

William Hogarth's Innovations in the London Print Market

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Introduction

Hogarth's Variety

1751 marked a difficult year for English artist William Hogarth, who, still reeling from the embarrassingly low hammer price of his painted *Marriage A-la-Mode* series, struggled to situate himself within an artistic tradition dominated by hierarchies of fine art while facing an onslaught of criticism from contemporaries. In an effort to redeem himself, Hogarth tried his hand at aesthetic theory, and in 1753 published his own aesthetic treatise, *The Analysis of Beauty*. Hogarth's treatise, which sought to challenge traditional hierarchies in fine art by redefining perceptions of beauty, design, and taste, was met with further ridicule and labeled by some of his contemporaries as a misguided, contradictive detour into theory. While largely forgotten, I believe that a consideration of this treatise, specifically, its use of the term *variety*, creates interesting parallels to the artist's remarkably successful career, and the driving forces behind it.¹

William Hogarth (1697-1764) was one of the first English artists to achieve international recognition and enjoyed wide acclaim throughout his career and posthumously. This success is quite impressive considering Hogarth's modest upbringing, informal artistic training, and creation of works that often went against traditional standards of high art. When one considers the broad range of subject matter, technique, medium, marketing, and audience found in Hogarth's work; the artist's unprecedented success can be understood as a result of the high levels of visibility that came from his varied production of art.

Chapter II in *The Analysis of Beauty*, entitled "Of Variety", argues that *variety*, when carefully composed, can be beautiful and pleurably entertaining to viewers. Hogarth's discussion

¹ See Figure 1 for title page illustration.

of variety in *The Analysis of Beauty*, and its connection to his own artistic oeuvre, of which the term variety was often used to characterize, would not have been lost on Hogarth. From the eighteenth century onwards, Hogarth, his contemporaries, and modern scholars alike have used the term variety in reference to the diverse thematic and compositional range throughout Hogarth's paintings and prints. Close contemporaries, such as George Vertue, often noted the "endless variety" of Hogarth's compositions.² William Gilpin, another contemporary, further delineated that Hogarth's variety was most impressive in his expression of character.³ Modern-day scholar Mark Hallet uses variety in reference to the multitude of connotations and subsequent readings that could be drawn from Hogarth's satirical prints. When describing his own work, Hogarth utilized phrases such as: "representing a variety of modern occurrences" and, "the great number of faces there delineated, varied at random, to prevent if possible, personable application"; clearly thinking of variety in relation to each individual work's depiction of modern life teeming with unique, inventive characters.⁴ While the pictorial and thematic variety embedded within Hogarth's contemporary subjects was extremely innovative for the time, this thesis seeks to consider the term *variety* in specific relation to Hogarth's printed works and the strategic curation of brand demonstrated through their variety in production, intended audience, and marketing.

In retrospect, it is possible to view Hogarth's career trajectory as a calculated strategy of building a "brand", a term that only emerged as a central concept of marketing in the twentieth century.⁵ This strategy reflected a self-conscious awareness of his place within English society and the remarkable opportunities made available to artists through the newly commodified art market in eighteenth-century England. As the urban art market cultivated new patron types, Hogarth

² Vertue, *Notebooks*, V. III, 46.

³ Gilpin, *An Essay on Prints*, 173.

⁴ See Figure 14. Quote taken from 1743 Advertisement for *Marriage A-la-Mode*.

⁵ Bastos and Levy, "A History of the Concept of Branding", 353.

recognized the artistic and commercial benefits of attracting this new audience. He quickly learned how to brand himself and his art in ways that appealed to a diverse group of modern consumers, and seamlessly employed a variety of innovative marketing, production, and pictorial strategies to facilitate this wide-spread appeal. It was through these efforts that Hogarth interacted meaningfully with a large, diverse group of consumers in England and beyond. These interactions resulted in impressive levels of name recognition, which played a key role in the success achieved during Hogarth's lifetime and the reputation he sustained posthumously.

As an Art History and Media Studies Major, I believe that an attempt to understand Hogarth's anomalous success benefits greatly from a consideration of commercial England, the developing print market, and the marketing tactics and aesthetic considerations innovatively employed by Hogarth to adapt to these changes in English society. Though a study of Hogarth's printed works, where his innovative spirit and entrepreneurial drive are most apparent, this thesis aims to demonstrate the dependent nature of Hogarth's success on his business strategies and marketing techniques. There is a wide oeuvre of scholarship on Hogarth, eighteenth-century prints, and the English art market, but few recognize Hogarth's revolutionary marketing and business strategies as central to his success. It is likely that past scholars shied away from this analysis due to the juxtapositions that arise from an analysis of Hogarth's business acumen marketing strategies, and manipulation of media. While Hogarth's canny business sense and careful curation of brand remained constant, the intended effect of these strategies often varied throughout his career. This exact variety, however, is what gave Hogarth's prints and artistic reputation the wide visibility needed to achieve such high levels of success.

This thesis, which seeks to establish Hogarth as a marketer, examines the ways in which Hogarth helped to pioneer a modern art market that profoundly shaped the careers of successive

English artists. A general look at the eighteenth-century print market and England's artistic identity in Chapter One establishes background on the setting in which Hogarth's unique, innovative marketing strategies thrived. Chapter One will also aim to characterize the increasingly commercialized art market in eighteenth-century London, and how disruptions to traditional conceptions of patronage presented Hogarth with the opportunity to directly interact with new types of consumers. The innovative ways in which Hogarth established direct contact with the larger public through marketing will be analyzed in Chapter Two's discussion of Hogarth's use of advertisements and subscription tickets. This will follow with a close comparison of *Marriage A-la-Mode* paired with *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* in Chapter Three. A comparison of these works will directly highlight the variety of Hogarth's production within the print market, and how Hogarth cunningly marketed this variety so as to appeal to high and low audiences alike. Arguments made throughout this thesis will support the idea that Hogarth's large audience base and wide visibility, both key factors to his success, were accrued through his shrewd commercial and business sense, and his resultant marketing endeavors.

Chapter 1

Hogarth's Inherited Landscape: The Commercialization of the English Art Market

The eighteenth century, often referred to as the *long eighteenth century* by historians, marked a period of immense change within England. These transformations extended to the English art market, with art historian Louise Lippincott explaining that: “The English art world not only reformed, it expanded. What had been marginal occupations in the 1720’s bloomed into enormous commercial enterprises.”⁶ Establishing background on the transformation of English consumer culture in the eighteenth century, and its effects on the traditional art world, allows for a deeper understanding of and appreciation for Hogarth’s innovations within the print market.

The artistic and commercial innovations characteristic of Hogarth’s prints can only be fully appreciated when considered against the background of the commercial and cultural environment in which they rose to prominence. In eighteenth-century England, art became a manifestation of both commercial and cultural activity.⁷ To establish this shift and the opportunities it provided for William Hogarth, this chapter will consider eighteenth-century England’s cultural identity, the rapid expansion and commodification of the English art market, and the landscape of the eighteenth-century commercial print trade. A discussion of England’s fragmented cultural identity and weak promotion of native art establishes the need for a new, distinctly English art; a novelty that Hogarth’s modern moral subjects anticipated and aimed to fulfill. A consideration of the developing print industry and commercialized art market helps us to understand the opportunistic elements of commercial London that Hogarth took advantage of in the production and marketing techniques of his printed works.

⁶ Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, 2.

⁷ Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, 6.

England's Cultural Identity

In Eamonn Carrabine's words: "Before 1700, England was regarded as cultural backwater, most of its leading artists were hired from abroad, and the market for painting was limited, restricted to nobility and aristocracy who had a particular taste for portraiture."⁸ Leading up to the eighteenth century, English artists and audiences alike looked to Continental European culture for direction. Believing that local artists were not equipped to produce works of high sophistication, English patrons outsourced commissions to foreign artists from France, the Netherlands, and Italy. Native artists heavily relied on a patronage source that was more inclined to import the fashionable works of foreign artists, creating an environment of instability for English artists that led to a weak tradition of native art.⁹ This predilection for foreign art extended into the print market, and is summarized in a 1737 *London Magazine* article attributed to William Hogarth:

The picture-jobbers from abroad are always ready to raise a cry in the public prints, whenever they think their print is in danger; and indeed, it is their interest to depreciate every English work as hurtful their trade of importing, by ship-loads, dead Christs, Holy Families, Madonnas, and other dismal, dark subjects on which they scrawl the names of Italian masters, and fix on us poor Englishmen the character of universal dupes.¹⁰

The article goes on to detail how any concerns regarding the quality or authenticity of these 'foreign' prints were taken as a lack of connoisseurship and taste. Ownership of native prints did not convey the fine judgement and genteel taste English patrons sought, resulting in a high demand for prints with foreign associations.

England's weak production of native art and artists can be imputed to many causes, one being the Reformation. Henry VIII's drastic decision to break from the Roman Catholic Church in the 1530's meant a loss of religious patronage for English artists, amongst other monumental

⁸ Carrabine, *Low Life: William Hogarth*, 912.

⁹ In *Selling Art in Georgian London*, Louise Lippincott states that, in the 1720's, the London art world was dominated by foreign imports from Germany, Italy, and France.

¹⁰ *London Magazine* article (1737), cited in Pye, *Patronage of British Art*, 27

cultural effects. The Crown remained a steady patron throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but royals and aristocrats tended to favor the sophistication associated with foreign art and artists.¹¹ Strong international ties tended to convey a higher sense of prestige, resulting in the lowered status of native artists in the eyes of the English elite. The prestige of Continental art was further heightened through the Grand Tour, a custom beginning around 1660 in which wealthy young men would travel throughout Europe as a rite of passage.¹² Many amassed art during their travels in Europe, resulting in impressive collections of antique, Renaissance, and Baroque pieces in England's great houses. Aside from an infatuation with Continental culture, struggles with a national artistic identity can also be attributed to a lack of official support. The Royal Academy of Art's 1768 establishment came over a century after the establishment of France's state funded Académie Royale in 1648. The delayed creation of the Royal Academy resulted in the loss of formal state training and high-level commission opportunities enjoyed by members of the French academy.

Despite a weak sense of cultural identity, the eighteenth century saw immense growth and change, resulting in profound effects on England's cultural sphere. The establishment of financial institutions and new policies in Great Britain promoted commerce and supported the needs of locals, leading to a rapid rise in wealth, particularly in urban London.¹³ The first half of the eighteenth century laid witness to England's transformation into a bustling mercantile hub and an emerging global power. This new-found commercial success produced a deep sense of national pride and the distribution of economic prosperity to an emerging bourgeois class of merchants and

¹¹ Bindman, *The History of British Art*, 21-25

¹² Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour: The British Experience*, 532-41.

¹³ Morris, *Satire and Refinement in Hogarth's London*, 9.

business owners. By the mid eighteenth century, English identity was deeply intertwined with growing urbanization and a robust mercantile system.¹⁴

At the hands of these immense changes and resultant prosperity, the pressure for a unique artistic identity mounted. Best put in the words of Lynda Nead:

Art in the early modern and modern periods was a central factor in the formation of national identities. European Nations competing for trade markets also competed for mastery in the cultural domain and a thriving national school of painting was regarded as an index of a nation's power and prosperity.¹⁵

Like other European nations, England felt pressure for their culture to accurately reflect and exemplify the nation's commercial strength.¹⁶ To do this, many felt it necessary that the nation's "polite culture" be reflected in the art emerging from the time. When understood within the framework of eighteenth-century England, the term *polite* becomes relatively complex. While often synonymous with adjectives like refined, genteel, and worldly, the term had a wide range of meanings and uses. When explaining the meaning of *politeness* in relation to eighteenth-century English society, Lawrence Klein states that: "The polite was associated with decorum in behaviour and personal style. But this consciousness of good form could be extended from actions to things and thus became associated with taste, fashion, and design."¹⁷

Polite culture was extremely influential on English artistic taste and promoted continental artistic ideals. Continental ideals, such as the 'grand style' of art, often associated with the Italian Renaissance, heavily dictated English perceptions of high and low art and, in many cases, resulted in outright hostility towards native English artists. The classical ideals embedded within this hierarchy distinguished history painting as the pinnacle of fine art while less traditional genres,

¹⁴ Fordham, *British Art and the Seven Years' War*, 6-7.

¹⁵ Nead, *The Female Nude*, 46-47.

¹⁶ Bindman, *The History of British Art*, V. II, 16-17.

¹⁷ Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century", 874.

like still life painting, remained at the bottom. Even England's production of history painting, however, was highly informed by Continental European convention and lacked a sense of authenticity.

With a fierce sense of national pride for his country, Hogarth's desire to create a native art tradition set him apart from many other Englishmen in the art world. Hogarth's aspirations for a distinctly English type of art, while simultaneously drawing from Continental artistic precedent, created an interesting dichotomy. On the one hand, Hogarth saw Continental influences as one of the key inhibitors in forming national identity and repeatedly disavowed the English obsession with foreign art and culture. However, in his bid to establish his art at the center of English life, Hogarth's reproach of foreign cultures was often complicated by his aspirations for wealth and rank. As explained in the previous discussion of polite culture, being worldly and well-read were extremely agreeable, highly coveted traits amongst England's elite. As a result, Hogarth was very in tune with the cultural, literary, and artistic trends of Continental Europe, and understood that this familiarity could earn him aristocratic patronage and elevate his own social standing. Robin Simon echoes this sentiment in his study of Hogarth in relation to French art: "Hogarth wanted to single handedly rival the French Académie Royale, and his belief that he embodied the highest continental ideals within Britain was not a stretch."¹⁸ In response to the need for novelty within the English art market, while being careful to not completely forgo the Continental traditions favored by the elite, Hogarth began to produce printed narratives of subjects from modern life.

¹⁸ Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, 4.

Hogarth's Modern Moral Subjects: A New History Painting

Hogarth's invented genre, which sought to create a new and distinctly *English* form of history painting, came to be known as his *modern moral subjects*. Hogarth's modern moral subjects were a highly conscious merging of contemporary, satirical subjects with allusions to the highly esteemed genre of history painting. It was in these printed works where the contentious relationship between Hogarth's desire for both artistic prestige and commercial success becomes extremely evident. On the one hand, these modern moral subjects anticipated the commercial opportunities vested in the rapidly changing landscape within urban London. Through his inclusion of familiar subjects from contemporary society, Hogarth sought to attract a wide audience of high and low consumers now available to him.¹⁹ By making his work available in forms that could be assimilated by a broader public, Bindman argues that Hogarth achieved a fame that: "seemed to transcend social class."²⁰ The subject matter of Hogarth's prints was also crafted so that audiences of all levels could understand, with JH Plumb noting that his prints appealed "from the sophisticated to the naïve: for the former there was a complicated moral message, made intriguing by obvious clues that those with inside knowledge could read, and for the latter a simple truth, obvious to all."²¹ Even though many of Hogarth's prints were intended for bourgeois and lower-class audiences, he didn't see high and low audiences as mutually exclusive, and worked to raise the prestige of his prints to a degree he considered suitable for sophisticated consumers. To remain in the favor of the elite, Hogarth not only worked to increase the sophistication of his prints, but also consciously marketed his own artistic reputation to ensure access to elite patrons and maintain the high value of his works.

¹⁹ Uglow, *Hogarth*, 192.

²⁰ Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times*, 31.

²¹ Plumb, "Hogarth's Progress", 115.

This was no easy feat as many, like Royal Academy president Sir Joshua Reynolds, deemed his modern imagery incapable of reflecting the nation's greatness.²² In a discourse delivered to the Royal Academy in 1770, six years after Hogarth's death, President Joshua Reynolds said this of Hogarth's modern moral subjects:

The painters who have applied themselves more particularly to low and vulgar characters, and who express with precision the various shades of passion, as they are exhibited by vulgar minds (such as we see in the works of Hogarth), deserve great praise; but as their genius has been employed on low and confined subjects, the praise which we give must be as limited as its object.²³

The lowly characters and lewd subject matters prevalent in many of Hogarth's prints prompted many to discredit and devalue Hogarth's work. In a discarded fragment from Hogarth's aesthetic treatise, *The Analysis of Beauty*, he questioned why contemporary subjects could not supplant canonical themes of western art, even in the ambitious genre of history painting:

Moreover I could not help thinking this way of painting might one time or other become in better hands more usefull [sic] and entertaining in this Nation than by the Eternal proposition of beaten subjects either from the Scriptures or from the old ridiculous stories of the Heathen gods as neither the Religion.²⁴

The depiction of contemporary society in Hogarth's "comic histories" contradicted traditional conceptions of history painting and subsequently, were at a disadvantage in generating appeal to elite clients.²⁵ Yet, through careful marketing, such as the allusion to classical conventions found in the esteemed genre of history painting, Hogarth managed to remain in favor of the elite, even serving under the grand title of *Sergeant Painter to the King* in 1757.²⁶ Later examples presented in Chapter Two will demonstrate how he used continental motifs and classical references to elevate

²² Gatrell, *The First Bohemians: Life and Art in London's Golden Age*.

²³ Reynolds, *Seven Discourses on Art*, 245.

²⁴ Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, 123.

²⁵ Henry Fielding, a British novelist and friend of Hogarth's, first referred to Hogarth as a "comic history painter" in the preface to his novel *Joseph Andrews*.

²⁶ Carrabine, *Low Life: William Hogarth*, 909-28.

the status of his prints through their association to the highly esteemed genre of history painting.

Hogarth and the Commercial Art Market

William Hogarth, who published his first satirical print in 1721, experienced a major breakthrough with the English public in 1732 with his first modern moral subject series, *A Harlot's Progress*. While the novelty of Hogarth's prints, especially his modern moral subjects, must not be discounted, it is imperative to also consider the success of Hogarth's prints against the background of a transforming commercial market. As commerce exploded in eighteenth-century England, the art market welcomed a wide variety of new patrons. As the distribution of wealth expanded into the middle classes and made art more accessible, high levels of demand created a market in which art was seen as a commodity to own and display. Louise Lippincott argues that "the emphasis on novelty, volume, and distribution would eventually lift print selling out of the artist's workshop and bookseller's inventory, and into the world of commerce."²⁷ This bourgeois audience threatened pre-existing ideals of refined taste previously exclusive to the aristocracy, who used art and literature as a distinction of their high status.²⁸ History painting was the most prestigious genre of art, but many began to feel that art should appeal to a wider audience through depictions of everyday subjects in familiar settings, with Richard Steele writing that: "[history painting] should not for the future have so romantick [sic] a turn, but allude to incidents which come within the fortunes of the ordinary race of men... further stating that mythological subjects should be replaced with "the characters of real life."²⁹ When describing the wide appeal of everyday subjects within the expanded art market in sixteenth-century Holland, curator Marjorie

²⁷ Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, 72.

²⁸ Solkin. *Painting for Money*, 28.

²⁹ *Spectator*, no. 226, cited by Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times* v.1.

