THE PRINT IN STUART BRITAIN
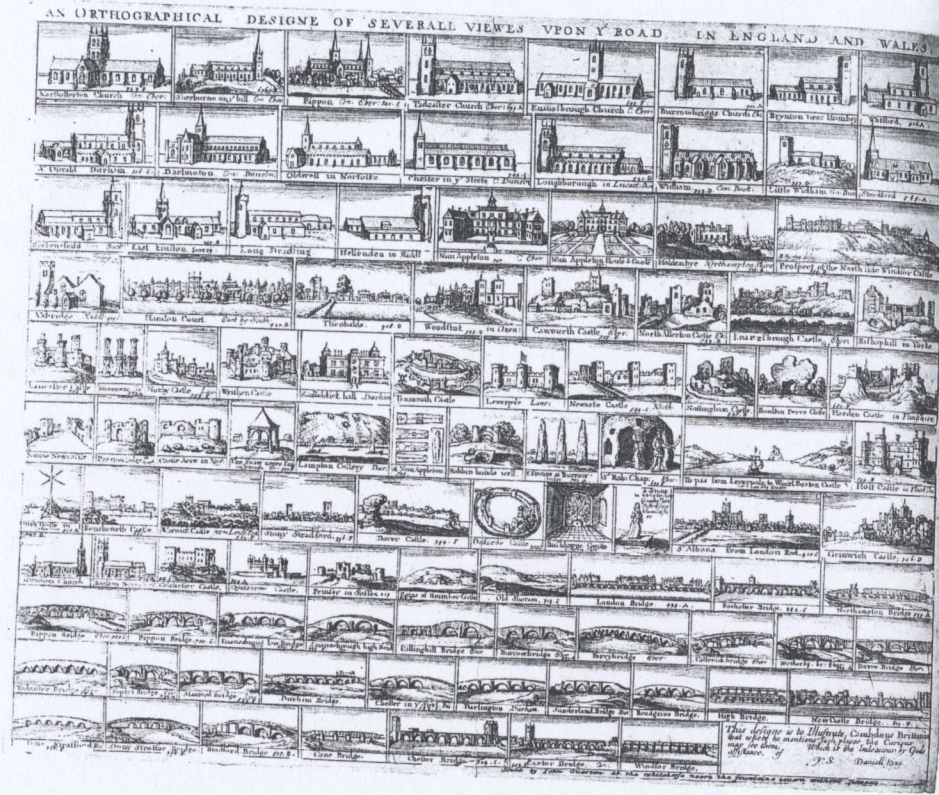## 1603–1689

Antony Griffiths

with the collaboration of
Robert A. Gerard

128

published in Latin in 1586, and most recently reprinted in English translation in 1637.

If the print looks backwards, it also looks forward to the practice of extra-illustration. Plates like these, that elucidate existing texts, lent themselves to being bound up with them. The prime text that was treated in such a way was Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, published unillustrated in 1702–4. Very soon sets of plates to accompany it were put on the market, and by the first decades of the eighteenth century auction catalogues begin to note extra-illustrated copies in libraries (John Talman's sale of 1728 included a Clarendon with 336 extra illustrations, of which 41 were drawings, and a two-volume Clarendon extra-illustrated by John Bulfinch in the 1720s is in the Royal Library). Extra-illustration was to become one of the main methods of print collecting in Britain, and remained

popular until the beginning of the twentieth century. (See Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, New Haven 1993, pp. 66–78.)

Another type of print that King pioneered proved a dead end. In 1658 he designed and published a single sheet engraved by David Loggan, with eleven views of St Paul's surrounded by text (393 × 466 mm; an impression is in the Crowle Pennant, x 172). In the centre are English and Latin verses by Edward Benlowes (see cat. 107 and Jenkins pp. 258–60). Beside them is a small portrait of Benlowes himself with the text: 'Sir, Your merit in these verses, & my gratitude for your civilities, mov'd me to joyne your picture to this peece, who would also present all our other Cathedralls in this forme, if encouraged by such as your honoured selfe, Dan. King.' No one took up his offer.

CHAPTER 8
THE RESTORATION: LOGGAN AND HIS PUPILS, THE BEGINNING OF MEZZOTINT

The Restoration brought no abrupt change to English print production. The real change came in the middle of the 1670s, and the final quarter of the century seems almost a new world. The main feature of the 1660s was the definitive victory of the line-engraving over the etching. The abnormal conditions of the Interregnum had allowed space for such unorthodox prints as the etchings of Gaywood. He continued working into the 1660s, but his career was on such a downward path that it is no surprise that evidence of his activity ceases in 1668, when he simply fades from view. The re-imposed order of the Restoration demanded a new decorum in its portraits, and this meant engraving rather than etching. The book trade needed the facility of engraving to deliver long print runs for the portrait frontispieces which became almost *de rigueur* for any new book in these years. Dryden mocked such pretensions:

And in the front of all his senseless plays,
Makes David Loggan crown his head with bays
[*Art of Poetry*, canto 2].

Faithorne was now entering his last decade of significant activity as an engraver (he henceforth concentrated on publishing), and it was David Loggan who dominated the portrait market in the 1660s. Loggan had arrived in London from Danzig via Amsterdam in 1658, and remained in England until his death in 1692. Like Faithorne, he worked from his own drawings, and often made these as finished works in their own right.[1] He was driven from London by the plague of 1665, and settled in Oxford, where he undertook a set of views of the University on his own account (cat. 135). He enjoyed much success until the mid-1670s, when he was hard hit by the new wave of immigrants and the rising fashion for mezzotint.

Hollar had survived the 1650s primarily through his employment by Ogilby and Dugdale, and this work continued in the 1660s. But he also worked on his own account. Since the series of prints that had proved so popular with his collectors in Antwerp did not find enough of a demand in England, he turned to a type of combined bird's-eye view and map, a skill that he had learnt under Merian in his early career in Germany. He had evidently gone a long way to making an enormous plan of London before the Great Fire of 1666 made his labours obsolete, and only a unique sheet remains of his greatest

project (cat. 131). He was however able to capitalise on his drawings to make a series of views of London before and after the Fire that had a virtual monopoly of the market. Such was the low state of the London print world that hardly any other prints of this extraordinary event were issued in London,[2] and Hollar's main competition came from some broadsheets issued in Amsterdam. The Fire also destroyed most of Ogilby's stock, but he, paradoxically in view of the misfortune of Hollar's map, found his salvation in mapping, and began at the age of sixty-six a third career.

With the etchers out of the way, the field was left to the engravers, and the main line of these in London until the end of the century was furnished by Loggan and his pupils. The most important of these were Robert White and Edward Davis. Because they stand apart from the main development of printmaking after the mid-1670s, they have been included in this section, even though this involves following their work into the 1680s. The selection given here is completely inadequate to display the range and quantity of their work, and is untypical in that the prints selected are after paintings by others rather than after their own drawings. These are however their grandest plates, and show the engravers to best advantage. The increase in size of portrait prints during the 1660s is itself a notable phenomenon.

The 1660s saw the introduction of mezzotint to England. This process had been invented by a German soldier, Ludwig von Siegen, in 1642, and he showed it to Prince Rupert when he met him in Brussels in 1654. Siegen was no artist, and had been unable to exploit his new technique. Rupert made a great improvement, inventing a better way of grounding the plate by using a rocker.[3] He also took on an impressive artist, Wallerant Vaillant (1623–77), as his assistant, and it was Vaillant who first made mezzotint a medium for fine prints. Vertue says that Vaillant came to London as Rupert's assistant for several years (1 33); if so, there is no trace of this stay in his work.

In 1718 Houbraken recorded a story that Rupert had made Vaillant swear never to divulge the secret, but that it had escaped through Vaillant's assistant who prepared his plates during his years in Paris (1659–65). This man had been blackmailed by his son, and it was the son who 'auctioned off this art to all and sundry for great sums, for many had been after it for a long time'.[4] In this limited way knowledge spread on the Continent, and this may have

been the route by which Blooteling and van Somer learnt the process.

Rupert was equally concerned to keep the process a secret in England. He demonstrated it to Evelyn and his fellow savants in the Royal Society in 1661,[3] but forbade wider distribution. Thus the description that Evelyn gave in *Sculptura* in 1662 was deliberately obscure (cat.142). Evelyn felt able to show Pepys 'the whole secret of mezzotinto' on 5 November 1665, but was not able to do the same for William Faithorne, even though Sir John Hoskyns wrote a pleading letter on his behalf in 1667.[6] Evidently gentlemen amateurs could be told, but craftsmen and professionals could not. Prince Rupert himself showed the process to Christiaan Huygens in London in 1663, and his correspondence shows that the necessary tools were afterwards supplied through Johan van der Does (Bergesteyn) in London to the artist Jan de Bisschop (1628–71) in Amsterdam. But, comically, no one told him how to use them, and Christiaan's brother had to write for instructions on Bisschop's behalf.[7]

So although the first mezzotint was made in England in 1662 by Rupert to illustrate Evelyn's *Sculptura*,[8] the next (or at least the next that can be dated) was in 1669 by William Sherwin, who had worked out the rudiments of the process for himself before being helped by Prince Rupert (see cat.144). Sherwin was a man of great technical inventiveness, and from 1676 devoted his attention to calico printing rather than printmaking. His use of the technique was very restricted. It was not until the middle of the following decade that a new wave of immigrants brought independent knowledge of the process from the Continent, and not until the very end of the 1670s that mezzotint was fully applied to the business of print production in England (see Chapter 9).

1 See Edward Norgate, *Miniatura, or the Art of Limning*, ed. J. M. Muller and J. Murrell, New Haven 1997, p.182, where the editors trace the tradition back to Holland in the 1640s.

