

*The Print in
Early Modern England*

AN HISTORICAL OVERSIGHT

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Chapter Five

At Home and Abroad

THE LATER STUARTS

During the second half of the seventeenth century the English and Dutch three times went to war, in 1652–4, 1665–7 and 1672–4. By the middle of the century the Dutch had built up the largest mercantile fleet in Europe and clashes with English commercial shipping – and now, for the first time almost, English artists became inevitable – and now, for the first time almost, English artists could employ their talents in satirising a Protestant enemy. It is ironic that later in the century the English should seek salvation from their Catholic ruler, James II, by inviting William of Orange to accept the crown. The all-pervading background of knee-jerk anti-Catholicism continued, so there seems a dreadful inevitability about the Popish Plot of 1678, the belief concocted by Titus Oates that there existed a Catholic conspiracy to assassinate Charles II, and the Assassination Plot of 1696, attributed to the exiled royals and the ambitions of Louis XIV.

THE ANGLO-DUTCH WARS

The War at Sea

The three Anglo-Dutch 'wars' were almost entirely naval affairs fought at sea, and the only English print of any of these engagements that I am aware of is a two-sheet engraving of the so-called St James's Fight of 25 July 1666 during the Second Anglo-Dutch War – complete impressions survive in the Henry Huntington Library in San Marino, California (pl. 100), and in the British Museum. It is ironic that otherwise the most recent English depiction of a sea battle is *An Unpartiall Memoriall of the late Valliant and bloody bickrings, betwixt the Warlike Spanish, and the Hollanders, on the Coast of England* (pl. 101) – a large

single sheet (imperial size) headed by an engraving of the so-called Battle of the Downs of 31 October 1639, with verse text by John Taylor (entered in the Stationers' Register on 20 November of that year). The Water Poet's verses applaud this decisive Dutch defeat of the Spanish fleet, which had intended to take control of the English Channel and had an invasion force at Dunkirk, but which was also embarrassing for the English, since the Dutch had violated English neutrality, with England's navy powerless to intervene. The accomplished engraving that illustrates the English sheet may well be of Dutch workmanship (several similar Dutch prints survive, one engraved by Crispijn de Passe the Younger¹), but if so, it is noticeable that the fighting ships have been labelled on the plate with the English abbreviations *D* and *S*, for Dutch and Spanish. Presumably related to the conflict, a large and – to my knowledge similarly unique – print is a very wide panoramic etching entitled *A Representation in what manner the spanish fleet [lies off the Kentish coast] and signed 'c. BOL. FECIT 1639'*.² It may have been issued in the Netherlands for the English market – the spelling *spanisch* perhaps pointing in that direction.

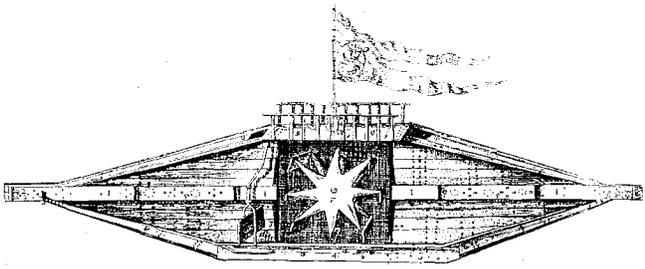
SHIPS

Datable to the time of the First Anglo-Dutch War is a most interesting sheet depicting a type of submarine (really, a semi-submerged ram) built in Rotterdam by the Frenchman De Son in 1653. The English print, *The true and perfect forme of the Strange Ship built at Rotterdam A^o 1653*, which, though unsigned, is attributed to Hollar (pl. 102), clearly copies an original engraved by Frederik de Witt and held uniquely in the Maritime Museum in Rotterdam, entitled *Perfekte Afbeeldinge: van 't Wonderlycke*



An Unpartiall Memoriall of the late Valiant and bloody Inckings, betwixt the Warlike Spanish, and the Hollanders, on the Coast of England, 1639, printed by Iohn Oke.

1. The Ship is called the Strange Ship, built at Rotterdam, Anno 1653. The Inventor is a Dutchman, whose Name is not known. He doeth undertake in one day to destroy a hundred Ships, and to rune from Rotterdam to London, and back againe in one day. He is 60 Wekes to goe to the East Indies, and to rune as swift as a bird from any place, nor Storme, or Bullets, can hurt him, for hee shall come to them in any place, at his owne pleasure, hee is invulnerable, hee is not to be taken, unless by treachery, and then can not bee governed by any but himselfe. Hee is 100 fathoms long, 12 fathoms high, the breadth 2 fathoms. Hee is made of Iron, and the ends with Iron bars, whereon the strength of the Ship both on both ends a labe. Hee is made of Iron, 4. the keele, 5. Iron battles with serues. 6. the depth is the middle beame. 7. the wheel that goeth round by which it hath its motion. 8. the Shuttles where they goe in. 9. the Gallery where they walke.



The true & perfect forme of the Strange Ship built at Rotterdam Anno 1653. The Inventor is a Dutchman, who doeth undertake in one day to destroy a hundred Ships, and to rune from Rotterdam to London, and back againe in one day. He is 60 Wekes to goe to the East Indies, and to rune as swift as a bird from any place, nor Storme, or Bullets, can hurt him, for hee shall come to them in any place, at his owne pleasure, hee is invulnerable, hee is not to be taken, unless by treachery, and then can not bee governed by any but himselfe. Hee is 100 fathoms long, 12 fathoms high, the breadth 2 fathoms. Hee is made of Iron, and the ends with Iron bars, whereon the strength of the Ship both on both ends a labe. Hee is made of Iron, 4. the keele, 5. Iron battles with serues. 6. the depth is the middle beame. 7. the wheel that goeth round by which it hath its motion. 8. the Shuttles where they goe in. 9. the Gallery where they walke.

101 (left) Anonymous, *An Unpartiall Memoriall of the late Valiant and bloody Inckings, betwixt the Warlike Spanish, and the Hollanders, on the Coast of England*, 1639, printed by John Oke, etching and engraving, British Museum, London

102 (above) Wenceslaus Hollar after Frederik de Witt, *The true and perfect forme of the Strange Ship built at Rotterdam Anno 1653, circa 1653*, etching, British Museum, London

Schip, gemaakt tot Rotterdam. 1653. Comparison of the texts of the English and Dutch versions is revealing. The original claims that the wonderful ship could reach the East Indies in six weeks, and in a single day get to France and back – on the English sheet this latter claim has been significantly altered to read: '[She] can goe from Rotterdam to London and Back againe in one day', and is immediately preceded by the ominous 'the inventor doeth undertake in one day to destroy a hundred Ships'. The message was clear – here is a dastardly secret weapon that the Dutch are about to unleash on English shipping! But the English need not have worried, for, in the event, the vessel never saw action, since De Son was unable to find a clockwork motor powerful enough to drive its internal paddle-wheel.

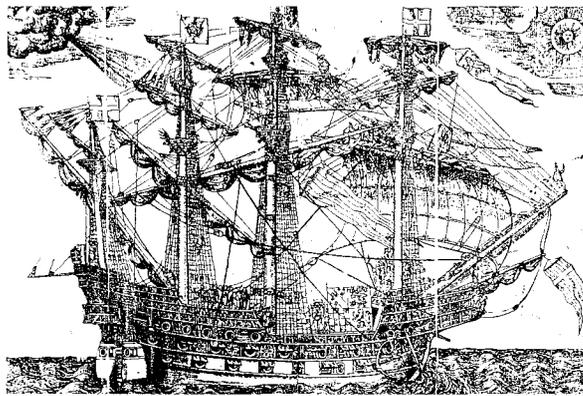
The allegorical ships examined in Chapter Four were, of course, based on real ships, and, perhaps inevitably in this era, that meant warships. A number of prints portray actual named ships in their own right, and a rare early survival of this sort of lovingly observed detailed print is a three-sheet woodcut (49 × 74 cm) traditionally identified as the *Ark Royal* (pl. 103), the ship that fired the opening salvo against the Armada in 1588, and which is assumed to have been built shortly before that date. Recently,

however, Christopher Barnett has identified the vessel as the *Hemi Grace à Dieu* – more familiarly known as *The Great Harry* – and dated the original sheet, of which the only surviving impression, reproduced as pl. 103 is much later, to 1524/5, making it one of the earliest images discussed in this book. From the seventeenth century we have the highly detailed likeness of another great ship, characterised in the Stationers' Register as the 'States Admirall' [i.e., the admiral's ship or flagship] called *The Royall Sovereigne*, appeared as a large two-sheet print (approximately 66 × 91 cm) engraved by John Payne in 1637, the year of its launch – it is probably this print that is recorded in the Corsham inventory of the late King Charles's artworks as 'A Printed picture of ye soveraigne ship' valued at the enormous sum of 10 shillings.¹ *The Sovereign of the Seas* took part in all three of the Anglo-Dutch Wars,² though can hardly have been said to have distinguished herself in the First; she participated in the battle of the Kentish Knock on 28 September 1652, but ended the day by running aground and spent the rest of the First Anglo-Dutch War in harbour. She was rebuilt in Chatham Dockyard in 1659–60, when she was officially and significantly renamed the *Royal Sovereign*, and given a new head. In 1653 the print-seller Thomas Jenner

issued a thirty-two-page booklet entitled *The common-wealths great ship commonly called the Sovereigne of the Seas, built in the yeare, 1637*, which included a frontispiece plate of the vessel engraved by himself – 'Thomas Jenner fecit [sic] 1653' – an apparent reversal of the Payne engraving on a much-reduced scale to fit the small quarto page,⁵ and a second work to add to the unique engraving by him listed in Hind.⁶ It was evidently republished by Jenner himself in 1659, perhaps as part of *A List of all the Ships and Frigots of this Common-wealth, 1659*.⁷ Three years earlier a more popular depiction of the great ship had appeared, but this time in two large woodcut sheets, one of the many items the Stationers' Register records licensed to Thomas Warren. *The Royal Sovereign of England* was still being offered as one of the 'Several Ships' for sale from David Mortier, who described himself as 'Bookseller in the Strand' in a list of prints published shortly after 1702.⁸ He was also selling prints of *A first rate* with the Admirals flag and *A Third rate under sail*.

