PRESENCE IN PRINT:

WILLIAM HOGARTH IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

by

Colleen M. Terry

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

Summer 2014

PRESENCE IN PRINT:

WILLIAM HOGARTH IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

by

Colleen M. Terry

Approved: _____
Lawrence Nees, Ph.D.
Chair of the Department of Art History

Approved: _____
George H. Watson, Ph.D.
Dean of the College of Arts & Sciences

Approved: _____
James G. Richards, Ph.D.
Vice Provost for Graduate and Professional Education

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed: _____

Bernard L. Herman, Ph.D.
Professor in charge of dissertation

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed: _____

Wendy Bellion, Ph.D.
Member of dissertation committee

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed: _____

H. Perry Chapman, Ph.D.
Member of dissertation committee

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed: _____

Matthew Kinservik, Ph.D.
Member of dissertation committee

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my dissertation advisor Bernard Herman for his patient guidance over the many years that it took to bring this project to fruition. Wendy Bellion made numerous invaluable suggestions as a second reader. I would also like to thank H. Perry Chapman and Matthew Kinservik who gave generously of their time and advice while serving as members of my committee.

I am indebted to the University of Delaware's Art History Department for its financial support throughout my years as a graduate student, including a travel grant that allowed me to access many of the primary source materials held by the British Library and the London Library. I also received support to visit Colonial Williamsburg for a short research trip, where Carl Lounsbury, Laura Barry, and Margaret Pritchard provided me access to collections research materials that would prove significant in my quest to document specific Hogarth print owners. During a summer fellowship through the University's Public Engagement in Material Culture Institute, I received the financial assistance that enabled me to carry out much of my primary research at the Winterthur Museum, Garden, and Library, where Librarian Jeanne Solensky provided me with important guidance during what would turn out to be my only sustained investigation of probate inventories.

Before I could complete the survey of probate inventories from Suffolk County, Massachusetts for the timespan I had originally intended, I was fortunate to receive an offer of permanent curatorial employment in the Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Though progress on the

dissertation was necessarily slowed, with this move came opportunities I could never have foreseen and a close group of colleagues I have come to regard as family. By virtue of my new home base and limited access to the primary sources found largely in the east, my project slowly moved in a different direction from what I had originally intended, becoming one that I could instead do using digital resources available anywhere.

While the pressures of the job limited my progress for some time, a fellowship at the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University provided me the opportunity to re-immerse myself in my subject and my time in Farmington renewed my enthusiasm to complete the project. Margaret K. Powell, Susan Walker, and Kristen McDonald generously shared information and ideas about resources the library had to offer, and Cynthia Roman was a sounding board for all things related to print connoisseurship and Hogarth. It was a delight to meet another fellow at the Library during my tenure, historian Stephen Hague, who kindly offered suggestions and feedback to the ideas I generated throughout my extremely productive stay in Connecticut.

I could not have completed this dissertation without the support of Karin Breuer, Jim Ganz, Debbie Evans, Victoria Binder, and Melissa Buron, all at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. I would not have had the incentive to do so without the love and encouragement of my parents Angela and Dale Terry, my husband Michael Morrison, and a close group of friends who have always supported, if not completely understood, my fascination with all things British and the wonderful world of things.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses the ways in which the artist William Hogarth (British, 1697–1764) was present in eighteenth-century British North America without ever setting foot on its shores. Newspaper articles and advertisements, diaries and probate inventories all reveal the extent to which Hogarth's prints and aesthetic treatise took hold of the British-American imagination in the years surrounding the Revolutionary War. These objects clearly contributed to the development of humor, morality, and the American artistic scene more generally, yet their presence in America is virtually unexplored in both the scholarship on eighteenth-century American art and that related specifically to the British artist and his preeminent role in establishing a British school of art.

In its evaluation of Hogarth's presence in the original thirteen colonies from as early as 1739, the dissertation considers the significance of this presence in the lives, material circumstances, and cultural outlook of colonials and early national Americans in British America into the early years of the nineteenth century. It gives special consideration to the reproducible role of print, both as text and image, in imbuing Hogarth with a currency extending far beyond the artist's natural sphere of influence. Just as newspapers from London made the journey across the Atlantic at the request of British-American merchants and statesmen, so too did cargoes made up of prints, and among them were engravings by Hogarth. Through cultures of print, Hogarth's name attained a level of familiarity in British North America so profound that it was adopted into the *lingua franca* with associations of narrative humor. I make a case for the

importance of Hogarth's prints in the history of American art and their role in the formation of American cultural identities.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: HOGARTH AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD

At the end of July 1794, the *American Apollo* issued a description of the recent Harvard University commencement. Written by "Blandulus," the article suggested that the proceedings at the meeting house were anything but "pleasant" thanks to the cramped and noisy conditions, in which "hundreds of the spectators are squeezed up for hours together, without the possibility of moving and scarcely of breathing." After the day's events, the crowd broke for the evening meal. Those persons with official college duties filed orderly into the college hall where the public meal was to be served, whereupon commotion broke out as the day's audience as well as the remaining participants swarmed the hall in order to find a place to dine. Blandulus observed of the ensuing chaos: "Hogarth himself would be put to't [sic.] to paint a more ridiculous representation, than the fight of a number of white wigs among the crowd at Commencement, pushing to and fro, and fighting their way for their dinner, among a parcel of young roguish bullies; like so many soldiers, demanding their rations of the Commissary."[1]

Without ever setting foot on the shores of British America, famed British artist William Hogarth (1697–1764) was literally and rhetorically present in print for much

---

[1] *American Apollo* (Boston, Mass.), July 24, 1794.

of the eighteenth century.[2] The fact of the previous statement has long been known, but never before has a concerted effort been made to discover the measure and concomitant meaning of this presence. The present study does just that through chapters devoted to the marketing, consumption, and narration of Hogarth prints throughout British America from his 1739 appearance in the popular press all the way into the Early Republic period.[3] My story is not told chronologically; instead, I knit together the fragmentary evidence of newspaper articles and advertisements, letters, diaries, and probate inventories, to reveal the degree to which Hogarth's prints and aesthetic treatise took hold of the British-American imagination, conditioning a public to art laced with contemporary social concerns. Through their narrative content, his prints also contributed to the rise of humor in both text and image. As such, this

---

[2] The London origin of the Hogarth prints and their movement across the Atlantic Ocean places this project firmly within the realm of Atlantic World studies as well as within the framework of imperial history. Both subjects form the basis for vast bodies of scholarly inquiry. My own understanding of the British Atlantic World and the complex networks of trade that permitted the conveyance of Hogarth's prints across the ocean is largely formed by the work of Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2005) and David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Because the trade in prints shares certain similarities with that of books and maps, the literature surrounding each commodity within the context of global exchange has also been useful, especially James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748–1811* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2002) and Hugh Amory and David D. Hall, eds., *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[3] In the organization of the chapters on marketing and consumption I am indebted to the theoretical framework laid out by Ann Smart Martin's work on consumerism and material culture in "Makers, Buyers, Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework," *Winterthur Portfolio* 28, no. 2/3 (1993): 141–57.

dissertation offers an expanded explanation of the market for art throughout this period. Since my study addresses a period marked by significant ideological conflict and Revolution, yet identifies the persistent presence of the quintessentially British artist within the visual, material, and intellectual fabric of the day, the dissertation also reevaluates consumer behavior.[4]

That it was Hogarth and not another British artist who was identified in such a diverse body of primary source materials is cause for consideration. Widely considered an important figure in the establishment of a school of British art, Hogarth's life and art have been well documented.[5] Born in November 1697 near

---

[4] As readers of this dissertation will see, the approach I have taken to my study is largely one based in material culture studies, an interdisciplinary field that investigates the symbiotic relationship of objects and culture. Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison have written an important historiography of the diverse disciplinary approaches to material culture studies in "Shaping the Field: The Multidisciplinary Perspectives of Material Culture," in *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*, ed. Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison (Winterthur, Del.: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997), 1–20. Jules David Prown has described an interpretive strategy for the study of objects in "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Material Life in America, 1600–1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 17–37. I have found Zara Anishanslin Bernhardt's Ph.D. dissertation "Portrait of a Woman in a Silk Dress: The Hidden Histories of Aesthetic Commodities in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World" (University of Delaware, 2009) to be of the utmost assistance in grounding my own project in this theoretical framework.

[5] Among the leading authorities on Hogarth's life are Ronald Paulson and Jenny Uglow, both of whom have published extensive studies of the artist's biography in the 1990s: Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: "The Modern Moral Subject" 1697–1732*, vol. 1 (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1991); Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: High Art and Low, 1732–1750*, vol. 2 (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1992); Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: Art and Politics, 1750–1764*, vol. 3 (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1993); and Jenny Uglow, *Hogarth: A Life and a World* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997).

Smithfield Market, the young Hogarth spent much of his youth in the shadow of the Fleet-prison in London, where his father was imprisoned for debt. At the age of 17 he was apprenticed to the silver-engraver Ellis Gamble in Leicester Fields, today's Leicester Square area. Under Gamble's tutelage, Hogarth learned how to apply designs to precious silver plate, but he ultimately failed to complete the entire term of his apprenticeship, growing tired of the rote copying that the profession required. His aim, instead, was to pursue the career of an artist, a figure that was free to create new and original imagery and one that might increase the social standing of the son of an indebted school teacher. In October 1720, the same year that he quit his apprenticeship and opened his own shop, Hogarth enrolled in the St. Martin's Lane Academy, where he began to practice the fundamental skill that was required of a fine artist, drawing from life.

The early Georgian period in which Hogarth lived was not one in which the profession of an artist was particularly well rewarded. In the first half of the eighteenth century, English artists could expect nothing like the level of financial support and patronage that French and Dutch artists had achieved in the previous century, in part due to the still overriding prevalence of a Protestant suspicion of images. When

---

Elizabeth Einberg is currently working on an updated catalogue raisonné of Hogarth's paintings with the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Yale University; for his drawings, the standard reference remains A. P. Oppé, ed. *The Drawings of William Hogarth* (New York: Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1948). Ronald Paulson has made numerous studies of Hogarth's graphic works. His *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, third revised edition (London: The Print Room, 1989) is the current standard reference to the prints. Each entry includes important identification information regarding publication history and state changes, as well as explanations of basic iconography and historical context. I have appended the reference to Paulson's catalogue raisonné (P.) to the first appearance of each title.

English patrons of the arts did emerge, they often preferred those pictures produced by foreigners, seeing in them a level of quality and sophistication that in their eyes English artists had not yet achieved.[6] This was mainly due to the unsophisticated infrastructure provided for the education of artists in England at this time.[7]

---

[6] For histories of the development of an art market in England, see Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680–1768* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988); David H. Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); and Brian Allen, ed. *Towards a Modern Art World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995). Matthew Hargraves documents the first public art exhibitions in England, exploring the history of the Society of Artists in *Candidates for Fame: The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760–1791* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005). The history of the Royal Academy in its early years has been well documented by Holger Hoock in *The King's Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture 1760–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[7] Pears and Solkin both discuss the bumpy road to professionalism through a series of fits and starts in educational opportunities for artists working in England. Briefly, in 1662 John Evelyn suggested a national school of paining; the first attempt to establish one seems to have occurred in 1681 (Peter d'Agar's Royal Academy for Painting, Designing, Mathematics, etc.) but it soon disappeared. In 1697 another reference can be found to a Royal Academy, this time headed by Henry Foubert. In 1711 Godfrey Kneller founded St. Luke's Academy, which passed to Thornhill in 1716 and to Louis Chevron and John Vanderbank from 1720. In 1724 Thornhill set up a rival academy in Covent Garden, which Hogarth took over, and in 1734 he moved it to St. Martin's Lane. Some talks with the Society of Dilettantes in 1753–5 eventually prove unsuccessful. Later in the 1750s the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce is set up, but artists immediately split into their own factions (the Society of Artists of Great Britain and the Free Society of Artists. From the Society of Artists a dissident group split to form the Royal Academy in 1768, while the remaining artists became known as the Incorporated Society of Artists. The biggest problem, which resulted in the constant reshuffling of groups, appears to have been with the type of education that artists should receive and what sort of institution could best represent the interests of artists.

Over the course of his life Hogarth proved tireless in his dedication to promoting the status of artists in England, on many occasions working to establish an institution that would provide English artists with the professional training they required to compete upon an international stage. He also spent a good portion of his career courting potential patrons and producing for them a type of picture that has come to be known as a conversation piece, a group portrait in which the subjects are depicted participating in a culture of polite sensibility.[8] Painted in 1730, the *Assembly at Wanstead House* (Philadelphia Museum of Art) (Fig. 1.1) is one of Hogarth's most famous paintings of this type. Two groups of figures are engaged in "polite" or genteel forms of entertainment: on the left, a group is occupied by a game of cards while on the right, tea is being consumed.[9] Both social activities required a level of financial commitment, as evinced in the highly specialized objects like teapots and card tables (often made out of precious and therefore expensive materials) that were necessities to the activity. The salon in which Hogarth positioned this family group is elaborately

---

[8] Ann Bermingham discusses the English conversation piece in *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1986), 14–33. More recently, Desmond Shawe-Taylor has placed the English conversation piece in the context of Dutch and French genre paintings made a century earlier. See *The Conversation Piece: Scenes of Fashionable Life* (London: Royal Collection, 2009).

[9] The eighteenth-century culture of "Politeness" has been the subject of countless academic studies. My thinking on the subject has been most influenced by Lawrence E. Klein's *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994). David S. Shields has studied the phenomenon as translated to the context of British America in *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997). John Brewer provides a rich account of ideals in English culture in *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997).

decorated in the fashionable Palladian style. In everything from the lavish silks that the figures wear, to the decorous manners that they are shown to possess, this painting is a celebration of the social and economic standing enjoyed by the depicted group. As a material object, the painting was, itself, further evidence of pecuniary standing, and would have hung in a room equally fashionably appointed and easily accessible to any visiting guests of the family of Sir Richard Child, the financier who commissioned the piece.

While conversation pieces like the *Assembly at Wanstead House* helped Hogarth to build a reputation among the British elite, in his mind they were little more than portraits, and as such were one of the lower sorts of paintings that, in the hierarchy of genres, painters produced.[10] Unwilling to accept this lowly standing, Hogarth persisted in his endeavors to achieve respectability, painting history paintings and simultaneously beginning work on the type of art for which he is most celebrated today, an inversion of the conversation piece known as "modern moral subjects," which include such series as *A Harlot's Progress* (1730, now lost), *A Rake's Progress* (1733, now in the collection of the Sir John Soane Museum, London), and most famously *Marriage À-La-Mode* (ca. 1743, now in the collection of the National Gallery, London). With an eye towards the promotion of graphic imagery to a public beyond the pecuniary elite and the expansion of the market potential of his art, Hogarth organized the production of engravings after his paintings of these and other

---

[10] Pears explains that the hierarchy of painting genres in England at this time was based on the period's art theorists adopting the French *Académie Royale* precepts that the educational value of a painting and the artist's ability to successfully communicating intellectual ideas were of the utmost importance. Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, 1998, 120–121.

subjects, sometimes even developing print projects entirely independent of his paintings.[11] Such prints form the basis of Hogarth's material presence in British America.

With his decision to issue prints, Hogarth returned to his early training with Gamble, sometimes even engraving the copper plates himself. To create an engraving, the engraver uses a burin to cut a series of v-shaped grooves into the matrix, usually a copper plate. Depending on the angle at which the engraver holds the burin, the line can be made wider or narrower as desired. After the design has been incised into the matrix, the printer inks the plate, forcing the ink into the lines; the surface of the plate is then wiped clean, with care taken to ensure that the ink is not removed from the design area. When printed, the paper is forced into the incised design and the ink is transferred to the paper, resulting in an engraving bearing a design in reverse from that of the plate. The plate can then be re-inked and printed hundreds, even thousands of times before showing significant signs of wear.[12]

---

[11] In fact, scholarship indicates that he may well have created the paintings with an eye towards the prints, and consequently reversed the details in the paintings so that, when reversed in the engraving process, buttons, hands, and figural groupings would be oriented the right way round. Robert L.S. Cowley, *Hogarth's Marriage A-La-Mode*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, 9.

[12] In his *Essay Upon Prints*, the Reverend William Gilpin proclaimed that "An engraved plate, unless it be cut very slightly, will cast off five hundred good impressions. An etched one will not give above two hundred; unless it be eaten very deeply, and then it may perhaps give three hundred. After that, the plate must be retouched, or the impressions will be faint." Rev. William Gilpin, *An Essay Upon Prints…* (London: J. Robson, 1768), 56–57.

The number of impressions that could be taken from a copper plate before showing significant wear was also the subject of a recent article by Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, "18,257 Impressions from a Plate," *Print Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (September 2005): 265–279.

That Hogarth became an artist of lasting renown, known throughout northern Europe and British America for his humorous and moral subjects, was certainly thanks in large part to the prints made under his watchful eye. Prints, which are fundamentally reproducible and easily portable, could play an important role in spreading knowledge of an artist's work, having the potential to reach audiences far greater in number, geographically dispersed, and of different financial standing than the traditional audience for his paintings. If the artist oversaw the creation of the matrix he could also expect the print to accurately reflect his artistic goals. Further, if he played a role in the print's distribution, and the subject proved popular with the public, he could expect the print matrix to bring him remuneration that more than covered the initial cost of the project. Hogarth did both.

On occasion, Hogarth also hired professional reproductive print engravers for his projects.[13] When an employee failed to achieve the level of finish the artist desired, Hogarth worked to correct the error, sometimes returning to the plate and re-engraving with his own hand those areas that he deemed unsatisfactory.[14] The artist's exacting eye also assured that when purchased directly from the source, impressions would be of a standardized visual character and quality. When we speak, then, of Hogarth prints finding their way into the British-American market during the artist's lifetime, we may

---

[13] Such was the case of the *Marriage a-la-Mode* series: three French engravers in Hogarth's employ, whose names appear beneath their respective images, engraved the six plates that comprise the series.

[14] For example, in 1734–1735 Hogarth employed L. G. Scotin for the second plate of *The Rake's Progress*, and impressions from the first state bear Scotin's signature. Hogarth changed one of the faces in the plate, however, and in the second published state only Hogarth is given credit (Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 89).

be reasonably confident that the impression enjoyed on the western side of the Atlantic was equivalent to an impression enjoyed on its eastern shore.

There is, however, one important caveat to this claim. The tremendous popularity of Hogarth's subjects from the 1730s onwards was such that independent print publishers were occasionally driven to issue cheap copies of the artist's compositions in an attempt to profit from his success.[15] Those consumers who opted to buy the cheaper alternatives could not be assured of the same level of quality or artistic integrity as found in the autograph prints, but the buyer was still left with an image that bore important similarities in narrative content to Hogarth's original.[16] In my reliance on textual references to Hogarth's subjects and in the absence of significant numbers of impressions with verifiable provenance in British America dating to the eighteenth century, I recognize that there may be instances in which another hand executed an impression of a subject popularly known to be his. See, for example, the first plate in Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness* (September 1747, P.168–179) (Fig. 1.2) and an unauthorized copy made after Hogarth's print (Fig. 1.3). Though the copy exhibits certain visual differences from the original—namely a slightly smaller scale and the absence of Hogarth's decorative border, which foretells

---

[15] Hogarth fought the pirates on many occasions, and was (along with a group of his peers) eventually successful in petitioning the crown for a degree of copyright protection. This subject is addressed further in the next chapter, "Marketing Hogarth."

[16] For an explanation of the many plagiaries of Hogarth's *Rake's Progress*, see David Kunzle, "Plagiaries-by-Memory of the *Rakes Progress* and the Genesis of Hogarth's Second Picture Story," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 29 (1966): 311–348. George Steevens assembled an assortment of these copies, alongside autograph Hogarth prints in a 3 volume set now in the collection of Yale University's Lewis Walpole Library.

the fate of the two apprentices —in cumulative content including emblematic and textual cues, the copy retains Hogarth's overall message.[17]

It is thus my contention that in their capacity to communicate the artist's goals of humor and morality through visual means, any such impressions that made their way to British America can only have added to the public's recognition of the artist.[18] I further extend this line of reasoning to embrace those impressions taken directly from Hogarth's own printing plates after his death in 1764. Though the quality of impressions taken from well-worn plates certainly faltered in the final years of the eighteenth century, when first under the control of Hogarth's widow, Jane, and later printed and sold by John Boydell (English, 1720–1804), both parties went to great lengths to assure the public that the plates had undergone no significant alterations in their hands.[19] Certainly the symbolic and narrative content remained unchanged. And

---

[17] This is not to say that Hogarth's intentional framing device is superfluous, only that a basic grasp of the series is possible with the frame removed. Peter Wagner has written persuasively about this aspect of Hogarth's work in "Hogarthian frames: the 'new eighteenth-century aesthetics," in *Hogarth: Representing Nature's Machines*, eds. David Bindman, Frédéric Ogée, and Peter Wagner (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 23–46.

[18] Wendy Bellion has recently ruminated on the status of imitations and originals in the context of the construction of selfhood and identifies a relationship between "keen vision and patriotism" in the Revolutionary and Federal periods in *Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, & Visual Perception in Early National America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 15, and esp. 171–229. Such "keen vision" describes the spectator's discerning ability to distinguish between imitation and original during this period of nation building.

[19] See, for example, Jane Hogarth's advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser*, January 27, 1783. In 1791, John Ireland observed that under Boydell's care, "…every plate has been carefully cleaned, - and the rolling-presses now in use being on an improved principle, the paper superior, and the art of printing better understood, impressions are

it is Hogarth's content more than the quality of his burin work that has cemented his place in history.

The Cultural Language of Things: Communicating through Consumption

Throughout his modern moral subjects, Hogarth selected for representation those narrative moments in which his heroes' concomitant assimilation and rejection of recognized social moral values reached a moment of climax. He heightened these pregnant moments by populating his compositions with consumer objects in varying states of use. Such objects as silver teapots, porcelain cups and saucers, and over-turned card tables simultaneously contributed to the narrative while retaining the potential to alter the viewer's perspective of the situation at hand. The style of these goods was never arbitrary but instead carried implications of moral character when applied to the narrative's cast. In the second plate of *Marriage À-La-Mode* (June 1745, P.159) (Fig. 1.4), for instance, we observe Lord Squanderfield and his wife surrounded by foreign fripperies that are burdened with an excess of design. The couple's taste is shown to be impaired, as is their moral judgment; good taste and morality are here represented as synonymous. To communicate this message successfully, the artist relied upon his viewer to see in the objects long-existing emblematic associations that

---

more clearly and accurately taken off, than they have been at any preceding period" John Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 3 vols. (London: J. & J. Boydell, 1791), 1:CXV.

Materially, the prints do change with Boydell, as Ireland observes, but it is not a change that registers in the primary sources consulted for this project. Only in more recent times have scholars observed that beginning with Boydell (and only later in his ownership of the plates), impressions were pulled on wove rather than the laid paper used by Hogarth and Mrs. Hogarth (Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 31). I offer a more detailed accounting of the history of the plates is in "Marketing Hogarth."

were easily recognizable within the context of the visual culture of the day while simultaneously referencing contemporary philosophical debates surrounding luxury.[20] The objects scattered throughout Hogarth's compositions may therefore be understood as sign posts permitting sophisticated interpretations of the artist's project, if the viewer was possessed of the requisite visual and scholarly knowledge.

In his choice of the material goods that serve as both a backdrop and elicit human action, Hogarth situated his compositions in the specific time and place of eighteenth-century England. About this, there can be no doubt. There are, however, multiple opinions regarding the extent to which his compositions offered biting satires, caricatures, moral messages, or some combination thereof.[21] Regardless, the

---

[20] Ronald Paulson has made a study of the emblematic content of Hogarth's work within the context of his contemporaries in *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975). The standard source on luxury is John Sekora, *Luxury: the Concept in Western Thought, from Eden to Smollett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); luxury in 18th century thought and practice is discussing in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth-Century: Debates, Desires, and Delectable Goods* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) and Katie Scott and Deborah Cherry, eds. *Between Luxury and the Everyday: Decorative Arts in Eighteenth-Century France* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005). For a study of the use to which the emblematic tradition was put in American art, see Ronald E. Fleischer, "Emblems and Colonial American Painting," *American Art Journal* 20, no. 3 (1988): 2–35.

[21] Elizabeth Einberg's *Manners and Morals: Hogarth and British Painting 1700–1760* (London: Tate Gallery, 1987) paints the picture of Hogarth's moral lessons; Mark Hallett investigates the satirical nature of Hogarth's prints through a close study of the genre in *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Amelia Rauser offers a measured study of Hogarth and caricature in *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth-Century English Prints* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008).

ambiguity of his message was exacerbated by all of the "things" that the artist purposefully positioned throughout his compositions. For Hogarth's audience, such objects communicated far more than mere presence. As stated above, objects like card tables and teapots take on various meanings depending on the level of refinement evinced in their visual style and their context amongst other objects. They also had the capacity to address social, economic, political, and religious considerations, should the viewer be literate in their semiotic language.[22]

The likelihood of such literacy was high, since eighteenth-century England was a land of things. While manufacturing was not as developed as it would become during the Industrial Revolution, during this century the country was marked by considerable upturns in the production of myriad consumer goods, spurred and maintained by a robust economy that in turn provided a growing segment of the population with the means (through cash and credit) to acquire goods exceeding basic necessity.[23] In British America, too, the century was marked by an expansion of

---

[22] T. H. Breen has discussed the myriad connotative meanings of objects in the context of American consumers in the time of the American Revolution in "Baubles of Britain: The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 119 (May 1988): 73–104. Other studies of the formation and transmission of personal and collective identity in eighteenth-century British America through imported objects include Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992) and Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994). For a study of contemporary society that demonstrates the ways in which objects come to embody personal and social meaning, see Mihaly Czikszentrmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press 1981).

[23] Many scholars have addressed the development of England's consumer society in this period. Those studies that I have found most useful include Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The*

consumer choice, thanks to a multitude of goods that were largely imported.[24] This meant that a porcelain teapot appearing in the fashionable townhouse of a London merchant might find its equivalent present at the heart of polite social interactions in the domestic interiors of houses in Boston, the Virginia back country, and Charleston. So, too, could Hogarth's prints.

As multiples with the potential to be many places simultaneously, both the teapot and the print had the capacity to spread information and ideas, thereby connecting the consuming world.[25] Numerous scholars from a variety of academic disciplines have identified the spread of ideas through print as a defining component of initiating and maintaining an "imagined" social community.[26] Such communities

---

Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982) and Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1990). Consumer society in British America has been thoughtfully addressed by T. H. Breen in *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[24] Breen has discussed the literature on consumer behavior in America during the period leading up to the Revolutionary War in "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690–1776," *Journal of British Studies* 25, no. 4 (Oct. 1986): 467–499. He extends his discussion of American consumption with a special focus on British imports in "Baubles of Britain" (1988).

[25] Susan Dackerman and others have recently demonstrated the importance of prints in spreading information and scientific innovation in their important study of the northern Renaissance in Dackerman, ed. *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

[26] Among those that have been of greatest use in the present study are Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983) and Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004). Scholars of American

are marked by shared knowledge and experience, connected through a collective cultural spirit in the absence of close physical ties. As such, consumers may be located at great physical differences from one another, but through exposure to the same ideas, consumer goods, and social conventions may find shared cultural assumptions and values. Each of Hogarth's prints, staged as tableaux in which social mores unfold in a series of dramatic events, functioned doubly in this regard. When activated through individual and group observation they had the capacity to capture the viewer's imagination, while simultaneously instructing viewers in a multitude of social practices as well as informing consumer taste thanks to their visual and narrative content. Moreover, as objects themselves, they served as markers of cultural capital, implicating owner and viewer alike in a complex and constantly shifting world of connotative consumption.[27]

---

literature and history Michael Warner and David S. Shields have both used this concept to great effect in their investigations of the formation of culture in eighteenth-century British America; see Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth- Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990) and Shields, *Civil Tongues*, 1997.

[27] In my use of the term "cultural capital," I refer to Pierre Bourdieu's seminal sociological observations on the subject of social identity reified through distinctions in taste as expressed in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984). In my use of the term "connotative," I refer to the linguistic field of semiotics and the definition first proposed by Ferdinand de Saussure. The idea that objects communicate when activated by conscious and subconscious human consumption is fundamental to the present study, which is based in material culture studies. I use the term "implicating" in the sense that Robert Blair St. George developed in his study of the ways in which objects convey meaning, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

Consumption in the face of choice has long been understood to engender far more than mere acquisition.[28] From a classical capitalist perspective, it is the necessary inverse of production required to sustain a healthy economy.[29] On an international scale, consumption may therefore elicit serious political significance, and encourage trade policies with an eye towards a nationalistic agenda.[30] An individual's consumption choices may also be laced with political motivations. Certainly numerous studies have been made of the nonimportation movement in British America in the period prior to the Revolutionary War.[31] Consumption choices may equally be

---

[28] In the early 1990s, the subject of culture and consumption was one on which a number of scholars focused thanks to a three-year research project sponsored by the Center for Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Studies and the Clark Library at UCLA. I have found the two volumes dealing with the eighteenth century that resulted from this study to be of particular use in contextualizing my thinking of consumption within Hogarth's century: John Brewer & Roy Porter, eds. *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) and Ann Bermingham & John Brewer, eds. *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995). The introduction to Bermingham & Brewer offers a concise historiography of the inter-disciplinary approaches that have been made upon the general study of consumption, esp. 6–14.

[29] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (New York: Vintage, 1973), 83–111.

[30] Joan Thirsk and Neil McKendrick et al. have made important contributions to the study of the political and social ramifications of consumption in early modern England. See, for example, Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) and McKendrick et al., *Consumer Society*, 1982.

[31] For some of the scholarship that examines the relationship between consumption and citizenship in the context of British America, see T. H. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 2004, Linzy A. Brekke, "'The Scourge of Fashion': Political Economy and the Politics of Consumption in the Early Republic," *Early American Studies* 3 (Spring 2005): 106–39; Michael Zakim, *Ready-Made Democracy. A History of Men's*

motivated by any number of other considerations and likely more than one. This is a subject addressed by scholars based in disciplines throughout the humanities and social sciences, and one with critical implications for the study of material culture, particularly in regards to the formation and transmission of identity (personal and communal) through practices of consumption.[32] My work is predicated on the notion that identity (individual and collective) is not fixed, but rather a process. This process may not rely on conscious thought, but instead may percolate below the surface,

---

Dress in the American Republic, 1760–1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980).

[32] Material culture and consumption as a deliberately expressive form of communicating identity has been the focus of numerous books and essays. Some of the most useful for the present study include Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, eds., *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America 1600–1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988); Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760* (London: Routledge, 1988); Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 1992; Carson et al. *Of Consuming Interests*, 1994; Daniel Miller, ed., *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); Martin Daunton and Matthew Hilton, eds. *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America.* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Phyllis Whitman Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670–1780* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2001); John Styles and Amanda Vickery eds., *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006); and Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backwater Virginia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

constantly shifting with the transmission of contemporary concerns as expressed in words, images, and objects.

The Market for Art in British America

As an artist working before the introduction of England's Royal Academy of Art, Hogarth was free to shift his subject matter between specific artistic genres in a manner that would not have been permissible had he worked in France or Italy where art academies and guilds dictated hierarchies of genre and had done so for at least a century. Forging his own way, Hogarth entered a marketplace already jammed with material but filled with few visual equivalents.[33] Instead, the artist observed an abundance of portraiture, which he purportedly identified as a result of the preponderance of the nation's "vanity… united with selfishness." He continued, explaining:

> Portrait-painting… has succeeded, and ever will succeed better, in England than in any other country, and the demand will continue as new faces come into the market. Portrait-painting is one of the ministers of vanity, and vanity is a munificent patroness; historical

---

[33] Timothy Clayton has written a compelling survey of printmaking in eighteenth-century England in *The English Print 1688–1802* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997); his study has been augmented by Antony Griffiths in *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689* (London: British Museum, 1998) and Malcolm Jones in *The Print in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), which covers the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Sheila O'Connell's *The Popular Print in England* (London: British Museum, 1999) covers all of these periods, but addresses the ephemeral, cheap prints of the age. In combination, these four titles provide an excellent overview of the state of the printmaking trade and market as Hogarth must have experienced it.

> painting seeks to revive the memory of the dead, and the dead are very indifferent paymasters.[34]

A generation later, many would-be artists living in British America started their careers in similar situations to Hogarth. There was no official academic framework in which they were required to work; on a superficial level, it would appear that they could work in whatever style and with whatever subject matter they pleased. Yet the evidence of surviving paintings from the period attributed to the hands of British-American artists suggests that it was mainly within the genre of portraiture that these artists were given the opportunity to excel.[35] History paintings from this period are rare, though not nonexistent. So, too, are landscapes and still life subjects. Genre scenes by artists working in this time and locale are rarer still; group portraits are occasionally marked by elements of jocular narrative, but by and large the genre failed

---

[34] As quoted in Allan Cunningham, *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters and Sculptors* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1837), 1:168. Louise Lippincott offers a re-reading of the English market's preference for portraiture, explaining that the gratification usually associated with portraiture can more accurately be understood as an expression of contemporary altruism and civic virtue (Lippincott, "Expanding on Portraiture. The Market, The Public, and The Hierarchy of Genres in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *Consumption of Culture*, ed. Bermingham and Brewer, 1995, 75–88. Margaretta M. Lovell has reached a similar conclusion in her assessment of American portraits in "Reading Eighteenth-Century American Family Portraits: Social Images and Self-Images," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 243–264.

[35] John Smibert may serve as an example of an established painter whose limited foray into realms outside portraiture met with limited success: in the notebook bearing detailed accountings of the subjects of his paintings made in London and America, only one—"a vew [sic.] of Boston"—appears without the sale price. John Smibert, *The Notebook of John Smibert* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1969), 95.

to take significant hold until its adoption in the nineteenth century by the immigrant John Lewis Krimmel (American, b. Germany 1786–1821).[36]

What, then, brought Hogarth success in British America yet doomed many of his counterparts across the Atlantic to ostensible disappointment outside the realm of portraiture? Previous generations of historians of American art have been inclined to trace this failing to the market, citing as evidence the American artist John Singleton Copley's (1738–1815) observation:

> A taste of painting is too much Wanting… -Was it not for preserving the resemble[n]ce of perticular persons, painting would not be known in the plac[e]. The people generally regard it no more than any other usefull trade, as they sometimes term it, like that of a Carpenter tailor, or shew maker, not as one of the most noble Arts in the World.[37]

Certainly the market must have played a role in determining artistic output, for ultimately art could be a source of livelihood and not just a creative pastime. Yet Hogarth's observation regarding the preponderance of portraiture in England did not preclude English families from living with art of all kinds any more than Copley's statement perceived a truism in the market for art in British America. As economist and historian Lorna Weatherill's study of English probate inventories demonstrates, by 1725 an estimated forty-one percent of Londoners and roughly thirty-seven percent of all English households were possessed of at least one image, though this image could

---

[36] Anneliese Harding has written the definitive book on Krimmel's artistic development in *John Lewis Krimmel: Genre Artist of the Early Republic* (Winterthur, Delaware: Winterthur, 1994).

[37] Copley to [Benjamin West or Captain R. G. Bruce]. [1767?]. John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, *Letters & Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739–1776* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1914), 65–66.

be anything from a fine oil painting all the way down in the hierarchy of media to the lowest popularly-printed woodcut ballad.[38]

Artists and craftsmen capitalized on this market for visual imagery, varying their range of subject matter, and providing objects that could be reached by virtually every sector of the economic ladder. The diversity of refinement in imagery populating colonial British-American households was similar, as print sellers bought, sold, and made merchandise similar to that of their English peers. When visual art other than painting was thrown into the mix, the material art world was not as limited as Copley and subsequent scholars of his work have insinuated. With prints, the predominance of portraiture dissipates, as allegory, history, landscape, and genre scenes can be seen to populate the collective visual imagination.[39] Perhaps, then, the

---

[38] Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, 1996, 76.

General surveys of the market for art in America tend to skim over the eighteenth century, beginning their primary investigation of the subject with the establishment of the major art institutions of the nineteenth century. One such study is Malcolm Goldstein, *Landscape with Figures: A History of Art Dealing in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Another, with considerably more emphasis given to the economics of the market for art is William J. Barber, "International Commerce in the Fine Arts and American Political Economy, 1789–1913," in *Economic Engagements with Art*, Neil de Marchi and Craufurd D. W. Goodwin, eds. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 209–234. To learn more about the social implications of the market for art in eighteenth century British America, it is therefore necessary to examine the monographic studies that have been made of oeuvres of the individual artists who have since found lasting acclaim. I have found of particular use Richard H. Saunders, *John Smibert: Colonial America's First Portrait Painter* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995); Carrie Rebora, Paul Staiti, et al., *John Singleton Copley in America* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995); Wayne Craven, "Painting in New York City, 1750–1775," in *American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1971), 251–297; and Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

More recently, the Frick Collection in New York City has established the Center for the History of Collecting, a research center that encourages the study of the formation of collections in Europe and the United States, from the Renaissance to the present day. Supporting study days, symposia, research fellowships, and publications devoted to the history of collecting, the center promises to encourage innovative, interdisciplinary scholarship that will no doubt also have ramifications for research devoted to the market for art in eighteenth-century British America.

Any such studies, will, like the present study, no doubt be also indebted to the pioneering interdisciplinary work of Neil de Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet, who, among others, have presented important methodologies for assessing the history and importance of art markets in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. See, for example Neil de Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet, eds., *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450–1750* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006). Other recent scholarship dedicated to the European art market includes Jonathan Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Carol Gibson-Wood, "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 84, no. 3 (September 2002): 491–500; Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède, eds., *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present: A Cultural History* (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2012); Elizabeth Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Michael North and David Ormrod, eds., *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800* (Aldershot, UK and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998); and Jeremy Warren and Adriana Turpin, eds., *Auctions, Agents and Dealers: The Mechanisms of the Art Market 1660–1830* (Oxford: The Beazley Archive and Archaeopress in association with The Wallace Collection, 2007).

[39] Appendix D clarifies the widespread incorporation of visual materials within Suffolk County, Massachusetts, for the years 1730–1761. I address the question of choice in visual materials in "Consuming Hogarth." While my research took me away from a sustained survey of the presence of art within the domestic interior, repeated references in probate inventories to prints, pictures, paintings and the like, even in those households with obvious financial trouble, suggest that over the course of the eighteenth century British Americans took an active interest in the arts of Europe.

The literature dealing with the market for prints in British America remains limited. Of note are E. McSherry Fowble, *Two Centuries of Prints in America 1680–1880: A Selective Catalogue of the Winterthur Museum Collection* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987); E McSherry Fowble, *To Please Every Taste: Eighteenth-*

question of a market for art in British America was not solely subject matter, but also related to the artist, the medium, and the price. By showcasing the prevalence of prints as an important player in the market for art, rather than featuring them solely as a means to an end for paintings made by British-American artists, this dissertation offers a critical reassessment of the market for art in British America.

Surviving satirical prints from the period are evidence that a market existed for of-the-moment, ephemeral subject matter. Hogarth's subjects, too, were appealing and generally extended their influence beyond one or two seasons. Their multiplicity of meanings, their (sometimes) bawdy humor, and their slippery (dis)avowal of the status quo all contributed to a lasting popularity with regionally- and politically-diverse constituencies. Yet amongst those few "historical prints" that were made in the American colonies beginning in 1670, those scenes of everyday life, or genre scenes, that survive from this period are even fewer in number and can be traced to a limited group of artists.[40] Whether or not this absence is evidence that few were made is open

---

Century Prints from the Winterthur Museum (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 1991), Joan D. Dolmetsch, *Rebellion and Reconciliation: Satirical Prints on the Revolution at Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, VA: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1976), Joan D. Dlometsch, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Prints in Colonial America: To Educate and Decorate* (Williamsburg, VA: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1979), and John D. Morse, ed. *Prints in and of America to 1850* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1970). For a study of an eighteenth-century American print collector, see Stefanie Munsing Winkelbauer, "William Bentley: Connoisseur and Print Collector," in *Prints of New England*, ed. Georgia Brady Barnhill (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1991), 21–38.

[40] Revere, Hurd, Thomas Johnston and Peter Pellham are among the only artists of note to produce such scenes before the revolution; William Birch, Amos Doolittle, Samuel Hill, and Charles Willson Peale took up the torch, if briefly in the later period, but surviving works of all of these artists are without the technical bravura and conceptual witticism to be found in the work of their well-known English peers.

to debate, but if the survival rate of prints dating from this period is any indication, it would seem that on the whole portraits dominated native print production, just as they did the market for paintings in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British America.[41]

Peter Pelham (American, b. England, ca. 1695–1751), briefly stepfather to John Singleton Copley, is generally given credit for making the first successful artistic image to be pulled on American soil from a copper plate, a status given to his 1727 portrait of the Reverend Cotton Mather (American, b. Boston, 1663–1728) after a portrait that Pelham painted (now in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society).[42] Even earlier was an attempt to depict the Reverend Increase Mather (American, b. Dorchester, MA, 1639–1723) by Thomas Emmes (also of Boston) in 1701, but this print after an English engraving by Robert White (English, 1645–1703), which was itself after a painting by Jan Van der Spriett (Dutch, active 1690–1700), was scratched into the copper plate in a technique approximating drypoint and was evidently not a considerable success.[43] Undoubtedly, portraits dominated the limited number of prints produced in British America throughout the eighteenth century, but other than the heads of the most eminent individuals like those cited above, this genre would logically have had limited market potential.

---

[41] The American Antiquarian Society's Catalogue of American Engravings pre-1820 offers a comprehensive account of those engravings issued independently as well as those appearing in books and periodicals from the early eighteenth century through the year 1820. The catalogue is searchable through the institution's website at: http://catalog.mwa.org

[42] Grolier Club, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Early American Engraving Upon Copper: 1727–1850…* (New York: De Vinne Press, 1908), v.

[43] Ibid.

It remains a question why American artists were slow to adopt printmaking into their practice, and when they did so acted as though they could only be successful in portraiture in the midst of a market populated with a wide range of subjects. It cannot be explained for lack of materials, since printing presses were in use from as early as 1639.[44] Adequate papers, inks, and tools could have been imported if they were not already available in the shops that supplied artists with such exotic specimens as Prussian blue and flake white, though these may have been prohibitively expensive for some.[45] Similarly, lack of training cannot account for this hesitancy since silversmiths like Paul Revere (American, bap. Boston 1734, d. 1818) and Nathaniel

---

[44] David A. Copeland, *Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997), 17. Information about early printing presses in British America comes largely from studies of newspaper printing. The press used to print a newspaper was appropriate for printing relief images, but would not have been suitable for printing intaglio. For more on this "common" press and those who first built them, see Elizabeth Harris, "Press-builders in Philadelphia, 1776–1850," *Printing History: The Journal of the American Printing History Association* 11, no. 2 (1989): 11–24.

In 1717, Francis Dewing of Boston imported what may have been the first printing press capable of printing larger-scale intaglio plates. See Judy L. Larson, "Separately Published Engravings in the Early Republic: An Introduction to Copperplate Engraving and Printing in America Through 1820," *Printing History: The Journal of the American Printing History Association* 6, no. 1 (June 1984), 4. Benjamin Franklin claimed responsibility for constructing the first intaglio printing press in the colonies in 1728. Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Louis P. Masur (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1993), 69.

[45] Judy L. Larson describes the limits of the print trade respecting the availability of materials in Larson, "Separately Published Engravings," 4–5.

Hurd (American, b. Boston, 1729–1777) were quite adept at translating designs to metal surfaces.[46]

It would not have been outside the bounds of propriety for an artist to appropriate substantial amounts of a pre-existing composition and to rework it to fit his own needs. Such procedures were used throughout the eighteenth century (and indeed from the beginning of printmaking) without considerable repercussions for the meaning of authorship. Paul Revere made use of a pre-existing composition to formulate his engraving *A View of the Year 1765*.[47] Adapting compositions to fill local need was not the only means by which Revere worked. In the case of what is perhaps his most famous composition (*Boston Massacre*, 1770), the artist copied virtually verbatim a design conceived by Henry Pelham (1749–1806), a fellow Bostonian.[48] After Revere published his print, there followed a disagreement between the two artists that was not dissimilar from the campaign for legal protection that Hogarth set forth after his *Harlot's Progress* (April 1732, P.121–126) series was pirated, and

---

[46] The lack of instruction available to the budding artist may also have proved prohibitive for some, but given the rudimentary training available to Hogarth and others of his generation in England, I find this explanation unsatisfactory as well. Certainly it would not have been outside the realm of possibility for a silver or goldsmith to shift his talents for engraving metal in the round to focus on the flat, copper surface of a plate from which multiple impressions could be pulled. Indeed, many engravers of the eighteenth century (Hogarth among them) got their first introduction to the craft through their work in silver and gold.

[47] The basis for Revere's print was a 1763 cartoon from England, commenting on the excise controversy of that year. Clarence S. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 22–25.

[48] For a detailed untangling of the chronology of the printing of this composition by the two artists above named, and the subsequent printings, see Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 1969, 52–78.

which led to the parliamentary act granting limited copyright protections. For this was not a simple form of repurposing a print; it was instead an infringement on Pelham's intellectual idea and economic pursuit.

Even if artists working in eighteenth-century British America were not fully conversant in the graphic techniques that would allow their designs to be translated into engravings, outsourcing the prints' execution was also a possibility. Had a draughtsman of satirical genre scenes existed he could, like his associates in the mapmaking trade, have contracted with skilled engravers in England to produce copperplates bearing the artist's design.[49] The concept of subscription to fund such a venture was not unknown to would-be printmakers in the colonies. Perspectives published in the local newspapers indicate that rather than produce a print on speculation, the savvy businessman would test the waters of his market, describing a subject that could be produced, including the caveat that the project would only be undertaken if sufficient interest was shown.[50]

Hogarth, too, took the temperature of his consumer base, providing himself an escape clause should interest prove insufficient to warrant the time and expense of a project's production. The primary difference that an American artist might face was the time that it took for the design to be sent to the European engraver, and then

---

[49] David Bosse has made a careful study of the map-making industry during this period in David Bosse, "Maps in the Marketplace: Cartographic Vendors and Their Customers in Eighteenth-Century America," *Cartographica* 42, no. 1 (2007): 1–51.

[50] See, for example, an advertisement published in the *New England Courant*, May 6–May 12, 1723, in which William Price, a print and map seller based in Boston, announced his desire to publish a new prospect of Boston. Though subscribers were not required to put any money down, Price cautioned that in the event insufficient subscriptions were taken, the project would not go forward.

returned back across the Atlantic. The risks involved in such an arduous passage were considerable, and not to be undertaken lightly. However, once the plate made it back to the western shores of the Atlantic, the potential to gain income from the plate grew; not only could the artist (or publisher) serve those who had subscribed and in part funded the plate's creation, he could continue to print the plate for the benefit of those who failed to subscribe in the first place. Theoretically, then, there was nothing to stop the American artist from sending his drawings off across the Atlantic to a professional engraver if local talent was insufficient to produce the plate. Why, then, given the popularity that Hogarth's prints achieved in the colonies and early republic, were there not more visual statements expressing the peculiarities of contemporary, local experience and humor?

Certainly the Puritan response to images and the disavowal of luxury goods provides an incomplete explanation for the limited uptake in local print production outside portraiture, especially south of New England.[51] Though it may well have been true in this discrete area of the colonies during earlier periods, as this dissertation attests, by the second quarter of the eighteenth century, large numbers of advertisements for prints and other visual art materials could be found in the weekly newspapers, suggesting that any negative attitude towards the visual arts was fading. At least insofar as art offered an acceptable furnishing for the wall, the picture business was booming. There must therefore have been something about an imported

---

[51] In her study of illustrated books in eighteenth-century America, Barbara E. Lacey grapples with the varied religious responses towards images in this period. See Barbara E. Lacey, *From Sacred to Secular: Visual Images in Early American Publications* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 15–39.

genre or historical scene that tempted the British-American consumer to purchase where a domestically produced object of similar subject would not.[52] Why this should be so has been the subject of countless texts on the subject of the formation of taste and identity in eighteenth-century British North America.

To build a highly-regarded collection of art, then, the British-American collector either needed to travel abroad or the pictures needed to come to him.[53] Neither option guaranteed the acquisition of quality, however, and it remained for the would-be consumer to exhibit his taste through his choice of artist and subject.[54] The Grand Tour was an option for some, and art historian Maurie D. McInnis has made a study of the art acquisitions made by Charlestonians during their time abroad.[55]

---

[52] In her study of satirical prints in colonial America, Amy E. Bogansky has argued that the American market for modish landscape, portrait, and genre subjects was saturated from a continual current of English prints; rather than try to compete with such images, which could be cheaply had even though they were imported across the Atlantic, American engravers focused their attention on purely local subjects, particularly those that were time sensitive in nature, as British satirists were unlikely to find in such matters appropriate subjects (if only for having to twice cross the Atlantic, by which time they would no longer be strictly au courant). Amy E. Bogansky, "The Devil's Servants: Satire in Colonial America and the Visual Language of Conflict," M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 2006, 4–5, 29.

[53] These were also the options available to English collectors during Hogarth's lifetime; he, like the next generation of American artists, was constantly struggling to prove the quality of his work and combat the prejudice of a native-born son rather than an artist with the benefit of more than a century's academic tradition.

[54] Fakes and copies were among the artwork sold to all nationality of tourist on the Grand Tour, and it behooved collectors to sharpen their eyes before laying out large amounts of capital. Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 191.

[55] See Maurie Dee McInnis, "Picture Mania: Collectors and Collecting in Charleston," in *In Pursuit of Refinement: Charlestonians Abroad, 1740–1860*, Maurie D. McInnis et al., (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 39–53.

Alternatively, collectors could rely upon their contacts abroad or the local picture-dealing shopkeeper to acquire artwork from a distance. Though export data from England and import data to colonial ports is inadequate to give specific details, art historian Iain Pears has found that England had a near complete monopoly on the trade, sending pictures and prints to all of the colonies. According to Pears, New York, Pennsylvania, and Jamaica received the largest shipments of artwork.[56] Though large numbers of imported visual materials including the prints of Hogarth found their way to British America and played not only a part in the art created here but tell more complete stories of the history of artistic patronage in this period, the art made by European artists but enjoyed within the context of eighteenth-century British America has been largely overlooked by generations of historians of American art. This lacuna in the scholarship is beginning to be filled, and the present study contributes to this area of study.[57] As McInnis observes, histories of American art will be more

---

[56] Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, 1998, 56–57.

[57] The role of specific European prints as sources for paintings has been documented by many scholars including Anne Cannon Palumbo, "Prints into Paint: The Influence of Prints on Eighteenth-Century American Painting," *Imprint (American Historical Print Collectors Society)* 18, no. 2 (1993): 13–20 and Lovell, *Season of Revolution*, 2005, 18–21, 73–79. As Maurie D. McInnis has discussed in "Little of Artistic Merit? The Problem and Promise of Southern Art History," *American Art* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 14, the role of imported paintings has been less clearly defined. It is mostly in museum exhibitions that scholars have begun to show an interest in this area, notably in Richard H. Saunders and Ellen Gross Miles, *American Colonial Portraits 1700–1776* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987) and Donald B. Kuspit and David S. Bundy, *Painting in the South, 1564–1980* (Richmond: Virginia Museum, 1983). More recently, Carolyn J. Weekley's *Painters and Paintings in the Early American South* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2013) has made inroads in contextualizing these related strains of art in eighteenth-century British America.

comprehensive when this interplay between imported and locally-created art is better documented and understood.[58] Furthermore, the importation of art in the eighteenth century may be seen as a contributing factor in the establishment of a market for art in British America, and as such its study is critical to an understanding of the expansion and promotion of art that would occur in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Bound to Books: Historiography

Prints, which are ultimately designs impressed upon sheets of paper, are easily mobile. In the context of the eighteenth-century England and its progressively global economic reach, therefore, a study of print circulation is difficult to constrain within the artificial construct of national borders. Certainly Hogarth was aware that his prints circulated "not only through England, but over Europe."[59] The freedom with which printed sheets of paper could circulate between port cities and along country back roads while retaining significance through visual rather than purely linguistic systems of expression suggests that they had the potential to spread information and ideas, tying together consumers located at great distances from one another. The mechanisms by which Hogarth became a physical and rhetorical presence on the western side of the Atlantic share much with the ways in which British Americans became aware of other elements of British culture. This dissertation therefore contributes to recent interest in the movement of art and ideas throughout the North Atlantic world and a

---

[58] McInnis, "Little of Artistic Merit," 14.

[59] As quoted in Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791, 3:190–191.

growing recognition of the internationalism of histories of American art.[60] It provides evidence of sustained American taste in British goods, even in the years surrounding the Revolutionary War, and as previously discussed is inextricably linked to the literature on networks of British and American trade, consumer behavior and material culture studies.[61]

This study also adds to the literature on the history of prints and visual culture in America, an area of study that has only in the last decade begun to receive critical academic attention.[62] With a focus on the printed image and the printed invocations of an American Hogarth in eighteenth-century newspapers, this project necessarily straddles the disciplinary lines of English literature and Art History. Further, its exploration of the location of the print's cultural value across time and space has

---

[60] Art historian Katherine Manthorne identifies this trend in her recent observations on the state of the field of American Art in "Remapping American Art," *American Art* 22, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 112–117. This interest in internationalism may also be observed in Jennifer L. Roberts's recent book *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2014).

[61] Other recent studies that argue for a persistence of Britishness in American culture long after the Revolutionary War include Elisa Tamarkin, *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) and Kariann Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[62] The study of visual culture is one that has found critical inroads within the scholarship on American art in the last few decades. For a discussion of the adoption of new methodologies and the incorporation of previously unrecognized visual sources see John Davis, "The End of the American Century: Current Scholarship on the Art of the United States," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 3 (September 2003): 544–580. More recently art historian Wendy Bellion has addressed a wide array of visual culture and the politics of vision in *Citizen Spectator*, 2011.

implications for the interdisciplinary study of print culture more generally.[63] That it is Hogarth at the center of such a study is auspicious, for rarely is the intersection between the verbal and the visual more apparent in eighteenth-century British art more apparent than in his work.[64] One early commentator even equated his imagery with text, saying "His graphic representations are indeed books; they have the teeming, fruitful, suggestive meaning of *words*. Other pictures we look at – his Prints we read."[65]

Finally, the dissertation also suggests a less nationalistic point of entry to the field of British art history, and is naturally significant to Hogarth scholarship. Previous

---

[63] "Print culture" is an area of study usually the purview of social historians and scholars of English literature. Under these watchful eyes, print culture investigates the transmission and circulation of information and ideas through printed text. In her recent study on print culture, Trish Loughran locates print culture within the infrastructure and interpersonal relationships that allow for the circulation of printed text to spread information and ideas. While she doesn't specifically discuss printed images as part of print culture, it would seem that they are not specifically excluded, either; one could argue that printed images also convey information and ideas; the language may be different, but viewers could have varying levels of visual literacy, similar to varying levels of literacy in textual languages. Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770–1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

[64] Scholarship on the artist and his work has recognized these competing (yet complementary) components, and scholars of literature as well as the history of art have made careers out of specializing in Hogarth's work, albeit from different methodological vantage points. Ronald Paulson, Peter Wagner and Frederic Ogée are among those scholars who approach Hogarth from a literary perspective. From a more traditional art historical perspective, Mark Hallett and David Bindman provide useful examples.

[65] Charles Lamb, "Essay on the genius and character of Hogarth," *Reflector* III (1811), as reprinted in John Nichols and George Steevens, *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth* (London: Longman, Hurst, Reese, and Orme, 1808–1817), 58.

studies of Hogarth's works have tended to focus on the ambiguity and polyvalent meanings of the artist's treatment of his modern moral subjects. They have focused primarily on questions of content, and interpretations vary regarding the extent to which the artist intended his prints as satirical and/or caricatured commentary on the state of British society. Some consideration has been given to the meanings that a London-based audience would have found in the prints, primarily through a close reading of iconography paired with historical context, but little scholarly attention has been given to the reception that these works were given in England outside the London metropolis and beyond, throughout colonial provinces. This study therefore contributes to studies of British art, and Hogarth studies more specifically in respect to art in motion and the extent to which cultural elements of the metropolis permeated the colonial periphery.

The literature surrounding the accomplishments of William Hogarth dates to the artist's own lifetime; in the press, his work was much discussed, particularly throughout his later years, and numerous commentators offered explications of the narrative implied by the pregnant moments that the artist committed to paper. Although many of these early interpretations were made without the benefit of the artist's own thoughts, such writings are still instructive, for their identification of elements that stood out to his contemporaries, even if they were not the subject upon which the artist was himself most concerned. The later eighteenth-century English sources will play a significant role in the present study, since these are the sources that British Americans would have known if they were interested in pursuing their own studies of the artist. Indeed, books like the Reverend John Trusler's *Hogarth Moralized* (originally published in fourteen installments, between August 1766 and

July 1768) and John Ireland's *Hogarth Illustrated* (1791) may well have introduced the artist's works to a new body of eager enthusiasts.[66]

At what was likely the artist's own behest, an even earlier publication covering the meaning of Hogarth's subjects finds its way into the literature courtesy of Jean André Rouquet (Swiss, 1701–1758), who in 1746 published a pamphlet for French audiences, describing the meaning of Hogarth's modern moral subjects.[67] This brief volume became a model for later interpretations, and is believed to include the artist's own account of his intentions and human models.[68] It was in the year following the artist's death, however, that the first extended discussion of Hogarth's goals in his prints was attempted in *Hogarth Moralized*, by the Reverend John Trusler (English,

---

[66] *Hogarth Moralized* was available at the Williamsburg, Virginia, printing office of Dixon & Hunter (*The Virginia Gazette* [Williamsburg], January 3, 1771). It was also included as part of a group of books being sold at action in Philadelphia in 1796 (*Aurora General Advertiser* [Philadelphia], February 2, 1796). *Hogarth Illustrated* was offered at auction in Philadelphia in 1792 (*General Advertiser* [Philadelphia], November 30, 1792). Ireland's book was also cited in newspaper articles offering explanations of Hogarth's prints, which appeared in the British-American press from time to time (see, for example, *General Advertiser* [Philadelphia], April 2, 1792).

[67] Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the German-speaking world was also introduced to Hogarth's work in a series of articles written by G. Ch. Lichtenberg that appeared in a German literary journal, the *Göttinger Taschenkalender* from 1784 to 1796. These articles were later compiled in a revised volume with accompanying illustrations, and again published in installments between 1794 and 1799. Today Lichtenberg's observations are available to an English-speaking audience in *The World of Hogarth: Lichtenberg's Commentaries, An Ingenious Reading of the Tales Found in Hogarth's Engravings*, trans. Innes & Gustav Herdan (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966).

[68] Jean André Rouquet, *Lettres de Monsieur ** à un des ses Amis à Paris, pour lui expliquer les Estampes e Monsieur Hogarth* (Imprimé a Londres, et se vend chez R. Dodsley, 1746).

1735–1820), which was accompanied by reduced-scale copies of many of Hogarth's prints. As Trusler explained, "My intentions… were to bring some minute objects to view, which lay concealed amid a crowd of larger ones; to hold the painter forth in a moral light, and, convince the age, there is more in his design, than to ridicule and lash the follies of it."[69] The author omits several of Hogarth's publications from his work, including most noticeably *The Times* (September 1762, P.211) and the pair *Before* and *After* (December 1736, P.141–142). Trusler acknowledges their absence, however, and defends his decision, characterizing the former as too much of its time (the underlying message a hope that the controversies surrounding its publication would eventually be forgotten), and the latter as a subject "too ludicrous in nature" for a book of his intended gravity.[70] Trusler's attitude towards the artist is thus largely one of reverence; he omits or glosses over those aspects of the artist's nature that could be construed as anything less than worthy of a founding father of the British school of art and instead constructs commentary as moralizing sermons.

The circumstances of Trusler's publication are worth brief consideration, for they have some bearing on the John Ireland volumes that appeared in 1791. Fairly early in his venture, Trusler approached Mrs. Hogarth to seek her involvement in the project. Initially she supported the venture, but when Trusler proposed a French

---

[69] Trusler, John. *Hogarth moralized. Being a complete edition of Hogarth's works. Containing near fourscore copper-plates, most elegantly engraved. With an explanation, pointing out the many beauties that may have hitherto escaped notice; and a comment on their moral tendency. Calculated to improve the Minds of Youth, and, convey Instruction, under the Mask of Entertainment. Now First Published, With the Approbation of Jane Hogarth, Widow of the late Mr. Hogarth.* London, MDCCLXVIII [1768], i–ii.

[70] Ibid., 6.

Edition, Mrs. Hogarth balked at the proposition. Rather than pushing the issue, Trusler offered her his share in the publication, which she purchased from him outright.[71] Though the author ceded control of the publication at this point, it appears that he imagined he still had some claim to his idea to include iconographical accounts of the prints alongside reduced-scale copies of Hogarth's imagery.[72] When Mrs. Hogarth died in 1789, Trusler expressed some interest in reviving his original publication. However, upon dispersal of Mrs. Hogarth's estate, the publisher John Boydell purchased the plates, and, showing little enthusiasm for Trusler's proposal, commissioned a fresh explanation of the artist's works by John Ireland for a volume that would also include reduced-scale copies of Hogarth's prints.[73] This publication would find its way into the annals of history as *Hogarth Illustrated*, printed in 1791, with an updated third volume appearing in 1798.

In the projects of Horace Walpole (English, 1717–1797) and the Reverend William Gilpin (English, 1724–1804), Hogarth plays but a small role in their respectively ambitious goals of summarizing the history and state of English painting

---

[71] John Trusler, *Memoirs*, Part 2 [1809], 315–319. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University. From time to time, Jane Hogarth authorized the reprinting of Trusler's *Hogarth Moralized*, 1768. These volumes were printed by none other than John Boydell. In an invoice presented by John Boydell for the period November 1782 to November 1784, the book appears four times. John Boydell, *Invoice Listing Prices and Bound Volumes Delivered to Mrs. Hogarth*. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

[72] Trusler, *Memoirs*, part 2 [1809], 316–318.

[73] Trusler recounts his growing frustration with the terms of his settlement and Boydell's indifference in Trusler *Memoirs*, part 2 [1809], 318–319.

and detailing the character and variety of prints.[74] Both acknowledge the important role that Hogarth had recently played in the development and promotion of the arts in England, but unlike Trusler, neither was overly complimentary towards his technical skills. In *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (vol. 4, typeset by 1771, published 1780), which is based on the manuscript notes of the antiquary George Vertue (English, 1684–1756), Walpole entered into his discussion of Hogarth by emphasizing the artist's singularity among his contemporaries. To Walpole's mind Hogarth engaged with the universality of human nature, treading between the Italian tradition of tragedy and Flemish farcical follies. Unimpressed with the artist's technical skill, Walpole was nonetheless generous in his praise of Hogarth's authorial ventures into the morality of the day, whereby the artist depicted his subjects with humor and grace rather than slights and severity more appropriate for caricature.[75] In a supplement to the author's assessment of the artist's life and work, Walpole appends a catalogue of Hogarth's prints found in the historian's own collection.[76]

---

[74] More significantly within the strictures of British Art Theory, Gilpin's *Essay Upon Prints*, 1768 was the first appearance of the author's theories of the Picturesque, a subject that he would go on to develop over the next few decades.

[75] Horace Walpole, *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 Mr. Horace Walpole*. The second edition (Strawberry Hill: Printed by Thomas Kirgate at Strawberry-Hill, 1771–1780; published 1780), 4:68–74.

[76] The author believed his collection to be perhaps the most complete then in existence, and credited artist and print dealer Arthur Pond along with Hogarth himself for having assisted in obtaining the collection (Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, 1780, 4:80). The catalog is itself cursory in nature, consisting primarily of titles or brief subject descriptions, organized largely by subject.

Gilpin reaches similar conclusions to Walpole in his assessment of the artist's life and work in the anonymously published *Essay Upon Prints* (1768), characterizing Hogarth's prints as "admirable moral lessons, and a fund of entertainment suited to every taste; a circumstance, which shews them to be just copies of nature."[77] His assessment of Hogarth's work was not wholly one of praise; in the Reverend's estimation it was chance, rather than skill, that resulted in the occasional good composition (as he regarded the final print of *Idle 'prentice* [September 1747, P.179]).[78] Gilpin also offers critically-pointed remarks on the artist's ability to represent light and even in his ability to draw, assessments that are not completely ill-founded.

John Nichols (English, 1745–1826) focused his attention largely on Hogarth's biography and in 1781 published a volume incorporating anecdotes of the artist's life alongside explanations of the artist's graphic work. Nichols quotes significant portions of Walpole's work, particularly the artist's biography and general artistic esteem, but he also makes occasional new observations, relying on anecdotal contributions from people who knew the artist for significant source material. A significant contribution at this early stage in Hogarth scholarship, Nichols attempted to arrange the artist's works chronologically, being the first to undertake this task, with a goal "to trace the rise and progress of a Genius so strikingly original."[79] Incorporating Walpole's

---

[77] Gilpin, *Essay Upon Prints*, 1768, 168.

[78] Ibid., 170.

[79] John Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; and a Catalogue of His Works Chronologically Arranged; with Occasional Remarks* (London: J. Nichols, 1781), 65.

suggestion of iconographic interpretations, he also married previously published accounts of the prints—usually citing independently produced pamphlets, news articles, and lyric verses that were printed soon after Hogarth's original publications—with visual analyses of his own. In a further act of diligence, Nichols attempted to reconcile the different states and to identify engravers and publishers when they were specified and traced visual sources in the plates when he was so inspired.

As indicated above, when a decade later John Boydell published John Ireland's *Hogarth Illustrated* in 1791, revised explanations for Hogarth's prints were again to be found alongside reduced-scale copies of Hogarth's original prints. This title thus offers the best of Trusler's and Nichols's previous publications, coupling text with visual simulacra. Excerpts of Hogarth's own autobiographical writings were first published in the third volume of Ireland's text (1799), the manuscripts being purchased from Mary Lewis, who was granted them (along with Hogarth's surviving plates) on the death of Mrs. Hogarth in 1789. In this third volume, too, appear for the first time copies of letters sent to Mr. Hogarth, as well as some of his thoughts on the equation of his work with caricature.[80]

The eighteenth-century survey of Hogarth's graphic output was concluded with *Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth, from Pictures, Drawings, and Scarce Prints in the Possession of Samuel Ireland* (1794–1799), which the author—Samuel Ireland (English, d. 1800)—illustrated with etched copies of Hogarth's original plates by his own hand and those of his daughters. As the title indicates, the majority of the prints discussed in this volume were from the author's personal collection. Obtaining a large

---

[80] Many of the materials Ireland cites are now in the collection of the British Library, as *William Hogarth: Letters and Papers relating to*, 1731–1791 (Add MS 27995).

group of paintings, drawings, and prints from the artist's widow in 1780, the author set out to discuss the early and obscure examples of Hogarth's work that he had acquired. Ireland punctuates his discussion of the prints with assertions of value, observing that many of them are extremely scarce and have recently fetched very great sums of money compared to the reissued impressions of Hogarth's more recognizable works.[81]

I have dwelt upon these early accounts of Hogarth's life and art at length because they are the sources that British Americans would have known had they made attempts to better understand the artist and his subjects.[82] Theirs, then, are the explanations for Hogarth's content that would have most resonated with British-American audiences, rather than the multi-disciplinary approaches to iconographic and emblematic content within Hogarth's imagery that have been the mainstay of Hogarth scholarship for the last 215 years. While the words of Trusler, Gilpin, Walpole, Nichols, and Ireland will return throughout the body of this work, I will now provide a brief discussion of the historiography dating from the nineteenth- century onwards to account for Hogarth's reception in the western world today and the absence of critical thinking up until this point surrounding the presence of William Hogarth in British North America.

---

[81] Within the larger scheme of the current dissertation, Samuel Ireland's book is the least significant of those source listed above, as I have not found any evidence that impressions of any of his prints or copies of his text found their way to American shores during the period under investigation.

[82] Even if colonials were to learn of Hogarth through other means, the likelihood that their interpretation would be based in some way on these texts remains high, since these were the source materials for the news periodicals that reported on the artist's work. This topic is addressed further in Chapter 4.

Over the last 215 years, scholarship relating to Hogarth has continued to illuminate the iconographic and emblematic content of the artist's prints while upholding the general understanding of Hogarth's "genius." Throughout the nineteenth century, most authors contented themselves with issuing variations on what had come before. The first attempt at a catalogue raisonné of paintings was undertaken by R.B. Beckett in the 1940s, a decade that also saw the publication of A. P. Oppé's *The Drawings of William Hogarth*, both of which signaled an increased interest in understanding the artist's oeuvre in its entirety. This was followed by the publication of much of Hogarth's own writing, specifically *The Analysis of Beauty*, *Apology for Painters*, and *Hogarth's Peregrination*. Finally, by the middle of the 1960s enough Hogarth material had been published for scholars to begin to more completely make sense of the artist, particularly when coupled with the archival sources that were being discovered and made available.[83]

Ronald Paulson published the first critical biography of the artist in 1971, and has since revised and updated *Hogarth: His Life, Art and Times* such that it now comprises three detailed volumes. Paulson is also responsible for our current understanding of Hogarth's complete graphic oeuvre, having published the definitive catalogue raisonné of Hogarth's graphic works, last updated in 1989. Since the 1997 tercentenary of his birth, Hogarth's oeuvre has been the subject of renewed inquiry, with numerous art historians and museum professionals applying modern and postmodern concerns to his work. In 1997, Jennifer Uglow produced a culturally atmospheric account of Hogarth's life, which incorporates squalor and vulgarity into

---

[83] Uglow provides a detailed account of this early historiography in *A Life*, 1997, xvi–xvii.

the discussions of the polite and refined sociability that have tended to permeate the literature on eighteenth-century British culture. Also in the tercentenary of the artist's birth, David Bindman produced a catalog to accompany a traveling exhibition originating at the British Museum: *Hogarth and his Times*.

Since then, Hogarth has received critical attention from scholars who have applied current methodological approaches ranging from feminist, gender, and queer studies to psychoanalytic and Foucaultian analyses and post-colonial theory. In 2001, two such publications added significantly to the diversity of literature on Hogarth and his work. Chapters devoted to readings of race, gender, and identity politics fill *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetics of Difference*, edited by Bernadette Fort and Angela Rosenthal while the chapters in *Hogarth: Representing nature's machines*, edited by David Bindman, Frédéric Ogée, and Peter Wagner reflect upon the artist's oeuvre within the historical framework of the enlightenment, considering the ways in which it corresponds to eighteenth century modes of vision. The mantle of visual culture studies has also been laid upon Hogarth's oeuvre, with English literature scholar Frédéric Ogée even going so far as to claim that Hogarth was responsible for introducing a visual culture to England and producing for the first time subjects that were not reliant on the written word.[84] These and other recent studies challenge traditional interpretations of iconography, particularly in relation to the semiotically

---

[84] It is Ogée's belief that prior to Hogarth, the subject matter for all British paintings relied on textual sources in order to be considered legitimate. See Frédéric Ogée, "From text to image: William Hogarth and the emergence of a visual culture in eighteenth-century England," in *Hogarth: Representing Nature's Machines*, eds. David Bindman, Frédéric Ogée, and Peter Wagner (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 3.

charged nature of the profusion of objects that the artist included in so many of his modern moral tales. In their own way, each challenges the reader to see Hogarth's prints for the multi-faceted, narrative constructions that they are. The present study adds a material culture dimension to the mix, providing an account of Hogarth's prints as social objects turned loose into the world of material goods, with the potential for myriad meanings and histories as they make their way through space and time.[85]

Hogarth's interaction with other parts of the world has been a subject of recent interest. In 2001 Rosalind P. Gray offered a brief study of Hogarth's reception and influence in Russia and in 2009 Robin Simon published *Hogarth, France & Britain*, a volume that investigates the cross cultural pollination of artistic ideas and expression in Hogarth's work. The volume falls short, however, of exploring in a significant way any market for Hogarth's art in France. Of Hogarth in British America, few authors have given more than passing mention to the fact, and none have investigated the scope and significance of this presence to the degree of the present study.[86]

---

[85] In this approach, I am inspired by Igor Kopytoff, "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91.