2 The only one known to us was one sold by Sherwin in the Barbican, noted by Vertue (Add.Ms.23078 f.51).

3 Orovida C. Pissarro, 'Prince Rupert and the invention of mezzotint', *Walpole Society*, XXXVI 1956–8, pp.1–9, publishes ff.307–8 of Evelyn's 'Book of recipes', which give a description and drawing of the rocker and burnisher, called by him the 'hatcher' and 'style'.

4 Arnold Houbraken, *De groote Schouburg der Nederlantsche Konstschilders*, II Amsterdam 1718–21, pp.103–4. I owe my knowledge of this to the article by Gerdien Wuestman, 'The mezzotint in Holland', *Simiolus*, XXIII 1995, p.69.

5 Richard Godfrey, 'Sir Christopher Wren and the *Head of a Moor*', *Print Quarterly*, VIII 1991, pp.281–5 disposes of an old attribution of a mezzotint to Wren, but cites Robert Hooke's diary for 3 April 1674, which makes it clear that Wren, as well as Walter Dolle, had experimented with the medium.

6 Published by Edmond p.132. O. C. Pissarro (op.cit., p.8) cites a letter of 1668 from John Beale to Evelyn which says 'perhaps

Prince Rupert will (by this time) allow you to speak out ... truly I do side with your deaf ear'.

7 The evidence is collected and summarised by J. G. van Gelder in *Oud Holland*, LXXXVI 1971, p.216 and appendix 6 nos 6–8.

8 Evelyn's book also established the term 'mezzotint' for the new process. Norgate in his *Miniatura* of 1648/9 (ed. J. M. Muller and J. Murrell, New Haven 1997, p.73 and note 99) was apparently the first writer to use the word in English, applying it to the 'middle colour' of a composition.

129 RICHARD GAYWOOD (active 1644–68)

The Most Magnificent Riding of Charles the IId to the Parliament, 1661

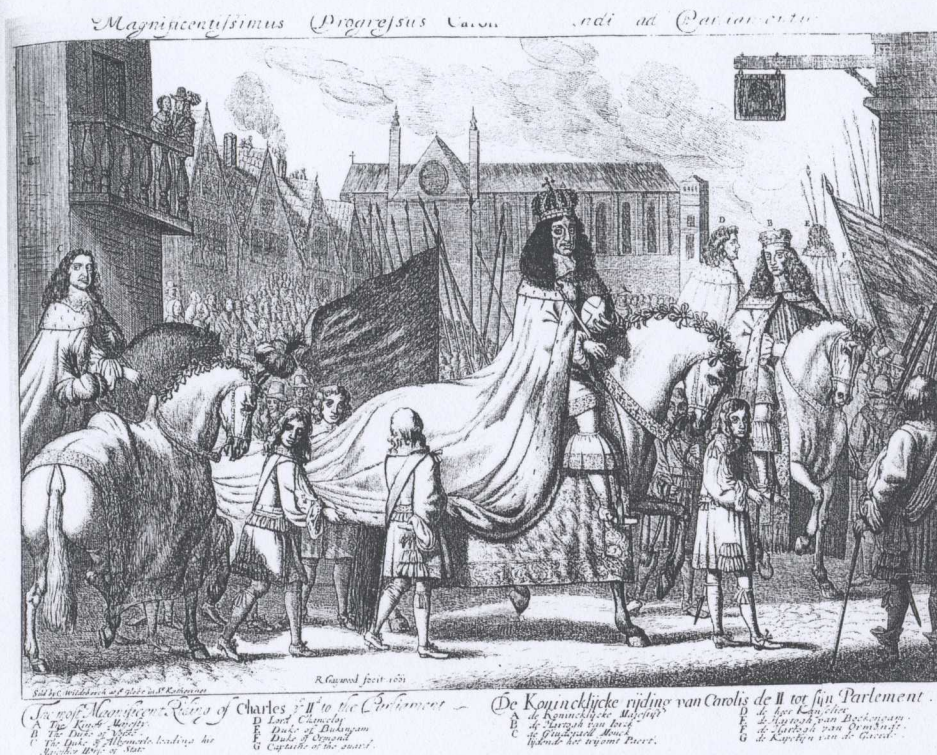Etching, published by C. Wildeberch, 399 × 514 mm (damaged at the top)

1883-4-14-135. Purchased from Messrs Ellis & White

Charles II landed in England on his return from exile in May 1660. His coronation took place the following year on 23 April. This print records the scene the previous day, when Charles processed from the Tower, through the City of London, to Westminster. According to Pepys 'the streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets before them, made brave show'. Behind the King was Lord Monck, master of the horse, leading a spare horse, while the King himself rode on a horse presented to him by Thomas, Lord Fairfax, the former Parliamentary general.

The text along the top is in Latin, while that at the bottom is in both English and Dutch, and is keyed to the participants. C is the Duke of Albemarle (see cat.136). The publisher C. Wildeberch (or Wildenburch), who gives his address at the unusual location of the Globe in St Katherine's, was obviously a Dutchman. He can be traced in London for only two years. In 1661 he published two other large prints relating to Charles, an equestrian portrait with Whitehall in the background, and a view of his coronation. In 1662 he published a broadsheet on the landing of Catherine of Braganza at Portsmouth.

The name of the designer is not given, but was probably Francis Barlow. Gaywood's own skill in composition was negligible (for Gaywood see p.169), and he collaborated with Barlow on other occasions (see cat.109).

Two other views of the procession were published in London. Hollar etched a five-sheet 'Cavalcade of his Majesty's passing through the City of London' (Pennington 570–3 plus a fifth plate perhaps by Stoop), which was used in Ogilby's celebratory book, *The Entertainment of Charles II*. Another, an anonymous single sheet with a view of St Paul's in the background, was published by Robert Walton (an impression is at Windsor). Charles's Restoration was of great interest on the Continent, and other prints were published both in Holland and France.

(The most Magnificent Riding of Charles ye II to ye Parliament)   (De Konincklijcke riding van Carolis de II tot sijn Parlement)

129

DIRCK STOOP (c.1618–?86)

This Dutch artist was born in Utrecht, where his father was a glass-painter. He seems to have been in Italy between 1635 and 1645, and he henceforth became an Italianist in his paintings. He was back in Utrecht between 1647 and 1652, where he made his first set of etchings, a set of twelve different horses in 1651, as well as five illustrations to I. Commelin's *Frederick Hendrik* of 1652.

At some point in or before 1661 he went to Portugal, probably because of his expertise as a battle painter: two of his etchings record battles in the war that was then being conducted between Portugal and Spain (Hollstein 21, 22). He also painted a portrait of Catherine of Braganza, daughter of King John of Portugal, in 1661 (see cat.132). In the same year he dedicated to her a series of views on the Tagus (Hollstein 31–8). When Catherine came to London in 1662 he attended in her retinue. Buckeridge (p.414) reported that 'His chief study was battles, huntings and havens, which he perform'd for some time with good

success; but after the arrival of Jan Wyke [Wyck] in England, who painted in the same way, his pictures were not so much valued, by reason of the greater excellency of that master.' He was still in London in June 1665, but by 1667 was in Hamburg where he remained until at least 1682. It is thought that he died in Utrecht in 1686.

Few paintings are known from Stoop's years in London, and his etchings are the main evidence for this period of his life. The first, made in 1662–3, are described below. He was then commissioned by Ogilby to supply twenty-four plates for the 1665 *Fables of Aesop* (cat.124). No etchings are known from the later years of Stoop's life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Biographical documentation was assembled by P. T. A. Swillens, 'De Utrechtsche Schilders Dirck en Maerten Stoop, I', *Oud Holland*, LI 1934, pp.116–35. His sixty-three etchings have been most fully catalogued in vol. XXVIII (1984) of the Hollstein series by D. de Hoop Scheffer.

130
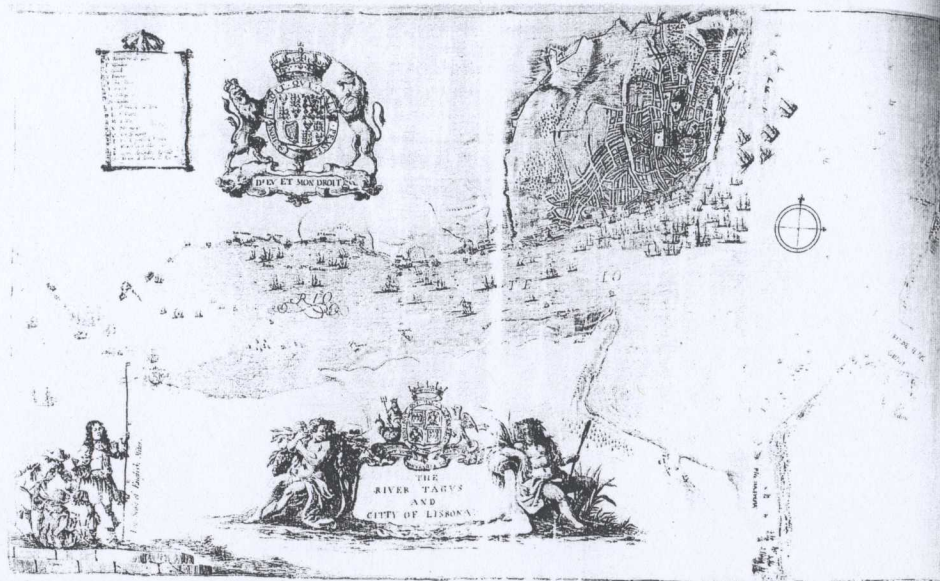
130 The River Tagus and City of Lisbon, 1663

Etching printed on silk, 440 × 738 mm

Hollstein 30 (the only known impression)

1981 U.3120

The first set of prints that Stoop produced in 1662 after his arrival in England was a very rare series of eight long horizontal views that show each stage of Catherine of Braganza's journey to London, from Lord Montagu's arrival in the Tagus with the English fleet sent to collect her, to her triumphal procession along the Thames (Holl.31–8). Each plate has texts in English and Portuguese, and each is dedicated to a different person, from Lord Montagu (the Earl of Sandwich) and King Charles, to the Mayor of the City of London.