Wiseman writes that: [Dutch artists] “responded to their bourgeois clientele’s desire for pictures that were largely celebrations of the world around them.”³⁰ Hogarth, whose print milieu is often compared to the moralizing Dutch genre scenes of everyday life, was one of the first English artists to successfully recognize a demand for contemporary themes, and appealed to the demands of the new, middle class patrons with his innovative compositions and thematic imagery. Many contemporary engravers found opportunities within the trade to be limited, and Hogarth’s innovations within the field sought to remedy that. When discussing this idea, Richard Godfrey writes that: “Vertue had bewailed the lack of aristocratic patrons of engraving and the necessity of approbation by the many, but it was that circumstance which Hogarth took as the *raison d’être* for his engravings.”³¹ Hogarth’s recognition of the opportunity vested within the larger public, merged with his commercial instincts, made prints “a thing for the many” within the market economy of eighteenth-century consumers.³²

English Print Culture

To fully appreciate the novelty of Hogarth’s commercial instincts and marketing techniques, we must trace the rise of prints in England, and consider how various features of the print market allowed Hogarth to market his prints as something accessible to the larger public. Even by the late seventeenth century, the production of printed materials across Europe was meager. The bulk of it was theological or classical, and prints were only sold in large, expensive folios which resulted in a small, elitist consumer base. This began to change in the 1690’s as increased freedom of the press allowed printers and publishers to enjoy a fuller range of possibility

³⁰ Wiseman, *Dutch Painting*, 9.

³¹ Godfrey, *Printmaking in Britain*, 32.

³² Gray, *The English Print*, 25.

afforded by prints. As Enlightenment thinking swept through Europe, printed material such as newspapers or pamphlets became a crucial tool in the distribution of new ideas. The convergence of mechanical developments with the growing popularity of printed material amongst English society resulted in the print market's explosion at the turn of the century. The establishment of libraries and coffeehouses in the 1720's, which displayed and circulated printed material, further aided in the rapid success and dynamic mobility of visual culture.³³

The function of printed artwork was typically reserved for private enjoyment rather than art serving as a marker of fine aesthetic judgment and elite status.³⁴ As a result, the first half of the eighteenth century saw an increase in reproductive prints that served as cheaper alternatives to paintings. When describing this phenomenon, Godfrey explains that print production increased significantly throughout the long eighteenth century, "but nevertheless it saw the art of the print sink to a very low level."³⁵ Due to the print medium's distinction as a lesser alternative to painting, they were often regarded as a minor art, and the engraver seen as more of a craftsman than a respected, skilled artist. Prints, however, were an extremely lucrative trade, due to the "numerous body of the community not possessing the means to purchase the original works of painters, but who were able to acquire the next best substitute- engravings and imitation drawings."³⁶ Greater profits could be garnered from numerous sales of cheap goods to the mass public than selling fewer, expensive works to a smaller base of elite consumers.³⁷ Unable to deny the opportunities afforded within the mass-print market, Hogarth threw himself into the production and marketing of his prints.

³³ McKendrick, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, 267-71.

³⁴ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, 175.

³⁵ Gray, *The English Print*, 25.

³⁶ *Art Journal*, November 1853, 30. Cited by Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market*.

³⁷ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, 119.

Hogarth's printed works were informed by three major genres of print: the reproductive print, the satirical print, and the popular print. The term "reproductive print" refers to prints with designs that were copied from high art, often paintings found in private royal or aristocratic collections. This type of print was extremely popular throughout the eighteenth century and provided material for copyists of all levels.³⁸ The popular print, often characterized by its low-price tag, rough production, and cheap material was accessible and popular amongst all echelons of society. Popular printed material was used for a variety of things including illustrations for books, satirical commentary, almanacs, song ballads, and sales catalogues.³⁹

Satirical prints, which emerged as a popular genre of print in seventeenth-century England, were decidedly different from popular prints. The success of graphic satire was nestled within the growing popularity of literary satire by the likes of Johnathan Swift and Alexander Pope. The satirical print often combined scathing commentary with a pictorial practice whose meaning was defined through interactions between a variety of visual and textual elements from contemporary culture such as literature and theatre, as well as representational materials both high and low.⁴⁰ Satirical prints were clearly geared towards an educated, cultured audience up to date with contemporary politics, economics, and social conditions, often a stark contrast from your average Londoner found in the street.

The 1720's marked a clear shift in the English art world from an on-demand client economy to a market economy in which a more diverse audience of buyers had profound influence on product development.⁴¹ To satisfy the expectations of this new body of consumers, Hogarth's printed works combined these print genres to create new forms of representation that engaged with

³⁸ O'Connell, *The Popular Print*, 152.

³⁹ O'Connell, *The Popular Print*, 19-26.

⁴⁰ George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire*, 13-14.

⁴¹ Miyamoto, "Making Pictures Marketable" in *Marketing Art in the British Isles*, 119.

genres of contemporary entertainment.⁴² As Frederick Antal states, “The early English popular engravings, particularly the caricatures of the 17th and early 18th centuries, formed one of the points of departure for Hogarth’s own works.”⁴³ Graphic satire and popular prints had been prevalent within the English print market long before Hogarth. The heightened reproductive, commodifiable nature of prints, however, drove a desire for novelty within the print market, a need which Hogarth’s modern moral subjects responded to. These series’ innovatively converged the intellect found in satire, the aesthetic considerations of reproductive prints, and the widespread renown of the popular print into a distinctive product that converged the artistic respectability and commercial success Hogarth so greatly coveted. Hogarth’s pictorial imagery and aesthetic considerations of technique heightened the appeal of his prints, and a discussion of the commercial print market will establish how Hogarth further capitalized on the opportunity to establish new, direct relationships with English audiences through marketing.

The Commercial Print Market

Widespread economic prosperity in the eighteenth century meant that more English citizens had a disposable income, which led to a booming commercial art market.⁴⁴ The accessible nature of a print’s pricing and pictorial content made it a natural preference for the newly-emerged middle class. Within this urban market, prints became redefined as a commodity, with Sheila O’Connell stating that: “prints, like other forms of popular culture, were far from immune from the effects of commerce and industry.”⁴⁵ In the eighteenth century, London began to emerge as one of the most populous cities in the world. Prints, and the process of printmaking in and of itself

⁴² Ogée, “Hogarth and the Emergence of a Visual Culture” in *Representing Nature’s Machines*, 4.

⁴³ Antal, *Hogarth and his Place in European Art*, 53.

⁴⁴ Paulson, *High Art and Low*, V. II of *Hogarth*, xiii.

⁴⁵ O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, 10.

were an urban, commercial endeavor that depended on various crafts and sources of capital working in cooperation to create and distribute these prints. Prints as commercial objects reached such popularity in the eighteenth century that George Vertue commented in 1745 that: “this time the most remarkable for works done or doing in Engraveing [sic]... the late and daily increase of Engrav’d [sic] works done by undertakers painters. &c. [sic] is much beyond in any degree ever was in London before.”⁴⁶ As prints became more accessible to a wider demographic of consumers, they evolved into an object of consumption that reflected the social, political, and philosophical ideals of contemporary society. In this sense, the urban print market created an approachable, affordable, and immediate form of popular art with high levels of commercial opportunity that Hogarth was fully aware of.

The new, diverse group of consumers that made up the commercial print market did not operate within traditional systems of patronage, allowing Hogarth to establish direct contact with his audience. Hogarth took advantage of this new, unmediated relationship between artist and consumer to market his works and increase public interest. We have seen how the modern subjects of Hogarth’s prints generated appeal across a wide audience, but in the heavily commodified, commercialized environment of eighteenth-century England, there were additional factors that determined the commercial success of a work such as audience demographics, production techniques, and the distribution of sales. Hogarth considered the appropriate marketing of his prints to be equally, if not more, important as the subject matter and display of technical skill; a commercial consciousness that resulted in the highly successful marketing and branding of his new art genre to the English public. By conducting his marketing campaigns through highly visible, commercial formats like newspaper advertisements, Hogarth could strategically “package”

⁴⁶ Vertue, *Notebooks*, Vol. VI, 200-03.

his works to the broader public while advantageously situating his prints within the dominant English paper culture of newspapers and books.

Conclusion

Hogarth's acceptance of urban developments, and eagerness to use them to his advantage, was novel for the time, especially amongst an English artistic culture paralyzed by Continental precedent. He understood that developments in the production and distribution of art should occur in tandem with modern innovations, something that distinguished him from other English artists who were often averse to change. Johnathan Richardson, a contemporary art critic, captured popular sentiment when stating that: "Modern painting... may please, and in proportion as they do they are estimable... but they cannot improve the mind, they excite no noble sentiments; at least not as [history painting] naturally does."⁴⁷ In eighteenth-century England, even modern subject matters were received poorly, let alone the usage of forward marketing tactics to promote art. When discussing the initial reluctance of eighteenth-century English artists to directly advertise their works to consumers, Bayer and Page suggest that artists were concerned that "advertisements would align them in the public's eye with the lesser trades of bookselling, print selling, and auctioneering."⁴⁸ It is paramount to understand the novelty of the pictorial innovations and commercial instincts within Hogarth's prints not only to celebrate the artist, but to emphasize the great risk involved with Hogarth's innovative use of commercial instincts to unabashedly pursue his own self-interest. Without knowing how English society would react to these commercial innovations, Hogarth was putting considerable amounts of time, resources, and social capital at

⁴⁷ Richardson, *Works*, 20.

⁴⁸ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, 52.

stake. The careful intersection of commercial and pictorial innovation found in Hogarth's prints carried great risk, but the following chapters demonstrate that this risk paid great rewards.

Chapter Two

Hogarth's Innovative Marketing Strategies within the Urban Print Market

“Which with strong and powerfull [sic] pursuits & studyes [sic] by the boldness of his Genious- in opposition to all other professors of Painting, got into great Reputation & esteem of the Lovers of Art, Nobles of the greatest consideration.”⁴⁹ – George Vertue

When met with the newly commercial, urban art market discussed in Chapter One, Hogarth saw an opportunity in which he could directly interact with new, impressionable consumers through innovative marketing strategies. In a culture historically weighed down by lofty ideals of tradition and genteel politeness, Hogarth unabashedly pursued his commercial ventures to a degree never-before-seen in English artists. It was by means of this industrious spirit, described in the George Vertue quote above, and resultant marketing ploys that Hogarth was able to rise from the lowly status of an engraver's apprentice to an internationally recognized artist of the highest caliber. This was no easy feat in eighteenth-century England, a fact not even lost on the ever-critical George Vertue: “a true English Genius in the Art of Painting [Hogarth]- has sprung and by natural strength of himself chiefly [sic], begun with little & low-shrubb [sic] instructions, rose, to a surprising hight [sic] in the publick [sic] esteem & opinion.”⁵⁰

George Vertue, 1684-1756, was an English engraver and antiquary active at the height of William Hogarth's career. Throughout his life, George Vertue exhaustively recorded the movements of contemporary English artists, which were later amassed into published volumes of *Notebooks*. An engraver himself, Vertue was constantly writing about the hard lot of the engraver: “[the art] of engraving -sculpture graving or burination [sic] -is the least profitable- most evidently

⁴⁹ Vertue, *Notebooks*, V. III, 124.

⁵⁰ Vertue, *Notebooks*, V. III, 124.

& certainly. from many causes.”⁵¹ Much of his writing on fellow engraver, William Hogarth, concerned the artist’s flamboyant marketing ploys and business strategies, often accompanied by Vertue’s own opinions on Hogarth. When documenting Hogarth’s “manipulation” of the public, Vertue frequently complained of Hogarth’s overweening self-confidence and assurance; of his amazing conceit, and of his “cunning art-ful [sic] contrivances” in forwarding his own interests and the sale of his works.⁵² Vertue’s *Notebooks* are such a valuable resource when it comes to making sense of Hogarth’s revolutionary business tactics because, in W.T. Whitley’s words: “[Vertue] recognized and appreciated it [Hogarth’s extraordinary ability] fully, and his unflattering, and occasionally severe comments on the artist... are connected only with his private character and business transactions.”⁵³ Though clearly impartial, and even jealous at times, Vertue’s *Notebooks* provide us with documentation of Hogarth’s innovation within the commercial art market and how these actions would have been perceived by those around him times.⁵⁴

This chapter will identify and analyze some of these so-termed cunning *art-ful contrivances* to demonstrate just how vital this entrepreneurial spirit and commercial ingenuity was to Hogarth’s success. I do not aim to argue that Hogarth was the very first to use marketing tools like subscriptions or advertisements. Rather, the following sections of this chapter aim to highlight the various ways in which Hogarth innovatively adopted marketing tools within a shifting commercial climate to reach a wider audience of potential buyers. There is a plethora of documentation concerning Hogarth’s entrepreneurial ambitions that demonstrates an extreme sense of commercial self-awareness from a young age. The first section of this chapter provides

⁵¹ Vertue, *Notebooks*, V. III, 146.

⁵² Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England*, 33.

⁵³ Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England*, 32.

⁵⁴ As a successful engraver himself, George Vertue differed from Hogarth in the sense that he remained dependent on patrons and print sellers for the entirety of his career. Hogarth’s independence from the often-limiting systems of patronage and print publishers was likely a source of acrimony for Vertue. See Paulson’s *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, V. I, 56.

background and potential motivations behind Hogarth's unwavering commercial zeal, while the remaining sections discuss the significance of specific marketing strategies, and how they facilitated Hogarth's wide recognizability and unprecedented success as an English artist.

Early Aspirations

From the onset of his artistic career, Hogarth had a clear desire to make money while also reaching high levels of distinction and respect as an English artist. These goals were likely, in part, fueled by his father's financial woes. After various failed publishing ventures and a flawed vision for a Latin coffeeshop, Richard Hogarth ran into serious problems with debt. Before the end of 1708, Richard Hogarth was forced to begin a four-year stint in the Fleet Prison until he could pay off his debt. During his father's time in prison, William Hogarth, along with his mother and sister, lived just outside of the prison walls. The rough crowd and dismal conditions surrounding the prison had a clear influence on his graphic works, which often invoked imagery to expose the underbelly of urban life in London. We even see the Fleet Prison in Plate 7 of *A Rake's Progress* (fig. 2), where the rake is shown inside of the debtors' prison pitifully attempting to alleviate his debts.⁵⁵ Arguably the most formative influence of this hardship, however, was Hogarth's determination to avoid his father's fate. Of the Fleet Prison's influence on Hogarth, Ronald Paulson writes that:

William emerged with a deep and abiding fear of entropy, and the determination to never repeat such a breakup... his careful, canny business sense- his concern to have enough money, to secure his property (all the profits of his engravings) to himself legally- may stem from this time; or at least such an inclination was strengthened by this experience.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, V. I, 34.

⁵⁶ Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, V. I, 39.

Hogarth's dogged determination to maximize profits and maintain a successful business, likely formed in childhood, heavily shaped his innovative commercial ventures.

As this thesis is primarily concerned with Hogarth's printed works and commercial maneuvers within the print market, it is important to note that even Hogarth's decision to work with prints was one of the utmost calculation and consideration. Hogarth was naturally talented in various forms of art, and unabashedly switched between whichever medium was currently advantageous to him and his career. In 1714, Hogarth began work as an apprentice under silverplate engraver Ellis Gamble. When reflecting on his time with Gamble, Hogarth later wrote in his *Autobiographical Notes* of the "narrowness of this [silver engraving] business... too limited in every re[s]pect, of little use, and detrimentall [sic] to the arts of painting and engraving."⁵⁷ He continued, saying: "I determined [to continue] this [silver plate] engraving no longer than necessity obliged me to it. Copper plates was the next step."⁵⁸ Even at the inception of his career, Hogarth was very much concerned with the refinement of his works, and traded silver for copper engraving. Hogarth later joined the St. Martin's Lane Academy in 1720 and upon its closure in 1724, studied in an academy run by James Thornhill. In this setting, he was undoubtedly exposed to the formal hierarchies of art and the insistence of history painting's superiority. Working under the English history painter James Thornhill proved to have a tremendous impact on Hogarth and his ideas surrounding high art, and by 1727, there was a decisive shift in Hogarth from prints to painting. As a painter, Hogarth produced portraits and conversation pieces for aristocratic patrons in an attempt to raise his status as a respectable, sophisticated artist.

By 1731, however, it became clear that his ventures in painting were not as lucrative as he had hoped for. Writing in his *Autobiographical Notes* that the earnings from his conversation

⁵⁷ Hogarth and Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, 201.

⁵⁸ Hogarth and Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, 205.

pieces were not worth the “kind of drudgery” involved, he returned to engraving and vowed to live “by small sums from many means of prints which I could Engrav [sic] from my picture [paintings] myself.”⁵⁹ Hogarth’s return to prints was a huge risk because it meant turning his back on wealthy patrons, disrupting the traditions of fine art, and losing the security afforded from working within the highly sought-after genre of “polite” pieces. Vertue encapsulates this risk when observing in 1733 that: “Hogarth has so far lost the advantage of drawing portraitures from the life that he ownes [sic] he has no employment [sic] that way. but has mostly encouragement from the subscriptions for those designs of inventions he does.”⁶⁰ Hogarth’s gamble on finding success within the print market proved to be highly rewarding, and it served as a space in which he was able to distinguish himself as a highly successful artist worthy of international acclaim.

Hogarth’s calculated usage of advertisements, subscriptions, and other marketing tools within the print market was revolutionary for the time and afforded him great success. In spite of this success, Hogarth still described himself as an engraver of modest ability who only used a graver’s burin when presented with no satisfactory alternative.⁶¹ Hogarth’s faux modesty with regards to his engraving technique demonstrates his reluctance to be associated with the “lesser” art form of engraving. As noted by Mark Hallet, Hogarth often distanced his prints from the commercial, mechanic drudgery of a print shop by displaying them next to paintings in a domestic setting, a process which made the engravings of Hogarth aesthetically and commercially acceptable within polite culture.⁶² It is within these marketing techniques where the contradictory nature of Hogarth’s monetary and artistic aspirations comes to a head. Summarized in the words of Ronald Paulson:

⁵⁹ Hogarth and Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, 216.

⁶⁰ Vertue, *Notebooks*, V. III, 68.

⁶¹ Hogarth and Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, 101-02.

⁶² Hallet, *The Spectacle of Difference*, 115.

The popularity of his prints was undeniable, but this very popularity and commercial success interfered with his reputation as a serious painter; his aristocratic patrons were withdrawing and being replaced in the late 1730's by the prosperous middle to whom he had directly appealed with his prints.⁶³

As will be demonstrated throughout this chapter, Hogarth was constantly participating in seemingly contradictory behavior in an attempt to promote both his artistic reputation and the sales of his prints. Many would have considered his participation in the popular print trade as irreconcilable with the reputation of a sophisticated artist; but Hogarth's careful curation of brand resulted in a multi-faceted artist of wide appeal. Often disorienting, the chameleonic nature of Hogarth's reputation could be a reason that serious discussions of Hogarth as a marketer and businessman remain largely absent from the extensive collection of scholarship on Hogarth. The rest of this chapter will focus on Hogarth's curation of brand within the print market, and how his innovative usage of marketing tools available to him resulted in far-reaching recognition and success.

Subscriptions

The usage of subscriptions can be traced back as early as 1617, but really took off at the end of the seventeenth century when used to “promote books of a great bulk, which cannot be printed otherwise.”⁶⁴ As the English print industry continued to rapidly grow at the turn of the century, the growing commercial market for high quality commodities contributed to the increase in demand for printed works. In order to meet this demand, print publishers turned to subscriptions as a method of gaining investors and subsequent funding for large print publishing endeavors.⁶⁵ Publishers favored the subscription method because

⁶³ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 13.