In November 1692 John Garrett was advertising a two-foot-wide print of the flagship, the *Royal Prince*, which also fought in the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars, and this advertisement incidentally notes that whereas a plain impression cost 1s., the ship could be had coloured for 2s. 6d. An advertisement in the *London Gazette* the very same month records that Philip Lea, Globe-maker, at the Atlas and Hercules in Cheapside, and Tho. Batchelor at the Globe at Charing-Cross, were offering 'the Draught of the Britannia, Royal First Capital Ship of England ... consisting of 4 sheets of Imperial Paper ... Price in Sheets 12s'. The previous month's *Gazette* had carried the advertisement of a goldsmith who traded at the sign of the Golden Key 'over against Exeter-Change in the Strand', and was offering 'the Section of a First Rate Ship; Explaining all Parts thereof well Engraved, after the design of Captain Tho. Phillips, 2d Engenier of England', sounding quite similar to another of Mortier's ship prints which is described as 'Halfe of an Admiral ship'⁹ with the manner of ranging her Gunnes and stores'.

There seems to have been a market for prints depicting the technical details of ships in the late seventeenth century: for 8d. Garret was advertising 'The Picture of a Ship, on a Royal sheet of Paper; wherein is described by 130 figures upon it, all the Tackling of a ship; with the explanation of each Figure at the bottom', according to the Term Catalogue for November 1683. It seems likely to be identical with the bilingual 'Description of the tackeling belonging to a shipp / Beschryvinge van't getakelde schip', which, although it bears the imprint 'Printed; and sold by John Garrett at his shop, next ye Exchange stayres in Cornhill', also has 'Amsterdam: by Jacobus Robijn, in die Nieuwbrughs Steeg, in de Stuurmans, Verkoopt alderhands Stuurmans Gereetschap'; this apparent joint and pacific Anglo-Dutch venture survives uniquely in Chetham's Library, Manchester. *Engine for ships / Machine pour les vaisseaux* is a similarly bilingual prod-



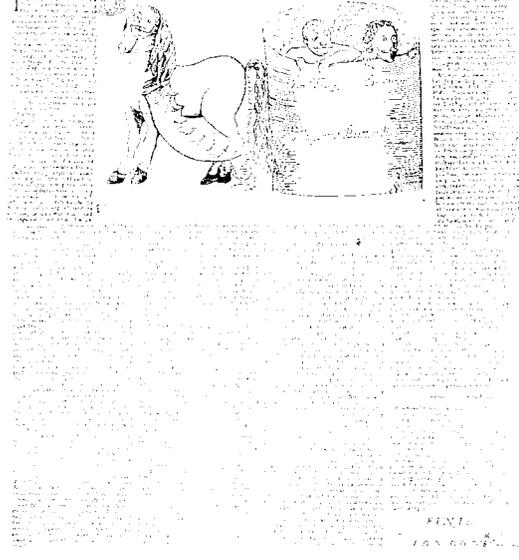
193 Anonymous, ship traditionally identified as the *Ark Royal*, late 16th century impression, woodcut, British Museum, London

uction, but this time English/French, and which, though lacking any imprint information, is assumed to have been printed in London and is dated '28 Feb. 1692' in a contemporary hand. The English title continues: 'invented by Anthony Duvivier Esq. for which the King of great Brittain [sic] was pleas'd to grant him a patente under the great seal of England'. Another even more ambitious sounding technical specification is advertised as forthcoming in the Introduction to T. Hale's *Account of New Invention* (1691): 'An admirable Draught or Sculpture of this Ship in four large sheets of Dutch Paper, will shortly be published.'

Anti-Dutch Prints

Despite a fair number of sea victories during the Anglo-Dutch wars, it was not in naval iconography that the English chose to score graphic points over the Dutch, but via the age-old strategy of pictorialising one's enemy as ugly, filthy and ridiculous. The following three engraved broadsides neatly exemplify this imagery of insult, one for each war. The tenor of them may be accurately gauged by quoting the full title of the earliest: *The Dutch-mens Pedigree, or A Relation, Shewing how they were first Bred, and Descended from a Horse-Turd, which was enclosed in a Butter-Box* (1653), with text signed by one D. F. (pl. 104). The engraved illustration depicts a two-headed equine monster (one horse head, the other Van Tromp's head) defecating beside a large cylindrical butter-box from which hundreds of Dutchmen are about to emerge, led by two 'portrait' heads of Admirals Maarten Van Tromp and Witte de With. Scatology has always been an essential part of the satirist's repertoire.¹¹ The *Oxford English Dictionary* entry shows that the contemptuous term 'butter-box' for a Dutch-

The Dutchmens PEDIGREE.
OR
A Relation. Showing how they were first Bred, and Descended from a
BUTTER-BOX, which was first call'd BUTTER-BON.



102 Anonymous, *The Dutchmens Pedigree*, 1653, engraving, British Library, London

man was in use throughout the seventeenth century, and something of its popular nature may be gauged from one of the 'Foreign Jestes' printed in *The Complaisant Companion* (1674):

A Dutch-man in Amsterdam having heated himself with Wine grew angry, and swearing *Gods Sacrament*, he would feign know, why the English called his Countrymen *Butter-boxes*, the reason is said a [presumably rash, English] stranger by, *because they find you are so apt to spread every where, and for your sauciness must be melted down.*¹²

(Less wittily – but doubtless more accurately – the *Dictionary of Buckish Slang* [1811] explains the term as deriving 'from the great quantity of butter eaten by the people of that country'.¹³)

It will make sense thematically to discuss the latest sheet next, conjecturally dated 1672, which Stephens mistakenly (or euphemistically?) entitled the *Egg of Dutch Rebellion* (pl. 105) – it is clear from the labels that it is, in fact, not an egg but, again, a giant horse turd, on top of which a demon is perched, and inside which we see a table and several Dutchmen in commotion as the

devil reaches down to grab one of them. Another who has fallen backwards off his stool exclaims:

Fear makes me swoond [swoon] give me some Brandy then
Tis onely that, can make us act like men.

This, interestingly, is surely an illusion to the idiom, still current in English, of 'Dutch courage', not attested – in that form, at least – before Sir Walter Scott (1826).¹⁴ Though unsigned, on stylistic grounds the sheet was certainly etched by Francis Barlow.

From 'this Cacodæmon's bum' many more Dutch men are evacuated – the same motif that we examined in Chapter Three in *A Pass For the Romish Rabble . . . through ye Duells Arse of Peake* (1624). In the foreground, as if hatched out from the turd, are various flies, maggots and frogs. One oversize frog dressed in military uniform kneels before another demon and pleads for his life:

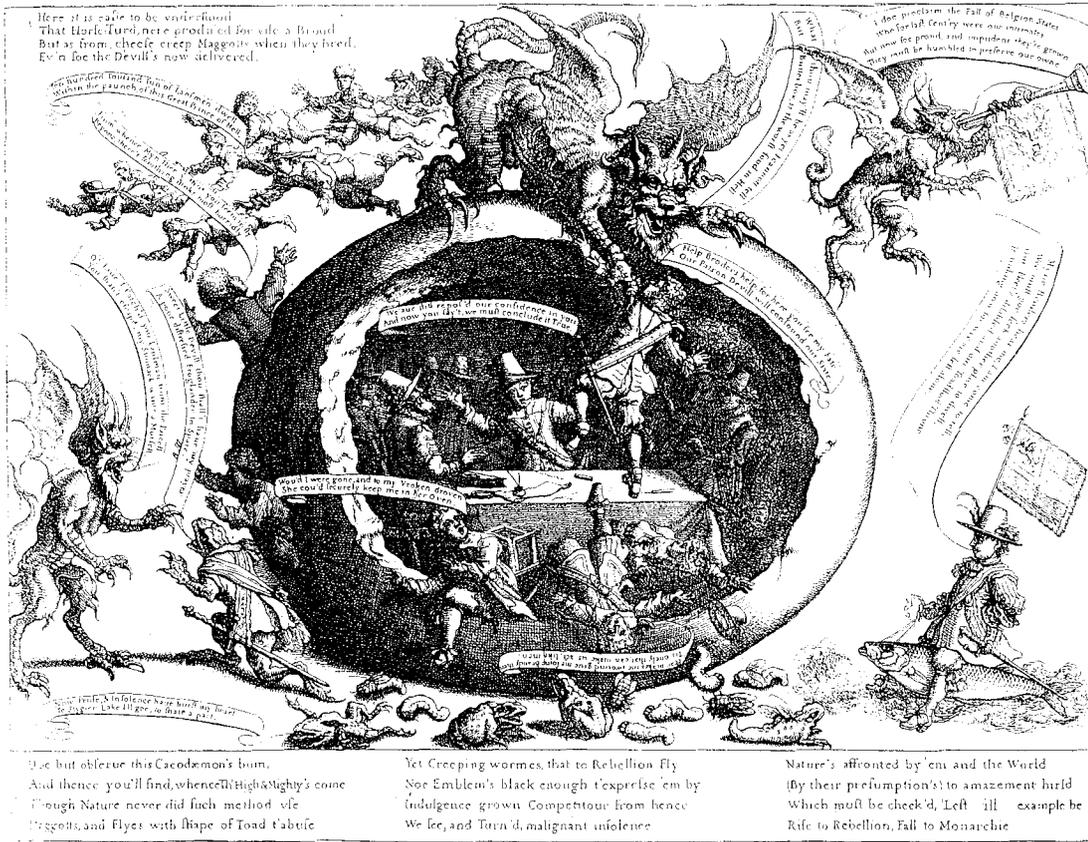
Sweet Little Devil thou shalt haue my prayer
A poor distressed Froglander to Spare.

