

Section II

The Material Book: Print and Social Practices of Reading



5

Possessing the Visual: The Materiality of Visual Print Culture in Later Stuart Britain¹

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Printed words, together with their material production and appearance, have been the subject of a good deal of scholarly research. Much less attention, however, has been paid to printed images, or rather most historians (myself included) have been slower to integrate research about visual culture into their discussions of other cultural contexts. The 'visual turn' has been slower to catch on than the linguistic one. This, of course, is not to deny the very important work of the British Printed Images to 1700 project – which promises to both enable access to the images and remind us of their importance – nor recent research on both seventeenth- and eighteenth-century graphic prints.² But, for a variety of reasons (including, it has to be said, publishers' reluctance to include images on account of the additional production costs), the visual is often sidelined. This chapter seeks to place it at the centre by contextualising some of the printed images of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The materiality of this visual material is highlighted by exploring topical single-sheet images and topical playing cards, two genres that were given a major stimulus by the Popish Plot in 1678.³ The production of visual propaganda assumed a new importance in the first age of party politics, particularly as a result of the intense public interest in the Popish Plot (1678) and the trial of Dr Henry Sacheverell (1710). This chapter argues that visual propaganda played an important and innovative role in the partisan and plot-obsessed culture of the period; that the images had increasingly to answer as well as compete with each other; that there was an overlap between genres of visual print and indeed between visual prints and a wider material and consumer culture; that context and the means of production worked hand in hand; that images visualised polemical concepts and debates (raising interesting methodological questions about how visual

material might be included in discussions of political discourse); that print portraits of popular heroes seemed to acquire a new importance; and that, although difficult to measure, the impact of prints can be indicated in a variety of different ways. An essay exploring such an expansive and interesting visual culture will naturally want to show readers the images being discussed and as many as possible, within the constraints of conventional publishing, have been included here.⁴ A detailed listing of further images is available on a website, a non-material form of text that can nevertheless enhance our understanding of the material world and help reconcile word and image.⁵

The use of polemical images was not, of course, new in the late seventeenth century. Sophisticated visual propaganda had been part of the German reformation;⁶ and in the seventeenth century the Dutch had a flourishing print market. Indeed, the proximity of Holland and the close interests that developed between the two countries, both before but especially after the revolution of 1688 as a result of William of Orange's ambitions for an alliance against France, encouraged Dutch engravers to work on British subjects. This continental context will become important for a later discussion about mezzotints; for now, it is important to recognise that English political culture was not divorced from the European one, though, for reasons of space, I have not been able to include a discussion of the latter or of continental print-makers who sold their work in England.⁷ By comparison with the continent the English tradition of visual satire was not a particularly robust one in the seventeenth century, but it was given a considerable boost in the early 1640s.⁸ Protestant hostility to images can be overemphasised as a factor, for the burgeoning of graphic satire occurred after the lapse of control over the press rather than after the decline of Calvinism. Moreover, as we shall see, printed images of 1678–1710 arguably grew out of a longer visual tradition of anti-Catholicism and loyalism to the church and monarchy.

Yet although there had been multiple images in the first half of the century mocking popery, episcopacy, cavaliers and sectarians, the scale and dissemination of the series of images associated with the 'Popish Plot' – the revelation in 1678 by Titus Oates of a 'Popish Plot' to re-establish Catholicism in England – seems to have been novel. Over twenty prints were issued during the 'Popish Plot' and the crisis that it helped to spark in the five years after 1678.⁹

Politico-religious culture thus took a visual turn, with much more extensive and systematic use of visual polemic in topical sheet form than had previously been the case. In part this was the result of the

lapse of the Licensing Act in May 1679, which temporarily put an end to pre-publication censorship, until the state reasserted control through the courts in 1682 and through the statute book in 1685. But the visual turn was also in part a reflection of the heightened role of the public as a political force that needed to be won over or manipulated: mass petitions and Pope-burning processions, together with frequent elections (three in three years), invoked popular participation.¹⁰ The 'Popish Plot' re-animated the powerfully emotive anti-popery that had been inculcated since the reformation; and the prospect of a 'popish' successor, in the form of James Duke of York, Charles II's brother, raised the spectre that reconversion could indeed come about unless the line of the succession was altered. Attempts to do so, however, in three consecutive parliaments between 1679 and 1681 re-opened the spectre of civil war and polarised opinions. The issue of dissent added further fuel to the fire, since dissenters were among the most vociferous of the Court's critics and reformers; but to adherents of the church their renewed demands for religious toleration or comprehension within the national church were ominously reminiscent of the causes of the civil war.

One of the sheet print images, *The Committee or Popery in Masquerade*, shows the memory and fear of civil war very well: published in April 1680 during a short-lived resurgence of court fortunes when '41 is come again' became a loyalist rallying cry, it is full of references to the civil war period.¹¹ A cabal of Protestant sectarians, encouraged by the Pope from a window in the top right, heads a campaign for a renewed reformation, with the old slogans of liberty and property, the casualties of which were the monarchy and the church. The image was accompanied by a text, apparently written by Roger L'Estrange, who until the lapse of the Licensing Act had been the government's surveyor of the press and its most prolific apologist.¹² The print is interesting for a variety of reasons that will be teased out below; for now it is noteworthy because it was answered six months later by Stephen Colledge's *Strange's Case Strangely Altered*, which was, Antony Griffiths remarks, 'a landmark in the history of English satire, being the first occasion that both parties conducted a political controversy in visual form'.¹³ This may overstate the significance slightly – an exchange of 1646 is highlighted, for example, in Helen Pierce's work.¹⁴ But only in the later Stuart period do we begin to see graphic prints directly and routinely answering each other as part of a polemical exchange. The engraver of the satire, Stephen Colledge, also has an important place in the history of visual libel, for in 1681 he was executed for another print, the first legal case in which a

visual satire constituted treason. College had depicted King Charles as a duplicitous showman, with a box of tricks ('a chest of Rome'), who needed literally to be brought down.¹⁵

The process of visual satire answering satire, initiated by the appeal to the public and the bitter partisanship between 1678 and 1682, was used to even greater effect in the equally charged atmosphere of 1709–10. Once again the public was being courted by rival camps. The High Church Tories saw in the trial of the cleric Henry Sacheverell (prosecuted for an inflammatory sermon against dissenters, their Whig sympathisers and the revolution settlement) an opportunity to bring down the government and return to power.¹⁶ The Whigs, on the other hand, saw Sacheverell as a malign force who sought to use religious fervour for political ends – a kind of reverse Oates, for whereas the latter had used anti-popery against the group he first called Tories, Sacheverell used anti-dissenting antipathies against the Whigs. In both controversies religious passions were tied closely to political ends; both led to bitter ideological disputes; and both invoked the public's judgement. As a result of Sacheverell's trial there were riots in London, a national campaign of addresses to press for the dissolution of the Whig-dominated parliament and consequently a general election that took full advantage of the free press. Indeed, the volume of print of all types produced in 1710 was huge.¹⁷ Visual polemic again found a place in this market. At least forty visual separates relating to the Sacheverell affair of 1709–11 were produced, almost half of which were in direct dialogue with each other.¹⁸

The dialogic nature of the prints is most clearly illustrated by two (Figure 5.1) that presented not only very different viewpoints – High Church and Low Church – but also the close emulation of style and format in order to make the refutation more complete and effective. In the first, the devil is driving a coach carrying the Catholic Stuart Pretender to the throne and the lead horse is ridden by the gowned Sacheverell, trampling moderation, toleration, liberty and property underfoot. In the High Church reply, the devil is again driving a coach but this time carrying a republican, and the lead horse is ridden by Benjamin Hoadly, the Low Church champion and polemicist, with monarchy, liberty, loyalty and episcopacy being trampled underfoot by horses labelled republican tyranny, slavery, presbytery, rebellion, moderation and occasional conformity. Since we cannot date these images very accurately – it is notable that we have much less bibliographical data about them than the earlier ones – it is possible that the Low Church print responds to the High Church one, an interchangeability that only underscores how closely they fit together.¹⁹



Figure 5.1 Two printed images (*Needs Must When the Devil Drives* and *Like Coachman Like Cause*) relating to the trial of Henry Sacheverell: BM, Sat. 1496 and BM, Sat. 1497. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.