The etching exhibited here was made the following year, and arises out of the earlier series. The story is found in Pepys's diary for 24 August 1663, when he was 'at my Lord Sandwiches, where I was a good while alone with my Lord … There come to him this morning his prints of the river Tagus and the City of Lisbon, which he measured with his own hand and printed by command of the King. My Lord pleases himself with it, but methinks it ought to have been better done than by iching. Besides, I put him upon having some took off upon white sattin which he ordered presently.'

This is the only surviving impression from the plate, and is printed on white satin just as Pepys had suggested. The lack of any publisher shows that it was a private, non-commercial plate. The royal coat-of-arms dedicates the plate to the King, while Sandwich's coat-of-arms above the title cartouche shows his role in the matter. At the bottom left corner is a portrait of Sandwich holding his measuring rod, and the incomplete depiction of the Tagus estuary proves that it was taken from his plan made on the spot. A footnote by Sir Oliver Millar to Pepys's diary (IV p. 286) suggests that the source is a plan in Sandwich's journal, in which he recorded 'The rest of my observations of the river of Lisbone are perfected and printed by my copper plate at the Kinges command.' Evelyn records that Sandwich was an amateur etcher himself (*Sculptura* p. 131).

Pepys's disparagement of etching as a printmaking medium is a typical expression of the contemporary aesthetic preference in favour of engraving (see cat. 125). So is his desire to see it printed on silk rather than paper. There is abundant evidence, both in contemporary documents (e.g. Abraham Bosse's *Traité des manières de graver*, 1645, p. 71) and in surviving impressions (e.g. an engraving by Delff after Mierevelt in the British Museum) to show that a small number of impressions was often run off on silk for special presentation. This phenomenon has not yet been studied as a whole.

131 WENCESLAUS HOLLAR (1607–77)

Plan of the West Central District of London, 1660/6

Etching, 344 × 455 mm

Pennington 1002, the unique surviving impression

Q.6-136. Sloane collection, purchased by Sloane from Hollar's widow

This unfinished plate is the only surviving fragment of Hollar's greatest project, which he undertook after his return to England. Although he earned his bread and butter making plates for Ogilby and Dugdale (cat. 122, 126), his own energies from 1660 went into a plan to make a giant map-view of London. He had been trained in this skill under Merian in Germany before he met the Earl of Arundel, and the opportunity for such a new wall-map had been revealed by the success of William Faithorne's engraving on twelve sheets of 1658 (Fagan p. 87: an unrecorded though incomplete impression is in the British Museum, 1881-6-11-254).

An etched sheet of 'Propositions concerning the map of London and Westminster etc. which is in hand by Wentsel Hollar' dated 1660 begins:

This map is to contain 10 foot in bredth, and 5 foot upward wherein shall be expressed, not onely the streets, lanes, alleys etc. proportionably measured; but also the buildings (especially of the principall houses, churches, courts, halls, etc.) as much resembling the likeness of them, as the convenience of the roome will permitt. Example whereof is in considerable part to be seen. The charge thereof being found by experience to be wery great and too heavy to be borne by the author him-selve alone.

Hollar sought subscribers at £3, payable in three instalments. In return, the subscriber got a copy of the map with his arms and name 'as a benefactour, in a convenient place of the map designed for that purpose' (see Pennington p. xlii).

This etching is the only known print by Hollar that answers this description, being a combination of a map and view on a very large scale. If the overall size was really 10 × 5 feet, and each sheet was this size, there would

131
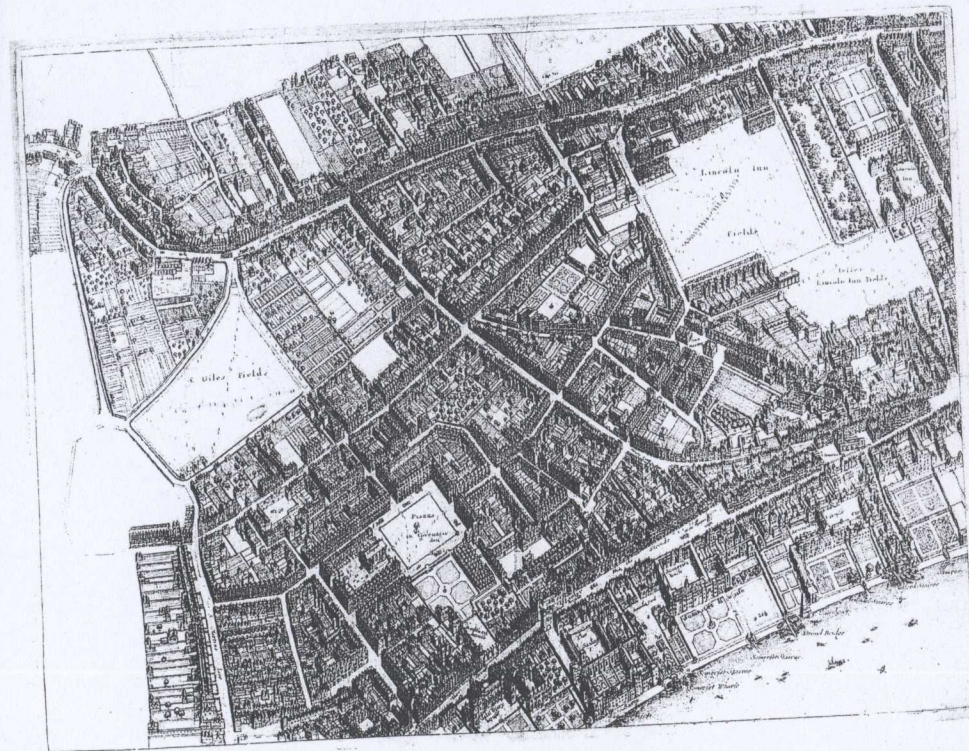
have been twenty-four sheets in all. But not all would have been map, and the borders would have been filled with views and coats-of-arms in the manner of Dutch wall-maps of the period. The project would have required a fresh survey of the whole city, and this, rather than etching the plates, must have occupied a vast amount of time until the Great Fire made most of his survey obsolete.

Hollar tried to keep up the project. In November 1666 he was appointed the King's Scenographer, and Pepys recorded on 22 November 1666: 'My Lord Brouncker ... tells me that he [Hollar] was yesterday sworn the King's servant, and that the King hath commanded him to go on with his great map of the city, which he was upon before the City was burned.' In August 1667 he petitioned for aid to perfect his ground-plot with the houses, which he called 'his monument and masterpiece' on which he had spent seven years' labour and run £100 into debt, 'and now the city being destroyed, no man living can leave such a record to posterity of how it was as himself' (Pennington pp. xli–xlii). But Charles was always penniless, and nothing came of this. The only paid job that Hollar was given was in 1668 to survey the territory in Tangier that had come to the English crown with the dowry of Catherine of Braganza. Posterity can indeed regret the collapse of Hollar's great project. This sheet shows its quality, and London would have boasted the finest map-plan ever made of any city in the world.

132 WILLIAM FAITHORNE (c.1620–91)

Catherine of Braganza, 1662

Engraving after Dirck Stoop, 332 × 228 mm

Fagan p. 9, second state

P.5-38. Cracherode bequest 1799. Inscribed on the verso 'P. Mariette 1663' and 'CMC 1788'

This spectacular engraving is one of Faithorne's finest plates. Stoop had painted a portrait of the Queen which was sent to Charles II in 1661 as part of the negotiations for the marriage. A copy must have remained in Lisbon, where it was etched by one N. Munjer in Lisbon in 1662 (an impression is in the British Museum) and dedicated to the Queen by Stoop himself. The version sent to England provided the basis for several engravings made in London. Her dress in the Portuguese fashion excited much comment in London; not only had it nothing to do with modern fashion, but Catherine persisted in wearing it for some time after her arrival.

A large number of portraits of Catherine was made in 1662 to satisfy public curiosity about the new queen. Stent alone published seven single portraits and four double ones with Charles (see Globe 71–83). Faithorne's print, although undated, has always been supposed to have been made in 1662. Support for this is given by the date 1663 in Pierre Mariette's inscription on the verso. Mariette (1634–1716) was the greatest print dealer of his day, and like other members of the family dynasty (but unlike anyone else at the time), regularly signed the backs of his prints with the date of acquisition. The significance of these signatures is still unknown; our working hypothesis is that they were put on impressions designed to be held in reserve for the family archive.

Faithorne continued engraving through the 1660s, which gave occasion for another of the few entries in Pepys's diary about engraving. On 7 November 1666 he recorded: 'took coach and called at Faythornes, to buy some prints for my wife to draw by this winter; and here did see my Lady Castlemaynes picture, done by him from Lillys, in red chalke and other colours, by which he hath cut it in copper to be printed. The picture in chalke is the finest thing I ever saw in my life, I think; and did desire to buy it; but he says he must keep it awhile to correct his copper-plate by, and when that is done, he will sell it me'. On 1 December Pepys bought three impressions 'printed this day', one of which he had varnished and framed (8 May 1667). The print is in Fagan p. 27.