'Frogland' was one of the insulting names for the marshy Low Countries, punning on Holland, as – rather more closely – does 'Hogland', the style favoured in the third broadside, which was issued during the Second Anglo-Dutch War in 1665, and is entitled in full *The Dutch Boare Dissected, or a Description of Hogg-land*. Again, 'Boare', though appropriate for an inhabitant of 'Hogg-land', of course, puns on *boor*, a Dutch peasant.¹⁵

The engraved illustration is divided into four scenes, one of which shows Holland as an island described in the accompanying verse as 'Their Quagmire Isle / . . . A Land of Bogs / To breed up Hogs', on which many frogs are seen – 'Frogs in great Number / Their Land doth Cumber' – as well as barrels of pickled herrings and a circular cheese divided up like a compass ('Their Compass is / An Holland Cheese'). This is an early example of the enduring xenophobic habit of 'gastronomic chauvinism'.

Dr Dorislaw's Ghost

A Nest of Plots Discovered (1679)¹⁶ has an intriguing history, since it is actually a later state of a print last issued in 1652,¹⁷ at the outset of the First Anglo-Dutch War, when it was entitled *Dr Dorislaw's Ghost* (pl. 106). In the earlier issue the key below the image identifies the three protagonists as the Dutch ambassador to England, Time and Truth – or rather, as *Dr Dorislaw's Ghost representing Truth brought forth of the Grave by Time*.¹⁸ As the alternative title of *A Nest of Plots Discovered* explains, however, in 1679 the principal is now identified as a Jesuit, and his chair that on which the pope is installed: 'or, A Rod for the romish Jesuits set forth in the explanation of this following figure, and may serve as an antidote against popery and popish-churches'. But



105 Francis Barlow, [‘Egg’ of Dutch Rebellion], circa 1672, published by Edward Powell and George Farthing, etching, British Museum, London

as we shall see, it seems highly likely that *Dr Dorislaw’s Ghost* is not, in fact, the first, but the second state of the print, making *A Nest of Plots Discovered* the third.

The main human figure is quite clearly copied from the image of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador to England, as portrayed on the title page of Thomas Scott’s *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (1624), but with a tray of eggs placed beneath the aperture of his infamous ‘chair of ease’. Careful inspection of this figure’s left hand, however, shows it to have five fingers and a thumb! In the earliest state the hand was holding some object but has now been altered so that one finger points at Truth. Truth herself, rather unconvincingly, holds up a sun – and illogically so, since the

Divinity is depicted as a solar radiance above; but the presence of the allegorical figures of Truth and Time takes us straight back to the *The Travels of Time* of the same year, 1624 (see Chapter Three).

Between the protagonists are two tiny scenes – the familiar horseshoe-shaped Armada here labelled not ‘88’, but in the *Dorislaw’s Ghost* state, ‘52’, that is, 1652, the date of publication, at the time of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, and the fleet accordingly labelled ‘The treacherous assault of Van Tromp upon the English ships’, that is, in the Downs on 19 May 1652. (Curiously, the print was fairly closely copied and the accompanying text translated into Dutch, according to the imprint,

D^r Dorislaw's Ghost, Prefeered by Time to unmask the Vizards of the Hollanders; And discover the Lions Paw in the Face of the Sun, in this picture of Time: Or, A List of XXVII Barbarous and bloody Cruelties and Murders, Maistered in this Treachery of the Hollanders against England and her Allies. With the particulars of the Noble Kings of England's death in their prisons, which might have been saved by the Hollander's Justice, if they had been more justly and more honestly treated, than they were.



166 - Anonymous, *Dr Dorislaw's Ghost*, 1652, published by Thomas Hinde, engraving, British Museum, London

167 - Anonymous, *De Geest van Dr Dooreslaer wordt door de Tijd vertoont, circa 1652*, engraving, British Museum, London

De Geest van D^r Dooreslaer wordt door de Tijd vertoont, en ontmont 't aersicht der Hollanderen, en ontdeekt den Leens klauw, in 't gezicht van de heldere Zon, op de intogens oorlijgen Tijd, door een Lijst van Seven-en-twintigh wreedde Barbaertiche en bloudige Moordkryen, en schandelijcke Verdrakryen door de Hollanders aan de Engeltijhen opgeleght.



167 - Anonymous, *De Geest van Dr Dooreslaer wordt door de Tijd vertoont, circa 1652*, engraving, British Museum, London

'Tot Amsterdam, naer de Originele Cope, tot London gedruickt, 1652' [pl. 107].)' Similarly, what was evidently the pope and cardinals, Jesuits, the devil and the King of Spain as portrayed in their pavilion plotting the conquest of England derived from Ward's *Double Deliverance* issued in 1621 (Chapter Three), is here identified as 'The Hollanders wretched consultations and actings against the English in the Indies' (i.e., Amboyna). As we have seen, the third component of this familiar triad would have been the scene of Fawkes entering the cellars of Parliament; in *Dorislaw's Ghost* there is a scene inset in the top left-hand corner of the print of soldiers approaching a building, which the key identifies as 'The baseness of the Dutch in suffering the English Ambassador to be so highly affronted and openly assaulted' – I suggest that in the original (lost) state this was the Gunpowder Plot scene.

The scenes of the Amboyna Massacre of 1623, squeezed in uncomfortably between the 'Dutch Ambassador' and 'Truth', probably derive from the engraved frontispiece of *A true Relation of the Unjust, Cruel and Barbarous Proceedings against the English at Amboyna* (1651), and are indeed noticeably cruder in execution than the rest of the engraving.²⁰ More problematic is whether or not the small symbolic fox, crocodile and hyena (bottom left) are part of the original conception – stylistically, I believe they are. The masks, the chameleon and the claw, however, all appear to be additions.

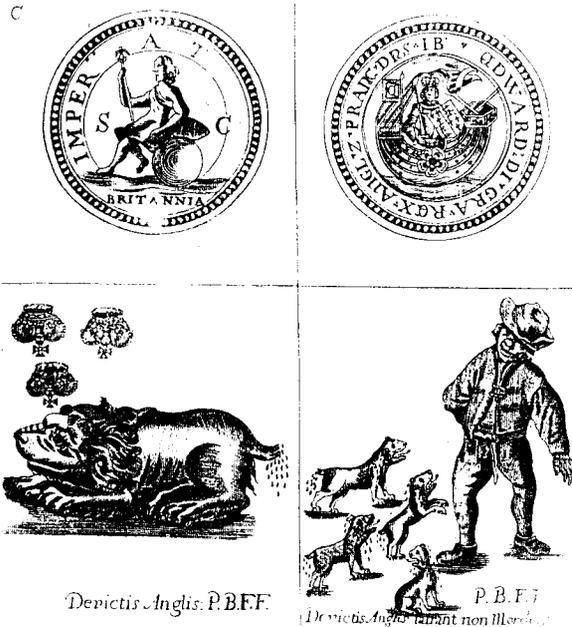
The date of what I thus infer to be the original state of this print (title unknown, and not known to be extant) must therefore be post-1624 – since it is dependent on Scott's title page – but probably not too long after (*ante* 1630?), while the national memory of Gondomar was still fresh. In summary:

State 1	{Title unknown}	between 1624 and 1630	not known
State 2	<i>Dr Dorislaw's Ghost</i>	1652	British Library
State 3	<i>A Nest of Plots Discovered</i>	1679	Ashmolean Museum ²¹

Print Wars

Interestingly, rather more sophisticated Dutch satirical prints were cited by the English as one of the causes of the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–4). On the eve of this war we hear of the influence that such anti-English prints were felt to be having on international opinion: in Samuel Collins's *Survey of the present state of Russia* (1671), he notes that

The Hollanders have another advantage, by rendring the English cheap and ridiculous by their lying pictures, this makes the Russian think us a ruined Nation. They represent us by a Lyon painted with three Crowns revers'd and without a tail, and



108 Anonymous, from *A Justification of the Present War against the United Netherlands*, 1672, engraving, published by Henry Hills and John Starkey, Huntington Library, San Marino, California

by many Mastive Dogs, whose ears are cropt and tails cut off. With many such scandalous prints, being more ingenious in the use of their Pencils than Pens.

The above passage from Collins is quoted in Henry Stubbe's *A Justification of the Present War against the United Netherlands* (1672), who writes also of the Dutch: 'defaming and belying most contumeliously the Person, Conduct, and Strength of [our] Prince, and . . . exposing him to scorn and derision by ridiculous Pictures, and odious Medails', calls this defamation 'part of the present contest' (that is, the Third Anglo-Dutch War), and further says such things would be a sufficient *casus belli* in themselves ('and would indeed alone authenticate it'). Then, alongside a pair of satirical medals, he reproduces the two details mentioned by Collins, which appear to be excerpted from Dutch prints, with a Latin inscription to the effect that 'The Defeated English bark but do not bite' (pl. 108). The following year Stubbe published *A Further justification of the present war*

against the United Netherlands. Illustrated with several Sculptures (1673), in which one of the 'sculptures' reproduced again featured the tail-docking motif referred to in the accompanying commentary passage:

Curious Prints were divulged every where of the English Phaetons, being overthrown, not by the Thunderbolts of Jove, but Valour of the United Provinces, Britannia, or Old England, was no longer seated on Her Globe with Her Feet on the Sea, but prostrate on the dry Land, Holland being mounted upon an Elephant, and trampling upon Her; also a Boor cutting off the Tails of the English Mastiffs, whereof some ran away, others sate licking their Soares, others stood barking at a distance: another Boor was employing His Hatchet to kill a multitude of Adders with this Inscription: The English Dogs and Vipers destroyed by the Valour of the Holländers in such a manner that they shall give the World no further trouble.

