



John Wilkes Esq^r
Drawn from the Life and Etch'd in Aquafortis by Will^m Hogarth.
Price 1 Shilling. *Published according to Act of Parliament May 4 1763.*

This Print was once the Property of Mr Wilkes, at the sale of whose Library it was purchased.

The Idea of Hogarth in American Print Culture, from the Revolutionary Era to the 1830s

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In the largest imaginable perspective, to consider the legacy of William Hogarth in America would be to think about Hogarth's art, about his aesthetics, and about the idea of Hogarth himself from the years of the first importation of his engravings into the colonies up until the present day. In such a perspective, far too broad for the purposes of the present essay, our consideration would span so many cultural touchstones: early American readings of Hogarth's prints; the integration of Hogarth into American academic structures since the late eighteenth century; the Hogarthian aspects of Paul Cadmus's paintings of the 1930s and 1940s; the creation of the opera *The Rake's Progress* by Stravinsky, Auden, and Kallman (1949–50); or indeed the influence of Hogarth on the work of underground cartoonist Robert Crumb, just to name a very few examples. Though such a comprehensive inventory of countless artistic, literary, and political references would doubtless require the support of an extensive interdisciplinary research project, much has already been accomplished in the past half-century. It's already possible to consider how, in colonial America and then in the ever-expanding republic, the name of Hogarth became a byword for art and for artistic representation; and how, beyond the visual arts and visual culture, his name managed to make ideas about graphic satire become emblematic of the truthful and moral portrayal of society and citizenry in ways that proliferated far beyond the purposes of his own endeavors. But we are faced with a significant challenge when we attempt to trace this process through an era that saw profound transformations in visual print culture attendant on the shift from the artisanal to the industrial organization of print distribution. My purpose in the present essay is thus to think through what will be at stake in continuing to assess the legacy of William Hogarth through the circulation of his artworks and aesthetic ideas in North American artistic practices, ideas, and institutions after the era of the Revolutionary War.

Fig. 97. William Hogarth, *John Wilkes Esqr.*, State 1, 1763 (BMC 4050, Paulson 214). Etching, 37.1 x 23.1 cm (trimmed within plate). With ink annotation in George Steevens's hand on bottom margin: "This Print was once the Property of Mr Wilkes, at the Sale of whose Library it was purchased." The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Steevens II.196.1.1

To do this, I follow two lines of enquiry. First, I reread the scholarly record that has been established since the 1960s for American art by reference to the archival record for political families of the colonial and early federal periods. An undeniable “presence of Hogarth” can be traced, but I want to go further, to the postrevolutionary moment at which the idea of satire—and Hogarth—falls into a crisis. In her 2014 dissertation, “Presence in Print: William Hogarth in British North America,” Colleen Terry convincingly established the case for a reception of Hogarth in American private lives and public culture from the 1730s to the time of the Revolutionary War.¹ Through exhaustive research in early American documents of all kinds (will probates, newspaper advertisements, booksellers’ catalogues, ships’ manifests, and the widest possible range of personal and public correspondence from the era) Terry not only traced in great detail the routes along which William Hogarth’s prints entered into American habits of cultural consumption and discourse formation, she also showed how the circulation of Hogarth’s work contributed to the very development of the early American print market. Crucially, she documented Hogarth as a symbol of the very idea of art, and what art could do, in early American life; her study stands as a monument of Hogarth scholarship in general and must stand as the basis for all future work on the reception of Hogarth in North America. Terry shows us that as early as the late 1730s, Americans were avid consumers of all the well-known series of Hogarth’s graphic satires. He enjoyed high standing among those English authors of his time whose narrative and satiric project assisted a colonial audience in its fashioning of a moral position with respect to its colonial metropolis. Hogarth’s published aesthetic ideas were also of significant value to this audience in the negotiation of the private and public conduct that was appropriate to its new society. The first public libraries, booksellers, and private collectors gave pride of place to Hogarth’s *Analysis of Beauty*. Hogarth’s way of making images and his championing of the serpentine line find echoes in the works of visual artists (Benjamin West, John Singleton Copley, John Trumbull, Matthew Pratt, and others) and in the commentary, in diaries and letters, of public figures such as Thomas Jefferson and John and Abigail Adams. From 1760 onward, the recourse in private correspondence to Hogarth’s name, combined with allusions to his visual and written work, made of him a synonym for the idea of an artistic practice that supported republican ideals of social organization and political practice. Remarkably, two satires prepared by Hogarth in the very last years of his career—*John Wilkes Esqr.* (fig. 97) and *The Times, Plate 1* (fig. 98)—were directly contemporary to colonists whose

revolutionary ideas were supported by their reading of the British political situation in the closing stages of the French and Indian War (the outcome of which would have lasting consequences for the colonies' ties to Britain).

But with the close of the Revolutionary War and the organization of an independent American polity, many of the republican ideals that had flourished around 1776 came to falter, to shift or be reconfigured, leading to a profound disillusionment among many of the leaders of the republican cause. The relationship between Hogarth's satiric critique of the early 1760s and what was sometimes seen as the failure of the republican project was called into question. There was perhaps a loss of confidence in the capacity of satire (graphic or textual) to usefully govern men's political ambitions toward ethical ends. Indeed, this loss of confidence became symptomatic of a growing understanding that there is a problem with satire, one that even Hogarth's reputation could not escape. The moral claims made by satire comfort the adherents of those claims. But they may also be distracted by the pleasure taken in the world-pictures that satire makes and thereby incapable of actions that might transform their ideals into a sustainable reality. In the wake of Independence, the poet and dramatist Mercy Otis Warren, a member of the Adamses' circle, would come to pinpoint this problem with satire—a problem with Hogarth, whom she ranked, at the same time, with the satirists of antiquity. The problem with satire, of course, lies in its ambiguity, its almost promiscuous accessibility, and its capacity to generate a wide range of often conflicting readings—a semantic instability that may be in keeping, paradoxically, with widespread adoption of Hogarth and his works as forming a layered idea about what art is and does. This adoption comes to partially emancipate him in turn from the role of satirist and confers on him a more epistemological role, that of an agent of knowledge about persons, situations, and motivations.

My second route of enquiry is found in the public sphere, as I attend to what is recorded and described by newspapers. This route brings me up against the mutations taking place in the transmission of printed information in the early nineteenth century. Thus, as Terry has done for both sides of the Atlantic in the 1730–1800 period, I want to examine newspapers that are likely to be sites of the recording of the multilayered presence of Hogarth through reference to his works, visual and textual (the prints, the *Analysis of Beauty*, the posthumous compilations and biographies). A preliminary sampling of American newspapers in the first half of the nineteenth century reveals thousands upon thousands of instances in which Hogarth is referred to, in advertisements but also in editorial matter (accounts of civic

life, letters to the editor, and newspaper opinion). In light of the modest ambitions of this essay, and given the intensely rapid expansion of newspapers in America from the 1790s onward with the exponential growth of the Union, I can only propose a preliminary sampling. I focus on the *New-York Evening Post* in the period 1800–1830, a period marked by tectonic shifts in the geopolitical frameworks of the Atlantic world. While this sampling shows continuities with the results of Colleen Terry’s exhaustive enquiry for eighteenth-century America, it also shows innovations, and new crises, that speak to shifting practices in visual culture in the nineteenth century.

Finally, this essay will briefly address an important historical blind spot. British North America did not end with the outcome of the Revolutionary War, nor were its geographical limits confined to British possessions in the Caribbean. I take advantage of the fact that I write this as a Canadian to make the plea for a study of Hogarth’s legacy in British North America as it existed after 1783: as the ensemble of territories on the United States’ northern flank, the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland, and the vast Territories to the North and West. As spheres of British influence, their early history overlaps that of the end of the Thirteen Colonies. But they brought together a complex set of English- and French-speaking societies after 1774—and especially, for the purposes of examining how Hogarth functions in public and political discourse, from 1791, when Westminster divided the “Province of Quebec” into Upper and Lower Canada, into which a huge number of emigrant Loyalists flowed beginning in 1783. The study of Hogarth in British North America after this date is properly the study of his legacy in Canada up to Confederation in 1867—its foundation as an autonomous Dominion enshrined in what Westminster labeled, with characteristic irony, the British North America Act.