[86] Emily Renn Moore's MA thesis is an exception, and provided a degree of assistance in identifying some owners of Hogarth prints. See "'Take in Hogarths Mathematiks to Your Aid': Perceptions of William Hogarth in Eighteenth-century America," M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 2003. Others who have discussed Hogarth in the context of British America include Joan Dolmetsch, "Prints in Colonial America: Supply and Demand in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Prints in and of America to 1850*, ed. John D. Morse (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970), 53–74; Fowble, *Two Centuries of Prints*, 1987; Susan Rather, "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker, Artist: Copley and Portrait Painting around 1770," *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 2 (June 1997): 269–90; Bernard L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 202; and Lovell, *Season of Revolution,* 2005.

Additionally, in studies of work made by American artists scholars have on occasion identified elements that point to the artists' awareness of Hogarth's graphic and/or literary work. Though this topic is given brief discussion in the section of "Narrating Hogarth" that I devote to *The Analysis of Beauty*, the artistic treatise that Hogarth published in 1754, tracing Hogarth as an artistic source in the work of American artists has not been my primary interest in this study. Rather, my focus has remained Hogarth's prints as objects of material culture, with significance extending far beyond mere artistic model.

As the preceding review of Hogarth literature has shown, the artist has been the subject of many significant studies, which regularly grow in number. With every significant anniversary of his birth and death a fresh crop of scholarly books and articles are published, and the present study is no exception. The year 2014 marks the 250th anniversary of the artist's death, and a detailed Hogarth bibliography is slated for publication later this year.[87] Also forthcoming is a volume of essays featuring new readings of the artist's work edited by Margaret Powell and Cynthia Roman of the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University.

Structure

With chapters that focus on the marketing, consumption, and narration of the artist's modern moral subjects throughout British America in the eighteenth century, this dissertation is firmly rooted in preoccupations of the present while recovering an untold story of the past. The lack of serious interest that previous Hogarth scholars

---

[87] Bernd W. Krysmanski, *A Hogarth Bibliography* (New York: Georg Olms, forthcoming).

have shown towards any extended audience for the artist's prints existing beyond the London metropolis and the European continent is understandable; little record remains of any musings the artist may have entertained on the subject, if indeed the possibility ever entered his mind in any serious way. However, evidence from probate inventories, diaries and letters, newspaper advertisements and more provides ample evidence that individuals throughout the American colonies were aware of Hogarth's artistry and wit not only from direct visual access to the prints but also through literary expositions on the subjects they exposed.

In chapter two, "Marketing Hogarth," I describe the strategies that Hogarth used to build a market for his prints within London and the greater metropolitan area. After laying out the terms by which he marketed and retailed his prints, I examine aspects of the wholesale print trade and the use the artist made of independent print sellers in expanding the geographic footprint covered by his product. Next, I identify the methods by which Hogarth's prints (and British prints more generally) found their way from the thriving London metropolis, across the Atlantic, and into centers of commerce throughout New England, the mid-Atlantic region, as well as the southern territories marked by British cultural influence. An important element of this discussion is the print catalogue, an essential source of information for British-American shopkeepers who needed to stay apprised of the latest offerings of British merchandise. The print catalogue may have informed shop keepers, but it was these entrepreneurs' insistent advertising in local newspapers that alerted would-be consumers to the arrival of new goods and encouraged them to visit the shops. In this chapter I make use of just such advertisements to discover those Hogarthian subjects that are identified most often and consider the question of Hogarth's currency within

the "community" of newspaper readers, a theme that persists throughout the remaining chapters. After exploring the marketing and retailing practices of the sellers of Hogarth's prints in British America, I conclude this chapter with a brief exploration of the second-hand market for Hogarth's prints, focusing on two of the primary ways in which consumer goods were returned to their commercial state: death and bankruptcy.

An investigation of the evidence that survives from settling an estate accounts for the foundation of "Consuming Hogarth," the dissertation's third chapter. Though the nature of the probate record makes it impossible to provide an exhaustive tally of every instance in which Hogarth's prints found themselves within the domestic interior, the very fact that his name and his subjects are located in such documents, and that these documents derive from distant geographic locations, is evidence not only of localized currency. It also suggests a cultural value applied to Hogarth's subjects, and implicates an otherwise unconnected group of consumers within a community of shared intellectual concerns and social practice. I begin "Consuming Hogarth" with an explanation of the various terms found throughout the probate record that refer to the visual arts, with special consideration of those terms used to describe Hogarth's prints. Next, through a series of case studies targeting some of the known owners of Hogarth prints, I provide an analysis of the three primary ways in which the prints were used and/or stored within the home: glazed and framed, in loose "parcels," or bound into folio volumes, and discuss the implications of their placement on semi-public and private contemplation. Since these prints were not only present within the domestic interior, the remainder of the chapter investigates the public possibilities of spectatorship, which ranged from public auctions, libraries, and shop windows, to theaters and hair salons.

Electronic databases have proved an invaluable tool in identifying Hogarth's British-American presence. That his name and subjects appeared in newspaper advertisements of shopkeepers plying the latest arrivals from London is unsurprising. Less expected are the references to the artist that appear in editorial and news items over the course of the century. Though such references first derived from the English papers, there comes a moment when British Americans adopted variations on the phrase "oh, for a Hogarth at hand," wishing for a local body capable of rendering the unique humor and absurdity of diverse events and occasions. The dissertation's fourth chapter, "Narrating Hogarth," uses a selection of these unexpected apostrophes as a point of departure to further explore the significance that Hogarth unwittingly achieved in British America throughout the eighteenth century. I preface this subject with an investigation of three projects, each of which points to one of the three rhetorical subjects with which the artist was himself concerned: *John Wilkes* (May 1763, P.214) and *The Times* series addresses Hogarth's political interventions; *The Analysis of Beauty* (March 1753, P.195–196) his artistic preoccupations; and the *Four Stages of Cruelty* (February 1750/1, P.187–190) considers the social preoccupations that populate so much of Hogarth's graphic output. In each of these sections, I evaluate each project in the context of British-American audiences. These sections therefore provide a framework for considering the eventual use to which Hogarth's name was put within the day's popular discourses.

I conclude the dissertation with "Expanding Hogarth's Atlantic World," in which I address the need for an expanded study of Hogarth's geographic reach. British America encompassed not just parts of the North American continent, but also islands off the coast and throughout the Caribbean. Further, Hogarth's graphic output was not

limited solely to independent sheets; early in his career, the artist also illustrated books. Though these illustrations show little of the social concerns with which the artist would later be identified, the extent of his presence in British America would certainly be enlarged if the books for which he provided illustration were to be examined.

When "Blandulus" evoked Hogarth in the description of the 1794 Harvard College Commencement that introduced this chapter, he wrote for an audience both well-versed in British cultural references and steeped in a British visual tradition. "Presence in Print: William Hogarth in British North America" investigates the ways in which the quintessential British artist became entangled in the visual and rhetorical culture of colonial and early Federal America, and tells the story of the adoption and sustained relevance of the British artist as the citizens of the United States of America began the long road towards "unbecoming British."[88]

---

[88] To borrow the titular phrase of historian Kariann Akemi Yokota's *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation*, 2011.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 1.1: William Hogarth, *Assembly at Wanstead House*, 1728–1731. Oil on canvas. The John Howard McFadden Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Pennsylvania

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 1.2: William Hogarth, *The Fellow 'Prentices at their Looms*, plate 1 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 1.3: After William Hogarth, *The Fellow 'Prentices at their Looms*, plate 1 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1766–1779. Etching and engraving. Printed for John Bowles. Winterthur Museum, Delaware

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 1.4: William Hogarth, *Marriage À-La-Mode*, plate 2, 1745. Engraving. British Museum, London

Chapter 2

MARKETING HOGARTH

In the spring of 1755, the ships Carolina and the Pennsylvania, under the command of Captains Mesnard and Lyon, respectively, docked in a Philadelphia wharf, whereupon they discharged of the freight they had been contracted to deliver from London. Among their extensive cargoes was a cache of prints by William Hogarth, which was bound for the shop of Alexander Hamilton. On May 1, Hamilton ran an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* announcing that such prints as *The Lottery* (1724, P.53), *Midnight Conversation* (March 1732/3, P.128), *Parts of the Day* (May 1738, P.146–149), *The Enraged Musician* (November 1741, P.152), *Industry and Idleness*, and *Paul before Felix* (February 1752, P.192) were now available "for ready money" or "three months credit." From the selection advertised, it is evident that Hamilton's shop provided a Philadelphia public with access to prints that were representative of the variety of subjects the artist presented. Since these prints were specified by name, it would appear that Hamilton believed that the artist's prints were sufficiently recognizable to entice shoppers into his store; they alone amongst his merchandise were enumerated by title and artist, while the rest of his merchandise was characterized solely by subject matter and object type.

Moreover, Hamilton's advertisement identified by name the ships on which Hogarth's prints were transported to Philadelphia from London. That the merchandise "at his store in Water Street on William Fishbourn's wharff [sic]" had originated in London was critical to Hamilton's enterprise. The imperial city captured the imagination of would-be consumers and imbued the merchandise with a cachet absent

from goods manufactured in the colonies. Hamilton relied upon the allure of the new and the fashionable to entice his fellow citizens to part with their money for objects of little intrinsic value. Other shop keepers and merchants who sold Hogarth's prints followed a similar advertising strategy. In the notices that they placed in the newspapers of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Piscataway, Charleston, and Savannah from as early as 1753 and as late as 1795, virtually all sellers referred to the London origin of the goods newly available for sale in their shops.

For the purposes of the present chapter—which charts the progress of Hogarth's engravings from his studio in London, across the Atlantic, and into colonial retail establishments where their presence was noted and absorbed into the visual culture of everyday life—the content of Hamilton's advertisement, with its specificity of Hogarth's art and name is significant. If Hamilton could reasonably assume that his customers would recognize an additional level of refinement in the merchandise on offer, it logically follows that he would record this information for their benefit in the advertisement that he placed in the local paper in order to entice them into his store. As such, we may infer that Hamilton's advertisement (and others like it) specifically addressed a "speech community" acquainted with Hogarth and his work, and that he was a recognizable and marketable artist throughout British America by the middle of the eighteenth century, a postulation that the remaining chapters of this dissertation will further substantiate.[89]

---

[89] In my reference to "speech community," I refer to the study of sociolinguistics and the idea that a group of people may be recognized as a "community" in part through a shared expectation of language usage. My understanding of the concept is most closely informed by Basil Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971).

Using a wealth of advertisements found in the newspapers printed on both sides of the British Atlantic, as well as fragmentary evidence from correspondence between buyers and sellers, in this chapter I establish the presence that Hogarth's prints achieved within the marketplace of imported consumables and the emergence of a market for fine art prints in British America within the world of imported consumer goods. To do so, I investigate the mechanisms by which these prints (and British prints more generally) arrived in British America and I identify those individuals critical to the sale of Hogarth's prints on American shores. Through consideration of these topics, I further clarify the variety of ways in which the artist's images were brought to the attention of a public for whom art was but one of hundreds (even thousands) of consumer movables competing in a lively marketplace of luxury goods.[90] To contextualize the uses to which advertising was put by retailers of Hogarth's prints in British America, I begin with an explanation of the artist's own marketing schemes, for he, too, was involved in the creation of a market for a new commodity and sought out innovative ways of impressing upon the British public a new desire for domestically-produced art.

Hogarth's Domestic Market

To market his modern moral prints, Hogarth advertised in his local newspapers. Months, even years, before completing a project, he announced his intentions to the readers of such papers as the *General Advertiser*, the *London Evening Post* and the *Public Advertiser*, offering tantalizing descriptions of his projects before

---

[90] For the purposes of the present study, I use the term "luxury" as the Oxford English Dictionary defines it, as "Something which is desirable by not indispensable."

setting out requisite details such as the financial obligations of would-be patrons and the expected date of completion. He offered many of his prints by subscription, a process that was partially intended to limit the financial risk involved in the production of a print.[91] Hogarth began to use this marketing strategy to promote the first of his independent narrative series, *The Harlot's Progress*, which he advertised from as early as March 1730/31. Subscribers were advised that a certain portion of the fee would be required in advance, with the remaining sum due upon the print's delivery. The subscription fees that were raised before the prints were published were partially intended to cover the cost of materials and printing. Later, when Hogarth outsourced the labor of engraving his designs on the copper printing plates, these subscription fees were also used to provide remuneration to the professional engravers.

---

[91] Paulson has suggested that in this business decision Hogarth looked to his father-in-law Sir James Thornhill as his guide, even using the same text in advertisements, limiting the prints to the number of subscriptions taken (Paulson, *Hogarth* 1991, 1:99–100). Clayton recounts the early history of print subscription in England in *The English Print*, 1997, 52, 54–57.

The subscription model was not unique to Thornhill, however, and it was not a purely European practice. As early as 1723, inhabitants of Boston were called up on to subscribe to an engraving of Boston, which, if enough interest was generated, would result in the artist sending a picture of the city to England to have it engraved and printed from a copper plate (*New-England Courant* [Boston], May 20 to May 27, 1723). Later in the century, American artists like John Trumbull would propose a similar business plan, guaranteeing that any fees collected from subscribers would be returned if the project was not completed, and applying to Congress for protection from piracy his original artwork. Trumbull also suggested that the excitement generated by this plan (or lack thereof) would determine whether or not the artist would turn expatriate in order to pursue his career as an artist, since he suspected that it was an indicator of the interest and market for art in the new Republic. John Trumbull to Thomas Jefferson, London, June 11th, 1789 (as reprinted in *Art in Theory 1648–1815: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, ed. Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger [Oxford: Blackstones, 2000], 707).

In his advertisements for *A Harlot's Progress*, Hogarth informed his potential customers that he would print only as many impressions as he had subscribers, and that care would be taken to ensure the quality of each. The artist was so set in his determination to produce quality impressions that when faced with inadequate assistance, he worked the copper plates himself rather than outsourcing the labor.[92] According to Hogarth's contemporary, the British antiquary George Vertue (1684–1756), whose series of notebooks (later compiled and edited by Horace Walpole) offer unparalleled glimpses into the lives and working practices of the major actors in the world of British art during the first half of the eighteenth century, the artist made good on his promise, printing only 1,240 sets of *A Harlot's Progress*.[93] The historical record further corroborates the veracity with which Hogarth kept his promise, at least initially. Though he made others of his impressions available to non-subscribers over the next eight years, Hogarth's newspaper advertisements for the same period make no mention of the *Harlot's Progress*.[94] It was not until late in 1744 that the *London*

---

[92] *Country Journal; or, The Craftsman* (London), January 29, 1731/32, as cited in Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 76.

[93] Vertue's basis for this information is his recollection of an earlier conversation with Hogarth's printer, who confirmed that the number of sets printed was equal to the number of subscriptions that Hogarth had obtained by the deadline set in his published announcements. George Vertue, *Notebooks*, vol.3, The Walpole Society (Oxford University Press, 1934), 58 as cited in Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 76. John Nichols indicates that the subscription list for this series numbered roughly 1200 in John Nichols, James Heath, and William Hogarth. *The Works of William Hogarth from the Original Plates; Restored by James Heath, with the Addition of Many Subjects not Before Collected. To Which is Prefixed, a Biographical Essay on the Genius and Productions of Hogarth, and Explanations of the Subjects of the Plates, by John Nichols* (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1822), 1.

[94] See, for example, the advertisement announcing the forthcoming publication of *The Enraged Musician* (P.152, November 1741) appearing in the *London Post and*

Evening Post ran a sales notice offering a second impression "off the Original Plates, at One Guinea each sett."[95] This price was the same as when the set was first printed (half on subscription and half upon delivery), suggesting that the while the market remained steady for Hogarth's work in this decade, the prints did not noticeably appreciate in value.

Vertue claims that Hogarth turned away would-be subscribers to *A Harlot's Progress* who arrived with payment in hand after the artist's self-imposed deadline had passed.[96] In advance of the deadline, Vertue observed that Hogarth's house was visited by fashionable prospective clients and artists every day. These visits were accompanied by sales: each week the income that Hogarth obtained from advance subscriptions to the *Harlot's Progress* amounted to somewhere between £50 and £100.[97] Unlike printmakers of previous centuries, who printed their plates as the market demanded, Hogarth initially set an artificial limit on the number of impressions available in the market. The practice made good financial sense for the artist, since he was assured payment for every impression pulled. By limiting the number of prints available, the artist also created a degree of scarcity that imbued the reproducible image with a value higher than it would otherwise retain, should the consumer know

---

General Advertiser, November 13, 1741: "To be had at the GOLDEN HEAD in Leicester-Fields. Where also may be had, First Impressions of all his other Works, except THE HARLOT'S PROGRESS."

[95] *London Evening Post*, December 29, 1744–January 1, 1744/45. Reprinted in Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 77.

[96] Vertue, *Notebooks*, 1934, 3:58 as cited in Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 76.

[97] Ibid., 3:57, cited in Ibid., 76.

that the plate would continue to be printed without end. If this was Hogarth's reason for limiting production, then he joined the ranks of other printmakers possessing a shrewd understanding of market forces.[98]

In at least one other instance we can be fairly certain of the number of subscribers Hogarth obtained, thanks to a retailing gimmick that the artist proposed. In the April 19–21, 1750 issue of the *London Evening Post*, Hogarth announced his intention to publish a print "representing the MARCH to Finchley in the year 1746" (P.184, December 1750), which he offered by advance subscription, for the price of 7 shillings, 6 pence. In the same advertisement, Hogarth offered all subscribers "of 3s. over and above the said 7s.6d." the chance to obtain, through a lottery, "the original Picture, which shall be deliver'd to the winning Subscriber as soon as the Engraving is finish'd."[99] The same advertisement appeared a few days later in the April 24–26, 1750 issue of the *London Evening Post*. From these advertisements and those placed

---

[98] Such printmakers include Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (Dutch, 1606–1669), whose relationship with the market for prints has been well documented by such scholars as Holm Bevers and Thomas Rassieur, see Holm Bevers, ed. *Rembrandt, the Master & His Workshop: Drawings and Etchings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991) and Thomas E. Rassieur, "Looking over Rembrandt's Shoulder: The Printmaker at Work," in Clifford S. Ackley et al., *Rembrandt's Journey: Painter, Draftsman, Etcher* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2003), 45–60; and was even recognized in the generations immediately after the artist by the art historian Arnold Houbraken (1718). Though some of his use of different papers, states, and selective inking and wiping was certainly artistically driven experimentation, other elements of his practice were surely part of a strategy calculated on the acquisitive desires for the new and the novel held by his marketplace. Unlike the painterly prints of Rembrandt, however, Hogarth's prints were largely uniform in their finish, the artistry retained within the plate rather than in the printing process.

[99] Vertue verifies these terms in his own account of the event see Vertue, *Notebooks*, 1934, 3:153 as cited in Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 142.

in the *General Advertiser*, as well as any additional measures the artist may have taken to ensure sales, the project found at least 1,843 subscribers, helping Hogarth to raise an additional £900 on top of the subscription fees themselves.[100] On May 1 the *General Advertiser* concluded the tale in the news from London: "Yesterday Mr. Hogarth's Subscription was closed, 1843 Chances being subscrib'd for, Mr. Hogarth gave the remaining 167 Chances to the Foundling Hospital…," an institution where the artist served as a charter governor. Given the stipulation that only those subscribers who paid an additional charge were eligible for the lottery, it is safe to assume that subscription levels were somewhat higher than the 1,843 cited by the newspaper. Still, this number provides us with at least a general understanding of the quantity of impressions that Hogarth might expect to have printed based on subscription levels, and likely the number printed was far greater, as the artist continued to make his prints available to interested parties far after the subscription period had closed, now for the price of Half a Guinea.[101]

Subscriptions helped Hogarth to balance his outgoing production expenses, providing a welcome source of income during the project's development period. As was typical of the period, we can assume that Hogarth (or a trusted employee or family member) maintained a ledger containing all pertinent information relating to the subscribers of all the print projects.[102] Unfortunately, only one such ledger is

---

[100] Ibid. as cited in Ibid.

[101] *The General Advertiser* (London), March 16, 1749/50.

[102] A footnote in John Ireland's 1791 *Hogarth Illustrated* provides some indication that the account books for the *Harlot's Progress* and *Rake's Progress* were still in existence in the year of the book's publication, and that like the ledger for the *Election*

known to have survived intact; it contains two subscription lists for the *Four Prints of an Election* (1755–1758, P.198–201) and provides some clues to the question of Hogarth's market.[103] The first list is organized by date of subscription, the earliest dating to March 28, 1754, while the second is organized alphabetically by subscribers' surnames.[104] Assuming that subscribers to the *Election* series were typical of those to his earlier series, we can begin to trace the print's journey away from the artist's studio, and out into the world. This will eventually help us reconstruct how an American colonial may have obtained the London artist's prints.

On March 28, 1754, Hogarth recorded in his new ledger the conditions upon which he offered a subscription to his new *Election* series. The first print in the series

---

series, they contained the names of his subscribers alongside evidence of remittance (Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791, 1:xl).

[103] Another clue to Hogarth's market comes in the observation of Jean Bernard, Monsieur l'Abbé Le Blanc, who remarked on the subject of Hogarth's modern moral subjects "I have not seen a house of note without these moral prints." Abbé Le Blanc, *Letters on the English and French Nations. Containing Curious and Useful Observations on their Constitutions Natural and Political*, 2 vols. (Dublin: Printed by Richard James, for William Smith and George Faulkner, 1747), 1:117.

[104] William Hogarth, *NAMES of subscribers to the four prints of An Election…;* 1754–1764. British Library, Add MS 22394. Unfortunately, the ledger contains little additional information to help the twenty-first century researcher identify many of the individuals listed; the inclusion of addresses and professions in the entries is the exception, not the rule. Since this project is not intended as a study into the market for Hogarth's prints in London, after verifying that none of the individuals listed in the ledger are known to have been print owners in British North America, I have refrained from further involving myself in seeking to identify and construct a prosopography of their persons within a larger social group. The ledger also contains a list of would-be subscribers for Hogarth's *Sigismunda* (P.238) print, a project that was never completed. Included in this list are notations that indicate that all the advanced monies received for this project were repaid in full.

was available for "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; 2d: The Canvassing for Votes; 3d: Polling at the Hustings; 4th: Chairing the Members - One Guinea paid down and one Guinea more on the delivery of all the Prints."[105] The 496 entries in the ledger account for 641 impressions of *An Election Entertainment* (February 1755, P.198), the first print in the *Election* series. By far the majority of subscribers listed in the *Election* series ledger were individuals who placed an order for a single impression of the first print; the record is not sufficiently clear to determine whether these individuals later returned to subscribe to the rest of the series.[106] However, 115 of the subscribers, or roughly 23%, purchased the whole series upfront, and six individuals ordered more than one set of the series.[107]

The artist's subscribers were an impressive group. Among them, Hogarth could count doctors and lawyers, ships' captains and clergymen; the Archbishop of

---

[105] Ibid., f. 1.

[106] The record is clear in the case of one individual, a Mr. Pes. Delme Esq., that 5 shillings were paid upfront (the fee required to subscribe to *An Election Entertainment*), and 1.1 (the fee for subscription to the whole series) was also received. This suggests that Delme either purchased the first print in the series and later decided to acquire the whole series or that he obtained the whole series and an additional impression of *An Election Entertainment*. Since the record is unclear, the numbers that I report do not include this individual as an upfront subscriber to the series, but his purchase of the series is included in the total number of series purchased. Ibid., f.138.

[107] Charles Lindegren Esq., Moses Mendes Esq., Pyle, and Robert Taylor ordered two sets; Mr. Perry ordered four sets, and Henry Raper Esq. ordered 5 sets, though a notation indicates that only 4 of those sets were delivered. It is unfortunately impossible to verify whether the fifth set was delivered at a later date. Ibid, f.152–167.

Canterbury, the great actor David Garrick, and the Duke and Duchess of Portland each subscribed for their own respective set. From the classified advertisements sprinkled throughout North American newspapers and probate records, we know that British Americans, too, owned and sold the *Election* series, much as they did other prints in Hogarth's oeuvre.[108] Unfortunately none of the British-American names match those appearing on Hogarth's subscriber list, indicating that the British-American owners of Hogarth's *Election* series prints likely did not obtain their impressions directly from the artist during the subscription period.

That colonials did not order their prints directly from the artist is unsurprising. Though Hogarth was a savvy promoter of his work within the London market, he did not actively advertise on an international stage.[109] Unlike in London, where would-be audiences of Hogarth prints learned of the artist's publication intentions through advanced notices well-placed in newspapers of the artist's choosing, most British-American audiences would only have had access to this news if they were able to read

---

[108] See Appendix C for specific individuals; the collective biography of Hogarth owners will be discussed in the next chapter: "Consuming Hogarth."

[109] From the 1740s, onwards Hogarth did, however, avail himself of the publicity offered by Jean André Rouquet, who published explanations of the artist's prints for the French market. Art historian Robin Simon discusses the relationship of Hogarth to the French intellectual world in *Hogarth, France and British Art: The Rise of the Arts in 18th-Century Britain* (London: Hogarth Arts, 2007).

Hogarth did not advertise widely on a provincial level, either. Clayton's study of the print market at this period suggests that it was unnecessary to do so, since by the middle of the century the distribution network of London newspapers was administered by the Post Office and was therefore sufficiently organized to assure that the London papers reached audiences directly and in a timely manner (Clayton, *English Print*, 1997, 119–120).

a London paper directly. This paper, transported across the Atlantic, reached colonial outposts months after its initial publication and consequently months after many of Hogarth's subscription periods had closed.[110] The London papers were an important news source for papers published in the colonies, with many of the most pertinent news items re-issued verbatim.[111] Yet news of Hogarth's projects never found their way into the newspapers published in the colonial centers, nor did the subsequent explanations of recently-published engravings find their way into this format.[112] It is presumably through another area of business—the independent print seller—that many of the impressions printed during the artist's lifetime found their way to the western shores of the Atlantic.

---

[110] As we saw in the case of *The March to Finchley*, the subscription period was just under two months, with notice of the project announced in the middle of March, and the lottery scheme completed at the beginning of May 1749/1750. Those who learned of the project too late could still purchase the print, but without the benefit of subscription pricing.

[111] Among many histories of the news and newspaper in this period, I have found these particularly useful: Charles E. Clark, *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665–1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Copeland, *Colonial American Newspapers*, 1997; Uriel Heyd, *Reading Newspapers: Press and Public in Eighteenth-century Britain and America* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012). For advertising, see Peter M. Briggs, "'News from the little World': A Critical Glance at Eighteenth-Century British Advertising," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 23 (1994): 29–45.

[112] Only in the 1760s and beyond did explanations of Hogarth's prints find their way into the American newspapers, the earliest such example appearing in Rhode Island in 1763 (*The Newport Mercury*, December 19, 1763) in a discussion of *The Bruiser* (August 1763, P.215).

Hogarth and the British Print Trade

On occasion the artist sold his prints wholesale, direct to others in the print selling trade. Unless a peintre-graveur like Hogarth had a house or studio out of which he could show and sell his work, in eighteenth-century London he relied upon persons already established in the resale business to market and sell his product: the book- and print seller, often one and the same as the print publisher. One of the primary frustrations for Hogarth and other English artists starting out in a market overwhelmingly skewed towards continental European art was the fact that the publishers appeared to have all the power and marketplace opportunities; they paid the artists minimally, skimming the majority of the profits from the sale of the prints rather than sharing the income with the artist responsible for the popular design. Oftentimes, the publisher obtained the plate from the engraver, retaining the right to print the plate as many times as it could be absorbed into the marketplace. Even if an artist designed an extremely saleable image, his financial benefit was generally limited to the terms that the publisher set at the outset of the project.[113]

While still struggling to make a name for himself in the 1720s, Hogarth learned firsthand the disadvantages of reliance upon the established trade, seeing most of the profits from the sale of his *South Sea Scheme* (ca. 1721, P.43) and *The Lottery* prints go to Mrs. Chilcott and R. Caldwell, print sellers whom the young artist trusted

---

[113] Paulson, *Hogarth*, 1991, 1:55. For a broad characterization of the treatment of artists at the hands of print publishers, see *The Case of Designers, Engravers, Etchers, &c. stated. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament* (n.d., probably late 1734 or early 1735). Joseph Burke describes the contents of this letter within the context of the copyright act in his introduction to Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*. William Hogarth and Joseph Burke, *The Analysis of Beauty: With the Rejected Passages from the Manuscript Drafts and Autobiographical Notes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), xx–xi.

with the publication of his prints.[114] However, when trying to strike out on his own with the publication of *Masquerades and Operas* ('The Bad taste of the Town') (February 1723/24, P.44), Hogarth saw another side of the publishing enterprise: unauthorized copies, or pirated prints.[115] A decade later, in a published letter to Parliament, Hogarth (or someone close to the artist) described the untenable situation in which the peintre-graveur found himself working and attempted to convince the governing body of the artist's need for protection against the book- and print selling trade.[116] Other artists expressed similar frustration, and eventually their goal was achieved; on June 25, 1735, the Engraver's Act (or so-called Hogarth's Act) became law, and no longer could the engravings of an artist be copied by another with impunity. Hogarth disliked working with others in the book- and print selling trade, seeing publishers like Thomas Bowles and Philip Overton as vultures who fed upon the creative output of artist/designers like himself. However, as his success grew, and after the Parliamentary adoption of the Engraver's Act, he also recognized the value that they added to his project, expanding the marketplace for prints.

Returning once more to the subscription list for *An Election Entertainment*, we see that thirty-three individuals placed orders for more than one impression of the print. This practice begs further investigation, for it is unlikely that one person needed multiple impressions of the same state of a print. Indeed, some of these individuals were print sellers who saw potential sales for themselves in Hogarth's project. Hogarth

---

[114] Paulson, *Hogarth*, 1991, 1:72–73.

[115] For more on this situation, see Paulson, *Hogarth*, 1991, 1:90–93.

[116] *Case of Designers,* (n.d., probably late 1734 or early 1735).

may also have seen merit in such an arrangement. From the wording of many of his advertisements after the passage of the Engraver's Act, it is certain that some of the print sellers who sold Hogarth's prints did so not only with the artist's awareness, but also his sanction. As early as the 1735 publication of *A Rake's Progress* (June 1735, P.132–139), Hogarth advised his potential competitors within the marketplace that the series might be supplied to them "with Allowances."[117] Thus even though he stood to lose income in the process, Hogarth's participation in a common practice within the print selling trade—making allowances available for others within the business—was done in the hopes that increased exposure would result in greater popularity for the artist and his works.

Certainly Hogarth's relationship with Thomas Bakewell, print seller (fl. 1730–1750) provides some evidence for this conclusion. From at least 1735 to 1736, when Hogarth advertised his sale of the *Rake's Progress* (and lamented his purloined designs turned counterfeit), Bakewell was a considerable force in the London-based sales of the artist's prints, selling the *Rake's Progress* for 2 guineas a set as well as authorized copies after the artist's series for 2 shilling 6 pence a set.[118] Along with Philip Overton (c. 1681–1745), another print seller, Bakewell was one of the few print sellers overtly authorized to resell the artist's prints, his business mentioned directly in

---

[117] See, for example, the *London Evening Post*, June 17–19, 1735. "Allowances" most likely indicate that wholesale rates would apply, but it is currently impossible to verify what this discount might have been. However, according to Timothy Clayton, it is likely that the discount offered to those in the print trade was similar to that used in the book trade, whereby wholesalers were given a 30 percent discount (Clayton, *English Print*, 1997, 10, n. 38).

[118] *London Daily Post*, July 3, 1735, as quoted in Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 90.

Hogarth's advertising. Bakewell's shop, next to the Horn-Tavern in Fleet Street, was well situated within a popular area of town for those in the market for printed visual materials, and attracted the casual passerby window shopping for new visual amusements. There, Hogarth's prints could be seen within the context of other popular prints rather than isolated within the artist's studio. The jumble of prints in the print shop where the merchandise did not come solely from one artist or publisher may have helped the potential buyer to imagine new images within their own home, approximating the range of visual motifs that might decorate and enliven the middling and higher class domestic interior, a subject that will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 3. Bakewell continued to sell Hogarth's prints in his store on occasion, appearing in advertisements for *Before* and *After* and *The Distressed Poet* (March 1736/7, P.145),[119] but no further mention of their association appears after the publication of *The Distressed Poet*. As the Bakewell case makes clear, there was precedent for purchasing Hogarth's prints at print shops other than his Leicester Fields home and studio, a practice perpetuated with the sale of *An Election Entertainment*.

On May 31, 1754, Mr. Thomas Jefferys (British, ca. 1719–1771), placed an order for twenty-one *Entertainments*, the largest recorded in the subscription ledger.[120] Jefferys was an engraver and publisher remembered today for his cartographic publications, which featured British North America.[121] His maps were eventually

---

[119] *Daily Gazetteer* (London Edition), December 18, 1736; *Daily Gazetteer* (London Edition), March 7, 1737.

[120] Hogarth, *Names of Subscribers*, 1754–1764, f.135.

[121] Jefferys was also the second print seller to test the strength of the Engraver's Act; on March 22, 1753, Jefferys charged Richard Baldwin, another book- and print seller, with copying a print that Jefferys had originally commissioned. The judge hearing the

published in atlas form, in collaboration with publisher Robert Sayer (British, 1724/5–1794) as *A General Topography of North America* in 1768. Intriguing though his connection to the American colonies is, it is of even greater interest for the present study to first consider the role Jefferys played in extending the distribution of the *Entertainments*. Like other engravers of the time Jefferys also had a hand in the trade, and at his shop in St. Martin's Lane he sold the prints of other artists amongst the prints and maps that he produced himself. A trade card used as a receipt now in the British Library serves as evidence that by the 1750s, Jefferys had a varied stock of European and British prints.[122] Most likely this stock included *An Election Entertainment* alongside other engravings by Hogarth, who was by then one of Britain's contemporary masters in the field.

On May 27, 1754, Thomas Bowles, II (British, 1689/90?–1767), a man well known to Hogarth, subscribed to twenty *Entertainments*.[123] Over two decades earlier, along with his brother and partner John (1701?–1779), Bowles had perpetuated a ruthless commercial exploit of the artist, commissioning copies of *A Harlot's Progress*

---

case—Lord Hardwicke—did not find in Jeffery's favor. Instead, Hardwicke concluded that the print seller could not claim the copyright, since he was not the original inventor of the composition, having merely provided the means for its creation. For more on these proceedings and Hogarth's reaction to them, see Paulson, *Hogarth*, 1993, 3:54.

[122] Clayton, *English Print*, 1997, 114. For more on Jefferys see J. B. Harley, "The bankruptcy of Thomas Jeffreys: an episode in the economic history of eighteenth-century map-making," *Imago Mundi* 20 (1966): 27–48 and M. S. Pedley, "Maps, war and commerce: business correspondence with the London map firm of Thomas Jefferys and William Faden," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 161–173.

[123] Hogarth, *NAMES of subscribers*, 1754–1764, f.134.

immediately after its publication in 1732. In so doing, Bowles capitalized on the popularity of Hogarth's series and seriously undermined the financial success of the artist's project by undercutting the price at which Hogarth's own impressions were sold. Three years later, the Bowles firm repeated their commercial attack on the artist, publishing a pirated copy of *A Rake's Progress* before Hogarth's own set was available to subscribers.[124] Thanks in large part to the restrictions of the Engraver's Act of 1735, unauthorized copies of Hogarth's subjects slowed in the intervening years, and by 1754 Bowles's best course of action if he wished to sell Hogarth's subjects was to purchase them directly from the artist.[125]

The subscriber to the third largest number of *Election Entertainment* prints was Joshua Kirby (British, 1716–1774), another figure with whom the artist had some association. From as early as 1751, Kirby sold prints such as *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* (February 1750/51, P.185–186) in the English provinces.[126] On May 22, 1754, Kirby placed an order for nineteen *Entertainments*, which he presumably offered for sale in

---

[124] Ironically, Hogarth delayed publication of this series in part to protect the series from pirates, waiting until the Engraver's Act went into effect on June 25, 1735. For more on Hogarth's struggle against unauthorized copies, see Kunzle, "Plagiaries-by-Memory," 1966, 311–348.

[125] There is something humorous in recalling that as a receipt for his subscription to *An Election Entertainment*, Bowles received *Crowns, Mitres, Maces, Etc.* (March 1754, P.197). This ticket was also a celebration of the Engraver's Act, which had awarded the artist a moderate level of copyright protection from Bowles and others.

[126] Clayton, *English Print*, 1997, 119. The two men seem to have been on fairly amiable terms, given that Hogarth provided the *Satire on False Perspective* design engraved by Luke Sullivan used as a frontispiece to Kirby's book project *Dr. Brook Taylor's Method of Perspective Made Easy, both in Theory and Practice* that Kirby undertook in February of 1754, a book that he in fact dedicated to Hogarth (P.232).

the provinces as he had done before with the earlier prints.[127] Though Hogarth seems to have been content in announcing his prints to a London audience only, his acquaintance with the young Kirby and others like him may well have spurred additional markets for his prints. Just as Kirby advertised Hogarth's prints for sale in Ipswich, another non-Londoner procured enough prints to make them available outside the London metropolis. When a Mr. Palmer of Bristol purchased twelve sets on May 31, he became the subscriber to the fourth largest number of *Election Entertainment* prints purchased by a single individual. Again, we can assume that these prints were not procured solely for the private contemplation of a single man, but were most likely thrust into a market in which consumers were well aware of the fashions of London.

Subscribers to more than singular impressions of *An Election Entertainment*—like those just detailed—may well have assumed that they would be able to capitalize on Hogarth's popularity. Certainly that was the case for George Faulkner (1703[?]–1775) of Dublin, Ireland, who in 1740 wrote to Hogarth directly with an application that would make the artist's prints available to an Irish audience. In what may be the only surviving example of such a proposal made to Hogarth, Faulkner inquired about the possibility of purchasing impressions of *The Distressed Poet*,[128] *The Enraged Musician*, and a companion print from a painting that was never completed, in order to resell to the Dublin market:

---

[127] Hogarth, *NAMES of Subscribers*, 1754–1764, f.150.

[128] According to an advertisement in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, November 24, 1740, *The Distressed Poet*, though initially published in 1736/7, was reworked to accompany the other two prints Faulkner requested.

> To Mr. William Hogarth, at his house in Leicester Fields, London.
>
> Sir,
>
> I was favoured with a Letter from Mr. Delany, who tells me that you are going to publish three Prints. Your Reputation here is sufficiently known, to recommend any thing of yours; and I shall be glad to serve you. The Duty on Prints is ten (P.) Cent in Ireland. You may send me 50 Setts, providing you will take back what I cannot sell. I desire no other Profit than what you allow in London to those who sell them again. I have often the Favour of drinking your Health with Dr. Swift, who is a great Admirer of yours, and hath made mention of you in his Poems with great Honour; and desired me to thank you for your kind Present, and to accept of his Service.
>
> I am, Sir, Your Most Obedient, and Most humble Serv't, George Faulkner
>
> Dublin, November 15, 1740[129]

That Faulkner sought to protect his financial investment in the reselling scheme, explaining the Irish import duties that would be assessed on the product as well as building in a requirement that any plan to sell the artist's prints be accompanied by the possibility of return should they fail to sell, suggests that Faulkner had experience in such dealings. Faulkner had reason to believe he could sell fifty sets in the Dublin market, having already retailed the same number of sets of *The Four Times of Day*.[130] As the printer/publisher of two newspapers in Dublin, as well as countless titles of Irish book editions, this was most certainly the case.[131]

---

[129] Faulkner to Hogarth, 15 Nov. 1740, Hogarth, *Original Letters and Papers*, 1731–1791, f.4.

[130] Paulson, *Hogarth*, 1992, 2:394, n.57.

[131] Readers with an interest in the difficulties faced when conducting publishing business at a distance will find of interest George Faulkner, *Prince of Dublin Printers:*

Though the objective of Faulkner's request to act as importer to Ireland was in this case not ultimately achieved, we have seen that by this time it would not have been out of character for Hogarth to entertain such a proposal.[132] Before inquiring to place this type of order, however, the independent print seller needed to know about the artist's work, in the first place. This may have occurred in any number of ways, from the advertisements that Hogarth placed in the London papers, to word of mouth from local customers with their own connections to the city, and catalogues detailing the contents of a London print shop. Still, British-American retailers could rely on their place within the trade, placing orders with trusted emissaries, who could be depended upon to send the latest in popular products. In the next section, which investigates the situation in which the prints found themselves upon arrival in British America, I will consider each of these possibilities in turn.

Building a Market: American Print Sellers, British Suppliers, and the Print Catalogue

Hogarth's prints arrived in British America by sea, finding their way to a ship by one of three possible means. They could be brought on board by ship captains, crews, or large-scale intercontinental merchants on speculation, to be purchased wholesale by local dry goods shopkeepers, print- and booksellers, who then acted as retail outlets for British merchandise in the colonies.[133] The prints could also

---

The Letters of George Faulkner, ed. Robert E. Ward (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972).

[132] Ibid., 37.

[133] When discussing the means by which London print sellers obtained their own stock from abroad, Clayton describes the rights of ship captains in this matter (Clayton, *English Print*, 1997, 122).

accompany a passenger making the voyage west as super cargo for personal use or gifting. Or, if a would-be buyer was savvy enough to know the title of his desired print or even an artist that was of particular interest, he could order directly from friends or business acquaintances residing on the eastern side of the Atlantic, potentially saving him both time and expense in his acquisition. If the buyer was not particular about a few creases in his print, a single sheet of paper could easily be folded and enclosed with a letter by return of post, making it, along with news, potentially one of the quickest-obtained goods from abroad.[134] Small enough orders of books, pamphlets, prints, etc. could be put directly in the captain's cabin rather than in the ship's hold – this had the advantage of speeding offloading times and opened the possibility of virtually all ships as potential conveyors of printed materials.[135] A print could also be enclosed in a crate containing a larger shipment of exported British dry goods. In fact, to survive the voyage unharmed, large groups of prints must have been encased in crates or boxes, perhaps piled in unbound portfolios, or even bound into books to protect them from possible damp conditions on board the ship.[136] Whatever

---

[134] An etching in the British Museum shows evidence of having once been folded many times so that it would fit in an envelope. A note on the top fold written in Sir William Hamilton's hand indicates that the print, which shows the French removing works of art by Robe in 1797, was sent to Lord Grenville. See *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his Collection*, ed. Ian Jenkins and Kim Sloan (London: British Museum Press, 1996), cat. no. 186, as cited in Antony Griffiths, "The Archaeology of the Print," in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500–1750*, ed. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve Warwick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 21, n.24.

[135] Raven, *London Booksellers*, 2002, 13.

[136] In an article describing the material stability of prints, Antony Griffiths, the British Museum Keeper of the Department of Prints and drawings, explains that for the most part, the paper that was used for prints up until the nineteenth century was fairly

the impetus for acquiring British prints, the fact that the product existed in small towns and larger cities throughout British America raises the question of the methods by which the colonial-American consumer and shopkeeper was first introduced to these materials and made aware of an artist's graphic output.

Readers of imported London newspapers could have learned about Hogarth's prints—and other new print projects—within a few months of their announcement in the capital. Those persons most in touch with British fashions were no doubt conscious of the shipping cycle, for it was with the arrival of new boats in the port cities that news—from newspapers, magazines, personal letters, and even the ship-hands' firsthand accounts—first reached colonial eyes and ears. As historian Ian Steele has discussed in his investigation of typical Atlantic shipping routes, the timing of the arrival of news and commodities in the colonies was largely a factor of weather patterns, and the arrival of ships and certain commodities could be predicted by season.[137] In his study of the marketplace in eighteenth-century British North America,

---

stable, and the primary threat that a print faced was water. (Griffiths, "Archaeology of the Print," 2003, 9–27.) Damage from other sources was certainly a possibility, but this was most likely to come at the hands of dealers and collectors in their everyday encounter with the object. Certain safeguards were developed in order to limit the surface area of a print that came into contact with the hand, and the extent to which British North American print collectors may have adopted these methods will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

In a study of architectural building practices in early New England, J. Ritchie Garrison has touched upon the subject of packing materials for shipping. See *Two Carpenters: Architecture and Building in Early New England, 1799–1859* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 37.

[137] Ian Kenneth Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). The mechanics of shipping printed cargoes from England to the British-American colonies is also discussed at length in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds. *Spreading the*

historian Timothy Breen has further noted that shopkeepers could count on an increase in sales immediately after the arrival of new goods; a month or so after the shipment arrived, however, local interest waned as a result of diminished and picked-over stock. From that point until the arrival of the next shipment, the likelihood of sales from the remaining merchandise decreased considerably.[138]

Like other commodities originating in England, newspapers describing new print projects would therefore arrive seasonally, and by the second half of the century, so too would the catalogues published by successful London-based print sellers and publishers like Robert Sayer, which advertised their shops' particular holdings. The contents of such catalogues were described by their authors with an eye to the sale of their print merchandise, which was "New, Scarce and Valuable."[139] Earlier in the century, however, such catalogues were limited in number, not least because the number of London print publishers and print sellers with the infrastructure necessary to carry out international sales operations was small.[140] As the century progressed,

---

Word: The Distribution Networks of Print 1550–1850 (Winchester and Detroit: St. Paul Bibliographies, 1990), 21–46.

[138] Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 2004, 130.

[139] Robert Sayer, *Robert Sayer's New and Enlarged Catalogue for the Year MDCCLXXIV* (London, 1774), title page. Many of Hogarth's best-known prints were listed and described in Sayer's 1774 catalogue (65–72), as were prints made after the artist's paintings.

[140] So small, in fact, that in a tract that cataloguers of London's National Art Library have attributed to Hogarth, in 1735, the author noted that "In the whole Extent of London and Westminster, there are not above Twelve Print-Shops of any Note, and These are in the Power and Direction of a very few, who are the Richest…" *Case of Designers* (n.d., probably late 1734 or early 1735).

both the market for prints and the infrastructure required of that market expanded; small wonder, then, that this growth extended to the shores along the western Atlantic. Theoretically, these catalogues contained listings of only those prints for which the publisher possessed the plates; an impression could therefore be pulled whenever demand required.[141] In practice, however, this was not always the case.[142]

Unlike their London-based colleagues, print sellers in British America tended not to be the publishers of the prints they sold, rarely possessing the plates from which additional stock could be printed as demand required.[143] By and large they stood to gain only with the sale of their inventory on hand. Inadvertently selecting unsalable subjects could spell near disaster for such an enterprise, especially if their nearest competitor was better informed about fashionable English subjects.[144] To reduce the

---

[141] This was common practice at the time, relieving the printmaker and publisher of the need for considerable storage facilities and merchandise that could literally go up in flames in the closely-built up city that was still recovering from the Great Fire a century earlier.

[142] For an introduction to the catalogues of British print publishers, see Antony Griffiths, "A Checklist of Catalogues of British Print Publishers *c*. 1650–1830," *Print Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (March 1984): 4–22. Timothy Clayton describes the relationship between print sellers in town and country in *English Print*, 1997, 105–128.

[143] In rare cases (especially at the beginning of the century) the design of an American artist could be sent to England to be copied onto copper, printed, and the finished print returned to the print seller. In 1723, Thomas Selby of Boston's Crown Coffee House announced the possibility of such an endeavor, assuming that enough subscribers were procured to make the venture feasible from a financial standpoint. *New-England Courant* (Boston), May 20-May 27, 1723.

[144] Breen discusses in general terms the importance of selecting appropriate merchandise (Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 2004, 130–131). Stephen Whiting, a Boston-based dry goods trader who sold impressions of Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness* and underwent bankruptcy proceedings in the 1750s found himself in similar circumstances. Whiting's situation is discussed in the "Glazed and Framed" section of

chances of such a major error, most print sellers outside the London metropolis relied on the catalogues of established London dealers to assist them in their selections. Catalogues could be as minimal as a simple broadsheet or as elaborate as a bound pamphlet, but no matter their magnitude, they were a critical tool in spreading word of the latest fashions and newly-arrived continental European prints to retailers outside the London metropolis.

In most cases, these catalogues contained little information about aesthetics or narrative content, and instead focused on the bare-bone facts: designer and/or engraver, title or subject description, dimensions, medium, and cost to the consumer. Though the cost of producing such a pamphlet may have been a factor, such minimal explanation of the merchandise also suggests that these catalogues were compiled for a readership possessed of a well-established understanding or expectation of content and in this suggests the "restricted code" theorized by sociologist Basil Bernstein.[145] The publisher might occasionally provide more detailed information, describing physical and/or narrative content. This was the case throughout much of Sayer's 1774 and 1786 catalogues—both of which had entire sections devoted to "Hogarth's

---

"Consuming Hogarth." Legal historian Bruce H. Mann has recently investigated the subject of debt and bankruptcy in eighteenth century America in *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009).

[145] The restricted code stands opposed to the elaborated code; in the former, the speaker (or writer) assumes an audience well-versed in a given subject and may speak in abbreviated terms, while in the latter, less knowledge is assumed and therefore more information is included. Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control*, 1971. Dell Upton applies this idea of a speech community to architectural "style" (restricted) and "mode" (elaborated) in *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1986), 101–102.

Collection"—in which the prints were given not only their official (rather than descriptive) title, but their meaning was also explained in detail.[146] Descriptions like these suggest Bernstein's "elaborated code" and indicate a general or varied audience, who might not yet be well-versed in the details of Hogarth's oeuvre; indeed, the title page of the 1774 catalogue addresses such diverse audiences as "Gentlemen for Furniture, Merchants for Exportation, and Shopkeepers to Sell Again."[147]

For the print seller in British America, such catalogues served a dual purpose. Not only did they shed light on the current market for prints in London—it being highly unlikely that the print seller would go to the trouble and expense of compiling a catalogue that detailed only those works unmarketable in the metropolis, intending that this catalogue would be sent only to peripheral markets—but they also minimized the risk posed by distance in the colonial seller's ability to judge quality and craftsmanship. Print dealers had long taken advantage of the catalog as a means to provide information about their stock to a client that might not easily be able to avail himself of the prints in person.[148] Printed impressions vary in quality, however, and

---

[146] Sayer, *New and Enlarged Catalogue*, 1774, 65–72 and Robert Sayer, *Robert Sayer's Catalogue of New and Interesting Prints, Consisting of Engravings and Metzotintos* [sic] *of Every Size and Price* (London, 1786), 73–75.

[147] Sayer, *New and Enlarged Catalogue*, 1774, title page.

[148] In England, the trade in prints expanded dramatically between 1730 and 1770, and print sellers outside the London center were helped in their requests for merchandise by the print catalogues of two established London businesses operated by the Bowles and Overton families. (Clayton, *English Print*, 1997, 105).

Englishmen looking to buy continental European prints direct from the source were also helped by catalogues. Clayton uses the catalogue of Josef Wagner, who was the leading Venetian print seller in the middle of the eighteenth century, as a case in point;

descriptions are subjective; relying solely on textual information then (as now) was fraught with the possibility of deception, fraud, or simple miscommunication.

From the perspective of the British-American print seller, one of the greatest disadvantages in being so far removed from the London salesroom was that he was continually reliant on the selection of others for the specific impressions of the prints that he contracted to purchase. It would have been important for him to develop a rapport with his supplier to ensure merchandise of sufficiently high content and quality. Considering Hogarth's response to pirated versions of his prints, which he despaired about not only for causing him loss of income, but also for the association with lower quality standards, the artist would have been unlikely to provide any of his agents in the marketplace with large numbers of impressions that were not sufficiently strong. In his newspaper announcement of the readiness for distribution of the *Harlot's Progress*, the artist even went so far as to insist that "Particular Care will be taken, that the Impressions shall be good,"[149] which gives further credence to the belief that shoddily printed impressions would not be allowed to fill the market, at least at this stage in the artist's career. Hogarth's choice of fine laid paper, too, as well as his employment of many fine French engravers when the project required, betrays the artist's eye for detail that would ensure that his prints, like those of earlier master printmakers, stood out as objects of artistic achievement. Assuming, then (and this is a big assumption), that the Hogarth prints that made it to British America during the

---

in 1760 Charles Rogers used Wagner's catalogue to order by mail 308 prints (Clayton *English Print*, 1997, 125).

[149] *Daily Journal* (London), March 28, 1732.

artist's lifetime were in fact prints authored by Hogarth and not shameless copies, we can expect that impressions were up to the artist's required standards.

Printed catalogues listing the inventory of London based print dealers were not only useful to print sellers, but contained information of considerable interest to the potential consumer of prints. As previous historians have shown, the colonial shopkeeper could make pattern books available to his customers, and from these illustrated pages the customer could order textiles and ceramics specific to his (or her) taste.[150] The illustrations in such volumes not only helped minimize any risk of misinterpretation due to variance in descriptive terminology, but also instilled in the browser an awareness of the latest styles and object types (for they were constantly in flux) available in the very best of London shops. Without the benefit of illustrations, print catalogues may still have tempted consumers with historical and modern day scenes, eminent heads, and distant vistas, a promise of visual education and escapism.[151]

Though catalogues may have allowed the British-American print sellers to remain abreast of the latest offerings in the metropolis, trade at this distance was buoyed by personal relationships. In general terms, once a print seller in British

---

[150] Breen discusses the use of pattern books in British-American shops, and the assistance they provided when vocabulary faltered (Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 2004, 132–133).

[151] Trade cards and medley prints could stand in for the illustrated catalog as we know it today, though I am unaware of any American-made medley prints that would have acted as advertisements in quite the same fashion as those produced in England in the early years of the eighteenth century. For more on medley prints acting as visual advertisements, see Mark Hallett, "The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London," *Art History* 20, no. 2 (June 1997), 219.

America had identified a London-based print seller from whom he could obtain stock (likely through a catalogue, the classified advertisements placed in English newspapers imported into the colonies, or preexisting personal connections), the colonial probably achieved his purchase through methods similar to those used by merchants of other dry goods. Historian Thomas M. Doerflinger's study of merchants in eighteenth-century Philadelphia indicates that five primary steps were necessary to get English goods into a retail shop in the American colonies. In order to obtain goods from an English supplier, the first step was to establish credit, either through the assistance of a friend or acquaintance, or by demonstrating evidence of financial worth through a bill of exchange.[152] The prospective importer would then order goods worth several times that of the bill of exchange. To ship the goods from England to the Americas, he would then contract with a ship's owner for cargo space. When the goods arrived and were uncrated the importer would then sell them to local retailers, on several months credit, which gave the local shopkeeper time to market and sell his merchandise, recouping the costs associated with obtaining the saleable goods in the first place.[153] Print sellers were most likely insignificant players within this complex

---

[152] For a study of the financial organization of the Atlantic economy in this period, see Thomas M. Doerfinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986; Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 2004; and Peter A. Coclanis, ed., *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005).

[153] For a more detailed description of steps taken in the dry goods trade, see Doerflinger, *Vigorous Spirit*, 1986, 85–97 and Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 2004, 115–117.

network of trade, but this is not to suggest that their activities went completely unrecorded.

Historians have used ledgers, letterbooks, and detailed lists of imported and exported goods on both sides of the Atlantic to piece together extensive histories of eighteenth-century retail practices in British North America.[154] Though lists survive that detail some of the contents of ships leaving Great Britain for the North American colonies, the present study is hampered by the fact that the market for paper printed with imagery does not seem to have rated sufficiently high as to warrant a line in the import duty records.[155] The historical record is equally silent on the business practices of most print sellers active in British North America during the period. However, the surviving papers of painter and sometime print seller John Smibert (American, b. Edinburgh, 1688–1751) provide evidence that at least one American kept abreast of the latest art offerings through his connections to an English dealer, Arthur Pond (English, ca. 1701–1758), who Smibert knew from the period of his career spent in London.[156]

---

[154] Ann Smart Martin has done a particularly admirable job in reconstructing business practices and consumer experience in the Chesapeake region during this period in Martin, *World of Goods*, 2008.

[155] Perhaps prints do not show up in the customs records because limited import duties were accessed on them. Certainly no significant quantities of records exist to document their export from England, and art historian Iain Pears goes so far as to claim that "England seems to have been very much more adept at exporting its painters than its paintings" while briefly addressing the question of English art exports in the larger context of the British market for art during the eighteenth century (Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, 1988, 57).

[156] Pond's activities as an art dealer were well-known to his contemporaries in eighteenth-century London. In fact, along with Hogarth, Pond was the only professional artist in London to make use of the daily newspaper to advertise his work.

From surviving letters we know that Smibert ordered prints of antique subjects—after Giovanni Paolo Panini (Italian, ca. 1692–1765) and others—that he retailed in his Boston shop. Writing from Boston in 1744/45, Smibert thanked Pond for his earlier help in supplying "views from Greenwich & Antiquities by P – Panini," since these, as he went on to explain, "please more here than with others." In fact, their sustained popularity seemed so assured to Smibert that by the same letter he ordered additional impressions of each.[157] In addition to placing a new order, Smibert

---

Both artists made a good portion of their living though print, and perhaps this familiarity with the possibilities of reproducibility and mass marketing helps to explain the fact that they alone among their peers made use of another form of print in order to promote their work. Though neither ever overstepped the bounds of propriety by advertising directly for commissions, they did alert people to the availability for sale of their works, by suggesting recently completed works were on view in the studio and would soon be dispersed through lottery (Hogarth). A primary difference between the two in terms of their print business advertising was that while Hogarth announced the opening of a subscription in advance of the publication of a series, Pond didn't advertise until the series had been published, at which point he advertised for about a week, and then intermittently until the next series was published. Subscribers and potential purchasers were thus both informed of the readiness of a set without endless expense (the *Daily Advertiser* charged 2 shillings per notice). Pond seems to have limited his advertising in part due to the persistence of forgers and pirates in making copies available at cheaper price. Louise Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 50.

Today, Pond is well known to historians of eighteenth-century British art, for he is singular for his time in having left behind a considerable journal of receipts and expenses, detailing the day-to-day transactions of an art dealer. Louise Lippincott has made a detailed study of Arthur Pond and his journal in the primary book on the subject of art dealing in Georgian England. The journal is part of *PAPERS relating to Arthur Pond, the painter and engraver…*, 1745–1759. British Library, Add MS 23725.

[157] Letter from John Smibert to Arthur Pond, Boston, 15 March, 1744/45 in Ibid., ff.3,5.

discusses payment for the goods received in the latest shipment, and also the re-submission of payment for goods received many months prior, the ship on which the latter payment had been sent having been "taken & carried into France."[158] Smibert's letter to Pond provides some insight into the process by which an individual could obtain prints from London for sale in the colonies, and provides a glimpse into the complex mechanisms in place that permitted the American-based print seller to provide payment for goods received.[159] The logistics required of purchase through correspondence would have been familiar to English sellers, since they, too, on occasion purchased stock from abroad. Throughout the seventeenth century, English art dealers regularly traveled to the European Continent to acquire large stocks of merchandise, which they would then sell at auction to smaller-scale retail operations. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, such travel was largely on the decline,

---

[158] Letter from John Smibert to Arthur Pond, Boston, 15 March, 1744/45 in Ibid. Capture and hijacking of boats was not uncommon, nor was it the only danger that could befall a cargo-laden ship crossing the Atlantic. Severe weather could also be a factor in a ship's arrival. In order to minimize the risks of loss associated with shipping, marine insurance was something that merchants and speculators could obtain, for a not insignificant cost. A. Glenn Crothers provides an overview of the insurance options available to British-American merchants in "Commercial Risk and Capital Formation in Early America: Virginia Merchants and the Rise of American Marine Insurance, 1750–1815," *The Business History Review* 78, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 607–633, esp. 610–618.

[159] The mechanics of moving artworks is a subject that art historian Jennifer L. Roberts deals with in her recently published book *Transporting Visions*, 2014. Unfortunately, this title was not published in time for this section of the dissertation to benefit from her research.

and on the ascent was a culture of correspondence established between buyers and sellers located at distances far removed.[160]

Another letter from Smibert provides additional information about the risks involved in carrying out business from a distance. In September of 1758, Arthur Pond died. Roughly ten months later, in a letter dated July 2, 1759, Smibert wrote to the executors of Pond's estate. The reason for his letter was financial:

> Mr Ponds death gives me much concern as I am under great obligations and have received many favours from him. Just I should not have troubled you with a Letter were it not on account of some goods He was to Ship for me…Decr. 10th 1756 I wrote Mr Pond & inclosed a Bill of Exch – for £60.0.0 Sterling… Mr Pond favoured me with an answer dated May 10th 1757… he did not mention in what Ship the other half of ye goods were to be sent and as I never heard further from him, concluded ye ship must either have been taken or Lost. Now as you have the policy it will be easy to know by what ship and if either taken or Lost there can be no difficulty in getting ye Insurance paid, this is ye reason of writing your Gentlemen, desiring you will be so kind as to receive the Insurance for me as you have the Policy…[161]

With his request for Insurance monies for the missing goods and additional information, Smibert enclosed a copy of the letter that he had sent to Pond on May 10,

---

[160] A letter from the international art dealer Johann Georg Wille to a London correspondent suggests that similar considerations were required, whether sending prints across the channel or across the Atlantic: "I have replied to M. Halbusch, bookseller in London; since he asks me for some of my prints I am replying to the effect that he must nominate a banker here so that I put my hands on some money at the same time [as I send them], and to tell me the route by which this merchandise should be sent." (Johann Georg Wille, *Mémoires et journal de Jean-Georges Wille*, ed. G. Duplessis, 2 vols. [Paris, 1857]: 1:185 as quoted in Clayton, *English Print*, 1997, 125–126.)

[161] Letter from John Smibert to the Executors of Arthur Pond's estate, Boston, July 2, 1759. Pond, *PAPERS relating*, 1745–1759, f.49.

1757. From the earlier letter we learn that it took at least two and a half months for information to be received, and another three months to send a response. With this not inconsiderable delay, Smibert's business was surely helped by his trust in the London artist to act as proxy and send the appropriate materials, for it might otherwise take years to come to an agreement.

Smibert's communication with Pond not only provides evidence of a print seller obtaining saleable merchandise from London through personal contacts. It also draws attention to the additional fees a print seller—even one working on a small-scale through personal contacts—might incur when trying to obtain such merchandise, which in the aggregate was not inconsiderable. Along with his new order, Smibert also provided a detailed account of the merchandise and associated shipping fees for which he was enclosing remittance, acknowledging that "Some of the things I divided by Guess consequently not exactly equal." Advertisements in the London newspapers suggest that such administrative charges as Smibert incurred were commonplace when placing an order for prints at a distance. In 1751, F. Cogan, a bookseller in London's Fleet Street offered that "Persons in the Country may have them sent, on paying Postage and Carriage" while in 1762, Edward Sumpter assured would-be customers by post that he would immediately respond to "all Orders, Post paid."[162] The trans-Atlantic shipment of goods required additional safeguards for both buyer and seller. In addition to the cost of the merchandise, the Boston-based Smibert paid for two insurance policies (presumably because the goods ordered were being sent on two different ships) (£9.18.0), a fee for boxes, porter & packing (£0.14.6), and shipping

---

[162] *General Advertiser* (London), March 26, 1751 and *London Evening Post*, October 14–16, 1762, as quoted by Clayton, *English Print*, 1997, 121.

charges, to be determined on arrival.[163] I have found no further communication between Smibert and Pond's executors that confirms any resolution to the grievance of the former, and it is possible that in the end Smibert simply had to resign himself to the loss and move on with his business.

Smibert's communications with Pond and Pond's estate demonstrates the reliance that a businessman based in British America had on his overseas supplier. However, this was not a completely one sided relationship; the British-American market was one that London print sellers needed, too. Indeed, at the end of the century one of the primary ways in which some London print sellers made their businesses financially viable was through contacts outside the London center, and this was not just the plight of print shops. Observing that few of the city's shops ever seemed to have paying customers inside, Pastor Gebhard Friedrich August Wendeborn, a German visiting London in the 1780s, inquired into the matter. He included an explanation in a book that he published for the German market later in the decade:

> I remember when I first came to London, that the print and picture-shops puzzled me, when I saw numbers of fine prints, many of them elegantly framed and glazed, hung up, and exhibited at the windows, and from time to time new ones on different subjects. I saw numbers of people staring at them, on passing the streets, but I hardly ever observed any body going in to buy. It seemed incomprehensible to me, how such shops, at so vast an expense, could maintain themselves without any viable customers, till I got acquainted with an eminent print-seller, who, as I was informed, had acquired, within a few years, a great fortune by his business. He explained the matter to me, and cleared up what appeared to be mysterious, by telling me that he sold great quantities of goods in the country; that he sent them to Scotland,

---

[163] Copy of a letter from John Smibert to Arthur Pond, Boston, May 10, 1757, enclosed in a letter from John Smibert to the Executors of Arthur Pond's estate, Boston, July 2, 1759. Pond, *PAPERS relating*, 1745–1759, f.49.

> to Ireland, to the East and West Indies, to America, and to other parts of the world; disposing on an average, weekly, five hundred pounds worth; and that he paid the workmen whom he employed, every Saturday, at the rate of sixty pounds and upwards. It is the same with other shops, wherein other goods are sold, and where a stranger wonders at the costliness and variety of things he sees before him, without hardly perceiving a single purchaser.[164]

Impossible though it is to determine the specific print seller that Wendeborn cites in his explanation of the London shops' reliance on external markets, advertisements and trade cards like that of Peter Griffin, a print seller in Fleet Street, addressed to "Merchants" and "Sea Commanders" and offering "fine French, Italian, Dutch, and English prints; metzo-tinto heads & Historys black or painted on glass… neatly puts into frames & glasses… at the most reasonable Rates, for Exportation &c." corroborate the explanation Wendeborn received (Fig. 2.1). Export was, then, a significant way in which prints found passage to British America and presence in American shops, and was also critical to the success of the English businesses.

Print Sellers and Publicity: Newspaper Advertisements and Shop Window Displays

Taste is a fickle business, and even after print sellers paid substantial capital to acquire goods for resale in their shops, there was no guarantee that colonial shoppers would rush to acquire the recently imported prints that competed for their attention with countless other consumer goods, sometimes even within the same shop. To encourage the potential customer to visit his storefront or to counteract the malaise brought on by a long day's shopping, the print seller had two primary avenues open to him: advertising in the local newspapers and displaying the merchandise in the

---

[164] Gebhard Friedrich August Wendeborn, *A View of England Towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century.* 2 vols. (London, 1791), 1:191–192.

windows of the shop, relying on the compelling subject matter to entice customers inside. Both methods had their advantages and disadvantages, but for the print seller this two-pronged approach was necessary, since it allowed him to appeal to a diverse constituency and to attract both the studied and impulse buy.

In the eighteenth century, newspapers played an important role in the dissemination of information and ideas.[165] The century saw an expansion in the number of available titles: in 1736 there were twelve weekly newspapers in circulation throughout the colonies, and by the time of the Revolution there were forty, with each colony but Vermont able to boast at least one.[166] As the number of titles increased, so did readership. In 1750, the average circulation was 600 a week, and by the time of the revolution, some titles could boast numbers of more than 3,500. When one considers that Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—the three largest towns at the time of the Revolution—had populations ranging from 20,000 to 30,000 and that each city had four or five newspapers, it is clear that there was a considerable audience for the local newspaper.[167]

---

[165] Initially, very little of the news content was produced in-house; news of the world tended to be copied or paraphrased from the London papers that reached North American shores. News of other colonial regions was similarly derivative. Local news and advertisements, then, provided the most opportunity for original content, since the stories were rooted in the time and place of the publication. However, as competition for readers grew among larger numbers of newspaper titles, editors sought new content, giving over considerable space to opinion pieces on subjects ranging from education to marriage. David A. Copeland, *Debating the Issues in Colonial* Newspapers (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000), xii–xiii.

[166] Ibid., viii.

[167] Ibid. Since newspapers were also shared in coffeehouses, inns, taverns, and other public spaces, the audience that newspapers reached is likely far greater than the number of papers printed.

Shopkeepers capitalized on this fact and paid newspaper printers for space in the papers, using it to alert the readership to new consumer goods. Such advertisements paid much of the costs associated with producing the newspaper, and were critical to a title's success.[168] The advertising sections could sometimes make up more than half the newspaper's content, offering readers the opportunity to be very well informed of the variety of material goods available for sale.[169] Often amassed towards the back of the newspaper (but as the century progressed increasingly intermingled with the news), advertisements could also be set apart by the addition of woodcut imagery or ornamental type, which provided a visual signal alerting the reader to a different category of content.[170]

Like other merchants and shopkeepers, the British-American seller of prints usually referred to his inventory in only the most general of terms (subject rather than specific titles or artists), allotting more space to the ever-important claims of "recent arrival" and London origin than in detailed descriptions of prints. To entice prospective buyers with the lure of the exotic and refined, many included in their

---

[168] Ibid., x. At mid-century, an advertisement of "middling" length, cost an average of four shillings in Boston, while the *Philadelphia Gazette* charged "small and middling Advertisements at 3/ the first Week, and 1/per Week after, or 5/ for 3 Weeks. Longer ones to be valued by Comparison with the foregoing; as if 20 Lines be a middling Advertisement, Price 5/ for 3 Weeks, one of 30 will be 7/6d, etc" (as quoted in Clark, *Public Prints*, 1994, 205).

[169] From 1748 to 1766, *The Pennsylvania Gazette* ran an average of sixty advertisements every week, well beyond its competition in other cities, sometimes even adding additional pages to the advertising section when demand required. Clark, *Public Prints*, 1994, 206.

[170] Copeland, *Issues in Colonial Newspapers,* 2000, x–xi.

advertisements the names of the vessels on which the precious cargoes had made their voyages from the eastern to the western shores of the Atlantic. Hogarth's prints traveled on ships like the *Carolina* and the *Pennsylvania*, the *Rebecca* and the *Rose*.[171] These ships and others that are known to have transported British prints to the colonies left such cities as London, Bristol, and Liverpool, bound for the colonies.[172]

Because the advertisements did not always include detailed descriptions of all new merchandise, it is impossible to know for certain how many shops carried Hogarth's subjects, in what years, and the true variety of their stock. Yet as Appendix A demonstrates, there were a number of print sellers in cities ranging from Boston to Baltimore, New York to Charleston who provided much more detail. Thanks to the specificity with which these print sellers listed their merchandise in the advertisements

---

[171] The *Carolina* and the *Pennsylvania* were included in Alexander Hamilton's advertisement in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), May 1, 1755; the *Rebecca* was the ship used to transport the merchandise that Garrat Noel announced in *The New-York Gazette*, June 29 to July 6, 1767; on October 19, 1772, James Rivington announced in *The New-York Gazette* and *Weekly Mercury* that he had collected his merchandise from the *Rose*.

[172] Ships originating in England served all the major British-American ports, even those requiring greater time to reach. Charleston merchants were well-connected to the international marketplace, thanks in large part to familial ties in Scotland, and many cargo ships frequented the Charleston harbor. However, by the middle of the century, Boston merchants like Thomas Hancock became major middlemen in supplying the southern colonies with British goods, hiring small fleets to undertake the journey down the Atlantic coast, thereby cutting the distance and time required of trans-Atlantic vessels which could now offload their cargo in Boston. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 2004, 126. For more on this aspect of shipping, see Arthur Louis Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963), 70–71 and James Floyd Shepherd and Samuel H. Williamson, "The Coastal Trade of the British North American Colonies, 1768–1772," *Journal of Economic History* 32, no. 4 (December 1972): 783–810.

of local newspapers, it is possible to recover Hogarth's place within the larger realm of print merchandise, and to identify those Hogarthian subjects that a newspaper's readers were most likely to recognize as his.

The very fact that Hogarth's subjects are mentioned by name, and that on occasion the artist is himself cited, is significant.[173] During the first decade in which we can document the availability of Hogarth's prints to the colonial print-buying public (the 1750s), the titles of Hogarth's modern moral series were published in the newspaper advertisements, but his name was not often an accompaniment.[174] It was

---

[173] In fact, Hogarth's was one of the few artist names to appear in the advertisements throughout the century. Considering that advertisements were sold by length, the shopkeeper presumably believed the artist's authorship was a selling point whenever his name was included. A 1781 advertisement for Prichard's circulating-library and Book-Store appearing in Philadelphia's *Pennsylvania Packet* and *General Advertiser* on December 25 suggests that even an association with the artist might be sufficient, for the shop's current merchandise included "several humorous Prints in imitation of Hogarth's."