Stubbe's plate B reproduces a print issued five years earlier entitled *Algemeene verklaringe Van dit Sinnebeeldt Omnia non omnibus placent* (1688), but the prominent tail-docking motif goes back to the time of the First Anglo-Dutch War twenty years earlier, featuring in such prints as de Passe's *Laeuw en Honden Gevecht*. The fact that a German copy, *Der Löw und die Hunde streitten*,²² was issued in Hamburg confirms William de Britaine's complaint in *The Dutch Usurpation* (1672) that:

as they have supplanted the Trade of His Majesties Subjects: so they have endeavoured to make a diminution of His own Glory, by abusive Pictures and false Libels; not only in their own Territories, but in most of the Dominions of the Kings and Princes of Europe.²³

In *The English Balance weighing the reasons of Englands present conjunction with France against the Dutch* (1672) Robert McWard reported two 'pictures' satirising Charles II in particular that were being considered as contributory to England's declaration of war with the Netherlands:

The next ground of provocation discoursed of, in the King of Englands court (for as yet it hath proceeded no further) is the making & publishing amongst the Dutch of certain scandalous pictures, and pamphlets, to the King's dishonour, whereof some, at least one, viz. the picture dedicat, and affixed by the rowne of Dort, in the Stadt-house, to the honour of Cornelius de Wit, in memorie of his attacque at Chatham, bearing the draught of the thing, with certain Lines of E[ul]ogy subjoined, (all no doubt contrived with the lustre of advantages sutable to the designe) licensed by authority, and the rest onely of privat authors, but publickely permitted, and of this kinde (as is reported at court) a pourtrait of the King of England, surrounded by some ladies of pleasure, bussied in picking his pockets, is most noticed, and talked of.²⁴

McWard was inclined to see these 'grounds' as trivial – 'I must confesse, that for my own part, all the matter of this Article doth appeare to me so light, and slender', the depiction of De Witt's daring raid on Chatham

being onely a true, and honourable representation, *rej gestae*, containing nothing more, then the most ordinary, and easie reward, and encouragement of heroick atcheivements, and consequently free of all shadow of reproach, and on the other hand, that picture of his Maj. with his paramours, being at most (if any such thing was at all: a wanton privateer timeously enough suppressed, when noticed, and so not chargeable upon authority, until once questioned, do no wayes amount to a sufficient verification . . . [and] that for that picture instanced of the King of England, and the Ladies, even interest and policy seeme to absolve the Estats of any advice to the Painter, or other accession unto it.²⁵

In *A discourse written by Sir George Downing, the King of Great Britain's envoy extraordinary to the states of the united provinces* (1672), the author protests that Charles II is 'not so supinous or careless, as the Dutch abusively have pictured him, with his hand in his Pockets, as an idle-spectator, looking on his ships as they burn'd at Chatham'.²⁶ Downing further complains that they have been 'so bold with his Majesties Royal Person, in their abusive pictures [portraying him] so grossly, that . . . it is not fit to be named', in addition referring to 'these matchless contumelies and abuses, represented in Pictures, false Historical Medails, and Pillars'.²⁷

PICKING THE KING OF ENGLAND'S POCKETS

The motif of picking the King of England's pockets has a surprisingly long history.

If 'a pourtrait of the King of England, surrounded by some ladies of pleasure, bussied in picking his pockets' was considered by some to be a *casus belli* of the Third Anglo-Dutch War (McWard, 1672, above), it had not been so at the time of the Second, apparently, when we know from Pepys's *Diary* 'how in Holland publickly they have pictured our King with reproach . . . with two courtiers picking of his pocket', and, in a slight variation on the pocket motif, 'with his pockets turned the wrong side outward, hanging out empty'.²⁸ But it seems the latter was a satirical motif long familiar to the Dutch in this context, for in a letter of March 1617 written to the English ambassador at The Hague by Sir William Lovelace, he reports that

My Lord Wotton yesterday asked me . . . whether I had not seene a picture se[n]t out of the Lowe Countryes which was his Majestic [James I] in his dublet and hose with both his pockets drawne out hanging loose with this motto or inscription, Have you any more rownes to sell. As then I was not able to satisfie him in this

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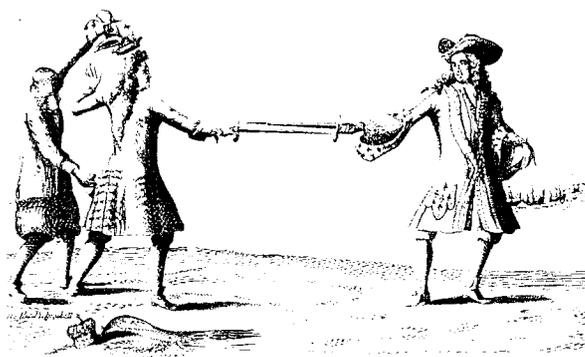
PUR
SIL

demand but since I have bin assured by one that such a picture is sett forth. But it is nothing doubted but that your Lordship hath taken ere this all fitting order to supresse it.²⁹

In December of that year Sir Thomas Wynne described the same Dutch image of the English king 'with his pockets hanging oute empty of money'.³⁰

In the late twentieth century the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings acquired a previously unknown engraved print that the curator dated to *circa* 1690 (pl. 109). It shows the kings of England and France sword-fighting on a sea-cliff while a character labelled 'Hans the Pickpockett' picks King William's pocket with one hand and with the other is placing a fool's cap on his head, the crown already lying on the ground. A fleet of ships approaches the shore behind Louis XIV.

The message of the print is clearly that William III's war with the French is foolish and that he is merely being exploited by his Dutch allies.



109 Anonymous, [Hans the Pickpockett], *circa* 1690, engraving. British Museum, London

ANGLO-DUTCH COOPERATION

As a postscript to this sorry chapter in Anglo-Dutch relations – so often played out on the high seas – it is pleasing to be able to record a print commemorating a notable example of Anglo-Dutch cooperation, *A True Draught of the Great Victory at Sea Gained by the English & Dutch over ye French May ye 19th 1692*, engraved by Michael Vandergucht, a pictorial celebration of the Battle of Barfleure, in which English and Dutch naval forces inflicted a naval defeat on the French.

Another print of the same engagement etched by Isaac Sarrahat survives in two different editions, one issued by Michael Tannel alone (*A Prospect of the last Seafight wherein the french are Vtterly routed by the English and dutch May 19th 1692*), the other jointly with Philip Lea under the title *A New and Exact Draught Describing ye Late Sea-Engagement Fought by the English and Dutch against the French*.

The Cow of Flanders

A motif of particular interest in its own right is that which personifies the Netherlands as a cow, fought over and 'milked' by various European nations. During the Second Dutch War a broadside appeared entitled *Hollands Representation: or, the Dutch-mans Looking-Glass. Wherein he may see inevitable Ruine attending his Ingratitude to the British Nation. If not speedily prevented by his just Satisfaction, and humble Submission to the King of England* (1666) (pl. 110). Beneath the two columns of verse description, the reader 'that would desire more largely to understand this Hieroglyphick' is advised to 'read a Book newly published, called Hollands Ingratitude, &c'. This book by Charles

Molloy was issued simultaneously by the same publisher, and is subtitled *A serious expostulation with the Dutch*, in which the engraving serves as a frontispiece, and the two columns of verse as 'The Explanation of the Frontis-piece'.

The engraving is signed 'R. Gaywood fecit', and is known to be after a design by Francis Barlow.³¹ It shows Philip IV of Spain riding the cow, while Frederick III, King of Denmark, holds its horns, Charles II of England feeds it hay, the Bishop of Münster places his hands on its rump, an unidentified prince (?William of Orange) drinks milk straight from its udder, and Louis XIV of France lifts its tail – only to see it shit in his upturned crown.

Barlow and Gaywood may or may not have known a broadside using the same motif for a different political situation issued twenty years earlier in 1646 and engraved by Crispijn de Passe the Younger, *Der Castilianen uyt-vaert: Mitsgaders de Vlaemsche Melck-Koe*, but, in any case, there were earlier images belonging to the era when the motif first surfaced: a print issued in Cologne in 1588 (*Die Khue Auß' Nider Landt*) and two known English paintings which can be dated 1583/4. And, significantly, just as in the Barlow/Gaywood print, in the Elizabethan paintings it is the King of Spain who rides the cow of Flanders.³²

These images of the Cow of Flanders surely qualify as early political cartoons and indeed, with a letter dated 2 March 1583, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, sent a copy of the painting back to Spain with the following note:

The painting which I send is from Flanders, a cow which signifies those States and H[is] M[ajesty] as rider on her, with a long spur which draws blood. The Duke of Orange milking, and a lady, who is the [Queen] of England giving her a little hay and with the other hand a wooden bowl [pail] to the [Duke] of Orange, and Alençon is holding the cow by the tail.³³

HOLLANDS REPRESENTATION;
O R,
The Dutch-mans Looking-Glass.
 Wherein he may see inevitable Ruine attending his Ingratitude to the
BRITISH NATION,
 If not speedily prevented by his just Satisfaction, and humble Submission to the
KING of ENGLAND.



WHat may this Emblem mean? A Cow with Kings?
 A *Mistress of France*: These are *swiftness* things,
 Fed by a **KING** too, O, I have not now
 Holland is represented by the *Cow*.
 England's Great *Monarch* gives this *Beast* his food,
 Which is the *flour* of a *Popish Priest*.
 Intoxically view this *Beast's* Creature,
 And you shall find it both in form and feature
 The *Dutch* *Rebellion*, and to come more near,
 A *Flemish* *Pope* and *Cow* both *Calves* do bear.
 See how her Neck the *death* extend to feed,
 Yet (damn'd *Ingrate*) would make her *Feeder* bleed.
 Her Essence the receipt from *England*, yet
 Ingrateful she doth now disown that Debt.
 Gracious Acknowledgement this *Beast* now seems,
 But strives to pour her *Milker* with her horns.
 Now since (is't so) **G R E A T K I N G** Commission gives,
 How long this *base* unthankful *Beast* shall live.
 She feeds with fat voluptuously do well;
 'Tis only fearing fat, she is not well;
 She's out of care, her looks decline her sick
 Of Tumors, and Disorders, Lunatick.
 She must have *Dollars*, and the most tender
Philistines *King*, to enjoy's Cure.
 Our **KING's** the *Balsam*, and the *Helickare*,
 That must preserve our *Int'rest*, and restore
Heads *dead* *Stupid*, to a just quick sense
 Both of *Ingratitude* and *Recompence*.
 He'll teach Her both at once to feel, and know,
 These two deep points; what she doth want and owe.
 He that enjoys the *Danish* *Regal* Seat,
 Holds by the *Horns*, who in a *gergen* bear
 Pretends much *Int'reddip*, and with *Pitch* and *Tar*,
 And her own *Moneys*, carries on the *War*.