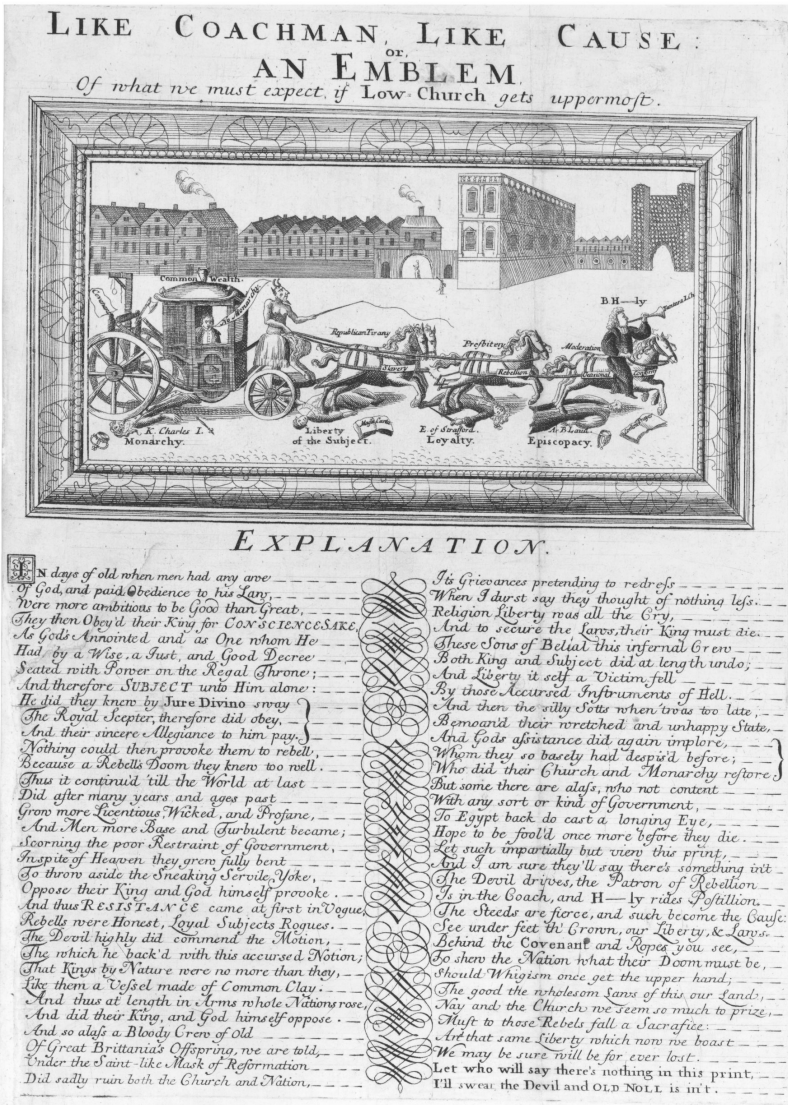


Figure 5.1 (continued)

These first of the images, *Needs Must*, has strong similarities to another print, *The Jacobites Hopes*, which adopts many of its visual references. Thus it, too, has the pretender being pulled in a chariot by tigers and dragons labelled popery, slavery, tyranny, with two asses in front, one labelled non-resistance and the other passive obedience, ridden by Sacheverell, and trampling property, moderation, toleration and liberty. Either this print was a response to the High Church *Like Coachman* as the third print in a process of statement, reply and re-statement; or it was an additional confutation of the Whiggish print. Either way, it is testimony to a complex and connected series of prints, the more so because another print, *Faults on Boath Sides*, took up some of the iconography but subtly insinuated that 'every man you meet's an Ass', whether Whig or Tory.²⁰

Another set of prints (Figure 5.2) again shows the dialogic nature of the satires in interesting ways. The first of these, *The High Church Champion and his Two Seconds*, again depicts Sacheverell with the Devil, who whispers malice in his ears, and the Pope, who blesses his sermon writing. The accompanying text did not pull its punches: Sacheverell, it claimed, was one of the 'pamper'd Priests' who were the real 'false brethren' – a reference to the doctor's sermon, *The Perils of False Brethren*, which had castigated the dissenters and their sympathisers. The print provoked an immediate response. In *The High Church Champion Pleading his Own Cause*, Sacheverell is shown as vanquishing both Devil (who flees) and Pope (whose tiara lies on the floor by Sacheverell's foot, ready to be kicked to hell).²¹ These two prints, one Whig and one Tory, each depicting Sacheverell in his study, also have echoes in two further anti-Whig satires (Figure 5.3). Thus *Guess at my Meaning* and *View Here the Pourtrait of a Factious Priest*, the one clearly parasitic on the other, both depict the Low Church counterpart to Sacheverell, Benjamin Hoadly, in his study with the devil and a personification of Malice or (the next best thing) Oliver Cromwell, surrounded by factious books by Locke, Milton, Hobbes, Sidney, Toland and Harrington.²² The presence in these images of such prose works, together with the texts (often verse) that mostly accompanied the prints, is a reminder about the close interaction between image and word.²³ Indeed, it is also striking in the Sacheverell prints that certain key words and concepts – liberty, monarchy, the church, the devil, moderation – were being contested and disputed, with rival definitions and sets of meaning. Thus the verbal polemical exchanges, which turned on precisely the same terms, had a visual counterpart – a visual shorthand – that drew on an emblematic tradition and were



Figure 5.2 Two printed images (*The High Church Champion and his Two Seconds* and *The High Church Champion Pleading his Own Cause*) relating to the trial of Henry Sacheverell: BM, Sat. 1498 and BM, Sat. 1499. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.



Figure 5.2 (continued)



Figure 5.3 Two prints (*Guess at my Meaning* and *View Here the Pourtrait*) depicting Benjamin Hoadly as inspired by either Cromwell or the devil: BM, Sat. 1503 and BM, Sat. 1533. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.