DAVID LOGGAN (1634–92)

Loggan's father, John, came from an old Oxfordshire family. At some point in the late 1620s or early 1630s he went to Danzig (now Gdansk), where he married a local girl in February 1634. David was born six months later, on 27 August. Sandrart states that he was a pupil for four years of the Dutch engraver Wilhelm Hondius (who had settled in Danzig in 1636), and that after Hondius's death, he went to Amsterdam where he studied with Crispijn de Passe the younger for seven years. He then went to London, intending to continue to France and Italy. But the success he had with a drawn portrait of Cromwell (never engraved) induced him to stay in England. This was presumably shortly before Cromwell's death in September 1658.

Loggan settled in London, and on 15 June 1663 married Ann Jordan, also from an Oxfordshire family. He specialised in portraits, making finished drawings *ad vivum* in black lead, which might or might not subsequently be engraved. The plague of 1665 took him to Oxfordshire, where he established his reputation in the University with an engraved portrait of Mother Louse, of Louse Hall, a famous inn outside the city (Vertue Add.Ms.23078 f.45). When the University established a press in the Sheldonian Theatre in 1669, Loggan was appointed 'public sculptor' at a salary of 20s. a year, and supplied a rolling press at a cost of £5 1s. 6d. His work in Oxford culminated in 1675 with *Oxonia Illustrata* (cat. 135). One of his sons, John, later became a fellow of Magdalen College.

In 1675 Loggan was naturalised and moved to London, where he lived in Leicester Fields, 'in the row next to St Martin's Lane' or, later, 'next door to the Golden Head'.

Carolo ii D.G. Mag. Brit. Fr: et Hib. Regi &c. Hanc Serenyss Reginæ Catharinæ Effigiem humillime consecrat G. Faithorne'
Cum Privilegio Regis

132

Here he let out lodging rooms (see cat. 134) and undertook assorted architectural engravings (he advertised for a lost draught of Wells Cathedral in the *London Gazette* for 15 March 1677), as well as *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, a sequel to his Oxford book. Work on this continued from 1676 to 1690, with Loggan making long visits from London to a workshop and a press that were provided for him in Trinity College. He was elected engraver to Cambridge University on 5 March 1690, and is said to have hurt his eyes when drawing King's College Chapel.

The peak of his prosperity was in the 1670s. In later years his business was badly affected by the rise of mezzotint, which he tried to meet by publishing half a dozen mezzotints himself *c.*1683 (listed by Chaloner Smith), as well as two maps in 1687 (Tyacke nos 132 and 135). He died at the age of fifty-eight, having supported seven children. His will shows that he had debts of £140. Vertue grimly noted his sad end; he had had 'great employments by nobility and gentry ... this kept him for his time, but little remaining substance left except a few copper grav'd plates, at his death all sold almost for the weight of old copper to Overton who from thence has gained partly of a good fortune' (VI 182).

Robert White (p. 203) and Edward Davis (p. 208) were both pupils of Loggan. Michael Burghers of Amsterdam

133

(1648–?1724) was a journeyman who assisted him on *Oxonia Illustrata* and took his place as the principal engraver for publications at Oxford after his return to London in 1675. He inherited Loggan's position as 'Calcographus Academicus' in 1694. Another journeyman was P. Williamson (Vertue 23078 f.38v), who may have been a Dutchman (to judge by the spelling of his portrait of Charles II published by Stent, Globe 69). Vertue says that it was Loggan who brought Blooteling and Valck to London (see Chapter 9).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The main source for his life is Joachim Sandrart, who had evidently obtained his information from Loggan himself (*Teutscher Akademie*, ed. R. A. Pelzer, 1925, pp. 356, 368). This can be supplemented from Vertue and the information published by Sir Gyles Isham in 1963 (see cat. 134). The fullest modern biographies, which include much information relating to his time in Oxford and Cambridge, are in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in Croft-Murray, pp. 428–30. There is no catalogue of Loggan's engravings. The fullest list is given by Walpole, derived from Vertue's manuscript. A list of his portrait drawings (many of which are finished works and not intended for engraving) is given by C. F. Bell and R. Poole, *Walpole Society*, XIV 1926, pp. 55–64.

133 Charles II, early 1660s

Engraving, 371 × 267 mm

1849-3-15-29. Purchased through Evans at the sale of the Duke of Buckingham (the Stowe Granger), Sotheby's, 5 March 1849, lot 910, for £1 5s.

A note in the Stowe sale catalogue reads 'This beautiful and rare print is one of Loggan's finest performances, and is so rare that only one more impression is known.' The reason for this rarity is unknown, as is its date. But it is reasonable to assume that it was issued shortly after Charles's accession. The lettering states that it is after Loggan's own drawing, for which he must have been granted a sitting by the King; one such drawing, although much smaller in size, is in the British Museum (Croft-Murray p. 431).

This plate was published by Loggan himself with a privilege, of which, like most royal privileges of this period, no trace has been found in the State Papers. In the absence of any catalogue of Loggan's prints, it is impossible to work out the proportion of his portraits that were published at his own risk (like this one), as private plates, or as frontispieces for booksellers. Vertue records (VI 8) from the receipt book of the London publisher Richard Chiswell that he paid £20 to Loggan for four plates of Tudor notables.

134

134 Sir Thomas Isham, 1676

Engraving, proof before letters, 374 × 275 mm

1868-8-22-588. Slade bequest

This is a proof before letters; the final state has the sitter's arms in the oval, his title along the bottom, and 'D. Loggan ad vivum delin. 1676' below the portrait. The original drawing does not survive, although one Loggan made in 1681 of the same sitter does.

Loggan had long and friendly relations with Sir Thomas Isham (1657–81) of Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, which can be followed through a series of letters published by Sir Gyles Isham (*Connoisseur*, CLII 1963, pp. 231–5, and CLIV 1963, pp. 84–91). The two men met when Sir Thomas was an undergraduate at Christ Church, Oxford, and when Loggan moved to London Sir Thomas became one of his lodgers in 1676. So it was in London that the plate was made for Sir Thomas, who presented impressions to his friends and acquaintances; one such went to Dr Fell, Dean of Christ Church. Never being commercially available, the print does not carry Loggan's 'excudit'.

Private plates were made on commission from the sitter or relative, whose property they became. This was a profitable business, and Loggan wrote in glee in January

1676 to Sir Thomas Isham: 'I have gote noew amongst the Scotes Lords I have dran the Markies of Argiell and Duck Hamelton, the will have ther pictors ingraven.' If a sitter was too mean to commission a portrait plate, it was always possible to dedicate it to him (as Loggan did to the Duke of Albemarle in 1661) in the hope of a reward or a large order.

Loggan's correspondence with Isham shows the range of services that an artist might carry out for a patron at this time, such as obtaining books, pictures, inlaid tables, canaries, magic lanterns, and having them repaired, bound, packed and despatched as the case might be. In January 1676 Loggan sent Sir Thomas a present of a plate with his coat-of-arms, together with 300 impressions, explaining what it was for: 'it is very much used amongst persons of quality to past ther cotes of armes befor ther bookes in stade of wreithing their names'. It was this gift that led to the engraving of the portrait which followed later in the same month. Vertue, in describing this print, wrote, 'This head I suppose to be engraved by Valck as many others that I have seen among his [Loggan's] works' (Add.Ms.23078 f.4). This is plausible.

There is a second full-length portrait print of Sir Thomas in the form of an anonymous mezzotint after a painting by Lely. This plate is never mentioned in the correspondence, although it was published by Loggan (Chaloner Smith 3). This suggests that it was made after the sitter's death in July 1681, as a sort of memorial to him by his friend Loggan. The Lely painting used is recorded as being painted in 1675, with a replica being made in 1679.

Sir Thomas Isham went to Rome in 1677, where he formed a collection of some twenty paintings (see G. Burdon, 'Sir Thomas Isham, an English collector in Rome in 1677–8', *Italian Studies*, XV 1960, pp. 1–25). He also made a collection of prints there, of which complete lists survive (a summary is given by Burdon in his appendix A).

135 *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675, containing an engraved title-plate and preliminaries, and forty unnumbered plates with views

Open at the ninth plate, a view of the Sheldonian Theatre

1938-5-2-21 (1 to 40); pressmark 173 c.20. From the library of John Fitzgerald, eighteenth Earl of Kildare (transferred from the Map Room, formerly Maps 24 c.14)

Loggan's book is a series of plates of varying size without any letterpress. Most are bird's-eye views of the colleges and University buildings, but there are also two long views of the city, a map and some plates showing academic dress. Each plate is dedicated to a different notable, but they were not sponsored as Dugdale's had been. The view of the theatre on Broad Street, erected between 1664 and 1669 to the design of Christopher Wren, is dedicated to Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, at whose expense it had been built. Its basement housed the University Press.

Loggan obtained for the project a royal privilege on 17 March 1673, which is printed in full at the front of the book (the original is in the *Calendar of State Papers, Charles II, 1673*, p. 69). The preamble states that the time and expense that Loggan had devoted to the project, and the satisfaction that the King had taken in it, had led him to grant 'the sole priviledge of printing the foresaid delineations ... and strictly charging, prohibiting and forbidding all our subjects to copy or counterfeit any the sculptures or descriptions aforesaid either in great or small, or to import, buy, vend, utter or distribute any copies or exemplars of the same reprinted beyond the seas within the terme of fifteen yeares'. No specific sanctions are given against contravention, but the Stationers, Customs Officers and other royal officers are enjoined to enforce the privilege. With this exception the entire text of the book is in Latin, including Loggan's preface to the reader. The book

being thus addressed to a learned international public, one can understand why Loggan was so worried about cheap overseas piracies being imported into England.