THE EARLY AMERICAN HOGARTH REVISITED

The study of newspapers, library catalogues, and correspondence of the colonial period helps us to reconstitute the thriving market for prints that existed in colonial America. In this, all students of the period build on the work of the late Joan Dolmetsch, who remarked in 1970 that shops throughout the colonies vied with their London counterparts to stock and display prints, with both commercial and private agents working to meet “the colonists’ desire for the latest and best engravings available.” Citing examples gleaned from newspaper advertisements and correspondence in both Massachusetts and Virginia, Dolmetsch showed that colonists collected works

from all phases of Hogarth's career, ranging from *A Harlot's Progress*, *A Rake's Progress*, and *A Midnight Modern Conversation* to *O The Roast Beef of Old England* and *Paul Before Felix*. Outselling each of these titles by far was the series *Industry and Idleness*, which was "advertised almost continually after its publication in 1747 and was still available for sale in shops such as Stephen Whiting's in Boston in 1771, six years after Hogarth's death. The popularity of this set is not really difficult to understand," continued Dolmetsch, "when one considers the colonists' penchant for the Roman virtues. Anything depicting the triumph of good over evil sold exceedingly well."² In 1755 one Alexander Hamilton announced the sale of a wide range of prints in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*: "variety of pictures viz sciences painted on glass, scenes, months, seasons, cartoons, hunting pieces, Roman Antiquities, parts of the day by Hogarth, roast beef of Old England, distressed poet and enraged Musician, humours of a fair, March to Finchely [*sic*], midnight conversation, India settlements, Vandeval [Van de Velde]'s green sea pieces, industry and idleness, judgment of Hercules, Paul before Felix, in the Dutch taste, sleepy congregation, the lottery and several other humerous pieces by Hogarth..."³

HOGARTH'S JOHN WILKES ESQR. AND THE LIBERTY CAP

American art historians have more recently been at work teasing out Hogarth's connection to an emblem that has proved to be surprisingly problematic and semantically unstable in the repertoire of early American visual identity: that of the liberty cap. In a 1987 article for *Smithsonian Studies in American Art*, Yvonne Korshak situated the origins of the liberty cap as a preeminently French revolutionary symbol in the imagery of pre- and postrevolutionary America, as informed by reference to Hogarth's 1763 engraved portrait of *John Wilkes Esqr.* "transformed into a Liberty Goddess" through his attribute of "liberty cap and staff" (fig. 97).⁴ Korshak's association of Wilkes with a Liberty Goddess is made first of all through a slight anachronistic twist, by the prior visual reference in the same article to Samuel Jennings's *Genius of America Encouraging the Emancipation of the Blacks* of 1790–92, in which a seated blond female figure, adorned in a white robe held together with a golden belt, cradles a staff upon which rests a white cap.⁵ The iconographic motif of a staff with cap is pursued to sources in Roman sculpture in order to follow it back to the American revolutionary context through the propaganda imagery designed by Paul Revere in 1774 to commemorate Britain's repeal of the hated Stamp Act. The circulation of Hogarth's Wilkes figure on commemorative china (notably a punch bowl in

the collection of the Winterthur Museum) further helps to establish a reception for the Wilkes image as emblematic of political resistance to British tyranny.⁶

This reading is, of course, remarkably ironic given the critical intent that was formulated by Hogarth toward Wilkes in the first place, one that Korshak acknowledges and that Ronald Paulson demonstrated at length in the magisterial study of Hogarth he published in 1971.⁷ John Wilkes (1725–1797), a British politician and journalist, was indeed well-known to the American colonists through his support for their claims against the metropolitan government, notably through his polemical newspaper *The North Briton*, founded in 1762. Hogarth's image, like Wilkes's polemics, had as its wider context the party politics involved in the prosecution of Britain's foreign policy and in the nation's changing relationship to its colonies throughout the French and Indian War (1756–63). Paulson showed that the reading of *John Wilkes Esqr.* also cannot be separated from the reading elicited by the two plates that Hogarth completed in September 1762 under the rubric *The Times*. In this set, Hogarth sought to support the administration of Lord Bute in its attempts to make peace with its European adversaries. In his lifetime, Hogarth only published the first of these plates (fig. 98). He shows London in the throes of destruction by fire, with bellows wielded by William Pitt, by then the former Prime Minister (1758–61), whose policies favored continuation of war.⁸ Here, Pitt is a figure on stilts, idolized by the population below; he fans the flames of war—for the profit of City of London merchants. In Hogarth's dystopic vision of a city engulfed by fire and overcast by dark smoke, the population is at cross-purposes, oddly unsentient to the looming crisis in its midst: a mob which, as Paulson reminds us, may well be commanded by the City itself. The figures of Wilkes and Charles Churchill (1732–1764) assist Pitt by aiming clyster-fed jets of water at the hapless figure of the still-new King, standing on the Union Office pedestal, who alone aims a firehose at the flames. This vision of the unmaking of civic order—of the city as disorder incarnate—would prove to have resonance for the generation of Americans who would lead their Revolution a little over a decade later.

Wilkes's enduring reputation in colonial America as a champion of liberty was based on his arrest and imprisonment before trial as ordered by the Bute administration in response to his criticism, published on April 23, 1763, in the forty-fifth edition of *The North Briton*, of a speech given by King George III “closing Parliament and praising the peace.”⁹ Hogarth's image purports to subvert the moment of triumph when, at court on May 6,



Fig. 98. William Hogarth, *The Times*, Plate 1, State 3, 1762 (BMC 3970, Paulson 211). Etching and engraving, 24.7 x 30.8 cm (plate). The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Sotheby 79 Box 100

the case against Wilkes was dismissed by the presiding magistrate. Hogarth, a witness to the event, rapidly prepared his engraving for publication on May 21. In his portrayal, conceived in an usually spare setting, he emphasizes Wilkes's lanky frame by showing him seated, legs apart, right arm resting by the elbow near the knee in order to cover the area of the crotch by wrapping index and middle fingers of an Italianate, effeminate hand around the long maintenance staff that sports the "liberty cap." Wilkes's posture lurches forward, his head angled so as to emphasize his jutting chin; his lower teeth, unhandsomely spaced, are revealed by a smile, shaped by a

foreshortened upper lip, beneath squinting eyes. As Shearer West reminds us, “[b]y highlighting Wilkes’s squint, Hogarth was relying on longstanding and deep-set prejudices about squinting, which saw the condition as indicative of hypocrisy, envy, malice, depravity, secrecy, and infidelity. The obliquity of the squinting gaze was understood to suggest duplicity and a tendency to deceive and conceal. . . . this physiognomic clue served to undermine Wilkes’s profession to be a champion of liberty and the rights of the people.”¹⁰ For an artist who had famously inveighed against caricature (*Characters and Caricaturas* [1743]; see fig. 10), this image seems constructed so as to propose instead a monumental conception of the caricatural portrait.¹¹ The transformation that both Wilkes would undergo as heroic figure, and the liberty cap as emblem, from British satirical context to colonial American reception, are all the more remarkable. Tellingly, Paulson observes that Wilkes “holds aloft on a staff of maintenance a vessel simulating a Cap of Liberty with ‘LIBERTY’ written across it. The cap is poised over his head like a self-appointed halo, in ironic contrast to the truly diabolic squinting leer and the impression of horns created by his wig.”¹² In 1971 Paulson had identified the simulacrum that, apparently, should have impeded and yet seems to have paradoxically favored this very adaptation. Just the same, the monumental quality of Hogarth’s composition may have played a role in the overwhelmingly positive adoption of the image that seems to have taken place in the American colonies: its dissemination through print and porcelain emptying out the satiric intent and restoring to Wilkes the heroic status that Hogarth had conferred with ironic intent, while the vessel held aloft by the staff is no longer read as simulation but indeed as the very Cap of Liberty.

THE ANALYSIS OF BEAUTY

By the 1760s, then, Hogarth’s graphic satires enjoyed a broad popularity in the American colonies, both for his insightful portrayals of social mores (*Industry and Idleness*) and for his capacity to fashion, whether or not he intended to do so, an iconic image of political freedom (*John Wilkes Esqr.*).¹³ Hogarth’s aesthetic ideas also enjoyed wide currency. As Janice Schimmelman demonstrated, Hogarth’s 1753 treatise, *The Analysis of Beauty*, can be identified in public library collections and bookseller catalogues as early as 1758.¹⁴ The biographies, autobiographies, and correspondence of colonial and revolutionary era artists and politicians allow us to trace the influence of Hogarth’s volume on American intellectual, artistic, and social life.