VIEW here the **Portrait** of a **Faction** Priest,
 Who (spight of Proverbs) dares defile his Nest :
 And where he shou'd defend the Church's Cause,
 Basely deserts her, and arraigns her Laws.
 Such, and no better is the Man that dares
 With his Superiours wage litigious Wars :
 And to malignant Answers sets his Hand,
 To Sermons published by **Supreme Command**.
 If this be meritorious, let him find
 Preferment suited to so vile a Mind :
 A Mitre ne'er can fit that impious Head,
 Who has his Conscience, and his Trust betray'd.
 Such the **Satyrick Muse** did well describe,
 When thus (provok'd) she sung the factious Tribe :

*Unhappy Church! by such Usurpers sway'd,
 How is thy Native Purity decay'd?
 How are thy Prelates chang'd from what they were
 When **Laud** and **Santwich** fill'd the sacred Chair?
 When for establish'd Faith they shou'd contend,
 Meekness, and Christian Charity pretend;
 But with a blind enthusiastick Rage,
 For Schism and Toleration they engage;
 With strange Delight and Vehemence espouse
 Occasional Conformity's shameful Cause;
 Oppress thy Friends, and vindicate thy Foes.
 Faction, a restless and repining Fiend,
 Curdles their Blood, and gnaws upon their Mind,
 Offspring of Chaos, Enemy to Form,
 Who, raging, swirls the World into a Storm.
 She taught the Giants to attempt the Sky,
 And **JOB's** avenging Thunder to defy:
 She rais'd the **HEAVENS** that struck the fatal Blow,
 Which murder'd Gods Vicegerent here below;
 And still pursues him with relentless Hate,
 Arraigns his Memory, and insults his Fate.*

[Faction display'd.] by *Stephan*

Engrav'd, and Printed at **AMSTERDAM**: 1710. price 2d.

* *M. Benjamin Hoadly, Author of Some Considerations offered to the bishops of Exeter. See Notes and Address of the House of Commons, Decr. 1709.*

Figure 5.3 (continued)

repeatedly deployed in the visual material.²⁴ In other words, political discourse had a visual as well as a textual literacy, and visual images can and should be used in discussions of political discourse far more than they have been.²⁵ Indeed, a more systematic investigation of visual and verbal contests, and of how ideas were visualised as well as defined textually, would seem a productive way forward. The interplay between text and image is also evident in the many titles of tracts that infer a process of visualisation. *Chuse Which You Please: or, Dr. Sacheverell, and Mr. Hoadley, Drawn to the Life* (1710), *Dr Sacheverell's Picture Drawn to the Life* [1710], *An Auction of State Pictures* (1710) and *The Picture of a True Fanatick* (1710) all illustrate this point. The latter, moreover, which was also the title of a print, shows the very close marriage of text and image.

The images of 1679–82 and 1709–11 can therefore be seen as part of a fitfully emerging phenomenon of polemical and topical separate prints. There were other ways in which innovation was taking place as part of that process, most notably in terms of playing cards, portraiture and print technique in the form of mezzotint. Indeed, it is worth saying a little more about each of these before considering how such material might have been consumed.

Playing cards depicting non-political scenes became available early in the restoration, for there were a number of packs carrying engraved images available in the 1660s and 1670s, such as those with county maps that were published in about 1675.²⁶ But, as with the separate sheet images, it was the Popish Plot of 1678 that seems to have fostered the innovation of topical and polemical cards, a development that continued into the eighteenth century, until the South Sea Bubble crisis of 1720, after which the genre temporarily disappeared. Fifteen such packs produced between the Plot and the end of Anne's reign captured contemporary anxieties and events, reflecting the expanded market generated by the era of plots and the first age of party politics.²⁷ Collections of playing cards survive on both sides of the Atlantic, and there are some good catalogues of them;²⁸ moreover, advertisements in the newspaper press (liberated temporarily in 1679 and then permanently in 1695) can help us to date them accurately. It is striking how many packs were produced between 1678 and 1690, as a result of intense interest in the plots and revolutionary movements of that period. The cards often celebrated loyalty – to the church, against a popish threat, or to the monarchy, against a republican or dissenting threat, or to civil and religious liberties. It is also worth noting that despite their topicality, the packs of cards had a life beyond the

immediate context that spawned them: Popish Plot packs were still being advertised in 1697 and 1703, the latter almost twenty-five years after their initial appearance.²⁹

The cards have seldom been integrated into analyses of the printed material culture of the period. So a number of observations can be made, preliminary to a more detailed study.

The dating of packs suggests that the innovation of topical cards was specific to a certain moment – the winter of 1679–80 – and resulted in copy-cat productions that reflect a highly competitive but burgeoning market. They appeared at a moment in which the new-found freedom of the press coincided with a tense political and religious situation that was provoking popular participation on an unusual scale. The late summer of 1679 witnessed a general election but as the year grew to a close it became clear that the king had no intention of letting the new MPs sit; and a campaign to petition him to allow Parliament to sit drew mass signatures on a scale not seen since the civil war. Moreover, the revelation of a ‘meal tub plot’ – an attempt by Catholics to invent a bogus plot that they could throw on the Protestant nonconformists – ensured that anti-popery was at a height. Such antipathy found expression on the streets of London on 17 November 1679 (the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth’s accession day) in a spectacular Pope-burning procession that drew huge crowds. Publishers took advantage of this set of circumstances, with perhaps as many as five different packs being produced in the winter of 1679–80 (evidence comes from newspaper advertisements as much as the packs themselves).³⁰ The production of the *Knavery of the Rump*, during a similar period, coincided with the re-activated fears of civil war discussed earlier and a conscious rejection of rebellion and disorder.³¹

We might expect the number of illustrated packs to have expanded with the rage of party and the lapse of licensing controls on the press in 1695; yet although numerous illustrated packs were produced – with images of love, proverbs, fortune-telling, mathematical instruments, genealogy, topography and aids to learning languages – the number of topical packs was fewer in the post-revolutionary world. Attention in two packs from Anne’s reign focused on loyalty against a foreign threat, a reflection of Britain’s part in the war of the Spanish succession, though one pack ostensibly celebrating the Duke of Marlborough’s continental victories did also manage to satirise him as a money-grubbing knave.³² It was only with the Sacheverell affair that a topical pack dealing primarily with domestic concerns was again produced; significantly it was again the perceived threat to

the church – Sacheverell and the High Churchmen were beating the drum of ‘the church in danger’ – that seems to have re-opened the market. Even then, the pack was published by John Lenthall, who had been behind most of the non-topical illustrated packs sold in Anne’s reign, suggesting that the genre had become a niche market rather than one, as thirty years before, which had been the scene of speculation by publishers established in other forms of print.³³ The Sacheverell pack was the last to feature a major religio-political conflict; the next topical pack, in 1720, illustrated the financial crisis of the South Sea Bubble.

The images in the early cards moved across genre. Not only did cards borrow from each other – the fierce competition in 1679–80 saw publishers taking advantage of each other’s innovations, sometimes even by plagiarising images – but also copied from the single sheet images examined earlier. Thus the image used on the knave of



Figure 5.4 The knave of diamonds from a Popish Plot pack: BM, Schreiber Playing Card E.59. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.

diamonds, showing the plotter Pickering attempting to assassinate the king in St James Park in the *Late Horrid Popish Plot* pack (Figure 5.4), went through at least six variants, transmuting into the very similar (though not identical) eight of diamonds in the *History of all the Popish Plots* pack (Figure 5.5), and also appears in the broadsheet print *A Representation of the Popish Plot*, which unashamedly reproduced the card designs and captions in a cartoon-like narrative (Figure 5.6). The same image and caption, used in the broadside *A Representation of the Popish Plot*, is to be found in the middle row of this sheet image, two 'cards' from the left.