Denmark beware, lest we hereafter scoff,
 Her turn being serv'd, she then will turn you off.
 Rather, since she'll not bear her *Sovereigns* yoke,
 Hold her Head safe for *Englands* *fatal* stroke,
 When by that blow she falls, we must conclude
 The *Judgment* just against *Ingratitude*.
 Sit fast *leave* *Dan*, since *Mounted*, let her know
 Who was her *Master* once, who must be now.
 Spur to the quick this *slow-paced* *Animal*,
 Though she may wince or kick, thou canst not fall.
 Be bold, she is thy own, spare not her pride,
 Hold fast the *Horns*, thou must command her Hide.
 Make her to bellow, if she will not own
 Her just Allegiance to the *Spanish* *Crown*.
 Make known, the *World*'s not come to that strange pass,
 That the right *Owner* dares not Ride his *Ass*.
Answer kick close, for th' own and *CHARLES* hit fate,
 And leave her not, till that her heart doth ache.
 Thou hitherto most glorious things hast done
 Go on, and perfect what thou hast begun.
 What do my Eyes behold upon the *Ground*?
 The *Cow's* *Close* *fast* *pan* is the *Gallic* *Crown*.
 That *France* that *lutes* with a *Popish* *Stem*.
 Is fate that *Dire* thrown on his *Pyramid*.
 By that he makes *Home*-*gun* *Rebellion* swell,
 And to doth teach his *Subjects* to Rebel.
 Lastly, you see a *Prince* that strongly tugs,
 And boldly sucks the *Sullen* *Beast's* rich dugs.
 Many attend her, and I hope can see
 (in distinct *Int'rest*) to Ruine her.
 Great *CHARLES* and *Manfred* will conjoin in one,
 To share her *Flesh*, let *Lewis* pick the *Bone*.

They that would desire more largely to understand this Hieroglyphick, and the Dutch ingratitude, may read a Book newly published, called *Hollands Ingratitude, &c.* wherein they may find full satisfaction.

London, Printed by T.F. for F.K. at the Princes Arms in Chancery lane, 1665.

110 Richard Gaywood after Francis Barlow, *Hollands Representation: or, the Dutch-mans Looking-Glass*, 1666, published by Francis Kirkinan, engraving, National Archives, London

In his *Metamorphosis of Atax* (1596) Sir John Harington clearly demonstrated a familiarity with the image:

the Flanders cow had more wit then the Germane sow: for she was made after an other sort, viz. the Mirrour of Princes [i.e., Elizabeth] feeding her, the Terror of Princes [i.e., Philip II of Spain] spurring her, the Prince of Orange milking her . . . but the conclusion was, that Monsieur d'Allanson . . . would have pulled her backe by the taile, and she filed [i.e. defiled] his fingers.

The Duc d'Alençon died in 1584, so Harington is clearly referring retrospectively to an image he would have seen some twelve years earlier. He does not specify the medium, but since 'the Germane sow' to which he alludes is certainly a (German Lutheran) print, it is by no means impossible that he is also describing a Dutch, or even an English, print.

The Dutch themselves certainly made use of the motif: a medal struck in 1609 employs it, and a print of *circa* 1620 on the defeat of Arminianism at the Synod of Dort shows the Maid of Holland standing on its back, while an angel feeds it with olive branches and it is calmed by King James I of England.³⁴ Ironically, Romeyn de Hooghe pressed the motif into service yet again in his broadside *Holland hollende koe* 1690, a satire aimed at William Bentinck, Earl of Portland, the so-called Vice-Stattholder, William III's Plenipotentiary in Holland.³⁵

ROMEYN DE HOOGHE'S REVERSIBLE HEADS

Several of the same personnel depicted in the Barlow/Gaywood engraving reappear in a Dutch series of six reversible heads engraved by Romeyn de Hooghe for William of Orange *circa* 1672, the so-called *Raampjaar*, in which Louis XIV invaded the Netherlands; William himself (opposed with Mars), Louis (opposed with a toothless lion), the Bishop of Münster (with a boar) and Charles II of England, who, as a paid ally of Louis, provided British ships and mercenaries, and whose head is here opposed with a tiger which spews out a Tudor rose and a chain of fleurs-de-lis.

THE CATHOLIC THREAT

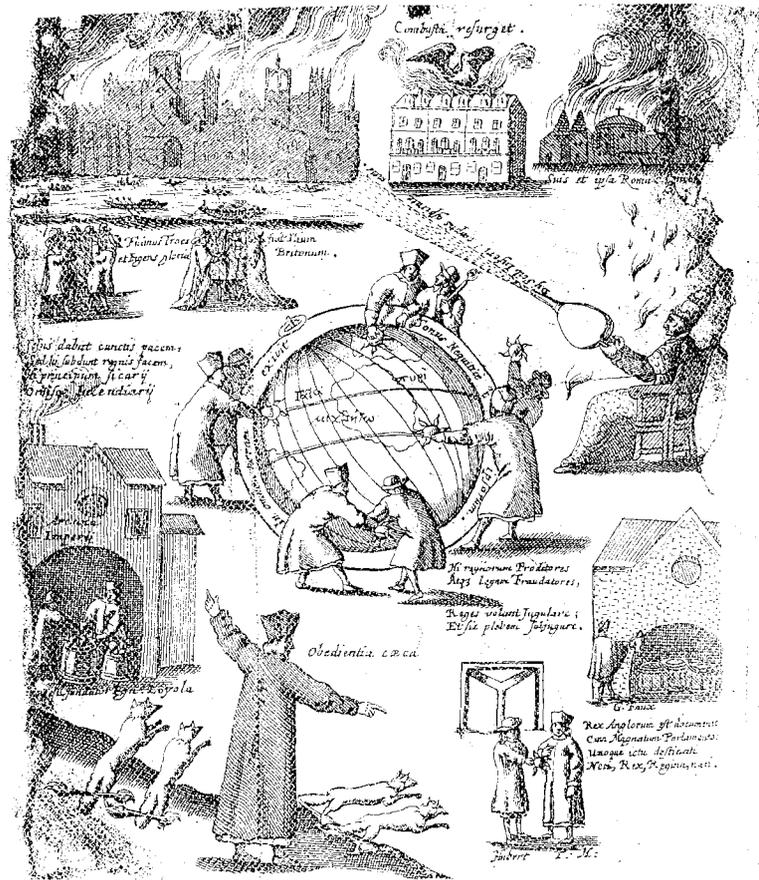
Persecutions Abroad

A table of the first 10 persecutions of the primitive Church, &c (Leach SR 1656 – not extant) was a highly popular subject since its first publication in England as a fold-out woodcut print bound in with the second edition of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' (1570), and subsequent editions, but was probably also sold separately

from the outset, as Watt suggests.³⁶ William Riddiard's dated activity as a publisher is closely centred around the year 1635, making that year a preferable estimate for the issue of his *A most Exact and Accurat Table of The First Ten Persecutions of the Primative [sic] Church*; ³⁷ it is probably similar metal-engraved copies which are listed in the catalogues of both the Stent/Overton firm (1658, 1665, 1666)³⁸ – though not extant – and Walton (1660, etc.) whose impression does survive in the British Museum.³⁹ In the latter's last-known (posthumous) advertisement of 1691 the subject is listed tersely as 'The manner of the Ten persecutions under the Heathen Emperours', but the entry of 1666 had continued significantly: 'represented in several Tortures, as they were cruelly Acted on the Christians; the which is contrived as a convenient Table for Ornament of every good Christians House, to stir them up to stand to the Faith'. It is possible that entries worded somewhat differently in Walton's catalogues of 1667 and *circa* 1674 refer to the same print – despite a definite anti-Catholic extension to the descriptions: *The Manner of the tortures used by the Heathen Emperours of Rome on the Christians, and a Comparison of the like bloody cruelties used by the Pope and that Party since they got up* (1667) and *The severall sorts of Tortures executed on the Christians, with a brief Description of the bloody Cruelties, both of the Heathens and of the Papists on the poor Protestants in several places (circa 1674)*.

But the former, at least – perhaps the latter too – also sounds like the print advertised in the Term Catalogue issued on 6 December 1678, in the tense atmosphere immediately preceding the 'discovery' of the Popish Plot, as *A collection of the most bloody usage of the Christians in the Ten first persecutions under the Heather Emperours: with a short parallel of the like by the Pope and that Party in Germany, Bohemia, etc: especially in England in Q. Mary's dayes, their attempts against Q. Elizabeth, the Gunpowder Treason and the Rebellion in Ireland. All represented in a large Copper plate. Price 1s.*

In the Popish Plot period proper, the Term Catalogue for February 1681 is advertising a single-sheet *Christian Almanack* sold by Walton at the same price, 'wherein is lively represented the Papists bloody and horrid Plots against Protestants, not only in France 1572, but against queen Elizabeth, their Powder treason, Massacre in Ireland, but chiefly their last and greatest [i.e. the present Popish Plot]; in fifty three Particulars . . .'. In Walton's catalogue of 1660 another 'missing' print is listed relating to a more recent persecution of Protestants that had occurred in Savoie five years earlier: 'The manner of the Massacres in Savoy, lively represented in several Pictures; being a necessary Table for the houses of honest Christians, and to stir us up to thankfulness for that peace and freedom which we enjoy'.