⁶⁴ Korshin, “Types of Eighteenth-Century Literary Patronage”, 463.

⁶⁵ Raven, *The Business of Books*, 223.

the structure encouraged the purchase of the whole series rather than individual works and reduced the waste associated with printing too many impressions, making the entire operation more efficient.⁶⁶ The first important model of subscription publishing in England, according to Ronald Paulson, was Tonson's edition of Dryden's translation of Virgil's works in 1697.⁶⁷ The emergence of subscription tickets soon followed, with each ticket serving as a graphic "confirmation" of exchange. This exchange created a new, personalized connection between buyer and seller, and made the ticket a collectable item in its own right.⁶⁸ In her discussion of the novel "ticket" during the long eighteenth century, Sarah Lloyd asserts that the subscription ticket represented more than just a promise of entitlement to the finished product, it created new forms of enlightened thinking and commodifiable art.⁶⁹

With the growing popularity of advertisements in newspapers, artists were now afforded the opportunity to directly reach the public regarding subscriptions, though many did not take advantage of this opportunity. Authors and artists alike were hesitant to secure subscriptions via advertisement for fear of appearing vulgar, and artists had the added burden of conveying a sense of their visually unique object through advertisement text.⁷⁰ For Hogarth though, obtaining subscriptions via advertisement meant that artists no longer had to rely on print sellers to serve as the liaison between them and their audience base. Always looking for ways to heighten sale profits, Hogarth was one of the first artists to successfully implement the subscription method for a wide range of his works at varied price points. Not only was Hogarth's adaptation of literary subscription demonstrative of his remarkable enterprise, it also signaled a reconfiguration in the dynamic

⁶⁶ Clayton, *The English Print*, 55.

⁶⁷ Paulson, *The Modern Moral Subject*, V. I of *Hogarth*, 301.

⁶⁸ Gray, *The English Print*, 24.

⁶⁹ Lloyd, "Ticketing the British Eighteenth Century", 860.

⁷⁰ Plant, *The English Book Trade*, 249.

between artist and consumer, now free from the constraints of patrons and print publishers. Hogarth understood that the independent production and publication of his works would increase his profits and professional status as an artist, and the usage of subscriptions facilitated this.

Hogarth's general adaptation of subscriptions followed a larger precedent within the literary and print world, but he innovatively used subscriptions to directly interact with his audience and create a sense of prestige and exclusivity surrounding his prints:

Rather than being geared towards a mass market [his prints] were initially aimed at a polite audience of urban consumers . . . the subscription project ensured that this exercise in cultural consumption was perceived as a relatively exclusive process that was untainted by the presence of less affluent consumers . . . Hogarth emphasized that 'no more will be printed than are [subscribed for]', which reinforced the notion of a collectible, limited edition of images.⁷¹

To increase the sophistication of his prints, Hogarth issued illustrated subscription tickets, derived from the contemporary engraver's trade card, that served as a 'receipt' upon initial buy in. Prior to Hogarth, subscribers received some form of receipt with the promise that they would be among the first to receive whatever print or book they purchased. Hogarth elevated this practice by providing his patrons with an illustrated ticket that not only served as proof of purchase, but was a work of art in its own right.⁷²

The illustrations featured on his subscription tickets alluded to the main themes and ideas that would be conveyed in the print series to come. Hogarth's usage of the illustrated subscription ticket was not only a testament to his forward business maneuvers, but an analysis of the subscription advertisements and illustrations can also yield insight into how Hogarth marketed the topic of his prints, and the ways in which he utilized different techniques to appeal to audiences of varying social class.

⁷¹ Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference*, 116.

⁷² Leach, "William Hogarth's Subscription Tickets", 2.

Hogarth first utilized the subscription method in 1725 for his *Hudibras* series, which contained large illustrations for Samuel Butler's poem, *Hudibras*. On October 5th, 1725, Hogarth announced his plan to utilize the subscription method through an advertisement placed in the *Evening Post* (fig. 3). Hogarth's subscription process for *Hudibras*, a series of twelve illustrations, was very similar to the literary subscription process. The funds from Hogarth's subscriptions served as an 'advance' on the first seven plates and facilitated the production of five additional plates. Like *Hudibras*, book subscriptions also offered public recognition of patronage through a printed subscriber list bound to the frontispiece. This declaration of status and a patron's ability to demonstrate support for a work, facilitated by subscriptions, was clearly incentivizing due to the fact that later print editions often cost much less than the first edition. Subscribing to the earliest edition did not secure a print's value, but rather, served as a way for patrons to demonstrate their status and developed taste.⁷³

On the back of the *Hudibras* title page (fig. 4), Hogarth included an alphabetical list of the series' subscribers (fig. 5). In one of the only studies dedicated to Hogarth's marketing techniques, Mark McNally focused on the artist's use of subscription lists. Thanks to McNally's MA thesis research, the previously unpublished title page and list of subscribers for *Hudibras* are now available on the British Museum's Prints and Drawings online collection, along with the *Hudibras* frontispiece (fig. 6). Access to this material, along with McNally's biographical research on the subscribers, helps to demonstrate the varied audience ranges Hogarth interacted with, and the marketing techniques he utilized in doing so.

Most subscribers' names are followed by indications of their social status, such as "Esq" or "Gent". Some even have their profession listed alongside their name: "merchant", "alderman",

⁷³ McNally, "The Marketing Techniques of William Hogarth", 92.

and “reverend”, while other entries note the subscriber’s locality. Included within the list of subscribers is Mr. Allan Ramsay, the Scottish painter and poet to whom the series is co-dedicated, along with William Ward. The inclusion of biographic data on each subscriber, such as professional status or residency outside of London, is an important example of the variety found even within Hogarth’s early audiences. Just within this list of 166 subscribers, the occupations of his patrons range from nobility, religious figures, politicians, and doctors to merchants, craftsmen, and fellow artists. Hogarth’s description of each subscriber also helps to demonstrate the status attached with being on a subscription list. When discussing Henry Fielding’s usage of subscription, Hugh Amory argues that people subscribed out of concern for social or professional association more than their desire to own the object of subscription, resulting in a “genteel form of patronage.”⁷⁴ Hogarth’s decision to include a subscription list, previously utilized only in literature, helped to legitimize Hogarth’s works within high society. Hogarth clearly believed that when the literary public saw that respected, intelligent members of society like reverends and esquires supported this series, his works and general artistic reputation were bound to increase. The usage of a subscription list also demonstrates an awareness of the growing consumer culture and desire for commodities, which would certainly fuel people’s desire to own the same print after seeing a familiar subscriber.

Hogarth also used subscription ticket illustrations, which often included imagery that emulated classical art or alluded to themes of great nuance and sophistication, to suggest that his works were worthy of the ‘high art’ distinction. In *Boys Peeping at Nature*, (fig. 7) Hogarth’s subscription ticket for *A Harlot’s Progress*, we see putti trying to block a satyr from looking up the skirt of the many-breasted statue representing Nature. This allegory represents the idea that, in order to establish truth or reality, Hogarth, like the satyr, must explore even the most indecent parts

⁷⁴ Amory, “Virtual Readers”, 95.

of Nature. Hogarth was clearly trying to dignify this work's departure from fashionable art through his delineation of *A Harlot's Progress* as an original genre. The inscription further cements Hogarth's justification: "*Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum, dabiturque Licentia Sumpta pudenter*", translating to: "A difficult subject must be presented in new terms, and license is allowed if you use it with care." Hogarth is not only seeking to justify his depiction of less-than-heroic subjects, but his allusion to classical artistic tradition through the inclusion of putti figures and Latin inscriptions serve to remind viewers of Hogarth's worldliness and sophistication. In Ronald Paulson's opinion, the subscription ticket's similarity to Rubens and Jan Brueghel's *Nature Adorned by the Graces* (fig. 8) and the frontispiece to Dutch painter Gerard de Lairese's *Art of Painting* (fig. 9) further works to highlight a supposed link between classical history painting and Hogarth's new genre of history painting: his modern moral subjects. In Ronald Paulson's words: "All the stories... of the mature Hogarth ranking himself above the old masters convey the impression not of an imprudence but of a public image consciously cultivated."⁷⁵ Many considered Hogarth's constant self-association with classical artistic tradition as pompous, but it was also a genius marketing maneuver that bolstered the perception of Hogarth's prints at a time when grotesque, lowly subject matters were considered unworthy of high distinction.

As the bourgeoisie emerged as an important consumer group in eighteenth-century England, they looked for ways to demonstrate their new-found prosperity.⁷⁶ They found a solution in the ownership and dissemination of printed material, especially prints, which came to signify status and taste amongst an increasingly urban society.⁷⁷ Borrowing from the subscription tradition in literature, Hogarth's innovative usage of illustrated subscription tickets and subscription lists

⁷⁵ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 11.

⁷⁶ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, 20.

⁷⁷ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 12.

heightened the public's perception of his prints as a commodified symbol of status. After establishing mass interest in his works, subscriptions then allowed Hogarth to directly interact with buyers, cutting out the role of a print publisher and securing more profits for himself. As someone constantly torn between monetary success and artistic respect, subscription illustrations were an effective marketing technique through which Hogarth could carefully control the themes and connotations associated with his print. As shown in *Boys Peeping at Nature*, Hogarth's subscription illustrations frequently emulated continental motifs in an attempt to validate his work and generate sales within a continentally-crazed English art market.

Advertisements

The first advertisement to appear in an English newspaper was a notice for a newly engraved map of Breda in 1624, but it was not until the mid-seventeenth century that advertisements became a common occurrence in London newspapers.⁷⁸ The prevalence of advertisements continued to grow, making the sheer number of advertisements per issue one of the most notable aspects of English newspapers by the mid-eighteenth century.⁷⁹ The London publishing industry enjoyed similar expansion, with 75 printers in 1724 jumping to 128 by the mid-century.⁸⁰ A large part of William Hogarth's success is owed to his robust usage of newspaper advertisements, facilitated by advertising's heightened popularity in the urbanized metropolis of London.⁸¹ The study of eighteenth-century advertisements is crucial to understanding Hogarth's success, because it highlights the plethora of commercial and aesthetic considerations Hogarth

⁷⁸ Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper*, 11.

⁷⁹ Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper*, 184.

⁸⁰ Plant, *The English Book Trade*, 86.

⁸¹ Walker, "Advertising in London Newspapers", 112-30.

employed in order to appeal to such a wide audience.⁸² At a time when most engravers relied on print publishers for the promotion of their work, Hogarth understood the benefit of advertisements, and exploited their potential as a means to becoming an independent artist. The following section will aim to showcase the various ways in which Hogarth's developed understanding of commercial culture and the print market allowed him to manipulate the medium of advertising to his own benefit.

In *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, Ronald Paulson contends that even though Hogarth tried his hand at one-off advertisements for early print series' like *Masquerades and Operas* (1723), his innovative style of promotion truly began to emerge following the success of his 1725 *Hudibras* series.⁸³ As Hogarth sold more works and grew as a reputable artist, he found the confidence to begin regularly posting advertisements for his upcoming works. In 1732, Hogarth independently promoted and sold his first modern moral series, *A Harlot's Progress*. Without the security of the nearly guaranteed business a print publisher brought with them, Hogarth used advertisements to directly interact with his intended audience groups. This meant that he could fully emancipate himself from the ever-limiting dependence on both print sellers and wealthy patrons.⁸⁴

One of the initial advertisements mentioning *A Harlot's Progress* appeared in the *Daily Journal* (fig. 10) and the *Daily Post* in January 1732, but only refers to Hogarth as "the author" when providing reasoning for a delay in the print's production: "The Author of the six Copper Plates, representing a Harlot's Progress; being disappointed of the Assistance he proposed, is obliged to engrave them all himself, which will retard the Delivery of the Prints to the Subscribers about Two Months."⁸⁵ Hogarth's decision to eliminate the role of a hired reproductive engraver by

⁸² Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade*, 23-24.

⁸³ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 109.

⁸⁴ Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, 11.

⁸⁵ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 141.

undertaking the engraving himself was certainly economical, but it also tied Hogarth to the less sophisticated trade of engraving. By removing any mention of his name or referring to himself as “the author” in initial advertisements, Hogarth hoped to distance himself from the mechanical trade of engraving while simultaneously emphasizing the originality of his comic history genre by associating it with contemporary literary modes. His desire to equate his narrative works with emerging literary forms such as the novel were further demonstrated when he boldly stated that: “drawing and painting are only a much more complicated kind of writing.”⁸⁶

In the same advertisement (fig. 10), Hogarth tried to increase subscriptions by warning that “the publick [sic] may be assured, that no more will be printed off than shall be Subscribed for within that Time.”⁸⁷ Hogarth would often use advertisements to describe the print, provide pricing estimates, and promote the subscription method by providing updates on the production and payment timelines. When communicating directly with an audience of current and potential buyers, advertisements like the one above helped to generate excitement and manufacture a sense of demand surrounding his prints.

A Harlot's Progress was a huge success amongst the English public and marked a turning point in the artist's career. This success can in part be credited to the series' representation of prostitution, a rampant problem and subject that sparked high levels of intrigue within English society. Advertisements offering a narrative description of *A Harlot's Progress* (fig. 11) were published in April of 1732 in the *Daily Post*, a popular newspaper in London at the time. Not only was the general depiction of prostitution something of immense interest to English society, but Hogarth's thinly veiled references to contemporary figures Colonel Charteris and Sir John Gonson in his advertisement caused quite a stir. The same, well-read audience catered to in Hogarth's

⁸⁶ Hogarth and Burke, *The Analysis of Beauty*, 104

⁸⁷ See Figure 10 for full advertisement.

advertisements would have seen articles similar to Figure 12, which populated London newspapers in December of 1729.

The excerpt from *Fog's Weekly Journal* on December 6th of 1729 (fig. 12), conveys news of the notorious Colonel Charteris' assault of a maid. The wealthy Charteris and his slimy behavior were the stuff of legend, particularly his hiring of procuresses to furnish him with country girls who thought they were being hired as the Colonel's live-in maid.⁸⁸ Sir John Gonson, the other name included in Hogarth's advertisement, was a Westminster magistrate known for being tough on gamblers and prostitutes. In the spring of 1730, one of the raids he conducted resulted in the arrest and subsequent hanging of the notorious prostitute Kate Hackabout.⁸⁹ The injustice in Gonson's sentencing of Kate Hackabout, while Colonel Charteris was repeatedly pardoned for his egregious crimes, was not lost on English society, and characters like Daniel Defoe's Moll Flanders were utilized to confront the problem of prostitution in England. *A Harlot's Progress* and its description of Moll Hackabout's life (the harlot's name serving as another example of Hogarth's not-so veiled allusions to contemporary culture) allowed Hogarth to expose the loose morals and systematic injustice within eighteenth-century England while still generating public interest.

Hogarth believed that his modern moral subjects could serve as a form of history painting, while their contemporary subject matter could generate a wider audience. Hogarth's usage of recognizable characters and societal gossip lent a contemporary sense of immediacy to *A Harlot's Progress* that attracted widespread attention. Hogarth knew that excitement surrounding his work would heighten sales, and was conscious that the easily-distributable nature of the print was the perfect medium for an item of immense societal interest. Hogarth's half-hearted attempts to conceal Charteris and Gonson's identities in the advertised descriptions of plates I & III provided

⁸⁸ *The Life of Colonel Don Francisco*, 18-21.

⁸⁹ Paulson, *The Modern Moral Subject*, V. I of Hogarth, 241-45.

enough anonymity to avoid libel charges, but not enough to prevent any Londoner from immediately making the connection. Hogarth's exploitation of contemporary gossip to generate popularity surrounding his prints shows an intrinsic understanding of the new, consumer-based market. All Londoners had access to this salacious gossip, but it was Hogarth that inventively repurposed it into a series of images and advertised it in a manner that maximized excitement and familiarity.

Hogarth used advertisements to boost his recognition and sales through reaching a wide audience, but he was also careful that the placement of these advertisements did not threaten his artistic dignity through their association with cheap objects and low forms of entertainment. Examples from the *London Daily Post and General Advertisement* (figs. 13 & 14) help to provide a general idea of the various newspaper advertisements surrounding Hogarth's. A holistic consideration of Hogarth's advertisements within the entire advertisement page provides a sense of the promotional language, content, and price ranges seen amongst the advertisements found in eighteenth-century newspapers.

In addition to the ubiquitous medical advertisements seen in the figures above, there is a cluster of advertisements for various types of printed material. An advertisement placed in 1743 (fig. 13) by the famed engraver George Bickham lists most of his prints at six pence, a common price for graphic satire at the time.⁹⁰ His popular *Great Britain and Ireland's Yawn*, however, is advertised at one shilling, demonstrating that Bickham's prints were usually published and sold individually. In these newspapers, Hogarth's prints are advertised in sets via subscription and set at higher price points ranging from five shillings to one guinea. In addition to Bickham's prints, advertisements for plays, novels, maps, and various urban events speckle the advertisement spread

⁹⁰ Hallet, *The Spectacle of Difference*, 24.

of the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*. The proximity of Hogarth's advertisements, both physically and in price/style, to advertisements for other forms of popular urban entertainment demonstrates Hogarth's strategic use of advertising to liken his prints to a cultural experience such as a play.

We have now seen the ways Hogarth curated both the content and proximity of his advertisements to mirror others within the newspaper spread, but when examining Hogarth's marketing of *A Rake's Progress*, it is evident that even the choice of newspaper publication to advertise in was one of careful calculation. In the wake of *A Harlot's Progress* and its immense success, 1735 marked a distinct elevation in Hogarth's brand curation. Starting in June of 1735, monthly advertisements for *A Rake's Progress* ran in newspapers until September. This repeated usage of advertisements signifies Hogarth's comfortability with the medium and awareness that the exposure from repeated advertisements would further heighten the visibility of his prints within the literary public.⁹¹ These advertisements appeared consecutively in the weekly *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* which, coincidentally, had recently acquired the advertising rights of five London theatres in 1734.⁹² The *London Daily Post and General Advertiser's* close ties to the theatre and decision to forgo advertisements for "quack medicines" in favor of increased book advertisements point to the increased sophistication of this newspaper and its reader base. The exact group of educated, cultured citizens that read the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* would have also been the targeted demographic for *A Rake's Progress* because they would fully appreciate the symbolism and nuanced meanings of work and have the means to purchase it.

Hogarth continued to carefully select the location of his advertisements in accordance with the thematic content of the advertised print and the target audience. This was an important

⁹¹ McNally, "The Marketing Techniques of William Hogarth", 159.

⁹² Walker, "Advertising in London Newspapers", 122.

consideration for the often-controversial Hogarth because it ensured that his prints reached the audience most receptive to the values, themes, and political beliefs embedded within them. This was particularly true of his political satires, which often contained extremely partisan connotations. In his scholarly article, “Painters and Party Politics in England”, Paul Monod writes that Hogarth evenly spread himself across the spectrum of political opinion so as to remain bipartisan and appeal to as wide an audience as possible, noting that: “his ability to play successfully to all sides was unmatched.”⁹³ Hogarth was extremely spirited and often outspoken, and his careful omittance and selection of advertisements in various papers was one of the ways he could express himself while still maintaining such a wide appeal. An example of this carefully curated neutrality was his ability to create satirical prints appealing to the Tories while still receiving a substantial number of orders for conversation piece portraits from Whig nobility.⁹⁴ Both parties supplied a lucrative source of patronage for Hogarth, business that would have been impossible were he not so conscious of his public-facing image.