Schimmelman observed that John Trumbull “read this treatise in 1772 during his years as a student at Harvard, according to his autobiography and



Fig. 99. John Trumbull, *Self Portrait*, 1777. Oil on canvas, 76.83 x 61.28 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bequest of George Nixon Black, 29.791

recorded in the ‘Seniors’ Library Charging Book’ of Harvard University,” and went on to mention the self-portrait completed by Trumbull shortly before his departure for London in 1777 (fig. 99). The young American painter is seated at a small table on which, at his elbow, a copy of *The Analysis of Beauty* supports a palette with daubs of paint set out in the sequence of seven colors. The layout of pigments is close to that recommended by Hogarth (in chapter XIV, “Of Colouring,” p. 116), illustrated by figure 94 at the center-top of the second of the two plates included with the treatise.¹⁵ In London, Trumbull joined a community of expatriate colonial artists who came to understand the extent to which both Hogarth and his treatise had lost credibility under the influence of Joshua Reynolds. But as Susan Rather noted in her 1993 study of Matthew Pratt’s 1765 painting *The American School*, a group portrait of artists gathered in the London studio of Benjamin West (fig. 100), “Among Americans, the *Analysis* seems to have fared



Fig. 100. Matthew Pratt, *The American School*, 1765. Oil on canvas, 91.4 x 127.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Samuel P. Avery, 1897 (97.29.3)

better. Although West's opinion at the time is unknown, he later praised the *Analysis* as 'of the highest value to every one studying the Art.'¹⁶ Rather's purpose was to establish a reading of *The American School* as a structure organized around the self-portrait of Matthew Pratt, seen at the right sitting before an easel in contemplation of his colleagues, who are receiving instruction from Benjamin West. For Rather, "the prominent serpentine configuration that unites the left-hand group (a figure that can be read in depth as well as across the surface of the canvas) suggests Pratt's own attentiveness to that characteristically Hogarthian device." "More suggestively," she continued, "the manner of Pratt's self-portrayal in *The American School* evokes two of Hogarth's self-portraits. . . Pratt's isolation of his own form against the canvas—an unusual configuration in self-portraiture—recalls Hogarth's even more explicit presentation of himself as a work of art in the *Self-portrait with Pug* of 1745 [Tate, London]; that picture introduced the line

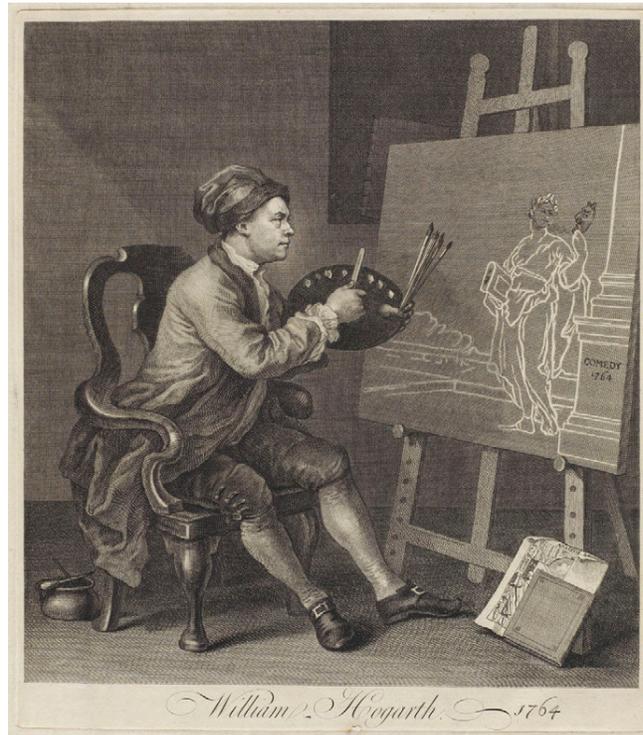


Fig. 101. William Hogarth, *Hogarth Painting the Comic Muse*, State 7, 1764 (Paulson 204a). Etching and engraving, 40.3 x 35.2 cm (plate). The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Sotheby 1++ Box 300

of beauty, well before publication of the *Analysis*, as a figure on the painter's palette."¹⁷ Moreover, as Rather also pointed out, Pratt's positioning of himself directly echoes the posture adopted by Hogarth in his 1758 engraved self-portrait, *Hogarth Painting the Comic Muse*, a conceit that the artist reworked in the last months of his life by reidentifying his muse in states six and seven of the print as *satiric* (fig. 101).

Matthew Pratt's engagement with Hogarth is characteristic of the satirist and theorist's fortune in American society of the era. Both his visual and aesthetic ideas seem to have been touchstones for ideas of art that appealed, in terms that were at once visual and moral, to those who led the political, legislative, and diplomatic processes of the American Revolution. *The Analysis of Beauty* found a constant reader in Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), who, as Janice Schimmelman reminds us, "owned the largest private collection of art books in America." In 1771 Jefferson was asked by his friend Robert Skipwith "to recommend a list of books appropriate for a gentleman's library. Among the 148 titles suggested by Jefferson were Edmund Burke's *An Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty*, and [Daniel] Webb's *An Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting* [1760]. In his response to Skipwith, Jefferson remarked

that the critical essays by Burke and Hogarth would stimulate the imagination and provide pleasurable ‘speculation’ for the mind.”¹⁸ As Kenneth Hafertepe noted in his 2000 study of Jefferson’s ideas of beauty,

On the list of books Jefferson drew up for Skipwith, two categories are of particular relevance: “Fine Arts” and “Criticism of the Fine Arts.” More than seventy-five titles were listed under “Fine Arts,” and these were almost entirely literary.... The section on “Criticism of the Fine Arts” included seven titles. In addition to works of a literary bent...it also listed several philosophical and aesthetic treatises. Adam Smith’s Theory of Moral Sentiment (1759) attempted to place moral knowledge on a basis of human sympathy, while Thomas Reid’s Inquiry into the Human Mind (1764) criticized the epistemological skepticism of David Hume from a position of common-sense realism. But the three titles that topped the list were Lord Kames’s Elements of Criticism [1762], Edmund Burke’s Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757), and William Hogarth’s The Analysis of Beauty (1753).¹⁹

The importance of the serpentine curve in Hogarth’s conceptual structure found its corollary in Jefferson’s discussion of contour plowing, from which we glean his sense of man’s aesthetic and utilitarian relationship to the land: “The plough is to the farmer what the wand is to the sorcerer.... We now plough horizontally following the curvatures of the hills and hollows.... In point of beauty nothing can exceed that of the waving lines & rows winding along the face of the hills and vallies.”²⁰ Jefferson applied this principle in his designs for the University of Virginia. As Hafertepe remarked, Jefferson drew on the ideas of Henry Home, Lord Kames, and William Hogarth in order to establish “the philosophical justification for the serpentine walls that Jefferson used to define the gardens behind each of the pavilions. Following Hogarth, Kames argued that people are so disposed as to ‘prefer undulating motion, as of waves, of a flame, of a ship under sail. Such motion is more free, and also more natural. Hence the beauty of a serpentine river.’”²¹

The Hogarthian serpentine curve is held by some scholars to be characteristic of American design in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. K.L.H. Wells has recently made this association explicit in a study devoted to “Serpentine Sideboards, Hogarth’s *Analysis*, and the Beautiful Self,” although the purpose of this study was not so much to demonstrate that Hogarth should be seen as a direct source for the serpentine line in a specific sideboard manufactured in New York in the 1790s, but rather that it performs “particular aesthetic and social work.” Wells further comments

that “In light of Hogarth’s projects to codify subjective aesthetic knowledge and govern bodily movement through an ornamental system of serpentine lines, the sideboard emerges as a self that models the beautiful body to elite feminine subjects of the eighteenth century.”²²

HOGARTH AND THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERATION

Interestingly, the private diaries and correspondence of John Adams (1735–1826) and Abigail Adams (1744–1818) support—indeed, anticipate—just such a reading. Aileen Ribeiro made this connection in her catalogue essay for the exhibition *John Singleton Copley in America*, presented at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1995.²³ John Adams composed an essay with many points of advice on life, learning, and deportment for the benefit of his “Dear Nieces”:

The next Article is that of Dress. It may be just[ly] considered, as the Principal Design of a young Lady from her Birth to her Marriage, to procure and prepare herself for a worthy Companion in Life. This I believe is modestly enough expressed. Now the finest face, and shape, that ever Nature formed, would be insufficient to attract and fix the Eye of a Gentleman without some Assistance and Decoration of Dress. And I believe an handsome shoe, well judged Variety of Colours, in Linnen, Laces &c., and even the Rustling of silks has determined as many Matches as any natural features, or Proportions or Motions. Hes a fool that is determined wholly by either or by both, but even a wise man will take all these, as well as others less, into Consideration.

*I cannot be supposed to be master of the whole Art of Dress, nor to give Rules for your Conduct of it. I only say study it, even of your selves. Study it even as a science, and take in Hogarths mathematicks to your Aid.*²⁴

Indeed, it seems to be a wider sense of grace that proved to be enduringly important to Adams, and not only insofar as these “elite feminine subjects” were concerned. Some fifteen years later, Adams consigned in his diary his many observations of colleagues who took part in the debates of the Continental Congress (1774–78). Reviewing the proceedings of September 15, 1775, Adams rhetorically shook his head in disapproval of several of the members’ unseemly disposition in debate. Turning his attention to Roger Sherman (1721–1793), Adams remarked: “Sherman’s Air is the Reverse of Grace. There cannot be a more striking Contrast to beautiful Action, than the Motions of his Hands. Generally, he stands upright with his Hands before him. The fingers of his left Hand clenched into a Fist, and the Wrist of it, grasped with his right. But he has a clear Head and

sound judgment. But when he moves a Hand, in any thing like Action, Hogarths Genuis could not have invented a Motion more opposite to grace. It is Stiffness, and Aukwardness itself. Rigid as Starched Linen or Buckram. Aukward as a junior Batchelor, or a Sophomore.”²⁵

In the letters exchanged by John Adams with his correspondents in the 1770s and 1780s we come to understand how Hogarth has become a byword for a certain kind of picture, whether engraved or in some sense performed in public space. Writing from Amsterdam in the days after Christmas, 1780, to his son John Quincy Adams (1767–1848), John Adams situated the moral measure of a wintry pastime, skating, in Hogarthian terms:

The Ice is so universal now that I suppose you spend some Time in Skaiting every day. It is a fine Exercise for young Persons, and therefore I am willing to indulge you in it, provided you confine yourself to proper Hours, and to strict Moderation. Skaiting is a fine Art. It is not Simple Velocity or Agility that constitutes the Perfection of it but Grace. There is an Elegance of Motion, which is charming to the sight, and is useful to acquire, because it obliges you to restrain that impetuous Ardour and violent Activity, into which the Agitation of Spirits occasioned by this Exercise is apt to hurry you, and which is inconsistent both with your Health and Pleasure.