[174] Hogarth's prints may have been available from stationers, print- and booksellers in British America throughout the 1730s and 1740s, as well. These decades may have been years in which the British-American print enthusiast (or those persons with sufficient discretionary spending power to acquire the most *au courant* British visual culture) developed a personal recognition of Hogarth's artistic project. While the probate records surveyed do not indicate that any other than John Boydell of Boston owned a specific print by Hogarth prior to 1750, this may be the simple result of no consumers dying, an insufficient recognition of the prints by probate record takers, the fact that inventories simply listed "pictures," or that the heirs took these away prior to the inventory. Or perhaps, at this time, there was simply little recognition that Hogarth's name and his printed subjects were worthy of note; his art at the time being of little more consequence than any other print or picture. This subject will be further taken up in the next chapter, which addresses the presence of Hogarth's prints within a sampling of probate inventory records throughout the major metropolitan areas of British North America. There is no question, however, that the artist's presence in British North America increased as the century progressed; even after the artist's death the influx of Hogarth's prints (or at least his subjects) continued to grow.

only in the 1760s that the artist's name appears to have acquired sufficient currency within the community of potential print-buyers that his name could be inserted in place of (or in addition to) the titles of his prints. This suggests that the 1750s was a decade in which the recognition of Hogarth's name was building, and thereafter his name and his subjects were interchangeable within the marketplace.[175] Subsequently, print sellers could advertise "Hogarth's very humorous Pictures"[176] or "a few sets Hogarth's most celebrated prints"[177] and the self-selecting audience for the artist's prints would recognize these phrases as shorthand for the modern moral subjects, suggesting in terms similar to the print sellers' catalogue Bernstein's restricted code. Variations in the prints' titles occurred, but those Hogarth subjects that were most often included in the newspaper advertisements were *Industry and Idleness*, *Marriage-À-La-Mode*, and the *Harlot's* and *Rake's Progress*; their recurring appearance in the newspaper advertisements of the major trading centers of the period indicate not only a sustained popularity of these subjects, but also a popular recognition of these quintessential Hogarth subjects that the probate record confirms.

Charleston's *South Carolina Gazette* carried perhaps the first British-American advertisement for prints by William Hogarth. Taken out by the firm of Bremar &

---

[175] As Chapter 3 will show, this statement holds up in the context of probate inventories, too. Up until the 1760s, those references to Hogarth's prints appearing in records of possessions at the time of a person's death might refer to the title of a Hogarth print, but his name would not be mentioned; from the 1760s onwards, his name was just as likely as his print title to be recorded within the inventory. Of course, these findings are in no way quantitative, but hold true for what amounts to a random sampling of inventories within the historical record.

[176] *The New-York Journal, or General Advertiser*, December 24, 1766.

[177] *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), July 8, 1767.

Neyle on October 29, 1753, the ad itemized a selection of prints featuring the royal family, the heads of poets, sea pieces, and the *Idle and Industrious Apprentice* (*Industry and Idleness*) (Figs. 1.2, 2.2–2.12.), which Hogarth had published in London six years earlier.[178] Bremar and Neyle proclaimed that these prints, along with a selection of other goods, were "just imported, in the *Alexander*, Capt. Curling, from London, and the latest Vessels from Bristol." Ten other advertisements appeared in the same issue of the newspaper, most heralding recently arrived dry goods from Europe. Three years later, Bremar & Neyle were still advertising the prints, and there was evidently a not inconsiderable market for the series in Charleston, as there now also existed among shopkeepers a competition to supply the prints; Archibald and Richard Park Stobo of Tradd Street announced availability of the set at their shop as well.[179] The shops of Mazyk and Moultrie and Charles Stocker added to the competition to supply Charlestonians with the didactic and entertaining prints in 1763 and 1766, respectively.[180] Indeed, the print series must have been popular in colonial America (as in London), or at least the print sellers expected it to be so, since the major metropolitan areas of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and of course

---

[178] This may not be the first documented instance of a Hogarth print in the American colonies. Though impossible to verify, the distinction may belong to John Lewis of Charleston, South Carolina, whose inventory of January 17, 1733 (Charleston County Probate Records, 1732–1737, Vol. 65, 112–115) lists "twelve prints of *Hudibrass* [sic.]," which may refer to Hogarth's *Twelve Large Illustrations for Samuel Butler's Hudibras* (February 1725/6; Paulson 82–93).

[179] *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), October 7, 1756

[180] *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), February 19–26, 1763; *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), October 13–20, 1766.

Charleston, all boasted shops in which the series could be procured.[181] Even the small town of Piscataway, Maryland, could in 1769 claim a shop—John Glassford & Company—that offered "1 sett Fellow Apprentices" along with "1 sett Progress of a Rake" and "1 Sett Times of the day."[182] In all, this print series was amongst the most common to be advertised in American newspapers, appearing multiple times in the advertisements of at least ten shops in the major metropolitan cities. The popularity of the series seems also to have persisted, since the title appeared in advertisements from 1753 up until 1780.[183]

By the time *Industry and Idleness* reached the southern colonies of British America, the series—published in London in October 1747—was already six years old. Clearly it had staying power. From the perspective of those who managed a bevy of youthful laborers, the series could be used to visually underscore the verbal

---

[181] In 1759, Nathaniel Warner's print shop next to the Draw-Bridge in Boston offered the series (*The Boston Gazette*, *and Country Journal*, November 12, 1759); 1755 Alexander Hamilton's shop on Water Street, on William Fishbourn's wharf in Philadelphia (*The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 1, 1755); and later in the century Hugh Gaine's shop at the Bible and Crown, Hanover Square in New York (*The New-York Gazette and The Weekly Mercury*, October 30, 1780).

[182] *Inventory*… Piscataway… taken 23 Jan. 1769, Inventory 1769–1774, John Glassford & Company Records, 1753–1844, MssD., Library of Congress, no. 8. Two years later, the print inventory of the store is identical, except for the sale of two mezzotints, which suggests that either these sets of prints languished in the store, or that the shopkeeper sold the set and later replaced it so that it would be available for another possible customer (Ibid., Inventory taken 1771, Piscataway Store, no. 66). The store, along with many others in the Chesapeake region, was operated by agents and factors working on behalf of John Glassford (Scottish, 1715–1783), who from Glasgow controlled a large portion of the Chesapeake tobacco trade.

[183] Interestingly, this title is not present in any of the probate records that I surveyed for this project (see Appendix C, and discussed in Chapter 3).

suggestions and instructions given by the master;[184] for the youth, it clearly delineated the steps that would follow upon taking one action or another.[185] Hogarth explained the series thus: "Exemplified in the Conduct of two fellow prentices in twelve points Where calculated for the use & instruction of those young people wherein every thing necessary to be convey'd to them is fully described in words as well as figure."[186] To keep any confusion of meaning to a minimum, beneath each engraved image Hogarth's design included a cartouche in which was engraved a biblical saying from *Psalms*.[187] The subject was thus depicted in the most direct of terms with the symbiotic juxtaposition of visual and verbal cues.

---

[184] Some London masters may even have given to their apprentices sets of the prints as Christmas gifts, since according to Hogarth's autobiographical notes print sales were strong during the winter season (Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 129).

[185] No eighteenth-century reading of this series considered that the message of the series may have been ambiguous, ironic, or subversive as a number of recent scholars have proposed. Paulson has suggested that the lesson was not quite so clear and that the apprentices to whom the series was addressed would not necessarily have embraced the moral lesson of the series with the same level of commitment as his master might have wished, choosing instead to side with the series antagonist Tom Idle against the master's favorite, Goodchild (Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 130). Other Hogarth scholars extend the idea that Hogarth's message might be read as a subversion of the system and a critique of the tendency of the rich to "feed off the poor," see for example David Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks* (Kingston-upon-Thames: Dangaroo Press, 1987), 61–62 and Sean Shesgreen, "Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness*: A Reading," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* IX (Summer 1976), 569–598.

[186] As reproduced in Hogarth, *Analysis*, 1955, 225.

[187] The specific passages were suggested by the Revd. Arnold King. For more on King and the selection of Psalms, see John Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth with a Catalogue of His Works Chronologically Arranged; and Occasional Remarks*, 3rd ed. (London: J. Nichols, 1785), 287. These texts have not stopped art historians of recent years (ex. Sean Shesgreen and David Dabydeen) from interpreting the series from any number of perspectives, most notably seeing in Tom Idle's flattened nose the artist's self-portrait, and therefore a veiled affinity for the

Hogarth was by no means the first artist to juxtapose personifications of industry and idleness, but his series was well received at the time of its release, and the subject was incorporated into any number of additional popular entertainments, including a theatrical production and articles in the middle-class oriented journal *The British Magazine*.[188] A set of the prints was even hung in the London Guildhall to remind apprentices of the consequences to any thoughts or actions that opposed the well-meaning will of their masters.[189] Full of paternalistic suggestions that emphasized the master's irreproachable concern for the moral well-being of his apprentices and the dangers of contradicting his authority, the series surely struck a chord in regions of British America like Charleston and the outlying slave-operated plantations where it was imperative to the continuity of the economic system that such power dynamics remain unquestioned and very much in play.

Newspaper advertisements may have alerted potential customers to the recent arrival of new merchandise, but this was only one aspect of retail promotion. Colonials

---

antagonist, rather than the protagonist. However, Barry Wind has convincingly argued that within the historical context of its sale, Hogarth's inclusion of multilayered and polyvalent emblems are in line with the attitudes and priorities of the Merchant Whigs who were his strongest marketplace supporters (and the most powerful consumer base in London at the time). See Barry Wind, "Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness* Reconsidered," *Print Quarterly* XIV, no. 3 (September 1997): 235–251.

[188] Wind, "*Industry and Idleness* Reconsidered," 1997, 242.

[189] Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791, 3:215. Another source places a set of *Industry and Idleness* in Latymer School in Edmonton, England, during John Adams's tenure as school-master. The prints were framed and hung in the classroom, and used for educative purposes: "once a month, after reading a lecture upon their examples of vice and virtue, Adams rewarded those boys who had conducted themselves well, and caned those who behaved ill." (J. T. Smith, *Nollekens and His Times* 2nd ed. (1914) from (London: John Lane and the Bodley Head, 1829), 1:165.)

were faced with choices when it came to the way they would spend their discretionary funds. Walking down the streets of Philadelphia, Boston, New York, or Charleston, they might encounter shop windows filled with finery and frippery in a range of materials, and for some customers, it was this visual display that enticed them into the shop. Throughout towns and cities alike, shopkeepers such as Milliners, Stationers, and Watch-Makers all incorporated special glass windows into their shop fronts, "in order to expose their Merchandise for Sale, to the View of Passengers, passing and repassing the Streets."[190] Evidently this manner of display attracted attention from passersby, since the New York grand jury eventually decried them as "Incroachments" on the city streets for causing undue congestion and sullying the character of the street.[191] Unfortunately, there are few descriptive accounts of shopping as a pastime in this period and little visual evidence from eighteenth-century British America survives of this merchandising strategy for prints, though William Birch's 1799 engraving *South East Corner of Third and Market Streets, Philadelphia* (Fig. 2.13) offers an example of such practices in the sale of other types of consumer movables.[192]

---

[190] *The New-York Journal*, or *The General Advertiser*, August 20, 1772. This quotation is also discussed in Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 2004, 129 and Carl Brindenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), 275.

[191] Print historian Susan Lambert has characterized the print shops in eighteenth-century London as "part of the fashionable circuit," serving not only as a place where one would encounter new amusements, but also new (and old) acquaintances, bridging social gaps in a way similar to what the trams and streetcars of the nineteenth century would do to bring new segments of the population together. Susan Lambert, *The Image Multiplied: Five Centuries of Printed Reproductions of Paintings and Drawings* (New York: Abaris Books, 1987), 156.

[192] In a discussion of the development of commercial architecture in Philadelphia as rendered in prints at the beginning of the nineteenth century, architectural historian Dell Upton observes that Birch has indicated curved mutins, which suggest the

One of the few visual references to the interior of any eighteenth-century print shop comes in the form of a Trade Card for the London-based print seller and stationer Dorothy Mercier (Fig. 2.14).[193] According to the textual information inscribed upon her card, Mercier sold "all sorts of Italian, French, and Flemish Prints," and she bought and sold "all manner of Old Prints." Her shop was further supplied with frames appropriate to her customers' needs, and a variety of writing papers and drawing materials. Above the text appears a rococo frame with a staged tableau: three potential customers (two men and a woman) are absorbed in the visual materials they encounter

---

presence of "bulk windows" then being incorporated into commercial buildings and used to display retail goods. Dell Upton, "Commercial Architecture in Philadelphia Lithographs," in *Philadelphia on Stone: Commercial Lithography in Philadelphia, 1828–1878*, ed. Erika Piola (Philadelphia: The Library Company of Philadelphia, 2012), 252, n.48. Later eighteenth-century British printmakers and satirists like Rowlandson, and Cruickshank depicted crowds availing themselves of such windows pasted with pictures in London. The idea of print shops as public spaces for the display of art is discussed in Chapter 3.

Like other journals and diaries, the diary of Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker (American, 1735–1807) is peppered with references to shopping. Details of the shops and experience are rarely forthcoming, but on September 19, 1770, when Drinker visited New York, she visited "a Number of print Shops, and Booksellers &c. and particularly to Gerardus Duykinks [Medley] Shop, also to Ben's shop…" Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, Elaine Forman Crane, ed. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991), 1:155.

In addition to the general print- and bookshops, Drinker would also have had occasion to see prints in the "Universal Store" of Gerardus Duyckinck, which contained (according to its proprietor) "the largest and most curious Collection, of plain and ornamented Looking-Glasses, Pictures, &c. &c. ever imported in America… with Maps, Charts and Prints…" (*The New-York Mercury*, May 9, 1763).

[193] A note in the object's record suggests that the print was made by Jean Baptiste Chatelain after Gravelot. For a recent study of English trade cards, see Julie Anne Lambert, *A Nation of Shopkeepers* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2005).

in Mercier's shop and a third man points towards something of interest. This gesture is mimicked by the proprietor, who stands behind a low counter on which are piled a few pieces of merchandise. To the right of the group, stands a youth holding a portfolio under one arm and under the other, a tube in which prints might be easily stored rolled. Behind these figures, framed pictures hang on the wall alongside shelving units in which are stored frames standing on edge, wrapped boxes, and what may be portfolios or boxes containing folio and elephant-folio prints. Light streams in from the left, alerting us to the presence of a large window to ease the customer's viewing experience. One of the customers is seated and is using what looks to be another vision aid: a magnifying glass. In a well-appointed shop such as this, it would be easy to pass hours (even days) "gaining an idea of the scope of human ability and industry."[194] Such was the sentiment of Sophie von La Roche, a German tourist visiting London in 1786, upon visiting the shop of another proprietor of prints, John Boydell.[195] Sophie hints at the vast number of prints she could have seen in Boydell's shop, and certainly the variety of subjects visible in Mercier's establishment tells a similar story. Hung on the wall are portraits, history subjects, landscapes, and botanical studies, while grasped in one customer's hand is an architectural view.[196]

---

[194] Sophie von La Roche, *Sophie in London, 1786: Being the Diary of Sophie v. la Roche*, ed. Clare Williams (London: J. Cape, 1933), 237–239. Boydell's exhibition gallery is also described in the *Morning Post* (London) November 14, 1786.

[195] Sven Bruntjen makes a detailed study of John Boydell, his print publishing business, and the print shop as gallery in his dissertation "John Boydell, 1719–1804: a study of art patronage and publishing in Georgian London". Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1974.

[196] In visually referencing the variety of prints she stocked, Mercier's trade card expands on the tradition of medley prints, a subject that Mark Hallett has investigated in "The Medley Print," (June 1997): 214–237.

Clearly even after deciding to buy a print, there were still choices to be made. Like the shoppers in London, those persons who frequented the print shops in British America would also have been faced with a selection of artists, subjects, and to a certain degree artistic styles and techniques.[197] Should it be a historical scene, an eminent head, an allegory of the times of day or the year's seasons, or would a print that inculcated some sense of narrative and moral value be the preferred choice? The ultimate decision would depend in some measure on the would-be consumer's intention for the print, whether it would hang on the wall in a public domestic space or be inserted into a portfolio, ready to educate and amuse the eye in a private moment of reflection. Some artists were certainly valued for their status as eminent leaders in their profession and a buyer might endeavor to acquire a print for its authorship. Depending on the circumstances, such a buyer might search out multiple examples by the same artist, either to better understand the artist's technique or to render a collection of the artist's graphic oeuvre "complete." For others, it might be the print's subject, rather than its author, that was cause for acquisition. As relatively inexpensive moveable consumer goods, there was certainly a lesser need than with more expensive items to consider its staying power within the wider world of household goods.[198] Selecting a print by Hogarth was therefore an active, not a passive decision, and may

---

[197] The variety of prints that appear in the newspaper advertisements of the period is vast. Joan D. Dolmetsch addresses this subject in "Prints in Colonial America," 1970, 53–74.

[198] Satires and those prints with time sensitive subjects were more ephemeral in nature, but were also advertised in newspapers and presumably well. For a glimpse at the types of satirical imagery that fed all sides of the political spectrum, see Dolmetsch, *Rebellion and Reconciliation*, 1976.

be regarded as a statement of "cultural" as well as economic capital.[199] The well-versed consumer of Hogarth prints could express his familiarity with current (and later, historical) taste and humor by recognizing myriad layers of meaning within the consumer goods populating the artist's prints and could demonstrate social status and identity through intellectual means when displaying them on a wall or inviting visitors to contemplate the prints' content.

Shopping by Proxy

Though I have dwelt at length on the means used by sellers to construct a market for Hogarth's prints through speculation, impressions of the prints could also be obtained at the behest of the consumer. Personal connections were the primary method by which one could order or obtain material goods, if only the would-be buyer knew the object of his desire. Two examples stand as evidence of this category of exchange. In 1767, the Williamsburg-based Thomas Jones wrote a letter to his brother who was then studying abroad in London, asking him to inquire into the possibility of purchasing some Hogarth prints.[200] Jones had a penchant for the British artist's engravings, and by this time already owned such popular subjects as *Midnight Modern Conversation, Rake's* and *Harlot's Progresses*, *Roast Beef of Old England* (*The Gate of Calais*, March 1748/49, P.180), and *Marriage À-La-Mode*.[201] As we have seen, all

---

[199] To use a concept theorized by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in his seminal *Distinction*, 1979.

[200] Since the artist was no longer living in 1767, the London-based Jones would have visited Mrs. Jane Hogarth in order to fulfill his brother's request.

[201] A fragment of a letter in the Jones Papers, as quoted in Mary Newton Stanard, *Colonial Virginia: Its People and Customs* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1917), 318.

of the print titles that Jones owned in 1767 had previously been advertised by at least one shop in British America, though not explicitly in the city where Jones lived. There is the possibility that Jones obtained his existing Hogarth prints in the same way that he now endeavored to build his collection, through a direct request of family or friend with access to the prints in London. However, based on the availability of these titles in shops in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, he might just have easily requested such goods from acquaintances in other parts of British America, and spared himself time in his order's arrival.[202]

Contracting a proxy buyer did not require close familial connections, as demonstrated by the experience of François Jean, Marquis de Chastellux (French, 1734–1788). While traveling around North America in the early 1780s, he recalled an evening that he spent on board the *Souverain*, a warship that was anchored not more than a mile from the port of Boston. While on board the vessel for "a great and excellent dinner" with the commanding officer and other notable Frenchmen in the region, the marquis made the acquaintance of Joseph Barrell, Jr. (1765–1801), an American whose father worked as a contractor to the French fleet and was "a great

---

[202] Esther Edwards Burr of New Jersey took advantage of her personal connections, too, when she requested pictures of her associate Sarah Prince Gill, then in Boston. Writing to Gill on March 8, 1757, Burr reiterated a previous request that Gill "procure for me a shade and a Dzn of Pictures of your good Minnisters. When you send them pleas to send the account that I may pay it, that we have no farther jumble about such Matters." Esther Edwards Burr, *The Journal of Esther Edwards Burr, 1754–1757*, Carol F. Karlsen and Laurie Crumpacker, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 252.

connoisseur in prints and paintings."[203] As the marquis remembered, the younger Barrell "had been two months on board…," believing "that by living continually with the French, he might accustom himself to speak their language."[204] By choosing to live on board the *Souverain*, Barrell had an unexpected opportunity, as well. According to the Marquis' recollections, Barrell took advantage of the "opportunity of purchasing a compleat collection of *Hogarth* prints from the Translator, then on his return to Europe."[205]

Conclusion: Resale and sales later in the century

There was a brief period in this decade when Hogarth prints were not advertised. As might be expected, from March 1765 to March 1766, the period in

---

[203] François Jean, marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North-America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782* (London: Printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1787), 2:262–263. *Sabin Americana*. Gale, Cengage Learning. Yale University. 12 June 2013.

For more on Barrell, see Charles Arthur Hammond, "'Where the Arts and the Virtues Unite': Country Life Near Boston, 1637–1860". Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1982 and Dean A. Fales, jun., "Joseph Barrell's Pleasant Hill," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* XLIII (transactions 1956–63), 373–390. The family's letters and letterbooks, 1776–1800 are at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

According to the Reverend William Bentley's diary entry for June 12, 1791, the elder Barrell's collection included "an excellent portrait of Dr Cooper from the original with the Governor. He has an original of Mr Clarke. He has a variety of paintings, engravings, & representations in clay from China." William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts* (Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1962), 1: 264.

[204] Chastellux, *Travels in North-America*, 1787, 2:262–263. *Sabin Americana*. Gale, Cengage Learning. Yale University. 12 June 2013.

[205] Ibid.

which the Stamp Act was in effect and colonials responded with non-importation measures, no newspaper advertisements mention the availability of newly imported Hogarth prints available for sale. Just months after the act was repealed, however, Hogarth's prints were described as newly available first by way of Charles Stocker in Charleston, South Carolina, and later in Noel Garrat's New York bookshop, located next to the Merchant's Coffee House.[206] This is not to say that no Hogarth print was available in that year of nonimportation. The second-hand market was still evidently a market in which goods originating in England could be bought and sold. In Boston, the very site of colonial upheaval, Moses Deshon advertised a public vendue in the city's "Newest Auction-Room, opposite the West End of Faneuil Hall" where the "Harlots Progress under Glass" was to be had.[207] While Hogarth's prints went largely unadvertised during this period, his name was very much in evidence in the weekly papers. News of the artist's death the previous year was still finding its way into the papers, as was the fallout with Charles Churchill and the replacement of Hogarth as painter to the king. Even though his relevance was beginning to be eclipsed by a new generation of artists, when Hogarth died October 26, 1764, it was a shock to the British art world, and by extension, to the art world of British America. As his health failed, reports were circulated throughout the papers; upon his death, his obituary was published extensively throughout the British newspapers and the news beginning to trickle into the colonies at the beginning of January 1765.[208]

---

[206] *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), October 13–20, 1766; *New-York Journal* or *General Advertiser*, December 24, 1766.

[207] *Boston Gazette, and Country Journal*, July 8, 1765.

[208] *The Boston News-Letter and New-England Chronicle*, January 10, 1765.

The savvy print seller, aware that the potential for new Hogarth imagery was at an end, could still hope to profit by reminding the buyer of fine prints that a reproducible object was now one of relative scarcity. John Mein (1732–1810), a Scottish-born bookseller, printer, and Loyalist publisher who immigrated to Boston in 1764 and established bookshops in the city, made claims to the Boston market that the artist's prints were "at present very scarce, and increasing in value every Day." He went on to effectively guarantee that the value of the prints would be not only stable, but increase in value, since the "celebrated Artist destroyed the Copper Plates some Time before his Death."[209] There is no evidence, however, to suggest that at this time in British America there was a constituency buying art for investment purposes, speculating on the future success of specific artists. More likely, those who purchased prints by the famed artist did so for the subject matter and for the appeal of his name and/or artistry, so that they might be personally educated and entertained by the prints and with the expectation that those persons who were invited into the buyer's living

---

[209] *The Boston Gazette* and *Country Journal*, July 6, 1767. In fact by 1750, most of the plates representing Hogarth's early works were owned by John Bowles, and upon his death in 1779, the business passed to Robert Wilkinson. Plates owned by Wilkinson included *South Sea Scheme*, *Lottery*, *Masquerades and Operas* (without the verses), twelve prints to Beaver, *Cunicularii*, *Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn*, and *Sarah Malcolm*. When Wilkinson died in 1826, the plates were sold at auction. Beginning with *The Harlot's Progress* of 1732, Hogarth retained control of virtually all of his copper plates, and at his death they passed to his wife Jane, though if she were to marry again, his will required that the *Harlot*, *Rake* and *Marriage a-la-Mode* plates go to his sister Anne. Jane Hogarth continued to issue prints for the same price as that which Hogarth was charging in the 1760s (she based her prices on those inscribed on the lists like those now held in the Lewis Walpole collection and at Yale in the Tinker Collection). Mrs. Hogarth sold these prints out of her home and Hogarth's former studio at the Golden Head in Leicester Fields. Upon Mrs. Hogarth's death, the plates went to her cousin, Mary Lewis; Lewis sold them to the publisher John Boydell, in whose hands they remained until 1818 (Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 17–21).

spaces would recognize and consequently make assumptions about the buyer's education and taste.

Even if market speculation was not a specific objective when it came to acquiring Hogarth's prints, the strength of the artist's resale value could be a boon if a quick influx of funds was required. When Joseph Watson identified a need to return to England in order to assure increased business measures, he developed a scheme whereby his possessions, which amounted to "Two Thousand Pounds Virginia Currency," and included within "a Collection of the genteelest Pictures, done by Hogarth… His Election Prints are amongst them," could be acquired by Lottery.[210] As discussed earlier in this chapter, no known American-based owners of the *Election* prints like Watson appeared on the list of subscribers to Hogarth's series, and yet by 1762, just four years after the series' publication was complete, the engravings were not only in British North America, but they were already up for resale.

If the historical record was more forthcoming, we would be better placed to speculate on the prints' arrival—depending on when Watson moved to the colonies, we could determine whether or not the businessman brought these elaborated sheets of paper with him, only to find that the call of London was too great. Evidently an entrepreneur of some significance, friends or family remaining in the London capital may have notified the art enthusiast when a new Hogarth series was available, and acting as agents on his behalf, arranged for payment and direct shipment of the prints. Or perhaps he relied on his local print seller for the latest in English visual culture; if so, he was well placed in Williamsburg, where shops selling prints were in good

---

[210] *The Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), April 1, 1762.

supply. Regardless of the circumstances surrounding their arrival, there was little reason for the prints to return to England, even if their owner was headed in that direction. Should he desire, he could certainly purchase new impressions upon his return to London, though their quality of line might be compromised, the copper plates bearing new signs of wear. Nine years later, "some Election Pieces by Hogarth," were to be sold "for ready Money" in a similar situation, when the Williamsburg-based cabinetmaker Benjamin Bucktout offered the property of a man recently returned to England.[211]

As Appendix B outlines, the second-hand market for prints was buoyed not only by financial, political, or personal imperatives to return to England, but also by death. Since prints could be resold, the imperative to settle an estate provided another opportunity for Hogarth's images to enter the market, once again turned loose upon the world with the possibility of tempting and teaching a new audience. In order to attract this audience, a distinct method of advertising was employed. Rather than trumpeting newly available or recently arrived London merchandise, these advertisements instead focus in part on the previous owners, identifying the individual and detailing the contents of their households in terms that, depending on the circumstances, might encourage emulative acquisition.[212] Whether the prints were sold

---

[211] *The Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), September 17, 1771.

[212] Indeed, a study by English-literature scholar Cynthia Sundberg Wall of advertisements and sales catalogues of English auctions in the period suggests that the way the sale was installed, whether in the original house or reassembled in the auction house, there was an implied "as it would be if it were mine" narrative, which encouraged consumption real or imagined. See Cynthia Sundberg Wall, *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 167–169. Also "The English Auction: Narratives of Dismantlings," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 1 (1997): 1–25.

at auction or through private sale, their distinction within a resale market from other types of goods suggests also that they were beginning to have a place removed from the practical, functional objects of everyday life. This distinction, and increasing separation from goods of a utilitarian nature, indicates the beginning of a new art market.[213]

The growing market for prints in this period is not one that may easily be tracked in commercial letter- and account books of the period. Nonetheless, the fragmentary evidence tracing the movement of Hogarth's prints from the artist's hands all the way across the Atlantic and into those of the British-American shopkeeper demonstrates not only the presence of his prints in British America, but also the increasing recognition of visual art as a significant sector within the realm of imported commercial goods. As we have seen, Hogarth's name and the titles of his prints appeared with frequency in the day's newspaper advertisements, and this fact provides further suggestions of the emergent art market and the important role that Hogarth's prints played in cultivating a growing, educated audience for the visual arts. This subject, along with the collective audience for Hogarth's prints in British America and the significance of Hogarth as a central figure in this market comprise the heart of the next chapter, "Consuming Hogarth."

---

[213] Iain Pears identifies the birth of the English art market in similar terms (*Discovery of Painting*, 1988, 64).

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.1: Trade card of Peter Griffin, print seller, in the form of a medley, ca. 1738–1747. Engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.2: William Hogarth, *The Industrious 'Prentice Performing the Duty of a Christian*, plate 2 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.3: William Hogarth, *The Idle 'Prentice at Play in the Church Yard*, plate 3 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.4: William Hogarth, *The Industrious 'Prentice a Favorite and entrusted by is Master*, plate 4 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.5: William Hogarth, *The Idle 'Prentice Turned Away and Sent to Sea*, plate 5 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.6: William Hogarth, *The Industrious 'Prentice out of his Time and Married to his Master's Daughter*, plate 6 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.7: William Hogarth, *The Idle 'Prentice Returned from Sea and in a Garret with a Common Prostitute*, plate 7 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.8: William Hogarth, *The Industrious 'Prentice Grown Rich and the Sheriff of London*, plate 8 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.9: William Hogarth, *The Idle 'Prentice Betrayed by his Whore and Taken in a Night Cellar with his Accomplice*, plate 9 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.10: William Hogarth, *The Industrious 'Prentice Alderman of London, the Idle One Brought before him and Impeached by his Accomplice*, plate 10 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.11: William Hogarth, *The Idle 'Prentice Executed at Tyburn*, plate 11 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.12: William Hogarth, *The Industrious 'Prentice Lord Mayor of London*, plate 12 of the series *Industry and Idleness*, 1747. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.13: William Birch, *South East Corner of Third and Market Streets*, from the series *Birch's Views of Philadelphia*, ca. 1799. Engraving with hand coloring. American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2.14: Jean Baptiste Chatelain, after Gravelot. Trade card of Dorothy Mercier, 1745–1770. Etching. British Museum, London

Chapter 3

CONSUMING HOGARTH

One of the most often repeated statements regarding the eighteenth-century British-American art market is that set forth by the American painter John Singleton Copley (1738–1815), who in 1767[?] famously lamented the absence of patrons with sufficient worldliness to offer financial support to artists working outside the genre of portraiture. He subsequently moved to England to work with what he believed to be a more responsive clientele.[214] For all of Copley's disdain, in the Boston area alone there were plenty of people who incorporated the visual arts into their daily lives, and were evidently willing to pay for it; this is abundantly clear from the repeated references to "prints," "pickturs," "oyle paintings," and the like that appear in the Suffolk County probate records (detailed in Appendix D). Boston is not alone in this phenomenon; even when we account for variations in date and locale, in a sampling of probate records from Philadelphia, Charleston, and the Chesapeake region, we find

---

[214] This quotation was discussed in the section of this dissertation's introduction "Hogarth and the Atlantic World" devoted to the market for art in British America. In light of the birth of the British market for art just a generation earlier, there is some irony to Copley's observation (for more on the beginning of an art market in Britain, see Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, 1988).

such art objects listed in individual estates with values ranging from £12.3.1 in 1754[215] to more than £13,240 in 1779.[216]

To be sure, much of the art listed in these documents was shipped from Europe, and was not made by artists working on the western shores of the Atlantic, as Copley would have preferred. However, it is clear from the present study that the images papering the walls and filling the print albums housed in the private libraries, bookshelves, and writing cabinets of eighteenth century British-American domestic interiors were not solely famous heads and the domestically significant visages that Copley reluctantly produced.[217] At least as rendered in print, there was an ample market for satirical, genre, allegorical, and history subjects, in addition to the portraits that Copley so despaired. Hogarth's prints did well in this company, melding these diverse genres to the point that rather than providing straightforward accounts of

---

[215] Inventory of Jacob Griggs, Boston, Suffolk County, Feb. 4, 1752 in *Wills and Inventories of Estates, Suffolk County, Massachusetts*, no. 9884. Of this total estate value, his 14 small pictures were valued at £7 s.4, making up by far the majority of the estate.

[216] Inventory of the estate of the Rev. John Camm, York County, Virginia, April 17, 1780. As transcribed in the Colonial Williamsburg digital library. Accessed May 28, 2013. http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/BrowseProbates.cfm

[217] It is clear that Copley was well aware of Boston's market for prints, as the artist was, himself, a participant in it, relying as he did on prints for instruction and inspiration in the areas of universal iconographical details and compositional strategies. For more on this subject, see the "Identity and Replication" section of Margaretta M. Lovell's chapter on Copley's painting of Mary Turner Sargent, in *Season of Revolution*, 2005, 73–79. Lovell observes that Copley regularly borrowed from well-known English mezzotints in the physical deportment that he accorded his sitters, just as his sitters emulated their English counterparts in their consumption choices.

familiar subjects, they demanded of their audience a sophisticated understanding of current events, popular culture, and the ways of the world, as well as a scholarly appreciation of the history of the emblematic tradition.

As the previous chapter demonstrated, a wealth of newspaper advertisements indicate that Hogarth's prints were readily available for sale in British America to individuals who enjoyed the possibilities of discretionary spending. However, Hogarth's prints were not alone within the marketplace; there were myriad alternative acquisition choices that the British-American print enthusiast and art collector could and did make as evinced in newspaper advertisements and some detailed probate inventories. Though Hogarth's prints were not alone, they are remarkable for the specific rather than generic terms that were used to describe them within the domestic interior. Such specificity within the historical record signals not only a sustained popularity and interest in his work throughout much of the eighteenth century—even in the face of boycotts and revolutionary war. This chapter sets out to locate Hogarth's prints within the worlds of individual consumers and to consider the significance of this presence in light of the previous scholarship on the market for art in eighteenth century British North America.[218] In conjunction with the evidence presented in the

---

[218] Though her focus is primarily upon the market for art made within the Boston area rather than the wider body of art that was available to the population, and thus concentrates largely upon the popularity of painted portraiture, I have found Margaretta M. Lovell's investigation of the arts and artisans of the Boston area to be particularly useful in theorizing this chapter. Lovell does briefly touch on the market for prints, but she seems content to reduce their significance merely to consumer objects rather than intellectually and aesthetically compelling objects in their own right (see Lovell, *Season of Revolution*, 2005, esp. 15–21, 22). Other significant studies of the market for the visual arts within early American history include Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society; the Formative Years, 1790–1860* (New York: G. Braziller, 1966) and Lillian B. Miller, *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement*

preceding chapter, I propose a complication to the story generally told of the market for art within the period, arguing that such a market not only existed, but thrived. That it was a market for printed, reproducible imagery rather than unique, mostly portrait, paintings, is likely a primary factor in the inconsequential admission of this fact by many early historians of American art. Only in the last decade have visual and print cultures been critically incorporated into the canon.[219]

---

of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790–1860 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1966). In 2007 the Frick Art Reference Library established The Center for the History of Collecting, with a mission to encourage the study of collection formation in Europe and the United States from the Renaissance to the present day. This directive has implications for the study of the art market, and forthcoming studies from the Center may help to promote the current state of scholarship in this area.

An assortment of multidisciplinary histories of art markets across the globe and throughout various periods of history have recently been written, which suggest new ways to approach the eighteenth century American story. General studies include those discussed previously in n.38.

The Dutch art market of the seventeenth century is particularly rich with sources that include Neil De Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet, "Art, Value, and Market Practices in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth-Century," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 451–464; Fillip Vermeylen, "Exporting Art across the Globe: The Antwerp Art Market in the Sixteenth Century," in *Kunst voor de markt/Art for the Market 1500–1700*, eds. Reindert Falkenburgh, Jan de Jong, Dulcia Meijers, Bart Ramakers, and Mariët Westermann, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50 (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1999), 13–29; and Nadine M. Orenstein, "Marketing Prints to the Dutch Republic: Novelty and the Print Publisher," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 141–165.

[219] Hans J. Van Miegroet has reached a similar conclusion in the context of the Parisian art market and the increased importation of Dutch paintings in the 17th century in "The Market for Netherlandish Paintings in Paris, 1750–1815," in *Auctions, Agents and Dealers: The Mechanisms of the Art Market 1660–1830*, eds. Jeremy Warren and Adriana Turpin (Oxford: The Beazley Archive and Archaeopress in association with The Wallace Collection, 2007), 43.

The first section of this chapter assesses the probate inventory as a resource for the study of Hogarth in British America. After establishing the range of terms that were used to account for visual art objects within a household setting, I discuss the three primary ways in which Hogarths were disseminated in the home: framed and glazed; collected in portfolios or "parcels" of prints; and bound into folio volumes. I begin using a series of case studies from Boston, Annapolis, Charleston, and the Virginia backcountry, establishing the rooms in which Hogarth prints were located when hung on the wall, glazed and framed. These locations were selected at once for the ease with which I could access relevant documents as well as for the relative wealth of the geographically-diverse populations, all of which had direct trade relationships with merchants in Great Britain. I consider Hogarth's print owners and audiences through an investigation of the constellation of objects with which the prints appear, and I consider the ways in which prints such as *Marriage À-La-Mode* and *Midnight Modern Conversation* may be understood as contributing to the conversational and spectatorial pastimes crucial to the development of moral and cultural norms. Yet prints were not always hung for all to see, and the final two subjects of this section of the chapter look at prints stored in albums and bound into books, both of which limit invitations to view and consequently engender a very different type of spectatorship.

Hogarth's prints were not just consumed within the domestic interior, however, and the chapter concludes with a consideration of some of the public places in which the artist's work became known to British Americans during the second half of the eighteenth century. As the previous chapter discussed, a prospective buyer could encounter a Hogarth print alongside any number of other engravings and mezzotints in

a print shop or stationers. He or she could also, when visiting the public auction rooms or vendues, see Hogarth's prints within the context of the miscellany on offer that populated the second-hand market. Such opportunities abounded in the major metropolitan areas, but less predictable encounters were also possible. Whether paging through folios of bound prints at a subscription library, observing a performance that used a Hogarth print as the basis for the backdrop before which the theatrical action took place, or passing the time while a hairdresser achieved the ideal pouf, Hogarth's imagery was visible to the observant and aware participant in British-American cultural life.[220]

As the persistent appearance of Hogarth's name and the titles of his print series in newspapers and probate inventory records throughout the colonies indicate, Hogarth's subjects were recognizable commodities unmatched by any other artist in British North America.[221] His subjects were sold and eagerly purchased, consumed publicly and privately. Their sustained appreciation long after the artist's death suggests that his prints were not disregarded as ephemeral, a fate befalling many images depicting contemporary events. Instead, they were viewed in their own time (just as now) as art, worthy of purchase and display. The glimpses of humanity that

---

[220] Additionally, for the literary- or rhetorical-minded population, the repeated references to Hogarth's name that are made throughout news reports and general interest stories in local newspapers and periodicals, which are the subject of this dissertation's next chapter, may additionally have contributed to an interest in acquiring the work of this considerable figure in the history of British art.

[221] This recognition was likely spurred by the references to the artist and his work that appeared in local newspapers throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. This subject will be discussed in the next chapter, "Narrating Hogarth."

Hogarth offered in even his most moralizing subjects could appeal to peoples across land and sea, permeating the barriers of time, distance, and culture in ways that perhaps even the artist did not foresee. A number of factors contribute to the significance of Hogarth's presence and persistent popularity in British America, not least of which is the particular moment upon which this study is based. In the years leading up to, during, and immediately after the American Revolutionary war, Hogarth's prints were present in the dining rooms, parlors, and halls colonials across the political spectrum.

Hogarths in the Home

Arranging goods within the home is an act of personal curation, though several factors certainly contribute—the desires of a spouse and/or dependent or the practicalities of daily life spring immediately to mind. Cultural norms may also come into play, particularly when faced for the first time with an object that had not previously entered the individual's domestic realm. In such instances, advice manuals might offer suggestions about how others have handled such choices; visiting a friend or neighbor's home might prove equally instructive. Suggestions might even be given by the shopkeeper or drygoods seller in their effort to make a sale, through conversations when the would-be consumer entered the shop, or in the advertisements that helped to get the individual into the shop in the first place. Faced with a bevy of information, it remained up to the consumer to finally select a means by which to incorporate any new purchase into a personal world of goods.

Placement and juxtaposition both contribute to the meaning that an object assumes; this is a fundamental axiom that museum curators reify when arranging loan exhibitions of objects that are ordinarily scattered across geographies. Within the

domestic interior, such juxtapositions are subject to change in the continued acquisition and divesting of various goods. If we return to our conversation of Hogarth prints in British America, we may follow three primary means of their containment within the eighteenth century home as demonstrated by the evidence of a sampling of probate inventories: the first, displayed on a wall; the second, tucked into a portfolio of prints of the consumer's making; and the third, bound into volumes of the artist's complete oeuvre, as formulated by the collector, dealers, the artist, or the artist's heirs. Taken in their turn, the following discussion will offer entry points into an analysis of the varied audience, use, and meanings that Hogarth's prints generated within the unique circumstances of the individual domestic sphere.

Pictures, Paintings, Prints: Probate Inventories as Sources

We can never know the full extent to which British-American audiences were confronted with Hogarth's graphic oeuvre in a domestic context, but probate inventories can provide some means of entry into this question.[222] The present study relies on a sampling of probate records from Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Charleston, Philadelphia, and the Chesapeake region from 1730 to 1800. While by no means providing a complete accounting of the presence of Hogarth's appearance in British America, the sample nonetheless affords sufficient evidence to identify the

---

[222] Probate inventories, which are part of a written record biased towards the financial elite, provide some evidence for the most likely intentional consumers of his prints, but they can do little to paint the full picture of those who encountered them in their daily lives. We have already seen in the Introduction that in some instances the artist provided slightly different products—either reproduced using cheaper paper or with less technically refined matrices—so as to more easily be accessible to a segment of the population with even the smallest means of discretionary spending potential. This topic will be reprised in Chapter 4 in the context of *The Four Stages of Cruelty*.

publics that were most likely to encounter Hogarth prints within a domestic setting, and to imagine the visual world in which the prints were actively consumed.

Upon the death of a property holder, a probate inventory was taken to record the assets of an estate. Such documents can include a wealth of information surrounding the movable consumer goods that were owned at the time of death. On the orders of a judge or probate commissioner, two or three neighbors would usually compile an itemized list of the deceased's belongings and append it with the values that the objects might be expected to fetch in the event of a forced sale.[223] For the scholar of material life in the eighteenth century, such lists are invaluable in the array of objects that are listed, as well as the specific context in which such objects appear. In the absence of physical objects tied to specific households, descriptive terms and recorded values help to establish the economic and social identity that the deceased had constructed through a carefully curated collection of consumer goods.[224]

---

[223] According to historian Gloria L. Main, there are sufficient records of receipts following the actual sale of an estate to conclude that these values were generally sound. In the face of unpredictable inflation and/or political conflicts, however, there were certain instances in which the values are inconsistent. See Gloria L. Main, "Probate Records as a Source for Early American History," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 32, no. 1 (Jan. 1975), 91.

[224] The study of identity formation and expression through consumption is one that has been carried out in a variety of academic disciplines. My study is most engaged with the approaches taken in the following sources: Bourdieu, 2002; Breen, "Baubles of Britain," 1988; Brewer, *World of Goods*, 1994; Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 1992; Miller, *Acknowledging Consumption*, 1995; Paul Staiti, "Character and Class" in *John Singleton Copley in America*, Carrie Rebora Barratt et al. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), 53–77; Bernard Herman, "Tabletop Conversations: Material Culture and Everyday Life in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World," in *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and America in the Long Eighteenth Century*, eds. John Styles and Amanda Vickery (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 45–67; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, 1996. And

With such a wealth of data, one must also remember that there are limitations to the use of probate inventories, not least the absence of records for certain major segments of the population.[225] Also absent from the documents are listings of those objects that were not owned by the deceased. Inventories can thus prove presence—but not absence—of specific types of consumer movables. Another limitation, and one that is perhaps of greater significance for the purposes of this study, is the wide range of detail (or lack thereof) that probate takers recorded. Even in one region, a study of inventories reveals this unstandardized approach in the very choice of noun and potential descriptive adjectives as well as the context in which said noun was deployed.[226] This is especially true in the vocabulary used to describe the art objects that found their way into the domestic interior. The following brief examination of such terms helps in establishing the myriad households where Hogarth prints may have been, even if the absence of specific descriptive terminology prohibits their particular identification.

---

during a period in early American history, identity was expressed by choices of non-consumption, as well. This topic is well documented in Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, 2004).

[225] Those groups least likely to be represented in the probate record include women, enslaved peoples, and the poor. Kevin M. Sweeney investigates the absence of certain population segments from the probate record in Wethersfield, Connecticut in "Using Tax Lists to Detect Biases in Probate Inventories," *Early American Probate Inventories*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1989), 32–40.

[226] Robert F. Trent has described the inconsistences of a wide range terminology in probate inventories in "Matching Inventory Terms and Period Furnishings," *Early American Probate Inventories*, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 1989), 17–22.

Inventory search and term overview

In Massachusetts's Suffolk County during the years 1730 to 1761, approximately 573 out of the nearly 6,000 probate inventories recorded (or nearly 10%) include some reference to art. All told, the quantity of visual material recorded in these records totals at least 9,110 individual pieces in a period in which no developed art market in the usual sense is usually acknowledged. I have included these listings, along with a breakdown of the descriptive terminology used to describe such visual art objects in Appendix D. As Appendix D demonstrates, the most common defining noun for what would today fall under the umbrella term "art" was "picture." This noun was often (but by no means always) paired with a descriptive qualifier that helps to narrow the possibilities of the particular object's materiality. The records are full of "picture Murals," "painted Pictures," "cavnis pictures," "pictures in tin," "wrought pictures," "pictures on copper," and "wooden pictures." From such adjectives, it is clear that "pictures" could refer to paintings. That the undifferentiated noun was always a painting is far from certain, however. Considering the rate at which prints were advertised in comparison to paintings in the region's newspaper advertisements, and the relative cost differentials between prints and paintings, it seems probable that many of the "pictures" listed in the inventories were printed, and certainly when Hogarth prints appear in the record, they find themselves described as both "pictures" and "prints" in addition to being known simply by their titles (see Appendix C).

On first glance, "Pictures colour'd" may seem an unlikely place to locate Hogarth. The artist never colored his prints himself, nor does he appear to have

contracted out such work to others.[227] It would seem that this did not stop others from doing so, however, and based on a 1767 advertisement for the New York-based bookseller Garrat Noel, which announced the arrival of "a few of Hogarth's humorous Pictures colour'd," they evidently partook in such practices.[228] Further, the 1763 Suffolk County inventory of one Hon. Benjamin Prat, Esq. lists "one Picture by Hogarth, colour'd and gilt frames."[229] We thus have a suggestion that Hogarth subjects

---

[227] There is, however, some evidence that under Hogarth's direction, a small number of his plates were printed with blue or red ink, particularly in *Evening* (1738, P.148), where in a few examples color was applied to the wife's face and the husband's hands to communicate respectively, the effects of heat and the man's profession as a dyer (Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 106).

[228] *The New-York Gazette*, June 1 to June 8, 1767.

[229] Inventory of the Hon. Benjamin Prat, Esq., Suffolk County, Massachusetts, July 8, 1763 in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Rural Inventories, no. 198–199 as transcribed in Abbott Lowell Cummings, *Rural Household Inventories Establishing the Names, Uses, and Furnishings of Rooms in the Colonial New England Home, 1675–1775* (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964), 200. Coloring prints by hand was a common pastime amongst a certain privileged demographic, and it is not outside the realm of possibility that someone in Prat's household applied the color by hand. With their fine lines, and intricate details, however, Hogarth's subjects would not have been the easiest pictures to color by hand. Botanicals and representations of simple personifications likely held that distinction, and hand-colored examples appear in historical collections at a far greater rate than finely detailed narrative compositions. Whether looking to the paintings as a model for the color scheme (in the unlikely event the color-er had access to the paintings), or determining a scheme based on the owner's own creative vision, this personal intervention into the authorship and biography of the engraving not only further distanced the print from Hogarth's authority, but represented an investment of cultural and financial capital on the part of the British-American consumer. For a detailed history of the practice of coloring prints, see Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints: the Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance & Baroque Engravings, Etchings, & Woodcuts* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art and University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

were occasionally colored, may have been purchased that way, and can be placed within at least one domestic interior. Still, even with these two indications of colored Hogarth prints, undoubtedly most of the Hogarth prints entering the American marketplace were simply engravings with black lines, and likely remained so.[230] As a result, we should not count too heavily on "paintings" in the probate inventory record referring to Hogarth's prints, though the possibility remains that some of his subjects were mislabeled under this heading.

If the estate-taker was familiar with a popular composition, he may have provided a more detailed description. If it was an unfamiliar subject or composition, perhaps it was better to identify minimally, with the single term "picture," than to misidentify. From a practical standpoint, "Picture" was very likely regarded as a catchall for anything that was displayed on a wall.[231] Logically speaking, the majority of Pictures in the inventory record must have been prints for these simple reasons:

---

[230] The limited apparent survival rate of such prints suggests that colored Hogarth prints were not as much in evidence as those remaining in their black-and-white state. On the subject of color, Paulson writes: "I have seen no such tinting of Hogarth engravings, but [Andrew] Edmunds [a London print dealer] has seen some Hogarth prints (including *Industry and Idleness*) which he believes may have been colored during Hogarth's lifetime. The only color Hogarth himself applied to a print was the red and blue ink of the wife's face and the husband's (a printer's) hands, in *Evening*; though occasionally he printed impressions in red or blue ink." Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 19.

[231] Recent work by University of Delaware professor Martin Brückner reminds us that another possible meaning of the term "picture" in the eighteenth century is what we would refer to today as a map. Brückner's preliminary work on the subject was presented at the Library Company of Philadelphia, on March 5, 2010 in a talk titled "The Spectacle of Maps in Early America, 1750–1800." For another study of the consumption of maps in early America, see Bosse, "Maps in the Marketplace," 2007, 1–51.

they were comparatively inexpensive and they were the most readily available form of art in the colonies thanks to the relative ease with which they could be transported from England and the European continent to the western shores of the Atlantic.[232] As multiples, there were also simply more of them to go around than a singular bespoke painting. All told, the potential for greater numbers of prints than paintings within the colonies is simply indisputable. The undifferentiated "picture" recorded in the majority of the Boston documents could therefore easily veil the presence of Hogarth's narrative series, particularly when the same room contains groups of "pictures," as evinced by multiple sequential listings in the probate document.

With the addition of just a word or two, some of the probate records more obligingly hint at the possibility that the picture might indeed be a reference to a work of art on paper. It is almost certain that Hogarth's prints are hidden behind at least some of the listings of "Printed pictures," "paper pictures," "copper plate pictures," "copper plate prints," and "prints." When these terms appear, it is more than likely that the inventory taker recognized a sheet of paper as the image's main support. He may also have noted the absence of color in a picture that he chose to name in this way, the gray-scale being another likely indicator of print rather than painting. Further, he might recognize the subject matter, having encountered the same composition in the homes of peers. When the prints are listed in groups of four, six, eight, or twelve, like

---

[232] Unlike a painting, which depending on size would need to be taken off its stretcher and rolled for transport, then re-stretched and framed upon arrival, a pile of prints of a variety of subjects could easily be combined in a crate and its contents broken up for a variety of sellers upon its arrival in port. The risk was simply less for the importer of prints than that of paintings both in terms of potential damage in transit, and also in terms of its market upon arrival. Furthermore, given the nature of their multiplicity, there were more prints than English paintings available for export to the colonies.

the eight "framed Paper pictures" that in 1739 hung in the staircase of Boston merchant Pyam Blowers it is tempting to imagine that the walls were populated with the eight plates of the *Rake's Progress*, published just four years earlier in 1735.[233]

There is also a possibility that Hogarth's subjects are hidden behind the various spellings of mezzotint that appear throughout the listings: "Meztos," "Pictures Mazatintos," "mezsit Pictures," and "mezsit Prints." A mezzotint is fairly easy to identify thanks to the depth of rich, velvety black tones that are the result of working the copper plate with a rocker or roulette, pitting the plate's surface to such a degree that when inked, the plate prints entirely black except in those areas scraped and burnished to create the desired design. Unlike other intaglio print processes, the mezzotint requires the printmaker to work from dark to light, smoothing out those areas in the design that will ultimately be white. In the eighteenth century, the mezzotint proved ideal as a method to reproduce paintings since tonality was not determined by the density and quality of line as it was in the linear based engraving and etching techniques.

---

[233] Inventory of Pyam Blowers, Merchant, Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, May 25, 1739 in *Inventories of Estates, Suffolk County, Massachusetts*, no. 7290. Though no Bostonian print seller specifically lists the *Rake's Progress* in their available stock until 1757 (Nathaniel Warner's advertisement placed in *The Boston Gazette* and *Country Journal*, January 17, 1757), this is not sufficient evidence that the series was unknown in the colonies. Responding to a letter from her son Naphtali Franks then in London training to be a merchant, Abigail Franks of New York wrote December 12, 1735 "I like the Acc[oun]t of y[ou]r rakes progress I have Seen 'em in Print and think the design Very good." Franks's comment would seem to indicate that she had seen herself the series that her son described, presumably in her hometown of New York. Abigail Franks et al., *The Lee Max Friedman Collection of American Jewish Colonial Correspondence: Letters of the Franks Family, 1733–1748* (Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society, 1968), 48.

Although Hogarth never produced a mezzotint himself, authorized and unauthorized copies after his engraved modern moral subjects were reproduced using this print process.[234] A mezzotint series of *A Harlot's Progress* by Elisha Kirkall (English, 1681/82–1742) after Hogarth would have easily assumed the role that Hogarth's autograph prints could have done, at least in terms of narrative (if not figurative) content, for the Kirkall reverses the plate and presumably reflects the orientation of the painting (now lost) on which Hogarth based his print (Figs. 3.1 and 3.2).[235] Hogarth's subjects certainly do not account for every reference to a mezzotint in the Suffolk County inventories, however. In this period the mezzotint was most commonly used for reproductive prints of portrait paintings.[236] The 1759

---

[234] Hogarth's reluctance to make a mezzotint has been explained by the artist's famous disdain for all things foreign (see Simon, *France and British Art*, 2007 for a foil to this commonly held interpretation of the artist), but that cannot be the full story, given that the mezzotint came into its own in eighteenth century England, and could easily have been the perfect medium for a self-styled native British artist. The mezzotint technique was developed in the seventeenth century, and further refined in the eighteenth as the preferred method for representing painting technique, particularly chiaroscuro. It allowed reproductive printmakers to extend their interpretation of the painting beyond the design and graphic content, to include a depth of tonal range previously impossible in other print processes.

[235] Kirkall's pirated copies were published in mid-November 1732, just seven months after Hogarth's engravings were published. These copies were just one set among many that spurred the artist to action, petitioning Parliament for copyright protection, as discussed in the Introduction of this dissertation. The mezzotints are in reverse of the engravings, and printed in green ink. Kirkall does give Hogarth credit for "*invenit*" and "*pinxit*," signing the work "*E. Kirkall fec*." A set is in the British Museum (BM Sat. 2032, 2047, 2062, 2076, 2092, 2107). I will be returning briefly to the question of autograph Hogarth prints and copies after the artist in the Conclusion of this dissertation.

[236] For more on the history of the mezzotint, see Carol Wax*, The Mezzotint: History and Technique* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990). For a provocative assessment of the meanings of printed portraiture within the Anglo-American

advertisements of the Boston based shopkeeper Nathaniel Warner indicate that mezzotint portraits of such notable persons as The Hon. William Pitt, Esquire, and the King of Prussia were available at his shop next to the Draw-Bridge.[237] However, the same advertisement provides compelling evidence to suggest that on occasion shopkeepers mistakenly identified their stock of engravings as mezzotints; it would come as no surprise if probate writers did the same.

Along with the mezzotint portraits, Warner's available assortment of what he terms "Metzetinto Pictures" included The *Rake's* and *Harlot's Progress*, and *The Idle and Industrious Apprentice*—all print series that we know were made using a combination of etching and engraving. Since Hogarth did not produce mezzotints of these series, there are a number of possible ways to interpret Warner's advertisement. The print seller may have been unable to distinguish between an engraving and a mezzotint. He may have known the difference, yet for ease of advertising copy and for the benefit of his (perhaps) less savvy customers, he may have chosen to simply describe all of his stock as mezzotints. The mezzotint may simply have been another way of quickly distinguishing a work of art on paper from one on canvas. Or, the prints that Warner advertised were truly mezzotints, and therefore copies rather than authorized Hogarth prints.[238]

---

domestic sphere and the uses to which they were put in the hands of colonial painters, see Margaretta M. Lovell's investigation of Copley and the case of the blue dress in *Season of Revolution*, 2005, 61–62.

[237] *The Boston Gazette*, and *Country Journal*, November 5, 1759; *The Boston Gazette*, and *Country Journal*, November 12, 1759.

[238] However, to my knowledge only *A Harlot's Progress* was copied in mezzotint at this early date. Hoping that the Parliament-approved pending copyright law would slow the production of copies pirated from his compositions, Hogarth postponed the

If a Hogarth composition might be hidden away in a probate inventory under one of the many terms referring to mezzotint when the artist never made such a picture, then it is perhaps less curious to consider that the term "glass Picture" might also refer to his work. This type of visual material was an extremely popular form of wall furnishing throughout the eighteenth century and one that could easily have made use of the prints known to be available in local print shops. There are three primary types of glass pictures: a painting made directly on glass, a form that traces its roots in Europe to the fourteenth century and was popularized in America in the first half of the nineteenth century by Pennsylvania-German artisans; a watercolor on paper affixed to the verso of a piece of glass, with a silhouette applied to the recto, a process still in common use in the twenty-first century; and the glass print, which was made by affixing the recto of a mezzotint to a sheet of crown glass, removing much of the paper support so that only the thinnest layer of fibers remain with the use of solvents, and finally applying color with water-based paints. Many layers of varnish were likely applied to the glass print before the application of color, which helped to enhance the picture's transparent luminosity.[239] The mezzotint was the ideal type of print for this

---

release of *A Rake's Progress* for a month in 1735, finally releasing the plates on June 25th after acknowledging their completion as early as May 10th. Though no mezzotint copies were made, the compositions were leaked to copyist engravers prior to Hogarth's official release, and by June 3, *The Progress of a Rake* was being advertised by London publishers H. Overton, T and J. Bowles, and J. King. No unauthorized copies of *The Idle and Industrious Apprentice* appear in Paulson's extensive literature on the subject, but Hogarth himself approved the printing of two editions of the series, distinguished in their materiality and the quality of paper on which they were printed. For more information on the choice of paper that Hogarth occasionally offered his customers, see discussion related to *Industry and Idleness* in the preceding chapter.

[239] Ted Stanley, "Mezzotint Under Glass: A Historical Review of the Glass Print," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 45, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 147–

process, since the velvety gradations of tone produced by the process could be exploited to great painterly effect.

The glass print appears to have been a particularly attractive consumer good and artistic practice in British North America, with print sellers like Boston's John Burch importing mezzotints for the express purpose of turning them into glass prints. The advertisement that Burch placed in the *Boston Evening Post* in 1748 is evidence of this fact, announcing the recent arrival of "fine Mezzotintoes pick'd out for the Ladies to paint, with the very best of London crown Glass…."[240] Having the materials on hand was an important step, but practical instruction was also helpful. As early as year 1738, the Boston-based Peter Pelham (none other than the stepfather of John Singleton Copley) advertised the availability of instructional lessons in the art of painting upon glass for the region's gentlemen and ladies.[241] If personal instruction was not available, an individual could still try his or her hand at the art form, since books and treatises on the printmaking arts like William Salmon's 1672 *Polygraphice:*

---

154. For more on glass painting, see Ann Massing, "From Print to Painting: The Technique of Glass Transfer Painting," *Print Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (December 1989): 383–393.

[240] *Boston Evening Post*, September 12, 1748.

[241] *Boston Gazette*, January 16 and 23, 1738.

In a letter dated June 15, 1735 Abigail Franks described to Naphtali Franks, her son then studying in London, the growing accomplishments of his siblings, writing "Your Sister Richa has begun to Learn on the harpsichord and plays three Very good tunes in a months… Moses has a great Mind to Learn but the Charge Is to much – he Proffits [sic.] Very much in his drawing and has begun to Learn to paint opon [sic.] Glass wich [sic.] he does Very well he has don half doz[e]n Pictures…" Franks, *Franks Family, 1733–1748*, 1968, 41.

or the Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Varnishin, Japaning, Gilding, etc. included detailed instructions.[242]

From the inventory sample, it would appear that this art form was embraced by Boston area residents with some enthusiasm, with glass pictures accounting for approximately 418 of the roughly 9,200 art objects enumerated in the Suffolk county sample, or roughly 4.5 percent. Evidence that some of the glass pictures could very well be simple descriptions of Hogarth's prints exists in a 1769 advertisement in Annapolis's *Maryland Gazette*, in which the proprietors Hudson and Thompson indicate an inventory of among other things, "Hogarth prints, painted on Glass."[243] Due to the extreme fragility of the object type, relatively few glass pictures survive from the eighteenth century. It is only by chance that a surviving example of this artistic practice now in the Graphic Arts Collection of the Princeton University Library happens to be a mezzotint on glass taking its subject matter from Hogarth's *Sleeping Congregation* (October 1736, P.140), offering evidence that the inventory entry "glass picture" may well in fact veil the presence of Hogarth in the home.[244]

---

[242] This book was available for sale in Boston from as early as 1719 from one Samuel Gerrish. Other instances of the book's appearance in the British colonies of North America included Robert Bell of Philadelphia (1773); the Brown University Library, Providence, RI (1793), Matthew Clarkson & Ebenezer Hazard, Philadelphia, PA (1785); the Society Library, New York, NY (1813); and the Library Company, Philadelphia, PA (1789). Janice Gayle Schimmelman, *Books on Art in Early America: Books on Art, Aesthetics and Instruction Available in American Libraries and Bookstores Through 1815* (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2007), 162–164.

[243] *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 6, 1769.

[244] This glass picture is in the Graphic Arts Collection of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of the Princeton University Library, object ID 6025.

The presence of Hogarth's name or specifics of his subjects is unlikely in a probate document prone to the generalities previously enumerated, yet when they appear, they do so definitively. The "Emaged Musitian [sic.]" in the home of the Richmond County, Virginia, Doctor Nicholas Flood could be none other than Hogarth's *Enraged Musician* while the "Hogarths Allamode" in the Middlesex County, Virginia house of Ralph Wormeley IV, referred to the artist's iconic *Marriage À-La-Mode*.[245] Since most of Hogarth's prints (and eighteenth-century British prints more generally) had artists and titles printed directly upon the sheet, usually directly beneath the image, there is some question as to why more titles were not included within the probate record, if in fact they were prints. One explanation is the common practice (at least in England) of cutting prints within the plate marks to fit them within frames, making the basic identifying information invisible to the viewer.[246] Since the unequivocal evidence of a print's subject was thereby reduced to the visual, only those literate in this imagery may have felt sufficiently informed to identify the prints thus. Better to stick with Print or Picture, since less information is still accurate, whereas more might be less so.

---

[245] Inventory of Nicholas Flood, Doctor, Richmond, Richmond County, Virginia, May 6, 1776 in *Richmond County Will Book #7* 1767–1787, 239–270 as transcribed by Gunston Hall, *Probing the Past*. Accessed May 28, 2013. http://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory/search.php

Inventory of Ralph Wormeley, Middlesex County, Virginia, May 10, 1791 in *Middlesex County Will Book G* 1787–1793, 224–230 as transcribed by Gunston Hall, *Probing the Past*. Accessed May 28, 2013. http://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory/search.php

[246] Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 19.

There is an alternative explanation, as well: when titles or artists appear in the inventories, the inventory taker was possessed of the same cultural capital as the deceased, at least in regards to Hogarth. Since they typically appear listed amidst a sea of generic "pictures" or "prints," Hogarth's name and /or subjects are thus suggestive of the artist's preeminent status within the world of visual art inhabited by the probate takers. The presence of Hogarth's name in the probate record is thus useful to this study on two primary counts: one, as evidence of ownership and the material context in which it was deployed in the house, and two, as evidence of the inventory-takers' cultural sensibilities, signaling a community in which the artist's legacy was known. Both of these subjects will now be taken in their turn.

Glazed and Framed

When Hogarths appear in the probate records, they are most often described with some variation on the phrase "glazed and framed," but prints did not always arrive from England in such a state. Depending on the use to which a new owner intended to put his purchase, he would need to expend the additional resources to procure the appropriate frame and glass covering, especially if intending to display it in a well-endowed, polite environment. Sometimes these additions could be obtained at the same shop selling the prints. From the 1750s through the 1770s Stephen Whiting, a Boston-based drygoods trader and japanner, offered a selection of locally made mezzotints and imported pictures—including *The idle and industrious Apprentice*—which he sold alongside glass and frames (gilt and jappaned) that might be used for pictures or looking glasses.[247] Alternatively, pictures could be brought to

[247] Supplement to the *Boston Gazette*, May 20, 1771. Whiting's business was not a resounding success; he suffered bankruptcy proceedings in 1758, and faced the

shops that focused entirely on wood moldings or glass, the two primary components of the protective frame.[248]

Even when the phrase "glazed and framed" does not appear in the probate inventory listing Hogarth prints, in most instances there is little reason to assume that they were not displayed in some fashion on the wall, largely because of the context in which they appear in the document—adjacent to other such wall-mounted objects as looking glasses and sconces—and the similar descriptions of other types of art that are also present in the listings. In such cases, the prints could have been framed and glazed, and their method of display simply not mentioned. They could also have been varnished rather than glazed before being framed.[249] Both of these preparatory

---

humiliation of a vendue of all his personal dwelling and furnishings as well as shop goods, which included "a great variety of very beautiful Metzotinto and other pictures" in order that their sale might be used to pay off his creditors (*The Boston-Gazette and Country Journal*, April 10, 1758). Though the terms of his bankruptcy continued over many years (see, for example, *The Boston Evening-Post*, February 8, 1762), Whiting evidently continued his business, advertising again as early as August 1759 the sale of imported prints and maps, which could be had framed and glazed, if desired, from his shop now located near the Mill Bridge (*The Boston News-Letter*, August 16, 1759). He died in Boston in 1789. (*Massachusetts Centinel* [Boston], June 6, 1789).

[248] Such specialized shops appear in increasing numbers towards the end of the century; virtually all are established by persons specifying their recent arrival from cities in Britain. In 1792, James Smith opened a molding shop in Baltimore, where he hoped to supply the black or gold molding needs of the town and surrounding countryside (*Baltimore Evening Post*, November 28, 1792). Glass shops could help with the glazing; we learn from John M'Elwee's advertisement of December 12, 1789 in *The Pennsylvania Packet*, and *Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia) that white glass was the appropriate choice "for coaches, clocks, prints, &c…" At M'Elwee's shop, customers were assured that "Looking-glasses, paintings or prints" could be "framed on the most reasonable terms."

[249] Recipes for picture varnish appeared in unlikely places, including *The New London Toilet*, which was primarily a recipe book for beauty products. *The New London*

treatments in advance of display on the walls indicate some interest in preserving and protecting the print's surface.[250]

The very fact that the prints are mentioned, especially when specific note is made of their subject or artist/designer, is another likely indication that they were visible when the inventory was taken, and that this was a permanent (or at least semi-permanent) display. This is entirely in keeping with fashionable interior design practices of the day. The 1753 catalogue published by John Bowles provides an example of the type of prescriptive suggestions for use that a print seller offered his clients. He recommended "PRINTS on Two Sheets of Elephant-Paper. Being cheap

---

Toilet: or a compleat collection of the Most simple and useful Receipts for preserving and improving Beauty, either by outward Application or internal Use. With many other valuable Secrets in elegant and ornamental Arts (London: Printed for Richardson and Urquhart, 1778). The volume offers two insights into varnishing prints:

1. "To Varnish Copper Plate Prints.

> Let the frame be the same size as the print, and then fix the print on the frame with common flower [sic.] paste; when the paste is dry make a varnish of the following ingredients, viz. one pound of Venice turpentine; one ounce of oil of turpentine, with the same quantity of spirits of wine; ix the whole together till it is as thick as the white of an egg; dip a brush into it, and lay it first on the backside of the print, and immediately after on the right side; let it lay flat to dry, and when dry rub over it a few drops of spirits of wine." (93)

2. "A Varnish for all Sorts of Prints.

> "Mix with one pint of spirits of wine, one pound of Venice turpentine, and beat them together till they are as thin as common milk; then rub a little of it with a pencil on the wrong side of the print." (93)

[250] As Antony Griffiths has shown, well-meaning print owners may have inadvertently caused long term damage to the sheets when they applied varnish to their prints. Griffiths, "Archaeology of the Print," 2003, 10.

and proper ornaments for halls, rooms, and stair-cases" while he specifies that groups of "maps and prints, on three or four sheets of paper, being proper and handsome ornaments for chimney-pieces."[251] The probate record certainly appears to corroborate this suggestion of display, since by far the largest numbers of prints appear, when specified, in exactly such places within the house, and often grouped in such a manner that we may assume prints in series. Beyond the print sellers' helpful hints, little documentation survives to suggest the thought process behind hanging the prints in the home or indeed the practice itself. However, Mary Vial Holyoke (1737–1802) of Salem, Massachusetts, provides one clue, recording in her diary "hung pictures" during the first month of 1763.[252] Four years later, she does the same, this time in May.[253] While we cannot know what pictures she may have hung, the phrase is suggestive in its implication that she participated in arranging the pictures on walls in the house, and it complicates traditional assumptions regarding gender and the consumption of art in eighteenth-century British America since one needn't be the official owner of a print or a painting to interact with it.[254]

---

[251] John Bowles & Son, *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, &c. From Off Copper-Plates* (London: John Bowles and Son, [1753]), 15.

[252] Mary Vial Holyoke, *Diary of Mary Vial Holyoke* in *The Holyoke Diaries, 1709–1865*, ed. George Francis Dow (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1911), 57.

[253] Ibid., 67.

[254] Amy Henderson explores questions of gender and the consumption of decorative arts in 1790s Philadelphia, finding that women could be active participants in the curation of all aspects of their domestic interiors. Amy Henderson, "Furnishing the Republican Court: Building and Decorating Philadelphia Homes, 1790–1800," PhD. diss., University of Delaware, 2008.

Other decisions regarding the display of pictures were made by women, too. On November 2, 1773 the Philadelphia-area diarist Sarah Eve recounted a day passed in the company of Mrs. Brayen, the wife of a doctor from Trenton, New Jersey. "A man of fortune," Brayen evidently provided his wife with the means to outfit and entertain in fine manner, for Eve spent much of her morning shopping, while the afternoon was given over to conversation around the tea table. Eve's first encounter with Mrs. Brayen was earlier in the day, where "We found her agreeing with a man about framing a picture for her."[255] Eve characterizes Mrs. Brayen as one overly concerned with public appearance through consumption—perhaps to the detriment of moral character[256]—but she also shows us that women could equally be involved in the aesthetic choices surrounding the display of art in the house, in this case, the appropriate frame for a picture. Unfortunately, such diary accounts of interactions with art are few and far between; though the digital database North American Women's Diaries & Journals offers a collection of resources providing insight into many aspects of women's lives, the primary references to art in the private sphere in this period remain the probate inventories of men.