Many of the plates are dated 1673 or 1674, and the production of the book extended over a number of years until its eventual publication on 1 July 1675, when it was advertised in the *London Gazette* at 25s. Loggan had various assistants on the project, including Everardus Kickius (or Kickers) who made many of the drawings (so Vertue I 105). Kickius is later documented as making a florilegium for the Duchess of Beaufort in 1703–5, which survives at Badminton; other drawings are in Sloane 5261.

Although the book carries the imprint of the Sheldonian Press, Anthony à Wood recorded that it was printed in Loggan's own house. It was seen as a companion to Wood's own book, *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniae*, the copyright of which the Press bought in 1669, eventually

publishing it in 1674. Wood's preface assumed that Loggan's engravings would be available for binding in his book, and on occasion he referred to them as the cuts belonging to his book. The two books were often presented together to distinguished foreign visitors by the University, which purchased copies from Loggan at prices between £1 and £1 5s. each (H. Carter, *A History of the Oxford University Press*, I Oxford 1975, pp. 76 and 83). The plates later passed into the possession of Henry Overton, who printed a second edition in 1714, and from him to Robert Sayer. It is still listed on p. 47 of the appendix to his catalogue of prints for 1775, although Loggan's name is not given.

ROBERT WHITE (1645–1703)

White was the foremost pupil of David Loggan, and inherited his position as the leading line-engraver for the print trade. His earliest print was made in 1666, and his last in 1702. His output was huge, and has never been fully catalogued. Vertue's list, reproduced by Walpole, has several hundred plates. Vertue got some information from White's son, George: 'Robert White ingraver did not only learn of Mr Loggan but from his infancy had an inclination to drawing & made essays in engraveing and etching before he knew Loggan. He drew many buildings for Loggan & engrav'd, besides he imploy'd much of his time in drawing from the life black led upon vellum' (I 131).

Many of these portrait drawings survive: thirteen are in the British Museum, and more are in the Bute Granger in the Huntington Library, having been acquired by Bull from the large group in the sale of the collection of James West in 1773 (on this see Caulfield, *Calcographiana*, p. 62). Among them is the self-portrait made when he was sixteen which Vertue saw and which established the date of his birth (Bute XVI 89). Vertue praised White's engravings as warmly as his drawings. On his death at the age of fifty-eight in November 1703, he wrote: 'He ought to be remembered as a singular artist in his way, having so vast a genius in drawing and engraving a face, and make the picture so like the original ... that perhaps he has not left his equal in Europe behind him' (IV 108). It was White's ability to capture a likeness that so impressed Vertue, and he tried in 1737 to analyse how he achieved this (see IV 121). An extravagant encomium by John Dunton, a bookseller for whom White often worked, is in his autobiographical *Life and Errors*, 1705, p. 346.

White followed Loggan in the types of print he made: mainly portraits (usually from his own drawings), but also frontispieces, bookplates (he made one for Pepys), almanacs, architecture and the occasional semi-popular piece to catch public interest in a topical story. Most of the portraits were frontispieces for books, and were made on commission from publishers: this explains the number of heads of divines in his output. A small number he published himself at his house in Bloomsbury Market, and

these could be large and splendid. He is said to have charged about £4 for a small plate, but up to £30 for a large one (Vertue I 33). Vertue says he died poor, but it is difficult to understand why as he was obviously very successful.

Like other line-engravers, White's business must have been affected by the rise of mezzotint, and for a brief period in c.1680–3 he took up mezzotint publishing himself. Chaloner Smith lists nine such plates, one of which (the Countess of Arundel) White scraped himself. His son George (c.1684–1732) became a prominent mezzotinter, and after Robert's death advertised in the *London Gazette* for 18 November 1703 that he 'sells the prints done by R. White'. But he soon sold the plates to John King at the Globe in the Poultry (Vertue VI 183). The well-known writing engraver John Sturt (1658–1730) was apprenticed to White in 1674.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Vertue has much to say about White. The best modern biography is in Croft-Murray. A very full list of his portrait drawings is given by C. F. Bell and R. Poole in the *Walpole Society*, XIV 1926, pp. 64–71, and of his engravings by Walpole (III pp. 949–53).

136 *The Order and Ceremonies Used for and at the Solemn Interment of ... George, Duke of Albemarle ... Collected by Francis Sandford, 1671*

Open at page 18, the pall with its four supporters

Engraving after Francis Barlow, 217 × 466 mm

1849-3-15-39 to 60. Purchased through Evans at the sale of the Duke of Buckingham (the Stowe Granger), Sotheby's, 5 March 1849, lot 976, for £2 12s.

This series consists of an elaborate title-page and twenty numbered plates that show the procession of mourners at Albemarle's funeral. The only exception is the first one, which shows his effigy lying in state in Somerset House. The plates were intended to be joined together to form a continuous procession, as is shown by the way in which the paper at the ends of every plate in this album has been cut off, whereas that at the top and bottom has been left. Albums being easier to store than rolls, the roll was dismembered while in the British Museum and the sheets pasted into an album. Francis Sandford, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, whose name is on the title-plate, was the master of ceremonies for the occasion. There never was any letterpress text, but a long manuscript account of the event, preserved in the British Library (Add.Ms.10177 f.237), was printed by G. Davies, *Honest George Monck*, 1936, pp. 284–8.

George Monck, commander-in-chief of the army in 1660, had played a crucial part in the Restoration, and his reward was a dukedom. When he died on 3 January 1670 Charles decided to take over the expenses of the funeral

135
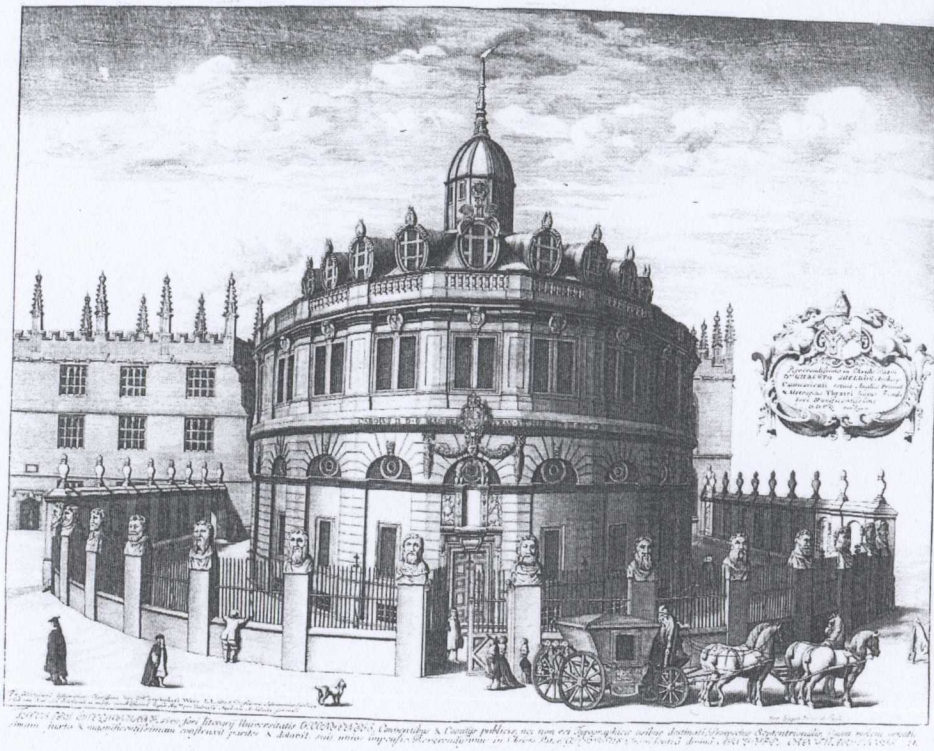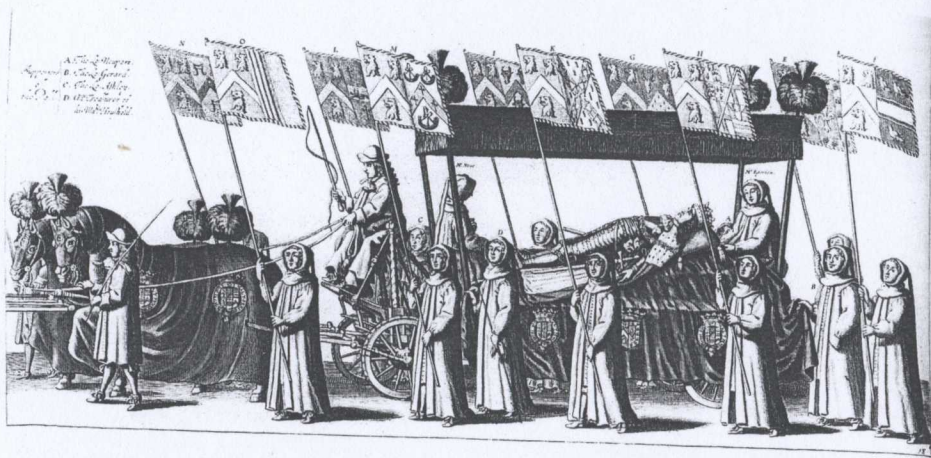
136

and of erecting a monument himself. The result was that, after he lay in state for three weeks, Albemarle's funeral was not held until 30 April, and the monument was built only in 1720. The title-plate of this series states that it was 'Published by his Ma.ties special command', and one can only hope that Barlow and White were paid. The date of 1670 on the title-plate refers to the event, and is not the date of publication, which was in the following year. The series was entered in the Term Catalogue for November 1671 by Thomas Thornicroft at the Sun in St Paul's Churchyard. He was a bookseller and is not otherwise known as a print publisher.