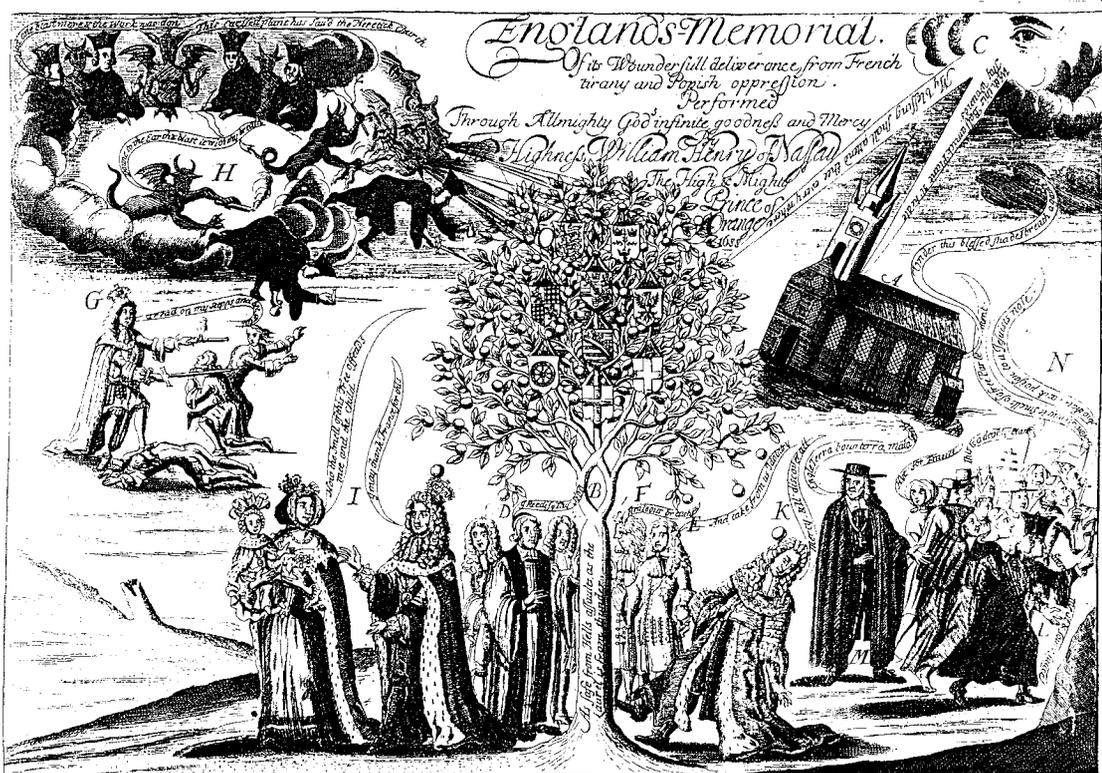


111 Anonymous, *Pyrotechnica Loyolana, Ignatian fireworks*, 1667, etching, British Museum, London

Conspiracies at Home

The Jesuits continued to be a popular bugbear. We have already noted two engravings from the early 1620s that depict them sitting in council, plotting round a table, and we have noted the 'Ignatious conclave' in the hell of the probably contemporary *Powder Treason*. One of the 'Three Grand Enemies to Church and State' portrayed in the engraved frontispiece to Sheppard's *The Times Displayed in Six Sestiyads* (1646) is 'Jesuitecall Pollicie', whose caption opens: 'Till Antechrist shall ruind bee Great combustions wee must see . . .'. The engraved frontispiece to *The Plots of Jesuites* . . . (1653) continues this theme, showing the

pope, cardinal and priests also seated round a table plotting, as the title goes on to say, 'How to bring England to the Romane Religion without tumult'. One of the three Jesuit traitors included in it is by Robert Parsons (d. 1610), who notoriously encouraged Philip II of Spain to invade and convert England. It is a pity that what was evidently a broadside satire listed in Stent's advertisement of 1662 as 'Cornelius of Dort brings Parsons to confession' has not come down to us (but for Father Cornelius, see Chapter Six). The frontispiece to *The Jesuits Loyalty* (1677) includes standing 'portraits' of both Parsons and Garnet beside a central bust of Loyola, but they are merely 'generic' Jesuits.



A The Church of England, almost overthrown by the infernal council of the most Christian Turk.
 B The Royal Orange Tree, representing the Prince of Orange.
 C Sixty Benignate Infamies both from Heaven.
 D A Bishop representing the Lords Spiritual.
 E A Knight of the Tower representing the Lords Temporal.
 F Six or seven representing the Commons of England.
 G The French King murdering his own Subjects.
 H His most Christian Scourge of Europe his counsel.
 I The K. and Q. with the Child.
 K The Late Charles I. L. Lascivious Father the Jesuit.
 M The Popes Nuncio.
 N The whole Herd of Priests and Jesuits, running from the hand of Justice.
 O The Army of Denmark, Sweden, and of Poland, Princes in League with the Empire against the French perfidious usurpation, who have declared the Prince of Orange Generalissimo of all the Protestant forces, and Protector of the Protestants.

114 Anonymous, *England's Memorial*, circa 1688, engraving, British Museum, London

tively to have encouraged the production of such illustrated cards. There are at least six known editions of *The [Horrid] Popish Plot* pack, first issued in October 1679, with designs originated by Francis Barlow, though not engraved by him.⁴¹ The Five of Clubs, for instance, depicts *The Execution of the 5 Jesuits* falsely accused by Titus Oates, and the Two of the same suit, the *Great Fire*, is captioned 'London remember the 2d of Sept. 1666'. One or other version of the *Popish Plot* pack was the source for the nine surviving wall tiles preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum,⁴² which were almost certainly produced by the Delft tile-maker, Jan Ariens van Hamme, who arrived in London in 1676 and established a pottery at Vauxhall under the terms of a warrant

that allowed him to produce tiles 'after the way practised in Holland'. If Van Hamme was indeed responsible for these very Dutch-looking tiles, however, they may very well have been his last commission, for he died in 1680.

It is no coincidence that one of the other pictorial packs issued in this hectic period tells the history of the Spanish Armada – certain scenes that also pertain to the *Popish Plot* series recur, for example, the pope in conclave with his cardinals (Knave of Hearts), '... Contributing a Million of Gold towards the Charge of the Armada', and (Knave of Spades) *Severall Jesuits hang'd for Treason against the Queene and for having a hand in the Invasion*.

William Victorious115 Wenceslaus Hollar, *En surculus arbor*, 1641, engraving, British Library, London

The 'Meal Tub Plot' pack issued in 1680 contains many anti-Jesuit references, for example, *The Pope gives out Fresh Commissions* to Jesuits, identifiable by their distinctive bonnets (Ace of Clubs), *A Jesuit speaking Treason* (Three of Hearts), *Celliers* – one of the perpetrators of this plot – *writing her narrative, Jesuits dictating* (Queen of Spades) and (the Jesuit-as-incendiary motif yet again) *A Jesuit offers money to burn houses* (Seven of Diamonds). A particularly interesting motif is the scatological Knave of Diamonds, which shows the devil, who exclaims, 'Heres tools for ye Pope', shitting out a Jesuit holding one of the Plot's forged papers and three others, and is captioned *The Devill supplying the Pope with Plotters* – but, as we have noticed above, this was no recently invented motif.

The advent of William of Orange at the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 was also celebrated in prints – from those as visually simple as *The Virtue of a Protestant Orange: Being the best Antidote against Roman Poyson* (1689), headed by a woodcut strip depicting a lady and gentleman (William and Mary?) picking fruits from an orange tree, with, on either side of them, *putti* doing the same – to those as complexly allusive as *England's Memoriall: Of its Wounderfull deliverance from French tyranny and Popish oppression* (circa 1688) (pl. 114), with its key lettered from A to O. Here a central orange tree, in the branches of which are the shields of William's nine European allies in the League of Augsburg, drops its fruit like bombs onto the heads of Judge Jefferies (knocking him to the ground) and the fleeing James II, whose queen (Mary of Modena with the infant 'Old Pretender' in her arms) says: 'How the smell of this Tree offends mee and the child'. Gathered around the trunk of the orange tree are the Three Estates, referred to in the accompanying key as 'A Bishop representing the Lords Spiritual', who says 'I reedify thy Sion'; a 'Knight of the Garter representing the Lords Temporal', who says 'And take from us Idolatry'; and 'three or 4. representing the Commons of England', who say 'Heale our breaches'. A council of devils and Jesuits (in their distinctive high bonnets) attempts to blast the tree from the heavens, the chief devil saying 'This Cursed plant has Sau'd the Heretick Church', while two other devils despatch two Jesuits (with daggers and phials of poison in hand), saying 'Downe to the Earth & blast it with thy breath'. The Eye of 'Gods Providence' looks down on the orange tree, however, and says to the Church (of England): 'With this Balsamick Plant I' heale Thy wounds'; elsewhere, the French King, Louis XIV, murders his countrymen (encouraging James II to follow his example), and 'The whole Heard of Papists and Jesuits', and running from the hand of Justice', flee England, including the queen's confessor, 'Lassiveous Peters the Jesuit' (see Chapter Six), who says (proverbially) 'Sweet Meat, & Soure Sauce', and 'the Popes Nuncio' (Cardinal Dada), who exclaims (also proverbially) 'Engelterra, bona terra, mala gente' (England, good land, bad people),⁴³ and others who protest 'This is a deadly plant', and 'How strong it Smells of a free Parlemtent And thats rank poison to a Jesuits nose'. In short, the newly planted Orange tree of liberty withstands both the murderous tyranny of France and the evil schemings of papists.