---

[255] Sarah Eve, *Extracts from the Journal of Miss Sarah Eve: Written While Living Near the City of Philadelphia in 1772–73* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1881), 201.

[256] For a larger discussion of Eve's feelings towards Mrs. Brayen and the moral implications of luxury consumption in 1770s Philadelphia, see Kate Haulman, *Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 117–119.

Case studies of room-by-room inventories

In his groundbreaking assessment of vernacular architecture of Massachusetts, Abbott Lowell Cummings uses probate inventories to characterize floor plans typical of the region's domestic structures; he uses the same documents to illuminate the varied uses to which the usual rooms were put during the colonial period. He finds that in the first half of the eighteenth century there was a marked increase in structural and decorative elements, signaling a heightened level of formality than had been found in the previous century. Increasingly, floor plans were marked by larger numbers of rooms, and these spaces were put to increasingly specialized use.[257]

Based on Cummings's study, we may reasonably assume that the floor plan of John Boydell's (ca. 1690–1739) Boston house in 1740 was some variation on the typical four-room plan with central passage that was widely used throughout Massachusetts during the first half of the eighteenth century. Certainly, there were two different parlors listed: the "Little Parlour" and "Great Parlour."[258] As the name implies, the great parlour would typically have been reserved for activities and gatherings of the greatest import; the little parlour would have been used for somewhat less formal occasions, often serving as a dining space as well as one for casual familial gatherings.[259] Throughout Boydell's house, many of the rooms—both public and private—were adorned with wall furnishings. In the "Little Parlour" the probate taker found "Prospects of London, New York & Boston; Midnight Modern Conversation; 3

---

[257] Cummings, *Rural Household Inventories*, 1964, xxi–xxxviii.

[258] Inventory of John Boydell, Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Sept. 25, 1740 in *Wills and Inventories of Estates, Suffolk County, Massachusetts*, no. 7379.

[259] Cummings, *Rural Household Inventories*, 1964, xxiii.

Small Pictures" while in the "Great Parlour" he found "11 Mezsit. Pictures" and "8 Coppr. Plate Prints" and in the "Closet" "Judge Sewalls Picture," "Judge Byfields do.," "Judge Auchmutys do." Additional prints and pictures were to be found upstairs: in the "Dark Chamber" were "16 Msitinto [sic.] Prints" and "5 other Pictures" while the "Nursery Chamber" contained "6 la. Prints." In this abundance of prints and pictures, Boydell was by no means singular within his community, but in the specific descriptions that the probate recorder has left, we may locate Hogarth within his home when we cannot in others of his peers.[260]

That Hogarth's *Midnight Modern Conversation* is singled out in the inventory with a title rather than lumped into a generic heading of "print" or "picture" is reason for pause.[261] Within the context of the "Little Parlour," Hogarth's print of 1733 may have offered a bit of jovial reprieve from the certain solemnity of prospect views of London, New York, and Boston. Unfortunately, we have no notion as to the character of the three small pictures, which were given a total value of 3 shillings, but in their subject it is hard to imagine anything quite as lively as Hogarth's raucous display of drunken camaraderie, valued at 5 shillings. The remainder of the room's appraised furnishings included an oval table, a square table, and seven red leather chairs. Meager compared with the furnishings of the Great Parlour, which included a Clock, Oval

---

[260] Cummings has evaluated the abundance of prints and pictures that appear in the inventories of the Boston region in the eighteenth century, Ibid., xxxiv–xxxvii. This contrasts with the minimal presence of such objects in the seventeenth century, Ibid., xx–xxi.

[261] It is interesting to note that of the five references to Hogarth's prints in Suffolk County that my sample of probate inventories contains, four are for the *Midnight Modern Conversation* and the fifth is unspecified (see Appendix C).

Table, Walnut Table, Round Mahogany Table, India Tea Table, 3 Corner Chairs & Cushions, as well as the necessary equipage for tending a fireplace, Cumming's assessment of the small Parlour as a place for informal entertaining and family gatherings likely held true in the Boydell residence. Amassed in the Closett and kitchen were the various specialty vessels (china and copper) needed for polite entertaining through the service of coffee, tea, and chocolate, as well as the necessary glassware for convivial alcoholic intake. Boydell's house, then, was equipped for the social entertainments that play out across Hogarth's modern moral subjects.

The three "Pictures" that appear in the "Closett" (a small room for individual reflection and study) were certainly paintings, each valued at £15. Their subjects, all Judges, make reference to Boydell's primary livelihood. Boydell found employment in the services of the colonial government, arriving in New England in 1716 as private secretary to Governor Shute and Register of the Court of Vice Admiralty for Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.[262] In 1717 he began work as Register of the Probate Records for the County of Suffolk, an office that he continued until his death. He was also a Naval Officer for the Port of Boston, until he traded this post in favor of becoming Postmaster in 1732. At that time, Governor Belcher estimated in a letter to former Governor Shute that Boydell was, with his new appointment, now making £700 a year (£400 coming from his duties as Postmaster,

---

[262] John Hassam provides a lengthy biography of Boydell in "Paper on the Registers of Probate for the County of Suffolk Massachusetts, 1639–1799," in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series xvi, (1902), 48–53.

£150 as Admiralty Register, and £150 as Probate Register).[263] Boydell continued as Postmaster until 1734.[264]

In a letter between the two dated six months earlier, Belcher had observed "Mr Boydell & his wife are very easy under their present circumstances. I suppose what he enjoys under me makes him 4 to £500 a year, and his grocery shop (doubtless) maintains the family. He is a very honest man, & I am glad in his welfare."[265] Other traces of Boydell in the historic record attest to Belcher's summation of the upstanding citizen, as well: he contributed to the funds required to build Boston's Kings Chapel in 1718 and appears on the subscription list for Prince's Chronology in 1736.[266] His obituary in *The Boston Gazette* concludes that "this community ever lost a more useful and valuable member than he was in his degree and station."[267] And in a letter to J. Yeamans Esqr. from 29 November, 1741, probably written by John Payne, the author

---

[263] Letter written by Governor Belcher to Governor Shute, Boston, December 6, 1732, Belcher Papers I, 221 as quoted in Ibid., 50.

[264] As postmaster, Boydell was well positioned to learn the latest news from around the colonies as well as from abroad. He used this in another line of work, that of Publisher of the Boston Gazette, a role that he continued until his death. Ibid., 51.

[265] Letter written by Governor Belcher to Governor Shute, Boston, April 24, 1734, Belcher Papers I, 114 as quoted in Ibid., 49.

[266] Annals of King's Chapel, I, 265 as cited in Ibid., 49. Prince's Chronology refers to Thomas Prince, *Chronological History of New England in the Form of Annals* (Boston, 1736). On both lists, Boydell finds himself within the company of the region's wealthy and prominent families of the day.

[267] December 17, 1739.

expresses surprise that no one would agree to administer the estate of Boydell's widow, as Mr. Boydell "was a perfect Slave to Mankind in General."[268]

A note in the diary of Judge Sewall—the Judge of Probate for whom Boydell worked as Register of Probate—shows that Boydell had his moments of degenerate behavior, too:

> Tuesday, Xr. 23, [1718]. Supe[r] Court, Fined Capt. Tho. Smart, and Mr. John Boydell, for Duelling on Tuesday, Xr. 16. in the Comon near Mr. Sheas's House, £10. each; 24. Hours Imprisonment, and order'd them also to find Sureties for their good Behaviour till the Sessions in May. Mr. Sheriff Winslow had them to Prison. Clock struck Four when the Sentence was pass'd.[269]

A dueler and an upstanding citizen, Boydell possessed the same opposing qualities that are reified in many of Hogarth's modern moral tales, for they tell of the dualities that characterize human nature. *Midnight's Modern Conversation* highlights the "backstage" interactions of community leaders when possessed of private moments.[270] When hung in public-servant Boydell's private "Small Parlour," the print acknowledged the chance for small lapses in the character of an otherwise valuable member of society and issued a reminder to keep such lapses private and among close friends.

---

[268] Letter in Suffolk Court Files, CCCXLIX 147 as quoted in Hassam, "Registers of Probate," 1902, 52.

[269] Sewall's Diary 3:208 as quoted in Ibid., 49.

[270] Erving Goffman's iconic sociological text *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* provides the vocabulary "front" and "back regions" to depict what he views as the theatricality of social interactions (London: Penguin, 1971).

The 1754 Annapolis "Parlour" of Maryland statesman and land developer Daniel Dulany (American, b. Ireland 1685–1753)—like Boydell's Great Parlour—was outfitted with chairs, tea tables, one gilt framed looking glass, tea boards, the accoutrements required for maintaining a fireplace, and the walls were populated with pictures: one by Mr. Chews and three by Wollaston.[271] In the "Hall," twelve leather Bottom'd black Walnut Chairs, one Japan'd Screen Table, and two Mahogany Tables (5 feet and 4 ft. 8 inches in the bed, respectively) comprised the primary furnishings, along with maps, one glass lanthorne [sic.], and "6 Pictures, Marriage a-la-Mode in Frames and Covered with Glass." Dulany's inventory provides evidence that the description "Picture" can refer to a Hogarth print, and contributes to a general understanding of Hogarth prints appearing in houses outfitted—and presumably used—for polite entertainments. With the "Great Dining Room" and "Parlour" both outfitted with fireplace supplies, and the "Hall" with relatively few furnishings, Dulany's house likely conformed to a plan that incorporated the unheated entry or hall and more-or-less public rooms on the ground floor with private chambers above. Located in the hall, *Marriage À-La-Mode* would have thus greeted visitors as they

---

[271] Inventory of Daniel Dulany, Esqr., Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, May 21, 1754 in Testamentary Papers, Box 55, Fol. 42 Maryland State Archives as transcribed by Gunston Hall, *Probing the Past*. Accessed May 28, 2013. http://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory/search.php

John Wollaston (British, active 1736–1775) spent much of his career in British North America, painting rococo style portraits of the leisured classes. Wayne Craven has written what remains the primary description of Wollaston's career in "John Wollaston: His Career in England and New York City," *American Art Journal* 7, no. 2 (November 1975): 19–31. I have been able to find no reference to an artist by the name of Chews.

entered the house, providing amusement before they were invited into one of the two other public spaces in the house.

A few years later, "Marriage Alamode" appears again, this time in the 1761 probate inventory of John Rattray, Esqr (1715–1761), of Charleston.[272] An attorney, elected assemblyman, and later court-appointed judge for the Vice-Admiralty Court in Charleston, Rattray was a trusted member of the city's society, fulfilling the role of estate executor and collecting moneys owed to individuals who decided to return to England. In the 1740s he served as the region's notary, and during this decade he was also the secretary for the local St. Andrew's Club, a charitable society with distinctly Scottish roots. In addition to his civic connections, Rattray also had mercantile relationships, which he pursued in the 1750s. As master of the ship Friendship, he would certainly have maintained a working relationship with commodity suppliers throughout the British Empire, active in the shipment of rice, slaves, and mahogany from Charleston, east.[273] These were likely buoyed when he and his family removed to Great Britain in the early years of the decade, returning to Charleston by the fall of 1752.[274] While living in Great Britain, Rattray would have had ample opportunity to acquire consumer goods directly from British sources, and much of the estate's contents at the time of his death give some indication of his Empire connections and

---

[272] Inventory of John Rattray, Esqr., Charleston, South Carolina in *Charleston Inventories*, vol. 87A, 137.

[273] Rattray's ship suffered a loss in the summer of 1755, an account of which is given in *The South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), July 24, 1755.

[274] On October 16, 1752, notice was given in *The South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston) that Rattray and his family returned to Charleston after residing for an extended time in Great Britain.

some also betray the man's fondness for his Scottish heritage. According to the inventory, artworks in the "Dining Room" consisted of "One Set Marriage Alamode 6 Pieces [sic.]," "Dutchess of Hamilton & Countess of Cov^{y}: Four pieces the Morning Mid, day after Dinner & Evening," "The Card players and Eight small peices [sic.] heads," "One Sea peice [sic.] and Garrick in the Character of Tano," and "Representation of the March in 1745."

The "Dutchess of Hamilton" is likely a portrait of Anne Hamilton (1631–1716), who was a Scottish peeress from Rattray's native homeland, while "Representation of the March in 1745" certainly refers to a picture documenting some element of the Jacobite rising of 1745, when Charles Edward Stuart (a.k.a. Bonnie Prince Charlie or the Young Pretender) proposed to take the British throne with the support of Scottish Highland clansmen. Though we can be far from certain, "Representation of the March in 1745" could refer to Hogarth's *March to Finchley* (December 1750, P.184), which is described in text below the image as "A representation of the March of the Guards towards Scotland in the Year 1745." With its representation of English soldiers as little more than buffoons, carousing one last time before moving into battle positions, the subject might have appealed to a Scotsman, even knowing the eventual outcome of the ensuing battle. Published around the time Rattray and his family were living in Great Britain, Hogarth's print would have been at the height of fashion, and much in the news.[275]

---

[275] Though the subscription period had closed at the end of April 1749, the prints were delivered to subscribers 3 January, 1750/51 (Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 142). The subscription book for this print does not survive, but if the subscribers were anything like those who subscribed to *The Election Series* (P.198–201) five years later, a number of impressions would have been available from others in the trade, having

Though many of the remaining titles of the "Dining Room" artworks are too generic to identify positively, "Marriage Alamode" is certainly Hogarth's famed series, and assessed at £12.0.0, it was by far the most valuable art in the "Dining Room," valued at the equivalent of four "Mahogany Chairs with Leather Bottoms" that were positioned in the same room. "Four pieces the Morning Mid, day after Dinner & Evening" could well be the same artist's representation of *The Four Times of Day*. However, the subject was one well represented in the oeuvres of many artists of the era, and might well have been a more sedate interpretation. Certainly the room's visual dynamic would have been quite different with a grouping of a typical treatment of the subject like Christoph Gustav Kilian's, featuring the refined pastimes of the aristocracy, rather than Hogarth's own version which shows the seedier side of life at times throughout the day. It is within the realm of possibility that the designations of the times referred to Hogarth's series, but the verbiage in the inventory is more likely a poor translation of the French, particularly the phrase "L'Apres-Dinée," which could easily refer to "after Dinner."

As we have seen, a host of visual materials furnished the "Dining Room" walls, and depending on the tenor of the festivities, they might prompt any number of exchanges. A drawing by George Roupell (Fig. 3.3) featuring the wealthy South Carolina merchant Peter Manigault and a group of his friends conversing around a dining table cleared of all dining equipage save those objects useful in delivering an alcoholic repast reminds us that the refined space of a Charleston dining room like Rattray's had the potential for the owner to host a variety of social interactions and

---

contracted with the artist to sell them. The subscription books for *The Election Series* were discussed in the previous chapter, and are retained by the British Library.

could be transformed into a scene of inebriated exchange or polite conversation, depending on the circumstances.[276] The same possibility for multiple uses and varied company might also be said of Atlantic-world merchant George Inglis's "Front Parlor," in which hung by 1775 another Charleston copy of Hogarth's *Marriage À-La-Mode*.[277]

A native-born Scotsman and a founding partner in Inglis, Lloyd, and Hall of Charleston, George Inglis (1716–1775) was well connected to the Atlantic trade.[278] In an alluring twist of fate, the historical record affords an advertisement for the Savannah shop of Alexander Inglis & Nathaniel Hall dated 1767, offering for sale "a few sets of Hogarth's … most celebrated prints."[279] Less than ten years later, the probate record taken of George Inglis's estate lists "6 Prints, Marriage a la Mode, glazed & framed" in the "front parlor" of his house.[280] Undoubtedly a stretch to presume that George Inglis purchased his own impressions of Hogarth prints from Inglis & Hall's 1767 shipment, this coincidence nonetheless suggests that through his

---

[276] For more on this drawing, see Anna Wells Rutledge, "After the Cloth was Removed," *Winterthur Portfolio* 4 (1968): 47–62 and Eric Gollannek, "'Empire Follows Art': Exchange and the Sensory World of Empire in Britain and its Colonies, 1740–1775." PhD. diss., University of Delaware, 2008, 172.

[277] Colonial Williamsburg Research cards.

[278] Inglis, Lloyd and Hall had close ties to the firm of Alexander Inglis and Nathaniel Hall in Savannah, which worked directly with Wraxell, Hall of Bristol. For an account of their dealings in the slave trade, see Paul M. Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 122.

[279] *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), July 8, 1767.

[280] Colonial Williamsburg Research cards.

business and familial alliances the Charleston merchant was assured of direct access to the latest British goods, and he certainly availed himself of such items as evinced in the inventory of his estate.

It is unsurprising that Hogarth prints—if they were to appear in the probate inventory record at all—would do so in those documents recording the domestic commodities amassed by urban-based intellectuals and wealthy members of society like John Boydell in Boston, Daniel Dulany in Annapolis, and John Rattray and George Inglis in Charleston. As the inventories of Ralph Wormeley IV and Dr. Nicholas Flood attest, Hogarth's prints also populated the walls of country estates located hours from a local urban center. With money flowing to the plantations thanks to the strong export market for tobacco, the successful Virginia planter could expect to enjoy the latest consumer goods, just as his urban peers did, even bypassing the traditional marketplace and contracting directly with English suppliers.

Rosegill, the Middlesex County, Virginia, estate and plantation of Ralph Wormeley IV (1715–1790) was well-appointed with the same types of exotic hard-wood furniture, lush textiles, sparkling silver, and tinkling glassware that populated Hogarth's stage-set interiors, serving as the backdrop for the polite (and not so polite) interactions of everyday life. The "Drawing Room" was outfitted with ten Common and two Mahogany Armed Chairs with worked bottoms. One Mahogany Tea Table, two Mahogany Card tables, one Mahogany Small square Table, one Cherry Tree Stand, two Large looking Glasses Gilt Frames, one Mahogany Tea Board with Sett of blue and white Gilt China, and two Mahogany Screens work'd filled out this room, the windows of which were set off with three Moren Yellow Window Curtains. Setting off a fireplace was one pair And Irons, Shovel, Tongs and Poker. This was the setting

for "seven Pictures, Hogarths Allamode" and seven other, smaller pictures by other artists.[281] In 1791, when this inventory was taken, the Hogarth engravings were valued at 6.2.6, greatly exceeding the value of everything in the room other than the set of chairs, tea table, card table, and the looking glasses. Evidently the room in which most entertaining took place, the value of the objects in the drawing room exceeded that of every room other than the dining room. It was also the only site of pictures in the house.

Separated from the Wormeley estate by the Rappahannock River, the North Farnham Parish, Richmond County, Virginia residence of Dr. Nicholas Flood (1705–1776) was also the site of Hogarth imagery.[282] Remote enough from the nearest major trading cities of Richmond and Williamsburg to require at least a day's journey, it is safe to assume that Flood and his family were not regularly browsing the urban print shops for the latest offerings from London. Nonetheless, the inventory of his estate attests to a familiarity with recent consumer trends, which may well attest to a business relationship with merchants elsewhere in the colonies. As Ann Smart Martin has shown in her study of the Virginia backwater, with their reasonably secure profit margins, planters with good credit made excellent prospects as customers and

---

[281] Wormeley, *Inventory*, May 10, 1791, 224–230.

[282] Dr. Nicholas Flood was married to Elizabeth (daughter of Samuel Peachey), with whom he had a daughter, Catherine, who married Archbishop McCall. Flood had a brother, William, and a sister, Alice, who married Dr. Walter Jones. References to Flood and his family may be found in Landon Carter, "Diary of Col. Landon Carter. Some Extracts," *William and Mary College Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (January 1905), 160; "Abstracts from Records of Richmond County, Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (January 1909), 194.

merchants were happy to supply their shopping needs, shipping directly as necessity and good business practice required.[283]

Flood had amassed a sizable collection of artwork by the time of his death. When partaking of a formal meal in the dining room or retiring to the adjoining chamber, Doctor Nicholas Flood's household and guests were visually entertained by an assortment of fifty-nine pictures, large and small, elaborately displayed in gilt and black frames. Two looking-glasses further appointed the spaces in elegant fashion, reflecting light onto the pictures, and enhancing the already well-appointed spaces. The number of pictures in the room is enough to invigorate a study of the art market in eighteenth-century America, and the fact that there are two are identified subjects—a Bacchanalian scene and *The Enraged Musitian* [sic.]—give additional hints at the visual character of the space. The Flood household was atypical in its possession of over 542 pictures spread throughout an extensive architectural footprint in public and private rooms alike; nor is the detail recorded in the inventory typical of the records that survive for many of Flood's contemporaries in Richmond County, Virginia (his financial peers are another story). In all it took a group of men four days at the end of May and early June 1776 to describe the contents of the labyrinthine house, and the special consideration with which the inventory-takers noted the artwork, often distinguishing between "Pictures" and "Prints," is worthy of note.[284]

---

[283] Martin, *World of Goods*, 2008. Martin has also shown that wealthy planters could rely on the connections they made through export of agricultural products (namely tobacco) to serve as shopping proxies for the latest English goods, effectively cutting out the middle man and his additional fees.

[284] Nicholas Flood, *Inventory*, May 6, 1776, 239–270. Unfortunately, the problem of describing certainly plagues this inventory, as well; *The Enraged Musician*, which was surely an engraving (the painting—now in the Ashmolean Museum of Art and

Populated with a miscellany of textiles, equestrian accessories, baking and cooking equipment and ingredients, and more, the Gallery Closet may seem a strange place to find three varnished Prints and twelve new picture frames, but more likely than not this was a space where the contents were constantly in motion, rarely staying long before being whisked out to the proper space for its material consumption. The Green Passage, with its angle table, small square table, and desk and bookcase, was less likely to be a transient space for objects (though perhaps one for people); of the 166 pictures and prints found in this room, 107 were framed, suggesting that these works were immediately visible for anyone passing through the space rather than hidden away in books and albums or piled in stacks within the case furniture. Eighty-nine of these visual artifacts were designated Pictures (one a Saint Bartholomew subject), all of which were framed, while seventy-seven were listed as prints and heads (eighteen of which were framed, at least five without glazing). The Hall was also well populated with pictures, with seventy large and small framed in a variety of gilt and plain frames. The Piazza and the Gallery contained fifty-two and eighty-nine pictures, respectively, while in the Parlour are listed no fewer than "sixteen head prints and thirty smaller prints with prospective View, &c &c 1 Gay." These listings comprise the extent of the pictures and prints listed in the publicly accessible rooms of the house, but another forty-five prints could be found in the Old Chamber, which was outfitted as a room of repose.

Archaeology at the University of Oxford, England—then being in the possession of Mrs. Hogarth and later Samuel Ireland) was described as a picture, while elsewhere in the record, the Green Passage, for instance, prints and pictures both were listed.

Throughout the inventory, the record mentions glazing in only some instances, which may suggest that those groups of pictures not listed as such were not outfitted with the surface protection from the insects, smoke, and other malevolent pests that could quickly sully the visual impact of a picture, particularly obscuring the fine lines of an engraving whose narrative content was contingent on their presence. Their individual visual impact may also have been compromised by the very presence of such large quantities of artwork all grouped together. The majority of the art present in the house was contained in six spaces of the house: the "Green Passage," the "Gallery," the "Hall," the "Piazza," the "Dining Room," and the "Parlour." Depending on the nature of their call, visitors to the house would be most likely to pass the majority of their time in these rooms, they being the spaces designated for sociability and entertainment. The art in these spaces may even have facilitated the polite conversations that were an expected part of social exchange when visitors called.

Collective Biography of Hogarth Print Owners

As the preceding case studies of Hogarth print owners demonstrates and Appendix C extends, the owners of Hogarth prints were—in general terms and as might easily be expected—wealthy. They lived in well-appointed houses in burgeoning cities like Boston, Annapolis, and Charleston, which had long been strongholds of British cultural influence. Some also dwelt in affluent planting communities in the Chesapeake. Many had, themselves, immigrated to British America and had personal connections to the motherland; others had close commercial and/or political ties to England and might well be considered Loyalist in their personal political persuasions. However, the extent to which these relationships dictated their consumer preferences for representations of modern moral tales by the quintessential

English artist is hard to quantify, especially given the small number of known owners of Hogarth prints. For such audiences, Hogarth's prints may well have provided touch stones to a country (if not a culture) geographically distant. Their Hogarth prints almost always appeared within the context of other consumer movables that indicate an interest in fine living and a predilection for costly materials.

The extent to which this core group of consumers may be considered the primary audience for Hogarth's prints in British America is also impossible to determine. Nevertheless, given the placement of the prints, framed and glazed, largely on the walls of the public spaces of the house, it is unlikely that these wealthy gentlemen were the only ones exposed to Hogarth's imagery. Men and women, family and friends, distinguished guests, tradesmen, servants, and in some instances slaves might equally find themselves confronted with Hogarth's prints when necessity or custom required their presence in the Hall, Parlor, Drawing or Dining Room. Though few such individual voices recollect encounters with Hogarth prints within the houses in which they may have passed a day, a night, a month, or a lifetime, it is unthinkable that the prints would have sparked no passing glance or side remark as "citizens of the world" (to borrow David Hancock's phrase) played out the everyday activities of life in British America.[285]

Domestic Entertainments and Education

In order to appreciate the multiple levels of meaning that were imbedded in his modern moral subjects, Hogarth's print audience needed to be well-read and culturally

---

[285] Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, 1995.

sophisticated.[286] By hanging Hogarth's prints within the conversational spaces of the domestic interior, it is likely that their owners recognized in them the potential for conversation and intellectual repartee, and even assured that conversations were sure to occur around and through them. Such exchange might demonstrate a visitor's cultural capital and engender a sense of shared intellectual community or "sensus communis."[287] They might further contribute to the formation of a social imaginary based in taste and ownership.

Contributing to the sense of shared social imaginary, Hogarth's prints were placed at the visual heart of gatherings within the domestic sphere, in similar room-scapes up and down the Atlantic coast. Whether in the Charleston Parlor of George Inglis, the Hall of Daniel Dulany, Esqr.'s Annapolis house, or the Drawing Room of Ralph Wormeley's Middlesex County, Virginia home, the six plates of *Marriage À-La-Mode* were surrounded by the same sorts of consumer trappings and furniture that were required to enact the polite social interactions of the colonial elite. By

---

[286] Such cultural capital was not requisite to procure a basic level of instructive, educational, and even basic aesthetic enjoyment from them, however. As the work of historians of Hogarth's subjects attest, the artist's compositions held wide appeal in large part thanks to their simultaneous ability to mean different things to different people. Where one man might see a critique of an aspect of contemporary society, another might interpret satisfaction for his status quo. See, for example, the reading of *Industry and Idleness* proposed by Peter Wagner in "Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness*: Subverting Lessons on Conduct," in *The Crisis of Courtesy: Studies in the Conduct-Book in Britain 1600–1900*, ed. Jacques Carré (Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1994), 51–64.

[287] David S. Shields has explored the idea of "communal identity brought into being by speech acts or writing," expanding upon Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury's essay *Sensus Communis: An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour. In a Letter to a Friend* (London: Printed for Egbert Sanger, 1709), in Shields, *Civil Tongues*, 1997, xviii. I will return to Shields's argument in "Narrating Hogarth."

positioning the prints in these most public of domestic spaces, the print owners demonstrated their cultural capital on many levels, not least their awareness of how to tastefully display art objects to their best social advantage. They also exposed their intellectual and social wit, evinced by the prints' narrative content.[288]

As print historian Timothy Clayton has explained in what remains the principal source on the history of prints in England, from the 1730s throughout England the print as a material object was recognized as a primary factor in the diffusion of taste and information about what was considered fashionable.[289] The visual information contained within a print—whether in a hybrid history and genre scene like Hogarth's subjects, an architectural treatise from William Kent, a furniture design catalog from Thomas Chippendale, or a mezzotint portrait after Thomas Gainsborough—was a source from which viewers could glean everything from aesthetics to manners, providing he or she was visually conversant within the constructed world of visual signs and symbols. In part, the influx of prints into British America helped the country's inhabitants to develop and maintain a visual literacy that echoed that of their cultural parentage.[290]

---

[288] The large numbers of pictures and prints placed within certain rooms draws attention to their absence in other types of rooms, most notably those rooms that were likely frequented primarily by family and household staff. Such absence in these spaces suggests that their functional use was primarily restricted to those areas ordinarily used by visitors, and therefore their appreciation largely a communal rather than solitary pastime.

[289] For a detailed discussion of the role that prints played in disseminating taste in eighteenth-century England, see Clayton, *English Print*, 1997, 129–153.

[290] Furniture makers in the colonies were well aware of guides like Thomas Chippendale's *Director*, using them as the base for their own designs for highboys, card tables, and the like. This was especially true in Philadelphia, where Thomas

The presence of Hogarth's engravings publically displayed within the private home was further evidence of the polite sensibilities that might be learned from printed texts and images.[291] Though it is far too simplistic to suppose that British Americans, or for that matter any collector of Hogarth's prints in the eighteenth century, endeavored to fashion their material world in mimicry of the world constructed by the artist, the prints could function on a meta level as a luxury good, depicting and promoting English luxury goods, as well as existing within that realm of consumer moveable themselves. They might further exist as meta-narratives for the very social interactions playing out in houses decorated in similar fashion.[292]

Affleck, a furniture maker worked and owned a copy of Chippendale's guide. See Rosemary Troy Krill with Pauline K. Eversmann, *Early American Decorative Arts 1620–1860* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2001), 86–87. In architecture, pattern books and architectural treatises were of some use, too. This subject has been discussed by Daniel D. Reiff in *Houses from Books: Treatises, Pattern Books, and Catalogs in American Architecture, 1738–1950, a history and guide* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

[291] In the manuscript version of what John Ireland would transcribe for the third volume of *Hogarth Illustrated*, the author observed "As an entire collection of Mr Hogarths Prints are considered as description of the peculiar manners and characters of the English nation the curious of other Countries frequently send for them in order to be informed and amused with what cannot be conveyed to the mind with such precision and truth by any word, whatsoever but as strangers to the singular humour accustoms of England may be at a loss for the authors meaning in many national ports…" William Hogarth, *FRAGMENTS of an autobiography, etc.* 18th century. British Library, Western Manuscripts, Add 27991, f. 1.

[292] An example would seem to be the somewhat unhappily arranged marriage of Abigail Adams Smith, daughter of John and Abigail Adams to Colonel William Smith. At the time of the engagement Abigail was being actively courted by Royall Tyler, a man whom she preferred. However, rumors were circulating that Tyler was the father of an illegitimate child, which cannot have been acceptable to the second president's appreciation of polite sensibilities. At her parents' insistence, Abigail married the Colonel instead of the profligate Tyler, but just as in Hogarth's *Marriage*

Alternatively, the prints may have also served to underscore the cultural differences between urbane London and less-urbane America.

As part of a constellation of objects that contributed to the social fabric of a domestic space, the prints could also have signaled to a visitor their shared (or opposing) set of values with the host. Especially with those series like *Marriage À-La-Mode* or independent prints like *Midnight's Modern Conversation*, which from the probate record appear to have been particularly popular with (or at least recognizable to) British-American audiences, they might already be familiar with the imagery, having perhaps seen another set of the same series in the home of a friend or neighbor (or even owning it oneself). By placing the prints in similar settings, owners of Hogarth prints increased the chances that the prints were viewed and understood in similar ways across disparate geographies, engendering a social community by way of similar cultural experiences and expectations brought to bear upon the viewing and polite discussion of the prints.[293]

Parcels of Prints and Print Portfolios

The majority of probate records in which Hogarth prints appear indicate that they were glazed and framed, and thus an ever-present part of life within the public

---

A-la-Mode, parental approval of a marriage based on societal considerations was not necessarily a ticket to happiness. Instead, over the years of their marriage the Colonel faced numerous financial troubles, which led to a significant loss of the Adams's social esteem. Moore, "Hogarths Mathematiks," 2003, 64–65. See also David McCullough, *John Adams* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 362–364.

[293] Margaretta Lovell has made similar conclusions about the ability of an object to create a social bond—in her case the blue dress that appears in portraits of two women painted by Copley in the same year. Lovell, *Season of Revolution*, 2005, 73, 75-79.

rooms of wealthy British Americans. However, if the British-American print owner was anything like his European counterpart, then we should expect that the majority of prints were stored within albums, tipped into the volumes in an expressive ordering system that was intended to help the collector organize the expansive world around him.[294] The "Print Lover" (Fig. 3.4) depicted by the German artist Daniel Chodowiecki (1726–1801) provides a glimpse into such practices, which were common throughout eighteenth-century Europe. Unfortunately, given the nature of the probate records, there are few such indications of prints stored in this manner.[295]

---

[294] Important studies on the history of print collecting and the use of prints in Europe include Antony Griffiths, "Print Collecting in Rome, Paris, and London in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3, (Spring 1994): 37–58; William B. Macgregor, "The Authority of Prints: An Early Modern Perspective," *Art History* 22, no.3 (September 1999): 389–420; Peter Parshall, "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 7–36; and William R. Robinson, "'This Passion for Prints': Collecting and Connoisseurship in Northern Europe during the Seventeenth Century" in *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. Clifford S. Ackley (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), xxvii–xlviii.

Few studies have focused on print collecting and use in the American colonies during the eighteenth century. The standard sources on the subject remain the many publications of Joan D. Dolmetsch including: "Colonial America's Elegantly Framed Prints," *Antiques* 119 (May 1981): 1106–1112; Dolmetsch, *Prints in Colonial America*, 1979; "European prints in eighteenth-century America," *The Magazine Antiques* (1971) 101, no. 2 (May 1972): 858–963; Dolmetsch, "Prints in Colonial America, 1970, 53–74; Dolmetsch, "Williamsburg: The Maps and Pictures," *Magazine Antiques* 95 (January 1969): 138–144 and E. McSherry Fowble, "To Please Every Taste, Prints for the American Market," in *Two Centuries of Prints in America, 1680–1880* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987), 3–31.

[295] Though hardly a typical example, at the time of his death the painter John Smibert had "Prints & Books of Prints" in his house along with "35 Portraits," "41 History Pieces & Pictures in that Taste," "13 Landskips," "2 Conversation Pictures," "Bustoes & figures in Paris plaister & models," and "Drawings." Inventory of John Smibert,

However, this is not sure proof that people did not interact with prints in this way, since probate inventories—while useful in providing proof of presence—are less obliging when establishing absence. When we look to alternative sources for evidence of Hogarth's prints in the British-American home, such as auction sales notices, there is evidence of the album as a form of storage not only for sundry prints, but also for prints of specific artists, Hogarth among them.[296]

A visitor to the new Assembly room on New York City's West 11th Street on Thursday, the 18th of February in the year 1796 might have been justifiably overwhelmed by the sheer number of engravings that were available for purchase through the auction house of Hoffman and Seton.[297] A notice ran in *The Daily Advertiser*, alerting readers to the sale of "a large, extensive, and superb assortment of

---

Painter, Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, September 22, 1752 in *Wills and Inventories, Suffolk County, Massachusetts*, no. 9822.

[296] In addition to the usual dispersal of property at the end of life or for need of cash, there is also the possibility that personal property was destroyed in the waves of insurrection that occurred in this tumultuous period in American history. The Loyalist and staunch supporter of the Stamp Acts, Thomas Moffatt had his house in Newport, Rhode Island sacked in August 1765, and according to William Smibert (John Smibert's son and Moffatt's cousin), many of his belongings, including "his pictures, about twenty, some by excellent hands, were mostly destroyed." William Smibert went on to record "of [Moffatt's] collection of prints, really large and valuable, some elegantly framed, but mostly in portfolios, some few were fortunately saved." As quoted in Sir David Evans, "The Provenance of the Notebook," in *The Notebook of John Smibert*, ed. Andrew Oliver (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1969), 10–11. In this assessment of the damage suffered by Moffatt for his political views, we learn of a considerable collection that was organized and stored in portfolios like the European practice.

[297] The partnership was apparently formed in 1795, located at No. 67 Wall Street. For the family histories of Hoffman and Seaton, see Walter Barrett, *The Old Merchants of New York City* (New York: Thomas R. Knox & Co., 1885), 2:52–54.

engravings, consisting of… 357 lots contained in 17 large portfolios of elegant prints on various subjects, and by the 1st artists, particularly Hogarth, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Bartolozzi and West…"[298] With this one sentence we thus have evidence of Hogarth's prints stored in portfolios in New York. Further, the auction announcement not only alerts us to the esteem in which Hogarth was still held at the end of the century, but also helps us to imagine a context in which Hogarth's prints may have been seen when the portfolios were first assembled.

Since the auction announcement gives no indication of the specific source for the contents of the sale, there is always the possibility that the portfolios were assembled outside British America, most likely in England given the prominence given to English artists. For that reason, the auction's albums alone cannot serve as conclusive evidence of this particular method of storage and collecting within British America. Nevertheless, they can invite consideration of the process of paging through a portfolio, one engraving after another, offering up diverging accounts of knowledge and connoisseurship.

Unlike albums, portfolios tend to contain loose prints, so the potential for different juxtapositions among the prints was endless, subject to an individual's (or group's) fancy. If it was a goal to consider different artists' treatment of technique, prints could be laid out with consideration to the chosen print process. If, on the other hand, the wish was to look at varying approaches to the same subject, that, too, could be considered so long as such examples were therein contained. Truly, the possibilities were limited solely by the viewer's knowledge and imagination. The auction announcement indicates 357 lots contained in 17 large portfolios, which suggests that

---

[298] *The Daily Advertiser* (New York), February 10, 1796.

there were at least 357 prints contained within the portfolios and that it was not the intention of the auctioneers to leave the portfolios intact.

The Case of Robert Edge Pine

Few British Americans of the eighteenth century amassed collections of prints in quite the same quantities as their European counterparts—that would come in the nineteenth century, as increasing numbers of Americans journeyed to Europe on their own grand tour.[299] When large collections of prints make an appearance in the historical record, they are more likely to be the tools of a trade than a scholarly pastime. One of the largest collections of prints to be dispersed in eighteenth-century British America was built by Robert Edge Pine (ca. 1720s–1788), a British artist who spent his formative years in London, working within the art establishment and the Society of Artists, and later moved to Philadelphia.[300]

Son of the engraver and print seller John Pine (1690–1756), Robert Edge Pine met with early praise from the art world. In assessing the young Pine's skill, some of

---

[299] On the Grand Tour as a source for acquiring cultural capital and art, see Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 2003, Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2003); Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: Flamingo, 2001); and Andrew Wilton, *Grand Tour: the Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery, 1996). For the American practice, see McInnis, *Charlestonians Abroad*, 1999.

[300] In 1979, Robert G. Stewart, then curator of paintings and sculpture at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C. undertook the largest study of the artist to date. His findings, which includes a checklist of the artist's surviving works and a copy of "A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures Painted by Robert Edge Pine"—which, dated 1784, has the distinction of being the first catalogue of paintings published in the United States—are recorded in *Robert Edge Pine: A British Portrait Painter In America 1784–1788* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979).

his contemporaries believed he might even rival Joshua Reynolds. But when he split from the Society of Artists in 1771, he stepped away from that world.[301] Moving to Bath, Pine continued work on the subjects for which he is best known: history paintings and portraits, particularly of actors dressed in contemporary clothing. It was there he painted *America* in 1778, a subject brimming with Republican sympathies.[302] Finally, in 1784, he expressed a plan first to visit (April 1784) and later to move (May 1784) to the United States, writing to his associates John and Samuel Vaughan of his intentions.[303] In the second of these letters, Pine explains his plans for relocation, proclaiming "I think I could pass the latter part of my life happier in a Country where the noblest Principles have been defended and establish'd, than with the People who have endeavored to subdue them."

After arriving in Philadelphia at some point in the summer of 1784, Pine requested the use of a chamber in the city's State house in which to work. When permission was granted, Pine took out an advertisement in the local paper, inviting inquisitive visitors to the studio and informing the citizens of Philadelphia that he

---

[301] Stewart describes this falling out in some detail. Stewart, *Robert Edge Pine*, 1979, 15.

[302] A fire in 1803 destroyed this and many of Pine's other paintings. Today the painting is known only from the description offered in Pine's exhibition catalogue of 1784 and an engraving by Joseph Strutt dated 1781.

[303] Letter from Robert Edge Pine (London) to John Vaughan, Esq. (Philadelphia) April 29, 1784; Letter from Robert Edge Pine (London) to Samuel Vaughan (Philadelphia) May 2, 1784. Both letters in the Dreer Collection of Autographs in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and quoted in Charles Henry Hart, "'The Congress Voting Independence.' A Painting by Robert Edge Pine and Edward Savage in the Hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 29 (1905): 4–5.

"hopes that those who are desirous of seeing his pictures, will not disapprove of contributing one quarter of a dollar on entrance, in order to be accommodated with proper attendance, sires and descriptive catalogues of the paintings."[304] While in Philadelphia, Pine worked on a series of paintings representing the historical events that had lately led to the formation of the nation. He also ingratiated himself to the local patricians, painting portraits as he had previously done in London.[305] Though he made important connections and was certainly known in Philadelphia's learned community (he and Charles Willson Peale were inducted into the American Philosophical Society at the same meeting in 1786),[306] his fortune would not be realized before his untimely death by aneurism in 1788. It is with the settling of his estate that Pine becomes important for the story of Hogarth in British America.

---

[304] *The Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia), November 15, 1784. Pine had evidently arrived in the city as early as October 9, 1784, placing a notice in *The Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser* that he was "under the necessity of most respectfully requesting that no one will desire to see his Paintings on Sundays, or before the hour of eleven, on any other day. At Mrs. Hopkinson's, in Market-Street, near Seventh-Street. Almost a year later, a report was published that described the senate's consideration of Pine's request to use the assembly chamber, arguments being expressed on both sides of the issue. *The Pennsylvania Evening Herald and the American Monitor* (Philadelphia), August 27, 1785. This was followed up a week later by a citizen's response that the city should certainly accommodate Pine's request to ensure that the painter wouldn't leave for another state, and in so doing would be following in France's esteemed tradition of patronizing the arts by providing free of charge apartments in the Louvre to those artists who have shown merit within the Academic tradition. *The Pennsylvania Evening Herald and the American Monitor* (Philadelphia), September 3, 1785.

[305] Pine's American work has been discussed in Stewart, *Robert Edge Pine*, 1979.

[306] *The Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), July 25, 1786.

Pine had incurred many debts setting up a house and museum in the center of Philadelphia and it was to pay off his debts that his widow, Mary Pine, petitioned the Pennsylvania Courts to allow her to disperse his possessions—including the property and buildings on Eighth Street, as well as a collection of paintings and prints (Hogarth among them)—through a lottery, which at the time was prohibited by state law. Her plea was accepted, and in 1789, one year after Pine's death, the terms were set forth in Philadelphia's *Independent Gazeteer*. Concluding that the widow Pine should be allowed to disassemble the estate through a lottery, the court stressed that it was "the wish of this House as of a number of respectable citizens, that said collection of paintings should not be sent from this Continent, in order to be sold, but that the same should be disposed of in the United States."[307]

As described in the *Independent Gazeteer* on September 25, 1789, one thousand tickets were to be sold at a cost of ten Spanish milled Dollars each, with each ticket having an equal chance to win a "prize" from the estate. Those "adventurers" who took their chances in participating in the lottery were assured the right to be present during the official drawing, at which an "indifferent and fit person" would "draw out and take the tickets from the said box, which shall be handed to the said Managers, who shall read the same aloud, and immediately after shall in like manner pronounce the prize to which each ticket shall be entitled according to the plan to be published by the said Managers…." To ensure no tampering with the outcome, the Managers of the operation—as identified by the court—"shall cause duplicates of the said tickets to be carefully rolled up and fastened with silk or thread, and to be put into a box, prepared for that purpose, which box shall be sealed with the several seals of

---

[307] *The Independent Gazetteer* (Worcester, Massachusetts), September 25, 1789.

the said Managers….” Accounting for virtually every possibility of fraud or maleficence, the court duly approved the lottery plan, concluding that no one participating in the said event would be subject to the fines and penalties ordinarily associated with a lottery’s illegal enterprise.

After all the crossing of t’s and dotting of i’s, the lottery of Robert Edge Pine’s estate never transpired. A year after the terms of the lottery were published in the Philadelphia press, an advertisement listing Pine’s property and home on Eight Street appeared in *The Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser*. It was described in great detail:

> The lot contains 100 feet in breadth on Eighth Street and 130 feet in depth. The house is of brick, 40 feet in front and 50 feet in depth; it stands about 20 feet back from the street, and has an inclosed [sic.] court before it: the lower floor is divided into six convenient rooms, with a fire-place in each; the second floor is divided into three rooms…: the garret is all-in-one, but might be divided into several good lodging rooms: the cellar is divided into a kitchen, and several convenient apartments : there is a pump of good water in the garden. It would be very commodious for a private gentleman, with a large family; or would make a capital house of entertainment.[308]

Pine’s gallery of paintings, open to visits from the public, was one of the second floor rooms, described as “very large and commodious, being the whole front of the house in length, and about 33 feet in breadth, with a very lofty cieling [sic.], and lighted from above in an elegant stile [sic.],” suggesting present-day skylights.[309]

---

[308] *The Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), October 21, 1790.

[309] Rembrandt Peale recounted Pine’s experiences as a painter in 1780s America and described his own experience of seeing paintings in Pine’s gallery: “Accustomed only to my father’s small gallery of paintings, when I entered Mr. Pine’s spacious saloon, I was astonished at its magnitude and the richness of the paintings which covered its

When the house failed to sell after a year on the market, William Will, the city's sheriff seized the property, offering it for sale by Public Vendue.[310] Evidently this sale, too, failed to transpire, and Robert Morris (1734–1806), who had financed the construction of the house, took possession that same year. Morris leased it to Daniel Bowen, who—having acquired many of Pine's paintings by 1793—retained the building's primary use as an exhibition hall for Pine's work until 1795.[311] The prints in Pine's estate are most relevant to the larger project of Hogarth prints in British America, serving as evidence for everything from the way prints were stored, to resale possibility of prints as commodity items.

Just as the house and the paintings had not been claimed as prizes through the proposed lottery, nor were the prints. An exhibition and sales notice placed by the auctioneer Adam Hubley (1743–1793) in December 1792 sheds some light on the contents of the Pine collection, which Hubley describes as "perhaps the most extensive and valuable collection of Prints ever imported into America."[312] The sale was broken

---

walls…." Rembrandt Peale, "Reminiscences. Desultory," *The Crayon* 3, no. 1 (January 1856): 5.

[310] *The Federal Gazette and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*, March 20, 1792. Less descriptive in the advertisement in terms of the characteristics of the house, it does indicate adjacent neighbors northward, eastward, and southward (being bounded on the west by Eighth Street).

[311] Stewart, *Robert Edge Pine*, 1979, 37. On November 28, 1793 in *The Federal Gazette* and *Philadelphia Daily Advertiser* Bowen announced his own exhibition in the space in 1793, acknowledging that "The masterly paintings of the late celebrated Mr. Pine having been added to the collection…" In 1795, Bowen moved the collection to Boston, exhibiting it as part of Bowen's Columbian Museum. It remained there until an unfortunate fire in 1803 destroyed most of the collection.

[312] *The Mail*, or *Claypoole's Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), December 4, 1792.

into nearly 500 lots, each lot consisting of two to twenty prints. Many of the prints were to be found in portfolios, and Hubley assured the "lovers and promoters of the Fine Arts" to whom he addressed his announcement that many of the prints could be considered "fine and early impressions."[313] Amidst listings for such prints as Captain Bailie's Work (presumably restrikes of Rembrandt prints), Sandby's *Views in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and many of the first prints from Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery we find also a record for:

> *Hogarth's Works,* a fine impression—15 ½ guineas—*Also*
>
> An Analytical Explanation of Hogarth's Works, in 2 vols. Octavo, an entire new work, illustrated with all his Engravings from the original designs, by Mr. Ireland, 2 ½ guineas.
>
> *Note*. This work shews the merit of Hogarth to the greatest advantage, and is particularly instructive and entertaining to young and old.

The whole of the Pine collection could be viewed daily at the Eighth-Street house and it was the intention of the auctioneer to sell or sacrifice the "whole of the above

---

[313] Writing for *The Crayon* over fifty years later, Rembrandt Peale remembered the state of the arts in 1780s Philadelphia, and recalled that John Boydell had consigned "A collection of magnificent engravings" to Pine, which may well refer to the Boydell prints listed as part of the lottery scheme. In Pine's custom-designed exhibition galleries, these prints were "exposed to public view, without charge, and visited by the *élite* of our Quaker city; but not a print was sold, and the whole collection was sent back to London." Rembrandt Peale, "Reminiscences," *The Crayon* 1, no. 2 (January 10, 1855): 23.

Though some of Peale's memories do not hold up to the facts established by other aspects of the historical record (namely that the prints were sent back to London and that Pine died on a ship back to London, when in fact he died in Philadelphia), Peale's recollection of the prints as objects of novelty and interest within an exhibition context are strong suggestions for the use to which Pine put many of prints, the Hogarth impressions among them.

valuable collection of Prints" at public auction at some point in the coming month. All, that is, except the Hogarth and the Shakespeare, which Hubley cautions would not find their way into the public auction.

Hubley advertises the upcoming sale of Pine's print collection repeatedly throughout December of 1792; the date for the sale that he has given early on in his advertising campaign comes and goes, and still he continues to alert Philadelphia's art enthusiasts to the imminent sale. Then, after the 26th of December, the announcements cease. No further mention of the prints can be found until two years later: in an instance of déjà vu the auctioneer John Connelly notifies the public of a sale, to take place on Monday, the 20th of January 1794 that will consist of original works of Hogarth and will take place at the "late dwelling of Mr. Pine, No. 9, north Eighth Street."[314] Though perhaps merely coincidence, it does not seem outside the realm of possibility that Connelly picked up where Hubley left off trying to sell the Pine collection prints.[315] Many of the same phrases are used in the advertisement, and many of the same specific examples of prints that Hubley referenced appear in Connelly's notice as well, though no restrictions are placed on the sale of the Hogarth or Shakespeare subjects this time.

Knowing that Pine's paintings had found their way into Bowen's collection in 1793, it is tempting to consider that the Hogarth prints eventually found their way back into the collection Pine had originally assembled, this time in the possession of

---

[314] *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), January 14, 1794.

[315] In the intervening months, Hubley had passed away, which may also account for the delay in execution of the sale.

Bowen. Certainly the advertisement that appears in Boston's *Federal Orrery* two years later is a tantalizing suggestion of this possibility. In a notice appearing on the 22 of August, 1796, William Baylis, Auctioneer announces the upcoming sale of "400 Elegant Prints, framed and glazed" as well as "several thousand prints in volumes, neatly bound, containing Hogarth's original works…."[316] As in the Hubley and Connelly advertisements, the same distinguished print subjects are itemized, and none appear here that were not also included in the previous listings. Further, Baylis tells his would-be customers that the sale will take place "At Mr. Bowen's Hall, under the Columbian Museum" and that in the days leading up to the September 1st sale, "The exhibition of Prints, will be open every day (Sundays excepted) free of expense."

Combined with what is known of Robert Edge Pine's biography, Hubley's announcement of the sale of Pine's prints followed by Connelly's and Baylis's is useful in unpacking a number of questions regarding Hogarth in British America, even if the answers are not wholly representative of the phenomenon. Pine brought his collection of prints—Hogarth among them—to Philadelphia, indicating some level of the value (professional, monetary, or otherwise) the artist must have ascribed to them. Perhaps unsure of the availability of European print masters in Philadelphia, it was safer to bring them than to assume he could purchase examples on his arrival. As a professional artist, he may well have felt that it was important to have references to his practice immediately at hand. He may also have intended to make them available to curious visitors to his studio, in an exhibition of prints alongside his own paintings, which would afford him some bit of livelihood. The prints may have been seen as some level of insurance, as commodities that could be relied upon for sale in times of

---

[316] *Federal Orrery* (Boston), August 22, 1796.

economic need. And perhaps, especially in the case of the Hogarth prints, they may have provided a tangible link to family and cultural homeland.

John Pine, the artist's father, was an engraver and print seller in the city of London as well as Hogarth's friend and associate. Both men were governors of London's Foundling Hospital, and the two collaborated in the effort to pass the act commonly known as Hogarth's act, which was intended to protect the rights of artist's against copyists and thieves. Hogarth used the elder Pine as the model for the voluminous Friar in his acclaimed 1748 painting *O the Roast Beef of Old England ('The Gate of Calais')* (now in the Tate Britain) which he reproduced as an engraving the following year.[317] Perhaps when living the often-frustrating daily life of an artist trying to make a living in Philadelphia in the 1780s, the younger Pine may have glanced at this print and passed his eyes over the familiar visage of his father, as a reminder not only of family, but also of the reasons he had moved to Philadelphia in the first place. Foremost a critique of the French (with their kowtowing to appearances at the expense of genuine morality), thirty years on, the message of Hogarth's print could be expanded to refer to the corruption of governments getting fat on the efforts of a struggling citizenry—like American colonials—possessed of limited representation in the governing process.

A romanticized vision, surely, and yet there is no reason to suppose it could not be true. Another possibility perhaps more grounded in traceable reality is that members of the Pine family might flip through the pages of *Hogarth's Works* when

---

[317] According to John Nichols and George Steevens, Pine asked Hogarth to change the Friar's face, which the artist declined to do (Nichols, *Genuine Works*, 1808–1817, 1:147–48).

feeling particularly nostalgic for home.[318] Like some other British Americans, the Pine women may have seen in Hogarth's prints evidence of the culture and way of life they left behind when they sought better fortunes in British America. When the Pine women returned to London in 1792 they did not (and presumably could not, by the need to settle Pine's debts) bring Hogarth's prints with them.[319] In leaving Hogarth behind, whether consciously or not, the Pine women, like so many others who moved to London without their modern moral prints, returned these prints to a commodity phase, opening the door to new owners, new juxtapositions, and new meanings once again enlivened with narrative potential.

Robert Edge Pine and his family also stand as an example of the Britons who continued to journey westward to the other side of the Atlantic even after these shores were no longer part of the empire. To bring Hogarth prints across the ocean in this context meant something different than it would have thirty years before. Not only were the artist's prints no longer examples of the most fashionable taste, in many instances they exhibited lifestyles that ought to have no place—ideologically speaking—in the new Republic. Yet we see a steady increase in the number of references to Hogarth in the American marketplace in the years following the Revolution. Easily explained through the continued publication of Hogarth's plates,

---

[318] Susan Stewart theorizes nostalgia and the role of the souvenir in the construction of an imagined past in *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), esp. 132–151. David Lowenthal offers another perspective on this theoretical framework in *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[319] When the Pine women returned to London, they settled at 1 Russell Place, Fitzroy Square, which Robert Edge Pine's sister had secured for their use (Stewart, *Robert Edge Pine*, 1979, 37 and 38–39, n. 13).

first by the widow Hogarth and later by Messrs. J. & J. Boydell, increased references to Hogarth in the listings of goods on offer in American shops are also the result of the attention paid to the artist by antiquarians and the day's scholars. As discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, Hogarth's works were described and analyzed by a number of different figures in the second half of the eighteenth century, and these explanations found their way to American shops as surely as they did those in England.

Bound in Volume

Pine's volume of *Hogarth's Works* also fits into another format in which the artist's prints came to be known in British America: the bound book or folio. From as early as 1736, impressions of Hogarth's work circulated in bound format.[320] To some degree, this was a choice of storage initiated by collectors themselves, and Hogarth was keenly aware of the marketing potential. When, in November 1744, thirteen years after the initial publication of the *Harlot's Progress*, Hogarth applied to his original subscribers for permission to reprint the copper plates, he provided an explanation that can help to illuminate at least one common use to which his prints were put. He justified reprinting the plates, explaining: "…many of the Subscribers themselves, (having either lost, or otherwise disposed of their Prints; and being desirous of completing their Sets, and binding them up with his other Works) have frequently requested and sollicited [sic.] him for a second Impression…".[321] Hogarth published

---

[320] On March 12, 1736/37, Hogarth advertised in the London *Craftsman* that *The Distressed Poet* and the "Four Group of Heads" were available "bound together with all Mr. Hogarth's late engraved works (except the Harlot's Progress) or singly."

[321] *Daily Advertiser* (London), November 8, 1744.

this request in one of London's daily papers, and a favorable response from a group of his subscribers was similarly placed just one week later. The notice placed in the paper, for the benefit of public intelligence beyond that simply of the artist, read as follows:

> To Mr. Hogarth, At a Meeting of Several of the Subscribers for the Prints call'd the Harlot's Progress, it was agreed, that Mr. Hogarth should have their Consent to publish a second Impression of that Work, upon Condition he does at the same time publish another Impression of the Set of Prints call'd Morning, Noon, Evening, and Night, and some Strolling Players dressing in a Barn, which was subscribed for at a Guinea a Set, and are so justly designed, so finely executed, and so well worth the Subscription Price, that all Gentlemen of Taste are very desirous that they should once more be published. Mr. Hogarth is desired to signify by an Advertisement in this Paper, whether he chuses [sic.] to comply with the above-mentioned Condition, or not.[322]

The public nature of this exchange was surely a calculated one on the part of the artist. Not only would he be perceived to honorably discharge his previous commitment, but the market was made aware of the imminent satisfaction that would be achieved. This exchange also provides a suggestion for why Hogarth's prints were not always listed in the probate record. The practice of tipping prints into albums, organized and protected from smoke, bugs, and other pests was surely one that British Americans enjoyed as did their English contemporaries.

Not content to simply provide his potential customers with the prints that might be bound together in a volume, Hogarth, and later his heirs, also provided the service of binding collections of the prints together. In this manner, the artist retained some control over the content and sequencing of the volume, rather than leaving it to

---

[322] Ibid., November 15, 1744.

the collector to organize the prints for some individual intellectual purpose. Through selective sequencing, inclusion, and omission, Hogarth and his heirs could thus prescribe a way of understanding the artist's oeuvre. It is largely the titles found in such volumes that comprise the modern moral subjects associated with the artist today. Though Hogarth's oeuvre contains prints dated earlier than the 1732 *Harlot's Progress*, the plates for these earlier projects had passed into the hands of the important London print publishing firm Overton and Bowles not long after they were originally engraved, thence to John Bowles by 1750 and Robert Wilkinson in 1779, and by necessity could not be included in any subsequent compilation of the artist.[323] Likewise, in the years after his death, it was only those plates that were retained by Mrs. Hogarth and later Boydell that could be printed for inclusion in such a volume.

In one of the earliest accounts of Hogarth's life, John Nichols references "an agreeable letter from the *American* Dr. *Franklin*" to which Hogarth had started to draft a response on October 25, 1764. Nichols records that before Hogarth could finish the letter "he was seized with a vomiting, upon which he wrung his bell with such violence that he broke it, and was found in such a condition that he expired in two hours afterwards."[324] Tantalizing as such a reference may be, we can only speculate at the letters' contents, as no copy of either letter seems to survive. It would not be outside the realm of speculation that Franklin was writing to request prints from the artist, perhaps even a complete set, which according to the last page of the 1753 publication *The Analysis of Beauty* could be obtained directly from the artist for £10.

---

[323] Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 17. Many of these early prints were collected and published by Samuel Ireland in *Graphic Illustrations*, 1794.

[324] Nichols, *Biographical Anecdotes*, 1781, 56.

In a letter that Franklin wrote to Francis Hopkinson two years later, the London-based Pennsylvania statesman assured his friend that he would inquire about the status of an order for the Library Company of Philadelphia.[325] Quite possibly he was following up on a request put to the artist years earlier, but fulfillment could now come only through direct communication with Mrs. Jane Hogarth. Evidently successful in his aim, the Library Company of Philadelphia ended up with a set of Hogarth's works.[326] A letter from Jane Hogarth to Franklin dating from the following year, in which the widow requested that he support amendments to the Artist's Bill, which would grant her exclusive rights to print from her husband's plates for the next twenty years, would indicate at least some personal connection.[327] The Hogarth prints in the collection of

---

[325] Letter from Benjamin Franklin to Francis Hopkinson, London, May 9, 1766. *The Franklin Papers*, Yale University. Accessed December 28, 2013. http://www.franklinpapers.org/

[326] *"*Hogarth's Prints*"* appear in the catalogue of books of the Library Company of Philadelphia for the first time in 1770. Library Company of Philadelphia, *The charter, laws, and catalogue of books, of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Crukshank, in Second-Street, 1770), f.129–130); in the 1765 publication of the same, the listings for Hogarth included only his *Analysis of Beauty* and the edition of Hudibras "adorned with a new Sett of Cuts by Mr. Hogarth" *The Charter, laws, catalogue of books, of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1765): Books in Quarto no. 94 and Books in Duodecimo no. 96), suggesting that they were acquired between 1765 and 1770. They are not listed in the 1775 Library Company of Philadelphia catalogue, but appear in the 1789 catalogue, again in the folio section nos. 129 and 130, where they are described as "A Collection of prints. Designed, engraved and published by William Hogarth. London, 1764" (*A Catalogue of the books, belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Printed by Zachariah Polson, Junior, 1789).

[327] Letter from Jane Hogarth to Benjamin Franklin, London, May 22, 1767. *The Franklin Papers*, Yale University. Accessed December 28, 2013. http://www.franklinpapers.org/

Library Company of Philadelphia that Franklin had helped to obtain were available for members to borrow for two weeks at a time; by 1770 the set had evidently become so well-used that another set was acquired.[328]

In 1765 Jane Hogarth was selling sets of her late husband's work bound for thirteen guineas.[329] She continued to sell them at this price as late as 1784,[330] and we learn from an invoice directed to Mrs. Hogarth from John Boydell that the cost of producing "1 Compleat Sett of Mr Hogarths Works Bound" was £12.12.0.[331] In 1784, the Charleston planter-merchant and revolutionary war statesman Henry Laurens (1724–1792) purchased a set of eighty-eight engravings by Hogarth directly from Jane Hogarth.[332] How enticing the possibility that the bound volume that would make its

---

[328] Margaret Barton Korty, "Benjamin Franklin and Eighteenth-Century American Libraries," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, 55, no. 9 (1965): 15.

[329] The first volume of *George Steevens's collection of Hogarth Prints* in the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University includes a copy of a catalog of prints available from Mrs. Hogarth dated 1765. To conclude the catalog, she states "N.B. Any Person purchasing the whole together may have them deliver'd bound, at the Price of Thirteen Guineas; a sufficient Margin will be left for framing."

[330] William Hogarth, *A Catalogue of Hogarth's Original Works. To be Had of Mrs. Hogarth, etc.* (London, 1784).

[331] Boydell, *Invoice listing prices*, 1782–1784.

[332] William Hogarth, [Works]. Hinson Collection, Charleston Library Society. According to the Charleston Library Society's collection database, Laurens purchased the volume from Hogarth's widow in 1784. Laurens gave it to Chas. Fraser, and it was inherited by Dr. Henry Winthrop, who presented it to the library, where it is now part of the Hinson Collection. The same library also retains *The Original Works of William Hogarth* as published by John and Josiah Boydell at the Shakespeare Gallery in 1790 (Hinson Collection, Charleston Library Society).

way to Charleston might be the same set to which John Boydell referred in his invoice to Mrs. Hogarth documenting the years 1782 through 1784. Selling at a cost of thirteen guineas, the volume would have made Mrs. Hogarth a net profit of £1.1.0 after paying Boydell's production costs. Thirteen guineas, a not insignificant sum, would have been well within the range of Laurens's pocketbook, since he was by then one of Charleston's wealthiest and most respected merchants.[333]

Another British American to enjoy the artist's oeuvre in a complete set was William Bentley (American, b. Boston, 1759–1819), the pastor of the East church in Salem, Massachusetts, who in 1790 passed the day at the house of one of his colleagues, the Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver, the Episcopal Minister for St. Michael's Church in Marblehead. Though much of their time was spent discussing the degree to which Queen Elizabeth I and Henry VIII had exercised the same degree of powers as Supreme head of the Church of England, Bentley also noted "I had the pleasure of looking over a compleat [sic.] collection of all Hogarth's paintings in some admirable engravings."[334] One of the few accounts of individual interaction with Hogarth's prints in British America, it is noteworthy that it was a conversational pastime shared between two colleagues.[335] Additionally, Bentley was well informed on the subject of

---

[333] Henry Laurens, *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, ed. David R. Chesnutt and C. James Taylor, vol. 16 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002) discusses September 1, 1782 to December 17, 1792, the period in which Laurens spent time in London when he must have purchased the volume of prints.

[334] Bentley, *Diary of William Bentley*, 1962, 119. Some of the Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver sermons dating 1785–1791 are included in the Oliver Family Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[335] Also of interest is the fact that Oliver's collection was touted as "compleat." Oliver may well have obtained a collection compiled as a Mrs. Hogarth / Boydell set.

prints, himself an avid collector of New England portraits, which he treasured for the role the distinguished subjects had played in the creation of the new nation.[336]

Acquiring a fully assembled and bound collection of prints by an artist like that offered by Mrs. Hogarth and later Boydell is far different from assembling a collection of loose prints from a city's print shops. Certainly it requires no degree of connoisseurship, for the consumer does little more than place the order with the person deputized to print from the plates, and in return is guaranteed an authentic collection. Interacting with such a volume is also different from interacting with the loose prints individually acquired. Depending on their scale, bound volumes had the potential to invite solitary contemplation rather than the discursive practices that might be stimulated by the two modes of print storage previously discussed.[337] Turning the pages of such a volume is not the simple pastime one might suppose, since bound as a book, it is hardly the sort to hold in one's lap. Its size and weight necessitates a large, flat surface on which the volume may be laid, since when opened fully it may span

---

Alternatively, the collection may refer to the illustrated volume *Hogarth Moralized* by the Reverend John Trusler that was available in British America from as early as 1771, the more popular *Hogarth Illustrated* by John Ireland would not come onto the market until a year after Bentley's experience in Marblehead.

[336] William Bentley's collection forms a core part of the American Antiquarian Society's collection of early American prints. For more on his life and collecting habits, see Winkelbauer, "William Bentley: Connoisseur," 1991, 21–38. Winkelbauer's study offers one of the only studies of the formation of a collection of American prints in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

[337] Documentary evidence surrounding the use and enjoyment of bound books of prints is rare, but an 1807 newspaper advertisement for the rental of a bound collection of caricatures from Charles Peirce, a New-Hampshire bookseller, suggests that such prints might find use as "Entertainment for Tea Parties…" *Portsmouth Oracle* (New Hampshire), June 6, 1807.

upwards of 38 inches as does the Queen Charlotte album acquired from Mrs. Hogarth held by the Lewis Walpole Library.[338] Further, the orientation of the prints varies from portrait to landscape throughout the volume, and the viewer would need to re-orient his or her body in order to see each sheet right way round. The process of consuming Hogarth's engravings bound as *Hogarth's Works* was therefore not a passive act, certainly, but nor was it one that could easily be shared with more than two or three people at a time.

Libraries

At a scale of approximately 24 x 19 x 2 inches closed, such a volume makes sense only within the context of a well-appointed personal, public, or subscription library, as it requires a significant outlay of financial resources as well as dedicated furniture for storage and use. As we have seen in the preceding discussion, the Library Company of Philadelphia obtained a set of Hogarth's complete works for the aesthetic entertainment and education of its members. On the Library's behalf, Benjamin Franklin obtained the first set directly from the artist's widow, though he had ordered the set from the artist directly in the months immediately preceding Hogarth's death in

---

[338] Like Laurens, Queen Charlotte, consort of George III, obtained a set of Hogarth's prints from Mrs. Hogarth (now at the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University). This volume, bound with black leather and labeled on the spine with gold "Hogarth's Works," may stand in as a model for the type of volume Franklin, Laurens, and Pine obtained for their individual interests.

A set of three elephant folio volumes of Hogarth prints compiled by George Steevens now in the collection of the Lewis Walpole Library at Yale University makes this point in the extreme. When open, each volume spans nearly 50 inches wide, requiring a significant amount of space and possibly handling assistance, in order to safely turn the pages.

1764. Through the Library Company the prints circulated, and members could take them home for two weeks at a time, to do with them what they liked. The prints were apparently so popular that within the first three years they were completely worn out and a new set had to be obtained.[339]

Libraries carried Hogarth's engravings, and by the end of the century they increasingly stocked bound volumes that codified the narrative component of his artwork, as well.[340] By 1793—two years after their London publication—the first two volumes of John Ireland's *Hogarth Illustrated* were available from the Library Company of Philadelphia as well as the New York Society Library.[341] As the title suggests, *Hogarth Illustrated* contained reduced-scale copies of Hogarth's subjects alongside explanations of his content. The illustrations were evidently of interest to some subscribers, so much so that the New York Society Library was moved to restrict their circulation policy for volumes with illustrations, since books like *Hogarth Illustrated* were being damaged, as plate after plate was removed from the bound volume.[342]

---

[339] Korty, "Benjamin Franklin," 1965, 15.

[340] Not coincidentally, this is also the period in which such books are first published in London.

[341] Schimmelmann, *Books on Art*, 2007, 110. The third would not be published in London until 1798.

[342] Peter J. Parker and Stefanie Munsing Winkelbauer's study of Eighteenth-Century American Magazine Illustration points out that few significant studies of this genre have been made because so few examples survive. In their study they ran across countless examples of eighteenth-century publications that were marked by the physical absence of illustrations that were once there. Though it is impossible to determine when this mutilation occurred, the illustrations cut out of the periodicals may have been hung on the walls, decoupaged, or scrapbooked ("Embellishments for

It is not beyond the realm of possibility, then, that these plates, these reduced-scale copies, were removed from the book and hung framed, behind glass, in the halls and parlors of the library's members. To anyone who either owned or had intimate access to Hogarth's prints in their original state, it would be immediately obvious that the printed book illustrations from Ireland's *Hogarth Illustrated* were not the same consumer objects as the full-size engravings.[343] Regardless of the reduction in size, the subjects may still have retained the same cultural value as the original engravings, thus prompting questions surrounding the extent to which the locus of the authentic resided in a print's objecthood (i.e. its material history going back to Hogarth's command) or in its graphic narrative content.[344]

The author of an editorial published in the Concord, New Hampshire, based *Mirrour* in September 1796 gives further suggestion that Americans may have valued the print for its graphic content rather than the artist's hand. Critical of what he

---

Practical Repositories: Eighteenth-Century American Magazine Illustration," in Dolmetsch, *Eighteenth-Century Prints*, 1979, 72–73). Joan D. Dolmetsch has made the case that botanical studies were removed from albums for decorative purposes, either intended to be hung on the wall or in some other decorative capacity (Dolmetch, *Prints in Colonial America*, 1970, 63–65).

[343] The visual connection between Hogarth's prints and Ireland's reproductions is evident in the juxtapositions of some page spreads within the George Steevens albums held by the Lewis Walpole Library.

[344] This is a question with far reaching implications, not least because Hogarth's prints were reproductive of his paintings (even if his paintings were made as models for the prints) and, as discussed in this dissertation's "Introduction," many of those recognized as Hogarth's in contemporary scholarship and oeuvre catalogues were not physically engraved by Hogarth's hand at all. For more on the conceptual issues surrounding reproductive printmaking, see Lambert, *Image Multiplied*, 1987 and Rebecca Zorach and Elizabeth Rodinin, eds., *Paper Museums: The Reproductive Print in Europe, 1500–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2005).

considered a relatively low level of art knowledge in the United States when compared to that of European connoisseurs, the author derisorily submits that "In the entry, perhaps, of some of the most fashionable characters in our capitals, you may recognize, beneath a cover of dust, an indifferent engraving, a copy of Hogarth." The author goes on to claim that Americans have no knowledge of the Old Masters, and that those reproductive prints that have found their way into the domestic interior are of such poor aesthetic quality that they "deform our wainscots."[345] Obviously biased against the state of print connoisseurship in British America at the end of the eighteenth century, the Concord editorial disregards the idea that copies of Hogarth's prints, when hung in the public spaces of a person's house, fulfilled the same performative function as an autograph Hogarth, impressing upon visitors the host's knowledge of fashion and taste while facilitating narrative conversation.