Such elaborate series of plates depicting a procession were commonplace on the Continent, but the only precedents in England were Gheeraerts's Garter procession of 1576 (Hind I p. 107) and Hollar's of Charles's coronation in 1661 (see cat. 129). An immediate successor was the four-sheet funeral procession of the Earl of Rothes in 1681.

The frontispiece gives the names of Francis Barlow as designer and Robert White as engraver; since it is at the beginning of the series, we can infer that this applies to all the plates. In 1685 Barlow again made drawings of the procession at the coronation of James II (R. R. Wark, *Early British Drawings in the Huntington*, San Marino 1969, p. 17). These were engraved by I. Collins and William Sherwin as nineteen plates to another work by Francis Sandford, *The History of the Coronation of James II and of Queen Mary*, which was published with a text in 1687 (the British Museum has a set of the plates alone at 166 d.2). For Barlow's other designs in these years, see cats. 89, 170 and 200.

137 Charles II, 1679

Engraving after Godfrey Kneller, 475 × 360 mm

P.5-6. Sloane collection

According to Vertue, 'The first print engraved after any picture of Knellers was the King Charles II done by R. White, who was conducted to his house in Durham Yard by Stoop the battle painter' (I 108). This is not possible, as Stoop had left London in 1665/7, almost a decade before the arrival in London of Kneller (1646/9–1723) in 1676. But Vertue might have confused him with Jan Wyck (1652–1700), who took Stoop's place as the foremost battle painter in England. Kneller's original painting (Stewart cat. 148) is now lost.

It is difficult to find fine impressions of White's prints. This one was folded down the right edge, which suggests that it was folded into an album. White never seems to have printed proofs before letter or reserved early impressions for collectors, and Vertue gives a distressing account of the way he treated his prints: 'He made no regular collection of his works, but as he had done a plate he always had two or three prints rolled up & threw in a closett where they lay in heaps' (I 131). The contrast with John Smith (see p. 239) is marked.

A late state of this plate at Windsor bears the address of John Bowles.

CAROLUS II.us
D.G. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Fran: et Hiber, REX
FIDEI DEFENSOR etc.

137

138

138 James II as Duke of York, 1682

Engraving after Kneller, 459 × 319 mm (severely cut on all sides)

P.2-94. Cracherode bequest, 1799

This is the second plate in White's set of the royal family (see cat. 139). This impression is severely cut, and White's address in Bloomsbury Market in the bottom margin has been removed. James was the admiral in command of the British navy, and this explains the nautical imagery on the frame around the bust. In 1685, when James inherited the throne from his brother, White altered the lettering on the plate to reflect his new status, but kept the fishy decoration. Kneller's original painting was not known to Stewart (cat. 383).

139 Mary of Modena as Queen, 1686

Engraving after Kneller, 477 × 363 mm

1976 u.55. Provenance unknown

From 1684 White began to advertise his new plates in the *London Gazette*. This one appears in the issue for 26 November 1685: 'The effigies of her present Queen Mary, newly done from an original in a royal sheet; the same size as King Charles I, King Charles II and his present majesty. All four engraven by R. White. Sold by him at his house in Bloomsbury Market, and by most Picture-sellers in London and Westminster.' This proves that the three prints, cats. 137–9, formed part of a single series. The first item was Charles II in 1679; the second, James in 1682; the third, Charles I after van Dyck, advertised on 8 December 1684. Mary of Modena followed when she became Queen in 1685, and in 1689 it was the turn of William and Mary, followed by Princess Anne (the heir to the throne) and her husband George of Denmark in 1690. Such a series (like that of Moses Pitt, cat. 140) was open-ended, and allowed the maximum flexibility to purchasers, while encouraging them to buy more rather than fewer plates. These were among the plates that remained in White's possession, and which were sold to John King after his death.

Although most of White's plates were made after his own drawings, he engraved a number after Kneller. Most of Kneller's paintings were reproduced in mezzotint by Beckett and Smith (see Chapter 9), and these plates in line-engraving are unusual. Little is known of the link between White and Kneller. William Gilpin (*Essay on Prints*, 3rd ed. 1781, p.122) has a story that White 'teased [Kneller] so much with his proofs that it is said Sir Godfrey forbad him his house'. When White briefly entered the mezzotint business, of the nine mezzotints that he published, six were after Kneller. One is dated 1683, and the others must be from the same time. Since Beckett seems to have cemented his relationship with Kneller by the mid-1680s (cat. 162), White's mezzotint dealings must have ended by then. But this portrait of Mary of Modena, being a line-engraving, and being part of an existing series, was evidently an exception.

139

EDWARD (LE) DAVIS (active 1671–after 1691)

Davies was of Welsh origin, and was apprenticed to Loggan. Vertue was informed by John Sturt that Loggan's wife 'would have him follow her in a livery and other servile offices, which he refus'd to do, & ran away to France, where he became acquainted with paintings & other parts of arts by which he gathered a good fortune at his return & became a great dealer in pictures' (II 29). This is corroborated by Mariette (*Abecedario* II 67 and 192–3), who records two plates he made for the Parisian publisher François Chauveau, and says that after his return to London Davis abandoned engraving to become a picture dealer. It was in France that he added 'Le' to his name, which he kept using after his return to London.

Very few of Davis's plates are dated, but the chronology of his life can be worked out thanks to the listing of his work given by Maxime Préaud in the *Inventaire* of the Bibliothèque Nationale (x 1989). This has fifty-three plates, and is probably complete so far as his French work is concerned, for it includes information taken from the 1676 inventory of Chauveau's stock. But Davis's British plates need much further work, the matter being complicated by the fact that quite a few anonymous portraits of the period appear to be by him.

Davis's French plates bear dates between 1671 and 1674; he was back in England in 1675, when he engraved the frontispiece for S. Monteage's *Debtor and Creditor*. This places his apprenticeship to Loggan at the end of the 1660s, and his birth somewhere in the early 1640s. It is not clear when he died. The fact that he became a picture dealer did not preclude him from engraving. He made an outsize (590 × 460 mm) oval bust of James as Duke of York, and a curious print after Frans Hals of *The Mountebank Doctor and his Merry Andrew* (BMSat 1145).

Vertue notes about his commercial activities: 'Mr Davis sale, a picture dealer and ingraver, he had yearly sales often' (v 55). Some of these can be traced. The catalogue of an auction of 23 November 1691 that he conducted jointly with Edward Millington is in the British Library (1402 g.1/105); it consisted of paintings from the collections of Cardinal Antonio Barberini (1607–71) and Sir James Palmer (d.1657). Other sales of Barberini and Palmer paintings had been held in 1688–9 at an auction house in St Albans Street, which must have been Davis's address. If so, further sales can be traced through advertisements in the *London Gazette* from 29 November 1686 until 1691. It may be assumed that his dealing activities often took him back to France, and that much of his activity lay in importing canvases for the English market.

Mariette concludes his note on Davis by saying that he could have become a good engraver, for he knew how to cut copper well. The implication is that he never lived up to his capabilities, and this seems fair. He is now forgotten, although in his day he was seen as the fourth leading British engraver after Loggan, White and Vandrebanc.

140 Catherine of Braganza, 1682

Engraving after John Baptist Gaspars, 480 × 278 mm

1856-3-8-55. Purchased from Messrs Colnaghi

This belongs to a series of five full-length portraits of the royal family that was published between 1682 and 1684 by Moses Pitt at the Angel in St Paul's Churchyard. Although none is dated, they can be traced in the Term Catalogues. In November 1682 Pitt advertised portraits of the King, Queen and Duke of York 'engraven in copper by the best masters'. That of the Duke of York was by Loggan, while Charles II (the pair to this) was by Robert White. Those of Mary of Modena and Princess Anne, advertised in May 1684, were by Vandrebanc.

Pitt was one of the largest booksellers and publishers of the second half of the century, whose huge ambitions led him to bankruptcy. His history has been pieced together by Michael Harris (in *Economics of the British Book Trade 1605–1939*, Publishing History, Occasional Series I, ed. R. Myers and M. Harris, Cambridge 1985, pp. 176–208), and what follows is taken from him. Pitt (*c.*1639–97) began in a small way as a bookseller and publisher. Success led him from 1678 to embark on a series of interrelated projects that demanded far more capital than he had. Chief among them was the *English Atlas*, which was intended to contain 900 pages of text plus 600 plates in eleven volumes. The portrait of Charles II by White, mentioned above, was made as the frontispiece for the first volume in 1680, and presumably the other portraits were a spin-off from this. Pitt also embarked on a huge property speculation in Westminster, as well as taking over the printing office of Oxford University. In 1685 he was forced to retrench and clear much stock in two auctions; this marks the end of his print publishing. His final bankruptcy and arrest for debt followed in 1689, and he remained in prison until shortly before his death eight years later.

141 JOHN GREENHILL (1642–76)

Henry Greenhill, 1667

Etching, 278 × 186 mm

(a) Proof (with lettering in reverse). P.6-123. Cracherode bequest 1799

(b) Counterproof (with lettering in the correct direction). 1917-7-14-21

Purchased through Colnaghi from the collection of Thomas, eighth Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton House sale, Sotheby's, 5 July 1917, from lot 302, a volume of etchings by non-Italian artists

Greenhill was born in Salisbury. Nothing is known of his training before he arrived in London by 1662 and entered the studio of Peter Lely. He soon established enough of a reputation to set up on his own as a portrait painter, with

Serenissima Catharina Mag: Brit: Fran & Hiber: Regina. &c.