A Representation of the Popish Plot was not unique. A number of other sheet images emulated playing cards in their format, using small boxes to advance a narrative (for example, the two broadsides *A True Narrative of the Horrid Hellish Popish Plot* (1682), parts 1 and 2) or



Figure 5.5 The eight of diamonds from the *History of all the Popish Plots* pack: BM, Schreiber Playing Card E.56. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.



Figure 5.6 A Representation of the Popish Plot: BM, Sat. 1067. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.

even shared images with the cards. Thus *A Poem on the Effgies of Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey*, licensed 28 November 1678, carries an image on the bottom left (of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's funeral) that is very similar to the two of spades in the *Horrid Popish Plot* pack, published



Figure 5.7 and 5.8 The queen of diamonds in the *Meal Tub Plot* pack depicting Mrs Cellier, the 'Popish Midwife'. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum and the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

a year later. This intertextuality is particularly striking in the work of Francis Barlow, whose drawings for a series of packs of cards, including the *Horrid Popish Plot*, still survive.³⁴

Barlow seems to have re-used designs in different formats or else was himself plagiarised. Thus his design for the queen of diamonds in the *Meal Tub Plot* pack of the 'popish midwife' Mrs Cellier (Figures 5.7 and 5.8) appears, in an adapted form (showing her standing rather than seated, and with an expanded background) on the bottom right of a sheet print produced at about the same time as the cards (Figure 5.9).³⁵ Another image from the sheet then influenced the illustration in a pamphlet, *The plot in a Dream, or, The Discoverer in Masquerade* (1681).³⁶

The recurrence of Barlow's images takes an intriguing turn in another design for a card from the *Meal Tub Plot* pack. This features Roger L'Estrange at a table 'writing to Rome', which duly appeared as the ten of clubs, with the caption 'A Protestant hatcht at Rome', and

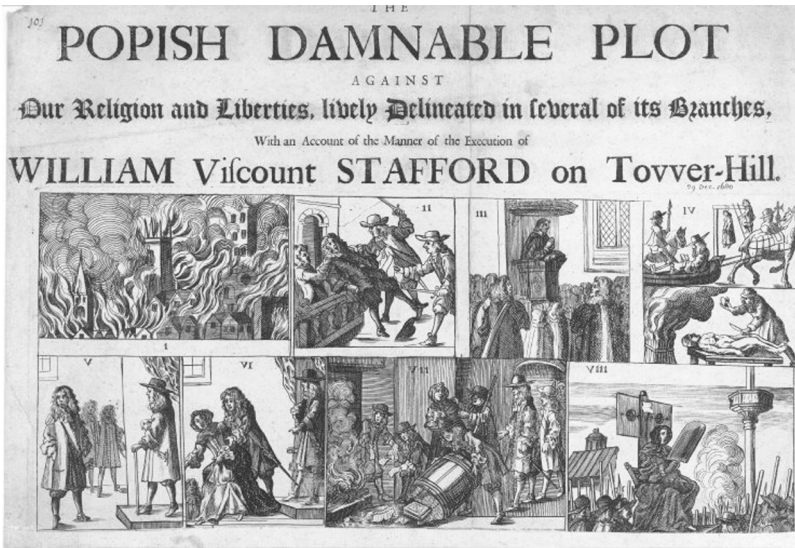


Figure 5.9 Print from *The Popish Damnable Plot* (1681): BM, Sat. 1088. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.

was hence a vilification of the Tories' chief propagandist. Yet in the spring of 1680, as noted earlier, L'Estrange had written the text for a satire against the dissenters, called *The Committee*. In the centre of the print (Figure 5.10) is a caricature of Henry Care, one of the chief anti-popish propagandists, that is remarkably similar to Barlow's card design (Figure 5.11).³⁷ A number of possibilities exist. One is that Barlow had a hand in the design of *The Committee* – and his *Knavery of the Rump* pack suggests that he was animated by a defence of the church against a popish threat and could share L'Estrange's antipathy to dissent – but that his sympathy for L'Estrange rapidly waned once the latter began questioning the Popish Plot. If so, the image on the card becomes truly satirical because he might expect readers to notice the allusion to the earlier print. Another possibility is that Barlow plagiarised, consciously or unconsciously, an image available in a printed sheet, which could also be the case with the Cellier image discussed above. The matter becomes even more complicated, though, when the same image is to be found in *A History of the New Plot, or, A Prospect of Conspirators* (1683), published by Randal Taylor, who had also published Popish Plot cards, as a satire against the Whigs, in which



Figure 5.10 A detail from *The Committee* (1680) satirising the vehemently anti-Catholic Henry Care: BM, Sat. 1080. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.



Figure 5.11 Francis Barlow's design for a playing card satirising Roger L'Estrange: BM, Prints and Drawings album 1954,0710.4, sketch 48. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.



Figure 5.12 A detail from *A History of the New Plot, or, a Prospect of Conspirators* (1683). Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

it is used to show Shaftesbury dictating to his secretary (Figure 5.12). The print was later reworked into a 1709 broadsheet again attacking the Whigs.³⁸ Thus an image that was used to satirise a leading Tory (L'Estrange) was more often used to satirise leading Whigs (either the propagandist Henry Care or, in 1683, the first Earl of Shaftesbury or, later, the Junto Whigs).

Barlow is interesting because he also highlights further trans-generic shifts. He had been involved in the design of the Pope-burning processions, which were depicted on single-sheet images, and hence transferred the physically dramatic to the textual.³⁹ Stephen College, a carpenter who also worked on the processions, similarly turned his hand to engraving satires. Other transmutations of images are noteworthy. Benjamin Harris used a woodcut copied from a sheet image of a Pope-burning procession to illustrate a book that was designed as an anti-popish primer for children.⁴⁰ Images also transferred from print to other non-printed media. Thus a design on a set of tiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum was copied from playing cards (Figure 5.13); and in the spring of 1680 there was an advertisement for buttons 'there being described on them some of the most remarkable



Figure 5.13 Images of the Popish Plot reproduced on a set of tiles: V&A, Cat 414:823/9-1885. Reproduced by permission of the Victoria & Albert Museum.

passages of the late Horrid Plot'.⁴¹ The cross-over from text to material culture is again striking in the Sacheverell affair, when a design for a fan was printed and an actual fan made depicting the High Church hero (Figure 5.14); it came with a warning against poor imitations, so we must assume it was not unique.⁴² Here the material culture of 1710 was again echoing that of the Popish Plot era: one of the fictional personas in the *Spectator* was reminded that there had been a fan, snuff box and handkerchief carrying Oates's image.⁴³ There was also a silk handkerchief, depicting Sacheverell and the six bishops who voted for his acquittal, 'which will not be prejudiced by washing'.⁴⁴ The design for this was perhaps taken from a print that was itself an emulation



Figure 5.14 Sacheverell fan. Reproduced by permission of the Fan Museum, London.

of another print of the seven bishops who had been tried in 1688, a print that in turn had been copied as painted portraits (Figure 5.15).⁴⁵ The inference was clear: Sacheverell was a martyr just like the bishops of 1688, and probably deserved a mitre.⁴⁶ The British Museum also possesses a pottery figurine of him and a commemorative plate with a bust-length portrait.⁴⁷ Thus long before Wilkes exploited the material



Figure 5.15 Mezzotint of the seven bishops and a print of Sacheverell surrounded by six bishops who voted for him the latter appearing to have provided the design for a silk handkerchief: BM, Prints and Drawings 1853,0112.2061 and BM, Sat. 1524. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.