Members of subscription libraries like the Library Company of Philadelphia and the New York Society Library were bound into a "community" through civic and intellectual enterprise. Members shared a sense of civic responsibility in building and maintaining a collection of materials, the study of which would further advance the potential for intellectual growth. Granted access to the same body of texts, be they philosophy, history, natural and physical science, or falling under any number of additional academic disciplines, these members' ties were further strengthened as a community of readers.[346] When found in a subscription library, Hogarth's imagery—

---

[345] "The Fine Arts," *The Federal Mirrour* (Concord, New Hampshire), September 6, 1796.

[346] Benedict Anderson was one of the first to theorize "community" as established through shared knowledge in *Imagined Communities*, 1983. This topic will be explored in greater detail in "Narrating Hogarth," this dissertation's next chapter.

whether autograph or copy—contributed to the development of such a community educated by his humor and moral outlook.

Spectatorship in Shopping

Subscription libraries like the Library Company of Philadelphia and The New York Society Library offered British Americans access to Hogarth's prints with financial outlay limited to the cost of membership.[347] Some shop keepers provided unmediated access to his prints, too, though perhaps for less altruistic reasons. That a shopkeeper might lend a set of prints is evinced by a statement in Philadelphia-based Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker's diary for 19 March, 1795, in which she records "sent home Hogarths prints which Molly borrow'd of John Fry, he asks fifteen Guineas for them, as they are said to be from the original paintings, engrav'd…."[348] In allowing

---

[347] In 1770, the Library Company of Philadelphia charged ten pounds to join, and an additional payment of ten shillings "for which small consideration a person may have recourse not only to some thousand volumes, but to many valuable machines for making experiments in natural philosophy. The members hold their estates in the library as tenants in common, and may dispose of their shares by will or deed to others with the assent of the managers. Thy who incline to be admitted, apply to any one of the directors, who proposes them at their next meeting and being approved of, they become members on paying the purchase money to the treasurer." Library Company of Philadelphia, *Charter, Laws*, 1770, 4.

The price of joining the New-York Society Library when it was first established was five pounds (New-York Society Library, *The Charter and Bye-Laws, of the New-York Society Library, with a Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Said Library* [New York: Printed by H. Gaine, 1773]), in addition to a yearly maintenance fee, which in 1761 was 10 shillings (*The New-York Mercury*, April 27, 1761).

Early-American libraries are the subject of David D. Hall, "Learned Culture in the Eighteenth Century," in *A History of the book in America*, eds. Hugh Amory & David D. Hall, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 411–433.

[348] Drinker, *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, 1991, 1:659.

Molly to take the volume from the premises, the Philadelphia merchant John Fry (1762–1810) likely hoped that the Drinker family might be enticed to purchase.[349] Like the collection of prints owned by the Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver of Marblehead, it is impossible to know whether the prints Molly borrowed referred to a Mrs. Hogarth/Boydell set, or a volume reproducing Hogarth's images like *Hogarth Moralized* or *Hogarth Illustrated*. At the expensive price of fifteen Guineas, however, it seems more likely that they were the former.

If John Fry was like his equivalent in the British marketplace, he may have enticed the young Molly into his shop with prints pasted in his shop's windows on North Front Street. Visual sources like J. Maurer's *A Perspective View of Temple Barr and St Dunstans Church* (1752) and John Raphael Smith's *Miss Macaroni and her Gallant at a Print Shop* (1773) give some evidence of prints pasted into windows and the attraction that they received from passersby (see Figs. 3.5 and 3.6). In England, at least, it would seem that the practice of showing a shop's wares in the window was one that persisted throughout the period of the present study. Accounts like J. W. Archenholz's, a German visitor to London, who remarked "print shops are real galleries" upon seeing the way the shops hung their goods in windows to attract the attention of passersby give further confirmation of this retailing method and together with the visual evidence form the basis for most scholarship on the day to day operations of print shops in the period.[350] Hogarth himself understood the function of

---

[349] An account book for Fry's business is held by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (John Fry account book 1795–1798).

[350] J. W. Archenholtz, *A Picture of England Containing a Description of the Laws, Customs, and Manners of England* (London, 1797), 146, as quoted in Bruntjen, "John Boydell," 1974, 21, n. 35.

the print shop, and was aware of his own prints displayed in such a manner. A letter sent to the artist in April 1762 recounts a similar scene in Morpeth, Northumberland:

> Passing along the other Day, I observ'd a No. of People entertaining themselves at a Booksellers Window, - the Chearfulness of their Countenance, induc'd me to stop & pertake of their Entertainment. The Object of their good Humour & Mirth, was your most entertaining & instructive Print of Superstition Credulity & Fanaticism.[351]

While no studies of retailing in British America have yet confirmed or denied the use of similar strategies on the Atlantic's western shores, and without contemporary voices to lend a clue, it can remain only an assumption that sellers of prints in British America displayed their goods in like fashion to promote sales.[352]

Certainly another retail outlet—the auction—functioned as public exhibition in addition to its primary goal of sale. In 1765, Moses Deshon of Boston advertised a set of "Harlots Progress under Glass" at "the Newest Auction-Room, opposite the West

---

Other travelers who chronicle their experience at print shops include Wendeborn, *View of England*, 1791, 1:191–192 and La Roche, *Sophie in London*, 1786, 237–239.

[351] Hogarth, *Original letters and papers*, 1731–1791, ff.17–18.

[352] According to Rembrandt Peale, the resources available to artists and those who might desire to acquire art were, in 1786 Philadelphia, to be found wanting. As Peale explained, "no such thing as a print shop was to be found, and it was seldom that a decent engraving could be seen in the window of a bookstore" (Peale, "Reminiscences," [1855], 23). Though not the most reliable of sources, Peale's statement leaves open the possibility that engravings were to be found, just not "decent" examples. However, as Chapter 2 demonstrated, there were certainly shops that sold considerable quantities of prints, even if this product was not the sole inventory.

For an account of window shopping on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia from a slightly later period, see Sarah Leigh Jones, "'A Grand and Ceaseless Thoroughfare': The Social and Cultural Experience of Shopping on Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, 1820–1860". M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 2008.

End of Faneuil Hall, Dock-Square."[353] For a week before the sale, the merchandise on offer could be seen from seven to eight in the evening. In the middle of July, when the sale was first listed, artificial illumination would not be a consideration for adequate viewing of the goods on offer assuming that the room boasted ample windows, but the advertising copy appeared again in November, when any hints at daylight during this evening hour would have been absent, suggesting that the facility must have been appointed with sufficient lighting apparatuses to allow potential buyers to see any merchandise they might be contemplating in the forthcoming sale. Auction rooms or halls were a new form of architecture; writing of the practice of auctions in 1755, the French chronicler of English life Rouquet observed that a great number of halls specially built for auctions had been built in London over the last twenty or thirty years.[354] He characterized such buildings as "lofty, spacious, and separate from any other building, to the end that on every side they may receive full light thro' the glass windows which range all round them, but which do not come down so low as to hinder the walls at a certain height from being occasionally covered with pictures."[355]

In the days leading up to a sale the auction hall functioned like a gallery, with all but "the meanest of the populace" welcome to attend.[356] People availed themselves

---

[353] *The Boston Gazette*, and *Country Journal*, July 8, 1765. Though according to the advertisement, the sale was to begin on Tuesday at 5, the same advertisement appeared again in November.

[354] Jean André Rouquet, as readers will remember from the Introduction, was one of the earliest commentators to share Hogarth's prints with the French and was the artist's personal friend. Rouquet's discussion of auctions occurs in Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England* (London: Printed for J. Nourse, 1755), 121–126.

[355] Ibid., 121–122.

[356] Ibid., 123.

of the opportunity, and Rouquet claimed it was the English practice to frequent the auction hall as soon as a sale had been announced, going to "amuse themselves with going to see the goods exposed to sale, just as the people amuse themselves in Paris in the great hall, when the performances of the artists of the academy are exposed to public view."[357] The largest of spectacles was of course the sale itself: "the number of the persons present, the different passions which they cannot help shewing on these occasions, the pictures, the auctioneer himself, and his rostrum, all contribute to diversify the entertainment."[358] Characterized in similar fashion in Frances Burney's *Cecilia* (1782), there can be little doubt of the motivations that drew some to the sale:

> While they were at breakfast, they were again visited by Miss Larolles. "I am come," cried she, eagerly, "to run away with you both to my Lord Belgrade's sale. All the world will be there; and we shall go in with tickets, and you have no notion how it will be crowded."
>
> "What is to be sold there?" said Cecilia.
>
> "O every thing you can conceive; house, stable china, laces, horses, caps, every thing in the world."
>
> "And do you intend to buy any thing?"
>
> "Lord, no; but one likes to see the people's things."[359]

As Miss Larolles suggests, auctions offered opportunities for spectacle and consideration of a world of good's outside one's own. They were also performances in

---

[357] Ibid., 123–124.

[358] Ibid., 124–125.

[359] As quoted in Wall, *Prose of Things*, 2006, 149 in a chapter devoted to the way the world of things is deployed within literature.

self-fashioning and public identity, implicating both seller and would-be buyer in public displays of good and/or bad taste.[360]

Hairdressers

Though petit-luxury consumables, prints were not only deployed in high-brow social settings. According to a series of advertisements placed in Rhode Island's *Providence Journal* in 1799 they might also be used for individual amusement when necessity required the services of a barber or hairdresser (Fig. 3.7 offers a caricature of one such American hairdressing establishment). Prince G. Wright, "Ladies' and Gentlemen's fashionable Hair-Dresser," ornamented his shop with "a great variety of elegant prints, caricatures, &c. copied from the works of the great European masters, such as Rubens, Raphael, Hogarth, &c."[361] The prints, which formed "a rare and valuable collection," were obtained by Wright at great expense.[362] The reason that he had amassed such a collection, he explained, was so "the operation of hair-dressing, instead of being considered a painful one, may be thus rendered an agreeable and instructive pastime."[363]

---

[360] This idea is explored in Ibid., 149–176.

[361] *The Providence Journal, and Town and Country Advertiser* (Rhode Island), December 11, 1799. Wright also advertised his services in August 1799, but he made no mention of his print collection at that time (*Providence Gazette* [Rhode Island], August 3, 1799).

[362] *The Providence Journal, and Town and Country Advertiser* (Rhode Island), December 25, 1799.

[363] *The Providence Journal, and Town and Country Advertiser* (Rhode Island), December 11, 1799.

Contemporary prints might well have served a similar a similar function to the fashion magazines found in the waiting rooms of hair salons today. Looking for the latest trend, a client could point to the hairstyle of the figure in a print with whom they identified. This was evidently not Wright's intention in providing prints to his clientele, however. Instead, he explicitly referred to the educational merits of the print collection he retained, with subjects ranging from "religious, demirepal, hieroglyphical, pastoral, caricatural and fancy pieces."[364] And such works were not just to attend the eye. Wright also had on hand for the literary minded "The sweets of every ancient and modern work of note... to enable Mr. W. agreeably to amuse his customers, while under the operations of dress…."[365]

Such operations as those described by Boston school girl Anna Green Winslow may have taken considerable time indeed. Winslow witnessed the painstaking efforts of another hairdresser when on January 25, 1772 she recalled an instance in which she:

> happen'd in to a house where D—was attending the Lady of the family. How long she was at his operation I know not. I saw him twist & tug & pick & cut off whole locks of grey hair at a slice (the lady telling him she would have no hair to dress next time) for the space of a hour & a half, when I left them, he seeming not to be near done.[366]

According to "An Essay on the Hair" appearing in *The New London Toilet*, the scene Winslow observed may well have been a regular part of the Lady's beauty regimen, at least in the summer, since "The hair should never be kept too long in dressing, because

---

[364] *The Providence Journal, and Town and Country Advertiser* (Rhode Island), December 25, 1799.

[365] Ibid.

[366] Anna Green Winslow, *Diary of Anna Green Winslow: A Boston School Girl of 1771*, ed. Alice Morse Earle (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1894), 19–20.

that prevents the circulation of free air, and if the weather is hot it ought to be dressed every day; but in winter when the weather is cold it will keep in dress at least a week."[367] Men were also concerned with keeping up appearances. In March 1773, diarist Sarah Eve expressed curiosity thoughts regarding the grooming habits of one of her associates:

> I never once thought of it before I heard Mrs. Clifford mention it, why such an exemplary man as Mr. Duche should sit every day and have his hair curl'd and powder'd by a barber. Since, I have thought about it *greatly,* and would like to hear *his* sentiments on this subject. But, my dear ma'am, what would a Parson be without *powder,* it is as necessary to *him* as to a *soldier,* for it gives a more significant shake to his head, and is as *priming* to his words & looks. As to having his hair curled, he perhaps thinks it of little or no consequence, since curled or uncurled locks will turn so gray, or perhaps he may look upon it as more humiliating to wear his own hair than a wig, as then his head must serve as a *block* on which the barber must dress it."[368]

For ladies and gentlemen following the suggested regimen as evidently was Duche, the prints Wright kept on hand for use by his clients would surely have provided welcome relief from the tedious chore of grooming.

The occupation of hair-dressing was largely the domain of free and enslaved African American men, who comprised the majority of barbers in British America throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth.[369] Wright, who was himself of this lineage, took great pains in his advertisements to assure would-be customers

---

[367] *The New London Toilet*, 1778, 98.

[368] Eve, *Journal of Sarah Eve*, 1881, 26–27.

[369] Martha B. Katz-Hyman and Kym S. Rice, eds., *World of a Slave: Encyclopedia of the Material Life of Slaves in the United States* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Greenwood, 2011), 397.

that he had regular contact with European sources, who shared with him the latest fashion developments. Further, and thanks to his travels and diligent training (which was likely learned through apprenticeship or serving as a valet), in addition to his innate talent, Wright was possessed of such skills as "adding beauty and dignity to the '*human face divine*.'"[370] The hairdresser reminded his clients that appearances were of the utmost importance, "being the criterion by which most opinions are formed," and promised to transform "the unpolished to pleasing, mediocrity to desirable, and the agreeable to all that's bewitchingly fascinating."[371] Hair, then, and the way it was dressed and powdered, could offer important insight into the social, economic, and even political identity of the individual, and choice of a skillful hair dresser was required careful consideration.[372]

During his training in the art of hair, Wright may well have come across a book like William Barker's *A Treatise on the Principles of Hair-Dressing* (1780s). Hair dresser to renowned actress Sarah Siddons (1755–1831), Barker had ample experience with the constructing the latest fashions in hair. In his masterly

---

[370] *The Providence Journal, and Town and Country Advertiser* (Rhode Island), December 11, 1799.

[371] *The Providence Journal*, and *Town and Country Advertiser* (Rhode Island), December 25, 1799.

[372] Kate Haulman discusses the significance of appearance (including hair) in *Politics of Fashion*, 2011. Studies of eighteenth-century portraiture like those undertaken by Ellen Gross Miles also investigate the significance of hairstyles. The study of hair accessories and wigs is explored in Carolyn L. White, *American Artifacts of Personal Adornment, 1680–1820: a guide to identification and interpretation* (Oxford: Altamira Press, 2005).

constructions, he looked to Hogarth's theories of beauty, citing the artist's line of beauty in his observation that:

> "The serpentine line recommended by Hogarth, should be the standing criterion on which dressers ought to establish their first principles; as by its waving and winding at the same time in different tracks, the eye is conducted in a pleasing manner along the continuity of the charming variety."[373]

Care, like that suggested by Barker, was required to ensure that a hairstyle did not cross the line of propriety. Hair—particularly "big hair"—was the subject of countless of the day's caricatures, and Hogarth himself rendered the humorous *Five Orders of Periwigs* (November 1761, P.209), a print that imagined the variety of hair seen at the coronation of George III and Queen Charlotte, while ridiculing those antiquarians who believed that beauty was solely the domain of architectural proportion.[374] Hogarth paid attention to hair and wigs throughout his oeuvre. His audience could therefore follow the narrative of the modern moral subjects in part through careful observation of hair, be it well-coiffed or askew.

Wright's presence in Providence was evidently short lived. In March 1800, Wright placed a letter of introduction to the people of Warren, Rhode Island in *The Herald of the United States*, advising the city's inhabitants that "if Suavity of

---

[373] William Barker, *A Treatise on the Principles of Hair-Dressing; in which The Deformities of Modern Hair-dressing are pointed out, and an elegant and natural Plan recommended, upon Hogarth's immortal System of Beauty* (London: Printed by J. Rozea, ca. 1780s[?]), 54.

[374] One of many academic projects related to hair was the exhibition "Preposterous Headdresses and Feathered Ladies: Hair, Wigs, Barbers, and Hairdressers" at the Lewis Walpole Library in 2003. A related article was published a year later: Margaret Powell and Joseph Roach, "Big Hair," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 Hair (Fall 2004): 79–99.

Disposition, unwearied attentive Exertions, and Stability the most marked, deserve Assistance, he is resolved to render himself worthy their Patronage." This is the last to be heard in Rhode Island of Wright in the capacity of hairdresser. When next he surfaces in a significant way in the historic record, it is for his work as an abolitionist and black member of a white Freemason lodge, and as father to the abolitionist Rev. Theodore S. Wright (1797–1847).[375]

Theatre

In public and in private, there was an understanding that Hogarth's prints could not fail to at once both entertain and educate. Certainly the English art theorist William Gilpin (1724–1804) believed them to be "admirable moral lessons, and a fund of entertainment suited to every taste; a circumstance, which shews them to be just copies of nature. We may consider them too as valuable repositories of the manners, customs, and dresses of the present age."[376] Perhaps this is why in the summer of 1801 organizers of a public exhibition in Charleston invited friends and patrons of the arts to examine a group of "elegant engravings" with Hogarth as the featured artist.[377] The

---

[375] According to a certificate held at Houghton Library, Harvard University, Wright became a Master Mason of African Lodge No. 459 on June 23, 1799 (MS Am 2642). By joining the Masons, he became part of a distinguished organization that could count among its earlier members none other than William Hogarth.

For more about Wright's life and abolitionist activities in Schenectady, New York in the 1820s–1840s, see Jeffrey Croteau, "Black Abolitionists in White Lodges: Richard P.G. Wright and Theodore Sedgwik Wright," Presented at the 3rd International Conference on the History of Freemasonry, George Washington Masonic Memorial, Alexandria, Virginia, May 27–29, 2011.

[376] Gilpin, *Essay Upon Prints*, 1768, 164–165.

[377] *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (Charleston), August 10, 1801.

exhibition promised visitors access to a superb collection consisting of scenes of Shakespeare, Historical, Fancy and Scripture pieces, yet Hogarth was the only artist specified by name. Perhaps he was the only included artist to possess sufficient name recognition to warrant the half-dollar admittance fee that was charged to gain entrance to the exhibition in the Assembly Room at the Carolina Coffee-House. The exhibition opened August 6, 1801, and continued to be advertised until August 18th.

Though the residents of Charleston were some of the fledgling nation's most progressive patrons of the arts at the time, public art exhibitions were rare.[378] Perhaps Hogarth's name recognition in the city was helped by a play produced in the city eight years earlier. Beginning in April of 1793, and continuing occasionally over the next fifteen years, the Charleston Theatre company produced *The Surrender of Calais*, a comic opera written by George Colman, Jr. starring John Bignall, with stage designs by Monsieur Audin [or Odin] (fl. late 18th century). Gossip surrounded the early rehearsals of the play, which told of the French victory over the English, recapturing Calais in the mid-sixteenth century. The city's inhabitants, descendants of both French and Englishmen, were fearful that their patrimony would be negatively portrayed, and

---

[378] For more on Charleston's place as a leader of art patronage in the Revolutionary era and early republic, see McInnis, *Pursuit of Refinement*, 1999. Though rare, art exhibitions in the period were certainly not unknown. Such exhibitions could provide viewing opportunities for those without the financial stability necessary to develop a personal art collection. Exhibitions could be arranged by a social group and displayed in public meeting spaces, as was the case in 1801, Charleston, but they could also be organized within a private domestic setting. On February 21, 1750, the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) announced that a selection of printed landscape views and public buildings that had recently been on exhibition in Pennsylvania could be seen at the house of Mr. Thomas Williamson, where they would be available to interested parties until such time as the artworks would be removed for further exhibition in Virginia.

it was left to Bignall to assure the public that both countries were heroically portrayed.[379]

The subject of the play and the controversy that accompanied it was not the focus of the preliminary announcements of the play; instead, the primary incentive to see the play came in the promise that:

> During the Opera the following SCENES will be exhibited: A View of the English Camp of Entrenchments with the Fortifications of Calais; a striking representation of the Gates of Calais (painted from an original picture of the celebrated Hogarth) thro' which the melancholy procession moves to King Edward's tent. A VIEW of the ROYAL Pavilion, And the Scaffold for the execution of those heroes who willingly offered their lives to save their country.[380]

There is some irony that the view of Calais given pride of place in the advertisement was derived from the painting by the xenophobic Hogarth. The focal point of the composition is the gate, constructed during the years of the city's English occupation. It was while observing this gate, pondering the Englishness of its construction that (as Hogarth remembered the circumstances of his 1748 visit to France in his *Autobiographical Notes*) he was intercepted by French nationals and accused of espionage activities. This insufferable case of misidentification cannot have helped the artist's disavowal of the French nation.

---

[379] According to searches of the Early American Newspaper database's holdings of South Carolina newspapers, the comic opera was performed in Charleston in April 1793, April 1794, January 1795, April 1796, April 1801, and May 1808. For a basic history of Charleston Theatre and its production of the play, see Susanne K. Sherman, *Comedies Useful: Southern Theatre History 1775–1812* (Williamsburg, Virg.: Celest Press, 1998), 95–99.

[380] *City Gazette And Daily Advertiser* (Charleston), April 27, 1793. During the first three years of its production, announcements were primarily focused on the scenery; by 1796, however, such description of the scenery has disappeared from the text.

The play was first performed in London at the Haymarket in 1791, and this early production may have provided the basis for the American production. Material evidence of the scenery used in the Charleston production is not forthcoming, however, and little documentation survives to suggest the methods by which Monsieur Audin came to make a design after Hogarth for the theatrical spectacle.[381] What is known is that the engraving after Hogarth's painting was available in America by this time; *The Gate of Calais* or *The Roast Beef of Old England* had been sold as early as 1755 in Philadelphia by Alexander Hamilton; and in 1767 the print was already owned by at least one American colonial, Mr. Thomas Jones of Virginia, whom we met at the beginning of the previous chapter, writing to his brother, then studying in London, to order additional Hogarth prints, having already in his possession Hogarth's *Roast Beef of Old England*.[382] Additionally, by the time of the play's debut in Charleston, bound compilations of Hogarth's prints, which must have included *The Gate of Calais* were readily available in metropolitan areas.

---

[381] Wendy Bellion has recently made a study of scene painting in Philadelphia and its English connections in "City as Spectacle: William Birch's Views and the Chestnut Street Theatre," *Studies in the History of Garden & Designed Landscapes: An International Quarterly* 32, no. 1(January 2012): 15–34. According to Gerald Bordman and Thomas S. Hischak's *Oxford Companion to American Theatre*, Audin was highly regarded for his theater-design skills, and was recognized at the time as one of the best in the country, second only to Charles Ciceri. Gerald Bordman and Thomas S. Hischak, *The Oxford Companion to American Theatre*, 3rd edition (New York: Oxford University Press 2004), 45.

[382] In the letter Jones mentioned that he was also already in possession of Hogarth's *Midnight Modern Conversation*, the *Rake's* and *Harlot's Progresses*, and *Marriage a-la-Mode* (Stanard, *Colonial Virginia*, 1917, 318).

Conclusion

Throughout the second two-thirds of the eighteenth century there were ample possibilities of finding Hogarth's imagery in additional venues to those described above. And although not quite as refined a setting, prints and paintings could also be viewed in the transient spaces of taverns and inns. There, visual materials were displayed as wall furniture much as they were in the houses of those who frequented these institutions. Suffolk County records indicate that Suffolk County's Captain John Marston, proprietor of the Golden Ball Tavern on Merchants Row off King Street in the 1760s and the Bunch of Grapes on King Street in 1775 displayed fourteen prints and paintings on the tavern walls.[383] Even the walls of country inns and taverns were furnished thus, if the journal of Daniel Fisher is any indication. Traveling in Virginia in May 1755, Fisher stayed overnight in Leedstown, on the Rappahannock River in Westmoreland County:

> at one Mr. T—ts, esteemed the best Ordinary in Town, and indeed the House and Furniture, has as elegant an appearance, as any I have seen in the country… The chairs, Tables, &c of the Room I was conducted into was all of Mahogany, and so stuft [sic.] with fine glaized [sic.] Copper Plate Prints: That I almost fancied myself in Jeffriess' or some other elegant Print Shop.[384]

In their attempt to render the colonial and early national periods in an historically accurate manner, researchers at Colonial Williamsburg have made the decision to hang myriad prints throughout the public drinking and dining spaces of the living

---

[383] David W. Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink & the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 258.

[384] Extracts of the journal were published in Louise Pecquet du Bellet, *Some Prominent Virginia Families* (Lynchburg, Virg.: J. P. Bell Company, Inc., 1907), 2:752–812, quotation 791.

history museum. They would also be well advised to install prints—and Hogarth prints in particular—in rooms identified as public spaces within the houses of the town's wealthier inhabitants.

It was in such public spaces, furnished with a degree of sameness to the furnishings often populating the page, that Hogarth's prints were activated, their humorous and moral narratives offered up to an unstable, ever changing body politic. Loyalist and Republican statesmen alike could share in a regard for Hogarth's pictures, sustained by a collective imagination of polite society. This social imaginary, dictated by manners, was disseminated across geographical terrain and throughout a range of human experience via a variety of sources including books, advice columns, letters, and even the images of modern moral subjects described by Hogarth's burin.[385] And the collective identity was solidified not only in the related consumption and display of objects like Hogarth's engravings; it was also fashioned through a shared awareness and experience of text. As the next chapter, "Narrating Hogarth," will explore, Hogarth's presence in British America extended beyond his visual imagery, permeating the very ways in which the citizenry approached ever-changing political, artistic, and social concerns.

Without knowing the extent of his reach, William Hogarth also helped to cultivate a market for art in British America with his modern moral subjects. The materiality of his images, in printed, reproducible form, spurred this market,

---

[385] This line of thought is informed by the work of Charles Taylor, Benedict Anderson, Jürgen Habermas, and Michael Warner regarding the formation of the public sphere and the imagined communities and discussed in greater detail in "Narrating Hogarth."

cultivating an awareness of the artist and his work within a larger and more geographically diverse public body than was possible with a singular painting. It is my contention that the market for prints in eighteenth-century Britain heightened an awareness of art in other media, ultimately helping to create favorable market conditions for a growing number of artists to make their livelihood within the profession. The same was ultimately true for the art market in British America and later the United States.[386] Thanks in large part to the European prints available and consumed throughout British America in the eighteenth century, the market for all kinds of subject matter in images was primed. "Narrating Hogarth" further demonstrates the desire for art that dealt with specifically local concerns, suggesting a more complicated relationship to American-made art in this period that previous studies—focused primarily on the primacy of portraiture in the American market—have shown.[387] The next steps required the work of artists and consumers alike: the development of infrastructure to encourage and train both constituencies. This, along

---

[386] Margaretta M. Lovell has argued that within the colonial marketplace, the designs of American printmakers could not viably compete on the basis of technical skill with prints imported from England and the rest of Europe. As a result, they tended to concentrate their somewhat crude attempts solely on compositions that were unique to the American scene, whether due to their featured personage or local event (Lovell, *Season of Revolution*, 2005, 16, 23).

[387] In 2010, curators at the Metropolitan Museum of Art prepared the catalog *American Stories* to accompany a large exhibition of genre paintings of the same title. In her essay on the early period, "Inventing American Stories, 1765–1830," Carrie Rebora Barratt explained the dearth of American genre scenes through the lens of the "Burden of Portraiture," seeing in the portraits of the savviest of American artists, aspects of story-telling that are on the verge of blossoming into a full-scale narrative subject. H. Barbara Weinberg and Carrie Rebora Barratt, eds., *American Stories: Paintings of Everyday Life, 1765–1915* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 5.

with the very accessibility of materials required to reify artistic ideas in print or in paint, would take some time and would not make significant ground until well into the nineteenth century.[388]

---

[388] For more on the encouragements of the arts in the nineteenth century, through the establishment of such infrastructure, see David Dearinger, ed., *Rave Reviews: American Art and Its Critics, 1826–1925* (New York: The National Academy of Design, 2000).

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 3.1: William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress*, plate 1, 1732. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 3.2: Elisha Kirkall after William Hogarth, *Her arrival in London*, from *A Harlot's Progress*, 1732. Mezzotint. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 3.3: George Roupell, *Peter Manigault and His Friends*, 1757–1760. Ink, graphite, and wash. Winterthur Museum, Delaware

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 3.4: Daniel Chodowiecki, *Der Kupferstich Liebhaber* (The Print Lover), 1780. Etching. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 3.5: J. Maurer, *A Perspective View of Temple Barr and St Dunstans Church*, 1752 (this state 1753). Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 3.6: John Raphael Smith, *Miss Macaroni and her Gallant at a Print Shop*, 1773. Mezzotint. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 3.7: James Akin, *All in my eye!*, [1806]. Etching with hand coloring. The Charles Peirce Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

Chapter 4

NARRATING HOGARTH

On July 14, 1785 *The Pennsylvania Packet* recounted the story of a man in Charleston, South Carolina who for unknown reasons refused to pay a suit brought against him in a court of law. When a bailiff made his way to the man's house to inquire after the funds, he was invited in and treated with a civil welcome, at least at first. After the bailiff had rested for some time, his host took it upon himself to offer his guest something to satisfy the hunger that he must certainly have felt after so long a journey. It is at this point that the tale takes a tragic, or comical, turn, depending on your perspective. Rather than bring the bailiff a typical repast, the man instead required his visitor to ingest the writ, or court order, which had necessitated his visit in the first place. In vain the bailiff protested, assuring "…his bountiful companion that the proferred food was bitter to swallow, and hard of digestion – that he had rather dine with the Camelion upon air, than gorge upon writs… but his arguments were exercised to no purpose, eat the writ he must, and eat it he did, not without exhibiting a set of wry faces."[389]

For the next three weeks the story traveled; it was reprinted in at least nine newspapers throughout the Mid-Atlantic and New England regions. While the story is, in itself, amusing, the editorial comment that accompanied the news item is the locus

---

[389] "Charleston, (S. C.) June 15," *Pennsylvania Packet, published as The Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), July 14, 1785.

of this chapter. The writer of the article mentions a "set of wry faces" that would inevitably occur upon ingesting a writ, and then suggests: "if poor Hogarth had been still alive and could have attended, his collection of caricatures would have received considerable addition." There is no doubt that readers of the newspapers in which this story was reprinted would have been familiar with the work of the British artist, William Hogarth, then twenty years dead and gone. From at least as early as 1739—one year before the first mention of his work in a probate inventory and fourteen years before the first advertisement listing his prints for sale—anecdotes and advertisements mentioning the artist and his works had appeared in American newspapers. In the months immediately after his death, extensive obituary notices were published, and detailed accounts of his art and life were printed again and again.[390] As Chapters 2 and 3 established, his prints had found their way into elite and aspiring households throughout the original thirteen colonies by the middle of the 1740s. Thanks to this visual presence, by the 1780s Hogarth's name had achieved such currency within the cognoscenti's consciousness that it could be dropped into an article about an officer of the law forced to eat a *writ*, and readers could conjure at once within their mind's eye a humorous scene illustrating an injurious state of current social practices.

The present chapter investigates the significance of Hogarth's currency within the world of printed materials circulating through British North America in the second half of the eighteenth century. It uncovers the relationship between the rhetorical use to which Hogarth put his own images and that use which American anecdotal writers ascribed to him. Finally, it looks at the disjunctions between the subject matter that

---

[390] See, for example, *Boston Evening Post*, April 29, 1765 and *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), May 23, 1765.

American audiences desired an American Hogarth to immortalize and that subject matter with which the artist was truly concerned. Hogarth's rhetorical concerns fell primarily into three categories: political, artistic and social. This chapter is thus divided into three primary sections, devoted in turn to three of Hogarth's projects that found special resonance within eighteenth century America, one devoted to each of these primary categories: *John Wilkes* and *The Times* series, *The Analysis of Beauty*, and the *Four Stages of Cruelty*. The chapter concludes with an examination of a special rhetorical impulse that was loosed upon the readers of British-American newspapers and books, taking a cue from Henry Fielding's predilection for calling upon his friend Hogarth's assistance in visually depicting comic and tragic events and personages in manners similar to the above recounted South Carolina story. What started in the late 1730s with such invocations in stories originating from London papers had, by the 1780s and 1790s, blossomed into a strategy that American news writers were keen to employ for stories of local and national interest, as well.

Printed images, like printed text, also possess the capacity to provide information and ideas, if viewers, like readers, are familiar with the lexicon of referents an artist—like an author and the building blocks of words—employs.[391] Though today's discussions of "print culture" refer more often than not to the history of the printed word, Hogarth's printed pictures—like many of their kind—can also be thought of in terms of their capacity for narration and communication, and might thus sit comfortably within the context of the spread of information and ideas and the

---

[391] William M. Ivins' pioneering book on the subject remains a standard reference on this topic: *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The M.I.T. Press, 1969).

formation of an "imagined community" of readers who are associated by shared knowledge, as theorized by Benedict Anderson and a host of others.[392] Like text, Hogarth's modern moral subjects invited discussion. Interpretations could easily vary depending on a viewer's level of visual literacy within the emblematic and narrative pictorial traditions or simply his experience of life, with alert eye roving left to right. And like printed texts, Hogarth prints were at once ephemeral in that some of their subjects were quickly outmoded, while others retained their value, as evinced by their presence at auctions years after their original acquisition. Further, as shown in Chapter 2, the same infrastructure that permitted the easy circulation of printed text was used to disseminate printed images as well. Because the infrastructure that allows for the printed image, bound or otherwise, to circulate at distances far removed from its local site of production is the same, I offer a suggestion that the field of print culture would be complicated (for the better) by bringing printed objects together, whether they are based in printed text or printed image.

Much has been made by Hogarth scholars with home disciplines of English literature regarding the extent to which the artist incorporated text into the body of his

---

[392] As Jay Fliegelman, David Hall, David Shields, Michael Warner, and a host of others have shown, Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftesbury's observations of sensus comunis of social mores developed in the British-American colonial and early national periods thanks in large part to shared experience and knowledge. I argue that the circulation of printed images does not differ from this broad definition, insofar as images are also encoded with information and can be "read" to greater or lesser degree, depending on the level of literacy that a viewer brings to his or her interaction with the printed image. This is equally true of the engravings and woodcuts designed by Hogarth.

work, as well as appending it above and below his images.[393] The circulation of the books that contain copies of Hogarth's printed images (like those by Ireland and Nichols) make up the body of primary material with which the scholars of print culture (under the disciplinary umbrella of literary studies and the history of the book) are concerned. The printed image, circulating without binding or significant associated text, falls within the realm of art history. And in their use, printed images removed from bound books and framed, displayed on walls or carefully preserved in albums are evidence of the overlap between the two. Early in his career, Hogarth also found himself completely subordinated to the word, providing the illustrations for such popular texts as Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* and John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. English literature scholar Frédéric Ogée also finds in Hogarth's work a direct relationship with the newly formed structure of literature that was emerging in the artist's own lifetime. To that end, Ogée suggests that the narrative sequence of images Hogarth pioneered came to be used and understood as books by the burgeoning middle classes.[394] However, unlike novels, in which the narrative unfolds as the reader makes his way through the pages, Hogarth's print series pedestals pregnant moments, and thus require the viewer to imagine the narrative possibilities linking one image to the next.

---

[393] Peter Wagner has written persuasively about the nature of text in Hogarth's engravings, see for example Wagner, "Hogarth's Graphic Palimpsests: Intermedial Adaptation of Popular Literature," *Word & Image* 7, no. 4 (1991): 329–347 and *Reading Iconotexts: From Swift to the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995).

[394] Ogée develops this theme throughout "From text to image" in *Hogarth: Representing nature's machines*, 2001, 3–22.

The English novel as a genre of literature was developing simultaneously with Hogarth's own narrative work. It would take authors in British America even longer to develop the genre in their own terms, with authors finding their voices largely in the post-Revolutionary years.[395] In the meantime, the predominant means by which most British-American reading audiences were linked was through texts originating elsewhere. Throughout the formative period of the long eighteenth century, editors of the local newspapers compiled news reports from newspapers arriving in the ports, rarely going to the bother of rewriting them in different terms.[396] British-American readers of the sections of the local newspapers devoted to international news, then, engaged with the same ideas and turns of phrase as readers all over the British Empire. They were also tied to one another in the reprinting of news items of more local concern. These readers were thus implicated not only in the British Empire generally, but also in their local community.

When disseminated amongst diverse, disassociated audiences, print, whether text or image, had the potential to inculcate culture in general and specific terms. It is the position of this chapter that the myriad interpretations of Hogarth and his life's work, which appeared in both forms of print throughout British America over the course of the eighteenth century, played an active role in shaping the ideologies and

---

[395] English literature scholar Cathy Davidson has examined the birth of the novel in America in *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America*, expanded edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[396] As Charles E. Clark has shown, not only were British-American newspapers comprised of largely copied content, they copied the format of their British models, as well (Clark, *The Public Prints*, 1994). For a recent study of readership practices of British and American newspapers, see Heyd, *Reading Newspapers*, 2012.

conventions of the hybrid colonial culture present in North America well into the nineteenth century. Like text, Hogarth's images seeped into the consciousness of the viewer, engaging the individual's ever-changing imagination, and the colonial's understanding of humor and narration through the lens of an artist preoccupied with Britain's economic, political, and social spheres in the middle years of the eighteenth century.

John Wilkes and *The Times*

By 1763 there is reason to believe that Hogarth's name, if not his art, was familiar to the reader of British-American newspapers. By that year, the artist's prints were identified by title or artist's name in at least five probate records spanning locations from Boston to Annapolis and concurrently, upwards of ten print sellers had by then advertised a wide assortment of Hogarth's engravings. It is also in this year, the year that Hogarth published his infamous design of John Wilkes (P.214) (Fig. 4.1), that the artist's presence in British America dramatically expands. Not only were prints by the artist's hand now available in increasing numbers, but so were punchbowls bearing the artist's designs (though likely not his approval), for his subject was a defender of freedoms in many circles on the western shores of the Atlantic.

In no sense can the print be considered a *flattering* likeness, but according to John Ireland's 1791 edition *Hogarth Illustrated*, the artist's portrait of Wilkes was not intentionally malicious.[397] With the cap of liberty perched atop the staff of maintenance clasped in one hand, Wilkes sits on a side chair beside a writing table

---

[397] Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791, 2:226–227.

bearing two issues (nos. 17 and 45) of the North Briton newspaper that Wilkes is known to have authored as well as an inkwell and quill pen, in case there is any question regarding his involvement. Ireland queries how the portrait's subject can find any fault with the image and the accompanying iconography, given that Wilkes would likely have chosen the cap of liberty and political papers as strong markers of his personal identity.[398] Ireland goes on to identify the Reverend Charles Churchill as the instigator of the trouble that later erupted between Wilkes and Hogarth, writing that before Churchill saw fit to involve himself, Wilkes even recognized the portrait as a genuine (if not pleasurable) likeness.[399] When the copper plate was printed, upwards of 4000 impressions were pulled, and presumably sold, ostensibly to the print subject's friends and sympathizers.[400]

---

[398] Ibid., 2: 468. There are always multiple sides to a story. While Ireland may have been inclined to read the picture in this way, perhaps for the sake of engendering the reader's sympathy towards the artist regarding the somewhat indecorous moment in Hogarth's life, others were less apt to read this as the artist's aim. According to a contemporary comment in the *London Chronicle*, the print showed Wilkes with the cap of liberty "poised over his head like a self-appointed halo, in ironic contrast to the truly diabolic squinting leer and the impression of horns created by his wig" (as quoted in Arlene M. Palmer, *A Winterthur Guide to Chinese Export Porcelain* [New York: Crown, 1976], 85). Described as such, there can be no question that the artist's portrait of Wilkes offered a critical view.

[399] Ireland also includes reference to Wilkes's vehement rejection of a friend's request that the he sit for a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds: "No! they shall never have a delineation of *my face*; that will carry to posterity so damning a proof of what it was. Who knows but a time may come when some future *Horace Walpole* will treat the world with another quarto volume of historic doubts, in which he may prove that the numerous squinting portraits on tobacco papers, and halfpenny ballads, inscribed with the name of *John Wilkes*, are *a weak invention of the enemy*…" (Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791, 2:229.

[400] Ibid., 2:228.

Though Ireland may have written in earnest, it would be naïve to propose that Hogarth could have been making a perfectly favorable portrait; he saw fit to include a specific reference to the *North Briton* issue 17 wherein Wilkes published an assault against the artist's work and person, and he includes issue 45, in which Wilkes published a scathing attack on the King, which resulted in his arrest and trial for libel. Less overt, but nonetheless telling, is the expression Hogarth has rendered for Wilkes: that of a leer and a squint. As art historian Shearer West has convincingly shown, Hogarth's Wilkes breaks from the day's portraiture conventions, in which the face would normally remain passively blank. Instead, armed with a leer and the squint the politician is known to have had—that West has shown to have physiognomic associations with sexual excess and duplicity—Hogarth's Wilkes uses visual precedent to emphasize the politician's reputation in an act of caricature.[401] What gives the picture status as a portrait is Hogarth's assurance that the design is "Drawn from the life"; he appends this claim to the inscription at the bottom of the engraved plate.

Hogarth's occasion to see Wilkes was at the Westminster courts where the politician appeared after he was arrested with a general warrant and where he was convicted of seditious libel in the immediate aftermath of the *North Briton* no. 45 publication. At his hearing, Wilkes spoke out for the liberties of private citizens, delivering a message that British America heard loud and clear. News of his arrest, trial, and self-imposed exile to Paris found its way to the colonies soon thereafter, and

---

[401] Shearer West, "Wilkes's Squint: Synecdochic Physiognomy and Political Identity in Eighteenth-Century Print Culture," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 1 (1999): 65–84.

when in 1768 he returned to England and was elected to Parliament for Middlesex County, British Americans were amongst his most ardent supporters, some even going so far as to designate children and places with his name.

One reason for such widespread affection for a man who Benjamin Franklin characterized "an outlaw… of bad personal character," may have been the circumstances of Wilkes's arrest, with a general warrant (which was later determined illegal).[402] Over the previous decade, British colonials were subjected to the *Writs of Assistance*, whereby customs officers (or anyone so armed with a *writ*, as they were transferable) were granted the right to search for contraband without specifying what specifically they were looking for, or where. When in 1761 parliament needed to renew the *Acts of Trade* for which the *Writs of Assistance* had been granted, they were challenged by Boston merchants, represented by James Otis, Jr. Though Otis technically lost his case, his argument exposed the government's violation of colonists' natural rights to life, liberty, and property. When Wilkes saw his papers seized in 1763, he was subjected to the same threat of property that the colonists faced with the *Writs of Assistance*. For both of these injustices, Americans may have rallied around Wilkes, who they regarded as a staunch upholder of the rights of the British constitution. So, too, were they supportive of the man who (after his election to Parliament in 1768) they believed might be in a position of power to actually reform those most egregious errors in government accountability. Unfortunately, that distinction was not yet to be; upon his return from self-imposed exile in France,

---

[402] Benjamin Franklin to William Franklin, April 16, 1768, as quoted in Pauline Maier, "John Wilkes and American Disillusionment with Britain," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (July 1963): 375.

Wilkes was imprisoned and barred from Parliament once more. The regard that Americans had for Wilkes continued to grow as events over the next few years pointed to ever allied grievances against a corrupt government.[403]

In the midst of such colonial reverence it may come as no surprise that Hogarth's print was the subject of at least one rhetorical thrashing. On August 15, 1763, in between a proclamation on behalf of the King by Benjamin Franklin announcing a day of thanksgiving to recognize the end of European hostilities marked by the Seven Years' War and a public notice of the next day's vendue selling a miscellany of textiles, *The New-York Mercury* published a verse lambasting Hogarth and his foray into political prints. The verse, titled "A Parody on Romeo and the Apothecary" takes Shakespeare's text as a model, replacing references to the Apothecary with a print publisher in Romeo's monologue (*Romeo and Juliet*, Act V, Scene 1). Setting the scene, "Romeo" here describes a poor publisher's place of business:

> … And in his *needy* shop an Atlas hung,
>
> The TIMES, JOHN WILKES, and other ill done prints,
>
> By self-applauding Hogarth, and on the shelves
>
> A beggarly account of *unknown Pamphlets*,
>
> *Obscene pictures, musty magazines*...[404]

---

[403] For a detailed account of the relationship between John Wilkes and Americans in the period 1768–1770, see Ibid., 373–395.

[404] *The New York Mercury*, August 15, 1763.

Like Shakespeare's impoverished Apothecary and his old-fashioned business, the poor print publisher is ridiculed for his passé merchandise. No author signs the satirical verse, but his awareness and disdain for Hogarth's portrait, as well as *The Times*, the print that may be said to have precipitated the whole exchange between Hogarth, Wilkes, and Charles Churchill, is plainly evident. Briefly, prior to Hogarth publishing *The Times*, plate 1, Wilkes caught wind that he and some of his political colleagues were to be included in the composition. Writing to express his displeasure, Wilkes reminded Hogarth of their previous collegiality. Perhaps in some acknowledgment of this relation, Hogarth obscured the faces of two of the people, which are said to have been intended as Wilkes and Churchill. Yet evidently a case of too little, too late to placate the clergyman, it was largely due to Churchill's aspersions in *An Epistle to William Hogarth* that the artist's reputation was maligned in the British-American press beyond the final years of his life.

Such outrage on behalf of Wilkes is what we might expect in the British-American press, but the next two instances in which Hogarth's print are mentioned within the editorial content of colonial newspapers tell a different tale. It is the politician and not the artist who is reviled. Both come by way of London-based publications and both suggested appending their lyric verses to the print's caption. The first, published in the Rhode Island *Newport Mercury* on September 12, 1763 and signed Sal Scribbler (pseud.), reads:

> On Faction's pinions rais'd above the croud,
> For George and Liberty I cry aloud:
> The cousen'd rabble echo forth the sound.
> And George and Liberty's the cry all round,

The grin I wear declares a double face;

My cry for Liberty – but mere grimace.

For Judas-like, I wing my subtle way,

And Kiss my King and Country – to betray.[405]

On September 15, 1763, another response to Hogarth's print appeared, this time in *The Georgia Gazette*:

Satan, in glee, thus grin'd a ghastly smile,

For deep-laid projects of successful guile!

He hop'd th'angelick choir, (but hop'd in vain)

Would tune their harps to some triumphant strain;

And wish'd in other accents to be sung,

Than those which issued from an adder's tongue.

Our miscreant chief alike his aim may miss.

And courting vain applause shall hear the hiss.[406]

Neither suggestion to accompany the Wilkes portrait is terribly complimentary of the subject, likening Wilkes to Judas and Satan, respectively, and likening his actions to treason. While these texts may have represented one side of the political spectrum, popular in England, Wilkes remained a hero to many in the colonies, garnering increasing support for years to come. Perhaps it was for readers of this persuasion that *The Georgia Gazette* followed up the rhetorical ode with a news item that showed

---

[405] "London, May 28," *The Newport Mercury* (Newport), September 12, 1763.

[406] "An Inscription to be Placed under Mr. Hogarth's Etching of John Wilkes, Esq.," *The Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), September 15, 1763.

Wilkes in a positive light: "We hear the worshipful company of stationers are to have a meeting, at which it is intended to propose the freedom of their company to Mr. Wilkes, for his steady assertion of the liberty of the press, in having fixed up in his own house presses and other materials for printing."[407]

As we have seen, Wilkes's messages of revolution were generally well received in the colonies and there is no reason to suppose that his British-American supporters would not have sought out his engraved portrait for purchase. Though originally intended as a critique on the sitter, Hogarth's engraving became a rallying point for Wilkes's supporters, and the physiognomic qualities Hogarth ascribed to the man were adopted in subsequent portraits of the politician.[408] It would therefore not be inappropriate to find the portrait amidst the possessions of British Americans on either side of the political spectrum. It might then bear questioning why there are no recorded impressions of Wilkes's likeness—by Hogarth or any other artist—within the probate inventories and print sellers' advertising stock lists. Records can be highly suggestive of Hogarth's presence, yet the crucial evidence is frustratingly absent. Such is the case of a collection or "curious" prints offered for sale by Joseph McAdam in 1766, comprising:

> about 200 prints, or pictures, representing all the persons and characters of note in Europe, viz. Crowned Heads, Ministers of State, Politicians, Patriots Admirals, Generals, &c. &c. in a very striking, expressive, and historical light, with their proper characters, [ill.] in the hieroglyphick

---

[407] Ibid.

[408] West has studied the portraits of Wilkes made before and after Hogarth's engraving. She finds that after Hogarth's publication even those made in support of the politician emphasize his squint, turning the physical deformity into a defining, iconic characteristic. West, "Wilkes's Squint," 1999, 73–74.

> or caricature manner, with the most severe and entertaining satires on some, and the greatest [ill.] to others…[409]

It is not beyond the realm of reason to suppose that prints like Hogarth's portrait of John Wilkes might be included in the set, especially when Wilkes's strong supporter the Revd. Charles Churchill authored some of the pamphlets offered as part of the same collection. Whatever the specifics of the print collection, they were to be had of any interested party for fifty percent.[410]

Even if we cannot firmly identify an instance of the Wilkes portrait in shops or inventories, we know that it would have been part of the volumes published by Mrs. Hogarth and J. Boydell, which as we saw in the previous chapter were procured by the likes of Henry Laurens in Charleston and the Library Company of Philadelphia. As art historian Yvonne Korshak has shown, there is strong reason to believe that Hogarth's portrait of Wilkes was known in the colonies, and certainly to Paul Revere (1734–1818), who in 1768 made the silver *Sons of Liberty Bowl* (Fig. 4.2) now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Korshak reaches this conclusion, tracing the iconography of the liberty cap, which she notes was first used in the context of eighteenth-century revolutionaries with Hogarth's portrait of Wilkes. Since the liberty cap is included on the bowl, just five years after the print was first issued, and since the Sons of Liberty are known to have been sympathetic to Wilkes's revolutionary agenda, she concludes that the imagery on the bowl must be the result of an encounter between Revere and the Hogarth print, or perhaps a punchbowl

---

[409] *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), October 17, 1766.

[410] Ibid.

ornamented with Wilkes's visage.[411] Punchbowls made in Jingdezhen, China, bearing Hogarth's portrait of Wilkes were made between 1764 and 1770 and presumably available in England and the British colonies soon thereafter.[412] Illustrated on the opposite side of the bowl is a drinking scene in which three men force a fourth to join them in a bowl of what can safely be assumed to be punch—this image is copied from an engraving by the French artist Charles Maucourt (1728–1768) and may refer to the life of excess that Wilkes is known to have enjoyed (Figs. 4.3 and 4.4).[413]

It is easy to imagine such bowls at the center of gatherings such as those depicted by Maucourt and Hogarth's own famed *Midnight Modern Conversation* (which also appears reproduced on punchbowls of the day), with British Americans toasting to the liberties and political freedoms that Wilkes espoused.[414] Punch was

---

[411] See Yvonne Korshak, "The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 1987): 54–57.

[412] Winterthur Museum and Estate, Colonial Williamsburg, and the British Museum all have identical bowls. In his study of ceramics that relate to the artist, Lars Tharp suggests that the bowl must have been purchased by Anti-Wilkes customers, but given West's findings on the use that Wilkes's supporters made of Hogarth's imagery, it remains plausible that either side could have found political sentiment in it. Lars Tharp, *Hogarth's China: Hogarth's Paintings and 18th-Century Ceramics* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1997), 107 and West, "Wilkes's Squint," 1999, 73–74.

[413] Historian John Sainsbury details the profligate ways of the political radical in *John Wilkes: the Lives of a Libertine* (Aldershot, Hampshire and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006). John Brewer has also focused some attention on the man's personality, particularly as it relates to his politics, see "Personality, propaganda and ritual: Wilkes and the Wilkites" in *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press 1976), 163–200.

[414] Eric Gollannek provides a lively discussion of the culture of punch drinking in the circum-Atlantic British world in "Empire Follows Art," 2008, 159–221.

certainly at the forefront of one Philadelphia celebration that occurred in 1766 following the arrival of news that the Stamp Act had been repealed:

> The Minerva came to an Anchor opposite the Town, before it was known from whence she came, or the News she brought; but one of the Inhabitants having immediately gone on board, he received the Glorious Tidings, and instantly proclaimed the News, brought the Law on Shore, as published by BASKETT, the KING'S Printer, read it aloud at the London Coffee-House, and, a Multitude being by this Time collected, three loud Huzzas testified their Approbation; a Deputation from their Number was directly sent down to wait on Captain Wise, and having first made the Ship's Company a Present, they conducted him to the Coffee-House with Colours flying, &c. A large Bowl of Punch was ready, in which he drank Prosperity to America, and was complimented with a Gold-laced Hat, for having brought the first certain Account of the Stamp-Act being totally repealed.[415]

Over the next month, the story, with its interest to an understandably broad audience, was re-published throughout the colonies. Readers would find nothing unusual in the celebration of such news first with punch, and later with nighttime illuminations (fireworks). Some towns, like Portsmouth, New Hampshire, even staged similar events so that they, too, could participate in the celebration.[416]

As historian David Waldstreicher has shown, such collective events and experiences helped in the formation of a national culture.[417] So, too, did the shared knowledge of the events themselves. Disseminated through local news outlets onto an expanding geographic stage, these types of events became the conduits whereby a

---

[415] *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), May 22, 1766.

[416] As reported in the *Supplement to the Boston Evening-Post* June 9, 1766.

[417] David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

shared culture of print helped readers to establish ties to distant persons marked by shared political and social concerns.[418] If, then, we think of printed imagery within the realm of print culture, with its ability to transmit information to spatially diverse constituencies, the so-called imagined community that develops as a result of shared literary references may also be identified in shared visual references. Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, which exists within the realm of printed text and image, might then be dually implicated in its capacity to spread an aesthetic ideology to diverse and disparate audiences, and tie them together through mutual understanding.

The Analysis of Beauty

Whether resulting from aesthetic or nationalistic fervor, a desire to adopt its recommendations on personal beauty and behavior, interest in the latest book offerings from London, or some combination of the above, Hogarth's 1753 publication *The Analysis of Beauty* was a significant purveyor of Hogarth's aesthetic in British America. Advancing an artistic treatise steeped in the day's rococo aesthetic, the volume stood in opposition to the contemporaneous Neo-Classical style.[419] "Written with a view of fixing the fluctuating Ideas of Taste," as the volume's title page proclaimed, the book also purported to correct flawed understandings of taste as well

---

[418] Benedict Anderson and others have discussed this phenomenon in the context of histories of literary print culture. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1983.

[419] Without naming names, Sir Joshua Reynolds decried Hogarth's philosophy and practice, writing his own theories on beauty in the *Idler* (London) no. 82 (November 1759). In contradistinction from the Neo-Classicism espoused by Reynolds and the Academy, Hogarth's own artistic practice was steeped in artistic traditions of the baroque as well as rococo, and his central theoretical tenet, the bold, s-curve of his line of beauty finds a precedent in the history of art as early as the mannerist period.

as to stabilize those elements that he deemed critical of taste. Of the latter, readers were led to presume that the author was the authority on taste and that there was only one true meaning behind the word. Of course, such a conclusion would certainly have had its share of objectors. In his now classic essay "Of the Standard of Taste," the mid-eighteenth century economist David Hume observed that even those persons who have been educated in the same manner and raised within the same culture would exhibit evidence of variant taste preferences.[420]

When the lens is cast further afield, and persons from different lands are added to the mix, taste is again divorced from anything that claims universality.[421] Yet in today's writing about the consumer choices made by the middling and upper sorts over the course of the eighteenth century, there is a tendency to assume that only one standard of taste was supreme.[422] Hogarth's *Analysis* gives credence to that notion and suggests that not only were specific types of goods required of "polite" society, but

---

[420] David Hume develops this idea over the course of his essay, "Of the Standard of Taste" in *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (London: Printed for A. Millar, 1758), 134–146, esp. 134.

[421] Robert Lloyd's poem "The Cit's Country Box" of 1757 provides contemporary commentary on merchant class taste, which is without the benefit of heredity or elite social background. See *The Poetical Works of Robert Lloyd, A.M…* (London: T. Evans in the Strand, MDCCLXXIV), 41–46.

[422] As Lorna Weatherill's study of English probate inventories for the period has shown, in an effort to exhibit evidence of one's "polite" status, there were specific types of consumer movables like looking glasses, table linens, and knives and forks that historians could expect to find positioned within such public domestic spaces as the dining room or parlor (Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour*, 1988). Richard Bushman has made a study of the types of consumer goods that displayed various levels of social standing, as they informed the social practices, conventions, and manners of eighteenth-century British America in his book (Bushman, *Refinement of America*, 1992).

that the design of these goods was equally suggestive of the owner's moral worth. In Hogarth's estimation, purchase of an excessively designed candlestick is to be avoided in favor of one that is more restrained. In each of his examples (whether cabriole chair leg, corset, or s-curve), the artist provides illustration and discussion on a range of decorative choice from plain to excessive, finding in the center the ideal example, being equal parts concave and convex (see Fig. 4.5). Inevitably, that example is the one that displays his serpentine "line of beauty." Hume and Hogarth offer very different approaches to their assessment of beauty: for Hogarth there is one ideal; for Hume there is myriad. In a society predicated on *expressive consumption*, Hogarth's explanation may justly be considered king.

In his pre-publication advertisements for the volume, Hogarth intimated that the book might be read as a conduct manual, commenting that he "has endeavour'd to render it useful and interesting to the Curious and Polite of both Sexes, by laying down the Principles of personal Beauty and Deportment, as also of Taste in general…"[423] Using candlesticks, chair legs, and the stays of women's undergarments, Hogarth set about proving his theory that beauty resides in the serpentine line that is comprised of equal parts concave and convex curvature. The very objects that Hogarth chose for the basis of his evidence in the *Analysis* afford a comment on morality,[424]

---

[423] *London Evening Post*, August 11, 1752.

[424] Gail Amelia Kallins pursues this argument throughout her dissertation, especially in the context of her third chapter, "The Familiar: Class, Consumption, Women" in "'The Curious and Polite' world of William Hogarth's 'The Analysis of Beauty'". Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1998, 103–136. For a discussion of stays and their moral implications in British America, see John E. Crowley, "The Sensibility of Comfort," *The American Historical Review*, 104, no. 3 (June, 1999): 754, 756.

which should come as no surprise, given the similar treatment of decorative and utilitarian objects filling the backdrop of his modern moral subjects. Advancing the humorous and insightful agenda of his previous artistic work, the *Analysis* targeted his previous audiences, this time providing an abundance of text punctuated by image in reverse of his usual practice.

Another of Hogarth's chief motivations in writing the *Analysis* was the conflict that he had with the so-called native art "connoisseurs" or as he termed them "quacks," who he believed little able to decipher quality in art without relying on the judgment of others, whereby they blindly prioritized Continental artists to the detriment of English artists.[425] When the text found its ways into the hands of England's art cognoscenti upon its publication in 1753, it met with decidedly mixed reviews. However, from many of the literary journals, it received praise, and in Germany, Italy, and France, he too found commendation in certain circles.[426] Over the

---

[425] The artist approached this topic in a number of his prints, most notably his 1723/24 *Masquerades and Operas* (P.44), the *Harlot's Progress*, *the Rake's Progress, Marriage à la Mode*, *The Gate of Calais, or the Roast Beef of Old England* (P.180), and the *Election Entertainments.* Hogarth's strongly nationalist rhetoric and xenophobia has been discussed in numerous studies, notably Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Harlot: Sacred Parody in Enlightenment England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), Jenny Uglow, "Country, Coram and Children," in *Hogarth: A Life and A World* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997), 322–338; and Peter Wagner, "The Artistic Framing of English Nationalism in Hogarth's *The Gate of Calais, or The Roast Beef of Old England*" in *"Better in France?": The Circulation of Ideas across the Channel in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Frédéric Ogée (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2005), 71–87.

[426] Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791, 3:125. According to Ireland, the book was especially well received in Germany. Mr. Reiffsten of Cassel even invited the artist to join the Imperial Academy at Augsbourg after reading it. The text was soon translated into German (1754) and Italian (1761), with a French edition following early in the next century (1805).

next decade the connoisseurs fought back, in printed text and image.[427] That John Wilkes and Charles Churchill, two of Hogarth's most vociferous opponents at the time, should find fault with the text comes as no surprise. In no. 17 of the *North Briton* (Wilkes) and *An Epistle to William Hogarth* (Churchill), the two public figures attacked the artist's person as well as the validity and even authorship of the ideas expressed in Hogarth's text.[428] Visual critiques of the project also appeared, notably a group of prints executed by Paul Sandby in 1753 and 1754 (for example Figs. 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8), which took several of Hogarth's points to task.[429] Following the debate in

---

[427] Burke provides an analysis of the book's reception soon after its initial publication in his introduction (Hogarth, *Analysis*, 1955, xxiv–xxviii). Paulson offers his own opinions in *Hogarth*, 1993, 3:132–151. Uglow deals with this topic in "'A Wanton Kind of Chance': *The Analysis of Beauty*" in *A Life*, 1997, 516–537.

[428] While Wilkes, Churchill, and a host of others believed that the artist received assistance in writing and content from a group of friends, Burke's analysis of the three drafts of the manuscript now in the British Library (Egerton MSS. 3011–16) suggests that these so-called collaborators did little more than provide editorial assistance. The content is Hogarth's own, germinations of which had appeared in the London papers for more than a decade (Hogarth, *Analysis*, 1955, xxviii–xxxi). As Burke observed, Hogarth published some of the ideas on aesthetics and criticisms of the English "connoisseur" that would become the *Analysis* in advertising notices for some of his prints as well as in anonymous editorial contributions to the papers, beginning around 1737, just two years after he initiated the practice of advertising his prints for sale in this venue (Ibid., xxii.).

[429] To varying degrees, in *The Burlesquer Burlesqued*, *Puggs Graces*, and *The Analyst Besh[itte] in his own Taste* Sandby exposes Hogarth's reliance on the Academic tradition against which he rails in *The Analysis of Beauty* and simultaneously casts Hogarth's new theory as backwards, standing in the way of progress. These and other Sandby prints critical of Hogarth's theoretical treatise are described in F. G. Stephens and E. Hawkins, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1753–1754), division I, vol. iii, part iii; Burke discusses them briefly in Hogarth, *Analysis*, 1955, xxv–xxviii; and Clayton explains the animosity that existed between the two artists in *Hogarth and his Times*, 1997, 175–176.

the day's press, it soon becomes clear that for most art world notables, Hogarth's esteem was not to be found with his pen, but should remain with that of his pencil and engraver's burin.

Nonetheless, nowhere is Hogarth's opinion about the arts more expressly communicated than in the *Analysis*. The volume and its accompanying engravings enlighten the Hogarth scholar as to the artist's formal concerns and intellectual motivations. As such, any serious study of Hogarth's works would fall short without at least some discussion of the project. Within the present study such a lacuna would be even more indefensible, as it is within the context of the book that fleeting mention of Hogarth's presence in British North America has previously been focused, with scholars acknowledging some artistic and cultural reliance on Hogarth in the late colonial and early national periods in everything from the compositions of paintings to the design of furniture and gardens.[430] At once an aesthetic treatise, conduct manual,

---

[430] Some of the most notable applications of Hogarth's theory in American Art and design have been discussed by Susan Rather and Margaretta Lovell. See Susan Rather, "A Painter's Progress: Matthew Pratt and The American School," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 28 (1993): 176–177; Margaretta M. Lovell, "'Such Furniture as Will Be Most Profitable:' The Business of Cabinet-making in Eighteenth-Century Newport," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 49–50.

Notwithstanding the application of the text to British-American interests, Hogarth's literary project has been the subject of numerous investigations. Two edited editions of the text are particularly noteworthy, the first by Joseph Burke in 1955, which includes analysis of Hogarth's different manuscript versions of the text, as well as appending the manuscript *Autobiography* and Ronald Paulson's 1997 text with an extensive contextual introduction.

Also of interest are a number of specialized approaches to the text. By no means an exhaustive listing, the following are some of those approaches from the last twenty years that I have found most more compelling: Annie Richardson, "From the Moral Mound to the Material Maze: Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*" in *Luxury in the*

and nationalist propaganda piece, the *Analysis* played many roles for American as for British readers and its influence can be seen in American material and literary products throughout the second half of the eighteenth century.

Undoubtedly, the circulation of the *Analysis* in local bookshops and libraries buoyed Hogarth's presence in British America; the breadth of its readership likely extended throughout the major metropolitan areas and into the countryside. From as early as 1758—only five years after its London publication—the New York Society Library listed Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* in their catalogue of books belonging to the library.[431] Subscription and college libraries soon followed in their own acquisitions of the quarto volume. On December 19, 1760, J. Richardson of London finalized an invoice for the Rev. Jeremy Condy—then on an acquisition trip on behalf of the Salem Social Library—detailing the books inside two trunks on board the "Hawk," bound for Boston under the command of Captain Newton; included was Hogarth's *Analysis*, valued at 15 shillings.[432] In 1764 the book was available to

---

Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods, eds. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (New York: Palgrave Macmillian Ltd., 2003), 127, 119; Abigail Sarah Zitin, "Practical Formalism: *The Analysis of Beauty* and the aesthetics of technique." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2011; Elizabeth Kathleen Mitchell, "Mechanical Reproduction and the Mechanical Philosophy: The Idea of Originality in Eighteenth-Century British Printmaking". Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2006; Kallins, "Curious and Polite," 1998.

[431] New-York Society Library, *A Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the New-York Society Library* (New York, Printed by H. Gaine, 1758). Not ten years later the volume had also found its way out of the library's collection—in September of 1765 the library was forced to place a notice in the local newspaper that their copy of Hogarth's text was missing, and to please return it to the librarian whenever possible (*The New-York Mercury*, September 16, 1765).

[432] Harriet Silvester Tapley, *Salem Imprints 1768–1825: A History of the First Fifty Years of Printing in Salem, Massachusetts, with Some Account of the Bookshops,*

interested members of the Library Company of Philadelphia.[433] In 1770 it was in the Library Society of Charleston and Harvard College had it by 1773 (finding its way into a catalogue of books recommended to the young Harvard scholar by the 1780s).[434] By the 1790s the volume had also reached the shelves of the Brown University Library and the Library Company in Baltimore.[435] And when in 1793 Thaddeus Mason Harris, librarian of Harvard College, included the volume in a catalogue of those books he proposed for inclusion in any newly formed Social library, he further affirmed the volume's significance.[436]

Not just to be found in community libraries, the volume also found its way onto the bookshelves of private collections. In Thomas Jefferson's estimation, Hogarth's volume would challenge the mind, and thus make an appropriate inclusion to any gentleman's library. When responding to his brother-in-law Robert Skipwith's

---

Booksellers, Bookbinders and the Private Libraries (Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1927), 236.

[433] Library Company of Philadelphia, *Catalogue of books*, 1765, 43.

[434] Harvard University, *Documentary history of the library*, 1773–1789; *Catalogus Librorum in Bibliotheca Cantabrigiensi Selectus*, 178-?. HUF 523.6.73, Box 1, Folder 2. Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Mass. The title page of this volume reads "Catalogue of books in the Cambridge library selected for the more frequent use of Harvard men who have not yet been invested with the Degrees of Bachelor of Arts…" A further note on the next page suggests that this catalog has been compiled in an effort to focus the attention of young students on books that will not be above their level of comprehension, as many of the volumes in the library must surely be.

[435] Schimmelman, *Books on Art*, 2007, 105–107.

[436] Thaddeus M. Harris, *Selected Catalogue of Some of the Most Esteemed Publications in the English Language Proper to Form a Social Library: With an Introduction upon the choice of Books* (Boston: I. Thomas & E. T. Andrews, 1793), 21.

recommendations in forming a personal library in 1771, Jefferson cited Hogarth alongside Lord Kames and Edmund Burke as luminaries in the field of aesthetics.[437] A generation later, the Harvard University educated John Quincy Adams's library, too, contained a German translation of the volume.[438] Bookstores were happy to oblige any consumer's desire to procure, as well; from the 1760s the *Analysis* was available in Boston and New York and by the 1770s it could also be had for purchase in Williamsburg.[439]

---

[437] "A Gentleman's Library," Thomas Jefferson to Robert Skipwith, Monticello, August 3, 1771, in Thomas Jefferson, 1743–1826. Letters. Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library. Accessed June 29, 2013. http://etext.virginia.edu/etcbin/toccer-new2?id=JefLett.sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/english/modeng/parsed&tag=public&part=5&division=div1. Frederick Doveton Nichols and Ralph Etsy Griswold write about Jefferson's adaptation of Hogarth's aesthetic in his landscape designs in *Thomas Jefferson: Landscape Architect* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 76–77.

[438] John Quincy Adams, Henry Adams, and Worthington Chauncey Ford, *A Catalogue of the Books of John Quincy Adams Deposited in the Boston Athenæum, with Notes on Books, Adams Seals and Book-Plates* (Boston: Athenæum, 1938), 132.

[439] On November 8, 1762, the New York-based shop Rivington and Brown announced the volume's sale in the *New-York Gazette*; according to unpaginated backmatter of Charles Chauncy, *The Appeal to the public answered, in behalf of the non-Episcopal churches in America; containing remarks on what Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler has advanced, on the four following points. The original and nature of the Episcopal office. Reasons for sending bishops to America. The plan on which it is proposed to send them. And the objections against sending them obviated and refuted. Wherein the reasons for an American episcopate are shewn to be insufficient, and the objections against it in full force* (Boston: N.E. Printed by Kneeland and Adams, in Milk-Street, for Thomas Leverett, in Corn Hill, 1768), Thomas Leverett offered the book in his shop in Corn-Hill by 1768. The book (along with Trusler's *Hogarth Moralized*) was also available for sale in the Williamsburg, VA, post office, according to a catalogue of books published in the *Virginia Gazette*, November 29, 1770.

Evidence of the book's presence being thus well established, attention must now be paid to evidence of readership and the adoption of the book's primary principles on the Atlantic's western shores. Though the application of the *Analysis* within the world of goods circulating in British America is certainly far too great to discuss in its entirety, there are three primary ways in which scholars have tended to account for its influence: in painting, furniture design, and horticultural design.[440] On 28 February 1772, John Trumbull borrowed Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* from the library of Harvard College.[441] Before leaving for Europe in 1777, the artist painted a self-portrait (Fig. 4.9), bearing witness to his awareness of the volume by rendering a volume with Hogarth's name stamped upon the leather tooled binding. As if in evidence of the young artist's adoption of Hogarth's artistic tenets, Trumbull arranged the colors upon his painter's palette in the spectral order that Hogarth had suggested more than twenty years earlier.[442]

---

[440] In her study of Anna Maria Garthwaite's textile production at Spitalfields and the circulation of the woven fabric throughout the British Atlantic world, historian Zara Anishanslin Bernhardt identifies another avenue by which Hogarth's aesthetic treatise—if removed by some degree—found its way to American shores. She cites in particular the fabric worn by Anne Shippen Willing in her 1746 portrait by Robert Feke. Though manufactured in the place of Hogarth's home, the fabric had the capacity to envelop British-American women not only in the latest fashions, but to achieve Hogarth's vision of ideal beauty. See Bernhardt, "Woman in a Silk Dress," 2009, 105–107.

[441] As observed by Schimmelman, *Books on Art*, 2007, 260. The library charging records for Harvard College dating from 1762 to 1897 are available via the Harvard University Archive.