At Leyden, I suppose you may see many Gentlemen, who are perfect in the Art. — I have walked, several Times round this City from the Gate of Utrecht to that of Harlem, and seen some thousands Skaiting upon the Cingel, since the Frost set in. I have seen many skait with great Spirit, some with prodigious Swiftness, a few with a tolerably genteel Air, but none with that inimitable Grace and Beauty which I have seen some Examples of, in other Countries, even in our own.

*I have seen some Officers of the British Army, at Boston, and some of our Army at Cambridge, skait with as perfect Elegance, as if they had spent their whole Lives in the study of Hogarths Principles of Beauty, and in reducing them to Practice.*²⁶

If John Adams was throughout this time concerned with questions of grace and a proper measure of deportment in society, Abigail Adams— who, during her husband’s missions to Europe in 1777 and 1779–88 (she joined him 1784), was almost entirely confined to the private sphere of her Boston residence— turned to Hogarth in order to make statements about the visual and political order of the world, which she saw, directly or through correspondence, as a series of pictures. More importantly, these Hogarthian pictures of the world could present it upside down; Abigail Adams’s understanding of the social and political order had a strong satiric component. In

this, she shared the view of several of the other correspondents with whom she and her husband were in close contact throughout the years of the Revolution. John Thaxter (1755–1791), writing from London to John Adams at Amsterdam at the beginning of September 1780, related a recent account of terrible British losses at sea with a distinctly ironic undertone that depends on Hogarth's example for both content and form:

The Description of the Exchange in London upon the Confirmation of the News of the loss of the fleets mentioned in my letter.

“The long faces, the gloomy Shades of discontent, the motley of painful Attitudes, the Concert of murmurs, Sighs and yawnings upon different Tones, the stupid Aspects, the fuller silence of some, the stifled laughter of others, the bursts of fury of certain Groupes, the deafening Imprecations of some others, in general the convulsive Agitation of this Multitude, which resembled an Ant's Nest disturbed by the first stroke of a Spade, forms a Picture more easy to be imagin'd than described, and well worthy the pen of an Addison and the pencil of an Hogarth.”

This Picture is taken from the life, but not yet published according to Act of Parliament.

I have transcribed the above for your Amusement, and hope I shall not fail of my Object.²⁷

Even more seriously for the Adamses' experience of their society in the first years of the Revolution, a Hogarthian motif of the reversal of social order and status repeatedly emerges from their extensive correspondence. Thaxter's allusion to the Ant's Nest is not far from the public disarray drawn by Hogarth in Plate 1 of *The Times*. This graphic satire's structure of reversal is in keeping with the growing unease identified by James Warren (1726–1808) in a 1779 letter to John Adams:

With regard to our Naval Affairs you may Expect I should speak with more precision as I am still drudgeing at the Navy Board for a morsel of Bread, while others, and among them fellows who would have Cleaned my Shoes five Years ago have Amassed fortunes, and are rideing in Chariots. Were you to be set down here you could not realize what you would see. You would think you was upon Enchanted Ground in A World turned Topsy Turvy, beyond the description of Hogarths humourous pencile of Churchills Satyr.²⁸

This last comment brings to mind both Hogarth's critical presentation of Charles Churchill in *The Times* and an awareness, for Warren, of the subsequent exchange between the two satirists. Churchill's riposte “Epistle to

Hogarth,” published in July 1763, was followed by Hogarth’s August 1763 plate *The Bruiser* (BMC 4084, Paulson 215), in which he reused his *Self-Portrait with Pug: “Gulielmus Hogarth”* (1748/49; Paulson 181), replacing his own likeness with that of Churchill represented as a drunken bear heedless of Hogarth’s beloved pug pissing on the “Epistle.”²⁹

If this transmutation of man to bear is indicative of “Enchanted Ground in A World turned Topsy Turvy,” it is fascinating to reflect on the kinship between Hogarth’s and Warren’s situations: a sense of defense against personal injustice permeates their conceptions of social order. Three years later, in almost the same terms, Abigail Adams deplored what had become of the revolutionary dream of the United States:

The Manners of our Country are so intirely changed from what they were in those days of simplicity when you knew it, that it has nothing of a Republic but the Name. Unless you can keep a publick table and Equipage you are but of very small consideration.

*What would You have thought 15 years ago, for young practitioners at the Bar to be setting up their Chariots, to be purchaseing — not paying for — their country seats. P. M–n, B–n H–n, riding in their Chariots who were clerks in offices when we removed from Town. Hogarth may exhibit his world topsa turva. I am sure I have seen it realized.*³⁰

HOGARTH, MERCY OTIS WARREN, AND THE CRITIQUE OF SATIRE

What “Hogarth may exhibit” was also one of the themes of “The Genius of America Weeping the Absurd Follies of the Day,” a poem published anonymously by Mercy Otis Warren (1728–1814) in the *Boston Gazette* of October 5, 1778, and under the author’s own name in the 1790 volume *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous*, one of the first to be openly published by a woman in America. Mercy Otis had married James Warren in 1754; she became a close friend of and adviser to Abigail and John Adams and indeed to most of the American political leaders of her time. As a letter writer, poet, dramatist, and later as a historian, she was a strong critic first of the British administration in the colonies and its Loyalist supporters and then of American social conduct in the wake of Independence. Sharing in Abigail Adams’s disappointment at the nationalist, materialist, and triumphalist turn taken by American society, Warren ultimately became critical of John Adams in her 1805 *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution*.³¹ Although the work published anonymously until 1790 was chiefly satiric in structure and form, she imbued “The Genius of America” with

a critical assessment of satire itself, thinking about its complicit role in the tendency of society to fulfill the disorder that satire is intended to warn against. The poem opens with a vision of “Columbia’s weeping Genius” standing “Beneath the lofty pine that shades the plain / Where the blue mount o’erlooks the western main.” “Freedom’s cause” has been betrayed by vice. While Europe, in an echo of *The Times*, is “enkindled,” “America is hail’d from sea to sea, / Sits independent, glorious, and free;” yet, lifting her veil, Columbia sees the “melancholy tale”:

*As wealth pour’d in from every distant shore,
The gaudy lap of luxury ran o’er;
The blacken’d passions all at once let loose,
And rampant crimes scarce ask’d for an excuse.*

*So dissolute — yet so polite the town,
Like Hogarth’s days, the world’s turn’d upside down;
Old Juvenal, who censur’d former crimes,
Or Churchill’s pen, in more satiric rhymes,
Or crabbed Swift, in yet a rougher stile,
Might lash the vices of a venal isle;
If sermons, satires, or the law of heaven,
(Though it again from Sinai’s mount were given,)
Should all combine to censure modish vice,
It can’t be wrong, when fashion sanctifies.*

*Hogarth might paint, and Churchill lash the times,
Compar’d with moderns, modest were their crimes;
Not Swift himself could now defame the age,
Truth might be told in each sarcastic page;
Whoe’er delights to shew mankind absurd,
The life in vogue may ample room afford.*³²*

With this asterisk in the 1790 edition, Warren sent the reader to the following footnote: “This piece was written when a most remarkable depravity of manners pervaded the cities of the United States, in consequence of a state of war; a relaxation of government; the sudden acquisition of fortune; a depreciating currency; and a new intercourse with foreign nations.” The very evils warned against by Hogarth have come to pass for young America: rampant commercial activity begets an insensate exchange with other (European) cultures, and the sense of identity and integrity is lost. At the same time, the Hogarthian strategy for discerning truth and moral purpose

is itself at stake, remaining acceptable only through its capacity to marshal the individual's and the public's understanding of reprehensible behavior; Warren assigns to Hogarth's and Churchill's works the status of a "lesser crime." The "Topsa-Turva" that graphic satires made visible—such as Hogarth's *The Times*, certainly one of the images that might conflate Hogarth and Churchill in contemporary memory—stayed in circulation with the distribution and the continued reactivation of Hogarth's printed imagery. But its capacity for moral instruction was in doubt. For the young American characterized by Warren in her poem, Hogarth stands somewhere near John Locke as a discarded mentor; indeed, God is denied as well. The young man's "coat, his creed; his faith and genius too, / Are moderniz'd as fashion forms the cue; . . . He swears the *taste* the *bon ton* of the times, / By moralists can ne'er be constru'd crimes; / Most modern writers are much better bred, / Voltaire and Hoyle, the authors he has read, / Discard such antique, odd ideas of truth, / Such musty rules for regulating youth."³³

HOGARTH IN AMERICA AFTER 1800: FROM NEWSPAPER TO SPECTACLE, PRELIMINARY TRACES

If we look through the *New-York Evening Post* for the years 1802–1830 we find countless advertisements for the sale of books that claim to regroup Hogarth's collected works. A survey undertaken in February 2014 with the aid of the search engine of the website Newspapers.com used as its geotemporal parameters the period 1800–1830 in the Eastern United States. For the purposes of this essay, the search was then narrowed to one single newspaper (the *New-York Evening Post*). The findings presented here are gleaned from transcripts of advertisements and editorial comments and organized in chronological sequence.