Figure 5.15 (continued)

culture for popular polemical purposes, partisan culture shaped consumer goods.

The use of Sacheverell's portrait on a fan, handkerchief and plate brings us to two other innovations in the exploitation of topical visual material, print portraits and mezzotints. From the late 1670s print portraits increasingly became topical, and the newspapers carried

advertisements for them.⁴⁸ Print portraiture predated, but was given an enormous boost by, the Popish Plot, which made something of a cult of Titus Oates, the man who first 'discovered' the plot, and of his fellow witnesses.⁴⁹ As with the Popish Plot single-sheet prints and playing cards, publishers of portraits of Oates were fiercely competitive, with accusations of counterfeit and plagiarism. The website lists some of these images, together with portraits of the next figure to be lionised in this way, Henry Sacheverell, whose portrait became truly ubiquitous.⁵⁰

While most of these prints were engraved on copper, some (such as the seven bishops print) made use of the new technique of mezzotint, which was introduced into England in the 1660s but which remained something of a secret, even in Royal Society circles.⁵¹ Mezzotint became commercially available in the late 1670s. It had the advantage of being able to achieve more painterly tonal effect and, importantly in the pressured market after 1678, was also more rapidly produced – George Vertue noted that six mezzotints could be scraped in the time it took to do one engraving, largely because it removed the need for lots of cross-hatching to produce darker areas, working instead from dark to light rather than light to dark. Of course, mezzotints were not ideally suited to a mass market – they could achieve far smaller print runs than their conventional counterpart because the plates did not last as long – but they added another string to the printmakers' bow and there are mezzotint portraits of both Oates and Sacheverell, feeding the consumption of images of men at the centre of the news, both of whom portrayed themselves as heroes saving Protestantism.

Sacheverell's portrait was sold along with his infamous sermon and in very many other versions.⁵² Philip Overton's advertisement was hopelessly optimistic when it claimed that it was the 'only true print of the Effigies' and reminded buyers that 'to distinguish this from counterfeits, it has besides the Painters Name, that of Andrew Johnson at the bottom, all others being imperfect Copies and not taken from the Painting'; and it was further embarrassing for Overton to have to admit shortly afterwards that he had misspelt his own engraver's name: 'That persons may not be impos'd upon by the many Counterfeit ones about Town; the true one has the Name of Andrew Johnston (not Johnson) at the Bottom of it'.⁵³ Indeed, the whole notion of counterfeit is rather muddled by the large number of engravings and mezzotints copied either from paintings (themselves copies of the original) or from other prints. Sacheverell's face was everywhere and it is clear that as a result of the profusion of such



Figure 5.16 Print depicting Henry Sacheverell holding a portrait of Charles I: BM, Portraits British CIV(2) C. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.

portraits – highly unusual for figures outside Court circles – viewers were expected to recognise it in other prints where he stood as an emblem for the Church.⁵⁴ Oates, too, appeared in prints where he was not named.⁵⁵ Many prints subtly (sometimes not so subtly) varied the delineation of their faces. There are at least four different versions of Sacheverell holding a portrait of Charles I, each showing slightly different depictions of the doctor (Figure 5.16).⁵⁶ Similarly,



Figure 5.17 'Sacheverell with Charles I'. Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

while Oates's large chin is consistent throughout, the mezzotints of him are rather different from the engravings of him, which themselves vary significantly, and in one his face is deliberately rendered interchangeable with that of Robert Ferguson, the Whig plotter (Figure 5.17).⁵⁷ Oates and Sacheverell were made to look older or younger, more handsome or ugly, more serious or more winsome,

according to design. Personality was both imprinted and recognisable but also malleable.

Sacheverell's portrait may have had a peculiar attraction for women. Though, to the modern eye, it is not perhaps immediately apparent from the prints, he was considered at the time to be 'a very handsome man ... a beautyfull idol for the mob' who lured 'the female part of the nation'.⁵⁸ *The Officers Address to the Ladies* reprimanded them for succumbing to his charms and one broadside suggests a woman swooning before him as though he were a beau.⁵⁹ Another print from the period shows a woman alone in her study, contemplating the issues of the day, a figure reminiscent of the female audience targeted by the *Spectator* and other contemporary periodicals.⁶⁰

It is also striking how ubiquitous Roger L'Estrange's image became: although depicted emblematically in the sheet satires and playing cards, his portrait was available in 1684.⁶¹ Indeed, we can use hostility to L'Estrange as one way of gauging how visual prints may have stirred passions. College satirised him as a dog, Towzer with a broom (his publisher – and that of the *Committee* – was Henry Brome) attached to his tail.⁶² The print moved the collector Narcissus Luttrell to write on his copy:

This touzer is Roger L'Estrange, that eminent invective against godliness & good men, by his pregnant saterick penn for the last 20 years, a zealous voucher of the Church of England, neare meets with his match in this figure, who was very ripe by figures of covinators and all sorts of professors to scoff at that godliness which he was a stranger to.⁶³

Luttrell's annotations also help us to determine who was buying this material, why and how they responded to it. One clue to the intended audience is price. Sheet images varied according to design and demand. *The Solemn Mock Procession* was advertised for 6d, which seems to have been about the norm. Demand could drive prices up: *The Committee* was advertised for 6d but Luttrell paid 1s for his copy. Equally the competition surrounding the Sacheverell trial seems to have forced prices down, to just a few pence.⁶⁴ Such prices suggest that the sheet images cost more than a pamphlet but, particularly by Anne's reign, were still affordable to the pamphlet-buying public. Uses for the single sheet prints varied. Some were sold specifically to be hung on walls. A sheet depicting Godfrey's murder in 1678 was advertised as 'a neat

ornament for gentlemens houses';⁶⁵ and George Sawbridge placed an advertisement in 1703 for 'Pious Instructions, which were found hanging up in a black Ebony Frame written in Gold in King Charles the First's Closet soon after his death 1648, neatly printed upon a Broad-side with his Majesty's picture, to be put into Frames, 6d.'⁶⁶ Images could also be used in loyalist, or Jacobite, rituals, such as the 30 January anniversary of the regicide, which produced a flurry of advertisements at that time.⁶⁷ The portraits of Sacheverell carrying a portrait of Charles I, another martyr for the church, clearly exploited this market. Prints could also be used subversively to celebrate the pretender's birthday: in 1703 a person was seized 'as he was dispersing gratis to several the Prince of Wales his picture'.⁶⁸ They could also be mementos of rituals; thus the British Museum's copy of the *Solemn Mock Procession* (1679) has a manuscript annotation – 'This I saw in Cheapside Sam Sheafe' – and another in Luttrell's hand: 'There was on[e] also ye I saw ye 17 Novem. 1680'.⁶⁹ Images – either as printed images or as effigies (which may have been influenced by them) – could also be ritually desecrated or burnt. The 'effigy' of Benjamin Hoadly, the archetypal Low Church cleric, was burnt in Oxford when the town heard the news of Sacheverell's acquittal.⁷⁰ On the other side, at Hanbury Hall, Thomas Vernon – staunch Whig – had a staircase decoration (still surviving) showing Mercury holding a print of a portrait of Sacheverell being set alight by the Furies. The emotive power of images also seems evident in the fact that the crowd who attacked dissenting meeting houses during Sacheverell's trial were animated in part by an image of an imaginary prize-fight between the doctor and his Low Church enemy Hoadly.⁷¹ Certainly White Kennett, a Whig cleric who was alarmed at the 'cuts and pictures' that represented Sacheverell as the only true Churchman, thought they were 'designed for the Mob'.⁷²