140

141a

141b

a line in heads in coloured crayon. This medium was introduced by Lely and was popular with others in these years, including Edward Luttrell and Edmund Ashfield. Vertue records that Greenhill 'fell into a debauched course of life', and died from injuries caused by a fall while drunk in Long Acre, Covent Garden (Vertue I 30). He was a friend of the poet Aphra Behn (1640–89), who wrote an elegy on his death (*The Works of Aphra Behn*, ed. Janet Todd, I 1992, no. 15).

This is the only known print by Greenhill, and the unique example of a British painter's etching from the reign of Charles II. The subject is the artist's brother Henry (1646–1708), who was a commissioner of the Navy. The long text written in John's handwriting extols his skills in mathematics and commerce. It is transcribed by Vertue (I 155), who concluded that 'this head is etched in a free picturesque manner'.

The most curious feature of this print, and one that is difficult to parallel elsewhere, is the reversal of the writing.

Counterproofs are made by running an impression while the ink is still wet against another sheet. Thus the image is reversed to the same direction as the original, which is very useful when working on a copperplate (see cat. 24). In Greenhill's case the etching, which he evidently drew directly from life, would have reversed the sitter's features. But it is normal to reverse the writing on the plate so that it comes out the correct way round on the print; counterproofs thus normally show writing in reverse. Here it is the counterproof that shows the writing correctly. Greenhill, an amateur printmaker, found it easier to write normally on the plate, with the result that it printed in reverse. Thus he had to take a counterproof in order to show both image and text in the correct sense. An impression in the Bute Granger (XVI 27) is printed in red, and is marked by Bull 'very scarce'. It may be assumed to have been a private plate, from which impressions were given to family and friends.

142 PRINCE RUPERT (RUPRECHT OF PFALZ) (1619–82)

The so-called *Little Executioner*, 1662

Mezzotint, 131 × 164 mm

Hollstein 15

Two impressions:

(a) 1838-4-20-9. Purchased from Messrs Smith, formerly H.W. Diamond collection

(b) 1849-10-3-134, reworked in the turban. Purchased from W.B. Tiffin

Rupert was the third son of Frederick of Bohemia and Elizabeth, the 'Winter Queen' and sister to Charles I (he is the figure centre right in cat.21, where he is referred to as 'Robert'). As an exile in the Netherlands, he was trained in etching, like many children of the nobility at this time. Hollstein gives a catalogue of eleven prints that he made, two of which are dated 1636–7. He became famous as the Royalist cavalry commander in the Civil War, but defeat forced him back to the Netherlands, until he returned at the Restoration.

In Brussels in 1654 he must have met Ludwig von Siegen (1609–?80), who had invented the art of mezzotint in 1642, and learnt from him the secret which Siegen himself had not exploited. Rupert's first dated mezzotints in 1658 are of such a high quality that they have long been supposed to have a considerable input from the artist Wallerant Vaillant (1623–77), whom he had met in Frankfurt that year and taken on as collaborator.

Rupert was a great experimenter, and was an early member of the Royal Society. He made a number of inventions, introduced 'Rupert's drops' into Britain, and devised the rocker as a superior method of laying mezzotint grounds. When he returned to London in 1660, where mezzotint was still unknown, he demonstrated the process to like-minded associates. Among them was John Evelyn, who was engaged on completing his book on the history of printmaking, *Sculptura*. Evelyn included a

142

deliberately enigmatical account of the process in Chapter 6 of his book, not wishing it 'to be prostituted at so cheap a rate as the more naked describing of it here would too soon have expos'd it to'. He added that he was willing, 'by his Highnesse's permission, to gratify any curious and worthy person with as full and perfect a demonstration of the entire art' as he could. But this permission did not extend to any printmaker who might exploit the process (see p.194).

Evelyn persuaded Rupert to contribute this print to include in his book, which is thereby the first mezzotint published in England. Evelyn's diary and papers reveal that Rupert demonstrated the process to him on 24 February 1661, and again on 13 March. A letter of 6 May from Sir Robert Moray makes arrangements for printing the plate in Evelyn's presence the following day; it would allow 100 impressions without retouching as long as it was printed by Rupert's own man (see *Print Quarterly*, XII 1995, pp.289–90).

The head is a reduced version of the head in Rupert's masterpiece, the huge *Great Executioner* of 1658, made after a painting then thought to be by Ribera. It was doubtless suggested as a suitable subject by Evelyn, but it was in fact too wide for the book, with the result that the plate had to be folded in. It is one of only two (out of a total of fifteen) mezzotints that Rupert made after his return to England. The further development of the process lay in the hands of others.

WILLIAM SHERWIN (c.1645–after 1709)

Sherwin was the son of a nonconformist divine of the same name (1607–87?), who wrote a dozen works that earned him an entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Sherwin's career was very unusual, and the standard sources give very little clue about its variety. Nothing is known of his training, and his earliest recorded plate was a portrait prefixed to Richard Atkyns's *History of Printing* in 1664. In 1669 he published J. Leeke's translation of Vignola (Harris 887) at his shop next door to the Star in Little Britain. His many plates appeared at infrequent intervals until his death, though most were made before 1680. Only his twenty mezzotints have been catalogued and discussed (by Chaloner Smith), and his portrait of Charles II of 1669 (cat.144) is the earliest mezzotint bearing a date made in England. Despite this, he never exploited the process, and his mezzotint plates, besides being excessively rare, often omit his address. His numerous engravings, and the other plates of which he acted only as publisher, have never been listed. A few are entered in the Term Catalogues: in February 1674 'a true chronology of all the Kings of England' and the view of the Royal Exchange (cat.185), and in February 1684 'a new book of drawing in twelve copper plates' sold by S.Lee. He seems never to have formed part of the mainstream of the engraving world, and

Vertue says nothing about him beyond giving a very incomplete list of his prints in the unpublished catalogue of engravers (Add.Ms.23078 f.51). This implies that his sources knew nothing of Sherwin.

The key to his career was his marriage in 1672 to Elizabeth, the daughter of a niece of General Monck (see cat.136) and Thomas Pride, one of Cromwell's aides. She was part of Monck's household, and this gave Sherwin an entry into court circles. Monck's son, the second Duke of Albemarle, contributed £500 to her dowry on her marriage to Sherwin, but cut her out of his will when he died in 1688. Disputes over its validity led to protracted lawsuits between the Earl of Bath and the Earl of Montagu, who had married the second Duke's insane widow. In 1694, led by the Sherwins, the Monck cousins filed a joint action against the estate, claiming that the second Duke himself had not been the legitimate heir because his mother had already been married when she married Monck in 1653. This had the effect of unifying the Earls of Bath and Montagu, and the estate was resolved in their favour between 1698 and 1702, although Sherwin resurrected the case as late as 1709.

Sherwin was a man of an inventive and entrepreneurial mind, and, presumably aided by capital from his wife's family, entered business in a large way. In September 1676 he was awarded patent no.190 for fourteen years for inventing a new method of printing calicoes 'with a double-necked rowling press' which was 'the only true way of East India printing and stayneing … till now never performed in our kingdom'. Robert Hooke recorded in his diary that he had been shown the method by Sherwin on 28 August 1676. This is the earliest date for calico printing in Europe, as the first Dutch factory at Amersfoort was only established two years later. His main factory was near water, in West Ham Abbey in the Lea valley in Essex, where in 1678 his son was baptised (*Burlington Magazine*, XCVI 1954, p.136). West Ham became one of the chief centres of calico printing in England. In 1696 Sherwin's name headed a petition in defence of the industry, and in evidence to the House of Lords he stated that he and his next neighbour employed about 400 men (see P.Floud, 'The origins of English calico printing', *Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists*, LXXVI 1960, pp.275–81). He had a secondary factory in London; on 30 January 1688, referring to his patent for calico printing, he advertised in the *London Gazette* for 'all persons who understand that art of printing' to enter his employment at his 'work-house in Well Yard near St Bartholomew's Hospital'. Floud's article speculates on what his method might have been, a major problem being the lack of any surviving specimens from such an early period.

On a portrait that Sherwin engraved of his father in 1672 he describes himself as 'Regio Diplomate insignitus ac auctoratus'; the significance of this is unknown. The DNB reports that Sherwin is supposed to have died in about 1714, but gives no source.

143

143 Charles II, 1660s

Engraving, 507 × 388 mm

1938-4-14-1. Presented by the National Art Collections Fund in memory of Sir Sidney Colvin. From the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson sale, Sotheby's, 15 February 1928, lot 77 (£90 to Daniell)

The format of this print, with the inscription engraved in the oval around the head, and with the arms below, is entirely French in manner. It is not after any known type of painted portrait, and so presumably followed Sherwin's own design even though the lettering only has 'W.Sherwin sculpebat'. Sherwin made at least two other engravings of Charles, besides the mezzotint below, and it is hard to believe that he was ever given a sitting. Presumably, like many lesser engravers, he had to concoct his head from existing prints aided by sights of the King on official occasions. The plate is not dated, and one can only assume that it comes from the 1660s.

144 Charles II, 1669

Mezzotint, 444 × 345 mm (the inscription is engraved on a separate plate, 70 × 345 mm)

Chaloner Smith 10

1843-7-19-16. Purchased from H. Graves & Co.

This has long been celebrated as the earliest dated English mezzotint. It is not the earliest mezzotint made in England: Prince Rupert's *Little Executioner* precedes it, and other experiments were made by fellow-members of the Royal Society, such as Evelyn, in 1661–2. But these are now lost or unidentified.