The earliest mention of Hogarth occurs on May 27, 1802: "...New Books, just received by the Juliana, and for sale by P.A. Mesier, no 107 Pearl-street: . . .Hogarth illustrated by J. Ireland, 2 vols. 8vo." In the same year, on November 16, "H. Caritat, no 1 City-Hotel, Fenelon's Head, Broadway, has just received, per ship Morgan, and other late arrivals, for his Book-Store, Circulating Library and literary assembly-rooms, New Books, of the best and most splendid London editions. . .including Hogarth complete and illustrated, by Ireland." Peter Messier appears again on November 22 advertising Ireland's Hogarth; on December 13, Caritat announces both Hogarth's Works and Ireland's Hogarth. Some thirteen months later, on January 24, 1804, we find Ireland's Hogarth Illustrated among "New Books, for sale by E. Sargeant & Co. 129 Water-Street, a few doors east of the

Fontine Coffee-House.” Hogarth keeps company with other authors whose works are emblematic of the life of a civilized mind: Repton’s *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, Shakespeare Illustrated, Lavater’s *Essays on Physiognomy*, Blaine’s *Outlines of the Veterinary Art*, “Watts on the improvement of the Mind,” “Junius’ Letters,” and “Estelle, a Pastoral Romance, by M. de Florian, member of the French Academy, and of those of Madrid and Florence,” to name a few.

Throughout the autumn of 1805, weekly advertisements of books for sale, including the illustrated Hogarth, were published. On May 17, 1808, p. 3, we read that “A few of Cooke’s fire proof impressions of Hogarth’s Prints, quarto size—for sale by Alsop, Brannan & Alsop”—at the same address as that given for Caritat. Over the years, the advertisements are steady, but they peter off somewhat. Resales are perhaps more the order of the day. Sales pick up again in 1815 and become constant throughout the years until 1830. As of February 1, 1817, mentions of Hogarth’s illustrated works in book sales occur almost weekly, presumably following the end of the Atlantic blockade. George M. Wilson at 81 Pine-street offers for sale “Shakspeare Illustrated, elegantly bound/Copies from the Shakspeare Gallery/Hogarth Illustrated, Basil bound, &c./Works of Hogarth” along with books of prints of antique statues, ancient British portraits, views of Switzerland, and the human figure. These advertisements are placed on average twice a week, and Shakespeare and Hogarth seem to go hand in hand throughout the period.

Perhaps more importantly, the *Evening Post* shows us as early as 1810 how Hogarth had become a far-reaching cultural reference point: for art, for storytelling, and for a key to a certain political worldview. On December 19, 1810, the *Post*’s correspondent at Washington reported on sittings of the House of Representatives. “When I examine the faces in this Assembly, I cannot help having the Idea that many of the members were chosen on account of the singularity of their countenances; such a collection of remarkable phizes, I believe was never before brought together. Were Hogarth here, and wished to make a laughable picture, he would have nothing to do but to draw the faces as they are, and a very beholder would consider it as a caricature.” The correspondent has no time to describe all the representatives but does want to comment on the reporters.

I cannot help envying these fellows; and I see no use in their being allowed to associate with their betters.... if the house presents a caricature of the “human face divine,” I think a more appropriate set of reporters could not be found.... Your own reporter comes first, you know him, and of course I need say but little

*about him. But I never see him without thinking of the figure of Hudibrass, as drawn by Hogarth. His face is if possible more silly than that of Dr. Mitchell; but he has one mark of prudence, if not of wisdom; when he walks out, he always hides his deformed shape under a huge cloak.*³⁴

On April 23, 1812, one Petro Petrovitch wrote to the *Evening Post*, “O! for the pencil of a Hogarth, that I might shew what sort of a beast the Embargo is. The amphibious Virginian monster, so beautifully scaled as to harm the superficial observer, but of temper so transcendently malign, that toads and serpents of most deadly kind, compared to it are harmless.”³⁵ In a report of a “King’s Dinner” at Hoboken, bringing together “Dutch and Yankees,” all is well until a fight breaks out. “Bottles against bottles, head against head, fist against fist; from the simple method of Congo up to the cross-buttocks and side-winders of more scientific boxers— All that strength could effect, or ingenuity or trick desire, on this ever memorable occasion was exhibited to view— The pencil of Hogarth, or the fire of Pindar, the wit of Scarson or Minshull, on this occasion, would do injustice to the scene.”³⁶

Hogarth remained also a key reference in terms of the formation of ideas about art and art criticism. Hence, in June 1817, an excerpt from a *Letter from New-York*, dated February 14 and printed in the *London Examiner* of April 13, led an article that contrasted the munificence of the U.S. Congress in commissioning four great Historical Pictures for the Capitol to the miserly attitudes of the British government. “And how much longer,” asks the *London Examiner*, “will England turn her back with stupid apathy against all propositions for the public commemoration of great events by Historical Painting? . . . It is the government that ought and must assist the historical painters, commanding pictures, and giving situations, with which they abound. All the efforts by which the country has been proved capable have been the result of the spontaneous devotion of individuals, without reward or without the hope of it. Barry painted the Adelphi for nothing! Hogarth gave a picture to the Foundling for nothing; and West, Barry, Dance, and Reynolds, offered to adorn St. Paul’s without remuneration, and yet were refused!”³⁷

Later that year, the *Evening Post* presented some art criticism in a review of works exhibited at the Columbian Gallery. Bega’s painting *A Grotesque Concert* was reviewed by “An Amateur”:

This artist might have been the Hogarth of his nation, had the Dutch frigid [frigid] phlegm encouraged his disposition and taste. He even possessed much more perfection of outlines in figures and characteristic heads than is ordinary and necessary in caricatures and drolls. His pencilling and art of handling colours,

*has reached the highest degree of neatness and transparency, and with it he could realize all the Lavaterian expression countenance, according to the subject which he would bring to ridicule. This painter was a dissipated man, and died in the prime of his life and talents.*³⁸

From 1824 onward, it became a regularly affirmed truism that the pen of Hogarth would be required for, or might even be *insufficient to the task of rendering*, any given situation, notably one in which the non-urban American citizen is brought up against wonderful or bewildering examples of the transformations attendant on the irresistible encroachment of modernity in civic life. In this, the editorial writers of the 1820s might be said to have framed anew the tragic understanding evinced by Mercy Otis Warren back in 1778, when she saw that the fledgling republic was certainly no better than it ought to be, since the Revolution appeared to instill, after all, a desire to relaunch the British social and political project for which Hogarth had been such a perspicacious critic.

On March 28, 1822, we find that Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* was listed among new arrivals at the offices of Howe, Spalding & Dwight at 156 Broadway, who were keen to have potential buyers note that Hogarth's treatise earned a place among works that spoke to a curriculum of Western ideas stretching from antiquity to the present day (fig. 102). Hogarth's treatise takes its place among Ainsworth's *Latin Dictionary*, Bridge's *Equations*, Burke on the Sublime, De Solis's *Conquest of Mexico*, Dunbar's *Graeca Minora*, the *Eton Latin Grammar*, *German Theatre*, Gordon's *Tacitus and Livy*, Hennepin's *Voyages*, Jamieson's *Grammar of Logic*, Jameson's *Manual of Mineralogy*, Linnaeus's *Families of Plants*, Molineux's *Introduction to Short Hand*, Nicholson's *Analytical Essays and Architecture*, Pocock's *Designs for Churches*, the Scapulae and Schrevelii Lexicons, Sharp's *Heavenly Sisters*, Stewart's *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, Taylor's *Perspective*, Thornton's *Botanical Dialogues*, and Wheatley's *Modern Gardening*.³⁹ Hogarth is maintaining a place in the formation of disciplinary practices in America.