A volume in the British Library – hitherto uncatalogued – also reveals a further use for the Sacheverell prints, as shown by Figure 5.18.⁷³ Here, in what appears to have been a near contemporaneous response, they are bound into a copy of Sacheverell's trial, and seem to indicate the High Church sympathy of the collector, since the prints are often inserted to defend Sacheverell from the accusations made against him.⁷⁴ This indicates a reader collecting prints in an engaged way in order to counter a partisan attack. Finally, this was all the more necessary for, if we are to believe one pamphlet, the visual satires against Sacheverell were remarkably effective: *The Picture of Malice* [1710], the title of which can be construed as a reference to their potency, was written



Figure 5.18 Print depicting Henry Sacheverell holding a portrait of Charles I, pasted into a copy of Sacheverell’s trial: BL, Sach. 445(9). Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.

by someone who had seen *The High Church Champion and his Seconds* and noted that it had been ‘the chief Machine which his Enemies employ’d against the Doctor, they have exposed him in the same Piece with the Pope and the Devil ... mark the success of this and all their other malicious Methods’.⁷⁵ No wonder the compiler of the British Library volume pasted in the antidote print *To the Author of the High Church Champion*.

Cards were similarly accessible, though they may have appealed to a slightly different consumer. Their cost halved in price as a result of competition – from 1s 6d to just 8d or even 6d at the height of the Popish Plot. In the mid-1680s the price of cards generally fell as a result of the creation of a playing card office located in Bloomsbury, but returned to about a shilling thereafter and grew more expensive in 1711 when the government placed a 6d tax on them.⁷⁶ Playing cards were widely consumed, but illustrated cards were clearly aimed

at the higher end of the market and the very good state of some surviving packs suggests that they were collected. Indeed, the *Victory Cards* celebrating Marlborough's victories were specifically 'contriv'd not only to divert the Ingenious, but to hand down to Posterity the stupendous Victories obtain'd by the Arms of her Majesty'.⁷⁷ Even so, others such as the *Popish Plot* or *Orange* packs were, as an advertisement insisted, made to be 'play'd with, like Common Cards',⁷⁸ despite moral qualms voiced elsewhere about the indulgence of a habit that could, if carried to excess, be construed a vice. How precisely the cards were used in play needs further investigation. Some packs, such as one illustrating the events leading to the Revolution of 1688 and the one celebrating the early years of Anne's reign, had a very clear sequence, numbered across suits and card numbers in order to dictate the chronological narrative; most others had no obvious order and required the player (or the game itself) to impose one. Sometimes the cards have migrated across packs, suggesting a promiscuity of message: a set of 'Love' cards in the British Museum contains fifteen cards from another set, including a knave of hearts depicting the regicide John Hewson.⁷⁹ Even if not used in play, the card images could still find other uses. One advertisement in December 1679 suggested that if buyers did not want them as packs, 'you may have them in sheets to adorn studies and houses. There is likewise a broadside with an almanack, and some of the aforesaid pictures about it, which may not be unfitly called the Christian Almanack fit for Shops, Houses and Studies'.⁸⁰ The cards do not appear to have been annotated, so gauging user reaction is not easy. But advertisements give some clues. Thus 'a malicious libel' cast aspersions on one version of the Popish Plot cards, 'intimating that it did not answer what is proposed'.⁸¹

The later Stuart graphic culture is often seen as a 'prelude' to Hogarth's more famous treatments, but it is clear that the period's images are worthy of study in their own right. Although the use of printed images was not entirely novel, the scale of their production in the later Stuart period (particularly during the Popish Plot and the Sacheverell affair) suggests that partisan culture was thinking in new ways visually as well as verbally when satirising enemies. Print, material and political culture became intertwined in interesting ways, and this led to a variety of innovations. It was during this period that printed images came routinely to answer one another, that mezzotint was used for topical prints, that playing cards became an important consumer item that apparently found a ready market

among a plot-obsessed public, and that other consumer items such as fans, handkerchiefs, buttons, tiles and ribbons frequently echoed and elaborated designs in print. The abundance of such material, its iconographic richness and the interactions between image and text also offer the possibility of using the sources for a better understanding of how polemical concepts were visualised and manipulated by partisans.

There are nevertheless questions to which answers are not yet obvious, to me at least. It is not clear why topical prints were advertised in newspapers during the Popish Plot but rarely, apparently, during the Sacheverell crisis; or how much of the printed imagery remained in circulation beyond its first publication, either through reprinting or through a culture of collection or display. The extent to which such material was disseminated outside the capital also seems uncertain. The relationship between topical and other illustrated playing cards, how cards were used and how their messages could become mixed when the cards were held promiscuously in a hand all remain something of unknown quantities. During the Popish Plot some of the printed images were published by booksellers responsible for verbal polemic; but, with some exceptions, this appears to have been much less the case in the eighteenth century, a shift that would be interesting to chart. The relationship between book illustration and topical prints also seems another fruitful line of inquiry. There are thus issues to do with wider changes in the trade, and its interaction with political culture, that would repay further investigation.

Notes

1. I am grateful for comments on this chapter from the conference audience from which this volume stems, the audience of the 2009 Bangor conference on the 1680s and Michael Hunter.
2. <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/> and Michael Hunter (ed.) *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate). Recent works include Claire George (2005) 'Topical Portrait Print Advertising in London Newspapers and The Term Catalogues: 1660–1714', Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University; Eirwen Nicholson (1994) 'English Political Prints and Pictorial Political Argument c.1640–1832', Unpublished PhD thesis, Edinburgh University; Malcolm Jones (forthcoming) *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press); Joseph Monteyne (2007) *The Printed Image in Early Modern London: Urban Space, Visual Representation,*