The tree motif of the Orange dynasty had appeared earlier in a print engraved by Hollar and issued in 1641, entitled *En surculus arbor* (Behold, the shoot becomes a tree!), which depicts the Dutch and English heraldic lions literally acting as supporters to the orange tree, which springs up from a sawn-off stump (pl. 115), as

The Princely Scuffle: Or,

An Account of the Late Famous Duel, which happen'd betwixt the Prince of Wales, and the Young Duke of Berry, one of the French King's Grand Sons.



ALL you that pass by, I pray you draw nigh,
Attend to my Song, without ever a Lye;
There chanc'd to-day, a most Tragical Fray
Between Two Young Princes, as they were at play.

In a Garden.

The One he was bold, being Four Years old,
And learn'd by a Cheat for to be Controld;
Yet tho' he was Young, he could handle his Tongue,
And call'd his *Welsh* Highness's 'th' midst of a Throng.

English Bastard.

The Other so Wise, did the *Dauphin* despise,
His Countenance shew'd, his Flesh at him did rise;
Quoth he, How I itch, to have a Sound Twich,
At that *French* Sawcy Son of a Bitch.

The Young *Dauphine*.

Regard, dost thou come, to beat me at House?
Nay, if it be so, den have at thy Bum,
That none may ere say, of me another day,
I dishonour'd my self, in running away.

From a Thief.

French Dogg, dost thou think, I ever will shrink?
No, ere I have done, thy *French* Hole it shall stink:
Then do not suppose, I am one of those,
That will run away for one Bloody Nose.

No, I scorn it.

Tho' my Rigid Fate, has expos'd me to hate,
And am, like an Old Almanack, quite out of date;
Yet still there remains, *English* Blood in my Veins;
Then hold your *French* Tongue, or I'll beat out your Brains.

You Young *Archer*.

At this *Dauphine* Hill, and up with his Bill;
But the *Prince* he drew back, and the *Dauphine* he mist;
And the *Prince* to repay, his kindness, they say,
Knock'd the Young *Dauphine* down, and there the Rogue lay
For all hour.

But being Reviv'd, together they liv'd,
And e'er they had done, the late Queen she arriv'd;
Who seeing the Battle, fought on with such mettle,
She set up her Noes, and made the Air rattle.

Like Thunder.

Pray part them, she cry'd: The *French* King reply'd,
I cannot tell which has the best on his side:
Then part not the Chies; you Rogues, look to your Hits;
At which, the late Queen, she fell into Fits.

And no wonder,

For such a sad Maul, she never did fall,
Since *Yamag*, for not Fighting, she beat at *Albich* hall;
And so these Young Sparks, did Fight like two *Sharks*,
That on both their Bodies, you might see the Marks.

A Youth after.

The *French* King did say, They shall have fair play;
This is not diversion, I have e'ry day;
With that they did Fight, in Earnest out-right,
And the *Welsh* Prince he worsted the Young *Dauphine*.

What he Cryed.

And then the Late *Queen*, who the Duel had seen,
And saw her Son's Noe bleed, so rais'd her Spleen,
That she stept to the *Dauphine*, who was crying and coughing,
Quoth she, You Young *Bastard*, your Grand fathers huffing
Shant daunt me.

Of his *Urchiners*.

Without any delay, she began a new Fray,
And flew at Old *Leuis*, and beat him they say,
That he Reu'd in his Gore, and his Flesh it was fore;
Besides it is said, She in Fury Tore

Of his *Urchiners*.

But a great *English* *Deer*, who chanc'd to be near,
And so this Contusion he Fortun'd to hear,
Stept in to make Peace, which they all did Imbrace,
And the *Queen* gave Old *Leuis* a Plaster for's Face.

So they Parted.

Translated from the Original, Printed at M S T E R D A M.

We discuss biblical scenes in Chapter Eight, but one extant series is pertinent here. Divided between two North American libraries are five late seventeenth-century metal-engraved sheets illustrating episodes from the career of King Josiah, as retailed in the Second Book of Kings. They bear the imprint '... for James Watts ... 1688'. They are: *King Josiah commanding the vessels of the Grove to be burnt, and the idolatrous priests to be put down* (II Kings 23: 4-5), *King Josiah Defiling Topheth, and Breaking in Pieces the Idol Molech* (II Kings 23: 10) (pl. 118), *King Josiah causing the horses dedicated to the sun ...* (II Kings 23: 11),⁴⁷ *King Josiah breaking in pieces the Images and beating down the Alters [sic]* (II Kings 23: 12-14) and *King Josiah Burning Mens Bones upon the Altar at Bethel* (II Kings 23: 16-18). Quite why the engraver chose to illustrate this particular chapter quite so thoroughly would probably have remained mysterious – though the publication date is suggestive⁴⁸ – were it not for the survival in a third American library, at Harvard University, of an unillustrated sheet bearing the same imprint as these prints and entitled: *The fall of Babylon; or, Good King Josiah revived by the happy arrival of his Highness the Prince of Orange: which landed in Devonshire the 5th of November, 1688. Wherein is shewed, the great zeal of that good King Josiah to extirpate idolatry: (according to Holy Writ) with comments and verses upon the same; and likewise wherein [his] Highness may be truly said to parallel that good king in some things, and to exceed him in others. Illustrated with figures relating to the story. Worthy the observation of all true Christians. Licensed according to order; December the 24th, 1688*, a fine Christmas present for the loyal Protestant Englishman!

Just quite how many figures relating to the story there were originally we cannot say until such time as a complete suite of these engravings should turn up, but at least we do now know why they were engraved in the first place – to welcome William of Orange as another Josiah, figuratively pulling down the altars of Catholicism in England.

The Exiled Royals, Louis XIV and the Assassination Plot

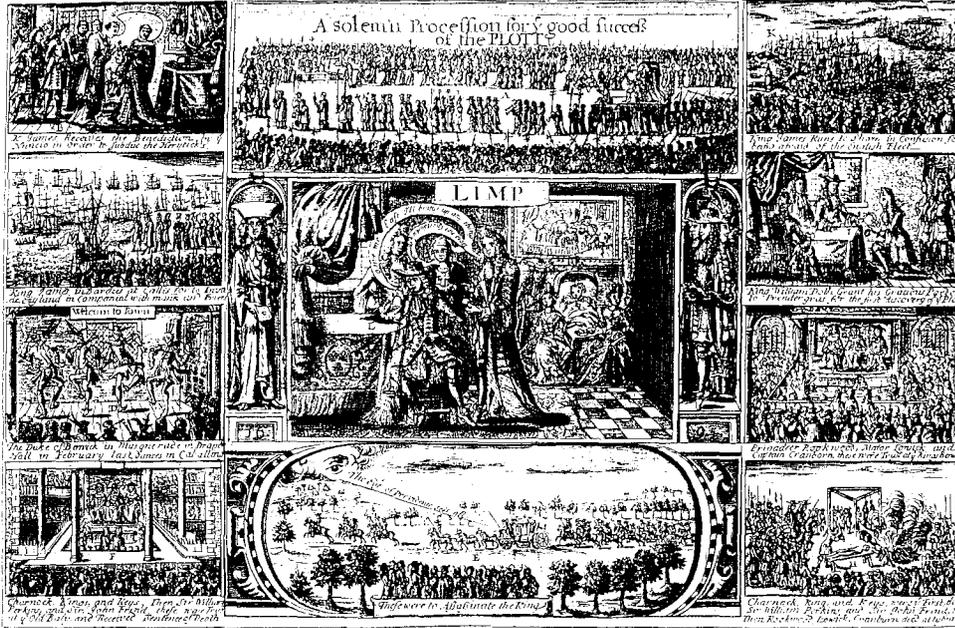
The Princely Scuffle: Or, An Account of the Late Famous Duel, which happen'd betwixt the Prince of Wales, and the Young Duke of Berry, one of the French King's Grand sons (1691) (pl. 119) is a single woodcut-illustrated sheet, decidedly popular in appearance, and positively 'tabloid' in its report of an incident involving the exiled 'royals'. It concerns a fight between the exiled Prince James Francis Edward Stuart (known to later ages as the 'Old Pretender'), aged two-and-a-half, and the Duc de Berry, the four-year-old grandson of Louis XIV, which is alleged to have taken place at the French court. The princes' banderoles record

the insults they hurl at each other: 'You French Dog' and 'You English Bastard'. The exiled queen, Mary of Modena, tries to intervene to stop the fight ('O! the Princes! Part 'em'), but her host King Louis, wants to let them fight it out uninterrupted ('Don' Bauk [i.e., baulk] 'em; Let 'em Fight'). Though the English prince wins, his nose is bloodied, at the sight of which his mother 'flew at Old Lewis' and 'Besides it is said, She in Fury Tore Off his Whiskers' (for the full text, see Appendix 1). The imprint line reads: 'Translated from the Original, Printed at Amsterdam', and – though if a Dutch original survives it is unknown to me – there is no need to doubt this, for William's arrival from the Netherland would surely have brought a considerable import of Netherlandish prints in his wake, increasing the considerable quantity we know to have been already in circulation earlier in the century.

A case in point is a print of the following year, *The Sun in the Sign of Libra; or, The Ballance* (1692), which, though it mentions no other versions, also exists in a bilingual Dutch/French edition *De Son in't Hemelsteekon van den Eevenaar. Le Soleil au Signe de la Balance*.⁴⁹ It concerns three of the same personnel as the last, but relates immediately to the sea battle of La Hogue – visible through an archway in the centre of the print – which took place on 19 May of that year, in which the French fleet was defeated by Admirals Russel and Van Almonde. The main motif however, is the balance of the title, suspended from a globe, with in the heavier scale-pan, two ships; beside it sits Van Almonde while Russel and other officers stand, including General Heusle; with a map labelled 'Wardin' on the point of his sword. In the lighter pan, which a horned devil is trying in vain to drag down (cf. the similar devils trying to drag down the Catholic scale-pan described in Chapter Six), is a plan of the town of Namur (captured from the Allies by Louis); behind stand the French king and Mary of Modena about to place the infant Pretender into the pan, with Madame de Maintenon and other courtiers standing beside them. In the distance the sun is setting on the defeated French fleet – a symbolic allusion to the waning of the power of Le Roi Soleil.