Hogarth’s usage of newspaper advertisements was so significant because it allowed him to develop a relationship with contemporary consumers free from the burdens of patronage or print publishers. Within the examples above, we see Hogarth’s cultivation of this relationship through the repeated, targeted advertisements. More importantly though, this chapter’s discussion of Hogarth’s advertisements shows the unique ease with which he utilized different publications and advertisement content to ensure that contact with his consumers was as effective as possible.

⁹³ Monod, “Painters and Party Politics in England”, 392.

⁹⁴ Antal, *Hogarth and His Place in European Art*, 34.

Engraver's Copyright Act of 1735

A brief summary of The Engravers Copyright Act of 1735, and its significance, is pivotal to any discussion of William Hogarth and his commercial activities within the print market. Not only is it one of the most impressive showings of Hogarth's emboldened self-promotion, but the heightened sense of security this act afforded to engravers transformed the print market and facilitated opportunities of commercial success for generations of English engravers to come.

William Hogarth created his first satirical print, *The South Sea Scheme*, in 1721. By 1724 he decided to publish his own satirical print, *Masquerades and Operas*, independent of print sellers. As a self-proclaimed "independent engraver" Hogarth incised his designs onto plates and pulled his own impressions, but Hogarth, like other independent engravers, struggled to distribute his own prints. In *The Case of Designers, Engravers, Etchers, & c*, a letter written to a member of parliament in aid of the Engravers' Act, an engraver aired the common frustration that: "few of these artists... in the present condition of the profession, have houses conveniently situated for exposing their prints to sale... there are only twelve printshops in London and Westminster... and these are in the power and direction of a very few, who are the richest."⁹⁵ Hogarth, and other independent engravers in the profession, felt as if print sellers were taking advantage of them by demanding an unreasonably steep percentage of the profits. To make matters worse, the letter argues, print sellers were also allowing cheap copies to be produced and sold so that the publisher could return the unsold, original copies to the engraver.

In his *Autobiographical Notes*, Hogarth documents his own sufferings under the hand of the print publishers, saying that his *Masquerades and Operas* print:

Had no sooner begun to take run but I found coppies [sic] of it in the printshops selling for half the price whilst the originals return'd [to] me again in which I [was] obliged to

⁹⁵ *The Case of Designers, Engravers, Etchers, &c. Stated. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament*, 7.

sell my plate [for however much] these pyrates [sic] pleased to give me, as there was no place of sale but at their shops.⁹⁶

Hogarth later described how this personal experience led to his dogged support of The Engraver's Copyright Act: "I had before my eyes... the precarious state of authors and men of learning... the difficulties my father went through whos [sic] dependence was chiefly on his pen, the cruel treatment he met with from booksellers and printers."⁹⁷ Even before his rise to prominence within the realm of prints, William Hogarth had a deep distrust of the print market and the publishers that worked within it. Hogarth's discussion of his father's own suffering in his *Autobiographical Notes* helps to contextualize Hogarth's early skepticism of the print market. Richard Hogarth's failed venture of publishing Latin dictionaries and textbooks clearly imprinted on Hogarth at a young age, who later wrote that he believed his father died "of illness occasioned [sic] by partly the useage [sic] he met with from this set of people . . . and partly . . . by disappointments from great mens [sic] promises."⁹⁸ Hogarth's description of his upbringing helps to trace his often obstinate distrust of the print market and relentless support of the revolutionary Engravers Copyright Act, which granted him exclusive publishing rights and a more direct, immediate relationship with his audience.

After Hogarth's low profit margin on *Masquerades and Operas*, he wrote in his *Autobiographical Notes* that he must find a way to "secure my property to myself."⁹⁹ Signed into law in June of 1735, The Engravers Copyright Act, often referred to as "Hogarth's Act", was his solution. This act, which protected a work for up to fourteen years, forbade copies of an engraving to be made within the designer's permission and imposed a fine of 5 shillings for every impression

⁹⁶ Hogarth and Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, 205.

⁹⁷ Hogarth and Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, 205.

⁹⁸ Hogarth and Nichols, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, 204.

⁹⁹ Hogarth and Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, 216.

of a pirated copy found in a print seller's possession.¹⁰⁰ An interesting aspect to note about this act was that it had a loophole- the prints were only afforded protection to the engraver, not the print seller, an aspect that placed more value on the design of the print than the paper itself.¹⁰¹ This establishment of *artistic invention*, which legally protected artist's ideas, was conveniently beneficial to Hogarth, who prided himself on the characters of his own creative invention found in his prints. Creating caricature, Hogarth argued, was nothing more than reproduction of crudely exaggerated figures whereas character, he wrote in his *Analysis of Beauty*, "require[d] the utmost efforts of a great master."¹⁰² While undeniably self-beneficial, "Hogarth's Act" protected prints under copyright law, validated artistic authorship, and helped the contemporary artist secure a new level of professionalism.¹⁰³

Hogarth's dogged, lengthy promotion of this act is a strong example of his willingness and ability to confront precedent and instigate meaningful change. Hogarth's Act, and the discrimination of caricature embedded within, also exemplifies Hogarth's comfort within the print market and his ability to manipulate it to his own benefit. The Engraver's Copyright Act of 1735 serves as yet another example seen throughout this chapter of Hogarth breaking tradition, manipulating the print market, and affording great risks to ensure his own self-interest.

Conclusion

When discussing Hogarth's ability to appeal to the wider English public as a product of economic and cultural advancements, Marxist art historian Frederick Antal aptly contends that:

He lived at a time when patronage by royalty and the aristocracy, hitherto the exclusive rule, had begun to recede but was not yet entirely displaced, whilst completely new classes

¹⁰⁰ Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 9.

¹⁰¹ Fordham, "Hogarth's Act and the Professional Caricaturist", 24.

¹⁰² Hogarth, Text from *The Bench*, Figure 22.

¹⁰³ Fordham, "Hogarth's Act and the Professional Caricaturist", 35.

of consumers for the artist's output were presenting themselves- a public extending in scope far beyond the middle classes, and of which Hogarth, the great innovator, was the discoverer.¹⁰⁴

Within the plethora of studies on Hogarth, many scholars like Antal have sought to enumerate the reasons for Hogarth's immense success and unprecedented international recognition. No scholar, however, has paid sufficient attention to Hogarth's ability to innately understand, and utilize the commercial opportunities within contemporary art and print markets.

Antal's argument that Hogarth was one of the first English artists to discover and tap into new middle-class audiences is correct, but his failure to elaborate on Hogarth as "the great innovator" was a missed opportunity. This is not to take away from Hogarth's artistic talent, nor discount the various economic, artistic, and cultural phenomena that facilitated opportunities for Hogarth's success. Rather, I believe that any comprehensive study of Hogarth should include a serious consideration of the artist's refined commercial instincts and resultant marketing activities as absolutely vital to understanding this artist's success. The ingenuity of Hogarth's marketing techniques in response to the newly commercialized English art market, highlighted above, facilitated meaningful interactions with a wide audience society; and this high level of visibility resulted in Hogarth's prodigious levels of success.

¹⁰⁴ Antal, *Hogarth and His Place in European Art*, 57.

Chapter Three

Marriage A-la-Mode, Beer Street, and Gin Lane: High and Low Marketing

This chapter will conduct a close comparison of Hogarth's *Marriage A-la-Mode* (1745) with *Beer Street* (1751) and its accompanying pendant piece, *Gin Lane* (1751). As articulated in the introduction, Hogarth himself used the term variety in reference to the wide range of subjects from urban life he depicted in his prints. By the eighteenth century, London was a diverse metropolis of ideas, class, race, and gender from which Hogarth sought to accurately record in his art. Hogarth's prints embodied this variety of urban life in their subject matter, but Hogarth also saw the commercial potential in these diverse groups, and carefully marketed his work so as to appeal to a wide audience range. As a result of this business strategy, his printed works contain variety in terms of his pictorial, marketing, and production methods.

The following comparison of *Marriage A-la-Mode* and *Beer Street & Gin Lane* will seek to highlight the commercial inventiveness of a printmaking practice that deftly catered to audiences at a variety of social and economic levels. Created almost a decade apart, these prints magnificently exemplify the varied ways in which Hogarth utilized the commercial strategies discussed in Chapter Two to generate mass appeal. An in-depth analysis of the marketing techniques, distribution, pictorial content, and methods of production utilized by Hogarth to best serve each print's intended audience and moral purpose will highlight the different, yet equally effective marketing strategies used for *Marriage A-la-Mode* and the *Beer Street & Gin Lane* pair. Considering these prints and their differences provides an illuminating view of the extent to which Hogarth utilized various marketing tools and business tactics to target different audience groups through a meticulously crafted façade. When discussing the "ever business-ingenuous Hogarth", Bayer and Page state that his printed oeuvre "betrays an entrepreneurial awareness of two of the

governing principles of modern retailing: innovation and product differentiation.”¹⁰⁵ As acknowledged earlier, some of Hogarth’s success must be understood as a result of various artistic, social, or economic conditions. The immense variety of Hogarth’s production strategies that becomes evident through a comparison of these two prints, however, also demonstrates that Hogarth’s wide appeal and resultant success were the result of careful brand curation.

When discussing Hogarth’s preference for engravings due to their widely-distributable nature rather than his devotion to technical skill, Antal states that: “he was able to distinguish clearly between the artistic needs of his various publics, even so far as engravings were concerned.”¹⁰⁶ As will be demonstrated in this chapter, Hogarth had clear expectations regarding the intended audience and purpose of his printed works and marketed his prints accordingly. Figure 15 features a 1754 advertisement listing various bound volumes of Hogarth’s prints available for sale from the artist’s home in Leicester fields. The marked difference in price succinctly captures Hogarth’s own opinions regarding the value of his earlier modern moral subjects series’ and his later popular prints directed specifically towards middle-and lower-class audiences. *Marriage A-la-Mode*, listed at 33 shillings for 6 prints, or 5.5 shillings per print, is priced significantly higher than *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane*, which sold together for the price of 3 shillings, or 1.5 shillings per print. This chapter will conduct an in-depth analysis of both *Marriage A-la-Mode* and *Beer Street & Gin Lane*, and, aside from differences in price point, examine the ways that Hogarth branded his prints in a manner that would appeal to said print’s intended audience.

¹⁰⁵ Bayer and Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England*, 52.

¹⁰⁶ Antal, *Hogarth and His Place in European Art*, 52.

Marriage A-la-Mode

Hogarth marked the arrival of his latest progress in 1743 with extensive advertisements. The first reference to the series was an April 2 advertisement in the *London Evening Post* (fig. 16) which provided key details about the engravings. This same advertisement was heavily reprinted in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* through at least November 1st.¹⁰⁷ The six-part series of *Marriage A-la-Mode* illustrates the disastrous consequences that arise from a mutually beneficial marriage between a spendthrift Earl's son of high rank and the daughter of a wealthy alderman hoping to buy his way into the aristocracy. *Marriage A-la-Mode* was Hogarth's fourth progressive narrative series, and Hogarth was determined to create a sophisticated print series that would raise the general prestige of his modern moral subjects. The following analysis of the marketing, materiality, sources of influence, and pictorial elements of *Marriage A-la-Mode* exemplifies the techniques and strategies exercised by Hogarth when branding himself and his prints in a manner appealing to elite consumers.

Marketing

Like earlier works, Hogarth utilized the subscription method to ensure proper funding for the production of *Marriage A-la-Mode*. The illustrated subscription ticket given to subscribers upon their initial buy in was created in 1743 and titled *Characters and Caricaturas* (fig. 17). As hinted in its title, the illustration depicts a variety of human heads, each with a distinctive facial expression. The heterogeneity of human expression and facial features conveyed in this subscription ticket was meant to alert subscribers to *Marriage A-la-Mode*'s thematic concerns with

¹⁰⁷ This statistic was deduced from my searches within the *Burney Newspapers Collection*. The *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection* contains the largest online collection of seventeenth and eighteenth-century English news media available from the British Library.

characterization. The three heads on the bottom left strip of *Characters and Caricaturas* are clearly identifiable as those of St. John, St. Paul (fig. 18), and a beggar figure (fig.19) from Raphael's gouache paintings (cartoons) that weavers used to create tapestries for the Sistine Chapel.¹⁰⁸ Hogarth was familiar with the Italian master's work because his stepfather, James Thornhill, worked on painted copies of said cartoons in Hampton Court for almost three years.¹⁰⁹ Distinct similarities can also be drawn from the distorted, grotesque caricature heads at the bottom right and those seen in a *Sheet of Caricatura Heads* by Agostino Carracci (fig. 21). Through his pictorial emulation of Raphael, the Carracci Brothers, and DaVinci's treatment of facial features within this subscription ticket, Hogarth was citing the highest authorities in artistic tradition for depicting a wide range of subjects. By reminding his audience that even the "Raphael Cartoons", a widely accepted example of exceptional history painting, depicted lowly subjects, Hogarth was hoping to legitimize his own depictions of contemporary, vulgar subjects in his modern moral subjects. The subscription ticket's juxtaposition of grotesque caricatures and uniquely descriptive faces asserts the direct lineage of Hogarth's modern moral subjects to the esteemed genre of history painting rather than the less-respected art of caricature.¹¹⁰ Hogarth detested references to his printed modern moral subjects as caricatures, and later elaborated in a printed accompaniment (fig. 22) to his painting, *The Bench* (1758), that caricature was "a species of lines that are produc'd [sic] rather by the hand of chance than of skill", and, therefore, inferior to his characters in *Marriage A-la-Mode*.¹¹¹ Hogarth's insistence on the inventive nature of the characters within *Marriage A-la-Mode* aligned with his desire to raise the status of his contemporary art genre from mere entertainment to a respectable, serious art form.

¹⁰⁸ See Figure 20 for a comparison of Hogarth and Raphael's St. Paul and beggar figure.

¹⁰⁹ Meyer, *Apostles in England*, 18.

¹¹⁰ Cowley, *Marriage a-la-mode: A Re-view of Hogarth's Narrative Art*, 17.

¹¹¹ See Figure 22 for full inscription featured beneath the print.

Hogarth's interest to distinguish his prints from the genre of caricature helps to explain the bottom inscription of *Characters and Caricaturas* that reads: "For a further explanation of the Difference betwixt [sic] Character & Caricatura, see ye Preface to John Andrews." In this referenced preface, Henry Fielding writes highly of Hogarth, stating that:

He who should call the Ingenious Hogarth a Burlesque Painter, would, in my opinion, do him very little honour; for sure it is much easier, much less the Subject of Admiration, to paint a Man with a nose... of preposterous size... than to express the Affections of Men on canvas. It has been thought a vast Commendation of a Painter, to say his figures *seem to breathe*; but surely, it is a much greater and nobler Applause, *that they appear to think*.¹¹²

Alongside Hogarth, famed author Henry Fielding aimed to raise prose fiction's status from satire to that of a serious literary form belonging in the classical hierarchy of genres. Frequently operating between the sublime and the grotesque, the two often relied on one another to defend their work's usage of inferior subjects. Aside from signifying a transaction of business between artist and consumer, the *Characters and Caricaturas* subscription ticket allowed Hogarth to demonstrate his worldly familiarity with the works of Italian masters and cite their respective depictions of the lowly and grotesque in defense of his own modern subjects.

Hogarth's first advertisement for *Marriage A-la-Mode* in April 1743 (fig. 16) was repeatedly published in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, *Daily Advertiser*, and the *London Evening Post* through November. Hogarth's extensive advertising campaign for *Marriage A-la-Mode* was decidedly more complex in scope and content than his earlier usage of advertisements. Clearly feeling more comfortable with his usage of advertisements, Hogarth was able to expertly convey key thematic and visual elements about his upcoming work through written advertisements. His careful inclusion of phrases such as "there may not be the least Objection to the Decency or Elegancy of the whole work" speaks to the print's branding of sophistication.

¹¹² Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, 7-12.

Exhaustive references to the work's prestige are Hogarth's attempt to combat a common critique of his modern moral subjects: their focus on unsuitable, lowly subject matters and characters. Referring to the work as decent and elegant, and announcing its representation of "a variety of modern occurrences in high-life" is Hogarth's conscious attempt to inflate the status of his modern images.¹¹³ This was an uphill battle, considering English high society's insistence on history painting's superiority due to its ability to inspire viewers through its idealized treatment of subjects. Summing up a commonly held theory of painting, Hogarth's contemporary Johnathan Richardson wrote that "what gives the Italians, and their Masters the Ancients the Preference... is that they have not servilely follow'd Common Nature, but Rais'd and Improv'd [it]."¹¹⁴ History painting was highly valued across Europe for its idealized treatment of the heroic, sacred subjects it depicted. This resulted in the eighteenth-century art market's general dismissal of the modern, lowly subjects captured in Hogarth's prints. In order to gain the levels of prestige and profit he so desperately coveted, Hogarth understood that increasing the sophistication, and subsequent value, of his modern moral subjects was imperative.

The line "enravig'd by the best Masters in Paris, after his own paintings" represents another intentional attempt of the advertisement to generate demand by increasing perceptions of the work's sophistication. By emphasizing the series' originality and inventive narrative, as found in the painted originals, Hogarth is branding himself as an inventive painter, not an engraver. Through this series, he wanted to rise above the lowly craft of engraving through markedly announcing his separation from the mechanical, reproductive process of engraving. Commissioning engravers to produce metal plates after his original paintings, while still owning the rights to publish them in bulk, ensured that Hogarth could bolster his brand's cachet while still securing the profits for

¹¹³ See Figure 16 for full text included in the *Marriage A-la-Mode* advertisement.

¹¹⁴ Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, 171.

himself. The advertisement's distinction of the hired engravers' Parisian origin further alluded to the sophistication of the series and exploited an audience of English elite frivolously concerned with imitating French high culture. In response to Hogarth's promotion of the Parisian engravers, George Vertue expressed his suspicion of underlying commercial motives within the "extraordinary advertisement" in which he "puff'd" about hiring engravers from Paris.¹¹⁵ Hogarth further distanced himself from the unskilled, reproductive characteristics often associated with prints through his repeated insistence that none of his subjects were derived from contemporary figures in society. The emphasis of his character's originality can be read as both a haughty assurance of his innovative expressions of characterization, and a conscious effort to not offend the very audience with the means to afford these prints through the satirical and moralistic connotations rooted within this series.

Hogarth's *Marriage A-la-Mode* also marked the artist's second attempt to auction off the original paintings of a series.¹¹⁶ The auction, which was advertised for years and eventually took place in 1751, was a bold commercial endeavor that defied traditional expectations of the artist playing a passive role in the sales of their art.¹¹⁷ Under the heading "Hogarth's Scheems", George Vertue recounted this auction in his *Notebooks*:

Mr. Hogarth who is often projecting scheems [sic] to promote his business in some extraordinary manner... proposed in all the news papers to sell them [the original *Marriage A-la-Mode* paintings] by a new way of drawing lots that persons who woud [sic] buy them shoud [sic] write down the summ [sic] they would give for them. And leave that written paper for others to made [sic] advances. still more & more as they pleased till a certain day & hour.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Vertue, *Notebooks*, V. VI, 134.