The print is dedicated on a separate plate to Prince Rupert: 'Specimen hoc vestrae Celsitudinis gratia et favore sibi divulgatum, servi nomine licet indignus utcunque dignatus humillime dedicat Guil. Sherwin' (this specimen, divulged to him through the grace and favour of Your Highness, as his servant although unworthy of the name, yet dignified by it, is most humbly dedicated by William Sherwin). This implies that Rupert had shown Sherwin the secret of the process.

144

A fuller story is recorded by Granger, without giving his source:

The secret is said to have been soon after discovered by Sherwin the engraver, who made use of a loaded file for laying the ground. The Prince, upon sight of one of his prints, suspected that his servant had lent him his tool, which was a channelled roller; but upon receiving full satisfaction to the contrary, he made him a present of it. The roller was afterwards laid aside, and an instrument with a crenelled edge, in shape like a shoemaker's cutting-knife, was used instead of it [IV 138-9].

Sherwin did little to exploit the invention, perhaps feeling inhibited by the help he had been given by the Prince. It was not until the end of the 1670s that the process entered the commercial mainstream in the publications of Richard Tompson.

The portrait of Charles is a pair to a mezzotint of Catherine of Braganza (CS 7), and the same separate dedication plate to Rupert was printed under it.

ARNOLD DE JODE (c.1638–67)

Little is known about Arnold de Jode, although he was the most important engraver to arrive in London after the departure of Pierre Lombart. He belonged to the third generation of a well-known dynasty of engravers in Antwerp: his father Peter de Jode (1606–after 1674) was one of the distinguished team that had worked for Rubens and van Dyck. Arnold was trained by his father, and is first documented when he became a member of the Antwerp guild in 1658. From this it can be assumed that he was born about twenty years earlier.

All other information about him has to be deduced from the dozen engravings by him that have been recorded. The fullest such list is given by Hollstein, although it is incomplete, lacking some significant plates listed in Arthur Tooker's catalogue of 1675. The earliest of his dated plates is of 1658, and a few others were made for Antwerp publishers or can reasonably be assumed to have been made there. His first dated print made in England appeared in 1666 (cat. 145), and four other single-sheet plates, as well as the illustrations to Browne's book (cat. 146), were made in London before his death which must have occurred in 1667, the date on his last plate. All his British prints were made for two publishers, Richard Tompson or Alexander Browne, whose careers are discussed in the following entries. For the mezzotints that they published in the 1670s and 1680s, see cats. 159, 160.

145 The Infants Jesus and John Baptist Embracing, 1666

Engraving after van Dyck, 451 × 334 mm

R.2-5. Cracherode bequest 1799. On the verso his initials and the date 1796

This engraving, published 'at the time of the Great Fire', was made after a painting by van Dyck. This in itself is not surprising, for van Dyck's central place in English painting was already assured. But the Catholic subject, and the quotation from Isaiah which turns it into a semi-devotional image, are quite exceptional in British print-making, although the type is a commonplace of Flemish and French print publishing. Exactly the same can be said of two other prints made by Jode in London, a *Crucifixion* after van Dyck, and Correggio's *Education of Cupid*, a most unusual example of a large-scale print after an old master painting.

The publisher was Richard Tompson, who dedicated it to Peter Lely, the owner of the painting. Lely had consciously positioned himself as van Dyck's English successor, and also became the greatest collector of prints and drawings of his day in England. The dedication describes him as Tompson's 'fautor' (i.e. patron), and Jode also engraved a portrait of Lely. This link is explained by Tompson's career, which has recently been pieced together (see *Print Quarterly*, VII 1990, pp. 130-45). He began as a picture dealer: an inventory of 1659 lists 'a landskip bought of Mr Thompson' (A. Laing in *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts*, ed. D. Howarth, Cambridge 1993, p. 123). In around 1674/5 he and Alexander Browne (see cat. 146) collaborated to establish the first art auctions in London, an activity that they continued until 1692. He also ran a shop, established by 1669 at the Sun in Bedford Street, Covent Garden, where Robert Hooke used to buy illustrated books, old master and modern prints and artists' materials. Lely must also have been a customer, and this would have established the connection that led to this print. It is the first print that Tompson published, and it was only the premature death of Jode that led him to stop until he took up publishing mezzotints in the late 1670s (see cat. 159). Of the two portraits that Jode engraved, one was of Lely, the other of Browne.

Tompson's position as a connoisseur is evidenced by his own posthumous sale in 1693, which contained old master paintings, drawings and prints, as well as the plates in his possession. Pierce Tempest, who was perhaps his successor as the leading dealer in old master prints and drawings, published a memorial mezzotint portrait of him by Francis Place (Chaloner Smith 13). The spelling of his name varies: earlier documents use Thomson, while his mezzotints all use Tompson.

QVAM PVLCHRI SVPER MONTES PEDES ANNVNTIANTIS ET PREDICANTIS PACEM.

145

**146** Alexander Browne, *Ars Pictoria, or an Academy Treating of Drawing, Painting, Limning, Etching, to which are Added XXXI Copper Plates, Expressing the Choicest, Nearest and Most Exact Grounds and Rules of Symmetry, Collected out of the Most Eminent Italian, German and Netherland Authors*, London (for Arthur Tooker and William Battersby), second edition, 1675

Open at the end, where is bound in a folding sheet 'A Catalogue of plates, the prints whereof are useful for gentlemen, artists and gentlewomen and school-mistresses works, sold by Arthur Tooker, stationer at the Globe over against Salisbury House in the Strand'

1857-2-14-254 (1 to 32) (pressmark 167* c.1). Purchased from Messrs Evans; formerly in the libraries of John Disney and Edmund Turnor

This book has a complicated ancestry. The first edition was in 1669, and most of the plates (which are by Arnold de Jode, and are copied from Bloemaert and others) were first used in a drawing book of *c.*1667. Other elements go back to a book of 1660, *The Whole Art of Drawing*, to which extra bits were added through successive editions (for all this see Levis, pp. 22–5). The 1675 edition for the most part repeats the 1669 edition, and the pages appear to be old stock recycled. But it adds a new second part which is dedicated to Lely. The text contains numerous recipes for materials
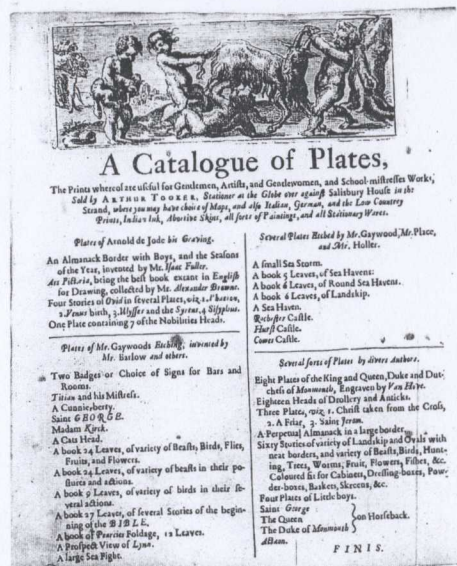
to be used by the artist, and an early owner of this copy has continued the process by adding his own in manuscript inside the covers.

Alexander Browne (active 1659–1706) described himself on the title-page as 'practitioner in the art of limning' (although none of his miniatures survives), and he appeared in the pages of Pepys's diary in 1665–6, giving drawing lessons to Pepys's wife and other polite ladies. Pepys suspected him of conducting an affair with her. In his 1675 preface Browne stated that he had been supplying colours for limning for sixteen years, which puts the beginning of his career around 1659. For many years he collaborated with Tompson as an auctioneer, and in the 1680s published mezzotints at his house in Little Queen Street, at the Blew Balcony near Lincolns Inn Fields (see cat. 160). When he died in 1706, his widow sold ninety-seven paintings by auction at his house in Gerrard Street, Soho, as well as his shells, agates, minerals and medals (Harley Ms.5947 nos. 121, 123).

The 1669 edition of *Ars Pictoria* was sold by Tooker, Tompson and Browne himself. In 1675 Tooker took over, in collaboration with a bookseller, William Battersby. According to the Term Catalogues, the first edition cost 10s. and the second 12s. Tooker used the opportunity to bind in a folding sheet catalogue of his publications. This type of broadsheet had been created by Stent in 1654, and taken up by Overton and Walton. Tooker, who worked between 1664 and 1681, was the most active and interesting publisher of the reign of Charles II, although little is known about him. His catalogue stated that he sold 'choice of maps, and also Italian, German and Low Countrey prints, Indian ink, abortive skins [vellum], all sorts of paintings, and all stationary wares'. The list that followed was divided into four sections: plates by Arnold de Jode; plates etched by Gaywood after Barlow and others; etchings by Place (cat.172) and Hollar; and 'several sorts of plates by divers authors'. This must have been a typical range of business for a printseller at the time.

It is notable that not one mezzotint was listed. Browne gave an account of the process in the 1669 edition of his book, which gave a clear description of the principle of the process, but he never described the crucial 'engin', the rocker: 'As for the manner or shape of the Engin, they are divers, and if any ingenious person have a desire to have any made, the Author will give them further directions.' It may be doubted whether he was in fact able to do so at that time.

A Catalogue of Plates,

The Prints whereof are uſeful for Gentlemen, Artiſts, and Gentlewomen, and School-miſtreſſes Works, Sold by ARTHUR TOOKER, Stationer at the Globe over againſt Salisbury Houſe in the Strand, where you may have choice of Maps, and alſo Italian, German, and the Low Countrey Prints, Indian Ink, Abortive Skins, all ſorts of Paintings, and all Stationary Wares.