But there is perhaps another Hogarth to be described, an intermedial Hogarth whose figures and spaces—the building blocks of his entire artistic conception—are released into other, nonprint and nonpainting but rather spectacular (or spectatorial) forms of visual culture, a Hogarth whose visual and political positions become adapted to other purposes and other ways of viewing—and using—the world of artistic representation. One way of understanding how this works comes through Hogarth's adaptation into public forms of visual experience such as the theater.⁴⁰ Terry documents an early transition onto the American stage at Charleston, North Carolina, in

HOWE, SPALDING & DWIGHT, No. 156
Broadway, have just received an importation of Books from London, of which the following compose a part—

Ainsworth Latin Dictionary, 4to
 Bridge's Equations, 8vo
 Burke on the Sublime, 12mo
 De Solis' Conquest of Mexico, 2 vols. 8vo
 Dunbar's Græca Minora, 8vo
 Eton Latin Grammar, 12mo
 German Theatre, 6 vols. 12mo
 Gordon's Tacitus, 2 vols 8vo
 Gordon's Livy, 12mo
 Hennepin's Voyages, 8vo.
 Hogarth's Analysis of Beauty, 8vo. 4to with plates
 Jamieson's Grammar of Logic, 12mo.
 Jamieson's Manual of Mineralogy, 8vo
 Linnæus Families of Plants, 2vols. 8 vo
 Molyneaux's Introduction to Short Hand, 8v
 Nicholson's Analytical Essays, 8vo
 Nicholson's Architecture, 3 vols.
 Pococke's Designs for Churches, 4to
 Scapulae Lexicon, folio
 Schrevelii do. 8vo
 Sharpe's Heavenly Sisters, 12mo
 Stewart's Outlines of Moral Philosophy, 8vo
 Taylor's Perspective
 Thornton's Botanical Dialogues, 12mo
 Wheatly's Modern Gardening, 8vo.
 mh 28

Fig. 102. Advertisement placed by Howe, Spalding & Dwight, from *New-York Evening Post*, March 28, 1822. New-York Historical Society, New York

1793, when Hogarth's setting of Calais in *O The Roast Beef of Old England* (see figs. 47 and 66) was transposed into painted décor for a comic opera by George Colman, Jr., entitled *The Surrender of Calais*.⁴¹ Noting the divided reception awaiting such a project in a city marked by French and English immigration, with allegiances thus confounded by Hogarth's rather notorious xenophobia toward the French — a reference all the more remarkable given recent French support for the Revolution — Terry shows that a sort of “cleansed” Hogarth made acceptable to both sides was produced in local discourse. The recuperation of Hogarth into local culture of spectacle, with its own structures for the (commercial) exploitation of source material

unfettered by notions of legal or moral copyright, signals another dimension of the passage made for Hogarth into a far more extensive popular culture, one that depends on the sphere of printed materials as a shared public resource but that adapts these materials to other cultural forms.

It could only be a matter of time before this activity would infiltrate other forms of visual experience and popular spectacle, thereby gaining access, too, to the many forms of *new idiom* that Lester Cohen saw as the next step awaiting Mercy Otis Warren given the imperatives offered by a society heading toward unanticipated transformations. In nineteenth-century America, popular culture was largely recast as popular spectacle. Much work is needed, therefore, in order to document all possible uses of Hogarth in not only theater scenography (already a vast field in itself) but also in reemergent forms characteristic of the period, such as lantern shows, dioramas, street theaters, circuses, and museums. The last includes private and national collections to be sure, but also (and especially) the more comprehensive, sometimes parascientific realm of the “museums” that proliferated across the Western world as sites of blended popular and elite curiosity and epistemological ambitions—much in the way, as it happens, of newspapers and periodicals throughout the same period. One example can be found in the annals of New York journalism under review here. In the summer of 1806, the readers of the *New-York Evening Post* were informed by one E. Savage—likely Edward Savage, an artist recently removed from Philadelphia to New York, and proprietor of the Columbian Gallery—that the New York Museum at 166 Greenwich Street “contains an extensive collection of the productions of ‘Nature and Art’; to enumerate the whole would fill many pages. The following articles are in the different classes.” One of these “classes” is particularly important for us:

Wax Figures, as Large as Life/ Joseph and the Virgin Mary, with the Infant Jesus and St. John.— A Striking likeness of General Hamilton, as wounded on the field, attended by his second; with a striking likeness of Col. Aaron Burr and his second— Columbus, the first discoverer of America— A striking likeness of the late General George Washington— Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States— Late General Butler, who fell in St. Clair’s defeat, represented as wounded in the leg and breast, and an Indian rushing on him with his tomahawk— An interesting scene in Shakespear’s Tragedy of Othello and Desdemona— The Grecian Daughter, nourishing her Father in prison.— The Albany Beauty— The Friends Beauty.— A scene from Hogarth— The Austere Father, frowning upon his Daughter, on finding her with her Gallant— The American Dwarf, taken from Life— A Negro Boy.⁴²

What was this “scene from Hogarth?” How did it come to be paired with the “interesting scene” from Shakespeare? And how did it resonate among scenes of daughters nourishing imprisoned fathers and fathers deploring the libertine ways of daughters? These questions certainly beg further study. For the organizers of the exhibit at the New York Museum, there was no doubt some meaning to be fashioned from the manifold correlations between all these scenes that also crisscrossed their public’s sense of historical and biblical time. In this popular spectacle, the Holy Family rubbed shoulders with national figures, living and recently dead; the Burr-Hamilton duel had taken place just two years before. The notice goes on to tell us that the public would also see “Cabinet pieces of Wax Work executed by Mr Rauschner in a stile Superior to anything of the kind ever Exhibited in this Country.... [as well as] upwards of six hundred Birds, and several thousand Insects. A very large collection of Reptiles preserved in Spirits. A very large collection of Sea Shells. A collection of Statuary. A collection of handsome Paintings.... Visitors... will take notice that there is a third Room added to the Museum.... Admittance 25 Cents.”⁴³

Here, Hogarth was positioned in a universe that seems almost a description of the American urban mind at the onset of a new century. The collections proposed in one place to New Yorkers make visible and three-dimensional their proliferating view of the world. The New York Museum places them at the center of that world. All classes of life, divine and terrestrial, and of human social organization are rehearsed in a space that seems to harness all of Foucault’s *epistemes* at once: the preclassical cabinet of curiosities, the classical organization of knowledge into discrete categories, and perhaps the Romantic conception of the subject as that very center toward which all things are directed, a conception which Donald Preziosi saw as made manifest *by the museum*, “brain of the earth’s body.”⁴⁴ In this model, Hogarth is released into wider American cultural life by the techniques of intermedial crossings that reconfigure visual culture as a (potentially limitless) structure of transferrals into new visual economic sectors that constantly seek (if the anachronism I am about to formulate can be accepted) other parts of the public and private “real estate” to colonize.

The wide currency that, as we have seen, was enjoyed by Hogarth among American artists and political leaders was expanding rapidly with the proliferation of newspapers and the institution of a spectacular visual culture in the early nineteenth century. Our example from the *New-York Evening Post* in 1806 affords us just a glimpse of what might be expected of a comprehensive search through North American periodicals of the United States from the early postcolonial period until the Civil War (and, indeed,

of British North America before Canadian Confederation). A sense of what is to be gained by this investigation is signaled by the first four verses of a poem printed in *The Daily Picayune* of New Orleans on November 13, 1840, a poem that records a visit to art collections in Britain (fig. 103):

Straws—No. 140./Pictures./The Royal Academy and National Gallery.

*So this is the 'Academy,'
The 'royal' school of art;
To which our plain republic tho',
Contributed her part;
Seeing one of its presidents,
Of course the very best;
When their side was deficient, they
Discovered in the West!*

*We never brag—of genius tho'
We're full and running over!
We've sent John Bull some samples
Just his eye sight to recover;
We waked up his astonishment
With lightning rods you know—
Walked into him with steamboats and
O'erwhelmed him with Jim Crow!*

*Th'academy's a splendid hall,
With a splendider collection;
By living brushes tho', which damps
One's ardor in inspection;
Genius is always common-place
While the grave it keeps its legs out;
And doesn't shine in catalogue
Fully until it pegs out!*

*T'other end of the building now,
Within the 'gallery'—
The Guido's, Rembrandt's, Raphael's,
The great defunct we see;
With Hogarth, famous for his sing'lar
Taste, and sing'lar syle;
A setting people thinking while he's
Laughing all the while.⁴⁵*

Fig. 103. “Straws—No. 140. / Pictures. / The Royal Academy and National Gallery,” from *The Daily Picayune*, New Orleans, November 13, 1840, p. 2. Courtesy Woodson Research Center, Fondren Library, Rice University

Visiting the chief institutions of the British fine arts — the National Gallery having moved into its site at Trafalgar Square as recently as 1838 — the author of this poem positions Hogarth first of all in a universe peopled by Guido Reni, Rembrandt van Rijn, and Raphael Sanzio: indeed, in a European pantheon some of whose denizens often made Hogarth wince because of their popularity among eighteenth-century British collectors.⁴⁶ The creation of national collections open to the public has already assisted in accomplishing what Hogarth had largely resisted, that is, in recuperating non-British art to a nationalist vision of British cultural worth that placed the national subject at (and as) the center of all ex-centric cultural practices. But Hogarth was also positioned here in relation to Jim Crow, that is, to the explosively popular blackface minstrel shows that had already conquered American consciousness only to be exported, along with a range of other identity-based travesties and performativities (notably of American Indian and First Nations cultural practices) into the spaces, both elite and popular, of contemporary European societies. The spectacle of minstrelsy was a phenomenon that aligned with nondisciplinary museum spectacles in constituting other ways of negotiating individual and group identities. Their sheer variety allowed for the limitless repurposing of cultural forms and norms: the *Daily Picayune* placed its poem beside columns of advertised rewards for the return of runaway slaves, reminding us that the artistic imaginary always exists in relation to specific economies, in this case of both North American and European ways of organizing sociability, art production and consumption, and laughter (all within and without the limits of satire).