¹¹⁶ See Figure 23 for advertisement of Hogarth's previous auction.

¹¹⁷ See Figure 24 for *Marriage A-la-Mode* auction advertisement as seen in Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, His Art, His Times*.

¹¹⁸ Vertue, *Notebooks*, V. III, 156-57.

With a clear air of disapproval, Vertue recounts Hogarth's forward plan to sell the *Marriage A-la-Mode* paintings via auction. Hogarth's defiant risk-taking and general disregard for traditional artistic practices, vehemently denounced by Vertue, often paid off in spades. This auction, however, was one of the few instances that Hogarth's risky marketing tactics resulted in failure. With glee practically dripping from the pages, Vertue wrote of Hogarth's embarrassing miscalculation:

As he thought the publick [sic] was so very fond of his works. and had showd [sic] often such great forwardness to pay him. very high prices. he puff'd [sic] this in news papers for a long time before hand. But alas [sic] when the time came- to open this mighty secret he found himself neglected. for instead of the 500 or 600 pounds he expected. there was but one person he had got to bid. without any advance. the only sum of 120 pounds. by which he saw the publick [sic] regard they had for his works.¹¹⁹

The auction developed in tandem with the newly-commercialized art market in England and its public, highly visible nature brought an added element of commercial spectacle to eighteenth-century art sales.¹²⁰ As the popularity of auctions grew, their existence became more systematized, eventually resulting in the establishment of the formal auction houses, Sotheby's, and Christie's, in 1744 and 1766, respectively. The self-advertised, independent auctioneering of the *Marriage A-la-Mode* paintings out of Hogarth's own home was a clear break from conventional practices of auctioneering and art sales of the time and, interestingly, was one of Hogarth's few marketing failures. This failure is important to note because it underscores the idea that, by carrying out these novel marketing techniques and business ploys, Hogarth was taking great risks. As someone so consciously in tune with the art market and surrounding economic and social atmosphere, Hogarth would have been cognizant of the stakes involved with such a progressive approach to brand recognition. Hogarth's marketing strategies become all the more commendable when one

¹¹⁹ Vertue, *Notebooks*, V. III, 156.

¹²⁰ Wall, "The English Auction", 2-3.

considers the investment of time, resources, and, most importantly, his carefully curated reputation that he was willing to lay on the line.

Materiality and Technical Production

While sifting through the National Gallery's archival material pertaining to the original *Marriage A-la-Mode* paintings housed in their collection, I came across photographs of Hogarth's preparatory pencil drawings (fig. 25) for the series. These drawings featured significant enough differences from the final paintings that then-director of the National Gallery, Martin Davies, was skeptical of their attribution to Hogarth. Davies, who later conceded Hogarth's authorship due to the drawings' exceptionally accurate rendering, ventured that these drawings were produced as examples to show the French engravers he aimed to hire. Respected Hogarth scholar Robert Cowley, who also encountered these photographs, posited that the differences in compositional structure and detail between the pencil drawings and final paintings were significant because they identify what Hogarth "thought it advisable to hide."¹²¹ While Cowley's interpreted significance of these differences is in relation to his larger discussion of the series' pictorial content, I find Hogarth's conscious omission and rearrangement of key compositional elements to be significant in terms of the insight it provides into his highly-conscious means of production. Weary of copyright infringement, Hogarth understood the value of artistic innovation embedded within his compositional structures, and was determined to shield the preliminary designs from as many people as possible. His careful manipulation of both composition and artifice, evident through a holistic study of the paintings, engravings, and preliminary sketches of *Marriage A-la-Mode* alerts us to Hogarth's nuanced conception of the materials and production used in his works.

¹²¹ Cowley, *Marriage a-la-mode: A Re-view of Hogarth's Narrative Art*, 111.

A study of the materials and technical production utilized in *Marriage A-la-Mode* can also be used to further demonstrate the intended sophistication of the series. In wanting to keep prices for his mass-produced instructional prints low, Hogarth once wrote in his *Autobiographical Notes* that he would avoid “great correctness of drawing or fine Engraving.”¹²² The significance of a print’s technical style or method of production, clearly not lost on Hogarth, was often utilized to signal the intended audience of his prints. Unlike many of Hogarth’s popular prints, which transferred loosely-drawn designs onto metal plates, the highly finished engravings of *Marriage A-la-Mode* were copied from original paintings by Hogarth onto expensive copper plates of the finest quality. To heighten high society’s perception of the work’s sophistication, Hogarth sought out talented engravers capable of producing the kind of high-quality engravings expected by the elevated audience groups Hogarth targeted. While Hogarth undoubtedly relied on the contributions of other engravers in previous printed prints, their lower status meant that Hogarth had largely concealed their contributions. The French engravers’ role in *Marriage A-la-Mode*, conversely, was heavily advertised and later reinforced through the prominent incision of the contributing engraver’s name on each print.¹²³ Hogarth’s employment of French engravers not only ensured a high degree of quality but was also a calculated linkage of his work to the elegant, highly-fashionable style typical within Parisian culture.

Influences and Imagery

Hogarth clearly marketed and produced his *Marriage A-la-Mode* prints in a manner that would appeal to upper-class audiences, but many of the series’ pictorial and narrative elements also borrowed from high-brow culture to increase appeal amongst a wealthy, cultured citizenry.

¹²² Hogarth and Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, 226-27.

¹²³ Paulson, *High Art and Low*, V. II of *Hogarth*, 209-11.

Hogarth likely drew upon numerous inspirations for *Marriage A-la-Mode*, but one unmistakable influence is that of Abraham Bosse's engravings. Abraham Bosse, a French engraver, produced a companion series of two prints titled *Le Mariage à la Ville* and *Le Mariage à la Campagne* in 1633. *Marriage A-la-Mode*, originally intended to be a dual study of city and country marriage, has clear ties to Bosse's work in both narrative and pictorial elements.¹²⁴ As in *Marriage A-la-Mode*, Bosse's first picture (fig. 26), "Le Contract", also depicts a scene of the couple's fathers at a table intently bargaining over the marriage contract. The rest of the series follows in a similar sequence to that of Hogarth's, and includes various pictorial elements mirrored in Hogarth's interiors. One notable similarity can be drawn between the pictures of saints on the far wall in Bosse's *L'accouchement* and the saints in Hogarth's second image, *The Tête à Tête* (fig. 27).¹²⁵

The interiors seen throughout all six images of Hogarth's *Marriage A-la-Mode* are so intricately detailed that eighteenth-century art historian Horace Walpole argued that the furniture served as a history of the manners of the age.¹²⁶ While all of Hogarth's modern moral subjects contained extraordinary detail, the keen attention to clothing, interior décor, and refined activities in *Marriage A-la-Mode* was an intentional attempt to further appeal to those familiar with the world he so carefully depicted. Each scene has so much symbolic detail embedded within it that scholar Robert Cowley published an entire book focusing on the narrative of *Marriage A-la-Mode*, its characters, and the milieu that surrounds them. It would be impossible to recount every subtle allusion to high life, so, instead, I will point to key examples from Cowley's analysis of the first image, "The Marriage Settlement."

¹²⁴ Cowley, *Marriage a-la-mode: A Re-view of Hogarth's Narrative Art*, 15.

¹²⁵ Cowley, *Marriage a-la-mode: A Re-view of Hogarth's Narrative Art*, 15.

¹²⁶ Hogarth and Nichols, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, 72-73.

As the introductory scene of the series, Hogarth embeds meaning about the Earl and Alderman's families in this image through his usage of clothing, furniture, and other interior décor that had larger moralistic implications for contemporary society. The Earl and Alderman are seen in the heat of negotiating settlements for the marriage agreement between their children. Earl Squanderfield haughtily points at his family tree while the undignified Alderman hunches over official documents, his comportment and outdated clothing conveying his social unease. A bed canopy fringed with gold establishes the setting in the Earl's bed chambers, which were commonly used as sitting rooms in eighteenth-century high society, particularly in France. Hogarth's inclusion of this setting, however, is satirizing the fact that such a self-important man of pedigree would be conducting a formal business affair of such importance in his bed chamber. The Alderman's daughter, sitting in the corner of the room with a downcast expression, wears a lace-trimmed satin gown that would have been at the height of French fashion in the 1740's. This dress, however, is too ostentatious for the ongoing business proceedings, alluding to the bride's blind imitation of continental trends and further emphasizing that the Alderman's recent accrual of wealth cannot instill propriety nor grant status.

Hanging on the walls are ten paintings by great masters such as Titian and Caravaggio that impart additional meaning to the scene unraveling below. One painting highly resembles Domenichino's *The Martyrdom of St. Agnes*, which depicts the sufferings of Agnes who, as a matter of principle, refused to marry the son of a high-ranking Roman official (Fig. 28).¹²⁷ Hogarth's subtle inclusion of this painting seeks to draw parallels between the saint's suffering because she refused to marry and the pitiful Earl's daughter suffering because she does.¹²⁸ His choice to exclude the upper half of Domenichino's work, in which Agnes ascends to heaven,

¹²⁷ See Figure 29 for comparison of the original Domenichino painting and Hogarth's pictorial allusion.

¹²⁸ Cowley, *Marriage a-la-mode: A Re-view of Hogarth's Narrative Art*, 47.

conveys Hogarth's feelings about the morality of such a transactional marriage.¹²⁹ Hogarth's sophisticated allusions to classical motifs and continental culture imprinted a sense of worldliness and intelligence onto these prints, making them extremely desirable to upper-class consumers, who hoped that ownership of these prints would serve as a reflection of their own worldliness and intelligence. Hogarth's adept ability to satirize the very people capable of understanding these symbolic allusions showcases his highly sensitive ability to ascertain and move just within the boundaries of different audience groups.

Beer Street and Gin Lane

Hogarth's *Beer Street* (fig. 30) and its pendant pair, *Gin Lane* (fig. 31), fit within the artist's later production of "instructional prints" designed to identify and, subsequently, correct issues that plagued contemporary English society. These prints, which almost exclusively depicted England's middle-and-low-class citizenry, demonstrated that Hogarth could find success across high and low echelons of society. While there are certainly elements of morality and charity embedded within Hogarth's popular prints and the subsequent awareness they brought to key issues, the artist's shift to the production of popular prints was not without personal financial benefits. The analysis of *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* that follows will aim to serve as an informative contrast to *Marriage A-la-Mode*, consequently highlighting the variety of production and marketing embedded within the oeuvre of Hogarth's prints. While the scholarship on *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* is not nearly as robust and comprehensive as that of *Marriage A-la-Mode*, even the most rudimentary of analyses gives way to revealing discrepancies between *Beer Street & Gin Lane*, and *Marriage A-la-Mode*.

¹²⁹ Paulson, *The Art of Hogarth*, 37.

Marketing

The publication of Hogarth's pair of prints titled *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* was first announced in February of 1751. The advertisement (fig. 32), published in the *London Evening Post*, plainly states the prints' intended audience: "As the Subjects of those Prints are calculated to reform some reigning vices peculiar to the lower Class of People in hopes to render them of more extensive Use, the Author has published them in the cheapest Manner possible." This advertisement clearly signals the instructive nature of these prints and positions Hogarth as a great moralizer. An interesting inclusion within this advertisement is the later line reassuring that: "A Number will be printed in a better Manner for the Curious, at 1 S. 6d. each."¹³⁰ While promoting a contrived façade of selfless investment in hopes of reforming the lower classes, Hogarth is still concerned with the aesthetic effect of his prints.

Promise of a higher quality impression, along with his usage of the term "curious", is Hogarth's attempt to reconcile the lewd subjects of these prints with genteel audiences in hopes that this concerned, informed citizenry would purchase his prints. In his discussion of *Beer Street & Gin Lane*, Hallet establishes an important truth in the simple fact that, even at the low price of one shilling, this print would not have been financially feasible nor of any interest to the slum-dwelling citizenry depicted in *Gin Lane*. The print's marketed "sacrifice" of aesthetic considerations and technical skill in hopes of its extensive instructional use, therefore, should be reconsidered as an ingenious marketing ploy. While Hogarth enjoyed basking in the self-righteousness of his charitable endeavors, the pair, *Beer Street & Gin Lane*, was really marketed with the intent of appealing to a wider public of cultural consumers that were deeply troubled by recent increases in violence, poverty, and crime. This reconsideration of the printed pair as an

¹³⁰ Full contents of this advertisement can be seen in Figure 32.

exploitation of contemporary society's unease means that, Hallet asserts, these prints were actually marketed to an audience of "respectable tavern owners, shopkeepers and master-craftsmen of the city, men who could hang on their walls as warnings and inspirations to their customers and workers."¹³¹ Even Hogarth's "instructive", "moralizing" prints were produced with high levels of self-interest. Through his calculated choice to depict a troubling theme from contemporary society, Hogarth branded himself as a charitable man looking out for the well-being of the lower classes. In reality though, Hogarth understood that this contentious subject matter would be of great appeal to an informed, relatively affluent audience that was inclined to buy his prints out of a thematic interest driven by collective anxieties and insecurities regarding the social and economic breakdown of their city. Hogarth's calculated allusions to low society and unfavorable subjects are an exact dichotomy to the sophisticated marketing of *Marriage A-la-Mode*, yet, both strategies prove to be immensely successful in terms of Hogarth's heightened levels of visibility across English society.

Materiality and Technical Production

Hogarth was well aware of the implications that different graphic and production choices connoted. By advertising his prints as having been produced in the "cheapest manner possible", Hogarth used material and production to clearly delineate the intended effect and audience of these prints. *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane*'s style marks an abrupt departure from the sophisticated production and artistry of *Marriage A-la-Mode*. These two prints are clearly intended as popular prints: a cheaply produced, hastily finished, broad work that could be distributed to the masses at an inexpensive price point. From a moralistic perspective, the low cost of these prints meant that

¹³¹ Hallet, *The Spectacle of Difference*, 216.

Hogarth's intended effect would have been widely felt, or at least acknowledged, throughout eighteenth-century England. When speaking of *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* in his *Autobiographical Notes*, Hogarth further defends the low technical skill of the prints, writing of the mass-produced print that: "neither great correctness of drawing or fine Engraving were at all necessary but on the contrary would set the price of them out of the reach of those for whom [sic] they were chiefly [sic] intended."¹³² The rough production of these prints made for an easily-readable style of print and allowed for lower price points, both of which increased accessibility to the less educated, lower class audiences of which the print was supposedly intended for.¹³³

The low-quality production of these later prints also, however, meant that Hogarth did not have to spend large sums of money hiring engravers in pursuit of the highly sophisticated, technically-skilled style seen in works like *Marriage A-la-Mode*. Hogarth was not the most skilled engraver, and his adaptation of etching in these popular prints allowed for a drastic simplification of form, heavy line, and reduced level of characterization that closely resembled the bold design found in the cheaply-produced woodcut print. The rudimentary design and crude production of Hogarth's popular prints also resulted in a much lower price point than his previous works, and subsequently meant that he could tap into a larger public, increase sales, and acquire new sources of income. George Vertue, never remiss in criticizing Hogarth's "schemes", recorded his suspicion of ulterior motives when discussing Hogarth's infiltration of the cheap print market:

As the View of his Genius seems very strong & Conversant with low life here as heretofore, he has given a fresh instance of his skill, rather to compass or gripe the whole advantage of his Inventions & to prevent the shop print sellers any benefit he has grav'd [sic] them in a slight poor strong manner. To print many. & engross that intirely [sic] to himself. Without being at that great expence [sic] he was, of good workmen when he publishd [sic] -his Marriage A la Mode- the cost of which works of engraving. He paid dear for.¹³⁴

¹³² Hogarth and Burke, *The Analysis of Beauty*, 226.

¹³³ Bindman, *Hogarth and His Times*, 137.

¹³⁴ Vertue, *Notebooks*, V. III, 136-37.

Though Vertue clearly did not view Hogarth's manipulation of medium to increase profits in a favorable light, this description succinctly captures how just how comfortable Hogarth was with altering his own production and marketing strategies, on both ends of the spectrum, to maximize visibility and profit.

Influences and Imagery

Whereas *Marriage A-la-Mode* focused on exposing the moral decay of the middle and upper classes, *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* marks a clear shift in interest to the vices of England's low-class citizenry. This was likely due to a growing sense of unease throughout English society in the mid-eighteenth century that stemmed from increased crime and violence in urban London. In 1751, Henry Fielding sought to address the growing crime in London, publishing a pamphlet entitled "An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase in Robbers." Section Two of this pamphlet, titled "Of Drunkenness", blames gin as the culprit for the upsurge in crime and warns against a "new kind of drunkenness... which, if not put a stop to, will infallibly destroy a great part of the inferior people."¹³⁵ To further emphasize Fielding's opinions regarding the "diabolical liquor", Hogarth equates the differences between beer and gin to the contrasts of good & evil, order & chaos.

In *Gin Lane*, we see utter chaos and destruction descend upon London as the lower class's affinity for gin ravages the familiar urban setting of the St Giles neighborhood. In a dystopian treatment of urban London, evidence of poverty, death, decay, and vice sprawls out before us. This scene of urban "breakdown" takes shape in the emaciated children fighting with a dog over a bone, a disease-ridden woman who has forgone her child in preference of snuff, a limp body hanging

¹³⁵ Fielding, *Enquiry*, 18.

from a noose, and the overwhelming presence of impoverished, crippled citizens. In *Beer Street*, we see a scene from daily life “where all is joyous and thriving industry”, an England that can be achieved, Hogarth contends, through the healthy consumption of domestic beer.¹³⁶ *Beer Street* serves as the exact opposite to its counterpart, offering a scene of prosperity in which industry and order are linked to the cheerful yet responsible consumption of beer. We see working men, such as a butcher and blacksmith, standing contentedly outside of the Barley Mow, a recognizable ale house from urban London.¹³⁷ Further off in the background, we see evidence of progress and renewal consistent with a healthy nation as exemplified through the distant architectural scaffolding and workers repaving a road. *Beer Street*’s caption reinforces the pictorial associations of beer with urban improvement and social freedom: “Genius of Health, thy grateful taste. Rivals the cup of Jove And warms each English generous Breast with Liberty and Love.”¹³⁸ This direct contrast is meant to highlight the lower class’s dangerous consumption of Dutch Gin, a foreign liquor whose high alcohol concentration required less money for higher levels of intoxication, at a faster rate. This contrasting imagery clearly resonated with the English citizenry, and the publication of these prints went on to become an instrumental tool in the passage of the Gin Act later that year.

Conclusion

In what Horace Walpole labels as a “horridly fine, but disgusting” print, the dystopian imagery of tattered, drunken, and impoverished figures in *Gin Lane* seems worlds away from the ornate interiors of the “high-life” depicted in *Marriage A-la-Mode*.¹³⁹ Upon further inspection

¹³⁶ Hogarth and Burke, *Autobiographical Notes*, 226.