[442] In a less overt, but no less significant manner, a few years earlier, John Singleton Copley, in his ca. 1770 portrait of Joshua Henshaw (now in the collection of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco), also espoused a general knowledge of Hogarth's

While some artists accessed Hogarth's *Analysis* on British-American shores, others may have come to find Hogarth during their travels in England. No matter. If they returned to America and adopted an aspect of Hogarth's theory into the art they made for British-American audiences, then so was Hogarth's legacy further perpetuated on western shores. As art historian Susan Rather has shown, Matthew Pratt's *The American School* exhibits evidence of the artist's familiarity not only with the *Analysis* but also with some of Hogarth's later engraved self-portraits (Fig. 4.10).[443] Charles Willson Peale also took Hogarth's teachings to heart, and upon his return from London even taught his brother St. George the s-curve's aesthetic conceit.[444]

In furniture design, too, Hogarth's recommendations for beauty were adopted in British America. As art historian Margaretta M. Lovell demonstrates in her study of Newport, Rhode Island, cabinetmaking, some of those principles that distinguish this region's furniture from all others in the second half of the eighteenth century are the repetitive s-curve and ogee patterns that find their way from Hogarth's treatise onto architectonic pieces of case furniture. Far from submitting a slavish facsimile of Hogarth's precepts to consumers (who found themselves on both sides of the

---

theory, positioning his subject in a pose similar to that which Hogarth deemed admirable (Lovell, *Season of Revolution*, 2005, 130).

[443] See Susan Rather, "A Painter's Progress," 1983, 176–177.

[444] Charles Willson Peale to Benjamin West, April 20 177[1] as quoted in Arthur S. Marks, "Private and Public in *The Peale Family*: Charles Willson Peale as Pater and Painter," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 156, no. 2 (June 2012): 150. For more on Charles Willson Peale and William Hogarth, see John S. Hallam, "Charles Willson Peale and Hogarth's *Line of Beauty*," *Antiques* 122 (1982): 1074–1079.

Atlantic), the Newport cabinetmakers, led by the Townsend and Goddard clans, applied their s-curves in largely symmetrical ways, provoking a cerebral response.[445] In a more recent study, K.L.H. Wells has proposed a relationship between a William Whitehead sideboard made in New York dating from the last decade of the 18th century (now in the Chipstone Collection) and Hogarth's *Analysis*. She suggests that the case furniture might explicate Hogarth's theory of beauty, and that in so doing it may have evinced the polite taste of its buyer to all who were exposed to it through the pleasures of the dining room.[446] She acknowledges that there can be no verifiable straight line between the cabinetmaker Whitehead and Hogarth's text, but suggests that the sideboard must be seen as evidence of the network tying American and British cabinetmakers together through a shared aesthetic vocabulary. In this Wells draws upon Charles Montgomery's venerable observations regarding the cabinetmaking industry in England and the empire.[447]

If the line of beauty could be found within the British-American domestic interior, it could also be found without. Landscape design on the North-American continent, with Thomas Jefferson at the helm, was on the rise at the end of the eighteenth century, and evidence of curving walkways and rivers shows another

---

[445] Lovell, "Business of Cabinet-making," 1991, 49.

[446] K.L.H. Wells, "Serpentine Sideboards, Hogarth's *Analysis*, and the Beautiful Self," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 46, no. 3 (2013): 399–413.

[447] Ibid., 401. Wells refers to Charles F. Montgomery, *American Furniture: The Federal Period, in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum* (New York: The Viking Press, 1966), 16, 19.

application of Hogarth's "line of beauty."[448] A similar perspective may be seen in the serpentine design of the main walk leading up to Charles Willson Peale's Bellfield Mansion (now part of the La Salle University campus in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). Whether or not the landscape designer was familiar with Hogarth's precepts, finding inspiration in a natural form was sure to engender similarities of form and design execution. Of course, if the designer was completely unfamiliar with the theory, and derived the idea from his own head, that could be construed as evidence for finding beauty in such a line, as it was the perfect and obvious choice for those of cerebral consideration.[449]

Evidence of readership and familiarity did not end with the paintings of these few noted artists, the furniture designs of Newport and New York cabinetmakers, and the landscape and architecture designs of such eminent figures as Thomas Jefferson and Charles Willson Peale. Sections of the *Analysis* were occasionally reproduced in the newspapers and books discussing taste and morality. The diverse readership of these varied formats expanded Hogarth's position within the imagined community

---

[448] In England, too, Hogarth's *Analysis* was variously applied to landscape theory later in the century. Sir William Chambers took Hogarth's suggestion for "gradating shades" in "fish, feathers, and rose petals" (Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, 1955, 109–110) to heart when recommending thoughtful transitions between abutting plants Sir William Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (London: Printed by W. Griffin, etc., 1772), 83–84. For more on Chambers's theory, see Mark Laird, *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden: English Pleasure Grounds, 1720–1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 258. Sir Uvedale Price adopted Hogarth's notion of "intricacy" in his *Essays on the Picturesque*, 1810.

[449] Kenneth Hafertepe offers a critical summary of Thomas Jefferson's thoughts on aesthetics in "An Inquiry into Thomas Jefferson's Ideas of Beauty," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 2 (June 2000): 216–231.

formed by British-American readers, seeping into collective consciousness through repeated allusion and reference. The book and its author may therefore be considered contributors to larger discussions of social values that found growing importance in the years leading up to and through the Revolutionary War.

In the spring of 1775 the *Pennsylvania Ledger* printed a piece originating in London, which described the punishment meted out to a woman convicted of stealing silk. The author recounts the attention paid to the woman's figure, which "might have stood the test of Hogarth's Analysis of beauty" even after having been beaten and stripped naked to the waist. First published in London in March of the same year, the article surely demonstrates a long-standing awareness and understanding of the artist's proposed tenets of beauty, at least on the part of the original correspondent. That the editors of first the London paper and then the Philadelphia paper sought fit to retain the Hogarth reference points to a referent shared not only by the purveyors of the news, but also to a collective readership further buoyed by shared points of association.

Whether or not the readers of Philadelphia newspapers were already familiar with the complete contents of Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, selective quotations occasionally appeared in books devoted to moral instruction. Some of these were locally published, with care given over to local concerns. Throughout the first three quarters of the eighteenth century it was usually cheaper to import English books rather than reprint them in the colonies but by the 1780s, this was no longer categorically the case.[450] Increasingly, then, are to be found instances of Philadelphia-,

---

[450] The immigrant printer Robert Bell of Philadelphia was one of the first to make a success of reprinting texts originating in London, beginning in 1769. For more on Bell and the development of the book-printing industry, see James Raven, "The

Boston-, and New York-based printers and publishers reprinting texts originating on the opposite shore. One such volume, Hugh Blair's *Lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres* (first published in Edinburgh in 1783) was printed in 1784 by the Philadelphia-based printer Robert Aitken, who evidently believed there was sufficient market for the text to warrant a local edition.

If later publication histories can be interpreted as evidence of a market for the work, Aitken judged his audience wisely; a few years later, Edmund Freeman of Boston printed an abridged version of Blair's lectures. With two American editions of Blair's theories in circulation, and at least one (Freeman's) getting reprinted into the nineteenth century, Hogarth's name and theories of beauty could not fail to enter the vocabulary of a wide-ranging reading public. In Aitken's volume, Hogarth's theories are espoused in Blair's lecture "Beauty, and other pleasures of taste." Meanwhile, in Freeman's volume, Hogarth is referenced in the context of Blair's essay on the "Pleasures of Taste." In it, Blair commends Hogarth's "ingenious" theory, explaining it thus:

> …that all the common and necessary motions for the purposes of life are performed by men in straight or plain lines; but that all the graceful and ornamental movements are made in curve lines; an observation worthy of the attention of those who study the grace of gesture and actions.[451]

Importation of Books in the Eighteenth Century" and James N. Green "English Book Trade" in Amory and Hall, *The Colonial Book*, 2000, 183–198 (Raven) and 248–298 (Green), esp. 283–291.

[451] Hugh Blair, *Essays on rhetoric: abridged chiefly from Dr. Blair's lectures on that science* (Boston: printed for Edmund Freeman, 1789), 29.

By the end of the century, Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* was still being endorsed in the name of proper moral conduct, which was, of course, one of the author's original goals. A reprint of a portion of Charles Darwin's *Plan for the Conduct of Female Education* that appeared in the *Farmer's Weekly Museum* decreed that, in accordance with the flowing, easy curves promoted by Hogarth:

> … a sash descending from one shoulder to the opposite hip, or a Grecian veil thrown back and winding carelessly down behind, are always beautiful; but a few white ostrich feathers rising on the head before, and a train of silk sweeping on the ground behind, add so much grace to a moving female figure, as to attract all eyes with unceasing admiration.[452]

Like the other examples discussed above, the New Hampshire paper's quotation of Darwin's passage relating to Hogarth begins in the English context, and extends into the American arena thanks to its publication in an American-based newspaper. Whether or not the paper's readers were already aware of the artist's aesthetic agenda, Darwin's text offered an interpretation of Hogarth's line of beauty in such an accessible manner that recognition of the artist's aesthetic theory on American soil could only grow. If references to the politics of Hogarth's burin and the aesthetics of his pen had not fully implicated British-American readers in an awareness of the artist's motivations, those relating to *The Four Stages of Cruelty* contributed an even wider assault on the reading public.

---

[452] "Observation of the Dress of Ladies, from Darwin's Plan for the Conduct of Female Education," *Farmer's Weekly Museum; New Hampshire and Vermont Journal* (Walpole, NH), March 25, 1799.

The Four Stages of Cruelty

Just as Hogarth's political and aesthetic interests found their way into the common parlance of British-American reading culture, so did Hogarth's fascination with the social (i.e. moral) code. From popular almanacs to orations delivered before an audience of the American Philosophical Society, Hogarth's series *The Four Stages of Cruelty* finds its way into a variety of British-American contexts within the 1790s. The artist explained his goals for the series in his *Autobiographical Notes*, saying "[they] were done in hopes of preventing in some degree that cruel treatment of poor Animals which makes the streets of London more disagreeable to the human mind, than any thing what ever."[453] The series, originally executed in 1751 was (together with *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane*) a project that Hogarth specifically envisioned for audiences with limited wealth, which for many of his day equated to lower moral rectitude. In what he believed was an effort to appeal to his intended audience, Hogarth sought out a carver of wood in order to create relief matrices for final last two designs of the series.

Far from the sophisticated achievements of sixteenth-century German masters Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung, and Lucas Cranach, by the middle of the eighteenth century the woodcut had fallen on hard times and was largely relegated to the "mean" and "cheap" images found on broadsides and in illustrated books. Within such a context, woodcut images prioritized direct communication over fanciful decoration, and were ostensibly well suited for the didactic needs of an uneducated population.[454]

---

[453] Hogarth, *Analysis*, 1955, 226.

[454] Sheila O'Connell discusses the woodcut within the context of English visual culture and popular prints throughout *The Popular Print in England* (London: British Museum, 1999).

In selecting the woodcut as the process by which the *Four Stages of Cruelty* should be printed, then, Hogarth expected his simple graphic imagery to resonate with the lower sort. He also expected that his choice of relief would result in low-cost prints that his audience could actually afford. In a further effort to find his audience, Hogarth authorized the artisan woodblock carver J. Bell to enlarge the designs slightly so that the moral lesson might be readable from across a crowded room or busy street. For Hogarth, then, the project was one that ought to have introduced moral virtue to the people predisposed to reprehensible conduct.[455] What the artist did not anticipate was that the cost of making such prints was actually prohibitive for him; only the final two prints of the series were made in this manner before the artist abandoned the publication in its vernacular form and concentrated on the engraved version.[456]

That Hogarth originally intended his *Four Stages of Cruelty* in part for a poor audience who he believed in need of moral guidance is clear. However, the code of morality that Hogarth describes in his series is only obvious to an audience that shares with him a specific code of conduct.[457] If the audience does not identify a moral

---

[455] Hogarth claimed that in their very composition, the prints could not help but express directly his moral lesson, explaining that they "were made as obvious as possible, in the hope that their tendency might be seen by men of the lowest rank." Quoted in Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791, 3:355.

[456] The manner of printing was not the only distinction between the two sets; where the woodcuts were printed on a coarse, cheap paper, a group of the engravings were refined not only in technique but also in their very material being, being printed on finer laid paper. For that material advantage, customers were asked to pay an additional 6d. (Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 149).

[457] For a discussion of this argument, see James A. Steintrager, "Monstrous Appearances: Hogarth's 'Four Stages of Cruelty' and the Paradox of Inhumanity," *The Eighteenth Century* 42, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 61–62.

reprehensibility towards the cruel treatment of animals in the first plate of the series, they will not see a logical progression in the prints that follow. From the beginning, then, the first print in the series must endeavor to introduce this sentiment to the audience and to inscribe in their belief system those actions that should be considered "inhuman" (Fig. 4.11). The print comes some way in its goal thanks to the verse that is appended below the engraved image, which reads:

> While various scenes of sportive Woe
> The Infant Race employ,
> And tortur'd Victims bleeding shew
> The Tyrant in the Boy
> Behold! A Youth of gentler Heart.
> To spare the Creature's pain
> O take, he cries—take all my Tart,
> But Tears and Tart are vain.
> Learn from this fair Example—You
> Whom savage Sports delight,
> How Cruelty disgusts the view
> While Pity charms the sight.

As the verse—probably authored by the Rev. James Townley—suggests, a host of children appear in the first plate, engaged in various forms of "sportive woe" against an assembly of dogs, cats, and birds.[458] All of the boys have facial and bodily

---

[458] Interestingly, the verse was not included on the woodcut version of the image.

expressions to suggest enjoyment of the pursuit, except for one. Singular in his concern as well as dress, the "Youth of gentler Heart" reaches out to the boy at the center of the page with one hand, offering a tart if only he will stop trying to push an arrow into a dog's rectum; with the other hand he grasps the boy's arm in an effort to hold the arrow back.

The boy with the arrow is the series' fictional protagonist, Tom Nero, and he is not to be diverted from his mischief. In the first plate, he is marked by an armband identifying him as a ward of the Parish of Saint Giles. The print's audience is thus to understand that the boy is an orphan, without parental figures who would otherwise instruct him in proper behavior towards other living things.[459] Moral philosophers like John Locke and James Burgh identified parents as critical instruments in the proper moral upbringing of a child, and recognized cruelty towards animals as a practice that ought to be immediately censored in a child while teaching benevolence towards all living things. Through proper instruction, they theorized, any predisposition towards actions against another human will be quashed.[460]

---

[459] Evidently a social issue near to the artist's heart, Hogarth served as a Governor and Guardian of London's Foundling Hospital, which was established in 1739 by Thomas Coram to provide the city's orphans and abandoned children with housing and moral guidance. For an account on this aspect of Hogarth's humanitarian concern, see Uglow, *Hogarth*, 1997, 429–438.

[460] John Burgh discussed this in "The Cessares," letter 8 (1754), in *An account of the first settlement, laws, form of government, and police, of the Cessares, a people of South America: In nine letters* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2009), 78. John Locke's discussion may be found in *Some thoughts concerning education and of the conduct of the understanding* (1693) (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1996), 356. For a discussion of both texts in the context of cruelty towards animals in the American colonies, see Bill Leon Smith, "Animals Made Americans Human: Sentient Creatures and the Creation of Early America's Moral Sensibility," *Journal of Animal Ethics* 2, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 127–31.

In the second plate, we see Nero advanced to adulthood. At work as a hackney cab driver, he is shown beating his horse, which has collapsed under the weight of his clientele. Depending on the perspective of the print's audience, Nero, as a cabdriver, might be viewed as completely within his rights to do so, with the horse nothing more than an engine that might be cast aside or destroyed when no longer able to serve its purpose, in this case transporting a load of passengers to their destination. For other audiences, for whom a horse was a valuable tool or beloved companion, the thought of whipping it to death, whatever the reason, was unimaginable. As we cast our eye down the street that Hogarth deploys along a sharp diagonal, we find other bouts of violence against animals, such as the popular entertainment of bull-baiting far in the distance. If not kept in check, such occurrences portend the downfall of a civilized metropolis into barbarous destruction and chaos.

Hogarth may have expected that the moral imperative of his series would be immediately apparent, but depending on a viewer's perspective there could be some debate over the definitions of moral and immoral action in regards to the treatment of animals. Indeed, the subject loomed large in the minds of many of the Britain's moral philosophers.[461] In America, too, the lines regarding moral treatment of animals were far from clearly drawn when in 1786 the noted physician and social reformer Benjamin Rush (1746–1813) addressed Philadelphia's American Philosophical Society (APS). In his oration and subsequent publication regarding one's moral

---

[461] Some of the philosophers who thought about this topic, and whose writings found readers in British America include John Locke (*Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, 1693), Alexander Pope (*Essay on Man*, 1734), and Adam Smith (*Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 1759). They stand in opposition to René Descartes (*Meditations,* 1641), who wrote of animals as machines, without the capacity for subjectivity.

faculty, Rush observed that "Cruelty to brute animals is another means of destroying moral sensibility." As evidence for this statement, he invokes the narrative sequence of Hogarth's *Four Stages of Cruelty* and "the connection between cruelty to brute animals in youth, and murder in manhood." Interestingly, he does not refer to them by the series' title, but only as Mr. Hogarth's "ingenious prints."[462]

This passing remark, one sentence amidst an oration of more than an hour, may have bypassed the attention of some in the audience, but the author's familiarity with Hogarth's series is certainly evinced. Rush, who had received his medical training at the University of Edinburgh after completing his undergraduate education at the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) was not only aware of Hogarth's graphic work, but was also well versed in contemporary philosophical debates regarding morality then rampant throughout northern Europe. In his address to his esteemed audience, Rush argued that certain physical actions, such as cruelty towards animals, contributed to the ruin of one's moral compass, and regulations ought to be set in place to guard against such actions so as to reinforce those commonly-held morals that reason and religion establish.[463] Such legislation, he claimed, would enhance the moral stature of the new nation and safeguard against society's potential self-destruction.[464]

---

[462] Benjamin Rush, *An Oration delivered before the American Philosophical Society, held in Philadelphia on the 27th of February, 1786, containing an enquiry into the Influence of Physical Causes upon the Moral Faculty* (Philadelphia: Printed by Charles Cist, 1786), 32.

[463] Ibid., n.p. (preface).

[464] Unfortunately for Rush, his ideas came at the expense of the guarantee of freedom to the individual, and this freedom proved a much more powerful incentive for early republican legislators (Smith, "Animals Made Americans Human," 2012, 133–134).

Rush was not the only one to concern himself with the welfare of human minds and animal bodies in the early Republic, but his stand against animal cruelty was hardly met with universal agreement and praise. This was, in part, because of the varied uses to which different species of animals were put. For example, lapdogs might provide comfort and hunting dogs a keen sense of sight and smell, but from a farming perspective, the unchecked behavior of dogs could pose a real threat to a family's livelihood, terrorizing flocks and herds when allowed to run wild.[465] Another difficulty that Rush and his sympathizers faced in regards to prohibiting the cruel treatment of animals was the range of opinions regarding the animal's capacity to feel at all.[466] Further confusing the issue was the status of animals as objects that could be owned; as Nero beat his horse in the second plate of the series, so some might justify his actions as right of the owner.

Gregory Scott Goodale has studied the role that Rush played in the formation of Philadelphia society in the early Republic, see "America's Rhetorical Revolution: Defining Citizens in Benjamin Rush's Philadelphia, 1783–1812." Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2007.

[465] For one community in King and Queen County, Virginia, this was such a problem that they petitioned the House of Burgesses for help in controlling "the dogs which are suffered to run at large" in order to limit the loss of their sheep. James Breig, "The Eighteenth Century Goes to the Dogs," *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Autumn 2004). Accessed June 3, 2013. http://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Autumn04/dogs.cfm

[466] In Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), for example, Smith supposed that "as we have no immediate experience of what other men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like situation." The difficulty then, for Smith, in any so-called immoral treatment of animals, was the inability of man to imagine himself in the place of the animal, being of different mental capacity. Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London, 1759), 2.

Certainly this was the view held by the defendant of a 1788 Berks County, Pennsylvania, suit. In Respublica vs. Teischer, the court ruled on the basis of morality and public good rather than precedent, there being no previous conviction in the state of Pennsylvania of a man killing a horse for no reason other than malice. Though the Sergeant in the case proclaimed it a private matter, as betwixt the man and his property, and thus there was no reason for the court's to hear the case in the first place, the Attorney-General argued that such behavior set the wrong tone for society and should certainly be subject to the laws of the land. Without meting proper punishment, he contended that a malfeasant precedent would instead be set, resulting in the same disintegration of society that we observe in Hogarth's *Cruelty* series. Out of principle, then, the court could settle even a private matter when it had implications for society's greater good.

After hearing both arguments, the State's Supreme Court Chief Justice Thomas McKean upheld the lower court's ruling against Teischer and the validity of such a case to be tried in court. McKean, like Rush, was well aware of the legal and philosophical debates that were taking place in Europe at the time. His decision was likely influenced by such texts as Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769), which denounced the wide-spread and "barbarous diversion of cock-throwing" in a section of the book titled "Of Homicide," declaring that in such instances when "death ensues in consequence of an idle, dangerous, and unlawful sport… the slayer is guilty of manslaughter, and not misadventure only, for these are unlawful acts."[467] The belief that Rush expressed to the American

---

[467] William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, ed. Thomas M. Colley (Chicago: Callaghan and Company, 1879), vol. 2, Book IV, 183. Bill Leon Smith discusses the Teischer case and its role within the early history of statues

Philosophical Society just two years earlier, that in some instances the government must intervene upon individual liberties, was thus supported by law, and we find one of the first legal verdicts against animal cruelty in the newly formed nation.

Though Rush's comments were addressed to the nation's esteemed intellectual community, similar concerns were voiced in the nation's newspapers and almanacs, assuring a much wider audience for the morals espoused in Hogarth's series, and one potentially more aligned to Hogarth's original intended audience. In 1792, less than a year after its initial publication, an excerpt from John Ireland's *Hogarth Illustrated* appeared in Philadelphia's *General Advertiser* and then traveled to papers throughout the Atlantic states.[468] The story recounted for readers of papers in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Virginia is one that brings to life the lesson of Hogarth's first plate in the series:

> I remember once seeing a practical lesson of humanity given to a little chimney-sweeper, which had, I dare say, a better effect than a volume of ethicks. The young foot-merchant was seated upon an ale house-bench, and had in one hand his brush, and in the other a hot buttered roll. While exercising his white masticators with a perseverance that evinced the highest gratification, he observed a dog lying on the ground near him. The repetition of "poor fellow, poor fellow," in a good

---

against animal cruelty in the United States (Smith, "Animals Made Americans Human," 2012, 134–135). For a more detailed description of the case as it unfolded in the Pennsylvania court, see Joseph Henry Beale, *A Selection of Cases and Other Authorities Upon Criminal Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1907), 85–86.

[468] This story was repeated in numerous newspapers throughout the Atlantic states, as, for example, in *The Connecticut Gazette* (New London), April 19, 1792; *Western Star* (Stockbridge, Mass.); *Spooner's Vermont Journal* (Windsor), October 29, 1792; *Virginia Chronicle* and *Norfolk and Portsmouth General Advertiser*, July 6, 1793. In each, it was included towards the back matter of the paper, in the midst of local news and advertisements.

> natured tone, brought the quadruped from his resting place; he wagged his tail, looked up with an eye of humble entreaty, and in that Universal language which all nations understand, asked for a morsel of bread. The sooty tyrant held his remnant of roll towards him, but on the dog gently offering to take it, struck him with his brush so violent a blow across the nose as nearly broke the bone.
>
> A gentleman who had been, unperceived, a witness to the whole transaction, put a sixpence between his fingers and thumb, and beckoned this little monarch of May-day to an opposite door. The lad grinned at the silver, but on stretching out his hand to receive it, this teacher of humanity gave him such a rap upon his knuckles with a cane, as to make him ring. His hand tingling with pain, and tears running down his cheeks, he asked what it was for "To make you feel," was the reply. "How do you like a blow and a disappointment? The dog endured both? Had you given him a piece of bread, this sixpence should have been the reward; you gave him a blow; I will therefore put the money in my pocket.[469]

Citing Ireland's text, the article not only emphasizes a valuable moral lesson regarding the treatment of animals, it also animates the lesson buried in Hogarth's print. Two years later, Hogarth's series is again invoked, not to ephemeral news outlets, but to an even more ubiquitous source: *Poulson's Town and Country Almanac* for the year 1794. Almanacs in eighteenth-century British America reached large audiences in part thanks to the wide range of information contained within.[470] While much of the

---

[469] *General Advertiser* (Philadelphia), April 2, 1792. The story quotes verbatim Ireland's text in Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791, 2:55–56.

[470] Until the 1970s, however, little attention was paid to this genre of American literature, save the study of Chester Noyes Greenough in 1936: "New England Almanacs 1766–1775, and the American Revolution," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, XLV (1936): 288–316. Beginning in the late 1970s with Allan R. Raymond and Marion Barber Stowell, the almanac saw a slight increase in interest by historians and literary scholars alike, but the genre remains largely unstudied. Raymond discusses this genre of literature in the context of the propagandist role it played in the period of the American Revolution in "To Reach Men's Minds: Almanacs and The American Revolution, 1760–1777," *The New England Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (September 1978): 370–395; while Stowell's study has

information was geographically specific, some of the almanac's content was given over to more general subjects that might edify and entertain. This appears to have been the case with the Poulson almanac's inclusion of Ireland's anecdotal reference to Hogarth's print series.

Like many almanacs, *Poulson's Town and Country* for the year 1794 introduced astrological charts alongside tables documenting important days in the calendar year and weather forecasts. Intermittent literary, religious, and rhetorical inclusions punctuate the quasi-scientific content, as do medicinal recipes and parenting advice, local and federal officials and court dates, and even tables detailing international currency conversions; all such content enlightened and extended the almanac's readership. Some articles were even addressed to those children who might find the almanac enjoyable reading material. Printed adjacent to the weather forecasts for the months of June through October, the publisher includes an article that details methods of punishing a child's poor behavior. It warns against excessive corporeal punishment, which can harden the child and render any such further punishment ineffective, and encourages parents to correct a child's behavior in this way only when truly deserved. Promoting discipline and authority through reasoned explanations, the author proposes effective guidance which will ensure the child's moral rectitude, and lead to the same child becoming an industrious and moral member of society in adulthood.

---

not yet been surpassed: *Early American Almanacs: The Colonial Weekday Bible* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1977). More recently, Molly McCarthy introduced the almanac in the context of the history of the daily planner in *The Accidental Diarist* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2013).

An excerpt from Ireland's *Hogarth Illustrated* follows this essay on parental techniques for corrective behavior.[471] Beginning with a quotation from Act 3, Scene 1 of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, which acknowledges the pain an animal must feel when injured by untoward human behavior, Ireland's passage goes on to address a similar philosophical argument as Rush had described to the APS some eight years earlier. Unlike the APS address, and even the readers of Philadelphia's *General Advertiser*, however, a reference to Hogarth's print series within the context of the almanac assured that a significant number of readers from vastly divergent social and economic backgrounds would come across the artist's name and an explication of his moral agenda. In fact, in what might be an ironic twist, Hogarth's message had found its way to the very type of persons he imagined as his audience, if across an ocean and nearly fifty years hence—if to the chagrin of some almanac authors.[472] Though the design may not be ingrained in the memory, surely the artist's moral message has been adapted for text.

References to the *Four Stages of Cruelty* in British America focus on the first and second plates in the series, suggesting an active debate regarding the status and role of animals in a young nation that was still struggling to reconcile individual

---

[471] William Waring, *Poulson's Town and Country Almanac, for…* (Philadelphia, Poulson, 1794), n.p. [32–33].

[472] Daniel George, of *George's Almanac for 1776* identified his readership as those located in "solitary dwellings of the poor and illiterate, where the studied ingenuity of the Learned Writer never comes" as quoted in Chester Noyes Greenough, "New England Almanacs, 1766–1775, and the American Revolution," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, XLV (1936): 289.

liberties with the role of government.[473] Though the final two plates in Hogarth's series are not discussed in America in relation to the discussions that they easily engender—namely murder, capital punishment, and human dissection—they would surely have invoked similar responses in Americans, as in Englishmen. In the prints we see what happens when cruelty towards animals in child- and young-adulthood is not kept in check; the audience comes to recognize Nero as a tyrant, whose acts against animals turn to acts against humans, and ultimately leads to his dissection at the hands of surgeons (Figs. 4.12 and 4.13).

Though the extent to which the status of animals remained unresolved in British America, few would argue that the cold-blooded murder of another human being was anything but morally reprehensible. Even in Pennsylvania, where its large Quaker population contributed to the intellectual community that established new laws on capital punishment in 1794, the death penalty was still considered the appropriate sentence for first-degree murder.[474] Worse was the threat of dissection after death. In

---

[473] Within the context of a slave-driven economy, this debate had further implications in philosophical questions regarding the slave's humanity or identity as a commodity Other. According to Jeremy Bentham, animals existed within a "class of things"; this was the same status accorded slaves in eighteenth century British America. Jeremy Bentham, *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (printed 1780, first published 1789), cccviii. For more on the philosophical debate linking the inhuman treatment of animals to that of slaves see Markman Ellis, "Suffering Things: Lapdogs, Slaves, and Counter-Sensibility," in *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Mark Blackwell (Lewisburg, Penn.: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 92–113.

[474] Recent histories of capital punishment in eighteenth-century British America and historiographies of the subject include Stephen John Hartnett, *Executing Democracy: Volume One: Capital Punishment & the Making of America*, *1683–1807* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2010); Gabriele Gottlieb, "Theater of Death: Capital Punishment in Early America, 1750–1800," Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2005; and Louis Masur, *Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the*

Hogarth's time, such a fate as dissection was abhorrent to many, in large part due to religious beliefs that the soul could not ascend to the next world in the event its former bodily vessel was desecrated. To capitalize on this fact, and "for better preventing the horrid crime of murder," in 1752 the English government enacted laws that extended the punishment of murder from hanging to include dissection after death as well.[475]

Transformation of American Culture, 1776–1865 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). For a detailed discussion of Pennsylvania's approach to criminal law and capital punishment see Herbert W. K. Fitzroy, "The Punishment of Crime in Provincial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 60 (1936), 242–269.

From the 1780s onward, British American popular and intellectual opinions were formed and swayed in the wake of movements for penal reform that had begun in Europe earlier in the century. Benjamin Rush and Thomas Jefferson were among those who raised concerns about punishment fitting the crime. For Rush's comments regarding the Eight Amendment of the Constitution, see Benjamin Rush, "On Punishing Murder by Death," 1792 in *The Founders' Constitution*, Volume 5, Amendment VIII, Document 16. Accessed June 3, 2013. http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/amendVIIIs16.html Rush also questioned the extent to which the threat of capital punishment reduced incidents of heinous crime. For Thomas Jefferson, see his comments on the Eight Amendment: Thomas Jefferson, "A Bill for Proportioning Crimes and Punishments," 1778 in *The Founders' Constitution*, Volume 5, Amendment VIII, Document 10. Accessed June 3, 2013. http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/amendVIIIs10.html

[475] The act was passed in 1752 (25 Geo. II, c.37). In September of the same year, Old Bailey proceedings against Randolph Branch and William Descent for the murder of Joseph Brown, recount a guilty verdict and punishment: "by the late Act for preventing frequent Murders is directed to be done, Mr. Recorder proceeded to pass Sentence of Death upon them, viz. That on the second Day after Conviction, and receiving Sentence, they were to be executed, and their Bodies delivered to Surgeons-Hall to be dissected and anatomized. They seemed to stand upon their Tryal with great Undauntedness, but when they found how the Case stood, and that they were convicted, dreadful Horror began to seize their Minds." *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*. Accessed June 14, 2013. www.oldbaileyonline.org The Recorder's statement serves as proof of Rouquet's suggestion that "the lower sort of people in England have

Likely drawing upon this legal precedent, as well as shared religious and social convictions, and an increased need for bodies that could be used for medical research, the United States enacted similar federal legislation in 1790.[476]

Even earlier, though, dissection was part of the training that medical students could expect when attending the anatomical lectures of Dr. John Warren. Based in Boston, his lectures were housed first in the American Hospital, and later in the Harvard medical school, where the doctor taught anatomy and surgery from its founding in 1783. To document completion of the lecture series and certify the student's exposure to the accurate structure of the human body, Warren presented students with a certificate engraved by Paul Revere (Fig. 4.14). With funding for the copper needed to make the printing matrix funded by subscription, Warren commissioned Revere's design, which is known today in only two impressions.[477]

---

a terrible aversion against being dissected" (M. Rouquet, *State of the Arts in England*, 1755, 135).

[476] For discussions on the role of anatomical study in eighteenth-century America, see Jonathan Harris, "The Rise of Medical Science in New York, 1720–1820" Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1971; Edward B. Krumbhaar, "Early History of Anatomy in the United States," *Annals of Medical History* 4 (1922): 271–287; Whitefield J. Bell, Jr., "Science and Humanity in Philadelphia 1775–1790," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1947. For early American laws involving dissection and public reactions to it, see Steven Wilf, *Law's Imagined Republic: Popular Politics and Criminal Justice in Revolutionary America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 165–92; and Linda S. Myrsiades, *Law and Medicine in Revolutionary America: Dissecting the Rush & Cobbbett Trial 1799* (Lanham, Mass.: Lehigh University Press, 2012).

[477] According to Clarence S. Brigham's study of Paul Revere's engravings, a document in the Warren Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society (Ms. N-1731) lists the following subscribers to the project: Doct. Cheney, Col. Keith, Doct. Blanchard, Mr. Eliot, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Haskins, Doct. Homans, Mr. Templeman, Mr. Cheever, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Swan, Mr. Peck, and Mr. Draper. Brigham, *Paul Revere's*

Interesting in the context of Hogarth is the relationship Revere's composition has with *The Reward of Cruelty*. Framed by a rococo border from which two skeletons dangle, one right, one left, the text sits at the center of the page. Below, a corpse lies atop an operating table, a noose still tied around the body's neck. A surgeon bends over the body, cuts into the abdomen region, splaying the body open. At the top, as if watching over the scene, is a cartouche featuring a bust of the second century Greek physician Galen in profile. In Hogarth's scene two skeletons also hang, right and left, to frame the activity taking place on the operating table at the heart of the composition. A crowd of surgical fellows (identified by their birettas and mortar boards) gathers around the table in the front row, studiously observing the dissection before them. Students and other interested parties make up the rest of the audience to Hogarth's gruesome scene that—like Revere's vignette of nearly thirty years later—shows a surgeon performing a dissection of the corpse of a convicted criminal, cut down from the gallows where he hung by the noose still wrapped around his neck.

In light of Hogarth's composition, Revere's rococo border may be read in architectural terms, the skeletons hanging from elongated c-scrolls that function like the niches designated for just such purposes in the custom-designed anatomy theaters of the day.[478] The orientation of the surgeon performing the dissection in Revere's

---

Engravings, 1969, 147–148. Known impressions of the certificate are in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (made out to Israel Keith and signed by Warren in 1782) and the American Antiquarian Society (made out to Levi Bartlett and signed by Warren in 1785).

[478] In a study of the anatomical theatres operating in mid-eighteenth century London, William Brockbanck and Jessie Dobson identify such skeletons as useful tools for moral and anatomical study, finding that the architectural designs for custom-built anatomical theatres included niches where the skeletons of notorious criminals were to

composition is reversed from that of Hogarth's; both doctors clutch an upraised knife firmly in their right hand, directing the viewer's eye up, to representations of medical achievement (Galen and the chief surgeon, respectively), while tugging within the corpse's newly-exposed cavity with their left. The exposed hand of Hogarth and Revere's corpse also directs the viewer's eye: Nero points to a cauldron full of boiling skulls and bones while Revere's anonymous criminal points at another knife sitting upon the operating table. At the heart of the room, amassed behind the table, are the words that certify attendance and observation of Warren's anatomical lectures and dissection. This text, placed in the gallery region of the anatomical theater, thus literally and metaphorically stands in for a learned audience such as the one we find in Hogarth's composition.

The *Four Stages of Cruelty*, for all their didactic and moral worth, appear not to have been prints that the British-American print sellers thought would entice people into their shops as no record of the series appears in advertisements from their initial London publication in 1751 all the way through the year 1800. Nor does the series appear in any of the probate inventories consulted for this project. Neither source is sure evidence of the prints' absence from the visual experience of British Americans immersed in the visual world of prints. For any who had access to a complete volume of Hogarth's prints, whether at home or through the local library, the series was there to behold. Yet with exposed the mutilation of cats and dogs, the senseless whipping of dogs, gruesome murder, and exposed entrails, the series was hardly fit for the

---

be hung (William Brockbank and Jessie Dobson, "Hogarth's Anatomical Theatre," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 14, no. 7 [July 1959]: 352).

conversations we imagine taking place in dining rooms and parlors designed for polite entertainments.

"Oh, for Hogarth's pencil…"

With references to Hogarth's name and artistic projects scattered throughout British-American newspapers, the artist's agenda was increasingly recognized throughout the community of readers and writers located in British America. In 1785, when *The Pennsylvania Packet* recounted the Charleston story that opened this chapter of the man forced to eat a *writ* that would make a fitting subject for Hogarth's pencil, the artist's name was familiar to many American readers, and his renown was still growing. Increasingly, even more than the references to the literal artist and his life's work that formed the basis for the first sections of this chapter, entreaties for "Hogarth's pencil" or a "Hogarth at hand" appeared in local news reports. Unlike many of the references to the artist's specific projects discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter, such appeals regularly appear in news stories with local origins, indicating not only some level of familiarity with the artist's *modus operandi*, but also an adaptation of an English phrase to strictly local concerns.

The phrase "only the pencil of Hogarth could do justice to…" was present in the writings of Henry Fielding (English, 1707–1754) and Tobias George Smollett (English 1721–1771) in the 1740s, 1750s, and 1770s.[479] The inclusion of this phrase

---

[479] The apostrophizing phrase "Hogarth's pencil" comes out of a literary tradition born of Henry Fielding and Tobias Smollett. Ronald Paulson identifies some of the references in *Graphic* Works, 1989, 5. They include Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones*, Smollett's *Roderick Random* (1747, chpt. 47), Peregrine Pickle (1751, chpt. 14), Humphry Clinker (1771, letter of June 12). For a comprehensive study of the friendship between Fielding and Hogarth, see Peter Jan de Voogd, *Henry Fielding and William Hogarth: The Correspondence of the Arts* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981).

in locally generated newspaper articles may be no more than an indicator of a shared literary tradition, which is not reliant at all upon an awareness of Hogarth's graphic works. Without the expectation that their audience was familiar with a Hogarthian type, however, it is unlikely that such phrasing would be continually deployed. Yet in the American context, the phrase shows up in everything from the 1789 confrontation of a ship's captain with a new steam-propelling technology to a recounting of the sea of wigs that appeared at the Harvard commencement ceremony in 1794.[480] In virtually every instance of his rhetorical and anecdotal presence in British-American newspapers, Hogarth is mentioned in relation to the facial expressions of the primary characters in the tale. It would seem as if Hogarth's pencil and his name were included as shorthand, to help the reader identify the humor and ridiculous events described in textual form, and to encourage within the reader's imagination a humorous mental picture of exaggerated facial contortions.

By the end of the eighteenth century, then, Hogarth's name had entered a *lingua franca*, whereby his name was used in text to encourage in the reader the imaginary construction of humorous, caricatured imagery.[481] However, such caricature was never Hogarth's aim. Caricature, simply defined, is the exaggeration, distortion,

---

In Voogd's estimation, Fielding calls upon the visual assistance of Hogarth when undertaking an explanation of serious and unpleasant truths.

[480] *The Independent Gazetteer* (Philadelphia), December 11, 1789 and *American Apollo*, July 24, 1794 (Boston).

[481] Interestingly, later eighteenth-century British artists like James Gillray (1757–1815) and Thomas Rowlandson (1756 or 1757–1827), who are recognized by art historians today as perpetuating a Hogarthian approach to representing the modern world, were not invoked in stories like those mentioned above. Equally, no American artist was so named.

or simplification of a subject's most identifying features, such that they appear grotesque.[482] Those who saw only caricature in the artist's work missed the greater implications of his pictorial compositions for Hogarth did not depict life exaggerated to the point of monstrosity. He chose, instead, the individual moments of monstrosity that made up real life.

If British-American audiences saw caricature in Hogarth's compositions, they may be forgiven. English audiences, too, were guilty of this view. Even while the artist was actively engaged in picture making, he relied upon his friend, the author Henry Fielding, to counteract such misperception. Fielding, in his preface to *Joseph Andrews* (1742), declared that those critics who label Hogarth a mere caricaturist or "burlesque painter… do him very little honour; for sure it is much easier, much less the subject of admiration, to paint a man with a nose or any other feature, of a preposterous size, or to expose him in some absurd or monstrous attitude, than to express the affectations of men on canvas."[483] Fielding pronounced caricature easier for the artist to produce—given the strengths and limitations of the pen and the paintbrush—than was burlesque for the author. Fielding ascribed to his friend a more complex agenda, one that even the artist's devotees might occasionally have overlooked.

---

[482] There are numerous studies dedicated to the practice of caricature in eighteenth-century England. Some of the most significant include Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature in the Reign of George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998); and Rauser, *Caricature Unmasked*, 2008. A survey of the practice of caricature beyond the confines of England and the eighteenth century can be found in Constance C. McPhee and Nadine M. Orenstein's recent, *Infinite Jest: Caricature and Satire from Leonardo to Levine*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011.

[483] Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews* (1742) (New York: Modern Library College Edition, 1950), xxxv.

The artist's *Characters and Caricaturas* (April 1743, P.156) (Fig. 4.15), the subscription ticket that the artist made for his *Marriage À-La-Mode* series, is evidence of continued misunderstanding by his English audiences, even after Fielding's declaration in *Joseph Andrews*. Hogarth's motivation in the ticket's composition was to visually demonstrate the difference in meaning between the two words of its title, with their concurrent insinuations of high and low (respectively). At the base of the engraving, is a register of heads taken from historical sources. The legend Hogarth appended beneath the engraving informs viewers that the "characters" correspond to Raphael's (Italian, 1483–1520) virtuous renderings of St. John, a beggar, and St. Paul, while the "caricaturas" reprise the caricatured reinterpretations of these same figures as conceived by Annibale Carracci (Italian, 1560–1609) and Pier Leone Ghezzi (Italian, 1674–1755). A fourth "caricatura" is attributed to Leonardo da Vinci (Italian, 1452–1519). Above this frieze of faces, the artist has amassed a multitude of heads that celebrate the variety of characters while also emphasizing the limited range of caricatured features.[484]

According to Hogarth's own recollection of the project some time later, the majority of the faces that appear in *Characters and Caricaturas* are the same as those that populated his *Marriage À-La-Mode* series, which the ticket holder had purchased, and "the great number of faces there delineated, (none of which are exaggerated) varied at random, to prevent if possible, personal application…"[485] Without

---

[484] Variety was an important concept in Hogarth's practice; it would later be a significant element for the artist's artistic theory, forming the subject of the second chapter of *The Analysis of Beauty*.

[485] Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 1791, 3:334.

exaggeration of features, the figures of *Marriage À-La-Mode* are characters not caricatures. It is unlikely that Hogarth's nuanced graphic point was met with universal understanding, however, for the artist concedes that "This … did not prevent a likeness being found for each head, for a general character will always bear some resemblance to a particular one."[486] Though one must be wary of ascribing too much weight to the artist's posthumous explanation given his propensity to aggrandize the artistic profession, Hogarth's appreciable frustration with his immediate audience's misinterpretation may truly have extended far beyond the sphere that he imagined, transmitted through the movement of text and image across the Atlantic to British America.

An article published in a Boston newspaper provides evidence of the humorous mental picture that Hogarth's name was intended to evoke when thrown into everyday news reporting. In 1799, the print-, map-, and bookseller William Spotswood issued an invitation to admirers of art within the city to stop by his shop and look at the American-made engravings that he had available for sale. A somewhat satirical summary of this invitation was later recounted to readers of a New Hampshire based weekly newspaper, in which the author suggested that the crowds of so-called Art-lovers in Boston, all peering around one another and into the windows of Mr. Spotswood's shop at 22 Marlboro' Street would have, appeared "ludicrous" to a "comic Hogarth."[487] The article goes on to suggest: "The group, though very small,

---

[486] Ibid.

[487] Readers will remember from Chapter 3's "Spectatorship in Shopping" section that Hogarth was himself regaled by a letter from "Jonathan Anti-hypocrita" in Morpeth dated April 19, 1762 in which was recounted a similar scene, with a group of people

would exhibit a very characteristical appearance."[488] In describing the Hogarthian picture-peeping group as "characteristical," which by definitions of the day is suggestive of emblematic representations not dissimilar from caricature, the author misrepresents Hogarth's intentions while contributing to the further establishment of Hogarth as shorthand for illustrative comedy. The fact that these so-called art lovers were eagerly pushing one another for a view of an American-made engraving is yet another reason for pause—few American engravers had yet reached anything like the level of sophisticated artistic output that Hogarth had achieved nearly fifty years earlier.[489] Indeed, one might go so far as to interpret in this article a suggestion that Boston's art patrons ought to be burlesqued by Britain's great chronicler of modern moral life simply for their admiration of a print made locally.

If we take the journalists literally, that they desired an artist to visually render those elaborate and absurd scenes that words failed to adequately capture, we would be remiss in not asking the larger question as to why no artist stepped up to take that challenge. The infrastructure required for a graphic art industry, though specialized, was related to that already in place for the printing and publishing of newspapers and books. Yet other than printing ink, which was widely available in drygoods shops, the materials required to make a successful business from printmaking were not so easily

---

looking at one of the artist's own prints posted in a bookseller's window (Hogarth, *Original Letters*, 1731–1791, ff.17–18).

[488] *Farmers' Museum, or Lay Preacher's Gazette* (Walpole, NH), September 16, 1799.

[489] All known independently-issued prints from this period may be searched via the American Antiquarian Society's Catalogue of American Engravings pre-1820 at: http://catalog.mwa.org

obtained.[490] In the years leading up to the Revolutionary war, paper was very much at a premium, the British government having gone to great lengths to limit papermaking in the colonies, thus making them dependent on the motherland for this basic commodity. The same seems to have been true of copper engraving and etching plates, and the copper industry found early development with Paul Revere's initiation in the 1790s.[491] Yet we also know that prints were, on occasion, made in British America and copperplate printing presses were available via local production as early as 1728.[492] All of these material requirements of printmaking certainly put the would-be British-American printmaker at a disadvantage if he desired to make an etching or

---

[490] By 1742 the firm Rogers and Fowle had an ink factory operating in the American colonies; additional such manufacturers were founded in the years of the revolution. Additionally, the pigments for this important commodity were regularly imported and many printers continued the tradition of mixing their own ink, usually a combination of lampblack and linseed oil. Frederick Anderton Askew, *Printing Ink Manual*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Heffer, 1969), 11–12.

Other than the printing press, which for intaglio would involve lateral rollers, the copper plate required for the matrix, and the specialist tools required to get image onto the matrix, the supplies required of a successful engraving workshop were similar to that of a book printer. John Bidwell has made a study of these supplies in "Printers' Supplies and Capitalization," in *A History of the Book in America*, vol. 1, Hugh Amory and David D. Hall, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 163–183.

[491] Robert Martello, "Paul Revere's Last Ride: The Road to Rolling Copper," *Journal of the Early Republic* 20, no. 2 (Summer, 2000): 223.

[492] Benjamin Franklin claimed responsibility for the creation of the first copperplate printing press made in the colonies in 1728, which was produced for Samuel Keimer to print currency (Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Louis P. Masur [Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1993], 69.). By 1761, Paul Revere owned a "half a Roiling Press," which he purchased for £5.15. In 1769 he sold "a large rolling-press for printing off a copper plate" (as quoted in Elizabeth L. Roark, *Artist of Colonial America*, [Newport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003], 135).

engraving that captured the hilarity of a particular moment. And this all before getting to questions of technical knowledge and skill.

Certainly there were artists and artisans of tremendous technical skill working in America throughout the eighteenth century. Thanks to numerous treatises on the subject there is no reason that an artist couldn't have educated himself in the ways of etching, if not engraving.[493] Still, in British America those working in print were much fewer than those in paint, and it was not uncommon for those who did choose to translate their work to print to send their designs to Europe to have them professionally engraved.[494] On at least one occasion, a would-be mapmaker even

---

[493] Silversmiths like Paul Revere were in the same technical position as Hogarth had been when starting a career as an artist, having apprenticed as a silversmith himself.

[494] This practice was not without its precedents; earlier in the century Hogarth regularly sent his designs to France to have them engraved when he felt a passage was too complicated for the skills available in his native England. This was also a common practice for the related business of American cartographers. For more on the subject, see Bosse, "Maps in the Marketplace, 2007, 1–51.

For the American artist, it was even easier (and more financially viable) to have a painting reproduced in print if it was already in London and had met with critical acclaim in a public exhibition. John Singleton Copley faced this opportunity when he exhibited *Watson and the Shark* at the Royal Academy in 1778. Praised, the painting was a good candidate for a reproductive print, and in 1779, the well-regarded mezzotint engraver Valentine Green's print *A Youth Rescued from a Shark* was available to audiences in England and the European continent, as well as back at home. The Boston-based painter Henry Sargent copied Valentine's mezzotint around 1789, before traveling to London to expand his artistic training. (Sargent's copy is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Leah Lipton, "Henry Sargent" in *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art: Five-volume Set*, ed. Joan M. Marter (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 370.

solicited for subscribers to a project, stating in the project's prospectus that if enough subscribers weren't found, it would not move forward.[495]

Limitations of infrastructure could presumably have been overcome if market demand had provided a financial impetus to do so. Artistic skills would certainly have developed, too. Yet the fact remains that few intaglio prints made on the western shores of the Atlantic other than the 1770 *Boston Massacre* engraving by Henry Pelham, and immediately copied by Paul Revere and Jonathan Mulliken found any great acclaim within the American marketplace until the nineteenth century.[496] Print- and booksellers lists of stock are full of English and European subjects, titles, and to some degree artists, but rarely are found those relating to American-made images. The same is true of probate records and estate inventories taken throughout the eighteenth century. In the face of this evidence, we must then conclude that the British-American market for prints, much like for paintings, was one based primarily on English and European product.[497] Such bias may well have contributed to a self-fulfilling prophecy regarding a perceived lesser quality and content of local invention.

---

[495] *New England Courant* (Boston), May 20 to 27, 1723.

[496] Clarence S. Brigham discusses the various iterations and copies of the *Boston Massacre* in Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 1969, 52–78. One cannot help but think that the great success this image found in the eighteenth century may have been related to the construction of accounts of the event that would go on to play a central role in the mythology surrounding the birth of the independent nation.

[497] Even while American artists were struggling to find clients in their locality and made plans to travel to England to find audiences more amenable to varied subjects, English artists were also struggling to convince their own local audience of their own talent. The market for art in England was also limited, and largely characterized by prejudice against local artists. General studies of the market for art and the place of artists in England during this period include Allen, *Modern Art World*, 1995; Solkin, *Painting for Money*, 1992; and Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, 1988.

Returning then, to the question at hand, it is therefore likely that the authors' goals in invoking Hogarth' name was rhetorical and not literal in its goals. An artist as accomplished as Hogarth at rendering the contradictions of human expression may well have been able to immortalize the event in ways where words failed. Writers who expressed a desire for Hogarth surely felt the limitation of their words, since most failed to elaborate on a descriptive categorization of the events at hand. It would seem then that simply by incorporating the artist's name into a newspaper article or personal observation, Hogarth's name was sufficient shorthand within the recognized *lingua franca* to immediately engender in the reader a sense of human emotion, be it humorous and/or tragic.

Another line of inquiry still remaining regards the extent to which these authors were sufficiently aware of Hogarth's own motivations to offer subjects that the artist would have been drawn to record. From the anecdotes and articles discussed above, it would seem that any number of subjects was deemed worthy of Hogarth's pencil, with little to recommend them to one another. So then, the conclusion may be that rather than understand everything that Hogarth was truly about, the use of his name reflects simply the adoption of a rhetorical device used by Fielding in the 1740s, which through repeated usage found common currency within the parlance of late-eighteenth-century chroniclers of the day.

Hogarth's name confronted readers of the daily and weekly American-based newspapers in a variety of contexts. As discussed in the preceding chapters, from at least 1755 print sellers regularly placed advertisements in the papers, which variously listed the artist's name or specific titles of his works; booksellers also placed notices in the same newspapers, listing such Hogarth titles as *The Analysis of Beauty* and

Hudibras, with Hogarth's original cuts (ca. 1761, published April 1726, P.5–21).[498] After the artist's death, his work received critical attention from English authors such as the Revd. John Trusler and John Ireland; books by these authors, with reduced-scale illustrations, were available in urban bookshops soon after their initial publication. It is to be expected that references to Hogarth would find their way into advertisements of the period detailing consumer goods on offer to a literate public. Perhaps less anticipated are references to the artist that venture into the realm of local news and anecdote, rhetoric, and gossip. Taking their precedent from Henry Fielding, who took the lead in calling upon his friend's assistance in visually characterizing everyday scenes of tragi-comedy, writers of stories in the colonies' newspapers would occasionally apostrophize Hogarth, emphasizing a particular part of the story through rhetorical speech.

The "Pencil of an Hogarth" is first referenced in a colonial newspaper on March 29, 1739 (fourteen years before the first documented Hogarth print was available for sale to colonials, but six years after there are indications that his prints had found their way into private homes) in a letter from A.B., an author who was presumably based in London. He recounts witnessing a court proceeding in which a tenant was accused of failure to pay sufficient rents on his leased land because he was under the mistaken belief that he was in rightful possession of it. It seems that the land had passed between a variety of parties before it reached his possession, and by that time he was led to believe possession of a larger share of the land than was actually

---

[498] As discussed earlier in this chapter, *The Analysis of Beauty* first appears in newspaper advertisements in 1762. Butler's *Hudibras* appears for sale as early as 1738 (*The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 15 to 25 May, 1738).

the seller's to sell. For this reason, the lord of the manor was suing for past rents, including that owed by previous tenants. A.B. prepares his reader for the foolishness of the by events, writing:

> How describe the Gestures, Motions, Looks, and the whole Behaviour of each Actor in this *Judicial Comedy*? Aptly to represent the Countenance of a *perplexed Judge*, proposing of Doubts, and then taking great Pains to get rid of them: The Wonderful Fears and Apprehensions of the *labouring Advocate,* as if Success depended on the Words of his Lips: The Stupid Indifferency of all unconcerned Auditors, and the impotent Resentment of a complaining *Defendant*. Words I say are too weak for such a Performance; Not even the Pen of a Cervantes or a Butler; and scarcely the Paint and Pencil of an Hogarth, would be able to make such Figures live in Description. Alas, then, whom must I implore for Aid and Assistance in this arduous Undertaking?[499]

Philadelphia-based readers may have been the intended audience of this letter, which appeared on the first two pages of the weekly *Pennsylvania Gazette* and which was simply addressed "To Ned," but the author may equally have intended it solely as a missive between friends. At this early date it is questionable the extent to which Hogarth's name may have carried with it any significant recognition amongst readers based on the western side of the Atlantic. It is not taken up with any great gusto at the time, and it takes nearly ten more years for the appearance of the next reference to Hogarth's pencil.

Five years before what appears to be the first advertisement for the sale of Hogarth prints upon American shores (and fifteen years after what might be the first indication of an individual owning Hogarth's prints), the artist's name was invoked in

---

[499] "Dear Ned" *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), March 22 to March 29, 1739.

a letter published in the *New York Gazette*, in which the author indicates a desire to have an Hogarth at hand to record the simultaneous expression of joy and melancholy that appeared on the faces of the ship's soldiers when the Panther Man of War—rather than engaging in enemy fire—proclaimed a peaceful end to the encounter. In an extract of a letter sent from Sir Peter Warren's Fleet of ships, published on September 5, 1748 in the Supplement to the *New-York Gazette*, a sailor recounted a disappointment that had befallen his company on the 19th of May. That evening, spotting a fleet of ships to the South East, the English fleet gave chase in the hopes of facing down French vessels, only to be bitterly disappointed when confronted instead with peaceful Panther Man of War ships from Newfoundland. The letter's author described this encounter:

> It would have been a good Thing had the famous Hogarth been there to have taken off the Long Faces of our Ships company, when the Word *Peace* was pronounced from the Panther. For my Part, who love to be cheerful, let Things go how they will, I could not help laughing at the Oddity of their Looks, tho' as much disappointed as the most melancholy of them.

Here, again, is an instance in which Hogarth's name is invoked in relation to a comic situation, in this case for the sheer absurdity of wishing for an opportunity at combat over peace. Originally published in a London newspaper, this letter was written by a sailor who might comfortably expect his intended audience to recognize the artist's name as well as his propensity for rendering the tragi-comical.[500] Even in British America this reference to Hogarth may not have fallen entirely on blind eyes, though by 1748 there were still few references to Hogarth prints appearing in probate

---

[500] This same letter was published in the *London Evening Post* in the May 31 to June 2, 1748 issue.

inventories other than Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*, which from 1726 was issued with Hogarth's engraved illustrations.

Fifteen years later, another newspaper article appears in which the author sounds a desire for a Hogarth at hand, this time one based in Newport, Rhode Island. On February 24, 1763 an article appeared in *The Newport Mercury* addressed to the printers of the local paper in which the author observes that the primary constituencies in the growing currency crisis—namely perfidious British government officials who would not guarantee the value of official currency notes and the devil, who should have better things to do than get involved in such deceit—would be a "Strange Group, this for a Hogarth's Pencil!"[501] Unlike the two previously cited examples of the rhetorical use to which Hogarth's name was put within an American newspaper, both coming from British sources, this letter was written by someone based in the colonies, thus pointing to an increased awareness of the artist's rhetorical potential amongst the British-American readership.

Thirty years later, a currency crisis was again at the heart of an article that appeared throughout New England and mid-Atlantic states, characterizing the countenance of various factions in the city of Providence, upon the institution of an Act of the General Assembly that imposed a £100 fine on anyone refusing to accept paper money or doing anything to devalue the same:

> One might see all sorts of faces—the long face—the sour face—the disappointed face—the disconcerted face—the inquisitive face—some wavering faces—a few determined faces—some leering faces—some wise faces—some confounded faces—but a very few pleasant faces—

---

[501] The letter responds to an article that appeared in the same paper a week earlier. *The Newport Mercury* (RI), February 21, 1763.

> All had their different feelings and could Hogarth have been there to have drawn the picture it would have been truly tragi-comical.[502]

Finding Hogarth in news articles and other printed sources originating in London can help to place the artist within the orbit of the journal's British-American readers. Evidence of British Americans apostrophizing the artist's name in his or her own literary practice offers even more compelling evidence for the increasing universality of the public's recognition of the artist.

That the artist's aura permeated the private lives of individuals can be seen in the references appearing in diaries of the era. Dr. Alexander Hamilton (American, b. Scotland, 1712–1756) was one of the earliest to demonstrate his personal awareness of the artist when he described the evening he spent at a Philadelphia tavern during his 1744 journey between Annapolis and Boston, observing "severall comicall, grotesque phizzes in the inn wher[e] I put up which would have afforded variety of hints for a

---

[502] The so-called tragi-comical scene occurred in Providence, Rhode Island, July 12, 1786, and the story first appeared the next day. Soon thereafter it appeared in the following: *American Herald* (Boston) July 17, 1786; *The Massachusetts Gazette* (Boston), July 17, 1786; *The Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser* (Boston), July 20, 1786; *The Cumberland Gazette* (Portland, Maine), July 20, 1786; *The Independent Journal* (New York), July 22, 1786; *The Middlesex Gazette* (Middletown, Conn.), July 24, 1786; *Loudon's New-York Packet*, July 24, 1786; *The New Haven Chronicle* (Conn.), July 25, 1786; *The Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), July 26, 1786; *The Freeman's Journal* (Philadelphia), July 26, 1786; *The Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), July 26, 1786; *The Worcester Magazine* (Mass.), July 27, 1786; *The Vermont Journal and the Universal Advertiser* (Windsor), August 7, 1786; *The Columbian Herald* (Charleston, SC), August 14, 1786.

Like other regions, Rhode Island faced hardships related to debt following the Revolution; to make their finances stable the state government enacted a policy of inflation. The policy is discussed in detail in *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton: July-Dec. 1795*, Harold C. Syrett, ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 16, n. 28.

painter of Hogarth's turn."[503] Over the course of his *Itinerarium*, Hamilton offers textual portraits of the odd and animated individuals that he encountered throughout his travels, demonstrating his keen powers of observation and wit. In this respect, he may be considered the first in a line of Americans who followed Hogarth's lead, commenting upon the day's social behaviors with insightful humor.[504]

In a diary chronicling her experiences living in between British and the American army camps in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, during the Revolutionary War the teenaged Sally Wister (1761–1804) recounted various encounters with American troops that passed by her family's home. On June 17, 1778, she writes of Major Jameson, declaring that a proper portrayal:

> calls for the genius of a Hogarth to characterize him. He is possess'd of a good understanding, a very liberal education, gay and volatile to excess… But what signifies? I can't give thee a true idea of him; but he assumes at pleasure a behaviour the most courtly, the most elegant of anything I ever saw. He is very entertaining company, and very vain of his personal beauties; yet nevertheless his character is exceptional.[505]

This description of a man "vain of his personal beauties" yet of exceptional character suggests worldliness beyond the writer's seventeen years and combined with the

---

[503] June 6, 1744. Alexander Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton (1744)*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 18.

[504] Susan Clair Imbarrato discusses Hamilton's autobiography in and his reference to Hogarth in "Declaring the Self in the Social Sphere: Dr. Alexander Hamilton and Elizabeth House Trist" in *Declarations of Independency in Eighteenth-Century American Autobiography* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 56.

[505] Wister, Sarah, *Sally Wister's Journal: A True Narrative Being a Quaker Maiden's Account of Her Experiences with Officers of the Continental Army, 1777–1778*, ed. Albert Cook Myers (Philadelphia, Penn.: Ferris & Leach Publishers, 1902), 178.

invocation of Hogarth, a writer modish as well. In the midst of a war between British and American troops, it is ironic that Wister should invoke the quintessentially English artist in an attempt to characterize the Major Jameson, who was then fighting for freedom from Imperial rule.

Of even greater interest is the fact that a teenager, who was ostensibly writing to inform another adolescent—her good friend Deborah Norris—of the lively events she experienced, would embed in her text the call for "a Hogarth" to characterize a new acquaintance. Educated at a school for girls run by Anthony Benezet, Wister was familiar with Latin and French, and having spent the first part of her life in Philadelphia, would have had ample opportunities to become familiar with the artist's prints. If she spent time with the local newspaper, she might have also run across the artist's name in other contexts. Even if those sources had failed to engage her attention, Wister was familiar with Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*, having received a copy of the novel as a gift in February 1778, so she may have learned the rhetorical trope directly from the source.[506] Writing for the benefit of her friend, Wister surely assumed a similar base of knowledge, one that would not be thrown by the appearance of the English artist's name in association with an explanation of character. We may conclude, then, that in her writing to Norris, Wister incorporated the *lingua franca*, justifiably expecting the comprehension and recognition of her peer.

Abigail Adams assumes a similar awareness in her description of the changed character of the new nation, which she addressed in 1782 to her husband John, then in Paris. She writes:

---

[506] Ibid., 141.

> The Manners of our Country are so intirely changed from what they were in those days of simplicity when you knew it, that it has nothing of a Republick but the Name--unless you can keep a publick table and Equipage you are but of very small consideration. What would You have thought 15 years ago, for young practitioners at the Bar to be setting up their Chariots, to be purchasing--not paying for--their country seats. P. M--n, B--b, H--n, riding in their Chariots who were clerks in offices when we removed from Town. Hogarth may exhibit his world topsa turva. I am sure I have seen it realized.[507]

The world that Adams describes is one in which wealth has corrupted propriety, where a politician's power can be bought rather than earned. This must surely have proved disappointing to Adams and her husband so soon after the resolution of a revolution fought against just such hypocrisy and corruption. In her application of Hogarth to the situation, Adams demonstrates her own familiarity and affinity with the artist's works as well as that of her husband's.

When British-American colonials adopted the phrase "oh for a Hogarth at hand" or some variation on the theme, they were translating the language of empire to that of their local vernacular. Never mind that sometimes the subjects they invoked were far from the modern moral subjects with which the famous artist primarily concerned himself. As Mikhail Bakhtin has proposed in his classic definition, language "becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention."[508] When British Americans used variations on the

---

[507] Abigail Adams to John Adams, October 8, 1782 as reprinted in Abigail Adams, et al., *The Book of Abigail and John: Selected Letters of the Adams Family 1762–1784*, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002), 330.

[508] Mikhail Bakhtin, "Epic and Novel" and "Discourse in the Novel" in M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 11–12 and 293–294.

phrase "oh for a Hogarth" they were engaging in the constitution of a new milieu in which the formation of a hybridized cultural identity could play out within the structure of the familiar.[509]

Similarly, when hanging a Hogarth in the home (or anything that exists in multiplicity rather than singularity), the individual took part in a common dialect in which that print was understood to convey a plentitude of meanings, addressing a variety of "speakers" and "listeners" in its audience. The content of an engraving (or any multiple consumer good) must therefore have had the capacity to elicit new and diverse meanings when deployed in conversational spaces variously furnished and inhabited. And these meanings were subject to change, as viewers returned to them again and again, seeing new details and imagining alternative connections as their own lives were lived.[510]

---

[509] Robert Blair St. George has termed such phenomena in colonial New England "implication" in *Conversing by Signs*, 1998, 4–5.

[510] Reader-response critical theory indicates that whatever meanings a text's author may have intended, once that text is loosed upon the world, alternate meanings may be applied for every reader, who will form individual responses as a result of unique personal experience. The same is true for art and artists. Readers and viewers with similar points of reference to authors and artists reach conclusions regarding meaning that may be close to the originator's goals. For those who have limited awareness of the author and artist's referents, which are located in a specific time and place, the meaning may be less categorically defined. Similarly, as a result of additional life experiences complicated by the passing of time, a reader who returns to a text many years after first encountering it may find alternate meanings and connections from what they understood in earlier years. Literary scholar Stanley Fish has discussed this concept within the context of the "interpretive community," explaining that texts exist with the reader, see Stanley Fish, "Interpreting the *Variorum*" in *Is There a Text in This Class* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 147–174. This concept is easily transferable to "readers" of printed images, particularly those that—like Hogarth's—are bound to significant narrative content requiring the active, imaginative participation of the viewer.

It is striking that the artist so chosen for such rhetorical treatment was none other than a British artist, and one more than a generation removed from the present day. At a time when a new nation was building an independent identity on a global stage, authors did not (and could not) draw upon more contemporary—even local—personages of note. To scholars of American art history, it is clear that there were few artists who had developed a reputation for depicting the everyday with quite the level of sophistication that Hogarth had earned for himself on another continent earlier in the century. A similar disconnect existed for prospective British-American authors of fiction. Market forces are often used to explain the absence of creative talents in each such genre. Yet when newspaper articles and the letters and diaries of correspondents apostrophized Hogarth, seeking for a creative talent to transform the commonplace events of everyday life into another form, their authors simultaneously decried the absence of visual and literary persons with sufficiently creative wit and technical skill to chronicle the banal events of the day. The hesitant steps at narration taken by burgeoning artists and authors in the early Republic are evidence of not only the recognition but also a growing commitment to the action required to find an autonomous but inclusive voice and vision to be shared by all who counted themselves citizens of the newly formed nation.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.1: William Hogarth, *John Wilkes*, 1763. Engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.2: Paul Revere, *Sons of Liberty Bowl*, 1768. Silver. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.3: After William Hogarth. Punch-bowl, ca. 1764–1770. Made in Jingdezhen Province, China. Porcelain. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.4: After Charles Maucourt, Punch-bowl, ca. 1764–1770. Made in Jingdezhen Province, China. Porcelain. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.5 William Hogarth, Plate 1 for *The Analysis of Beauty*, 1753. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.6 Paul Sandby, *The Burlesquer Burlesqued*, 1753. Etching, ii/ii. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.7 Paul Sandby, *Puggs Graces etched from his original daubing*, 1753. Etching. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.8 Paul Sandby, *The Analyst Besh[itte] in his own Taste Pr[ice]. 1 s[hilling]*, 1753. Etching. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.9: John Trumbull, *Self Portrait*, 1777. Oil on canvas. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.10: Matthew Pratt, *The American School*, 1765. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.11: William Hogarth, *The First Stage of Cruelty*, 1751. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.12: William Hogarth, *The Reward of Cruelty*, 1751. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.13: J. Bell after William Hogarth, *The Reward of Cruelty*, 1751. Woodcut. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.14: Paul Revere, *Anatomical Lectures*, 1785. Engraving. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4.15: William Hogarth, *Characters, Caricaturas*, 1743. Etching. British Museum, London

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION: EXPANDING HOGARTH'S ATLANTIC WORLD

When the shop keeper Alexander Hamilton advertised the arrival from London of a wealth of Hogarth titles in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1755, the Philadelphia public was alerted to the possibility of buying entertaining and educational prints that reflected the height of the day's popular visual culture. Taking the time to identify by title the *Midnight Modern Conversation* in the probate inventory of John Boydell in 1740, the associate of the deceased responsible for the inventory not only placed the print in the Little Parlour, thereby providing contextual information about the deployment of the print in the domestic world of consumer goods, he also demonstrated his own cultural capital. And when in 1785 a story circulated in newspapers up and down the Atlantic coast in which Hogarth's pencil was desired to capture the ridiculous picture of a man eating a writ, readers were united in a cultural community based in the shared knowledge of the British artist and his humor. In order to make sense of the American presence and persistent popularity of a quintessentially British artist during the eighteenth century, this dissertation has investigated the circulation mechanisms by which the artist came to be known in British America and explored those practices by which his works were viewed, understood, and incorporated into the fabric of everyday life. It has drawn upon printed advertisements from book and print sellers, as well as editorial anecdotes reproduced in newspapers from Maine to Georgia to ultimately consider the unintentional role that Hogarth played in the formation of American cultural identities through constructions of narrative humor and social commentary.

Print media was unsurpassed in its ability to facilitate the artist's presence, and it was foremost in creating recognition of the artist within the British-American imagination. Newspapers along the eastern seaboard were presented with textual references to the artist. While some of these were merely descriptions of the artist's compositions (often taken from previously published sources like John Ireland's and the Rev. John Trusler's volumes), others were rhetorical appeals for an American Hogarth, who was desired to pictorially express those events that eluded the spoken and written word. For a public also interested in the visual iteration of his modern moral tales, Hogarth engravings were visibly accessible in a range of places including print shops and libraries, as well as private residences.

The written record is clear on the fact of such presence, but what is less certain is the extent to which these objects were lifetime impressions or (for those prints listed after the artist's death in 1764) impressions pulled at the behest of Jane Hogarth or John Boydell, persons granted control of the artist's printing plates at one time in the objects' biographies. A series identified in an inventory simply as *Harlot's Progress* may equally have been approximations or copies of Hogarth's compositions, made at the behest of the multitude of unscrupulous print publishers that so plagued him. Depending on the year in which a reference appears, they may also have been restrikes taken from the artist's "restored" plates or published in Boydell's re-issue of Hogarth's *Original Works* (an atlas folio issued with 103 prints), with the intention of educating, rather than deceiving, an audience about the depth of the artist's oeuvre. They may even have been plates cut from books like Trusler's *Hogarth Moralized* and Ireland's *Hogarth Illustrated*, which, along with a textual component that helped to

codify a narrative component of his artwork, provided an illustration based on Hogarth's composition to ensure that readers understood the text in light of the image.

To anyone with intimate access to a lifetime impression, the differences between the book illustration and the independently-issued engraving would be immediately obvious if for no reason other than scale, but for those persons without access to Hogarth's "original multiple," the same cultural value and humor could be ascribed to the copy spliced from a book. In the eyes of the law, too, as evinced in the compilation of probate inventory records used to settle an estate, identification was predominately the result of narrative content and inscription, and had little to do with any direct or indirect involvement the artist may have had in its creation, though valuation might at times be suggestive of authenticity. The extent to which we may regard all of the references to Hogarth's prints within the documentary record as "authentic" is therefore limited, but at a basic level it is irrelevant, as all of these sources contributed to the assimilation of his name and graphic identity within a set of cultural references shared by British-American consumers of text and image to a language of graphic moral humor.