- and Social Exchange (Aldershot: Ashgate); Antony Griffiths (1998) *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689* (British Museum); Sheila O’Connell (1999) *The Popular Print in England, 1550–1850* (British Museum); Tim Clayton (1997) *The English Print, 1688–1802* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press); Helen Pierce (2008) *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art); Mark Hallett (1999) *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press); idem (1997) ‘The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London’, *Art History*, 20(2), 214–37; Kevin Sharpe (2009) *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press); Vic Gatrell (2006) *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (Atlantic Books); Roy Porter (1988) ‘Seeing the Past’, *P&P*, 118(1), 186–205.
3. The focus here is on separates rather than book or ballad illustration, but see Angela McShane (2004) ‘“Rime and Reason”: The Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640–1689’, Unpublished PhD thesis, Warwick University; Tessa Watt (1991) *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbrown (1979) *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1660* (Routledge and Kegan Paul); Alfred F. Johnson (1934) *A Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-Pages Down to the Death of William Faithorne, 1691* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society). For an excellent on-line source of ballads see the English Broadside Ballad Archive at http://emc.english.ucsb.edu/ballad_project/.
 4. Images are reproduced with kind permission from the British Museum, unless otherwise stated.
 5. We lack the equivalent of an ESTC for visual material, so I have attempted to list known images and their locations: <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/emforum/research/resproj/printedimages/>. The website includes links, where possible, to digitised copies of the images that are available on the British Museum website.
 6. Robert Scribner (1994) *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
 7. Romain (or Romeyn) de Hooghe is the outstanding figure working across the Dutch and English cultures (see John Landwehr (1973) *Romeyn de Hooghe, the Etcher: Contemporary Portrayal of Europe 1662–1707* (Leiden: Sijthoff)), but the anglicised Egbert Van Heemskerck, Marcellus Laroon and Edwaert Collier are also important. For an example of a Dutch anti-Catholic image of 1679, which parallels images produced in England, see BM, Sat[ires] 1075.
 8. Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, is the best starting point.
 9. These are listed at <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/emforum/research/resproj/printedimages>. Details are given of publication dates, where known, derived from newspaper advertisements or the annotations of the book collector Narcissus Luttrell.
 10. For the context see my (1994) *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678–1681* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) and Peter Hinds (2010) ‘The Horrid Popish Plot’: Roger L’Estrange and the Circulation of Political Discourse in

- Late Seventeenth-Century London* (British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship Monographs).
11. BM, Sat 1080.
 12. Luttrell noted on his copy in the British Library that it was 'writ by L'Estrange, a scurrilous piece in some things'. For L'Estrange see Hinds, *Horrid Popish Plot*; George Kitchin (1913) *Sir Roger L'Estrange: A Contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century* (Kegan Paul); Knights (2008) 'Roger L'Estrange, Printed Petitions and the Problem of Intentionality', in John Morrow and Jonathan Scott (eds), *Liberty, Authority, Formality: Political Ideas and Culture, 1600–1900: Essays in Honour of Colin Davis* (Exeter: Imprint Academic), pp. 113–30; Helen Pierce, 'The Devil's Bloodhound: Roger L'Estrange Caricatured' in Hunter (ed.), *Printed Images*.
 13. Griffiths, *Print*, p. 287.
 14. Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, pp. 171–6.
 15. For the image see British Museum website, searching the collections database for *A Raree Show* (it was not included in the printed catalogue of satires). Luttrell annotated his copy of March 1681 'A most scandalous libel against the Government for which with other things Colledge was most justly executed'. Colledge produced a second print about this time, known as *A Prospect of a Popish Successor or 'Mack-Ninny'* (BM, Sat.1110), aimed at James Duke of York as successor to the throne. For a posthumous and celebratory mezzotint, and a sympathetic engraved portrait see the BM's database (Stephen Colledge).
 16. For the context see Geoff Holmes (1973) *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (London: Eyre Methuen).
 17. (1978) *F. F. Madan: A Critical Bibliography of Dr Henry Sacheverell*, ed. W. A. Speck (Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications).
 18. The images are listed at <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/emforum/research/resproj/printedimages>.
 19. Madan-Speck says *Needs Must* answers *Like Coachman* (nos 966–7).
 20. William Andrews Clark Library, Los Angeles Rare Book Stacks Call Number: PR3291.F263*.
 21. A second print, *To the Unknown Author of the High Church Champion*, attacked the 'spightful Numskull Fanatick Brood' and has the Devil and Malice writhing on the ground under Sacheverell's portrait.
 22. See also *The Whig's Medly* (1711), which appears to have an adaptation of the image in its central portion.
 23. The texts accompanying images are often cut off in order to reproduce the image in better quality, which has the unfortunate effect of preventing us seeing how they were originally presented.
 24. *Needs must* and *Like coachmen* are explicitly called emblems. There is a large literature on emblems. For an introduction see Michael Bath (1994) *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (Longman).
 25. The point is made by Nicholson, 'English Political Prints', ch. 6; Justin Champion, 'Decoding the Leviathan: Doing the History of Ideas through Images 1651–1700', in Hunter, *Printed Images*; I also hope to develop it elsewhere.
 26. The best introduction to the topical playing cards is J. R. S. Whiting (1978) *A Handful of History* (Dursley: Alan Sutton) but for a wider view of

cards see also John Berry (1995) *Playing Cards of the World: Catalogue of the Collection of the Worshipful Company of Makers of Playing Cards and Cards owned by the Guildhall Library, City of London* (Bromley: J. Berry) and the series of articles by Harold and Virginia Wayland in *International Playing Card Society Journal*, vols 1–11 (1972–83) discussing the variety of cards published by John Lenthall.

27. The cards, with details about their publication, are listed at <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/emforum/research/resproj/printedimages/>.
28. W.H. Willshire (1876) *A History of Playing and Other Cards in the British Museum* (British Museum); W. B. Keller (1981) *A Catalogue of the Cary Collection of Playing Cards in the Yale University Library* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).
29. *Post Man and the Historical Account*, 18 Dec. 1697 and 30 Dec. 1703.
30. Benjamin Harris is an excellent example of an ideologically driven print innovator. His newspaper, one of the first to be published after the temporary lapse of the licensing act, carried an advertisement for a pack of cards; shortly afterwards, we find Harris as the publisher of a different pack.
31. *True Domestick Intelligence or News Both from City and Country*, 10 Feb. 1680, reported that apprentices who had mistakenly signed petitions for Parliament's sitting now resolved to burn the rump 'that the present age may keep in memory the practices of 41 and not walk by that president'. *Mercurius Civicus or A True Account of Affairs Both Foreign and Domestick*, 24 Mar. 1680, reported the planned rising of 7,000–8,000 apprentices to burn the rump and effigies of Oliver Cromwell, and to pull down meeting houses and bawdy houses.
32. He is depicted as the knave of hearts in the Victory pack, counting his hoard of money.
33. Though it is worth noting that John Morphew was a Tory trade publisher who had a hand in the Marlborough pack; and Newman and Baldwin were also involved in such ventures. It is also worth noting that booksellers such as Dorman Newman, Moses Pitt, Walter Davies, Joseph Hindmarsh, Able Roper, Randal Taylor and John Nutt remained in the portrait print market (George, 'Topical Portrait', pp. 62–6).
34. These are reproduced and discussed in Virginia and Harold Wayland (1971) *Francis Barlow's Sketches* (Pasadena, CA: The Castle Press). Barlow is better known for his depictions of animals: see Edward Hodnett (1978) *Francis Barlow, First Master of English Book Illustration* (London: Scolar Press).
35. BM, Prints and Drawings album 1954,0710.4, sketch 54; Beinecke, Cary Eng. 75. Two variants of *The Popish Damnable Plot* survive: the one shown here (BM, Sat. 1088) is a cropped but also different image to the larger *The Earl of Shaftsbury's Loyalty Revived: or, The Popish Damnable Plot* (1681).
36. The image facing p. 278 is clearly influenced by the Popish Damnable Plot and by playing cards. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 32 (1849), 265–6.
37. Fig. 11 from Wayland, BM Prints and Drawings album 1954,0710.4, sketch 48.
38. Detail from *Roundheads and Whigs Compar'd* (?1709), BM, Sat. 1494. The image is available on the BM website.