¹³⁷ Hallet, *The Spectacle of Difference*, 201.

¹³⁸ Hogarth, *Beer Street*, see Figure 30 for full caption.

¹³⁹ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 73.

though, both series contend with immoral themes from contemporary society and feature scenes of death, gluttonous consumption, physical altercation, venereal disease, and the general erosion of polite values. *Marriage A-la-Mode* and *Beer Street & Gin Lane* both contend with instances of moral slippage within contemporary English society, yet one is considered highly sophisticated while the other was deemed worthy only of instructional use. The discrepancies between these prints, and our perceptions of them, are entirely vested within Hogarth's methodical production, presentation, and marketing of them. This chapter's analysis of *Marriage A-la-Mode* and *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* has exemplified how Hogarth could seamlessly transition between different marketing, production, and business strategies to expand the appeal of his prints and strengthen his own artistic "brand" to audiences across all social strata. This thesis will close with a consideration of how Hogarth's commercial innovations and resultantly-large sphere of influence transformed the English print market.

Conclusion

“Hogarth used to assert, that whoever lived fifty years after him would see Print Shops as common as porter houses; every street gives proof that he was not only a painter but a *prophet*.”¹⁴⁰

Morning Chronicle, March 15, 1792

At the inception of his artistic career, William Hogarth found the English print market lacking in substantial commercial opportunity. There was no mass demand for aesthetically minded prints of intellectual subjects, and therefore, the print market was not a space in which artists could achieve commercial success while earning the reputation of a respectable artist. As the English art world began to shift from rigid systems of patronage to a more adaptive, accessible market that catered to the demands of middle-class consumers, Hogarth responded to these opportunities. The inherently commercial nature of the print meant that artists could sidestep traditional, restrictive systems of elite patronage by developing direct relationships with buyers. Hogarth understood that through the careful marketing of his prints, he could establish a reputation independent of traditional, preconceived notions of taste vested within the English patronage system. Through his inventive, modern print genres and advanced marketing tactics, Hogarth took advantage of this new commercial setting and the diverse range of consumers within it. In his ability to captivate such a wide audience, Hogarth accrued a sense of artistic freedom and monetary stability that was rare within the print market.

When discussing English prints and their distinction as the most sought-after commodity in European urban centers, Ellen D'Oench writes that the success of English prints resulted from a period of unprecedented expansion in the English print trade following Hogarth's death in 1764.¹⁴¹ This expansion resulted partly from the print market's eventual embrace of London's heavily

¹⁴⁰ See Figure 33 for full newspaper article.

¹⁴¹ D'Oench, *Copper into Gold*, ix.

commercial atmosphere. In the introduction to his study of British visual arts and the public sphere, entitled *Painting for Money*, David Solkin plainly states: “commerce and virtue have rarely been the best of friends.”¹⁴² In Europe, commerce was long stigmatized, with marketing innovations seen as indecorous and a hindrance to the creation of high art.¹⁴³ However, in catering his artistic production to the needs of the emerging middle class, Hogarth’s mass success helped reconcile the production of art with the ever-growing commercial sphere of eighteenth-century London. England, once lacking in a strong native artistic tradition, had become the art center of the world by 1780. This was in large part due to its sophisticated print market which, Tim Clayton says, “had become the not only the principal marketplace for old prints but also the most important center for the production of new prints... English prints took pride of place in European print shops and in continental collections.”¹⁴⁴

A significant amount of scholarship has considered Hogarth’s effects on the print market, such as his influence on caricaturists James Gillray and Thomas Rowlandson, the depiction of modern subjects as a legitimate genre of art, or the protection of ownership rights in his championing of The Engravers Copyright Act in 1735. Unsurprisingly though, there has been little consideration of how greatly Hogarth’s marketing and entrepreneurial innovations affected later dealings within the print market. The success of Hogarth’s marketing and commercialization techniques led to an early acceptance of the close relationship between art and commerce and paved the way for an English artistic tradition heavily defined by its commercial identity. After Hogarth, artists began to see that entrepreneurial innovation and artistic respectability were not entirely incongruous and, rather, commercial visibility was a highly successful tool. As commerce

¹⁴² Solkin, *Painting for Money*, 1.

¹⁴³ Gould and Mesplède, *Marketing Art in the British Isles*, 4.

¹⁴⁴ Clayton, *The English Print*, xii.

and industry throughout England continued to increase after Hogarth, English artists began to embrace the commercial tools available to them. Advertisements, subscriptions, and the public display of art at auctions or galleries became relatively common amongst artists following Hogarth, with engravers and publishers such as John Boydell and John Raphael Smith carrying on his legacy of merging the commercial and the aesthetic in their print production.

Hogarth's successful commercial ventures served as a catalyst for the wide embrace of the print and its inherently commercial nature. As a result, Clayton writes that: "the print business was bubbling and energetic, supporting a thriving workforce of artists and entrepreneurs, and serving an international audience for British art."¹⁴⁵ As this thesis demonstrates, Hogarth's artistic and commercial enterprise set a blueprint that resulted in prints becoming highly sought after on an international scale and helped transform the English print market into a defining cornerstone of English art production.

¹⁴⁵ Clayton, *The English Print*, 209.

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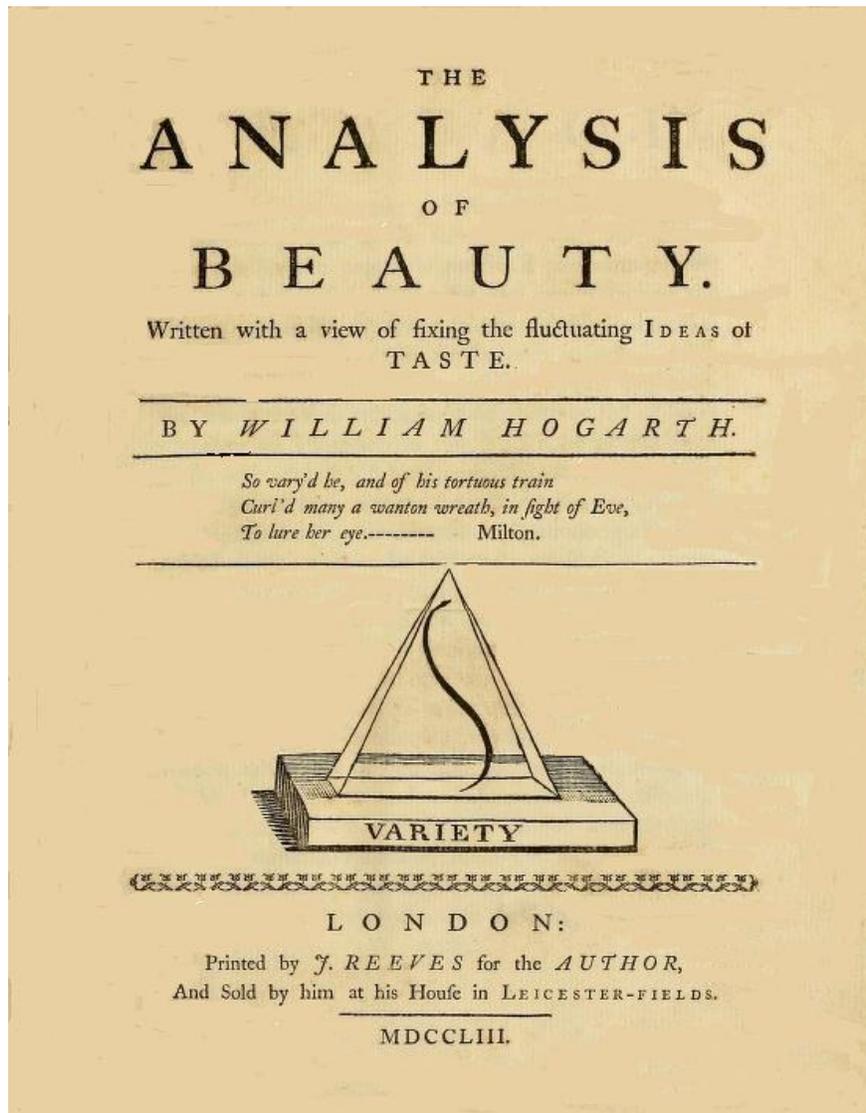


Figure No. 1

William Hogarth, Title Page for *The Analysis of Beauty*, 1753



Figure No. 2

William Hogarth, *A Rake's Progress*, Plate 7, c. 1758-64

Metropolitan Museum of Art #29.38.10

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/403221>

IN FOUR BEAUTIFUL VOLUMES. WITH A COMPLETE KEY. PT. 95.

This Day is publish'd,

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

STolen from Easton Lodge in the County of Northampton, about August the 19th 1725, a Birchen Dun Cock, slit out Left. Whoever can give Notice of the Person, or Persons that stole the said Cock, to the Right Hon. the Earl of Exeter, shall have Ten Guineas Reward.

To be sold

Figure No. 3

October 5th Advertisement for *Hudibras*, *Evening Post*, 1725

17th and 18th Century Burney Collection

https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2001373929/BBCN?u=viva_uva&sid=bookmark-BBCN&xid=d748f200

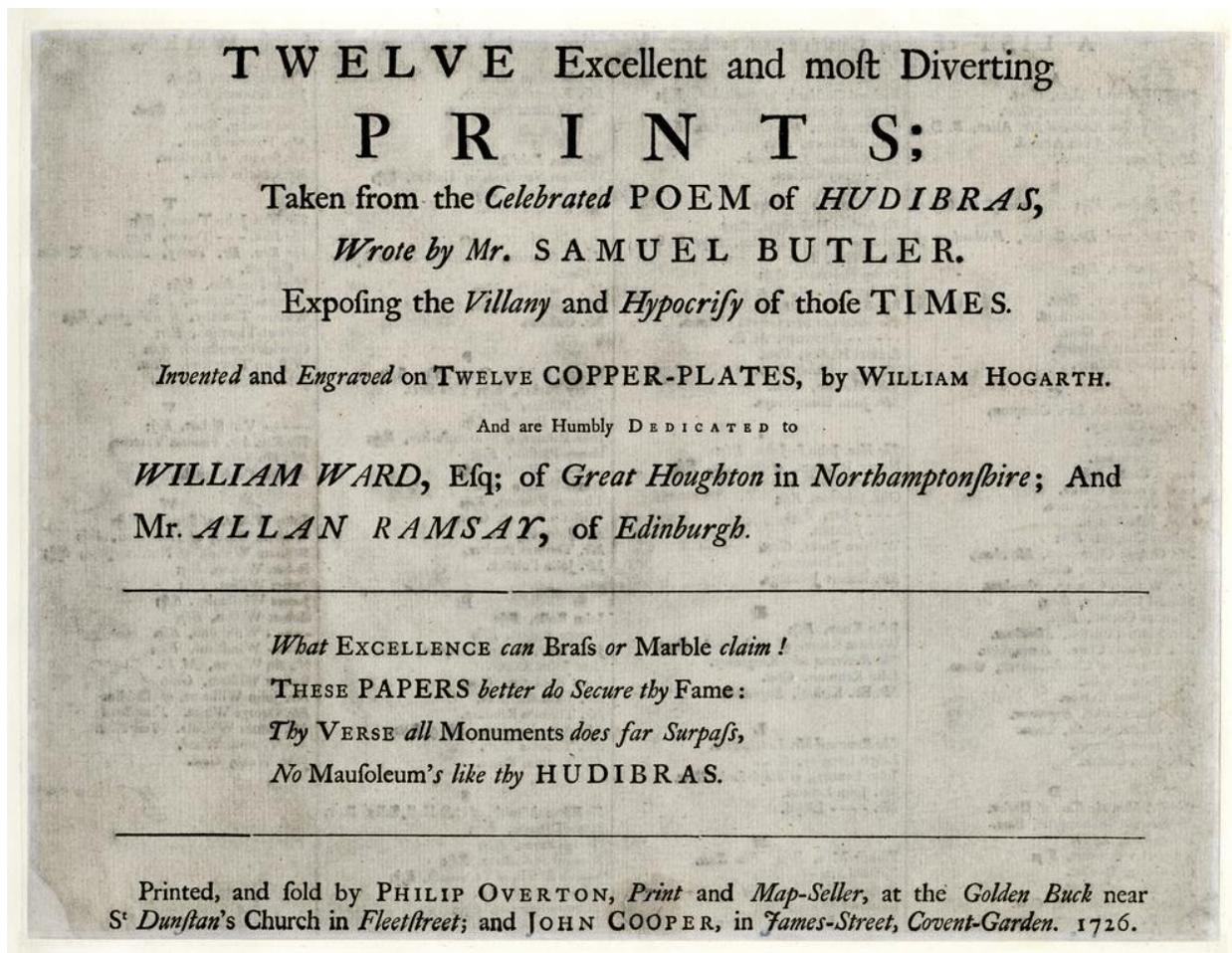


Figure No. 4

William Hogarth, Title Page to *Hudibras*, 1726

British Museum #S, 2.6

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_S-2-6

A LIST OF SUCH GENTLEMEN AS HAVE SUBSCRIBED towards the Promoting of this WORK.

<p>A</p> <p>Amuel Allen, <i>Gent.</i> Joseph Alton, <i>Gent.</i> The Reverend Mr. Allen, <i>B. D.</i> Mr. John Arnold. Mr. James Auderton.</p>	<p>G</p> <p>Richard Goddard, of Swindon, <i>Esq;</i> Thomas Gape, of S. Albans, <i>Esq;</i> Charles Gore, of Northampton, <i>Esq;</i> Richard Green, <i>Esq;</i> The Reverend Dr. Goode. Mr. Henry Gilbert.</p>	<p>Mr. William Mead. Mr. Edward Metcalfe. Mr. William Matthews.</p> <p>N</p> <p>The Hon. Lord Newel. William Newland, of Gatton, <i>Esq;</i> John Nicholls, <i>Esq;</i> Mr. Richard Nutt.</p>	<p>Thomas Snow, <i>Gent.</i> John Skinner, <i>Gent.</i> Thomas Saunderfon, <i>Gent.</i> John Strong, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. Thomas Smith. Mr. Stuart, of Ludlow. Mr. Charles Smith.</p>
<p>B</p> <p>John Barber, <i>Esq;</i> Alderman of the City of London. The Reverend Dr. Barker, Prebendary of Westminster. John Boulter, <i>Esq;</i> Mr. Thomas Big. Joseph Blagrave, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. Richard Butterfeild. Robert Bignal, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. Edward Bathurst. Mr. Henry Bolney.</p>	<p>H</p> <p>Sir Arthur Haslerigæ, <i>Bart.</i> Edward Hunt, of Dublin, <i>Esq;</i> Six <i>Setts.</i> Roger Hill, <i>Esq;</i> Philip Harcourt, <i>Esq;</i> William Hewet, <i>Esq;</i> Ralph Harrison, <i>Esq;</i> The Reverend Mr. Gervas Holmes. ----- Hickman, <i>M. D.</i> Samuel Hadley, <i>Gent.</i> Thomas Harris, <i>Gent.</i> John Hudson, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. John Humphreys.</p>	<p>O</p> <p>Henry Overton, of Charter-House Square, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. Daniel Oatridge. Mr. George Osborne. Mr. Oldham.</p>	<p>T</p> <p>The Hon. John Trevor, <i>Esq;</i> The Hon. - - - Trevor, <i>Esq;</i> The Rev. Dr. Tovey, Fellow of Merton College. Mark Thurston, <i>Esq;</i> Thomas Thornton, <i>Esq;</i> William Thursly, of Abington, <i>Esq;</i> Samuel Thomson, <i>Esq;</i> Charles Townshend, <i>Esq;</i> William Townfend, <i>Gent.</i> John Tanner, <i>Gent.</i></p>
<p>C</p> <p>The Rt. Hon. the Lord Compton, Madam Crowley. Madam Caesar. Mrs. Champion. Harry Crofs, <i>Esq;</i> Capt. Francis Clarke. Capt. ----- Corance. Capt. John Colvil. Robert Chappel, <i>Esq;</i> Mr. George Champion, <i>Merchant.</i> Thomas Clendon, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. William Cleaver, <i>Merchant.</i> Samuel Chandler, <i>Gent.</i> Thomas Cotton, <i>Esq;</i> Mr. Samuel Curton, <i>Merchant.</i> Mr. Thomas Clare. Seven <i>Setts.</i> Mr. Carew, of Christ-Church, Oxon. <i>D</i> Mr. John Clarke. Mr. Edward Cotton.</p>	<p>I</p> <p>The Hon. John S. John, <i>Esq;</i> Henry Jennings, of Shiplake, <i>Esq;</i> Brigadier Joslyn. Giff. Johnson, <i>Esq;</i> ----- Joy, <i>Esq;</i> Capt. Jackson. William Jones, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. John Innocent. Mr. Robert Jennings.</p>	<p>P</p> <p>Edward Peirson, <i>Gent.</i> Two <i>Setts.</i> Harry Parker, <i>Esq;</i> Two <i>Setts.</i> John Phillips, <i>Esq;</i> Thomas Palmer, <i>Esq;</i> John Palmer, of Symond's-Inn, <i>Esq;</i> Henry Parsons, <i>Esq;</i> ----- Prouse, <i>Esq;</i> James Porteen, <i>Gent.</i> Thomas Painton, <i>Esq;</i> William Pawlet, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. John Peyton. Mr. Thomas Poulter. Mr. John Poltock.</p>	<p>V</p> <p>----- Van Sittart, <i>Esq;</i> The Rev. Mr. Thomas Vincent. Mr. Du Vivie. Mr. G. Vandergucht.</p>
<p>K</p> <p>John Knap, <i>Esq;</i> William Kaine, of Richmond, <i>Gent.</i> The Reverend Mr. Knightley. John Kennion, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. Eli. Kirkall, <i>Engraver.</i></p>	<p>K</p> <p>John Knap, <i>Esq;</i> William Kaine, of Richmond, <i>Gent.</i> The Reverend Mr. Knightley. John Kennion, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. Eli. Kirkall, <i>Engraver.</i></p>	<p>R</p> <p>John Rolle, <i>Esq;</i> George Rogers, <i>Esq;</i> John Rose, of Northampton, <i>Gent.</i> Capt. John Romer. John Robinfon, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. John Richards.</p>	<p>W</p> <p>John Walter, of Surrey, <i>Esq;</i> William Ward, of Houghton, <i>Esq;</i> William Wykes, of Northampton, <i>Esq;</i> Robert Weston, <i>Esq;</i> James Wilson, <i>Esq;</i> James Wintanley, <i>Esq;</i> Robert Wilfon, <i>Esq;</i> ----- Wilkinson, <i>Esq;</i> ----- Windham, <i>Esq;</i> Martin Warren, <i>M. D.</i> Robert Witham, <i>Gent.</i> Mr. John Williams, of Dublin. Mr. George White, Four <i>Setts.</i></p>

Figure No. 5

William Hogarth, Subscription List for *Hudibras*, 1726

British Museum #S, 2.6
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_S-2-6

