters and Caricaturas</i> | 8 |
| 19 | The Battle of the Pictures | 1745 | Bidder's Ticket Issued | 1 |
| 20 | Garrick in the Character of Richard III | 1745 | <i>Mask and Palette</i> | 2 |
| 21 | Simon Lord Lovat | 1746 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 22 | The Stage Coach of The Country Inn | 1747 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 23 | Industry and Idleness | 1747 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 24 | The Gate of Calais, or The Roast Beef of Old England | 1748 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 25 | Gulielmus Hogarth | 1749 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 26 | View of Ranby's House | 1750 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 27 | The March to Finchley | 1750 | <i>A Stand of Arms, Musical Instruments Etc.</i> | 6 |
| 28 | Beer Street and Gin lane | 1751 | No Subscription | |
| 30 | Paul Before Felix | 1751 | <i>Paul Before Felix Burlesqued and Boys Peeping at Nature</i> (amended)) | 4 - <i>Paul before Burlesqued</i> 1 - <i>Boys Peeping at Nature</i> (amended) |
| 31 | Moses Brought To Pharaoh's Daughter | 1752 | Same as <i>Paul Before Felix</i> above | Same as <i>Paul Before Felix</i> above |
| 32 | The Analysis of Beauty | 1753 | <i>Columbus breaking the Egg</i> | 12 |
| 33 | The Election Series | 1755-58 | <i>Crowns, Mitres and Maces, Etc</i> | 13 |
| 34 | The Invasion | 1756 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 35 | Hogarth painting the Comic Muse | 1758 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 36 | The Bench | 1758 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 37 | The Cockpit | 1759 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 38 | Sigismonda Mourning Over the Heart of Guiscardo | 1762 | <i>Time Smoking a Picture</i> | 1 |
| 39 | The Five Orders of Perriwigs | 1760 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 40 | Enthusiasm Delineated - Credulity Superstition and Fanaticism | 1760 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 41 | The Times | 1762 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 42 | John Wilkes Esq. | 1763 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 43 | The Bruiser | 1763 | No Subscription | 0 |
| 44 | Tailpiece, or The Bathos | 1761 | No Subscription | 0 |
| | Total- 44 | | 14 | 64 |

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