39. Monteyne, *Printed Image*, p. 160; see also O. W. Furley (1959) 'The Pope Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century', *History*, 44, 19–21.
40. Monteyne, *Printed Image*, p. 177.
41. *Protestant Domestick Intelligence*, 9 Apr. 1680, the same issue that advertised Harris's *Protestant Tutor*.
42. A historical emblematic fan (Speck-Madan no. 973), advertised in *Supplement* 13–15 Sept. 1710 as an 'emblematic fan, with the true effigies of the Reverend Dr. Henry Sacheverell done to the life, and several curious hieroglyphics in honour of the Church of England, finely printed and mounted on extraordinary genteel sticks', with a warning against imitations. A print version is BM, Sat. 1525. See also *An Explanation of the New Fan, Called An Historical Emblematical Fan in Honour of the Church of England* (1711).
43. *The Spectator*, 57, 5 May 1711.
44. Madan-Speck no. 971; *The Supplement*, 31 Jul.–2 Aug. 1710. *The Tatler*, 187, 20 Jun. 1710 refers to the 'religious handkerchief which is of late so much worn in England'.
45. BM, Department of Prints & Drawings Registration number: 1853,0112.2061; BM, Sat. 1524. There were many similar prints published, and the image may have had quite a long afterlife. For the paintings that seem to have been derived either from them and/or the individual portrait prints by John Overton (which used the same poses) see the series hanging in Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
46. Sacheverell's expectation of gaining a bishopric was notorious.
47. BM, registration number 1919,0503.44; BM, Prints and Drawings c.205 Shelf 24.
48. George, 'Topical Portrait'; Griffiths, *Print*, ch. 9.
49. For portraiture more generally see Marcia Pointon (1998) *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art).
50. <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/emforum/research/resproj/printedimages>.
51. Ben Thomas (2008) *The Paradox of Mezzotint: An Exhibition of Original Prints* (Canterbury); Griffiths, *Print*, chs 8 and 9; idem (1989) 'Early Mezzotint publishing in England I: John Smith', *Print Quarterly*, 6, 243–57; idem (1990) 'Early Mezzotint Publishing in England II: Peter Lely, Tompson and Browne', *Print Quarterly*, 7, 130–45; <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/early-history-of-mezzotint.php>.
52. *The Speech of Henry Sacheverell, D.D. Upon his Impeachment at the Bar of the House of Lords in Westminster-Hall, March 7. 1709/10. To Which is Prefix'd his Effigies* (1710).
53. NPG, D31483. Advertisement cited by George, 'Topical Portrait', p. 77. Overton had to correct himself in the *Post Boy*, no. 2318, Tuesday, 21 Mar. 1710.
54. See, for example, *Faction Display'd*, BM, Sat. 1508.
55. Oates is clearly recognisable in (1710) *The Happy Instrument*; Sacheverell in *Faction Display'd* and the frontispiece to *The Whigs Unmask'd*.
56. Compare BM, Sat. 1510 with BM, Portraits British CIV(2) C3, which depict Sacheverell in the same pose but with different facial features. A similar print

- in the Huntington library is nevertheless the mirror image of these. The fourth version is BL, Sach. 445(9).
57. Compare, for example, the mezzotints NPG, D3748 and NPG, D19812 with the engraving NPG, 634. And compare NPG, D3748 with *Bob Ferguson or the Raree Shew of Mamamouchee Mufty* (Ashmolean, B.I.430).
 58. A. Boyer (1735) *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, p. 478.
 59. *The Officers Address to the Ladies* (1710), cited in Sacheverell, *Trial*, pp. 119–20; *Love and Divinity United* (Bodl. Lib., 2802 c.1).
 60. *Quod Risum*, BM, Sat. 1504.
 61. It is to be found on the BM collections database.
 62. BM, Sat.1083. See also Pierce, 'The Devil's Bloodhound'.
 63. This is the British Museum's copy, BM, Sat. 1083.
 64. See, for example, advert in *Post Boy*, 12 Dec. 1710 for *The Funeral of the Low Church*, 2d, and *Faults on Boath Sides*, 1d.
 65. Advert by Thomas Dawks on his (1679) *England's Over-Joy at the Duke of Mommouth's Return*.
 66. *Daily Courant*, 23 Jul. 1703.
 67. George, 'Topical Portrait', pp. 122, 125, 132, 163 (the latter, citing an advert in the *Daily Courant* for 31 Jan. 1707, apologised that the effigies of Charles I and his chief nobility had not been ready for 30 Jan. as had been intended).
 68. Luttrell v. 367, cited by George, 'Topical Portrait', p. 167.
 69. It also has a further note that in 1681 the Tories had burnt an effigy of Vincent Alsop, a Presbyterian divine, suggesting that the print had a life beyond its immediate issue, at least in the hands of the collector Luttrell. A portrait of Sacheverell appears pasted to a wall in William Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress*, plate 3 (1732), suggesting an even longer longevity of image as well as Sacheverell's ongoing emblematic status.
 70. *Observer*, 5 Apr. 1710. See *Post Boy*, 8 Jun. 1710 for an advertisement for a Hoadly portrait, price 1s.
 71. Holmes, *Trial*, p. 161. The print was probably *The Modern Champions* (1710).
 72. Kennett (1715) *The Wisdom of Looking Backwards*, p. 13.
 73. BL, Sach. 445.
 74. The prints have a pagination in an early eighteenth-century hand, indicating that this was a contemporaneous binding. The volume nevertheless has the book-plate of Horace Walpole, though he may have bought it after it had already been composed, as well as a date of 1790 on the inside front cover, but the prints were certainly in place by then, since there is a note that the purchaser had 'never seen [them] any where else'. Many of them are by Sutton Nicholls, who specialised in topographical rather than topical prints. The grangerising of volumes was nevertheless a later eighteenth-century fashion and the precise dating of the insertions cannot be asserted without doubt.
 75. *The Picture of Malice* (1710), p. 21.
 76. *London Gazette*, 1 May 1684 and 1 Jun. 1685.
 77. *The Observer*, 18 Oct. 1707.
 78. *Post Man and the Historical Account*, 18 Dec. 1697.
 79. BM, 1896,0501.932.1–49.

80. *True Domestick Intelligence* no. 50, 26 Dec. 1679. Cf. advert by Tho Dawks in his (1680) *Dr Otes his Vindication* offering 'a chronology of the rise and growth of Popery ... which may be had in two broad sheets joined with 52 figures in copperplates or in a pack of cards representing the rise, demonstration and discovery of the plot, with a book to explain each figure' (quoted O'Connell, *The Popular Print*, p. 135). Cf Term Catalogues i. 384 for the *Methodical History of the Late Hellish Popish Plot* pack, which had an accompanying book explaining the images.
81. *Domestick Intelligence*, no. 31, 21 Oct. 1679.