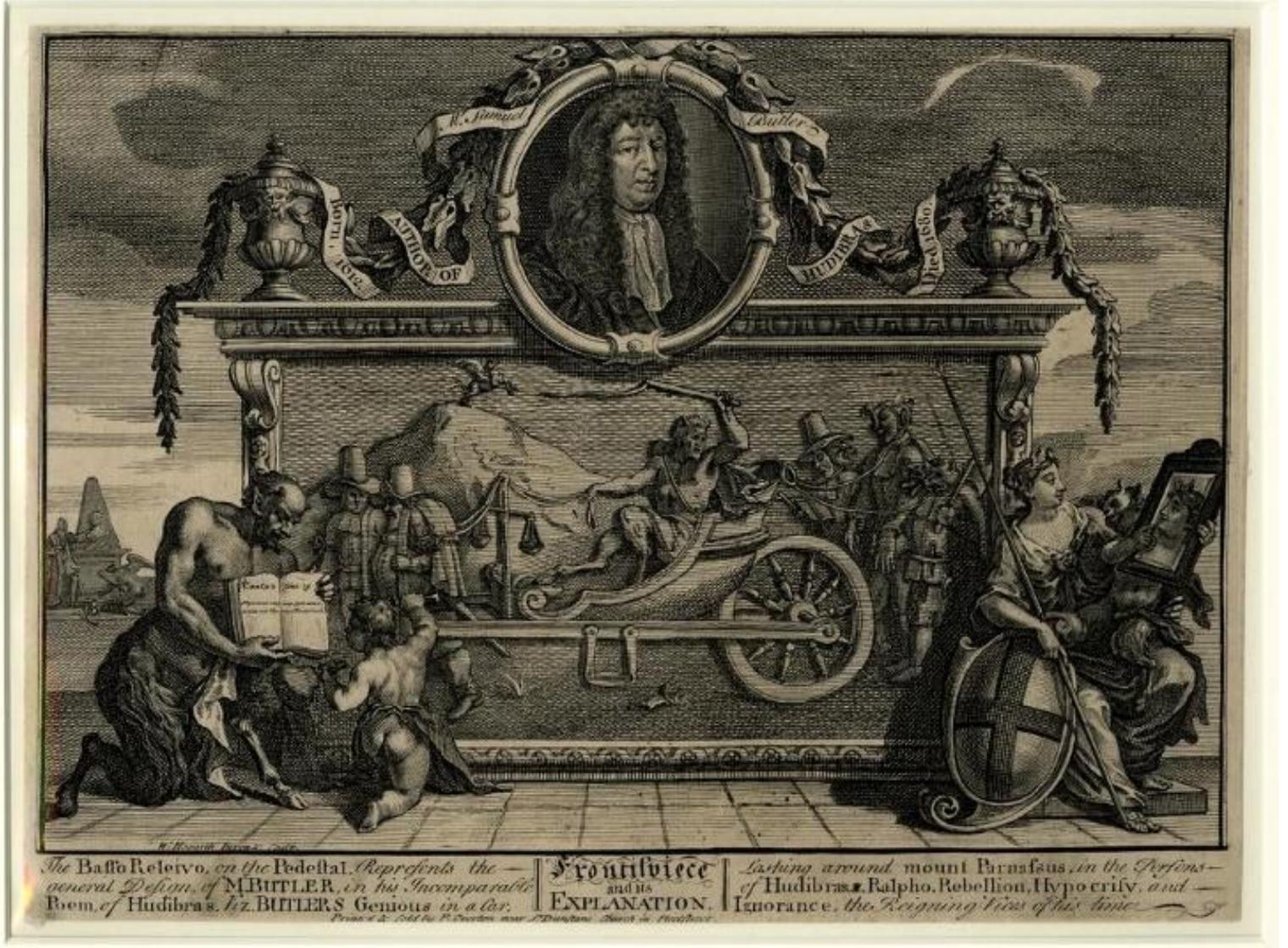


Figure No. 6

William Hogarth, Frontispiece to *Hudibras*, 1726

British Museum #S, 2.6

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_S-2-6



Figure No. 7

William Hogarth, "Boys Peeping at Nature", Subscription Ticket for *A Harlot's Progress*, 1730

Royal Collection Trust (RCIN 811507)
<https://www.rct.uk/collection/811507/boys-peeping-at-nature>



Figure No. 8

Rubens and Jan Brueghel, *Nature Adorned by the Graces*, c. 1615



Figure No. 9

Gerard de Lairesse, Frontispiece for *Art of Painting*, 1707

**The SIX PRINTS from COPPER PLATES,
REPRESENTING,
A HARLOT'S PROGRESS,
Are now printing off, and will be ready
to be delivered to the Subscribers on Monday the 10th Day of
April next.**

**N. B. Particular Care will be taken, that the Impressions
shall be good.**

**Subscriptions will be taken in till the 3d Day of April next,
and not afterwards; and the Publick may be assured, that no
more will be printed off, than shall be subscribed for within
that Time.**

Figure No. 10

March 17th Advertisement for *A Harlot's Progress*, *Daily Journal*, 1732

17th and 18th Century Burney Collection

https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000251981/BBCN?u=viva_uva&sid=bookmark-BBCN&xid=b3cda6d8

This Day is publish'd,

THE HARLOT'S PROGRESS : Or, The
 Humours of Drury-lane. In Six Canto's. Being the Tale
 of the noted Moll Hackabour, in Hudibrattick Verse, containing
 her whole Life ; which is a Key to the Six Prints already publish'd
 by Mr. Hogarth.

I. Her coming to Town in the York Waggon ; her being be-
 tray'd by an old Bawd into the Arms of Col. Ch——res ; her
 early Improvement in the Sweets of Fornication ; and some Dia-
 logues, serious and comical, between a Country Girl in the Wag-
 gon, and a Parson.

II. Her living with a Jew ; some merry Intrigues in the Jew's
 House ; with satyrical Pictures in the Jew's Chamber.

III. Her living in a Bawdy-house in Drury-lane ; her Extrava-
 gance, Company, Bawdy-house Equipage, Pictures, and other
 Drury Decorations ; with her being detected by Sir J—G—.

IV. Her Usage at Tothill-Fields Bridewell ; with some merry
 Adventures of Fops, Pimps, Whores, Bawds, and Panders, who
 were committed to keep her Company,

V. Her Sickneſs and Death ; Diſputes between two noted
 Quacks, Temple-Bar and Bow-Bell Doctors, on the Nature of her
 Diſtemper, and her laſt Will and Teſtament.

VI. Her Burial ; the Funeral Pomp of Harlots in Triumph ; ſix
 Mutes, Sisters of the Trade ; the Parſon, a very Wag ; the
 Clerk, a Sly-Boots ; and the Undertaker, one of the Family of
 the Sad Dogs.

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

Figure No. 11

April 26th Advertisement for *A Harlot's Progress*, *Daily Post*, 1732

17th and 18th Century Burney Collection

link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000277649/BBCN?u=viva_uva&sid=bookmark-
 BBCN&xid=709c770d.

L O N D O N, December 6.

It is reported about the Town, that a certain noble Colonel lately attempted to rob a Young Woman, a Servant Maid, of her Honour, and that to frighten her into a Compliance with his filthy Desires, he drew a Pistol upon her—He is to be sued for the Assault, and it is thought considerable Damages will be given against him, not only for putting the Young Woman in Fear of her Maidenhead, but for using a Weapon altogether unlawful upon such an Occasion.

We have an Account from Lempster in Worcestershire, that one Wood, by Trade a Shoemaker, but of late a Fencing Master, was committed to Prison by Justice Hunter, for wounding Mr. Lister, of Bettléy in the same County, so that he died in 3 Days after.

Figure No. 12

December 6th News Article, *Fog's Weekly Journal*, 1729

17th and 18th Century Burney Collection

https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000333581/BBCN?u=viva_uva&sid=bookmark-BBCN&xid=47a1ce43

General Post-Office, London,
 Oct. 24, 1743.
WHEREAS the Troops of Great-Britain are marching or marched, into their Winter Quarters, in the Kingdom of Ireland; it is ordered by His Majesty, that all Letters directed to the Officers, Soldiers, and others, belonging to, or attending on the said Army, shall be sent from the Office first of the Foreign Postage, and that only the Letter directed to the Army officers, shall be sent from the Office first of the General Postage, and that the said Letters, directed to the Officers, shall not be forwarded, by Command of the Post-Master-General,
GEORGE SHELVOCKE, Sec.

M^R. HOGARTH intends to publish by Subscription, SIX PRINTS, from Copper-Plates, engraved by the said Master in Italy, after his own Paintings (the Heads for the better Perfection of the Characters and Expressions to be done by the Author) representing a Variety of *Modes* of Mankind in England, and called **MARRIAGE A-la-MODE**. Particular Care is taken, that the whole Work shall not be liable to Exception on Account of any Indelicacy or Impudency, and that none of the Characters represented shall be profane. The Subscription will be One Guinea, Half to be paid on Subscription, and the other half on the Delivery of the Prints, which will be with all possible Speed, the Author being determin'd to engage in no other Work till this is completed. The Price will be One Guinea and an Half, after the Subscription is over, and no Copies will be sold afterwards. Subscriptions are taken in at Mr. Hogarth's, the Golden-Head in Little-Britain, where may be had, all his engrav'd Works.

STATE-LOTTERY TICKETS 1743
 Bought and Sold by
THOMAS COX,
 Under the Royal-Exchange.
WHO has kept an Office above twenty Years, where every Kind of Business, relating to the Lottery is transacted with the most Exactness and Fidelity. Whole Chances sold. Although the Chance divided into Shares, viz. HALVES, QUARTERS, EIGHTHS, and SIXTEENTHS. It is much less than of Tickets and Shares of Tickets, yet the Advantage will be as good a Chance for a Player by the same of the Lottery. The first Ticket shall be drawn for a Prize of the full five of ten, may be bought at a much cheaper Rate than the common Way. Any other Method that is or shall be thought more agreeable to Adventurers, shall be done at such Price, by T. C. O. X. Tickets Register'd, and in Time of Drawing daily in the Public Blank. Money for Blanks and Prizes as from its Date.

Just Arriv'd from **ABROAD.**
To be SEEN.
 A few Doors from Lodge-Hill, on the Left Hand in the Old-Bath, opposite to the Blue-Bell.
 From Ten in the Morning to Ten at Night.
THE FAMOUS AFRICAN mention'd by William Channing, Esq. in P. 114 of his Anatomy, where he lives an Enraged Figure, and a Description of the Parts; by Dr. Junken in his Treatise of Hemorrhoids, though erroneously ascrib'd to this latter Author. Those who view this Curiosity in London in 1743, are all unanimous that it was then but a Wonder to Ministers in regard of what it now is, having being in the Emperor's Palace that Time, that several Paintings and Drawings, which were then taken of it, bore every appearance of it in the present State, which has render'd it now one of the most singular and extraordinary Objects which the eye can see. It is a most wonderful Mixture of Flesh and Bones. For particular Description of the Parts, which although the Author, we refer to the first edition, in Latin, following.
 "Stricti quippe sine Imperatore Veluti Ludo, Testiculos, Nates
 "largas & molles involvunt. Clavibus non Parvis Virilis ad
 "extremum modum prostratis digitis, ubi (quasi unguis) se
 "rigidi impetuosis quiescent, sed ex Corporis extensio, ad
 "Clavem hinc, Pungitio deinde extensio. Ad
 "fines partium, plura in Mollibus, Martus utitur &
 "Tegulae fidei sumpt, hinc quae sumpt hinc ANDRO-
 "GYNE obstruuntur Carceribus."
 N.B. A new engrav'd Representation of the Parts in their present State, may be had at 6d. each. The Ladies attended by a prudent Gentlewoman. Admittance Allowed at 6d. The Price for one Day here only 1s. each.

This Day is publish'd,
THIS TAYLOR is a MAN. Being a curious History of a Taylor in the City of London, who from a mean Extraction, and the Trade of a Taylor, rais'd himself to great Employment, Riches and Honour, with a short Introduction, showing the Reason why it is best fall, that this Taylor is a Man. Printed for R. Ware in Pall-mall Lane; and sold at the Pamphlet-Shops in London and Westminster.

To be SOLD BY AUCTION,
 On Monday the 14th Day of November next, at Edmonston in the County of Middlesex, about six Miles from London; a Freehold Estate there, late belonging to Mr. WILLIAM HARTLEY, deceased. Consisting of a large House in good Repair, Coach Houses, Stabling for seven Horses, a Barn, Brewhouse, Bakehouse, and several other Out-houses and Conventicles, with about nine Acres of Land, Part of which is a Garden, well planted and in good Order, with Fish-ponds well stocked, and the New River Water laid into the House. The premises to be seen any time before the Sale. And on the same and following Days will also be there sold by Auction, the Household Goods, viz. China, Linens, a good Couch and Bed, and all belonging to the said Mr. William Hartley, deceased. To be seen at three O'Clock in the Afternoon. For further Particulars, enquire at the said House; or of Mr. Hartley, in Hatton-Garden, Holborn.

LONDON: Printed for H. WOODFALL, jun. near the Pump in Little-Britain, where ADVERTISEMENTS of a moderate Length are taken in at Two SHILLINGS each. ADVERTISEMENTS are also taken in by Mrs. Chapman, over-again'd the King's Arms Tavern, in Pall-Mall; Mr. Amy, a Pamphlet-shop, over-again'd Craigg's-Court, Charing-Cross; at the Sun, next the Inner-Temple Gate, Fleet-Street; Mr. Bradford, Bookbinder, at the Globe in Cannon-Street; and at the Bell in St. Paul's Church-yard.

This Day is publish'd,
THE PROGRESS OF PHYSIC.
 Translated from the French of J. SENECA, by J. SENECA, Esq. Printed for J. Sturges in Westminster-Hill; and sold by J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane.

This Day is publish'd,
THE DUNCIAD, illustrated with a NEW HERO. The whole Four Books corrected throughout, with several Additions to the Poem, never before printed. To which are also now first added, THE HYPERCRITICUS OF ARISTARCHUS, and his Diffinition on the said Poem. Printed for M. Cooper, at the Globe in Paternoster-Row.

This Day is Publish'd,
The Second Edition, of A NEW TREATISE OF THE DISEASES OF THE EYES; containing proper Remedies, and describing the Chirurgical Operations requisite for their Cure. With some new Discoveries in the Structure of the Eye, that demonstrate the immediate Organ of Vision. By M. D. S. YVES, Surgeon-Oculist of the Comptrolle of Paris. Together with the Author's Answer to M. Maudslayi, Translated from the Original French. By J. STOCKTON, M.D. Printed for T. Osborne, in Gray-Inn; and M. Cooper, in Paternoster-Row.

This Day are publish'd,
 The following **PRINTS**,
 1. **THE BREW-NECK FOX-CHASSE,** particularly in Profane, Price 1s. 6d.
 2. *Great-Britain and Ireland's Yew,* from the Yew in the last Dutch Edition of J. Bickham in May's Building, Covent-Garden. Price 1s. 6d.
 3. *The 6th Principles of Geometry explain'd* by Definition and Figures, 4 Pages, Price 1s.
 4. *Mr. Patten's* the English Soldier Act, and the Pipe, the Out-gate, 6d. each.
 5. *Brown the Villain Dragoon,* a Yorksman, who stole one Sunday, 6d.
 6. *The Head of Thomas Kooli Kan,* at War with the Turk, 6d.
 As also the Pictures on Her Majesty's Cal-Mental, and Baron Trench's Head of the Postman, and one of the King of France's Household Treasures, with the Colours we took at the Battle.

This Day is publish'd, in 8vo. Price 5 s. bound,
CONJECTURES upon the Experiments, fully describing the several Parts of Natural Philosophy.
 The Second Edition, of **A COURSE OF LECTURES** in the Philosophy of **PHYSIC** and **NATURAL PHILOSOPHY** in the University of **BRISTOL** by **RYAN ROBINSON, M.D.** To which are added, by way of Appendix, several Problems, by the Author.
 Printed for J. Nourse, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar, Where may be had, (Lately publish'd) Price 4 s. 6d. in Quarto.
 1. Essays on several curious and useful Subjects in Speculative and Mathematicks.
 2. The Doctrine of Annuities and Reversions, deduc'd from general and evident Principles with useful Tables. To which is added, a Method of investigating the Value of Annuities, by Approximation, and the Method of Tables. In Octavo. Price 3 s. Each by Thomas Simpson.

This Day are publish'd,
PROPOSALS for Printing by SUBSCRIPTION, AN UNIVERSAL GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY, General and Special; Explaining all the Terms of the Sciences, respecting the Figures, Dimensions, and other Affections of the Terrestrial Globe; The Physiology of the Earth, the Water, the Air, and all the Phenomena and Configurations they exhibit. The Situation, Extent, Names ancient and modern, of all the Empires, Kingdoms, Commonwealths, Governments, Provinces, Islands, Cities, remarkable Towns, Villages, Fortresses, Bishopsricks, Universities, Seminaries, Monasteries, Woods, Districts, Seas, Lakes, Rivers, Creeks, Springs, Winds, Tides, Fountains, Bays, Straits, Gulfs, Rocks, Capes, Lanes, &c. in the known World. The Distinctions of Longitude and Latitude, Climate, Days, Seasons, Temperature, and whatever depends on the Geographical Situation; Interspers'd with History, Civil, Ecclesiastical and Natural; the two best teaching methods of great Faculties, remarkable Actions, and memorable Persons; the latter of the various Productions of each Country, Animal, Vegetable, or Mineral. Also the Customs, Manners, Customs, Religion, Arts, Manufactures, Commerce, Religion and Politics of the several Inhabitants. Adorn'd and illustrated with MAPS and TABLES. Begun, and many of the Materials collected together, by the late ingenious Mr. NATHAN BAILEY, And now compleas'd, revised, and carefully compar'd with the most approv'd Authors, by Mr. WILLIAM KEITH, Esq. And Mr. JOHN BANCKS. To which Work will be conscrib'd in Two Volumes in Folio, consisting of about 400 Sheets in the Letter-Press, and be nealy printed upon the Paper, and in the Character of the People. 1. That four Sheets be deliver'd Weekly at the Price of 6d. beginning upon the Paper, and in the Character of the People. 2. That four Sheets be deliver'd Weekly at the Price of 6d. beginning upon the Paper, and in the Character of the People. Gentlemen sending their Names may depend on being serv'd. SUBSCRIPTIONS are taken by Mr. Keith, at his Printing-Office, the King's Arms in Fleet-Street; and the Bookbinder in Town and Country.

This Day is publish'd,
REPORTS OF CASES Determin'd in the Court of King's-Bench. Together with some other Cases, from Term to Term, viz. in Term, 7. Oct. II. indidit. With Tables of the Names of the Cases, and of the principal Matters in Two Volumes. By **THOMAS BARNARDISTON,** Sergeant at Law.

This Day is publish'd,
 In One Volume Folio, Price 1 l. 1 s. bound, with the Sixth Edition, corrected and very much enlarged, with all the Statutes to 16 Geo. 2. together with several Decrees in Chancery, and Resolutions of Common Law Cases relating to this Subject, which have heretofore been published, and are now published in One Volume.