ENVOI: FINDING HOGARTH IN THE “SECOND” BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

There will be many other paths to follow in order to fully ascertain the adoption of William Hogarth’s visual art and aesthetic ideas into the wider North American context. This essay has, after all, principally taken *America* to mean the thirteen colonies and the United States of America. But as I said at the outset, there is a wider project awaiting, which must entail a consideration of what might be called British North America 2.0, post-American Independence. The understanding of the Hogarthian model in establishing the visual representations of place and people throughout what sociologist Gérard Bouchard has termed the “collectivités du Nouveau Monde” — the New World collectivities — will be paramount.⁴⁷ The transatlantic fortunes of Hogarth will likely be key to this understanding, which is at once highly local and international. Two brief examples will have to suffice for now. In October 1789, the *Nova Scotia Magazine* presented excerpts from

Straws—No. 140.

PICTURES.

The Royal Academy and National Gallery.

So this is the 'Academy,'
The 'royal' school of art;
To which our plain republic tho',
Contributed her part;
Seeing one of its presidents,
Of course the very best;
When their side was deficient, they
Discovered in the *West!*

We never brag—of genius tho'
We're full and running over!
We've sent John Bull some samples
Just his eye sight to recover;
We waked up his astonishment
With lightning rods you know—
Walked into him with steamboats and
O'erwhelmed him with *Jim Crow!*

Th' academy's a splendid hall,
With a splendor collection;
By living brushes tho', which damps
One's ardor in inspection;
Genius is always common-place
While the grave it keeps its legs out;
And doesn't shine in catalogue
Fully until it *pegs out!*

T'other end of the building now,
Within the 'gallery'—
The Guido's, Rembrandt's, Raphael's,
The great defunct we see;
With Hogarth, famous for his sing'lar
Taste, and sing'lar style;
A setting people thinking while he's
Laughing all the while.

Well now, with what a diff'rent air
We look upon their labors;
Admire their fading colors, and
Forget their brilliant neighbors;
Whate'er a modern's skill may be,
We question and we doubt it—
Genius and *cheese* is much alike
We want the *mould* about it.

P: or genius! what a sing'lar sort
Of life the public leads it;
They build a roof to screen its *works*
Nor ask if *genius* needs it!
But then we know, the breath of praise
Is all for which it lives—
And condescending to *admire*,
Reward enough we gives!

nov 13

3 Bank Place.

RUN OR STOLEN,

FROM ship *Leila*, an apprentice named **RICHARD R. SCOTT**, aged 16 years, about 5 feet high, light complexion, light eyes, and brown hair. A reward of \$5 will be given to any one lodging him in the calaboose, and any person harboring or employing him, will be prosecuted to the extent of the law.

nov 13 3t*

ASA HIGGINS.

GEO. W. SMITH, SURGEON DENTIST,

From Philadelphia,

HAVING returned from the North, has located himself permanently at the corner of Carondelet and Hevia streets, where he will be pleased to attend to professional engagements.

REFERENCES IN NEW ORLEANS.

Jacob Wilcox, Esq.

Dr. Barnes.

Cuthbert Bullitt, Esq.

Dr. E. J. Coxe,

T. Allen Clark & Co.

Henry L. Bennet, Esq.

Henry Lockett, Esq.

E. Hyde, Jun., Esq.

Dr. Luzenberg.

Coxe & Macpherson,

Dr. Duncan.]

John P. Nisbet, Esq.

nov 13 tf

NEW YORK CITY MADE CLOTHING.

THE subscriber has just received, and now opening, a lot of **CLOTHING**, which he offers for sale at very low rates, viz.: heavy flushing and pilot cloth Overcoats; fine satinett Jackets and Pants; cassimere, cloth, silk, bombazine and velvet Vests; mole skin, repellent cloth, and drab satinette frock and hunting Coats: Shirts; Collars and Bosoms; fine black, brown and green dress and frock Coats; also, Vestings; black Satins; Suspenders; Gloves; silk Handkerchiefs, &c. A large consignment of Jewelry and fancy goods.

L. L. TREADWELL,

11 Bienville st., (up stairs).

nov 13 3t*

\$10 REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber, on the 10th inst., a yellow girl named **Eliza**. She is about 20 years of age, 5 feet high, walks a little stooping, and has rather a down look when spoken to; she speaks English only. The above reward will be paid to whoever will deliver her to the subscriber, or lodge her in jail, so that I can get her.

CHAS. DIAMOND,

nov 13

cor. of Tchoupitoulas and Delord sts.

**OFFICIAL DRAWING OF THE
GRAND STATE LOTTERY,
CLASS 120.**

46 61 44 26 51 27 17 38 10 68 14 23

FRIDAY.

Capital Prize, 6,000 Dollars!

Tickets only \$1 50!

GRAND STATE LOTTERY,

CLASS 95 Extra.

AUTHORIZED by the Legislature of the State.—
To be drawn **FRIDAY**, November, 13th, at 6 o'clock, P. M., at the City Hotel, Common street.

S. DAVIS & CO., Managers.

Baron Riesbeck's *Travels through Germany*. In the section devoted to a "Characteristic Picture of the Bavarians," Nova Scotians could read: "A Picture of the Bavarian character and manners by Hogarth, would be extremely interesting.... if I endeavour to point out to you the peculiarities of Bavaria in the abstract, my descriptions will have none of that life and expression which distinguish Hogarth's groups, or Shakespeare's scenes..." In *Canada: a Descriptive Poem, Written at Quebec, 1805: With Satires-Imitations-And-Sonnets*, an unknown colonial author evoked a fair near Cambridge, where "the live-stock, a mixture of face / Which e'en Hogarth himself had been puzzled to trace."

By such glimpses into the cultural imaginary of the period we can begin to identify an awareness of William Hogarth in colonial era North America. The path is above all, as has been the case here, textual and historiographical. The full range of satirical prints that may have circulated in Quebec and Montreal, especially once the introduction of electoral politics in 1792 led to a period of high nationalist tension and effective censorship of visual satirical expression, has not yet been identified. The contrast with early nineteenth-century American art is compelling: to take just one example, Annalies Harding has documented the impact of Hogarth's compositions and themes on those of genre painter John Lewis Krimmel (1786–1821), a German immigrant active in Philadelphia after 1810.⁴⁸ Krimmel's work foreshadows that of another German artist, Cornelius Krieghoff (1815–1871), whose representations of French-Canadian and First Nations society were hugely popular among British colonials stationed in Canada in the 1840s–1860s.⁴⁹ In the future, it will be important to establish a framework for research into the textual and artistic paths taken by Hogarth's work and reputation in the configuration of artistic strategies in all North American societies in the late 1800s and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. It seems reasonable to suppose that the formation of academic art institutions and the impact of print culture played pivotal roles in the dissemination of Hogarth—of the very "idea of Hogarth"—through his recovery in artistic models for Canada and the United States, across a comprehensive range of cultural forms.