From the variety of references to the artist that were present in British-American newspapers and individual accounts throughout the second two-thirds of the eighteenth century, it is clear that the figure and art of Hogarth was invested with a currency that was sustained through the universality of the artist's human characterizations. While the present study has made great inroads in the recovery of Hogarth's British-American presence, as yet, narratives remain undiscovered and untold, for America consisted of more than the mainland that would become the United States of America and Hogarth's work extended beyond his modern moral

subjects. In this conclusion, I would like to briefly gesture towards both of these subjects and consider their implications for further Hogarth studies and the continued formulation and refinement of contemporary understandings of British-American identities in the eighteenth century.

Hogarth and the Caribbean

The Caribbean is often left out of narratives surrounding eighteenth-century American culture. As art historian Maurie D. McInnis explains, this lacuna (and the overriding tendency to privilege the artistic production of the North over the South) is partially a consequence of the first history of American art, William Dunlap's 1834 publication *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, in which the author focused his attention on the achievements of northern artists. By following Dunlap's narrative, many of the stories told by subsequent generations of historians of American art have perpetuated this bias, inadvertently neglecting the fact that the New World existed as a fusion of cultures.[511] Just like today, people and objects moved around and as a result no one culture was able to exist in isolation for long.

The islands of the Caribbean were amongst the most heavily serviced ports in the Atlantic world, an entrepôt for European goods as well as a gateway for new-world commodities destined for European markets. British ships docked regularly in the port

---

[511] Maurie D. McInnis, "Little of Artistic Merit?," 2005, 11. Unfortunately, until this point in the dissertation, I, too, have neglected the Caribbean. I was aware of this gap from the outset, but I did not have access to the types of resources for the Caribbean that were so crucial to the preceding chapters, namely I did not have access to a digitized database of newspapers for this region, nor did I have access to a sample of probate records from the region.

cities, depositing consumer movables including fine art prints for the purchase consideration of the islands' inhabitants. Among the Caribbean print sellers was Michael Hay, a Scotsman transplanted to Kingston, Jamaica.[512] At the behest of his uncle, the art dealer Andrew Hay, Hay traveled to Jamaica armed with an assortment of European prints that he was charged with selling. Finding success in this venture, Hay continued in the trade until his death.[513]

Without further research we cannot be certain what prints Hay had to sell and whether or not Hogarth's subjects were among his stock, but there is no doubt that Hogarth permeated the minds of others in the Caribbean, chief among them the artist John Greenwood (American, b. Boston, 1727–1792). While living in Suriname, the small island off the northern coast of South America, which was then a Dutch plantation colony, Greenwood painted *Sea Captains Carousing at Surinam* (Fig. 5.1) circa 1752–1758.[514] It is the only work thought to possibly survive from Greenwood's

---

[512] In his memoirs, the engraver Sir Robert Strange remembered his fellow apprentice (the two having served together an apprenticeship with the engraver Richard Cooper, the elder [Scottish, 1701–1764]) as a man given to keeping late hours in the company of unvirtuous women. Comparing the early lives of these two apprentices, we may see a real-life model for Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness*, where the industrious (Strange) went on to success in his trained profession, and the idle (Hay) was dispatched overseas in disgrace. James Dennistoun, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange…* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855), 1:40.

[513] For more information, see Pears, *Discovery of Painting*, 1988, 240, n. 30–31.

[514] Diaries kept by Greenwood during his time in Suriname and his travels between Amsterdam and Paris via London are in the collection of the New-York Historical Society, along with the Greenwood family papers. Regrettably, considering that the fact that diaries cover some of the time in which Greenwood was engaged in art dealing and may have further details surrounding the movement of art during the eighteenth century, circumstances did not permit their consultation for the present project.

time in the Caribbean (and possibly dated later) and it offers an unmistakable reference to William Hogarth's *A Midnight Modern Conversation* (Fig. 5.2), made nearly 20 years earlier. As evinced by the Suffolk County probate record discussed in Chapter 3 and synthesized in Appendix C, this was a print known in Greenwood's native Boston before the artist relocated to the Caribbean.

In Greenwood's painting, the major players are shown drinking and dancing, playing cards, smoking, and engaged in animated conversation. Some even appear to sleep, lulled to slumber, we suppose, from indulgence in an alcoholic punch that still freely flows.[515] A few locals join them, some as servers, and others, snoozing around the composition's peripheries. Their sleep, the broken chair and bottles, dripping candles, and the various displays of alcohol's overindulgence lead viewers to conclude they are witnessing a scene playing out in the late-night hours. It has long been thought that Greenwood gave the disorderly sea captains the visages of prominent Rhode Island seamen including, among others, Capt. Nicholas Powers (who instructs Godfrey Malbone in dance), Capt. Esek Hokins (future Commander-in-chief of the Continental Navy, shown here raising a glass), Capt. Nicholas Cook (future Governor of Rhode Island here holding a pipe), and Capt. Ambrose Page (vomiting into the pocket of Jonas Wanton, who appears seated at the central table in a drunken stupor).

---

[515] Eric Gollannek has made a study of the cultures of punch in his dissertation "'Empire Follows Art': Exchange and the Sensory World of Empire in Britain and its Colonies, 1740–1775." PhD. diss, University of Delaware, 2008.

Other faces in the group are thought to be members of the Jenckes family, in whose possession the painting descended into the 20th century.[516]

In essence, Greenwood's painting (like Hogarth's subject) offers the inverse of the traditional conversation piece, for the elite figures were recognizable in their features yet are engaged in behaviors anathema to polite sensibilities. These figures are positioned at the borderlands of European cultural influence, and decorum has taken a back seat to the hedonistic pleasure of drink.[517] Odd though it may appear to characterize in this way the very social group who would soon acquire the painting, in his modus operandi Greenwood takes a cue from Hogarth, who of course relied on the merchant class for much of his patronage but was not above including the faces of his contemporaries when it suited him. Contemporary accounts of *A Midnight Modern Conversation* identify some of the figures in the drinking club—a type of London establishment dating from the early eighteenth-century popular with the middle and professional classes and the generic site of Hogarth's composition—as the Parson Cornelius Ford, John Harrison (a tobacconist), the barrister Kettleby, and Chandler the bookbinder.[518] However, unlike the Jenckes men who feature in Greenwood's painting, we cannot be sure that any of Hogarth's subjects—many of whom were

---

[516] Alan Burroughs, *John Greenwood in America 1745–1752* (Andover, Mass: Addison Gallery of American Art, 1943), 47. In these identifications, Burroughs cites Edward Field, *Life of Esek Hopkins* (Providence, 1898), 27.

[517] Such raucous behaviors would not have been astonishing in this locale; a 1752 Boston *Evening Post* article dated May 30, 1752 described recent murders and duels in Suriname, as well as turbulent relations between the enslaved, colonized, and colonizing populations.

[518] Paulson, *Graphic Works*, 1989, 85.

known personally to the artist—went on to acquire the print or the painting (now in the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven). Greenwood's painting, with its humorous inversion of a conversation piece reminiscent of Hogarth's own artistic agenda, appears singular in the history of art produced specifically for a British-American audience in the eighteenth century. It would, however, be the ideal entrée into a serious consideration of Hogarth's reach into extended colonial regions.[519]

Hogarth and the Illustrated Book

Amongst the earliest engravings to be made in British America were portrait heads of eminent clergymen; such prints were bound together with imprints of these individuals' sermons. Readers of books published in eighteenth-century British America were not only regaled with such frontispiece imagery, however, and over the course of the century more and more titles included illustrations such that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, images were bound into nearly twelve percent of American imprints ranging from almanacs to pamphlets and books, and covering an assortment of religious and secular subjects.[520] Illustrations accompanied imported books, too, and it is in the context of some of these that readers might have also experienced visual narration by Hogarth's hand. Volumes of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* and Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's *Don Quixote* (ca. 1726, P.94–99) bore

---

[519] Interestingly, Greenwood went on to become an art dealer in Europe for a short period, and in 1790 even played a role in the sale of Hogarth's studio, after his widow Jane passed away (Burroughs, *John Greenwood*, 1943, 51).

[520] Lacey, *Sacred to Secular*, 2007, 21. Lacey investigates the diversity of subject matter found in American imprints of the eighteenth century in *From Sacred to Secular: Visual Images in Early American Publications*.

illustrations conceived by Hogarth as, too, did Aubry de la Motraye's *Travels* (February 1723/4, P.28–42), Gildon's *New Metamorphosis* (1723/4, P.45–51), John Beaver's *Roman Military Punishments* (1725, P.66–79), and more, for it was in the genre of book illustration that the artist's prints were first widely disseminated.[521]

Thanks to probate inventories and library catalogues, we can be sure that many of these titles found their way into public and private British-American libraries. *Hudibras* in particular appears on numerous occasions, and is listed in the inventories of known Hogarth print owners like Daniel Dulany (1754), George Johnston (1767), and Doct. Nicholas Flood (1776). It is tempting to imagine that citations of *Hudibras* in the inventories add to the quantity of Hogarth prints in British America and thus expand the community of Hogarthian influence, but unfortunately the question of the specific editions they reference (and thus the presence of Hogarth's illustrations) will likely never be known.[522] Even more suggestive is the Charleston, South Carolina

---

[521] Hogarth's book illustrations are an area ripe for research, as few significant studies in this area have yet been made. Rachel Schmidt offers a noteworthy study of Hogarth's illustrations for *Hudibras* and *Don Quixote* in *Critical Images: The Canonization of Don Quixote through Illustrated Editions of the Eighteenth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999). Recent studies of book illustration in the eighteenth century like Christina Ionescu, ed., *Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011) offer additional guidance in the new methodologies and approaches relevant to this line of inquiry.

[522] *Hudibras* is a mock-heroic epic that relays the misadventures of Sir Hudibras and his squire Ralpho, while offering a pointed satire of the religious factions that bumped heads during the English Civil War. Begun during this period of political turbulence, and heavily influenced by *Don Quixote*, Samuel Butler published *Hudibras* in three parts beginning soon after Charles II was restored to the throne. Its popularity remained strong and in 1726, an edition of *Hudibras* (P.5–21) appeared on the London market "with a new Sett of Cutts, design'd and engrav'd by Mr. Hogarth." *Post-Boy* (London), April 30-May 3, 1726. Though loosely based on the 1710 edition bearing

probate record of John Lewis in 1733, which included "12 print of Hudibrass," a listing that may refer to Hogarth's large set of *Hudibras* prints issued in 1725/6 by Philip Overton with the assistance of John Cooper (P.82–93).[523] Certainly Hogarth's imagery was present in some of the books filling the shelves of the public and subscription libraries, however, for in 1741 the Library Company of Philadelphia described their copy of *Hudibras* "Adorned with a new Set of Cut, by Mr. Hogarth. Lond., 1732."[524]

Hogarth in British America

To the British-American public who consumed them, Hogarth's prints transmitted simultaneously a Protestant moralism steeped in the English literary tradition of John Bunyan, Daniel Defoe, John Milton, and others alongside moralizing references to commercial luxury.[525] With strong ties to the Protestant belief in free

---

illustrations by an unknown artist, Hogarth brought his own vision to the page, altering his compositions from the previous example wherever he desired (see, for example, plate 13, *Hudibras Wooing the Widow*, which Hogarth sites out of doors, where previous illustrations had shown it inside). The 1732 edition of the text contained some of Hogarth's illustrations, as did the 1739 printing, though by now the plates were much worn. For the 1744 edition published by Zachary Grey, J. Mynde re-engraved and enlarged Hogarth's designs, altering them as well. The French edition of 1757 also contained copies of Hogarth's designs.

[523] Inventory of John Lewis, Charleston, Charleston County, South Carolina, January 17, 1733 in Charleston County Probate Records, 1732–1737, Vol. 65, 112–115. At this early date, only Hogarth had developed an independent series of twelve prints chronicling the *Hudibras* narrative.

[524] Library Company of Philadelphia. *A catalogue of books belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin, 1741), 46.

[525] Paulson has briefly discussed Hogarth's literary relationships in *Graphic Works*, 1989, 1–2 and gone into further depth in such texts as *Book and Painting:*

choice, Hogarth's modern moral subjects (which brought the artist his greatest fame both at home and abroad) offered a secular "anti-progress" wherein the protagonist's choice precipitated his decline and untimely ruin and/or death.[526] Hogarth grounded his anti-progress narratives in a world of consumer goods, his images depicting—and to a great extent promoting—English industry over European competition through implications of luxury and associated morality. When exported to a colonial market, Hogarth's prints therefore contributed to the dissemination of a taste for English wares and buoyed the English economy, while simultaneously implicating new audiences in the construction and continuation of social norms grounded in English moral philosophy.

Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible: Literacy Texts and the Emergence of English Painting (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982). Others who have delved deep into the subject include Hildegard Reiter, *Hogarth und die Literatur seiner Zeit. Ein Vergleich zwischen malerischer und didaktischer Gestaltung* (Breslau: Priebatsch, 1930); Robert Etheridge Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949, repr. New York Octagon, 1979) and de Voogd, *Henry Fielding and William Hogarth*, 1981. Joachim Möller, ed., *Hogarth in Context: Ten Essays and a Bibliography* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1996) contains essays by Paulson, Robert S. Cowley, Mary Klinger Lindberg, Jeanne K. Welcher, and Möller that further advance this subject, as does Peter Wagner's *Reading Iconotexts*, 1995.

[526] One of the most common applications for related, American-made, illustrations exists in the various renditions of the Prodigal Son narrative, the primary narrative difference being the ultimate redemption rather than deterioration of the hero. American illustrators failed to capture the nuance of Hogarth's imagery, however, for they did not use to narrative effect the consumer movables that populate the British artist's compositions. Edwin Wolf has made a study of Prodigal Son imagery in this period in "*The Prodigal Son* in England and America: A Century of Change," in *Eighteenth-Century Prints in Colonial America: To Educate and Decorate*, ed. Joan D. Dolmetsch (Williamsburg, VA: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1979), 145–174. Barbara E. Lacey discusses the "Prodigal Daughter" narrative in its American context, see Lacey, *Sacred to Secular*, 2007, 57–62.

As the preceding chapters of this dissertation have demonstrated, the historical evidence for Hogarth's British-American presence was inextricably linked to its expectation that the artist was recognizable within a wider community. Cultures of print and the transmission of text and image through reproducible and easily portable media were largely responsible for the shared awareness of the British artist outside the London center. Hogarth's images, when turned loose upon the world, had the potential to take on new forms of significance when new audiences were confronted with them. Their reproducible nature also allowed them to exist, simultaneously, within the material world of people geographically dispersed. The familiarity that diverse populations had with the same images and the suggestion that similar conversations and narrative understandings accompanied them in these divergent places implicated them in an "imagined community" of British-American world. I conclude then with a suggestion that like printed text, reproducible printed images like Hogarth's could, and did, produce similar ties between geographically dispersed communities. In fact, as physically- and visually-accessible objects framed and hung on the walls of domestic interiors and pasted in shop windows, these printed images and the ideas they contained might even have been more accessible than the printed texts that are recognized for inspiring the development of social mores by like-minded individuals.

Unlike most texts, which are not particularly slippery in their meaning, the content of Hogarth's prints was, in the colonial context of British America, subject to alternative associated interpretations from those found in the colonial center. Throughout Hogarth's moral progresses, moral and economic undoing is shown to stem from blind imitation of the wealthy. Within the lived experience of British

Americans, such anti-progresses may well have caught the attention of those who questioned the propriety of status deriving from the circumstances of one's birth rather than work and behavior. For revolutionaries, Hogarth's prints (though overtly British) might be read as evidence of the corrupt system and excesses against which they were fighting.[527] For Loyalists, on the other hand, the prints might read as reminders of cultural affiliations, markers of moral attitudes that did nothing to upend the status quo. For most British Americans, however, political identity was less black and white and for them (as for the London audiences for whom they were originally made), Hogarth's prints as both consumer objects and bearers of iconographic meaning may have presented any number of connotations, especially depending on the year, month, or even day in which they were observed.[528]

Even members of the same family, confronted with two different Hogarth prints, may have associated with the artist widely divergent critical aims. After spending the night in the company of others, drinking from a punchbowl lined with *A Midnight's Modern Conversation* (Fig. 5.3), a merchant may well have seen in Hogarth's imagery a humorous portrayal of fraternal entertainments. His daughter, on the cusp of womanhood, may have identified quite another side to the artist's objectives. When confronted with the same picture while flipping through an album of prints brought forward during an evening's entertainment, her betrothed in the next

---

[527] This is especially evident in *Marriage À-La-Mode*, where the excesses of the aristocracy form the series' primary subject.

[528] The 1790s, for instance, was a decade in which some people were keen to feature their Englishness, in an effort to protect themselves from the Francophile suspicions of their peers. The prevalence of references to Hogarth's prints and Hogarthian subjects by individuals during this decade is one that deserves further investigation.

room filling yet another glass of punch, the young lady may well have worried that his over indulgence might ultimately prove their ruin social ruin, should it continue unchecked. Both father and daughter could not fail to observe the artist's careful description of human behavior brought on by excessive consumption and set within a plausible interior populated with objects of varied aesthetic character, and while different factions might interpret the artist's meaning in different ways, Hogarth's prints were themselves markers of a certain sensibility, and shaped a certain way of seeing and understanding the world. They communicated membership in a community marked by British culture and burgeoning American ideals that existed in the midst of an increasingly diverse population.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 5.1: John Greenwood, *Sea Captains Carousing in Surinam*, ca. 1752–1758. Oil on bed ticking. Saint Louis Art Museum, Missouri

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 5.2: William Hogarth, *A Midnight Modern Conversation*, 1732/3. Etching and engraving. British Museum, London

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 5.3: After William Hogarth, *A Midnight Modern Conversation*, 1750–1760. Made in Liverpool, Merseyside, England. Tin-glazed earthenware. Winterthur Museum, Delaware

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Sources

Benjamin Franklin letters: http://www.franklinpapers.org/

Cambridge, MA

Harvard College Library. Charging records. Junior Sophisters, Seniors, [Class of 1772, 1770 August-1772 June]. UAIII 50.15.60 (v. 9). Harvard University Archives. Seq. 13.

Farmington, CT

Trusler, John. *Memoirs*, Part 2 [1809]. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University

Steevens, George. *George Steevens's Collection of Hogarth Prints*, 3 vols. England, [not after 1800].

Queen Charlotte's Collection of Hogarth Works. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

London, UK

Hogarth, William. *WILLIAM HOGARTH, The Analysis of Beauty; three separate drafts…*, 1753. British Library, Western Manuscripts, Egerton MS 3011–3016.

Hogarth, William. *FRAGMENTS of an autobiography, etc.* 18th century. British Library, Western Manuscripts, Add MS 27991.

Hogarth, William. *NAMES of subscribers to the four prints of An Election…*, 1754–1764. British Library, Add MS 22394.

Hogarth, William. *Original letters and papers relating to*, 1731–1791. British Library, Add MS 27995.

Hogarth, William. Bill for engravings, 1750. British Library, Add 21508 f.36

Pond, Arthur. *PAPERS relating to Arthur Pond, the painter and engraver…*, 1745–1759. British Library, Add MS 23725.

Washington, D.C.

John Glassford and Company Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Winterthur, DE

Wills and Inventories of Estates, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1628–1852. The Winterthur Library: Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur, DE 19735

Charlottesville, VA

A Gentleman's Library," Thomas Jefferson to Robert Skipwith, Monticello, 3 August 1771.

Williamsburg, VA

Colonial Williamsburg Research Cards

York County Probate Inventories. http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/BrowseProbates.cfm

Primary Printed Sources

Adams, John Quincy, Henry Adams, and Worthington Chauncey Ford. *A Catalogue of the Books of John Quincy Adams Deposited in the Boston Athenæum, with Notes on Books, Adams Seals and Book-Plates*. Boston: Athenæum, 1938.

An Alphabetical Catalogue of Plates, Engraved by the Most Esteemed Artists, After the finest pictures and drawings of the Italian, Flemish, German, French, English, and other schools, which compose the stock of John and Josiah Boydell, Engravers and Printsellers, No. 90, Cheapside, and at the Shakspeare Gallery, Pall Mall; Preceded by an account of various works, sets of prints, galleries, &c. forming part of the same stock, London: Printed y W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row, St. James's, 1803.

Books:--importation of May, 1798. Joseph Nancrede's catalogue of books, just imported from London, for sale, wholesale and retail, at his book-store, no. 49 Marlbro'-Street, Boston… (Boston [s.n.], June, 1798)

The Case of Designers, Engravers, Etchers, &c. stated. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament (London: The Author [probably William Hogarth], n.d., probably late 1734 or early 1735).

Poor Richard improved: being an almanack and ephemeris ... for the year of our Lord 1784 ... Fitted to the latitude of forty degrees, and a meridian of near five hours west from London; but may, without sensible error, serve all the northern colonies. By Richard Saunders, philom. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Hall and Sellers, 1783. Early American Imprints, Series 1, no. 18177 (filmed)

Adams, Abigail, John Adams, L. H. Butterfield, Marc Friedlander, and Mary-Jo Kline. *The book of Abigail and John: Selected Letters of the Adams Family, 1762–1784*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002.

Barker, William. *A Treatise on the Principles of Hair-Dressing; in which The Deformities of Modern Hair-dressing are pointed out, and an elegant and natural Plan recommended, upon Hogarth's immortal System of Beauty*. London: Printed by J. Rozea, ca. 1780s[?].

Bentley, William. *The Diary of William Bentley D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts*. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1962.

Blair, Hugh. *Essays on rhetoric: abridged chiefly from Dr. Blair's lectures on that science* (Boston: printed for Edmund Freeman, 1789).

Bowles, John & Son. *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, &c. From Off Copper-Plates*. London: John Bowles and Son, [1753].

Boydell, John. *Invoice Listing Prices and Bound Volumes Delivered to Mrs. Hogarth*. London, 1782–1784. The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University

Brackenridge, Hugh Henry. *Modern Chivalry: containing the adventures of Captain John Farrago, and Teague Oregan, his servant*, volume 1. Philadelphia: M'Culloch, 1792, 114–115. Early American Imprints, Series 1, no. 24142

Burr, Esther Edwards. *The Journal of Esther Edwards Burr, 1754–1757*. Edited by Carol F. Karlsen and Laurie Crumpacker. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Carter, Col. Landon. "Diary of Col. Landon Carter. Some Extracts," *William and Mary College Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (January 1905): 157–164.

Chastellux, François Jean, marquis de. *Travels in North-America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*. London: Printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1787. *Sabin Americana*. Gale, Cengage Learning. Yale University. 12 June 2013.

Chauncy, Charles, *The Appeal to the public answered, in behalf of the non-Episcopal churches in America; containing remarks on what Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler has advanced, on the four following points. The original and nature of the Episcopal office. Reasons for sending bishops to America. The plan on which it is proposed to send them. And the objections against sending them obviated and refuted. Wherein the reasons for an American episcopate are shewn to be insufficient, and the objections against it in full force*. Boston: N.E. Printed by Kneeland and Adams, in Milk-Street, for Thomas Leverett, in Corn Hill, 1768. [unpaginated back matter]. Early American Imprints, Series 1, no. 10853 (filmed)

Cook, Thomas. *Anecdotes of Mr. Hogarth, and explanatory descriptions of the plates of Hogarth restored* (London, Printed for the engraver and G. and J. Robinson, 1803). [first edition slightly earlier?]

Cooke, Mr. and Mr. Davenport, *The Works of William Hogarth: containing one hundred and fifty-eight engravings; with descriptions, in which are pointed out many beauties that have hitherto escaped notice; with a comment on their moral tendency; in two volumes* (London Printed for J. Goodwin, Upper Thames Street, 1824)

Copley, John Singleton and Henry Pelham. *Letters & Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739–1776*. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1914.

Drinker, Elizabeth Sandwith. *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*. Edited by Elaine Forman Crane. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991.

Eve, Sarah. *Extracts from the Journal of Miss Sarah Eve: Written While Living near the City of Philadelphia in 1772–73*. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1881.

Faulkner, George. *Prince of Dublin Printers: The Letters of George Faulkner*. Edited by Robert E. Ward. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1972.

Felton, Samuel. *An explanation of several of Mr. Hogarth's prints*, 1785. LWL Mss Vol. 36

Fielding, Henry. *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews and of his friend Mr. Abraham Adams, Written in imitation of the manner of Cervantes, author of Don Quixote* (1742). New York: Modern Library College Edition, 1950.

Franks, Abigail, Naphtali Franks, Leo Hershkowitz, Isidore S. Meyer, and Lee M. Friedman. *The Lee Max Friedman Collection of American Jewish Colonial Correspondence: Letters of the Franks Family, 1733–1748*. Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society, 1968.

Gilpin, Rev. William. *An Essay Upon Prints; containing Remarks upon the Principles of picturesque Beauty, the Different Kinds of Prints, and the characters of the most notes Masters; Illustrated by Criticism upon particular Pieces; to which re added, some Cautions that may be useful in collecting Prints* (London: J. Robson, 1768).

Hamilton, Alexander. *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton (1744)*. Edited by Carl Bridenbaugh. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948.

Harris, Thaddeus M. *Selected Catalogue of Some of the Most Esteemed Publications in the English Language Proper to Form a Social Library: With an Introduction upon the choice of Books*. Boston: I. Thomas & E. T. Andrews, 1793.

Harvard University, *Documentary history of the library*, 1773–1789; *Catalogus Librorum in Bibliotheca Cantabrigiensi Selectus*, 178-?. Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Mass.

Hogarth, William. *The Original Works of William Hogarth* (London: John & Josiah Boydell, 1790).

_____. [Works]. London: [Printed for Mrs. Jane Hogarth], by 1784. Hinson Collection, Charleston Library Society.

_____. *A Catalogue of Hogarth's Original Works. To be Had of Mrs. Hogarth, etc.* London, 1784. British Library, London.

_____. *The Analysis of Beauty*. London: 1753.

Holyoke, Mary Vial. *The Holyoke Diaries, 1709–1865*. Edited by George Francis Dow. Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1911.

Hume, David. “of the Standard of Taste” in *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (London: Printed for A. Millar, 1758), 134–146.

Ireland, John. *Hogarth Illustrated*. 3 vols. London: J. & J. Boydell, 1791.

Ireland, Samuel. *Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth from Pictures, Drawings, and Scarce Prints in the Possession of Samuel Ireland, Author of this work.* London: R. Faulder, 1794–1799.

Knox, Vicesimus, *Essays, moral and literary*. Philadelphia: Rice and Johnson, 1792.

La Roche, Sophie von. *Sophie in London, 1786: Being a Diary of Sophie v. la Roche*. Edited by Clare Williams. London: J. Cape, 1933.

Le Blanc, Jean Bernard, Monsieur l’Abbé. *Letters on the English and French Nations. Containing Curious and Useful Observations on their Constitutions Natural and Political*, 2 vols. Dublin: Printed by Richard James, for William Smith and George Faulkner, 1747.

Library Company of Philadelphia. *A Catalogue of the books, belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: Printed by Zachariah Polson Junior, 1789.

_____. *The charter, laws, and catalogue of books, of the Library Company of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Crukshank, in Second-Street, 1770.

_____. *The Charter, laws, catalogue of books, of the Library Company of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1765.

_____. *A catalogue of books belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin, 1741.

Lichtenberg, Georg Christoph. *The World of Hogarth: Lichtenberg's Commentaries, An Ingenious Reading of the Tales Found in Hogarth’s Engravings*. Translated by Innes & Gustav Herdan (1784–1796). Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966.

Mein, John. *A Catalog of Curious and Valuable Books*. Boston: Mein, 1766[?].

The New London Toilet: or a compleat collection of the Most simple and useful Receipts for preserving and improving Beauty, either by outward Application or internal Use. With many other valuable Secrets in elegant and ornamental Arts. London: Printed for Richardson and Urquhart, 1778.

New-York Society Library. *The Charter and Bye-Laws, of the New-York Society Library, with a Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Said Library*. New York: Printed by H. Gaine, 1773.

_____. *A Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the New-York Society Library*. New York, Printed by H. Gaine, 1758.

Nichols, John. *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth with a Catalogue of His Works Chronologically Arranged; and Occasional Remarks*, 3rd edition. London: J. Nichols, 1785.

_____. *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth; and a Catalogue of His Works Chronologically Arranged; with Occasional Remarks*. London: J. Nichols, 1781.

Peale, Rembrandt. "Reminiscences." *The Crayon* 1, no. 2 (January 10, 1855): 22–23.

_____. "Reminiscences. Desultory." *The Crayon* 3, no. 1 (January 1856): 5–6.

Rouquet, Jean André. *The Present State of the Arts in England*. London: Printed for J. Nourse, 1755.

_____. *Lettres de Monsieur ** à un des ses Amis à Paris, pour lui expliquer les Estampes e Monsieur Hogarth*, Imprimé a Londres, et se vend chez R. Dodsley, 1746.

Rush, Benjamin. *An Oration delivered before the American Philosophical Society, held in Philadelphia on the 27th of February, 1786, containing an enquiry into the Influence of Physical Causes upon the Moral Faculty*. Philadelphia: Printed by Charles Cist, 1786.

Sayer, Robert. *Robert Sayer's Catalogue of New and Interesting Prints, Consisting of Engravings and Metzotintos* [sic.] *of Every Size and Price*. London, 1786.

_____. *Robert Sayer's New and Enlarged Catalogue for the Year MDCCLXXIV*. London, 1774.

Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of. *Sensus Communis: An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour. In a Letter to a Friend*. London: Printed for Egbert Sanger, 1709.

Smibert, John. *The Notebook of John Smibert*. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1969.

Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London, 1759).

Trusler, John. *Hogarth moralized. Being a complete edition of Hogarth's works. Containing near fourscore copper-plates, most elegantly engraved. With an explanation, pointing out the many beauties that may have hitherto escaped notice; and a comment on their moral tendency. Calculated to improve the Minds of Youth, and, convey Instruction, under the Mask of Entertainment. Now First Published, With the Approbation of Jane Hogarth, Widow of the late Mr. Hogarth.* London, MDCCLXVIII. [1768].

Walpole, Horace. *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 Mr. Horace Walpole*. The second edition, volume 4. Strawberry Hill: Printed by Thomas Kirgate at Strawberry-Hill, 1771–1780; published 1780.

Waring, William. *Poulson's Town and Country Almanac*. Philadelphia: Poulson, 1794.

Wendeborn, Gebhard Friedrich August. *A View of England Towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century*. 2 vols. London, 1791.

Winslow, Anna Green. *Diary of Anna Green Winslow: A Boston School Girl of 1171*. Edited by Alice Morse Earle. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1894.

Wister, Sarah. *Sally Wister's Journal: A True Narrative Being a Quaker Maiden's Account of Her Experiences with Officers of the Continental Army, 1777–1778*. Edited by Albert Cook Myers. Philadelphia, Penn.: Ferris & Leach Publishers, 1902.

Secondary Sources

Agnew, Jean-Christophe. *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Allen, Brian, ed. *Towards a Modern Art World*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.

Amory, Hugh, ed. *Bibliography and the book trades: studies in the print culture of early New England.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

_____ and David D. Hall, eds. *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.

Antal, Frederick. *Hogarth and his Place in European Art*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1962.

_____. "Hogarth and his Borrowings," *Art Bulletin* 29, no. 1 (March 1947): 36–48.

Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Askew, Frederick Anderton. *Printing Ink Manual*. 2nd edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Heffer, 1969.

Bailyn, Bernard. *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Bakhtin, Mikhail, "Epic and Novel" and "Discourse in the Novel" in M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Translated by Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson. 3–40 and 259–422. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.

Barber, William J. "International Commerce in the Fine Arts and American Political Economy, 1789–1913," in Neil De Marchi and Craufurd D. W. Goodwin, eds., *Economic Engagements with Art* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 209–234.

Barnhill, Georgia Brady. *Prints of New England*. Worcester [Mass.]: American Antiquarian Society, 1991.

Barratt, Carrie Rebora, Paul Staiti, et al., *John Singleton Copley in America*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995.

Bellion, Wendy. "City as Spectacle: William Birch's Views and the Chestnut Street Theatre," *Studies in the History of Garden & Designed Landscapes: An International Quarterly* 32, no. 1(January 2012): 15–34.

_____. *Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, & Visual Perception in Early National America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

_____. "The Return of the Eighteenth Century." *American Art* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 2–10.

Benes, Peter, ed. *Early American Probate Inventories*. Boston: Boston University Press, 1989.

Berg, Maxine and Elizabeth Eger, eds. *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Bermingham, Ann. *Landscape and Ideology; The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860*. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1986.

_____ and John Brewer, eds. *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text. Consumption and culture in the 17th and 18th centuries*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.

Bernhardt, Zara Anishanslin. "Portrait of a Woman in a Silk Dress: The Hidden Histories of Aesthetic Commodities in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World". Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2009.

Bernstein, Basil. *Class, Codes and Control: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1971.

Bindman, David, Frédéric Ogée and Peter Wagner, eds. *Hogarth: Representing Nature's Machines*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001.

_____. *Hogarth and his Times: Serious Comedy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997.

_____. *Hogarth*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Black, Jeremy. *Italy and the Grand Tour*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003.

Bogansky, Amy E. "The Devil's Servants: Satire in Colonial America and the Visual Language of Conflict". M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 2006.

Bosse, David. "Maps in the Marketplace: Cartographic Vendors and Their Customers in Eighteenth-Century America," *Cartographica* 42, no. 1 (2007): 1–51.

Botein, Stephen. "The Anglo-American book Trade before 1776: Personnel and Strategies," in *Printing and Society in Early America*. Edited by William Joyce et al. 48–82. Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1983.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.

Bowen, Karen L. and Dirk Imhof. "18,257 Impressions from a Plate." *Print Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (September 2005): 265–279.

Breen, T. H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

_____. "The Meaning of 'Likeness': American Portrait Painting in an Eighteenth-Century Consumer Society." *Word and Image* 6 (October-December 1990): 325–50.

_____. "Baubles of Britain: The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century." *Past and Present* 119 (May 1988): 73–104.

_____. "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690–1776." *Journal of British Studies* 25, no. 4 (Oct. 1986): 467–499.

Breig, James. "The Eighteenth Century Goes to the Dogs." *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Autumn 2004). Accessed June 3, 2013. http://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Autumn04/dogs.cfm

Brewer, David A. "Making Hogarth Heritage." *Representations* 72 (Autumn 2000): 21–63.

Brewer, John. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997.

_____ and Roy Porter, eds. *Consumption and the World of Goods*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.

Briggs, Peter M. "'News from the little World': A Critical Glance at Eighteenth-Century British Advertising," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 23 (1994): 29–45.

Brigham, Clarence S. *Paul Revere's Engravings*. New York: Atheneum, 1969.

Brindenbaugh, Carl. *Cities in Revolt*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.

Bristol, Douglas Walter. *Knights of the Razor: Black Barbers in Slavery and Freedom*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Brockbank, William and Jessie Dobson. "Hogarth's Anatomical Theatre." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 14, no. 7 (July 1959): 351–353.

Brown, Jonathan. *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Brown, Richard D. *Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Brückner, Martin. *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity.* Chapel Hill, NC: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Bruntjen, Sven. "John Boydell, 1719–1804: a study of art patronage and publishing in Georgian London". Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1974.

Burroughs, Alan. *John Greenwood in America 1745–1752*. Andover, Mass.: Addison Gallery of American Art, 1943.

Bushman, Richard. *The Refinement of America: Persons Houses, Cities.* New York: Vintage Books, 1992.

Carson, Barbara. *Ambitious Appetites: Dining, Behavior, and Patterns of Consumption in Federal Washington*. Washington, DC: American Institute of Architects Press, 1990.

Carson, Cary, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds. *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994.

Clark, Charles E. *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665–1740*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Clayton, Timothy. *The English Print 1688–1802*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997.

Coclanis, Peter A., ed. *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005.

Colonial Society of Massachusetts. *Boston Prints and Printmakers, 1670–1775; A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1 and 2 April 1971*. Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1973.

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and Joan D. Dolmetsch. *Rebellion and Reconciliation: Satirical Prints on the Revolution at Williamsburg*. Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1976.

Conlin, Jonathan G.W. "High Art and Low Politics: A New Perspective on John Wilkes," *Huntington Library Quarterly* vol. 64, no. 3/4 (2001): 356–381.

Conroy, David W. *In Public Houses: Drink & the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Constable, W. G., and Elizabeth Gibson Holahan. *Art Collecting in the United States of America: An Outline of a History*. London: Nelson, 1964.

Copeland, David A. *Debating the Issues in Colonial Newspapers*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000.

_____. *Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997.

Cowley, Robert L. S. *Hogarth's Marriage A-La-Mode*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Craske, Matthew. *William Hogarth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Craven, Wayne. "John Wollaston: His Career in England and New York City." *American Art Journal* 7, no. 2 (November 1975): 19–31.

Crothers, A. Glenn. "Commercial Risk and Capital Formation in Early America: Virginia Merchants and the Rise of American Marine Insurance, 1750–1815." *The Business History Review* 78, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 607–633.

Crow, Thomas. *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Crowley, John E. *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America.* Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

_____. "The Sensibility of Comfort." *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (June 1999): 749–782.

Cummings, Abbott Lowell. "Inside the Massachusetts House," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*. Edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach. 219–239. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

_____. *Rural Household Inventories Establishing the Names, Uses, and Furnishings of Rooms in the Colonial New England Home, 1675–1775*. Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964.

Czikszentrmihalyi, Mihaly and Eugene Rochberg-Halton. *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols of the Self*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Dabydeen, David. *Hogarth's Blacks*. Kingston-upon-Thames: Dangaroo Press, 1987.

_____. *Hogarth, Walpole and Commercial Britain*. London: Hansib Publishing Limited, 1987.

Dackerman, Susan, ed. *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

Daunton, Martin and Matthew Hilton, eds. *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America*. Oxford: Berg, 2001.

Davidson, Cathy. *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America*. Expanded edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Davis, John. "The End of the American Century: Current Scholarship on the Art of the United States," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 3 (September 2003): 544–580.

Davis, Richard Beale. *A Colonial Southern Bookshelf: Reading in the Eighteenth Century.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979.

_____. *Intellectual Life in the Colonial South, 1585–1763.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978.

De Marchi, Neil and Hans J. Van Miegroet, eds. *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450–1750*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006.

Doerflinger, Thomas M. *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Dolmetsch, Joan D., "Colonial America's Elegantly Framed Prints." *Antiques* 119, no. 2 (May 1981): 1106–1112.

_____. *Eighteenth-Century Prints in Colonial America: To Educate and Decorate*. Williamsburg, VA: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1979.

_____. "European prints in eighteenth-century America." *The Magazine Antiques* 101, no. 2 (May 1972), 858–63.

_____. "Prints in Colonial America: Supply and Demand in the Mid-Eighteenth Century." In *Prints in and of America to 1850*, edited by John D. Morse. 53–74. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970.

_____. "Williamsburg: The Maps and Pictures." *Magazine Antiques* 95, no. 1 (January 1969): 138–144.

Donald, Diana. *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996.

Douglas, Mary, and Baron Isherwood, eds. *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*. New York: Basic Books, 1979.

Dow, George Francis. *The Arts & Crafts in New England, 1704–1775*. Topsfield, Mass.: Wayside Press, 1927.

Eaton, Natasha. "Excess in the City? The Consumption of Imported Prints in colonial Calcutta, c.1780–c.1795." *Journal of Material Culture* 8, no.1 (2003): 45–74.

Einberg, Elizabeth. *Manners and Morals: Hogarth and British Painting 1700–1760*. London: Tate Gallery, 1987.

Ellis, Markman. "Suffering Things: Lapdogs, Slaves, and Counter-Sensibility." In *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*. Edited by Mark Blackwell. 92–113. Lewisburg, Penn.: Bucknell University Press, 2007.

Erwin, Timothy. "William Hogarth and the Aesthetics of Nationalism," *Huntington Library Quarterly* vol. 64, no.3/4 (2001): 383–410.

Fales, Dean A. "Joseph Barrell's Pleasant Hill." *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* XLIII (transactions 1956–1963): 373–390.

Fleischer, Ronald E. "Emblems and Colonial American Painting." *American Art Journal* 20, no. 3 (1988): 2–35.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Declaring Independence: Jefferson, Natural Language & the Culture of Performance*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Fort, Bernadette and Angela Rosenthal, eds. *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Fowble, E. McSherry. *To Please Every Taste: Eighteenth-Century Prints from the Winterthur Museum*. Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 1991.

_____. *Two Centuries of Prints in America, 1680–1880: A Selective Catalogue of the Winterthur Museum Collection*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987.

Franklin, Benjamin. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, edited by Louis P. Masur. Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Gibson-Wood, Carol. "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 84, no. 3 (September 2002): 491–500.

Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London: Penguin, 1971.

Goldstein, Malcolm. *Landscape with Figures: A History of Art Dealing in the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Gollannek, Eric. "'Empire Follows Art': Exchange and the Sensory World of Empire in Britain and its Colonies, 1740–1775." PhD. diss., University of Delaware, 2008.

Gould, Charlotte and Sophie Mesplède, eds. *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present: A Cultural History*. Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2012.

Gray, R. P. "'Help me to eclipse the celebrated Hogarth': the reception of Hogarth in Russia," *Apollo* 153 (471), May 2001: 23–30.

Greenough, Chester Noyes. "New England Almanacs, 1766–1775, and the American Revolution." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. New Series, XLV (1936): 288–316.

Griffiths, Antony. "English Prints in Eighteenth-Century Paris." *Print Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (December, 2005): 375–396.

_____. "The Archaeology of the Print," in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500–1750*. Edited by Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve Warwick. 9–27. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

_____. *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689*. London: British Museum, 1998.

_____. "Print culture (Historians' approach)," *Print Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1998): 70–71.

_____. "Print Collecting in Rome, Paris and London in the Early Eighteenth Century." *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 37–58.

_____. "A Checklist of Catalogues of British Print Publishers c. 1650–1830," *Print Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (March 1984): 4–22.

Grolier Club. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Early American Engraving Upon Copper: 1727–1850…* New York: De Vinne Press, 1908.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1991.

Hafertepe, Kenneth. "An Inquiry into Thomas Jefferson's Ideas of Beauty." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 2 (June 2000): 216–231.

Hall, David D. *Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996.

Hallam, John S. “Charles Willson Peale and Hogarth’s *Line of Beauty*.” *The Magazine Antiques* 122 (November 1982): 1074–1079.

Hallet, Mark and Christine Riding. *Hogarth*. London: Tate, 2006.

_____. *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999.

_____. “The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London.” *Art History* 20, no. 2 (June 1997): 214–237.

Hammond, Charles Arthur. “‘Where the Arts and the Virtues Unite’: Country Life Near Boston, 1637–1860”. Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1982.

Hancock, David. *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Hargraves, Matthew. *Candidates for Fame: The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760–1791*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005.

Harris, Elizabeth. “Press-builders in Philadelphia, 1776–1850,” *Printing History: The Journal of the American Printing History Association* 11, no. 2 (1989): 11–24.

Harris, Jonathan. “The Rise of Medical Science in New York, 1720–1820.” Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1971.

Harris, Neil. *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790–1860*. New York: G. Braziller, 1966.

Hart, Charles Henry. “‘The Congress Voting Independence.’ A Painting by Robert Edge Pine and Edward Savage in the Hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 29 (1905): 1–14.

Hassam, John. "Paper on the Registers of Probate for the County of Suffolk Massachusetts, 1639–1799.” In *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series xvi (1902): 23–123.

Haulman, Kate. *Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

Henderson, Amy Hudson. “Furnishing the Republican Court: Building and Decorating Philadelphia Homes, 1790–1800.” PhD. diss., University of Delaware, 2008.

Herman, Bernard L. *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Heyd, Uriel. *Reading Newspapers: Press and Public in Eighteenth-century Britain and America*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012.

Hogarth, William and Joseph Burke. *The Analysis of Beauty: With the Rejected Passages from the Manuscript Drafts and Autobiographical Notes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

Hoock, Holger. *The King’s Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture 1760–1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Hunter, Phyllis Whitman. *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670–1780*. Ithaca: Cornell University, 2001.

Isaac, Rhys. *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790*. Chapel Hill, NC: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Ivins, William M. *Prints and Visual Communication*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: The M.I.T. Press, 1969.

Jacobs, Edward H. “Buying into Classes: The Practice of Book Selection in Eighteenth-Century Britain,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 1 (1999): 43–64.

Jensen, Arthur Louis. *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963.

Jones, Malcolm. *The Print in Early Modern England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010.

Jones, Sarah Leigh. “‘A Grand and Ceaseless Thoroughfare’: The Social and Cultural Experience of Shopping on Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, 1820–1860”. M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 2008.

Kallins, Gail Amelia “‘The "Curious and Polite’ world of William Hogarth's ‘The Analysis of Beauty’”. Ph.D. diss., University of Georgia, 1998.

Klein, Lawrence E. *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Korshak, Yvonne. "The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France." *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 1987): 52–69.

Korty, Margaret Barton. "Benjamin Franklin and Eighteenth-Century American Libraries." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series 55, no. 9 (1965): 1–83.

Kunzle, David. "Plagiaries-by-Memory of the *Rakes Progress* and the Genesis of Hogarth's Second Picture Story." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 29 (1966): 311–348.

Kuspit, Donald B. and David S. Bundy. *Painting in the South, 1564–1980*. Richmond: Virginia Museum, 1983.

Lacey, Barbara E. *From Sacred to Secular: Visual Images in Early American Publications*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007.

Lambert, Julie Anne. *A Nation of Shopkeepers*. Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2005.

Lambert, Susan. *The Image Multiplied: Five Centuries of Printed Reproductions of Paintings and Drawings*. New York: Abaris Books, 1987.

Larson, Judy L. "Separately Published Engravings in the Early Republic: An Introduction to Copperplate Engraving and Printing in America Through 1820," *Printing History: The Journal of the American Printing History Association* 6, no. 1 (1984), 3–24.

Lippincott, Louise. *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983.

Loughran, Trish. *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770–1870*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Lovell, Margaretta M. *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

_____. "'Such Furniture as Will Be Most Profitable:' The Business of Cabinet-making in Eighteenth-Century Newport." *Winterthur Portfolio* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 27–62.

_____. "Reading Eighteenth-Century American Family Portraits: Social Images and Self-Images," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 243–264.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

McCracken, Grant. *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.

McCusker, John J. and Russell R. Menard. *The Economy of British North America: 1607–1789.* Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

_____ and Kenneth Morgan. *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

McInnis, Maurie Dee and Louis P. Nelson, eds. *Shaping the Body Politic: Art and Political Formation in Early America*. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2011.

_____. "Little of Artistic Merit? The Problem and Promise of Southern Art History," *American Art* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 11–18.

_____ et al. *In Pursuit of Refinement: Charlestonians Abroad, 1740–1860*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999.

McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

Macgregor, William B. "The Authority of Prints: An Early Modern Perspective." *Art History* 22, no. 3 (September 1999): 389–420.

Maier, Pauline. "John Wilkes and American Disillusionment with Britain." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (July 1963): 373–395.

Main, Gloria L. "Probate Records as a Source for Early American History." *William & Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 32, no. 1 (Jan. 1975): 89–99.

Manthorne, Katherine. “Remapping American Art,” *American Art* 22, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 112–117.

Marks, Arthur S. “Private and Public in *The Peale Family*: Charles Willson Peale as Pater and Painter.” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 156, no. 2 (June 2012): 109–187.

Martello, Robert. “Paul Revere’s Last Ride: The Road to Rolling Copper.” *Journal of the Early Republic* 20, no. 2 (Summer, 2000): 219–239.

Martin, Ann Smart. *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backwater Virginia*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.

_____, and J. Ritchie Garrison, ed. *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field.* Winterthur, Del.: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997.

_____. “Makers, Buyers, Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 28, no. 2/3 (1993): 141–57.

Massing, Ann. “From Print to Painting: The Technique of Glass Transfer Painting.” *Print Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (December 1989): 383–393.

Miller, Daniel, ed. *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.

Miller, Lillian B. *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790–1860*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Mitchell, Elizabeth Kathleen “Mechanical Reproduction and the Mechanical Philosophy: The Idea of Originality in Eighteenth-Century British Printmaking”. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2006.

Möller, Joachim, ed. *Hogarth in Context: Ten Essays and a Bibliography*. Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1996.

Moore, Emily Renn. “‘Take in Hogarths Mathematiks to Your Aid’: Perceptions of William Hogarth in Eighteenth-century America,” M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 2003.

Montgomery, Charles F. *American Furniture: The Federal Period, in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum*. New York: The Viking Press, 1966.

Montias, John Michael. *Art at Auction in 17th century Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002.

Morse, John D., ed. *Prints in and of America to 1850*. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1970.

Myers, Kenneth John, "The Public Display of Art in New York City, 1664–1914," in David B. Dearinger, ed., Rave Reviews: American Art and Its Critics (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000), 17–29.

Myers, Robin and Michael Harris, eds. *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print 1550–1850*. Winchester and Detroit: St. Paul Bibliographies, 1990.

Nichols, John, James Heath, and William Hogarth. *The Works of William Hogarth from the Original Plates; Restored by James Heath, with the Addition of Many Subjects not Before Collected. To Which is Prefixed, a Biographical Essay on the Genius and Productions of Hogarth, and Explanations of the Subjects of the Plates, by John Nichols*. London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1822.

Nichols, John and George Steevens. *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth*. London: Longman, Hurst, Reese, and Orme, 1808–1817.

North, Michael and David Ormrod, eds. *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800*. Aldershot, UK and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998.

O'Connell, Sheila. *The Popular Print in England*. London: British Museum, 1999.

Oliver, Andrew, ed. *The Notebook of John Smibert*. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1969.

Oppé, A. P., ed. *The Drawings of William Hogarth*. New York: Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1948.

Palmer, Arlene M. *A Winterthur Guide to Chinese Export Porcelain*. New York: Crown, 1976.

Palumbo, Anne Cannon. "Prints into Paint: The Influence of Prints on Eighteenth-Century American Painting." *Imprint (American Historical Print Collectors Society)* 18, no. 2 (1993): 13–20.

Parshall, Peter. "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe." *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 7–36.

Paulson, Ronald. *Hogarth's Harlot: Sacred Parody in Enlightenment England*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

_____. *Hogarth*. 3 vols. New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1991–1993.

_____. *Breaking and Remaking: Aesthetic Practice in England, 1700–1820*. New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989.

_____. *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, third revised edition, London, The Print Room, 1989.

_____. *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Pears, Iain. *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680–1768*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988.

Plomer, H. R., G. H. Bushnell, and E. R. Mcc.Dix. *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775*. Oxford University Press: Bibliographical Society, 1932.

Porter, David. "A Wanton Chase in a Foreign Place: Hogarth and the Gendering of Exoticism in the Eighteenth-Century Interior." In *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past,* edited by Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg. 49–60. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Porter, Roy. *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. London: Penguin Books, 1990.

Prescott, Andrew. "John Pine: A Sociable Craftsman," *Masonic Quarterly* 10 (July 2004): 6–10.

Pressly, Paul M. *On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013.

Prown, Jules David. “Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method.” In *Material Life in America, 1600–1800*. Edited by Robert Blair St. George, 17–37. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

Quimby, Ian M. G., ed. *American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal*. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1971.

Rather, Susan. “Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker, Artist: Copley and Portrait Painting Around 1770.” *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 2 (1997): 269–290.

_____. “A Painter's Progress: Matthew Pratt and The American School.” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 28 (1993): 169–183.

Rauser, Amelia. *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth-Century English Prints*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008.

Raven, James. *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748–1811*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002.

Richardson, Annie. “From the Moral Mound to the Material Maze: Hogarth’s *Analysis of Beauty*” in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*. Edited by Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger. 119–134. New York: Palgrave Macmillian Ltd., 2003.

Roberts, Jennifer L. *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America*. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2014.

Robinson, William R. “‘This Passion for Prints’: Collecting and Connoisseurship in Northern Europe during the Seventeenth Century.” In *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt*. Edited by Clifford S. Ackley. xxvii–xlviii. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981.

Rutledge, Anna Wells. “After the Cloth was Removed.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 4 (1968): 47–62.

St. George, Robert Blair, ed. *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.

_____. *Conversing by Signs: The Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

_____., ed. *Material Life in America, 1600–1800*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

Saunders, Richard H. *John Smibert: America's First Colonial Portrait Painter*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.

_____ and Ellen Gross Miles. *American Colonial Portraits 1700–1776*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987.

Schimmelman, Janice Gayle. *Books on Art in Early America: Books on Art, Aesthetics and Instruction Available in American Libraries and Bookstores Through 1815*. New Castle, Del: Oak Knoll Press, 2007.

Scott, Katie and Deborah Cherry, eds. *Between Luxury and the Everyday: Decorative Arts in Eighteenth-Century France*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

Sekora, John. *Luxury: the Concept in Western Thought, from Eden to Smollett*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.

Shawe-Taylor, Desmond. *The Conversation Piece: Scenes of Fashionable Life*. London: Royal Collection, 2009.

Shepherd, James Floyd and Samuel H. Williamson. "The Coastal Trade of the British North American Colonies, 1768–1772." *Journal of Economic History* 32, no. 4 (December 1972): 783–810.

Sherman, Susanne K. *Comedies Useful: Southern Theatre History 1775–1812*. Williamsburg, Virg.: Celest Press, 1998).

Shesgreen, Sean. "Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness*: A Reading." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* IX (Summer 1976): 569–598.

Shields, David S. *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

_____. *Oracles of Empire: Poetry, Politics, and Commerce in British America, 1690–1750.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Simon, Robin. *Hogarth, France and British Art: The Rise of the Arts in 18th-Century Britain*. London: Hogarth Arts, 2007.

Smith, Bill Leon. "Animals Made Americans Human: Sentient Creatures and the Creation of Early America's Moral Sensibility." *Journal of Animal Ethics* 2, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 126–140.

Solkin, David H. *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992.

Stanard, Mary Newton. *Colonial Virginia: Its People and Customs*. Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1917.

Stanley, Ted. "Mezzotint Under Glass: A Historical Review of the Glass Print." *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 45, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 147–154.

Steele, Ian Kenneth. *The English Atlantic, 1675–1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Steintrager, James A. "Monstrous Appearances: Hogarth's 'Four Stages of Cruelty' and the Paradox of Inhumanity." *The Eighteenth Century* 42, no.1 (Spring 2001): 59–82.

Stewart, Robert G. *Robert Edge Pine: a British Painter in America*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979.

Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.

Stone, Lawrence. "Prosopography," *Daedalus* 100, no. 1 (Winter 1971): 46–79.

Stowell, Marion Barber. *Early American Almanacs: The Colonial Weekday Bible*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1977.

Styles, John and Amanda Vickery, eds., *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and America in the Long Eighteenth Century*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006.

Tamarkin, Elisa. *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Tapley, Harriet Silvester. *Salem Imprints 1768–1825: A History of the First Fifty Years of Printing in Salem, Massachusetts with Some Account of the*

Bookshops, Booksellers, Bookbinders and the Private Libraries. Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1927.

Taylor, Charles. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

Tharp, Lars. *Hogarth's China: Hogarth's Paintings and 18th-Century Ceramics*. London: Merrell Holberton, 1997.

Thirsk, Joan. *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

Uglow, Jenny. *Hogarth: A Life and a World*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997.

Upton, Dell. "Commercial Architecture in Philadelphia Lithographs," in *Philadelphia on Stone: Commercial Lithography in Philadelphia, 1828–1878*. Edited by Erika Piola. 153–175. Philadelphia: The Library Company of Philadelphia, 2012.

_____. *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986.

_____. "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*. Edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach. 315–335. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Voogd, Jan de. *Henry Fielding and William Hogarth: The Correspondence of the Arts*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981.

Wagner, Peter. "The Artistic Framing of English Nationalism in Hogarth's *The Gate of Calais, or The Roast Beef of Old England*." In *"Better in France?": The Circulation of Ideas across the Channel in the Eighteenth Century*. Edited by Frédéric Ogée. 71–87. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2005.

_____. *Reading Iconotexts: From Swift to the French Revolution*. London: Reaktion Books, 1995.

_____. "Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness*: Subverting Lessons on Conduct." In *The Crisis of Courtesy: Studies in the Conduct Book in Britain 1600–1900*. Edited by Jacques Carré. 51–64. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1994.

_____. “Hogarth’s Graphic Palimpsests: Intermedial Adaptation of Popular Literature.” *Word & Image 7*, no. 4 (1991): 329–347.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Wall, Cynthia Sundberg. *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

_____. “The English Auction: Narratives on Dismantlings.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 1 (1997): 1–25.

Warren, Jeremy and Adriana Turpin, eds. *Auctions, Agents and Dealers: The Mechanisms of the Art Market 1660–1830*. Oxford: The Beazley Archive and Archaeopress in association with The Wallace Collection, 2007.

Warner, Michael. *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth- Century America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Wax, Carol. *The Mezzotint: History and Technique*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990.

Weatherill, Lorna. *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760*. London: Routledge, 1988.

Weekley, Carolyn J. *Painters and Paintings in the Early American South*. Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2013.

Weeks, Lyman H. *A History of Paper Manufacturing in the United States*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1969.

Weinberg, H. Barbara and Carrie Rebora Barratt, eds. *American Stories: Paintings of Everyday Life, 1765–1915*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Wells, K.L.H. "Serpentine Sideboards, Hogarth’s *Analysis*, and the Beautiful Self." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 46.3 (2013): 399–413.

West, Shearer. “Wilkes’s Squint: Synecdochic Physiognomy and Political Identity in Eighteenth-Century Print Culture.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 1 (1999): 65–84.

Wilson, Douglas L. “Thomas Jefferson's Library and the Skipwith List,” *Harvard Library bulletin* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1992–93): 56–72.

Wind, Barry. “Hogarth’s *Industry and Idleness* Reconsidered.” *Print Quarterly* XIV, no. 3 (September 1997): 235–251.

Winkelbauer, Stefanie Munsing. “William Bentley: Connoisseur and Print Collector,” in *Prints of New England*, edited by Georgia Brady Barnhill. 21–38. Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1991.

Yokota, Kariann Akemi. *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Zitin, Abigail Sarah. “Practical Formalism: The Analysis of Beauty and the aesthetics of technique.” Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2011.

Zorach, Rebecca and Elizabeth Rodinin, eds. *Paper Museums: The Reproductive Print in Europe, 1500–1800*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2005.

Appendix A

BRITISH-AMERICAN RETAILERS OF HOGARTH PRINTS

This Appendix lists those British-American retailers who, in their published newspaper advertisements, made reference to the artist and/or specified recognizable Hogarth titles and subjects. Most of this research was done using the Readex America's Historical Newspapers digital database. Additionally, I consulted Colonial Williamsburg's *Virginia Gazette* digital index and the Accessible Archives database holdings of South Carolina Newspapers, both of which fill in gaps in the holdings of the Historical Newspapers digital database. Due to the nature of searching within digital databases and continual improvements in Optical Character Recognition occurring in the years since my initial survey of Hogarth titles and subjects in the summer of 2008, it is possible that additional references to Hogarth may yet be found in these sources. For the sake of brevity, references are not given every time an advertisement appears, but only after a substantial period of time has passed, thus suggesting a new shopping cycle. "Print details" transcribes the details of the advertising copy as it appeared in the newspaper.

Name	Location	Print Details	Date and Citation
Bremar & Neyle	Charleston, SC	The Idle and Industrious Prentica	1753 – Oct. 29 *The South Carolina Gazette*
Alexander Hamilton	Philadelphia, PA	Parts of the day by Hogarth; Roast Beef of Old England; distressed	1755 – May 1 *The*

Name	Location	Print Details	Date and Citation
		poet and enraged musician, humours of a fair, march to Finchly, midnight conversation… industry and idleness, Paul before Felix, in the Dutch taste, sleepy congregation, the lottery, and several other humorous pieces by Hogarth	*Pennsylvania Gazette*
Bremar & Neyle	Charleston, SC	Idle and industrious apprentice	1756 – May 13 *The South Carolina Gazette*
Archibald and Richard Park Stobo	Charleston, SC	The idle and industrious apprentice, colour'd, in gol	1756 – Oct. 7 *The South Carolina Gazette*
Bremar & Neyle	Charleston, SC	Idle and industrious apprentice	1757 – Aug. 25 *The South Carolina Gazette*
Nathaniel Warner	Boston, MA	The Rakes & Harlots Progress	1757 – Jan. 17 *The Boston Gazette and Country Journal*
Bremar & Neyle	Charleston, SC	Idle and industrious apprentice, walnut frames	1759 – June 2 *The South Carolina Gazette*
Nathaniel Warner	Boston, MA	The Rake's and Harlot's Progress; The Idle and industrious Apprentice	1759 – Jan. 17 *The Boston Gazette and Country Journal*
James Rivington	New York, NY	The Harlot's Progress	1760 – Oct. 27 *The New York Mercury*
Nathaniel Warner	Boston, MA	The Idle and industrious Apprentice	1760 – June 23 *The Boston Gazette*
Richard Wells	Philadelphia, PA	The Rake's progress framed and glazed	1760 – Jan 3 *The Pennsylvania*

Name	Location	Print Details	Date and Citation
			Gazette
Johnson & Wylly	Savannah, GA	Hogarth's prints in gilded frames	1761 – July 11 *The South Carolina Gazette*
Liston, Benfield & Jones	Charleston, SC	Hogartb's [sic] and other pints [sic]	1761 – Oct. 24 *The South Carolina Gazette*
Nathaniel Warner	Boston, MA	Metzitento [sic] Midnight Modern Conversation	1761 – June 22 *The Boston Gazette and Country Journal*
Mazyk & Moultrie	Charleston, SC	Idle and industrious apprentice	1763 – Feb. 26 *The South Carolina Gazette*
Garrat Noel	New York, NY	A small Assortment of Hogarth's very humorous Pictures	1766 – Dec. 24 *The New-York Journal or General Advertiser*
Charles Stevens Stocker	Charleston, SC	Harlot's progress, idle and industrious apprentice	1766 – Oct. 20 *The South Carolina Gazette*
Inglis & Hall	Savannah, GA	A few sets Hogarth's most celebrated prints	1767 – July 8 *The Georgia Gazette*
John Mein	Boston, MA	Hogarth's Prints: at present very scarce, and increasing in value every Day	1767 – July 6 *The Boston Gazette and Country Journal*
Garrat Noel	New York, NY	Hogarths Marriage ala mode, and Sundry other of his Humorous Pieces	1767 – May 11 *The New-York Gazette*
Garret Noel	New York, NY	A few of Hogarth's humorous Pictures colour'd	1767 – June 1 *The New-York Gazette*
John	Piscataway,	Sett Progress of a Rake; Sett	1769 – Jan. 23

Name	Location	Print Details	Date and Citation
Glassford & Co.	MD	Fellow Apprentices	Inventory 1769–1774, John Glassford & Company Records
Hudson & Thompson	Baltimore, MD	Hogarth's Prints, painted on Glass	1769 – July 6 *The Maryland Gazette*
Garrat Noel	New York, NY	Marriage a-la-Mode	1769 – Nov. 20 *The New-York Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy*
Stephen Whiting	Boston, MA	The Idle and Industrious Apprentice	1771 – May 16 *Boston News-Letter*
Hugh Gaine	New York, NY	The Fellow apprentices, or industry and idleness	1780 – Oct. 30 *The New-York Gazette and The Weekly Mercury*
Prichard's Circulating-Library and Book Store	Philadelphia, PA	Several humorous Prints in Imitation of Hogarth	1781 – Dec. 25 *The Pennsylvania Packet or The General Advertiser*
Keatinge's Book Store	Baltimore, MD	Hogarth's Harlot's Progress	1794 – Oct. 27 *The Baltimore Daily*
John Fry	Philadelphia, PA	Complete set of Hogarths prints	1795 – Mar. 19 Diary of Elizabeth Drinker

Appendix B

AUCTIONS AND SECOND-HAND SALES OF HOGARTH PRINTS

Like Appendix A, this Appendix relies on the Readex America's Historical Newspapers digital database for much of its content and transcribes the print details appearing in advertisements and auction notices. I also consulted Colonial Williamsburg's *Virginia Gazette* digital index and the Accessible Archives database for access to the South Carolina Newspapers.

Name	Location	Print Details	Date and Citation
Joseph Watson	Annapolis, MD	LOTTERY. A Collection of the genteelest Pictures done by Hogarth, and other masterly Hands. His Election Prints are amongst them…	1762 – Apr. 1 *The Maryland Gazette*
Moses Deshon	Boston, MA	Harlots Progress under Glass	1765 – July 8 *Boston Gazette, and Country Journal*
Daniel Giroud	Savannah, GA	"a Set of the Rake's and Harlot's Progress" sold on behalf of John Morel	1770 – Mar. 21 *The Georgia Gazette*
Benjamin Bucktout	Williamsburg, VA	"some ELECTION PIECES by Hogarth, the Property of a Gentleman gone to England"	1771 – Sept. 17 *The Virginia Gazette*
Henry Jerning	St. Mary's County, MD	"fine prints by Hogarth" are being sold at the "late dwelling house" of the deceased doctor	1773 – Sept. 2 *The Maryland Gazette*
Benedict Arnold	Boston, MA	Midnight Conversation	1786 – Sept. 30

Name	Location	Print Details	Date and Citation
			The Providence Gazette and Country Journal
A. Hubley	Philadelphia, PA	Pine collection including "Hogarth's Works, a fine impression – 15 ½ guineas – Also An Analytical Explanation of Hogarth's Works in a vols. Octavo, an entire new work, illustrated with all his Engravings from the original design, by Mr. Ireland, 2 ½ guineas. Note. This works shews the merit of Hogarth to the greatest advantage, and is particularly instructive and entertaining to young and old."	1792 – Dec. 1 *The Mail or Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*
John Connelly	Philadelphia, PA	The original Works of Hogarth, a fine impression	1794 – Jan. 14 *Dunlap's American Advertiser*
William Baylis	Boston, MA	several thousand PRINTS in volumes, neatly bound, containing Hogarth's original works…	1796 – Aug. 22 *Federal Orrery* (Boston)
Hoffman & Seton	New York, NY	a large, extensive, and superb assortment of engravings, consisting of… 357 lots contained in 17 large portfolios of elegant prints on various subjects, and by the 1st artists, particularly Hogarth, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Bartolozzi and West. Also, Several sets of Ireland's Hogarth, the types and plates, particularly beautiful, also his works complete for 16 guineas	1796 – Feb. 10 *The Daily Advertiser*
John Pumfrey	Richmond, VA	"an elegant and complete edition of the WORKS of HOGARTH, together with some PRINTS, and sundry articles"	1802 – Dec. 8 *The Virginia Argus*

Appendix C

BRITISH-AMERICAN OWNERS OF HOGARTH PRINTS

This Appendix includes all references that I found to specific owners of Hogarth prints during the period 1740 to 1800 but is by no means an exhaustive list of those who were at one point in possession of them. For this study I relied largely on the selection of 325 Virginia and Maryland probate inventories that Gunston Hall Plantation has shared on their website (cited here as GHP)[529] and I searched the digitized probate records of selected York County, Virginia, available through Colonial Williamsburg's database (cited here as CW).[530] I scanned microfilm copies of Philadelphia and Charleston probate records that were easily available to me, but this survey can in no way be considered complete. Finally, I searched Suffolk County, MA probate records for the years 1730 to 1761 (detailed in Appendix D), but circumstances unfortunately did not permit a survey of the remaining period covered by my study. I suspect that additional (perhaps even increased) references to Hogarth and his prints appear in probate records dating from the last forty years of the eighteenth century, since

---

[529] Gunston Hall's selection is based on the details of dining equipage present in the documents, which according to historian Barbara Carson's study in *Ambitious Appetites* implicates the deceased in "polite" society .This methodology is spelled out on the Gunston Hall Plantation website, http://www.gunstonhall.org/architecture/roomuse/methodology.html accessed 01/12/09. The Barbara Carson reference is to *Ambitious Appetites*.

[530] http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/ProbateList.cfm

newspaper and journal references to his prints and his artistic project steadily increased in this period. Additional references to owners of Hogarth prints appeared in newspapers, diaries, and secondary sources including the research cards in the Colonial Williamsburg Department of Collections (CW research cards). With a research base in California, limitations of distance precluded my consultation of the research files at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA), but these would surely provide additional data for southern colonials.

Name	**Location**	**Print Details (value in £.s.d.)**	**Date and Citation**
John Boydell	Boston, MA	Midnight Modern Conversation	1740 Suffolk Co. Inventory 7379, pp. 176–80
John Coxe	[Trenton?], NJ	Harlot's Progress	1753, June 25 Joseph Downs Manuscript and Microfilm Collection, Ms. 55.17.1, Winterthur Museum and Library
Daniel Dulany, Esqr.	Annapolis, MD	In the Hall: 6 Pictures, Marriage a-la-Mode in Frames and Covered with Glass (1.16.0)	1754, May 21 Gunston Hall Inventories; Testamentary Papers, Box 55, Fol. 42 Maryland State Archives
John Blake	Boston, MA	Ye Modern Conversation	1756, April 16 Suffolk Co. Inventory 11243, pp. 313–17
John Rattray, Esqr.	Charleston, SC	Marriage alamode	1761 Charleston Inventories, vol. 87A, p. 137
Hon. Benjamin Prat, Esq.	Suffolk Co., MA	In the Little Parlour: one Picture by Hogarth, colour'd and gilt frames	1763 Suffolk Co. Mass, Rural Inv. 198–199 July 8, 1763
John Simpson	Boston, MA	Midnight's Modern Conversation	1764 Suffolk Co. Probate

Name	Location	Print Details (value in £.s.d.)	Date and Citation
			Records, vol. 63, p. 405
George Johnston	Alexandria, VA	6 Hogarths Prints at 12/6 (3.15.0)	1767, February 11 Fairfax County Will Book C-1 (1767–1776) p. 1–6. Transcribed in Gunston Hall Inventories
Thomas Jones	VA	"Midnight Conversation," "The Rake's Progress," "The Harlot's Progresses," "The Roast Beef of Old England," and "Marriage à la Mode"	1767 Letter to his brother, ordering additional Hogarth prints, as referenced in Stanard, *Colonial Virginia*, 1917, 318.
Library Company of Philadelphia	PA	Hogarth's prints	1770 - *The charter, laws, and catalogue of books, of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Crukshank, in Second-Street, 1770), f.129–130
John Mercer, Esqr.	VA	The Rakes Progress; The Harlots Progress	1770, November 19 Inventory list of the sale of the John Mercer Estate other than books (1770–71) owned by Henry E. Huntington Library (per CW research card)
Col. Pressley Thornton	Northumberland Co., VA	Hogarth's Midnight Modern	1770, August CW research cards
Robert Jenkins	Suffolk Co., MA	Midnight's Modern Conversation	1773 Suffolk County Probate Records, vol. 73, p. 333
George Inglis	Charleston, SC	"6 Prints, Marriage a la Mode, glazed & framed" in the front parlor of his house in town	1775 CW research cards
Dr. Nicholas Flood	Richmond Co., VA	1do Emaged Musitian (.0.7.6)	1776, May 6 Richmond County Will Book #7 1767–1787 pp.