A TREATISE OF TESTAMENTS, and of the Law of LAST WILLS; compiled out of the Common Law, Customs and Statutes of this Realm. The whole divided into seven Parts, viz. 1. What a Testament or Last Will will be to be made. 2. What Person may make a Will. 3. What Person may be Executor of a Testament, and what may make a Legacy. 4. Of the Office of an Executor. 5. Defining what Things and Estates of the several Kind of Will, may be disposed by Executors. 6. Showing by what Means a Testament or Last Will will become void. 7. Showing by what Means a Testament or Last Will will become void. By **HENRY SWINBURNE,** sometime Judge of the Prerogative Court of York. Printed for R. Ware at the Bible and Sun in Warwick-Lane; and J. Sturges, at the South-West-Street.

This Day is publish'd,
 (In One Volume, Octavo, Price Six Shillings.)
The Short Edition, with the Addition of the General Laws in-Terms in England and Wales, giving a general Description of the Pleas, their Situations, Harlots-Days, Enforcement, Manufacturers, Number of Replevins, and of Parliament, Distance from London, and is computed and measured Miles, &c. of
A NEW GENERAL ENGLISH DICTIONARY; precisely calculated for the Use and Improvement of those who are unacquainted with the Latine Languages. Wherein the difficult Words, and Technical Terms made use of in
 Anatomy, Heraldry, Metaphysics, Mathematics, Astrology, History, Mechanics, Music, Jurisprudence, Divinity, Logic, Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, Military Affairs, Surgery, &c. &c.

As not only fully explained, but accented on their proper Syllables, to assist the Part of such who wish to learn the Latine Language. To which is prefix'd, A Compendious English Grammar, with General Rules for the ready Formation of one Part of Speech from another by the ready Application whereof, such as understand both Latine and English, may be able to write as correctly and elegantly, as those who have been some Years conversant in the Latine, Greek, &c. Languages. Together with a Supplement of the proper Names of the most noted Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Rivers, Seas, throughout the known World. As also, of the most celebrated Emperors, Kings, Queens, Princes, Philosophers, Poets, Statesmen, &c. whether Jewish, Pagan, Mahometan, or Christian; but more especially such as are mentioned in the Old or New Testament. The Whole alphabetically digested, and accented in the same Manner, and for the same Purpose, as the preceding Part; being selected for the Use of such, as have but an imperfect Idea of the English Orthography. Originally begun by the late Reverend Mr. THOMAS DYCHER, School-Master at Stamford-Bow, Author of the Guide to the English Tongue, the Spelling-Dictionary, &c. And now finish'd by WILLIAM PARSONS, Gent. Printed for R. Ware, at the Bible and Sun in Warwick-Lane, Amen-Corner. N.B. The Additions may be had alone, Price 1 s.

An Infallible Cure for Barrenness in Women, and of Impotency in Men, by Surprizing Elixirs, Drops; which, in a few Days, render both Sexes prolific in a most wonderful Manner. Hundreds of Ladies who were deem'd incurably barren, and very many who thought themselves too old to bear Children, have immediately conceiv'd after taking three or four Doses of them only, and with Numbers of Gentlewomen, by taking them, have profrely become capable of propagating their Species, who before their Impotency or Age, imagin'd it impossible. They almost infallibly procure the vital Ferment of the Blood and Juices, rectify the longest State of all the Fluids, rectify, and increase the Spirits, invigorate the Nerves, restore Justice Warrent, and create a sparkling Glister, and seldom Change to show in the Face, and expand itself through the whole human System, &c. so as to be easily to entertain and invigorate all the Animal Faculties, and consequently to strengthen the whole Body, as well as the Parts appropiated to Generation, and do infallibly cure Barrenness in one Sex, and Impotency in the other, from what Cause soever proceeding, as Thousands of the First Rank have experienced. They are also plac'd to take, one or twic'd to the Month, create an Appetite, and procure a good Digestion, beyond any Thing known in the Arts. And as to be had only at Mr. Rastell's Tea-shop, in the Strand, and at the Bible and Sun in Warwick-Lane, Price 5 s. the Bottle, with Directions.

Figure No. 13

October 29th Advertisement for Marriage A-la-Mode, London Daily Post and General Advertiser, 1743

17th and 18th Century Burney Collection
https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000629389/BBCN?u=viva_uva&sid=bookmark-BBCN&xid=59ee9e43

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

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

Figure No. 15

Advertisement for Sale of Hogarth's Prints, 1754

British Museum # 1892,0411.110
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1892-0411-110

Mr. HOGARTH intends to publish by SUB-
SCRIPTION,

SIX Prints from Copper-Plates, engrav'd by the best Masters in Paris, after his own Paintings, (the Heads for the better Preservation of the Characters and Expressions to be done by the Author) representing a Variety of modern Occurrences in High Life, and call'd *Marriage A-la-mode*.

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

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

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

Figure No. 16

April 2 Advertisement for *Marriage A-la-Mode*, *London Evening Post*, 1743

17th and 18th Century Burney Collection

https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000645528/BBCN?u=viva_uva&sid=bookmark-BBCN&xid=1ef35c74

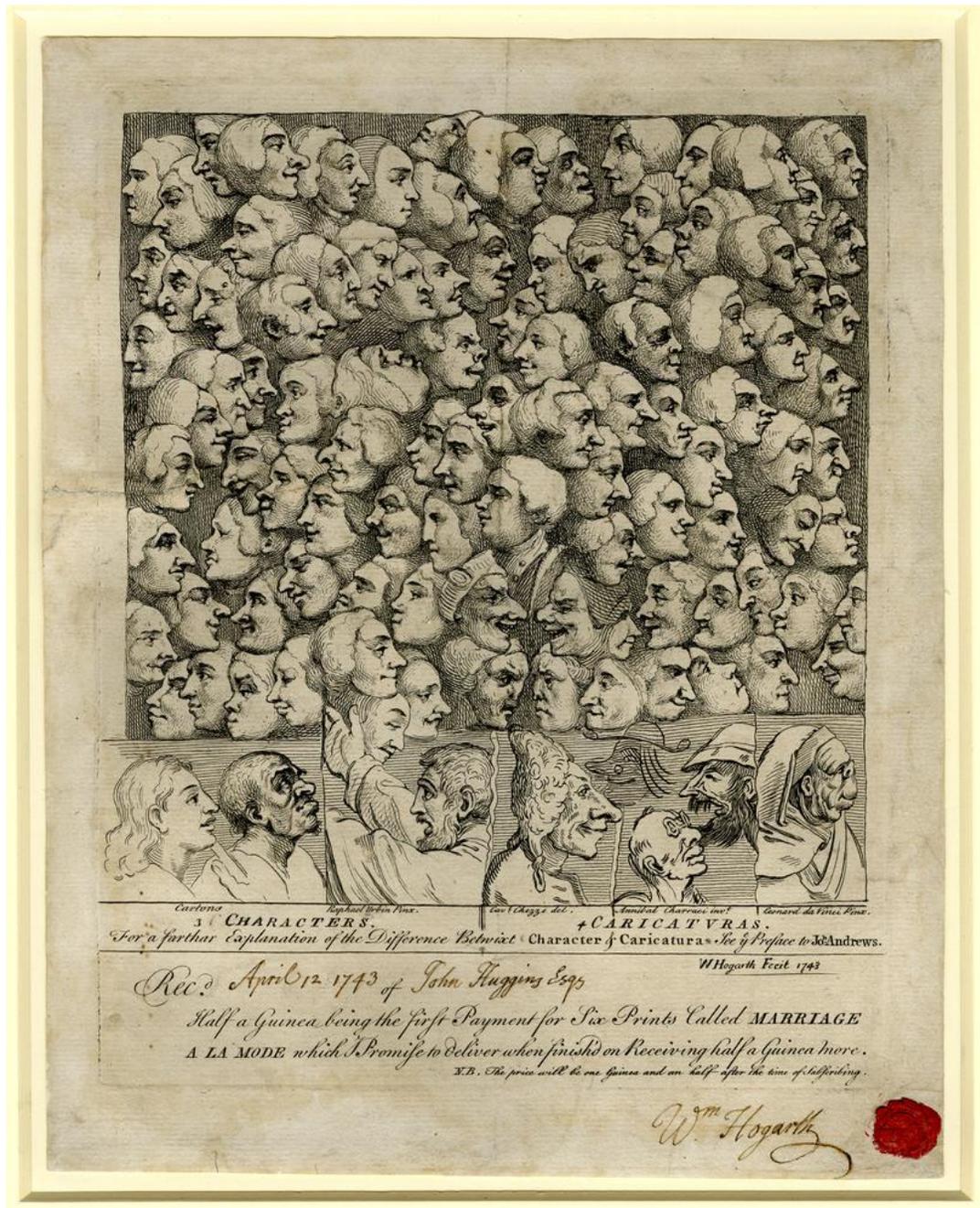


Figure No. 17

William Hogarth, "Characters and Caricaturas", Subscription Ticket for *Marriage A-la-Mode*, 1743

British Museum #1848,1125.209

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1848-1125-209



Figure No. 18

Raphael, Tapestry Cartoon, *Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple*, c. 1515

Victoria and Albert Collection, Museum No. ROYAL LOANS.4

<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1069359/the-healing-of-the-lame-tapestry-cartoon-raphael/>

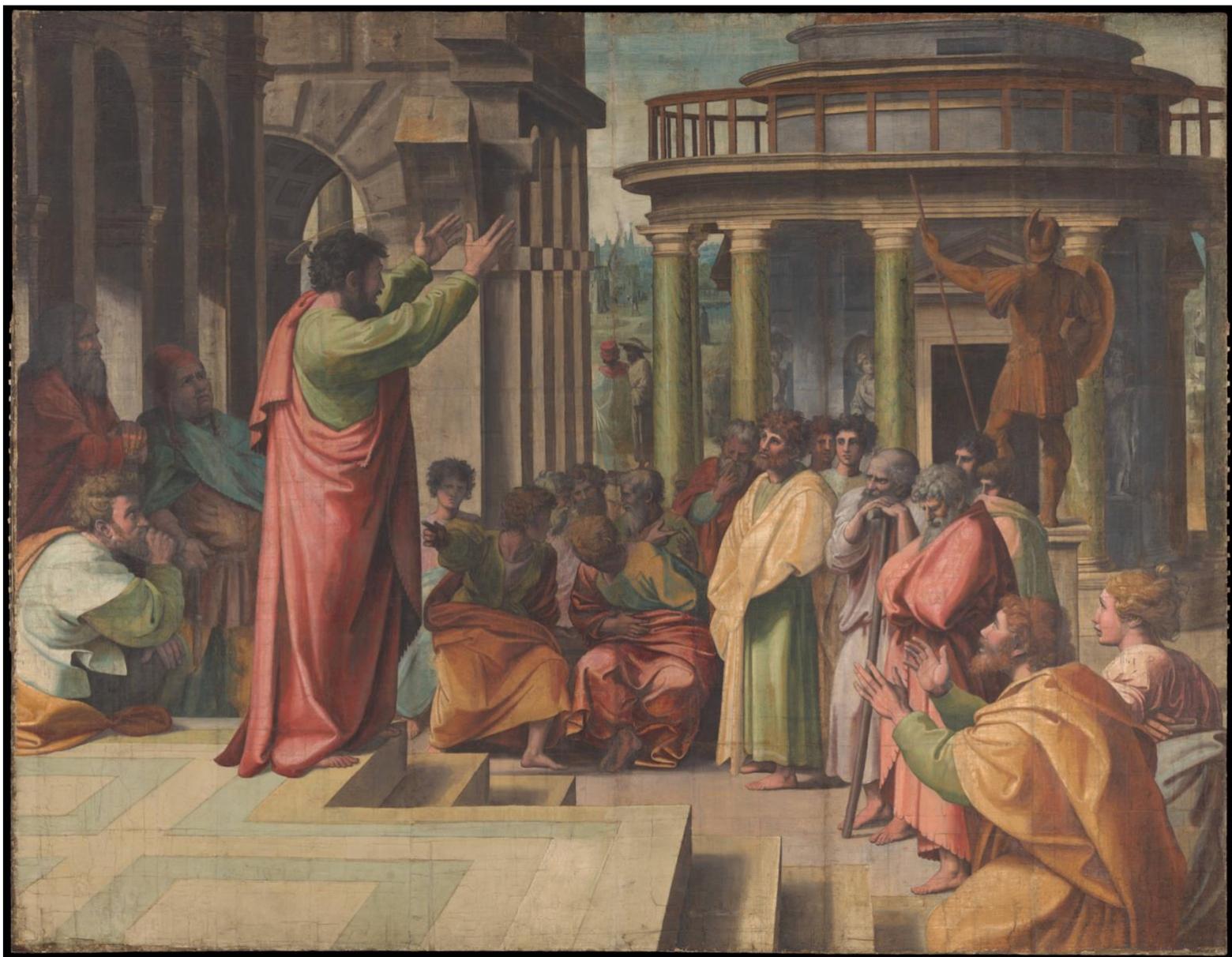


Figure No. 19

Raphael, Tapestry Cartoon, *Paul Preaching at Athens*, c. 1515

Victoria and Albert Collection, Museum No. ROYAL LOANS.7

<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1069356/paul-preaching-at-athens-acts-tapestry-cartoon-raphael/>



Figure No. 20

Comparative Figure: Images of Beggar and St. Paul Figure



Figure No. 21

Agostino Carracci, *Sheet of Caricatura Heads*, 1594

The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, No. 2016.10

<https://barber.org.uk/agostino-carracci-1557-1602/>



Figure No. 22

William Hogarth, *The Bench*, c. 1758-64

Metropolitan Museum of Art #91.1.53
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/392604>

Mr. H O G A R T H

*Proposes to sell to the highest Bidder, singly or in Sets,
Each Picture being an entire Subject of itself,*

T H E six Pictures call'd the Harlot's Progress.

The eight Pictures call'd the Rake's Progress.

The four Pictures representing Morning, Noon, Evening
and Night.

And that of a Company of strolling Actresses dressing them-
selves in a Barn.

All of them his own original Paintings, from which no
other Copies than the Prints have ever been taken.

At his House, the Golden Head, in Leicester-Fields, where
the Conditions of Sale are deliver'd, and the Pictures may be
seen, and where may be all his Prints.

Figure No. 23

February 12th Advertisement of Hogarth's Auction, *London Evening
Post*, 1745

17th and 18th Century Burney Collection

https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000648395/BBCN?u=viva_uva&sid=bookmark-BBCN&xid=d5861cf6

Mr. HOGARTH's / PROPOSALS / For Selling, to the Highest Bidder, the Six Pictures call'd / The HARLOTS PROGRESS: / The Eight Pictures call'd / The RAKES PROGRESS: / The Four Pictures representing / MORNING, NOON, EVENING, and NIGHT: / AND / That of a Company of STROLING ACTRESSES Dressing in a Barn. / *All of them his Original Paintings, from which no other Copies than the Prints have ever been taken; in the following manner; viz.*

A BOOK will be open'd on the First Day of February next, and will be closed on the last Day of the same Month, at his House the *Golden-Head* in *Leicester-Fields*; in which, over the Name of each Picture, will be entered the Name of the Bidder, the Sums bid, and the Time when those Sums were so bid; so that it may evidently be seen at one View how much is at any time bid for any particular Picture; and whoever shall appear, at the time of closing the Book, to be the highest Bidder, shall, on Payment of the Sum bid, immediately receive the Picture.

N.B. The Six Pictures call'd *Marriage A-la-mode*, will be sold in the same manner, but the Book for that Purpose cannot be closed till about a Week after the Plates now Engraving from them are finish'd, of which public Notice will be given.

CONDITIONS of SALE.

I. That every Bidder shall have an entire Leaf, number'd, in the Book [of Sale,] on the Top of which will be entred his Name and Place of Abode, the Sum bid by him, the Time when, and for which Picture.

II. That on the last Day of Sale, a Clock (striking the Quarters) shall be placed in the Room, and, when it hath struck a Quarter after Ten, the first Picture mention'd in the Sale-Book will be deem'd as sold; the second Picture when the Clock hath struck the next Quarter after Ten; and so on, successively, till the whole Nineteen Pictures are sold.

III. That none advance less than Gold at each Bidding.

IV. No Person to bid, on the last Day, except those whose Names were before entred in the Book.

Figure No. 24

Printed text containing January 25th advertisement for Hogarth's auction of *Marriage A-la-Mode*, 1745

Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, His Art, and Times V. I*, 490.



Figure No. 25

William Hogarth, Preparatory Pencil Drawings for *Marriage A-la-Mode*

National Gallery Dossiers, NG 113-118



Figure No. 26

Abraham Bosse, "Le Contract" from *Le Mariage à la Ville*, 1633

Metropolitan Museum of Art #51.501.2233
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/387756>



Figure No. 27

Comparative Figure:

Bosse, “L’accouchement” from *Le Mariage à la Ville*, 1633
&
Hogarth, “The Tête à Tête” from *Marriage A-la-Mode*, 1743

Metropolitan Museum of Art #26.49.40

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/387810>



Figure No. 28

Domenichino, *The Martyrdom of St. Agnes*, c. 1610



Figure No. 29

Comparative Figure:

Domenichino, *The Martyrdom of St. Agnes*, c.1610

&

Similar work included in Hogarth's *The Marriage Contract*, 1743

Robert Cowley, *Marriage a-la-mode: A Re-view of Hogarth's Narrative Art*, p. 47, fig. 13a

BEER STREET.



Beer, happy Produce of our Isle
 Can sinewy Strength impart,
 And ventral with Fillets, and Veil
 Can cheer each manly Breast.

Labour and Art uphold by Thee
 Successfully advance,
 We quaff Thy barley Juice with Glee
 And Walter leave to France.

Genius of Health, thy grateful Taste
 Rivals the Cup of Joy,
 And warm'st each English generous Breast
 With Liberty and Love.

Figure No. 30

William Hogarth, *Beer Street*, 1751

RA Collection #12/457

<https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/work-of-art/beer-street-1>

This Day are publish'd, Price 1 s. each,
TWO large Prints, design'd and etch'd by Mr.
Hogarth, call'd
BEER-STREET and GIN-LANE.

A Number will be printed in a better Manner for the Curious, at 1 s. 6 d. each.

This Day were also publish'd, four Prints on the Subject of Cruelty, Price and Size the same.

N. B. As the Subjects of these Prints are calculated to reform some reigning Vices peculiar to the lower Class of People, in hopes to render them of more extensive Use, the Author has publish'd them in the cheapest Manner possible.

To be had at the Golden Head in Leicester-Fields. Where may be had all his other Works bound.

Figure No. 32

February 19th Advertisement for *Beer Street & Gin Lane, London*
Evening Post, 1751

17th and 18th Century Burney Collection

https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000654270/BBCN?u=viva_uva&sid=bookmark-BBCN&xid=ca02e7c1

HOGARTH used to assert, that whoever lived fifty years after him would see Print Shops as common as porter houses ; every street gives proof that he was not only a *painter* but a *prophet*.

Figure No. 33

Morning Chronicle, March 15th, 1792

17th and 18th Century Burney Collection

https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000790934/BBCN?u=viva_uva&sid=bookmark-BBCN&xid=f0d52c42