NOTES

- 1 Colleen M. Terry, "Presence in Print: William Hogarth in British North America" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2014). The preparation of this chapter was carried out independently of reference to Dr. Terry's dissertation, which should be consulted as the definitive and authoritative study of the transfer of the idea of William Hogarth to the early American sphere.
- 2 Joan Dolmetsch, "Prints in Colonial America: Supply and Demand in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Prints in and of America to 1850*, ed. John D. Morse (Winterthur: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum; Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970), 54–55.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 63.
- 4 Yvonne Korshak, "The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 1987): 56.
- 5 Jennings's painting is in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgway Library. The configuration of Hogarth's *Wilkes* and Jennings's *Genius of America* was partly reiterated when, in 1989, Albert Boime set John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark* against Winslow Homer's *The Gulf Stream* of 1899 in order to carry out a rereading of contrasting approaches to the positioning of the black figure in the history of American painting. Albert Boime, "Blacks in Shark-Infested Waters: Visual Encodings of Racism in Copley and Homer," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 3, no. 1 (Winter 1989): 18–47.
- 6 Korshak, "The Liberty Cap," 54–56.
- 7 Ronald Paulson discusses the Wilkes print at length in the chapter devoted to his reading of Hogarth's 1762 print *The Times* in *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1971), 2:354–99.
- 8 The figure of Pitt appears in state 3 of *The Times*, replacing the figure of Henry VIII from earlier states of the print. See Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970), 1:183.
- 9 Paulson, *Hogarth*, 384.
- 10 Shearer West, "Wilkes's Squint: Synecdochic Physiognomy and Political Identity in Eighteenth-Century Print Culture," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 1 (Fall 1999): 70–71.
- 11 On *Characters and Caricatura*, see the essay by Douglas Fordham in this volume.
- 12 "4000 copies were turned off at first printing, and the demand was so great that presses had to work day and night." Paulson, *Hogarth*, 385.
- 13 On the popularity of Hogarth's prints (including *Industry and Idleness*) as illustrations of social mores in books and periodicals in the nineteenth century, see the essay by Brian Maidment in this volume.
- 14 Janice G. Schimmelman, "A Checklist of European Treatises on Art And Essays on Aesthetics Available in America Through 1815," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (January 1, 1983), 95–195. Schimmelman lists the following entries for the appearance of *The Analysis of Beauty* in the principal American cities of the time: 1758, New York, New-York Society Library; 1760, Boston bookseller Jeremy Condry; 1764, Library Company of Philadelphia; 1770, Charleston, South Carolina Library Society; 1772, Harvard Seniors' Library; 1773, Harvard College catalogue; 1793, Brown University Library; 1793, 1796, and 1798, Boston bookseller William Pynson Blake; 1797, Salem (Mass.) Social Library; 1798, Library Company of Baltimore (catalogue); 1810, New York, Washington Circulating Library; 1811, Salem (Mass.), Athenaeum.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 136. William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Charles Davis, transcription of original edition (London: Printed by John Reeves for the Author, 1753), Fontes 52, Electronic full-text edition, University of Heidelberg, <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2010/1217>; see p. 134.
- 16 Susan Rather, "A Painter's Progress: Matthew Pratt and *The American School*," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 28 (1993): 169–83 (176). Rather's source for West's judgment is John Thomas Smith, *Nollekens and His Times* (London, 1828), 2:343.
- 17 Rather, "A Painter's Progress," 177.
- 18 Schimmelman, 101 and n. 12, citing Thomas Jefferson to Robert Skipwith, August 3, 1771, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 1:76–81.
- 19 Kenneth Hafertepe, "An Inquiry into Thomas Jefferson's Ideas of Beauty," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 2 (June 2000): 216–31 (217).
- 20 Edwin Morris Betts, *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book, 1766–1824*, 509, quoted in Frederick Doveton Nichols and Ralph E. Griswold, *Thomas Jefferson, Landscape Architect* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 77.
- 21 Hafertepe, "An Inquiry," 228, including quotation from Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, 1:311.
- 22 K.L.H. Wells, "Serpentine Sideboards, Hogarth's Analysis, and the Beautiful Self," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 46, no. 3 (Spring 2013): 399–413 (399–400).
- 23 Aileen Ribeiro, "'The Whole Art of Dress': Costume in the Work of John Singleton Copley," in *John Singleton Copley in America*, by Carrie Rebora, Paul Staiti, et al. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995): 103–15.
- 24 *Founding Families: Digital Editions of the Papers of the Winthrops and the Adamses*,

- ed. C. James Taylor (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2015), <http://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2> (Diary of John Adams, January 1761). See also Ribeiro, “The Whole Art of Dress.”
- 25 *Founding Families*, <http://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2> (Diary of John Adams, September 15, 1775). A portrait, *Roger Sherman (1721–1793), M.A. (Hon.) 1768* by Ralph Earl (1751–1801), is in the collection of the Yale University Art Gallery. In John Trumbull’s 1819 painting commemorating the presentation of the Declaration of Independence to Congress, Sherman is featured as the figure handing the document forward on behalf of the group of five commissioners — Sherman, Jefferson, Livingston, and Benjamin Franklin — who had been charged with the drafting of the document (Collection of the United States Capitol).
- 26 *Founding Families*, <http://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2> (December 28, 1780, John Adams to John Quincy Adams / Adams Family Correspondence, Volume 4).
- 27 *Founding Families*, <http://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2> (September 3, 1780, John Thaxter to John Adams / Papers of John Adams, Volume 10).
- 28 *Founding Families*, <http://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2> (June 13, 1779, James Warren to John Adams / Papers of John Adams, Volume 8). On James Warren, see Winfred E.A. Bernhard, “Warren, James,” *American National Biography Online* (February 2000), <http://www.anb.org/articles/01/01-00937.html>.
- 29 See Paulson, *Hogarth*, and David Bindman, *Hogarth and His Times: Serious Comedy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of Berkeley Press, 1998), 83, 199.
- 30 *Founding Families*, <http://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2> (October 8, 1782, Abigail Adams to John Adams/Adams Family Correspondence, Volume 5).
- 31 Jonathan Elmer, “Warren, Mercy Otis,” *American National Biography Online* (February 2000), <http://www.anb.org/articles/20/20-01086.html>.
- 32 Mercy Otis Warren, “The Genius of America weeping the absurd Follies of the Day.—October 10, 1778,” in *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous* (Boston: I. Thomas and E.T. Andrews, 1790), 246–52; originally published in *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* (October 5, 1778). The poem’s main text is introduced with an epigram: “O Tempora! O Mores!” See also Kate Davies, *Catharine Macaulay and Mercy Otis Warren: The Revolutionary Atlantic and the Politics of Gender* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 276. It is worth noting that John Quincy Adams provided the first translation of Juvenal to be published in the United States with the contribution of his version of Satire XIII to the first issue of the Philadelphia journal *The Port Folio*. Adams gave his translation of Satire VII to the same journal in 1805. See Linda K. Kerber and Walter John Morris, “Politics and Literature: The Adams Family and the *Port Folio*,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 23, no. 3 (July 1966): 450–76.
- 33 In 1983 Lester Cohen explained Warren’s viewpoint as part of a “growth in self-consciousness” that was “related to a decade of crisis. Examination of her letters throughout the 1780s indicates that she came to see the potential of a politics of republican language precisely when the republican paradigm was, as she saw it, most effectively challenged, and when her own complex project as woman, artist, and committed republican was most severely threatened.... there is something tragic, or at least ironic and unfortunate, in Warren’s intellectual and aesthetic development. For at the same time that she liberated herself from a naive devotion to republicanism and embraced it in a way that could satisfy both her public and private concerns, that language, or her version of it, was giving way to a new idiom.” Lester H. Cohen, “Mercy Otis Warren: The Politics of Language and the Aesthetics of Self,” *American Quarterly* 35, no. 5 (Winter 1983): 486.
- 34 *New-York Evening Post* (December 19, 1810): 2.
- 35 Colleen Terry devotes considerable attention to such evocations of Hogarth’s representational power, tracing them to traditions formed early on in Hogarth’s career among novelists and journalists in Great Britain. Terry, “Presence in Print,” 273–92.
- 36 *New-York Evening Post* (June 7, 1816): 2.
- 37 *New-York Evening Post* (June 13, 1817): 2.
- 38 *New-York Evening Post* (October 10, 1818): 2.
- 39 *New-York Evening Post* (March 28, 1822): 3.
- 40 On the connections between Hogarth and the theater, see the essays by Mark Phillips and Brian Maidment in this volume.
- 41 Terry reprints the announcement of the musical evening: “During the Opera the following SCENES will be exhibited: A View of the English Camp of Entrenchments with the Fortifications of Calais; a striking representation of the Gates of Calais (painted from an original picture of the celebrated Hogarth) thro’ which the melancholy procession moves to King Edward’s tent. A VIEW of the ROYAL Pavilion, And the Scaffold for the execution of those heroes who willingly offered their lives to save their country.” *City Gazette And Daily Advertiser* (Charleston), April 27, 1793, in Terry, “Presence in Print,” 210. Terry discusses this production as part of a lengthier examination of the presence of Hogarth in early American theater, pp. 208–11.
- 42 *New-York Evening Post* (July 17, 1806): 2. For a recent study of Edward Savage, see Tess Schwab, “Inclusion, Exclusion, and Transformation: Representing Slavery through Edward Savage’s *The Washington Family*” (master’s thesis, University of Delaware, 2007).

43 *New-York Evening Post* (July 17, 1806): 1.

44 The reference to Michel Foucault's *epistemes* is grounded in a reading of *Les mots et les choses* (1966), published in English as *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994). For Donald Preziosi's conception of the museum and of what he calls *museography*, the disciplinary nexus between the museum and art history, see "Epilogue: The Art of Art History," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 506–27; and *Rethinking Art History: Meditations on a Coy Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

45 "Straws—No. 140. / Pictures. / The Royal Academy and National Gallery," *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana; November 13, 1840): 2.

46 On Hogarth's uncomfortable relationship with continental Old Master painters, see the essay by Mark Phillips in this volume.

47 Gérard Bouchard, *Genèse des nations et cultures du Nouveau Monde: essai d'histoire comparée* (Montreal: Boréal, 2001); translated as *The Making of the Nations and Cultures of the New World: An Essay in Comparative History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).

48 Annaliese Harding, *John Lewis Krimmel: Genre Artist of the Early Republic* (Winterthur: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994); and "British and Scottish Models for the American Genre Paintings of John Lewis Krimmel," *Winterthur Portfolio* (2003): 221–43.

49 See Dennis Reid, *Krieghoff: Images of Canada* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario/Douglas & McIntyre, 1999); and Conrad Graham, "Cornelius Krieghoff and the Shakspeare Club," *The Journal of Canadian Art History* 24 (2003): 46–57, http://jcah-ahac.concordia.ca/fr/archive/2003_24.