Name	Location	Print Details (value in £.s.d.)	Date and Citation
			239–270 (per Gunston Hall inventories)
Alexander Purdie	York Co., VA	Midnight Modern Conversation	1779, April 28 CW inventories
Revd. John Camm	York Co., VA	Hogarths Prints (£10)	1780, April 17 York Co. 22, 1771–1783, p. 487
Robert Gilmor	Lancaster Co., VA	In the Parlour: 21 Prints by Hogarth and others @10	1782, November 7 Lancaster County Wills & Deeds, #20 1770–1783 pp.250a-253
Jones	Northumberland Co., VA	5 prints by Hogarth	1787 Memo of Pictures . . . , [n.d. ca., 1787], Container 32, Papers of the Jones Family, Northumberland County, Virginia, 1749–1810, Roger Jones Family Papers, 1649–1896, MssD, Library of Congress, no. 7179 and 7179 v. (per Gunston Hall inventories)
Thomas Stone	Annapolis & Charles Co., MD	3 hogarths prints	1788, January 3 Charles County Inventories 1785–1788 pp. 489–494 (per Gunston Hall inventories)
Robert Edge Pine	Philadelphia, PA	*Hogarth's Works,* a fine impression—15 ½ guineas—*Also* An Analytical Explanation of Hogarth's Works, in 2 vols. Octavo, an entire new work, illustrated with all his Engravings from the original designs, by Mr. Ireland,	1792, Dec.4 *The Mail*, or *Claypoole's Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia)

Name	Location	Print Details (value in £.s.d.)	Date and Citation
		2 ½ guineas	
Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver	Marblehead, MA	A compleat collec-tion of all Hogarth's paintings in some admirable engravings	1790 William Bentley Diary
John Tayloe		Hogarths Allamode - According to the list, 7 Pictures, Hogarth's Allamodes were in the Drawing Room in the 1790s; (6.2.6). At the Rose Gill Sale, the 7 Hogarths were bought for $26 by Tayloe.	1791 1791 RW IV. Standard Col. Va. P. 318 (per CW research cards)
Ralph Wormeley	Middlesex Co., VA	In the Drawing Room: 7 Pictures, Hogarths allamode	1791, May 10 Middlesex County Will Book G 1787–1793 pp. 224–230 (per Gunston Hall inventories)
George Diggis, Esqr.	Prince George's Co., MD	14 prints by Hogarth (£12.5)	1792, December 19 Prince George's Inventories 1781, 1790–1795 pp. 189–195 (per Gunston Hall inventories)
Henry Laurens	Charleston, SC	[Works]	1794 Charleston Library Society provenance recorded in database. (Hinson Collection)
Prince G. Wright	Providence, RI	a rare and valuable collection of prints, at a vast expence procured, from the hands of those celebrated masters of antiquity, Reubens, Raphael and Hogarth, on subjects religious, demirepal, hieroglyphical, pastoral, caricatural and	1799, December 25 *The Providence Journal, and Town and Country Advertiser*

Name	Location	Print Details (value in £.s.d.)	Date and Citation
		fancy pieces.	
Benjamin Lowndes, Esqr.	MD	6 pretty large prints – Marriage alamode by Hogarth	1809, July 21 Prince George's County Inventories 1803–1810 pp. 343–346 (per Gunston Hall inventories)

Appendix D

SUFFOLK COUNTY PROBATE RECORDS REFERENCING VISUAL ART

At the outset of this dissertation, I consulted Winterthur Museum's collection of microfilm reels documenting the probate inventories of Suffolk County, Massachusetts for the years 1730 to 1761. This Appendix compiles the references to artwork (excluding maps) contained in these inventories in the "Total" column. "Paintings" includes those listings that reference "oil" or "canvas" (and variant spellings) as well as "painting." Within the "Prints" column are references to "copper plate," "paper," "cuts," "mezzotint," and "print," along with variant spellings of each. When descriptive information regarding the subject, size, or condition of a work of art was listed in the document, I have included this information, just as I have included the number of artworks that were described with some variant of the terms "framed" and "glazed." Finally, when an inventory was taken room by room, this information is also noted. To ease any future references to this content, I have included the name, location, date, and inventory number for each record. Circumstances did not permit an exhaustive survey of the probate records covering the entire period covered by this dissertation, and it is almost certain that the prevalence of visual materials increases as the century goes on.

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Williams, John	Suffolk County	10/22/1734; Inv. 6632	yes	44	44					Small (44)
Stanbridge, Edward (Painter)	Boston	08/1734; Inv. 6623	no	29	29					Small (2)
Hayward, Jonathan (Cordwainer)	Braintree	11/20/1734; Inv. 6640	no	1	1					Picture Mural
Benning, John	Suffolk County	05/22/1731; Inv. 6217	no	40	40					
Ballantine, Capt. John	Suffolk County	08/14/1729; Inv. 6593	yes	5	3					Dutch (1) Images (2) Oval King William Oval Queen Mary
Grainger, Samuel	Boston	03/06/1733; Inv. 6544	no	2	2					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
George, Nicholas (Mariner)	Suffolk County	06/19/1732; Inv. 6229	no	8	8				1	Oval (4) Small (3)
Alden, Capt. Wiliam	Suffolk County	06/26/1732; Inv. 5745	yes	6	6			5 (backed)	1	Ship (1) Small (1)
Marshall, James (Tailor)	Boston	05/18/1726; Inv. 5236	no	2	2					Small (2)
Hunt, Rachel	Suffolk County	08/10/1732; Inv. 6271	no	2	2					
Tailer, Hon. Col. William	Suffolk County	08/29/1732; Inv. 6277	yes	54 +	54+					Great and Small (15) Small (11)
Willson, William	Suffolk County	12/19/1732; Inv. 6398	no	2	2					Small (2)
Marshall, Henry Esqr.	Boston	11/29/1732; Inv. 6298	no	1	1					In a case (1)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Flagg, John	Boston	01/29/1732; Inv. 6344	no	15	15			15		
Dorr, Elizabeth (wife of Edward Dorr)	Roxbury	02/28/1732/33; Inv.6385	no	5	5					Small (5)
Mills, Edward	Boston	03/21/1732; Inv. 6326	no	12	12			Gold (6) Black (6)		
Higgins, Capt. Jediah	Boston	05/19/1733; Inv. 6414	no	6	6					Small (6)
Sanderson, Taxley	Suffolk County	07/10/1733; Inv. 6406	no	1+						Sundry
Pell, William	Suffolk County	06/22/1733; Inv. 6452	no	12	12					Small (12)
Clark, Thomas	Boston	08/14/1732; Inv. 6352	no	2	2					King William Queen Mary

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Joy, Samuel, Mariner	Boston	08/14/1733; Inv. 5814	no	6				4		Pictures painted on glass (6)
Everden, William	Boston	09/18/1733; Inv. 6402	no	6	6			6		Old (6)
Papillon, Capt.	Boston	07/31/1733; Inv. 6425	yes	19	19			Gilt (5) Black (3)		Small (3) Old, broken (11)
Bromfield, Edward	Boston	02/15/1734/3; Inv. 6612	no	1	1					Dr. Owen
Rayman, Mary	Suffolk County	02/11/1734; Inv. 6652	yes	5	5					Old (5)
Orne, Elizabeth	Suffolk County	02/03/1734; Inv. 6664	no	12	12					
Grover, Dean (Blockmaker)	Boston	02/19/1734; Inv. 6678	yes	17	17					Large (5) Small (12)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Campbell, George	Suffolk County	02/21/1734; Inv. 6690	yes	20	20			Gilt (2) Black (12)	12	Large (2) Small (12)
Bant, Marcy	Boston	10/29/1734; Inv. 6634	yes	13	13					
Freeman, Alice	Suffolk County	2/28/1734; Inv. 6694	no	6	6					Small (4)
Walker, Mary	Boston	4/5/1735; Inv. 6665	no	25	21			16		Paper (4) Small (5)
Blish, Abraham (feltmaker)	Boston	3/26/1735; Inv. 6700	no	47	37					Images (10)
Ridout, William (Sailmaker)	Boston	4/29/1735; Inv. 6718	no	38	19	2		Gilt (5) Black (1)		Large (9) Flower piece Small landskips (9) Prospects of town and light house (3) Small (2)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
										Small oil (1) Large oil (1) Draught of Shyrs (1) Prospect of New York Tryal of King Charles (10)
Cruff, Capt. Edward	Suffolk County	4/30/1736; Inv. 6627	yes	2	2			Gilt (2)		Small (2)
Ballantine, Capt. John	Suffolk County	5/9/1735; Inv. 6593	yes	3	3					Oval (2)
Soroing, Mary	Boston	12/3/1734; Inv. 6658	no	2	2					
Wroe, Thomas	Boston	6/13/1735; Inv. 6588	yes	15	2	1	12			Copper plate pictures (12) Picture painted (1)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Burnelly, Samuel (Cooper)	Boston	5/22/1735; Inv. 6444	yes	19	19				
Bradford, John (Sadler)	Boston	7/29/1735; Inv. 6708	yes	20	20			7	Large (6) Small (7)
Savage, Anthony	Suffolk County	8/1/1735; Inv. 6731	yes	79 +	41+	30	37	30	Mezzotint Pictures of the Royal Family (10) Mezzotint (20) Small (25) Drafts (5) Large (2) Images (3)
Eames, George	Boston	8/8/1735; Inv. 6751	no	6	6				Small (6)
Waldo, Jonathan (Merchant)	Boston	8/19/1735; Inv. 6713	yes	33	33		25		Large and small (8) Large (25)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Foster, John (Mariner)	Boston	9/9/1735; Inv. 6763	yes	16	16				Large (9) Small (7)
Armstrong, Thomas	Suffolk County	12/12/1735; Inv. 6800	yes	20	20				Small (19)
Ickyll, John	Stow, Suffolk County	11/6/1735; Inv. 6362	yes	30	30		30		
Ickyll, John	Stow, Suffolk County	1/1/1731; Inv. 6362	yes	104	31	9	64		Queen Anne Prince George Small (13)
Hayes, John	Boston	8/13/1735; Inv. 6756	yes	20	20				Large (12) Small (6)
Bethure, George	Boston	2/20/1735; Inv. 6810	yes	30	30				
Wentworth, Samuel	Suffolk County	7/28/1736; Inv. 6878	yes	6	6				Small (6)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Branch, Isaac	Suffolk County	8/20/1736; Inv. 6866	yes	16	16			Gilt (2)		Large (4) Small (10)
Payne, William, Esqr.	Boston	5/25/1736; Inv. 6740	yes	7	7			Gilt (4)		Painted on glass (3)
Bennett, James	Boston	1/10/1735; Inv. 6775	no	1	1					
Gowen, Lemuel (Merchant)	Boston	9/17/1736; Inv. 5418	no	16	16	7				Small (9) Large painted (2)
Waldo, John	Suffolk County	10/22/1736; Inv. 6899	yes	5	5			3		
Pell, Capt. Edward	Suffolk County	4/27/1737; Inv. 6958	yes	50		2	9	Black (27)		Mezzotint (9) Old (2) Prospect of Boston Small Coat of Arms (2) Ordinary (20)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
										Small (11)
Bowles, John	Suffolk County	6/7/1737; Inv. 6976	no	8				Gilt (4) Black (4)		
Wharton, John (Mariner)	Boston	8/17/1737; Inv. 7034	no	12	12					Small (8)
Bond, Matthew (Merchant)	Boston	8/16/1737; Inv. 6994	yes	17	17					
Farnum, David	Boston	12/20/1737; Inv. 7085	no	1+	1+					
Gould, John (Mariner)	Boston	1/24/1737; Inv. 7096	no	13	13					
Welland, Capt. John	Boston	1/24/1737; Inv. 7063	yes	7	7					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Slaughtery, John (Mariner)	Suffolk County	5/13/1736; Inv. 6833	no	7			7	7		Dutch prints (7)
Lowder, William	Boston	12/25/1737; Inv. 6940	no	9	9					
Russell, Capt. James	Boston	2/14/1737; Inv. 7094	no	9	9					Large (1) Small (8)
White, Samuel	Boston	8/1/1736; Inv. 6383	yes	44	44			Gilt (4) Black (40)		Small (42)
Mason, Sampson (Glazier)	Boston	6/26/1738; Inv. 7154	yes	19	19			12	12	Sundry sizes (12) Old (7)
Townsend, James	Boston	1/28/1738; Inv. 7155	yes	106	106			Gilt (18)	54	Pictures painted upon glass (8) Mr. Townsend "Mine" with the Arms Small (10)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Andrews, Capt. Benjamin	Boston - House and Land in Atkinson Street	9/19/1738; Inv. 7185	yes	10	10					
Beary, Daniel (Shipwright)	Boston	10/27/1738; Inv. 7215	yes	17	12					Old (5) Images (5) Large (3) Small (4) Prospective glass
Blair, Mary (has a shop specializing in fabrics)	Boston	11/2/1738; Inv. 7223	yes	19	19			Gilt (9)		Prince George Queen Anne Middling (4) Small (6) Old broken pictures (4)
Mills, Ruth	Boston	11/6/1738; Inv. 7224	yes	11	11			Black (4) Lacquered (6) Frame (1)	1	Square (4) Old (much smoak'd) (4) Large old (2) Judge Hale

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Randall, Stephen	Boston	1/5/1738; Inv. 7235	yes	14	14					Small (14)
Homer, John	Boston	1/20/1738; Inv. 7247	no	1+						Sundry small
Quincey, the Honorable Edmund, Esqr.	Braintree	1/19/1738; Inv. 7124	no	1+						
Pinkney, John (Shopkeeper)	Boston	1/20/1738; Inv. 7219	yes	7	7					Small (7)
Cooke, the Honorable Elisha, Esqr.	Boston	2/20/1738; Inv. 7042	yes	11 +	11+					
Snowden, Rachel	Boston	2/20/1738; Inv. 7257	no	6	6					
Alexander, Francis (Mariner)	Boston	2/27/1738; Inv. 7276	no	12	12					Old (3) Very small (9)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Davis, Samuel (Blacksmith)	Boston	3/26/1741; Inv. 7285	yes	10	10					
Wincot, Capt. John	Boston	3/23/1741; Inv. 7288	no	9	9			Black (9)		Small (9)
Jarvis, Nathaniel (Shopkeeper)	Boston	4/10/1739; Inv. 7236	no	2						2 Heads Pr. Geo & Q. Anne
Ruggles, John	Suffolk County	5/22/1739; Inv. 6896	no	44	44			Gilt (14) Black (8)		Holland Small (4) Old fashion Images (14)
Winter, Capt. William	Boston	5/29/1739; Inv. 7050	no	7	7					
Blowers, Pyam (Merchant)	Boston	5/25/1739; Inv. 7290	yes	10	1		1	Gilt (1) Frames (8)		Mezzotint Paper pictures (8)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Pitson, James (Tavernkeeper)	Boston	6/6/1739; Inv. 7303	yes	4	2					Prospects (2)
Descombe, George (Baker)	Boston	7/17/1739; Inv. 7305	no	1+	1+					Parcel
Gerrish, Capt. John	Boston	3/25/1738; Inv. 7110	no	1	1					
Ashley, John	Boston	8/13/1739; Inv. 7345	yes	17	17					
Davis, Robert	Boston	9/18/1739; Inv. 7326	no	34	32			New York Picture Frames (8)		Small (32) Images (2)
Yates, Michael (Mariner)	Boston	10/4/1739; Inv. 7363	no	5						Paper pictures (5)
Micrs, Elizabeth	Boston	10/6/1739; Inv. 7237	no	5	5					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Ealmanturn, Jacobus	Boston	10/1/1739; Inv. 7348	no	1+	1+				
Hill, Capt. John	Boston	11/26/1739; Inv. 7346	yes	5	3	2			Small Mezzotint (2)
Green, John (Cooper)	Boston	11/18/1739; Inv. 7242	yes	10	10				Large (6) Small (2)
Franklin, Capt. David	Boston	1/8/1739; Inv. 7353	no	3	3				
Harris, Robert (Merchant)	Boston	3/1/1739; Inv. 7372	yes	18		18			Crown'd heads of England (10)
Hubbart, Capt. John	Boston	2/11/1739; Inv. 6573	no	38	38				
Sleigh, Capt. Joseph	Boston	4/12/1742; Inv. 7284	yes	1+	1+	1+			

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Harratt, Peter (Mason)	Boston	6/10/1740; Inv. 7423	no		1+					
Emerson, Edward (Shopkeeper)	Boston	6/24/1740; Inv. 7447	yes	62	62					Small (50)
Allen, Edward (Tailor)	Boston	7/4/1740; Inv. 7443	no	1+	1+					
Blish, Susannah (Widow)	Boston	8/15/1738; Inv. 7192	no	12	12				12	
March, Nathaniel (Blacksmith)	Boston	7/15/1740; Inv. 7446	no	4	4					Old (4)
Hanners, George (Silversmith)	Boston	7/22/1740; Inv. 7442	yes	14	14					
Legg, John	Boston	5/24/1733; Inv. 6437	yes	7	7					Small (7)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Kneeland, Joseph	Boston	9/16/1740; Inv. 7479	no	19	19					
Boydell, John	Boston	9/25/1740; Inv. 7379	yes	48	48		42			Duke of Malbo Battles Glory of the Confeder. Of Arms Prospects of London, New York & Boston Midnight Modern Conversation Small (3) Mezzotint Pictures (11) Copper Plate Prints (8) Mezzotint Prints (16) Large Prints (6)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Shepard, Elizabeth (Shopkeeper)	Boston	10/4/1740; Inv. 7492	no	9	9			Gilt (6) Frames (3)		Small (6) Larger (3)
Alden, Capt. Nathaniel (Mariner)	Boston	12/31/1740; Inv. 7459	yes	2	2					Paper Pictures (2)
Blin, Peter	Boston	5/24/1743; Inv. 7538	yes	41	41					Small (12)
Tileston, James	Boston	4/2/1741; Inv. 7549	no	6	6				6	
Snelling, Robert (Mariner)	Boston	4/7/1741; Inv. 7474	no	1+	1+					Sundry
Pitcher, Nathaniel (Perukemaker)	Boston	4/14/1741; Inv. 7566	no	3	3					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Emmons, Nathaniel	Boston	6/10/1740; Inv. 7444	yes	14 +	14+		8	Sundry picture frames		Mezzotint pictures (8) The Hon. Judge Sewall Image (1)
Boyer, James (Jeweller)	Boston	5/20/1741; Inv. 7593	yes	8	8			8		
Webster, Capt. John	Boston	6/23/1741; Inv. 7559	yes	1+	1+					Royal Family
Jekyll, John	Cambridge	6/1/1741; Inv. 7567	no	9	9					
Jekyll, John	Boston	6/23/1741; Inv. 7567	yes	3+	3+					Old pictures
Lutwych, Lawrence (Distiller)	Boston	7/20/1741; Inv. 7501	yes	6	6					Large (4)
Scollay, Bethiah	Boston	7/29/1741; Inv. 7631	yes	6	6					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Follers, Capt. John	Boston	10/2/1741; Inv. 5286	yes	7						Glass Pictures (7)
Allen, James (Tanner)	Boston	10/12/1741; Inv. 7650	yes	7	7					
Cushing, Thomas	Boston	11/19/1740; Inv. 7507	no	4						Glass Pictures (4)
Cussen, Capt. Matthias	Boston	12/21/1741; Inv. 7676	yes	6	6			Gilt (6)		
Beasley, Thomas (Baker	Boston	1/5/1741; Inv. 7674	no	25		3	22	Black (13) Lacquered (6)		Printed pictures (16) Mezzotint Small Mezzotint (4) Small Oyle Paintings (3) Very old printed Picture

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
White, Capt. Samuel	Boston	10/4/1738; Inv. 7196	no	2	2					
Little, John (Gardner)	Boston	3/31/1742; Inv. 7645	yes	13	13					Small (9)
Goffe, Capt. Daniel	Boston	3/30/1742; Inv. 7737	yes	30						Glass pictures (23) Landskip Paper (6)
Greenwood, Samuel	Boston	5/28/1742; Inv. 7720	yes	17	5		11		11	Pictures Mezzotint (11) Small pictures (5) SE Prospect of Boston
Waters, John	Boston	6/29/1742; Inv. 7688	yes	14	14			Gilt (2)		Large (2) Fish pictures (12)
Latail, Katharine	Boston	7/13/1742; Inv. 7769	no	2	2			Gilt (2)		

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Kent, Richard	Boston	7/16/1742; Inv. 7724	no	6	6					Old small (6)
Karris, Samuel	Boston	8/3/1742; Inv. 7732	no	8	2			Gilt (2)		Small glass Pictures (6)
Smith, Thomas	Boston	6/22/1742; Inv. 7721	yes	2+	2+					Old Pictures in Chest Small (1)
Davies, James	Boston	7/15/1742; Inv. 6911	yes	5+	5+					Sundry small Pictures Small Pictures (4)
Boone, Nicholas	Boston	9/7/1742; Inv. 7240	no	4+	4+					3 parcels small Pictures
Dyre, Henry	Boston	9/29/1742; Inv. 7792	no	16	16					Very small Pictures (9)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Clark, William, Esqr. (Merchant)	Boston	9/25/1742; Inv. 7784	yes	59	59			Gilt (1)		Pictures in Tin (4)
Reed, Jonathan (Goldsmith)	Boston	7/28/1745; Inv. 7831	no	5	5					Old (5)
Powell, John	Boston	7/25/1745; Inv. 7816	yes	2	2					
Minicks, Capt. William	Boston	3/3/1742; Inv. 7854	no	2	2					
Boydell, John	Boston	11/15/1742; Inv. 7379	yes	60	15		42			Mezzotint Pictures (28) Copper Prints (8) Old (5) Large Prints (6) Prospect of London, Boston, & New York Midnight

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
										Modern Conversation Small (3)
Langdon, Josiah	Suffolk County	4/20/1743; Inv. 7829	yes	12	2		9	Lacquered (2)		Mezzotint Prints (9) Large (2)
Ruggles, Capt. Joseph	Roxbury	6/8/1743; Inv. 7837	yes	1+	1+					Some Pictures
Harris, Robert (Merchant)	Boston	7/18/1743; Inv. 7372	yes	28	28			Gilt (2)		Small Pictures or Cartoones (8) King and Queens of England (10) Old (3)
Steuart, Capt. George	Boston	9/14/1743; Inv. 7647	yes	19	19					Large (3) Small (10)
Hobby, Wensley	Boston	12/27/1743; Inv. 7957	yes	3+	3+					Parcel of images Wrought Pictures (2)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Snow, Capt. John	Boston	1/17/1743; Inv. 7983	no	17	17				Large (5) Small (12)
Winthrop, Adam, Esqr.	Boston	8/11/1746; Inv. 7979	yes	1+	1+				
Deal, Dr. Aaron	Boston	2/14/1743; Inv. 8009	no	22	22				
Kimble, Capt. Thomas	Boston	2/14/1743; Inv. 7899	no	18	18				
Jackson, Capt. Newark	Boston	2/28/1743; Inv. 7944	yes	2	2				
Blin, William (Shopkeeper	Boston	3/2/1743; Inv. 7195	no	35	19	13			Mezzotint Pictures (13) Small (3) Pictures of different Sizes (19)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Dupee, Charles	Boston	3/6/1743; Inv. 8038	no	8	8			Black (8)		Old (8)
Watron, Mary	Boston	3/13/1743; Inv. 7970	yes	26	8	12		Gilt (6)		Small (4) Larger painted on Glass (6) Painted Pictures Round (12)
Faneuil, Peter, Esqr.	Boston	3/28/1743; Inv. 7877	no	257	152		4		97	Mezzotint pieces (4) Other sorts (2) Prospect of Boston Landskips on Copper (2) Temple of Solomon Alexander's Battles Erasmus
Vasrall, Lewis (Gentleman)	Boston	11/11/1743; Inv. 7976	no	16 +	16+					Roman Emperors (12)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Fordick, John	Suffolk County	6/11/1744; Inv. 8077	no	5	5					
Johnson, John	Boston	7/9/1744; Inv. 8093	no	6	6					Small (6)
Shores, George (Shopkeeper)	Boston	9/10/1744; Inv. 8089	yes	2	2					Old dirty (2)
Houghton, Rowland (Merchant)	Boston	8/16/1744; Inv. 8101	no	6			6			
True, Richard	Boston	12/4/1744; Inv. 8168	no	20	20			20		
Gibbon, Henry (Shopkeeper)	Boston	12/4/1744; Inv. 8121	yes	15	15					
Winthrop, Adam	Boston	9/12/1747; Inv. 8194	no	29			29			Mezzotint (11) Broke (6) Small Mezzotint (12)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Calf, Margaret	Boston	1/31/1744; Inv. 8118	no	5	5					Family picture Small (4)
Cobbitt, Nathaniel	Boston - Fish Street	12/15/1740; Inv. 7431	no	8	8					
Randall, Sarah	Boston	9/11/1747; Inv. 8206	no	7	7					Small (7)
Wally, John, Esqr.	Boston	6/28/1745; Inv. 8237	yes	3						Wooden images (3)
Brown, William (Ship Joyner)	Boston	6/19/1745; Inv. 8282	yes	4	4					
Haywood, Nathaniel	Boston	8/20/1745; Inv. 8275	yes	7	7					Small (4) Old (3)
Gibbs, Michael (Mariner)	Boston	10/8/1745; Inv. 8290	no	1+	1+					
Cooper, William	Boston	10/8/1745; Inv. 8010	yes	33	8		17	Brass (6) Gilt (2)		Mezzotint (15) Pictures painted on glass (8) Black (1)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Vickery, Cpt. Jonathan	Boston	11/21/1745; Inv. 8356	yes	12	12					
Walcott, Benjamin	Boston	11/25/1745; Inv. 8333	no	17	17					
Smith, John	Boston	10/2/1745; Inv. 8311	yes	30	23			Black (4)		Old (3) Glass pictures (7) Old Broken (9) Large oval (2) China images some broken (7)
Halsey, Joseph	Boston	12/10/1745; Inv. 8312	yes	14	14					
Penniman, James	Boston	10/29/1745; Inv. 8345	yes	14	9			4	4	A Family Picture Small (4) Old (4) Stone (5)
Lewis, Capt. Philip	Boston	11/26/1745; Inv. 8233	yes	137	137			Gold (6)		Small (22) Old (99)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Dolbear, Sarah	Boston	1/3/1745; Inv. 8187	no	13	1					Duke of Bolton's horse Pictures painted on glass (12)
Philps, Capt. John	Boston	9/25/1747; Inv. pp. 318–22	no	10	10					
Mills, Joseph (Yeoman)	Needham	1/14/1745; Inv. 8413	no	1	1					
Fletcher, Capt. William	Boston	11/26/1745; Inv. 8391	no	1+	1+					
Jeffe, James (Painter)	Boston	10/12/1748; Inv. 8406	no	23	23		0			
Claxton, Margarett (Widow)	Boston	3/4/1745; Inv. 8340	no	4	4					
Barber, Hezekiah	Boston	12/24/1745; Inv. 8373	no	5						Paper Pictures (5)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Rotch, William (Gentleman)	Boston	4/4/1746; Inv. 8468	yes	8	8					Small (8)
Goodridge, Capt. Walter	Boston	4/15/1746; Inv. 8446	no	3	3			3		
Prince, Moses	Boston	10/4/1745; Inv. 8327	no	24 +	1+		24			Large Mezzotint Pictures (16) Small Mezzotint Pictures (8)
Johnson, John (Butcher)	Boston	5/15/1746; Inv. 8494	no	4	3			Black (1)		The Sum of Religion Small (3)
Gibson, John (Mariner)	Boston	5/20/1746; Inv. 8493	no	1+	1+					
Shute, William	Boston	5/27/1746; Inv. 8501	no	17	17			Gilt (9)		Large (2) Small (7) Plain (8)
Edwards, John (Goldsmith)	Boston	6/18/1746; Inv. 8478	no	1+	1+					Parcel

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Hill, James (Perukemaker)	Boston	6/20/1746; Inv. 8517	yes	23	23					
Burt, John	Boston	10/20/1748; Inv. 8435	no	15	15					
Eliot, Samuel (Stationer)	Boston	4/28/1746; Inv. 8264	yes	25			25			Mezzotint Pictures (25)
Blake, Joseph	Boston	1/7/1745; Inv. 8357	yes	6			6			Mezzotint (6)
Dorr, Harbottle	Boston	9/23/1746; Inv. 8542	no	8	8					
Pitman, Elizabeth	Boston	9/29/1746; Inv. 8580	no	10	10			Gilt (7)		
Bulfinch, Capt. Adino (Sailmaker)	Boston	10/22/1746; Inv. 8520	yes	13	13			Gilt (9) Black (2)		Small (6) Large (3) Old (2)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Mason, David	Boston	11/12/1746; Inv. 8573	no	33	26			Gilt (2) Black (10) Frames (14)		Glass pictures (3) Small Glass pictures (4) Large (2)
Gowdy, Hill (Gardner)	Boston	1/22/1746; Inv. 8598	no	6	6					
Wells, George (Sailmaker)	Boston	1/27/1746; Inv. 8657	no	2	2					
Snoden, David	Boston	1/28/1746; Inv. 8661	no	5	5			Gilt (4) Black (1)		
Hind, Capt. John	Boston	6/25/1746; Inv. 8505	no	6	6					
Seward, Benjamin (Taylor)	Boston	2/10/1746; Inv. 8422	no	13	13					
Eustus, John (Brazier)	Boston	11/25/1749; Inv. 8680	no	2	2					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Waterhouse, John	Boston	11/3/1749; Inv. 8682	no	1+	1+					
Trecothick, March (Mariner)	Boston	4/7/1747; Inv. 8503	yes	11	11					
Pemberton, James, Esqr.	Boston	4/8/1747; Inv. 8695	yes	33	33			Lacquered (9) Frames (2)		Judge Hales Large (3) Family pictures (4)
Bridge, Capt. Ebenezer	Boston	3/6/1746; Inv. 8669	yes	21	20		1			Old (20) Mezzotint Picture
Charnoch, John	Boston	8/4/1747; Inv. 8802	yes	9	9			Gilt (3) Black (2)		Large (3) Small (2) Old (4)
Audebert, Philip	Boston	8/17/1747; Inv. 8810	no	4	4					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Philips, John (Merchant)	Boston	9/9/1747; Inv. 8823	yes	57	38		8	Gilt (10) Black (28) Frame (1)		Mezzotint Pictures (8) Pictures painted on Glass (10) Small (6) Old Ship
Gutteridge, John	Boston	9/10/1747; Inv. 8744	no	10	10		0			Small (10)
Colman, Rev. Dr. Benjamin	Boston	8/30/1747; Inv. 8827	yes	85	62		2	Gilt (17) Black (15+) Frames (46)	18	King William (2) Queen Mary (2) Man and Woman Pictures painted on glass (12) Large family pictures Mezzotint prints given by Hill Small (13)
Caswell, Henry	Boston	11/23/1747; Inv. 8867	no	55	18					Glass Pictures (37)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Coffin, Charles (Shopkeeper - fabrics)	Boston	11/24/1747; Inv. 8853	yes	32	32			6		Large and small (6) Old (5)
Davis, William	Boston	5/13/1746; Inv. 8459	no	1+	1+					
Eyre, Thomas (Cordwainer)	Boston	2/3/1747; Inv. 8868	no	16	16			Gilt (7) Black (7)		Small (9)
Downes, William	Boston	2/23/1747; Inv. 8911	yes	23	23			Gilt (2)	14	Large (2) Old (5) Prospect of London Small (8)
Flagg, Thomas	Boston - Marlborough Street	4/12/1748; Inv. 8942	no	12	12					
Copley, Richard	Boston	5/6/1748; Inv. 8979	yes	6	1+		1+			

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Stoddard, Anthony Esqr.	Boston	4/20/1748; Inv. 8959	yes	56	20		31	32	4	Mezzotint Prints (31) Small (4) Mr. Stoddard Madame Stoddard Mr. Solomon Stoddard Glass Pictures (4) King William painted on glass Queen Mary painted on glass Prince George painted on glass Small plain (2) Admiral G Shovel in a round frame King Charles the 2nd Admiral Russel

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Clark, Samuel (Mariner)	Boston	5/26/1748; Inv. 8893	no	5				5		Glass pictures (2) Small glass pictures (3)
Williams, Capt. John	Boston	5/28/1748; Inv. 8963	no	6	6					
Thompson, John	Boston	6/2/1748; Inv. 8716	no	14	14					Small (10) Larger (4)
Wintor, Stephen	Boston	6/7/1748; Inv. 8870	yes	8	2		6			Mezzotint Pictures (6) Old (2)
Jackson, Samuel	Boston	6/21/1748; Inv. 8888	no	6	6			Lacquered (6)		Small (6)
Dennice, John (Merchant)	Boston	6/28/1748; Inv. 8920	no	44	5		10	Gilt (2)		Pictures painted on glass (27) Small pictures painted on glass (2) Mezzotint Pictures (10) Small (3)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Forsyth, Capt. Alexander	Boston	9/6/1748; Inv. 9064	no	9	1			Gilt (1)		Glass pictures (8)
Gee, Rev. Joshua	Boston	9/13/1748; Inv. 9010	yes	39 +	31+			Gilt (1) Gold block frames Black (12)	18	Fruit piece Shadow glasses filled with wax work (3) Pictures painted on glass (8)
Rogers, George Esqr	Boston	9/22/1748; Inv. 8831	yes	6	2					Doctor Mather Mr. Whitfield Glass pictures (4)
Griffith, William (Merchant)	Boston	5/23/1740; Inv. 7365	yes	15	15			Gilt (1)		Large (1) Smaller (14)
Bowles, Hon. Edward, Esqr.	Boston	9/13/1748; Inv. 8928	no	2	2					
Stevens, John (Shopkeeper)	Boston	11/29/1748; Inv. 9106	yes	24	18					Glass Pictures (6) Paper pictures (9)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Weld, Edmund	Roxbury	11/29/1748; Inv. 9050	yes	1+	1+			1+		
Williams, Henry	Boston	12/27/1748; Inv. 9145	yes	4	4			Gilt (4)		
Langstaff, Bethuel (Mariner)	Boston	12/27/1748; Inv. 9130	no	9	9					
Wallis, Grace	Boston	1/24/1748; Inv. 9107	yes	19	13		6	Black (10) Lackered (1) Frames (4)	4	Mezzotint Pictures (4) Small (4) Prints (2) Paper Pictures (7)
Pashman, John (Goldsmithb- or Parkman)	Boston	2/1/1748; Inv. 9151	no	2			2			Small Mezzotint (2)
Cunningham, Nathaniel	Boston	2/6/1748; Inv. 9161	yes	71	26	1	6+	Gilt (7) Black (20) Lacquered (1)	6	Family Pictures (3) Mezzotint Prints (2) Cesar's Heads

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
									(12) Sea Pieces (4) Landskips (2) Paintings upon glass (11) Dutch picture Great & Small (18) Draught of Rotter Dam Painting upon the Antie Prints royal Family in Glass (4) Large (3) Small (1) Alabaster images (4) Box containing a number of prints

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Pound, Jacob (Hatter)	Boston	2/24/1748; Inv. 9131	no	7	7					
Ranchon, John	Boston	11/4/1748; Inv. 9120	yes	21	21			Gilt (4)		4 Elements Charity Piece Battles, hunting, etc. (7) Old (5)
Snowden, William	Boston	3/7/1748; Inv. 9132	no	4	4					Small (4)
Delhonde, Elizabeth	Boston	3/14/1748; Inv. 9220	no	29	29					Small (24) Large (5)
Rogers, Simon	Boston	3/21/1748; Inv. 9222	no	13	13			Gilt (4)		Large (4) Small (7) Black (2)
Mayo, Theophtus	Boston	3/30/1749; Inv. 8967	no	4	4		0			Small (4)
Caleb, Selectman of Roxbury	Roxbury	4/11/1749; Inv. 9125	yes	1+	1+		0			

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Dudley, Hon. William, Esqr.	Roxbury	4/19/1749; Inv. 7943	yes	37	28		5	Gilt (5)		Old (6) Small (12) Mezzotint Picture Mezzotint Pictures of Indian Kings (4) Cesar Pictures (4)
Bucks, Capt. Thomas	Boston	4/26/1749; Inv. 9265	yes	16	16					Small (7)
Thanny, Nathaniel	Boston	6/2/1749; Inv. 9273	no	13	13			Gilt (4)		Small (9) Large (4)
White, Richard (Mariner)	Boston	1/12/1752; Inv. 9177	no	2	2					
Johnson, John	Boston	4/6/1749; Inv. 9237	no	9	9				7	Small (9)
Hood, Richard (Shipwright)	Boston	1/7/1752; Inv. 9162	yes	7	7			Oval (6) Black (1)		Large old (1)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Putnam, William (Chairmaker)	Boston	7/25/1749; Inv. 9290	no	5	5					
Gardner, John	Boston	8/18/1749; Inv. 9277	yes	2	2					
Henderson, Capt. Joseph	Boston	9/1/1749; Inv. 9322	no	17	15			Gilt (12) Black (4)	6	Large (4) Small (1)
Logan, Robert (Shopkeeper)	Boston	9/15/1749; Inv. 9319	no	1	1					
Vennor, Henry	Boston - Union Street	9/14/1749; Inv. 9303	yes	20	20					Small (16) Large (4)
Callab, Capt. Benjamin	Boston	8/25/1749; Inv. 9321	yes	13	1		12	12	12	Large Mezzotint Pictures (6) Smaller Mezzotint Pictures (6) Old (1)
Vail, Edward (Baker)	Boston	9/5/1749; Inv. 9320	yes	5	5			5	5	Small (5)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Heaman, Humphrey	Suffolk County	5/16/1749; Inv. 7867	yes	1+	1+					
Ingersol, David (Shipwright)	Boston	1/16/1749; Inv. 9416	yes	10	10					Small (10)
Johnson, Jeffs (Book Keeper)	Boston	10/12/1749; Inv. 9384	no	6	6					Very small (6)
Knight, Mrs. Grace (Widow)	Boston	2/16/1753; Inv. 9457	no	8	8			Gilt (6) Black (2)		Small (8)
Brazier, Peter	Boston	2/23/1753; Inv. 9446	no	7	7					
Lambert, William, Esqr.	Boston	2/28/1749; Inv. 9417	yes	39	39					Small (12) March of Battles (5) Court of France (2) Francois scenes (5) Dutch (1)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Robins, James (Mariner)	Boston	2/14/1753; Inv. 9430	no	24	24					
Treeothick, Sarah (Widow)	Boston	3/6/1749; Inv. 9456	yes	10	10					
Clish, John (Mariner)	Boston	3/8/1749; Inv. 9450	no	6	6			6		
Williams, Sendal (Wine cooper)	Boston	3/13/1749; Inv. 9451	yes	8	2		6	Gilt (2)		Mezzotint Pictures (6)
Dowrich, William	Boston	6/6/1749; Inv. 9266	yes	31	9		22	9		Large (9) Mezzotint (6) Small Mezzotint (16)
Williams, Ann	Boston	3/8/1749; Inv. 9424	no	3	3					Old (3)
Salter, Rachel	Boston	4/24/1750; Inv. 9398	no	2	2					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Dawes, Thomas	Boston	5/1/1750; Inv. 9484	no	4	4					
Buttolster, John (Wine Cooper)	Boston	5/10/1750; Inv. 9513	yes	14	14				3	
Torail, John (Merchant)	Boston	3/26/1750; Inv. 9381	yes	37	10					Painted on glass (27)
Donnie, Sarah	Boston	5/29/1750; Inv. 9455	no	53			10			Large Painted on glass (27) Small painted on glass (12) Old (4) Mezzotint (10)
Johonnot, Dancie [sp?]	Boston	8/9/1748; Inv. 9036	yes	6	6			Gilt (6)		Large (3) Small (3)
Taylor, John	Milton	5/21/1750; Inv. 9463	no	12	12					
Gowin, William (Shopkeeper)	Boston	5/19/1750; Inv. 9517	yes	17	17				14	Small (9) Old (3)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Mower, Ephraim	Boston	4/20/1750; Inv. 9021	no	13	13					Great and small (13)
Hardcastle, Roger	Boston	7/23/1750; Inv. 9555	no	39	39				39	
Hunt, Ephraim (Blacksmith)	Boston	7/31/1750; Inv. 9491	no	6	6					
Apthorp, Stephen (Brazier)	Boston	9/7/1750; Inv. 9420	yes	24	24					
Waldo, Jonathan	Boston	10/23/1750; Inv. 6713	no	29	27		2			Mezzotint Pictures (2) Small (21) Large (4) Old (2)
Indicott, Capt. John	Boston	12/26/1749; Inv. 9423	yes	18	2		16	16	16	Mezzotint (16)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Wheelwright, Theodore (Upholsterer)	Boston	7/25/1750; Inv. 9649	yes	83	77		6			Small (60) Mezzotint (6) Indian Kings (4) Ship pieces (6)
Clap, Stephen	Boston	12/4/1750; Inv. 9655	yes	33	23		10			Mezzotint (10) Small (16) Old (7)
Parker, Seth, Esqr.	Boston	9/18/1750; Inv. 9512	no	7	7					
Underwood, Anthony	Boston	2/5/1750; Inv. 9182	no	4	4			Gilt (4)		
Bowdoin, Mehitabel	Boston	3/4/1750; Inv. 9059	yes	2	2					
Gibson, Samuel (Gentleman)	Boston	2/25/1750; Inv. 9518	no	3	3					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Osborn, John	Boston	3/20/1750; Inv. 9676	yes	31	31			10	10	Large (1) Small (29)
Boardman, Andrew (Shopkeeper - textiles)	Boston	6/25/1751; Inv. 9771	yes	18	18			Gilt (3)		Old (2)
De Jersey, Cap. Peter	Boston	6/10/1751; Inv. 9758	no	2	2			Gilt (2)		King and Queen
Sewall, Samuel	Brookelyn (Brookline?)	4/25/1751; Inv. 9736	no	2	2					
Parker, Sarah	Boston	10/12/1750; Inv. 9634	no	1	1					
West, John	Boston	5/28/1750; Inv. 9487	yes	10			10			Mezzotint (10)
Gerrish, Joseph	Boston	8/20/1751; Inv. 9742	no	5	5			5	5	

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Gerrish, James	Boston	10/1/1751; Inv. 7605	no	13	13				13	Small (10)
Hughes, James (Distiller)	Boston	9/9/1751; Inv. 9818	yes	14	14			14	14	
Collins, Samuel (Cabinet maker)	Boston	10/1/1751; Inv. 9759	no	9	9					
White, Joseph, Esqr.	Boston	11/26/1751; Inv. 9763	no	4	4					
Boylston, Doct. Thomas	Boston	9/20/1751; Inv. 9540	no	6	6			6		
Baxter, Thomas	Boston	11/26/1751; Inv. 9695	yes	4	4					
Earl, John	Boston - Hannover Street	12/3/1751; Inv. 9449	no	4	4					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Edwards, Capt. Benjamin (Merchant)	Boston	12/25/1751; Inv. 9826	yes	31	23		6			Capt. Edwards Oval (2) Small oval (2) Capt. Evern Mezzotint Pictures (6) King William & Queen Mary Oval Small (14) Large draughts (2)
Scott, Joseph (Brazier)	Boston	12/18/1751; Inv. 9812	no	7	7					
Marshall, Mary (Widow)	Boston	11/19/1751; Inv. 9842	no	24			24			Mezzotint pictures broken and whole (24)
Cunningham, William	Boston	1/28/1752; Inv. 8170	no	9	9					
Griggs, Jacob	Boston	2/4/1752; Inv. 9884	no	14	14					Small (14)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Tuckerman, Abraham	Boston	2/11/1752; Inv. 9852	no	30	30			Gilded and black (30)		Small paper pictures (30)
Cheeves, Joshua, Esqr.	Boston	9/28/1752; Inv. 9898	yes	31			24			Mezzotint (24)
Belknap, Jeremiah (Leather dresser)	Boston	5/8/1752; Inv. 9809	yes	8	8					
Hughes, Jennet (Widow)	Boston	4/15/1752; Inv. 9964	yes	16	2		14	7	7	Mezzotint (14) Old (2)
Dowell, James	Boston	5/22/1752; Inv. 8330	no	16	16			Lacquered (7) Black (9)		
Bass, Capt. Joseph	Dorchester	2/12/1752; Inv. 9939	no	5	5					
Plimpton, Mary	Boston	5/16/1752; Inv. 9987	no	6	6					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Goddard, Giles	Roxbury	6/22/1752; Inv. 10044	no	7	7					Old (7)
Boltins, Mrs. Hendrica	Boston	6/16/1752; Inv. 9998	no	44	44					Large old (10)
Norton, John	Boston	6/11/1752; Inv. 10024	no	14	14			Gilt (2)		Small (12)
Gutteridge, Robert	Boston	6/18/1752; Inv. 9784	no	3	3			Square (1)		Large Oval man & woman
Chick, Capt. John	Boston	6/12/1752; Inv. 10042	no	61	52		9	Mostly black (14)	5	Mezzotint (9) Small (29) Family pieces (3) Large (14)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Palmes, Thomas, Esqr.	Boston	5/8/1752; Inv. 10134	yes	78	66		12	Gilt (5) Frames (4)		Judge Palmer Lady Thos. Palmer Judge Colonel McIntash & Lady Round (2) Mezzotint (12) Large (5) Small (39) Picture of Plantation Fairfield
Bennet, Mary	Boston	9/14/1751; Inv. 9823	no	5	5					Old (3) Small (2)
Mather, Isaac	Boston	6/25/1752; Inv. 10001	no	28	28					Large (8)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Smibert, John (Painter)	Boston	9/22/1752; Inv. 9822	no	91 +	91+		1+			Portraits (35) History pieces & Pictures in that Taste (41) Landskips (13) Conversation Pictures (2) Bustoes & figures in Paris plaister & models Prints & Books of Prints Drawings
Crow, George	Boston	9/22/1752; Inv. 9981	no	21	21					
Carteret, Philip	Boston	9/29/1752; Inv. 10041	yes	16	16			Gilt (2)		Small (14)
Spring, Capt. Robert	Boston	12/20/1750; Inv. 8221	yes	22	10		12			Mezzotint (12) Small (10)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Andrews, Thomas (Housewright)	Boston	9/22/1752; Inv. 10061	yes	1+	1+					
Chapin, Aaron	Boston	10/6/1752; Inv. 10185	no	7	7					
Delaptace, Thomas	Boston	10/13/1752; Inv. 9945	no	4	4					
Evans, David	Boston	10/20/1752; Inv. 10172	no	18	13				Some broke (13)	Glass pictures (5)
Combes, Capt. John	Boston	10/27/1752; Inv. 10090	yes	30	6	6		6	6	Pictures painted on glass (18) Large painted on canvas (6) Small (6)
Buck, James	Boston	11/3/1752; Inv. 10201	no	22	22					
Darrall, Henry	Boston	11/3/1752; Inv. 9971	no	60	60					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Shepard, Nathaniel (looks as if a shopkeeper of textiles)	Boston	8/25/1752; Inv. 10103	no	10	10					Old (10)
Shepard, Thomas	Boston	11/4/1752; Inv. 10179	no	22	22					Ordinary (10)
Goreham, John	Boston	12/1/1752; Inv. 9997	no	94	72		22			Mezzotint (22) Small (10) Machine of prospective Views of cities Images alabaster (5) Other images (7)
Young, William	Boston	11/22/1752; Inv. 10081	yes	28	6		22			Mezzotint (22)
McNeil, Robert (Taylor)	Boston	12/22/1752; Inv. 10297	no	7	7					Small (6)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Gardner, John	Boston	12/12/1752; Inv. 9922	yes	22	22					
Coburn, Seth	Boston	5/27/1752; Inv. 10043	yes	38	36		2	2	36	
Gibson, James	Boston	12/26/1752; Inv. 10276	no	30	2		19	2	27	James Gibson Mezzotint in glass one broke (19) Smaller two broke (7) Duke of Marlborough
Wiswell, Thomas	Dorchester	1/12/1753; Inv. 10275	no	8	8					
Eddy, Caleb (Trader)	Boston	1/12/1753; Inv. 10224	no	4	4					Old (4)
Viall, Nathaniel (shop keeper)	Boston	1/19/1753; Inv. 9934	no	27	27		3	Gilt (8) Frames (3)		

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Shute, Rachel	Boston	1/6/1753; Inv. 9978	no	9	9				
Scott, William (Mariner)	Boston	1/8/1753; Inv. 10211	no	12	12				
Wharton, Martha (Spinster)	Boston	1/19/1753; Inv. 10124	no	1	1				
Child, Thomas (Distiller & Sugar Baker)	Boston	2/9/1753; Inv. 9937	no	13	13				Small (12) Mr. Child
Follers, Ann (Widow)	Boston	2/9/1753; Inv. 10329	no	8	8			8	
Tuttle, Jabez	Boston	2/12/1753; Inv. 10256	no	11	11				
Ferber, Richard	Boston	2/23/1753; Inv. 10338	no	4	3	1	3		Mezzotint

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
	Boston	11/3/1752; Inv. 9942	no	6	6			Gilt (3) Framed (3)		
Holmes, George	Boston	3/2/1753; Inv. 10262	yes	29	11		18		29	
Stedman, Benjamin (Physician)	Milton	1/31/1752; Inv. 9886	no	14	14			14		
Tilson, John (Mariner)	Boston	8/14/1752; Inv. 10135	no	27	27					
Renkin, Benjamin	Boston	3/30/1753; Inv. 10357	yes	2	2			Gilt (2)		
Russell, Skinner	Boston	3/23/1753; Inv. 10138	yes	10	10			Gilt (6) Black (4)		
Farrington, William (Mariner)	Boston	3/9/1753; Inv. 10152	no	1+	1+					Old (parcel)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Stoddard, Simeon (Gentleman)	Boston	4/9/1753; Inv. 9777	yes	46				10	7	Large (30) Small (7) Images (3)
Stafford, Nathan	Boston	4/20/1753; Inv. 10362	no	1						Small
Barton, John	Boston	6/22/1753; Inv. 10240	no	3	3			3		
Kidder, Capt. Joseph	Boston	5/25/1753; Inv. 10434	yes	13	13			Gilt (1)	12	Large (3) Small (9)
Vassal, Mrs. Dorothy	Braintree	8/7/1752; Inv. 8635	no	1	1					Picture in a shay box
Baker, John	Boston	8/3/1753; Inv. 9392	no	4	4					
Welsteed, Revd. William	Boston	8/3/1753; Inv. 10440	yes	25	13	1		Black (1)		Different sizes (12) Painted on glass (8)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
										Draught of Capt. Southackes (sp.?)
Downe, William	Boston	8/10/1753; Inv. 10460	no	22	22					
Fadre, William (Mariner)	Boston	8/7/1753; Inv. 10501	yes	18	2		16	Gilt (2) Black (16)		Dutch (2) Small prints (13) Old prints (3)
Coffin, Mary	Boston	8/31/1753; Inv. 10503	no	36	36					
Dixwell, John	Boston	6/2/1749; Inv. 9282	no	16	16					Family (2)
Grant, John	Boston	9/7/1753; Inv. 10546	no	12	12			4	12	Small (8)
Willson, Mary	Boston - Lyn Street	9/11/1753; Inv. 10539	no	3	3					Small (3)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Pastree, Margaret (Widow)	Boston	10/28/1752; Inv. 10197	no	2	2			2		
Holmes, Ebenezer (Merchant)	Boston	12/19/1753; Inv. 10587	no	24	24					
Miller, Samuel	Boston	1/4/1754; Inv. 9808	yes	3	3					
Vering, Mrs. Hannah	Boston	1/11/1754; Inv. 10624	no	13	13			Gilt (13)		
Hiller, Joseph	Boston	1/11/1754; Inv. 10613	no	6	6					
Dorone, John	Boston	2/27/1752; Inv. 9908	no	3	3					Old (3)
Hasey, Jacob	Boston	1/19/1754; Inv. 10461	no	1+	1+					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Milriard, Jeffry (Victualler)	Boston	1/25/1754; Inv. 10644	no	6	6				Old (6)
Tuckerman, John	Boston	2/1/1754; Inv. 10643	no	6	6		Black (1) Framed (3)		
Hooker, John (Labourer)	Boston	2/15/1754; Inv. 10670	yes	7	7				Old (7)
Loring, Jonathan	Boston	11/26/1752; Inv. 10232	yes	12	12				
Luce, Peter	Dedham	3/2/1754; Inv. 10603	no	9	9				Small (9)
Wheeler, Ephraim	Boston	2/4/1754; Inv. 10666	yes	6	6				Old small (6)
Chamberlain, John	Chelsea	3/8/1754; Inv. 10655	no	4	4				

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Handserd, Sarah (Widow)	Boston	3/8/1754; Inv. 10687	no	6	6					Small (6)
Wendell, Jacob (Merchant)	Boston	3/22/1754; Inv. 10610	yes	45	45			37		India pictures (4)
Bonner, Capt. John	Boston	3/29/1754; Inv. 10637	no	10	10					
Dyer, Barret	Boston	1/11/1754; Inv. 10720	no	12	12			Gilt (4)		Large (2) Small (10)
Waldo, Cornelius, Esqr.	Boston	4/26/1754; Inv. 10482	no	14	8		6			Mezzotint (6)
Russell, Alexander (Mariner)	Boston	4/26/1754; Inv. 10744	no	2	2					Old (2)
Maverick, Iatham (Shopkeeper)	Boston	5/10/1754; Inv. 10460	yes	37	29		8	Black (17)	9	Mezzotint (8) Small (13)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Winslow, Hon. Edward, Esqr.	Boston	5/5/1754; Inv. 10609	yes	68	68					Large (9) Small (51) Old (1)
Gerrish, John (Merchant)	Boston	5/24/1754; Inv. 10753	no	15	15			Black (12)		Small (15)
Hanner, Rebecca	Boston	6/4/1754; Inv. 10754	no	4	4					Large (4)
Mountfort, Jonathan (Shopkeeper)	Boston	3/28/1751; Inv. 9654	no	2	2			Gilt (2)		
Oliver, Peter	Boston	7/1/1754; Inv. 10789	no	42	42					
Gedney, Bartholomew	Boston	6/14/1754; Inv. 10780	no	14			10	12	8	Large mezzotint (8) Cracked without glass (4) Small mezzotint (2)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Salmon, John (Merchant)	Boston	8/2/1754; Inv. 10696	yes	42 +	1+		30	Gilt (12)		Mezzotint (30)
Blake, Samuel	Dorchester	7/25/1754; Inv. 10763	no	7	7					
Howell, Henry (Blacksmith)	Boston	8/9/1754; Inv. 10803	yes	12	12			8	8	Small (2) Old (4)
Pratt, Samuel	Chelsea	8/23/1754; Inv. 10795	yes	1	1			Black (1)		
Adams, James	Boston	9/3/1754; Inv. 10805	yes	63	37		26			Broke (2) Mezzotint (26)
Paquinet, James	Boston	8/29/1754; Inv. 10806	yes	18	18			5	5	Old (13) Small (5)
Darrell, Mihitabel	Boston	10/18/1754; Inv. 10808	no	24	24					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Snoden, Richard (Mariner)	Boston	11/1/1754; Inv. 10852	no	21	21					Old (13) Small (5)
Bordman, Aaron (Tin plate worker)	Boston	11/1/1754; Inv. 10790	yes	43	42					Old (2)
Phillips, Capt. William	Boston	11/22/1754; Inv. 10801	yes	4	4					Small (4)
Lamb, Joshua	Roxbury	12/10/1754; Inv. 10832	yes	33	2					Glass pictures (22) Small glass pictures (9)
Oxnard, Thomas, Esqr. (Merchant)	Boston	8/24/1754; Inv. 10799	no	105	105					
Liddle, John	Boston	1/27/1755; Inv. 10045	yes	20	5		15			Mezzotint (12) Mary Magdalene Old prints (3) Small (2)
Oliver, Daniel	Boston	2/14/1755; Inv. 10861	yes	13	13					Small (13)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Pirpoint, Ebenezer, Esqr.	Roxbury	2/21/1755; Inv. 10958	yes	16	16					
Cobbitt, Nathaniel (Baker)	Boston	7/16/1755; Inv. 7431	no	4	4					Old (4)
Empson, William	Boston	7/25/1755; Inv. 11061	no	19	14		5		12	Small (2) Mezzotint (5)
Osgoods, John (Hatter)	Boston	8/13/1755; Inv. 11090	yes	3	3					Old (2) The deceased and his wife
Snelling, Jonathan (Mariner)	Boston	5/15/1755; Inv. 12160	yes	59	47					Glass pictures (12) Images (4) Large (7) Large and small (24)
Fillebrown, Thomas	Boston	8/25/1755; Inv. 10809	yes	3	3					Old (3)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Dickman, Isaac	Boston	4/4/1755; Inv. 10978	no	9	8	1				Paint picture Old (8)
Kneeland	Boston	9/12/1755; Inv. 10800	no	23	23			Gilt (13)		
Buttolph, William (Wine cooper)	Boston	9/20/1755; Inv. 11125	yes	13			11	10		Dutch prints (10) Perspective views of Chelsea & Windsor Small print of Boston Town House
Gardner, Hannah	Boston	10/17/1755; Inv. 11117	no	1	1					
Lewis, Hon. Ezekiel, Esqr.	Boston	8/26/1755; Inv. 11101	yes	2	2					Old (2)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Keigghley, Thomas	Boston	10/17/1755; Inv. 11137	no	18	3		15			Mezzotint (15) Ordinary (2) Large (1)
Edwards, Thomas (Goldsmith)	Boston	12/15/1755; Inv. 11126	no	1+	1+					
Seymore, Thomas (Merchant)	Boston	1/2/1756; Inv. 11181	yes	12	12					
Doane, John	Boston	7/30/1756; Inv. 11180	no	13	13			Gilt (1)		
Savell, John	Boston	3/12/1756; Inv. 11226	no	2	2				2	Small (2)
Procter, John	Boston	3/8/1756; Inv. 11225	yes	20	20					Oval (2)
Blake, John	Boston	4/16/1756; Inv. 11243	no	1			1			Ye Modern Conversation

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Luckis, Oliver (Mariner)	Boston	4/8/1756; Inv. 1185	yes	10	10					Small (6) Larger (4)
Tyng, Edward, Esqr.	Boston	5/28/1756; Inv. 11120	no	19	19			1		Large (8) Small (3)
Loring, Jonathan	Boston	6/3/1756; Inv. 10232	no	10	10					Old (10)
Mackay, Capt. Eneas	Boston	7/21/1756; Inv. 10274	yes	16	16			Gilt (11)		Old (5)
Wilkins, Nehemiah	Boston	8/6/1756; Inv. 11277	yes	4	4					
Crockford, William	Boston	7/31/1756; Inv. 11305	no	4	4			4		
Grant, Joseph	Boston	8/10/1756; Inv. 11307	no	18	18					Small (13)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Warren, Joseph	Roxbury	5/24/1756; Inv. 11189	yes	7	7			7		
Bolter, Benjamin	Boston	373464; Inv. 11244	no	20	20					
Boardman, Bethesda (Widow)	Boston	9/17/1756; Inv. 11267	no	2	2					
Merchant, William (Merchant)	Boston	12/24/1756; Inv. 11184	no	26	2		24	Gilt (2)		Mezzotint (24) Old (2)
Brookes, Samuel (Gentleman)	Dorchester	11/22/1756; Inv. 11333	no	2+	2+					
Warren, Ebeneezer	Roxbury	2/3/1757; Inv. 11401	no	6	6				6	
Blunt, James (Mariner)	Boston	3/15/1757; Inv. 11435	no	12	12			12	12	

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Binney, Capt. Paul	Boston	5/6/1757; Inv. 11331	no	3	3			3		
Pecker, Elizabeth	Boston	5/6/1757; Inv. 11527	no	6	6			6	6	
Walker, Davenport (Mastmaker)	Boston	5/13/1757; Inv. 11507	yes	15	3					Pictures painted on glass (4) Large (4) Small (7)
Proctor, John (Gentleman)	Boston	5/13/1757; Inv. 11430	yes	13	13			Lacquered (4) Black (2)		Old (10) Small (3)
Brockwell, Rev. Charles	Boston	5/13/1757; Inv. 11129	yes	38	28		10			Mezzotint (10) Small (3)
Chauncey, Eliza	Boston	5/28/1757; Inv. 11511	no	65	30		29	Black (9) Gilt (19)		Mezzotint (29) Painted on glass (6) Small (9) George & Ann Large

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Kenny, Jona	Stoughton	5/26/1757; Inv. 11516	no	3			3			Prints (3)
Larrabee, William	Boston	2/25/1757; Inv. 11408	no	4	4			Gilt (4)		
Hodgson, James	Boston	8/13/1756; Inv. 11299	no	22	10		12			Small prints (12) Small (10)
Hearsey, Ino [what is this an abbreviation for?] (Mariner)	Boston	7/23/1757; Inv. 11570	no	4	4					Old and Small (4)
Wade, Thomas	Boston	8/19/1757; Inv. 11544	no	11	11					
Davenport, Elizabeth	Boston	8/30/1757; Inv. 11358	no	2+	2+					
Waters, William	Boston	9/2/1757; Inv. 11566	no	2	2					Small (2)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Stoddard, Elizabeth	Boston	7/15/1757; Inv. 11567	no	32	32				
Glover, William (Labourer)	Brookline	10/14/1757; Inv. 11503	no	1+	1+				
Hodgdon, Nathaniel (Cordwainer)	Boston	11/4/1757; Inv. 11612	no	1	1				
Bill, Hon. Richard, Esqr.	Boston	10/26/1757; Inv. 11642	no	13	13				The deceased's Picture
Tailer, Gillam (Physician)	Boston	12/13/1757; Inv. 11594	yes	5	5				Small (4)
Gyles, Charles	Boston	12/30/1757; Inv. 11641	no	10	10	2	Square gilt (1) Framed (2)		Large (2) Prospect of Boston Old (4)
Dawes, Thomas	Boston	12/30/1757; Inv. 11667	no	2	2				

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Poyntz, Sarah	Boston	9/2/1757; Inv. 11600	no	1	1				
Bickford, Aaron (Blockmaker)	Boston	1/6/1758; Inv. 11555	no	19	10	9	Oval gilt (2) Framed (5)		Mezzotint (4) Small (8) Large oval (2) Prints (5)
Traill, Mary (Widow)	Boston	12/20/1757; Inv. 11663	no	32	32				
Butler, Samuel (Sadler)	Boston	11/15/1757; Inv. 11619	no	15 +	1+	15			Mezzotint (15) Parcel
Jackson, Edward	Boston	2/10/1758; Inv. 11560	yes	76	61	7			Large (8) Small (17) Old (5) Pictures painted on glass (8) Mezzotint (4) Large print Prints (2) Ship Bethols

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Bedgood, Capt. Jeffry	Boston	3/3/1758; Inv. 11714	no	24	24			Gilt (6)		Old (13) Gov. Belcher Mr. Whitfield Capt. Bedgood & Wife Queen Ann & King George Smaller (4)
Wyborne, Sarah	Boston	3/31/1758; Inv. 11740	no	12	12					Family (5) Small (7)
Brackett, Samuel	Boston	3/31/1758; Inv. 11391	no	6	6					Small (6)
Prince, Capt. Joseph	Boston	2/7/1758; Inv. 11708	yes	14	2		12			Mezzotint (12)
Underwood, Ino (Turner)	Boston	4/7/1758; Inv. 11732	no	4	4				4	
Love, Richie	Boston	5/1/1758; Inv. 11771	no	19	19					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Bronsdon, Benjamin	Boston	5/12/1758; Inv. 11770	no	9	8					Fruit piece
Pain, Thomas	Boston	5/19/1758; Inv. 11573	no	4	4					
Pemberton, Hannah	Boston	6/23/1758; Inv. 11723	yes	14 +	14+					Family (5) Sundry sizes
Cowell, Joseph	Boston	7/7/1758; Inv. 11610	no	9	9					
Tyler, William (Ship Chandler)	Boston	7/21/1758; Inv. 11767	no	6	6			Gilt (1)		
Smallpiece, John	Boston	8/31/1758; Inv. 11824	no	1+	1+					Sundry old
Watt, Capt. Robert	Boston	9/4/1758; Inv. 11827	no	1+	1+					Parcel small

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Collins, Daniel	Boston	9/29/1758; Inv. 11834	no	10	10					
Collson, David	Boston	10/6/1758; Inv. 11660	no	10	10					Small (10)
Gleason, David	Boston	11/11/1758; Inv. 11808	no	10	10					
Waters, William	Boston	9/23/1758; Inv. 11566	no	3	3					
Denning, Sarah	Boston	1/19/1759; Inv. 11893	yes	10	10					Small (5) Old (5)
Downe, Capt. Ebeneezer	Boston	3/22/1759; Inv. 11966	no	5	5					
Langdon, Nathaniel	Boston	4/20/1759; Inv. 11707	no	7	7					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Fleet, Thomas	Boston	1/19/1759; Inv. 11882	no	6	6					
Wethered, Samuel	Boston	7/12/1759; Inv. 11844	yes	4	4					
Rand, Dr. William	Boston	7/27/1759; Inv. 12078	yes	10			10			Mezzotint (4) Small mezzotint (6)
Staniford, Sarah	Boston	11/16/1759; Inv. 12138	yes	2	2				2	
Tucker, Richard (Shipwright)	Boston	9/11/1759; Inv. 12161	no	17	17					
Griggs, Hannah	Boston	11/23/1759; Inv. 12145	no	1+	1+					
Marshall, William (Victualler)	Boston	11/9/1759; Inv. 12125	no	3	3					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Barber, John	Boston	10/19/1759; Inv. 12117	no	12	12					Small (12)
Adams, Dr. Joseph	Boston	10/19/1759; Inv. 12115	no	18	18					7 Acts of Charity (7) Smaller (11)
Apthorp, Charles, Esqr.	Boston	1/7/1759; Inv. 11871	yes	107 +	1+		7		10	Philosophers heads (4) Family pictures (6) Parcel Large (4)
Gallop, Capt. Samuel	Boston	12/13/1759; Inv. 12113	no	2	2					
Ayres, Peter (Cordwainer)	Boston	11/17/1759; Inv. 12234	no	4	4					Small (4)
Clarke, James (Blacksmith)	Boston - Wing Lane	1/25/1760; Inv. 12229	no	11	11				11	

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Stephenson, Capt. Ruben	Boston	1/25/1760; Inv. 12226	no	20	20					Small (12)
Beer, William	Boston	2/1/1760; Inv. 12212	no	87	87					Small (87)
Foye, William, Esqr.	Boston	2/7/1760; Inv. 12007	no	35	19			1		Glass pictures (15) Glass frame & picture to be viewed in it
Hill, Abraham (Mariner)	Boston	2/4/1760; Inv. 11166	no	57			57			Mezzotint (57)
Clap, Deacon Nopastell (?)	Boston	2/16/1760; Inv. 12206	no	1+	1+					Old
Martyn, Sarah	Boston - Union Street	2/16/1760; Inv. 12151	no	116	116					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Love, Margaret	Boston	10/26/1759; Inv. 12126	no	18	18				1	Old (13) Large (4) Small
Mascareen, Hon. Paul, Esqr	Boston	2/19/1760; Inv. 12248	no	1+	1+					
Taylor, William	Boston	3/11/1760; Inv. 12287	no	6	6					Royal Family (6)
Stanley, Capt. Thomas	Boston	4/11/1760; Inv. 12732	no	4			4			Mezzotint (3) Work'd mezzotint
Brackett, Capt. Rich (Merchant)	Braintree	4/11/1760; Inv. 12170	yes	13	13					
Carnes, Gov. John	Boston	3/21/1760; Inv. 12299	no	1+	1+					Old
Griggs, Jacob (Merchant)	Boston	4/18/1760; Inv. 12139	no	19	19					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
White, John (Merchant)	Boston	5/1/1760; Inv. 12335	no	15	15			4	
Eayrs, Morci (Housewright)	Boston	5/16/1760; Inv. 12284	no	17	17				Paper pictures (17)
Kent, David	Boston	5/16/1760; Inv. 12253	no	5	5				
Berry, Henry	Boston	5/12/1760; Inv. 12302	no	19	19				Small (13) Large (6)
Kennedy, Rebecca	Boston	5/8/1760; Inv. 12314	no	13	13				Old (13)
Barber, Nathaniel	Boston	5/23/1760; Inv. 12344	no	15	15				
Dorr, Ebeneezer (Gentleman)	Roxbury	5/26/1760; Inv. 12282	yes	6	6				

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Johnnot, Andrew (Distiller)	Boston	6/11/1760; Inv. 12383	no	4	4					
Clarke, Thomas	Boston	11/11/1765; Inv. 12268	no	16			16			Prints (16)
Crosby, John (Peruke Maker)	Boston	7/26/1760; Inv. 12218	no	6	6					
Blanchard, Allice	Boston	8/1/1760; Inv. 12424	no	12	12					
Clarke, William (Physician)	Boston	8/15/1760; Inv. 12389	yes	69	69				16	
Parmore, Roger	Boston	3/21/1760; Inv. 12285	no	3	3					Old (3)
Skinner, William, Esqr.	Boston	10/17/1760; Inv. 12451	yes	13		13				

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Hanner, Capt. George	Boston	10/24/1760; Inv. 12251	no	5	5					
Noyes, William	Boston	11/28/1760; Inv. 12525	no	7	7					
Humphrey, Capt. Richard	Boston	11/2/1759; Inv. 12146	no	8	8					
Skinner, Robert (Gentleman)	Boston - West Street	12/9/1760; Inv. 12520	yes	17 +	7+		10		10	Mezzotint (10) Old (7)
Price, Francis (Blacksmith)	Dorchester	1/9/1761; Inv. 12519	no	1	1					
Clarke, Jonas	Boston	1/9/1761; Inv. 12207	no	3	3					Judge Hale Doctor Colmans Wooden pictures (2)
Bosworth, Ephraim	Hull	9/16/1760; Inv. 12448	yes	5	5					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Sewall, Stephen	Boston	1/16/1761; Inv. 12461	no	45 +	45+					
Cunnabell, Samuel (Housewright)	Boston	1/23/1761; Inv. 12554	no	1	1					Small
Kennedy, Hugh	Boston	11/10/1760; Inv. 12497	no	4	4			Gilt (4)		
Sheaffe, Jacob	Boston	1/10/1761; Inv. 12548	no	4	4					
Kneeland, Joshua (Housewright)	Boston	11/19/1760; Inv. 12514	no	12	12					
Wendell, Jacob, Jr.	Boston	2/2/1756; Inv. 10610	yes	41	41			37		India pictures (4)
Parkman, Dr. Elias	Boston - North Street	5/28/1751; Inv. 9738	yes	33	33			Gilt (4)		Small (8)
Savage, Thomas, Esqr.	Boston	1/23/1761; Inv. 12547	no	3	3					Old (3)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Eliot, Simon (Tobacconist)	Boston	2/27/1761; Inv. 12564	yes	15	15				
Wheeler, William (Cooper)	Boston	3/25/1760; Inv. 12288	yes	6	6				Old (6)
Jarvis, Elias	Boston	2/27/1761; Inv. 12291	no	3	3				Small (3)
Wheeler, Joseph (Retailer)	Boston	2/25/1761; Inv. 12549	no	12	12				
Bulfinch, Dr. Thomas	Boston	4/3/1761; Inv. 11683	yes	78	77	1	Gilt (12)		Mezzotint
Fisher, Ebenezer (Merchant)	Boston - Winter Street	4/9/1761; Inv. 12343	no	15	15				
Stanton, Katharine (Widow)	Boston	3/27/1761; Inv. 12466	no	2	2				
Prince, William	Boston	2/20/1761; Inv. 12597	no	20	20				Old (20)

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Cross, William (Mariner)	Boston	4/28/1761; Inv. 9415	no	4	4					Old (4)
Belcher, Samuel (Truckman)	Boston	5/30/1761; Inv. 12686	no	8	8			8		Small (8)
Moore, William (Distiller)	Boston	5/28/1761; Inv. 12689	no	17	17			13	13	Small (7) Old (4)
Harris, Owen (Schoolmaster)	Boston	7/8/1761; Inv. 12667	no	11	11					
Webb, William	Boston	7/17/1761; Inv. 12379	no	19	19					Old (7)
Breek, John	Boston	7/31/1761; Inv. 12633	yes	25	25				25	
Allen, Samuel (Merchant)	Boston	8/14/1761; Inv. 12487	no	16			16		16	Mezzotint (16)
Daken, Johnathan	Boston	8/14/1761; Inv. 12733	no	10	10					

Name	Location	Date	Room by Room	Total	Pictures	Paintings	Prints	Framed	Glazed	Descriptive content
Thomas, William	Boston	6/28/1761; Inv. 12728	no	10	10					
Darbey, William	Boston	5/3/1759; Inv. 11923	no	10	10					
Tilley, George	Boston	10/20/1761; Inv. 12790	yes	10 +	6+			Gilt (4)		G. Wolfe Pitt Quadron Nocturnal
Breed, Capt. Nathaniel (Baker)	Boston	10/30/1761; Inv. 12779	yes	6	4	2		Gilt (4)		Canvis pictures (2)
Bill, Johnathann	Chelsea	12/4/1761; Inv. 12804	no	4	4					
Peirce, Mary	Boston	12/11/1761; Inv. 12426	no	6	6					Old (6)