Another of the relatively rare English prints alluding to Louis European ambitions is *The Usurpers Habit* (1691/2), the unique impression of which is preserved in the British Museum, sold, and probably engraved, too, by John Savage. 'Habit' perhaps punningly alludes to the French king's habit of 'acquiring' European towns that did not belong to France – Savage has clothed him seated at table in a habit embroidered with symbolic representations of those towns (buildings, castles, etc.) numbered 1-20 and keyed to a list below; he has just taken off his hat, numbered 10, identified as Limerick, and placed it on the table, which is covered with a cloth decorated with images of devils dancing amidst fires (identified as 'The Counsel'). A man holding a lantern looks into the room through a hatch and says 'He begins to unrig [undress]'. The reference is to the surrender of Limerick to the

The Triumphs of Providence over Hell, France & Rome, In the Defeating & Discovering of the late British and Barbarous PLOTT, for Effacing our sacred Majesty KING WILLIAM III. (now Display'd in all its Secrets)



A solemn Procession for good success of the PLOTT

The Great Design Relinquish'd - And there must be Flying, to introduce a Jubilee.
 And Treason and Great Perfidious must be Made, for Heavens Help, to blast that Hell and laid.
 Auld next in Council sits the Great Duke, Who came to this Right, That nothing but Several of their Attempts by Night and Day, Can't they take King WILLIAM III's Life away.
 Which to effect, some barbaous Villans be sent to assassinate his Majesty.
 This Council (that for Laid did jimp) Was by themselves Characterr'd L. J. M. P. A proper Term: For those who chance did Room, Caught by the Haystack, came out Limping home.
 But to prepare things, France first must go, And there remain a while long.
 Who're knowing that the Plot was firmly laid, Dances at Drapers Hall in Majesty:
 With High-Crown'd Hat, and hour like Neck a Ruff, Exerts booming him Jean Seel, or Buff:
 And tho' the self in Ignorance did lie, He's come to Court, was fill the Plottery cry.
 But hoping now all things would well succeed, He took again to France return with speed:
 And tells King James, that Plot was laid so deep, The Prince of Orange found to be a spy:
 And thereupon King James on Colchester, As Sovereign Charge of the Enterprise,
 And that it might infallibly succeed, These the Forces Norton does repair with speed,
 His Hougles blustering to bellow, That he might the English Heretics O'ertrow.
 And now the Affairs come to give the blow, (Which had it took, had brought all Europe's Woe)
 The very Day & Sed, the Ambush laid, When he found the self (in dear tall) invade:
 Between High Ditch and Fence (whose Scurrying O'ye Did into their well to set Countess o'ye)
 Here: their Dark Deeds to Light, that thereby all The self they near, on their own heads might fall:
 Now, if their Black Crew were some, while Heavens did hate Those damned Designs they were to perpetrate.

And therefore were by Heaven ordain'd to be The Instruments of this black Deceit:
 Which when they made, and the King found it true, He did both Fardon and Reward bestow:
 The chief who this Discovery brought to pass, May well be termed *Hoop Protestant*.
 The Tattler now are Turf'd; and, Thanks to Heaven, A just Reward is to the Traytors given:
 First Cromwell, King and Xena, are brought to the Bar, Where they Arraign'd, try'd and found Guilty are:
 From thence to Tyburn they a Journey take, And on the Crisples Tree their Fate make:
 Confessing, as they took their fatal Swear, The black Design they had against the King,
 Sir William Perkins next, and Sir John Friend, Do their Unhappy Lives at Tyburn End:
 For being caught by Cromwell, it is his reason That they should both be *Decapitated* for their Treason,
 Then Robinson, Lemick, Cromwell next were try'd, And in like manner all for Treason dy'd.
 Lewis and James, who this Vile Plot laid, Knew not, as yet, their Treason was betray'd:
 Nay, they indeed, suspecting nothing left, Were getting all thing in a Readiness,
 To second that *Black Stroke* that should be made, And England with French Forces to invade:
 The Army was Embark'd, the Fleet was Stow'd, And James himself ready to go on Board,
 With his black Guard of Jesuits, Priests and Fryars, The only Company that he desires:
 Expecting the happy Signal now from Dover, That all was ready for him to come over.
 But what Confusion in King James it wrought, When he was told his Plot was come to Nought!
 That the English Fleet was almost come in view, To take both him and all his Forces too:
 He did not halt that halte into the Main, As now he did to get no Shore again.
 The Ten of best Ships design'd to wait him o're, Now Dash to pieces on the Galles Shoar:
 Whilst the English Fleet appearing in their fight, Put the whole Coast of France into a Fright!

And James and Lewis both now Clink it self, Against his Plot to cross their Project:
 And find it to all Princes Coors in Print, *Proving they had not a Finger left*:
 Tho' that 'twould take, they once themselves did flatter, Like *Trojan*, they knew nothing of the matter:
 But if we look about, we from that find What 'twas made James and Lewis change their Mind:
 The Noble this Plot made, of fo'ble a Thing, Design'd against the Life of England's King,
 By Europe's Princes was refuted so, That he who ordain'd it was their Common Foe:
 Each Court in Europe, Kingdom or Free-State, The Kings Deliverance did Congratulate,
 If therefore France did not the Plot disown, He thought he should for 't Author not be known,
 But let him see so much Disown the Plot, 'Twill in his Scutcheon be a falling blot.
 But one Distiller seldom comes alone: Their deep-laid Plot by Heaven this over-thrown,
 The Scories laid up by Heaven this over-thrown, By the Confederates next confum'd are,
 And all the Measures Lewis did Design, Lost by the Burning of that Magazine:
 This last Loss touches Lewis to the Quick, And not being well before, this makes him Sick:
 Heat makes him Gouty, and his Body illiter, For which the Doctor grants prefers a Giltier,
 And tells him, *That if Giltier will not do, He must a Poult take, to make him Spew*.
 The Giltier failing, he a Vomick takes, Which mighty Rumbling in his Stomach makes:
 After a little walking up and down, And some hard Drummings, up he brings a *Column*:
 O' Doctor, says he, *I am very Sick*, *There's something fall down my Stomach Sick*:
 Swore, says the Doctor, *Swear, Sir, once again*: He does, and straight he Vomits up *LEAD*:
 'That's well, the Doctor cries, but that's well do; *There's more behind; bring up Burgundy too*:
 O' I'm so mighty Sick, replies the King, *Pray us help, I'll bring up anything*.

A. The Procession. B. King James recovers the Paper Rolling. C. King James's Embarking at Calice. D. The Duke of Berwick Diving in Malaga. E. The Traytors in Arrigh to Arrigh the King. F. The Traytors try'd at the Old Bailey. G. The King's Whimsical Hall. H. Traytors Executed at Tyburn. I. The King grants his Fardon to Prendergrark. K. King James's return back to the Discovery of the Plot. L. The French King, Sed, and taking a Fiddler.

forces of William of Orange on 3 October 1691, and the print is presumably to be dated not too long thereafter. The twelve-line verse makes it clear that 'This mighty Work' of stripping Louis of his 'borrowed feathers . . . for William is Design'd / The Scourge of France, and Darling of Mankind'.

Yet another unique survival, the multi-frame *Triumphs of Providence over Hell, France & Rome, In the Defeating & Discovering of the late Hellish and Barbarous Plott, for Assassinating his Royall Majesty King William ye III, Lively Display'd* . . . (1696) (pl. 120), has as its theme the Assassination Plot of February 1696.⁵⁰ The central scene, beneath the mysterious word 'LIMP' – thus, in large capitals – shows a seated Louis XIV vomiting some of the towns his armies have captured, attended by physicians, one of whom enquires 'Does not Givert Strick in your Stomach?' In the background is the cradle of the infant James Francis Edward Stuart (the 'Old Pretender', b. 1688), his mother Mary of Modena, her husband James II, and her Jesuit confessor, Father Edward Petre (popularly suspected of being the baby's real father; see Chapter Six). On the wall behind this group is a 'picture-within-a-picture' of an ape administering an enema, presumably in allusion to Louis' constipation, for which his doctors recommended a 'glisten', according to the lengthy verse description that accompanies the engraving. LIMP, it appears, is an acronym for those regarded as being behind the plot, that is, Louis, James, Mary and the Prince of Wales.

This central panel is flanked by two composite figures as if statues in niches, a four-headed courtier and a three-headed ecclesiastic/priest, the latter a 'quotation'⁵¹ from another unique print concerning the plot entitled *Some Small Remarks on the Late Plott Wonderfully Discover'd And other Plotts that have bin designed against the Protestant Interest from the year 1588 to this present year 1696* . . . (which also employs the acronym 'Limp').⁵² Immediately beneath the title are verses on five significant years in Protestant mythology: 1588 (Armada), 1605 (Gunpowder Plot), 1666 (Great Fire of London), 1678 (Popish Plot) and 1696 (the present Assassination Plot), and beneath these are four figures labelled 'Protestant Statesman', 'Ignatian Policy', 'Piety' and 'Hope'. It is the detail of the three-faced unholy trinity, 'Ignatian Policy', with switch in one hand and a ?paddle in the other, and a devilish cloven hoof peeping out from under his trailing robe, that was copied (in reverse) by the engraver of *The Triumphs of Providence*. Immediately below the central 'LIMP' scene is another of William travelling in the royal coach through the countryside while a group waits in the trees, labelled 'These were to Assassinate the King', as a shaft from an eye set in the cloudy sky

reaches down to the coach. It is labelled 'The Eye of Providence sees all' – and cannot but remind us of the same eye that 'sees laughs' as that other Catholic conspirator, Guy Fawkes, attempts to assassinate God's anointed, James II, in the House of Parliament, in Ward's iconic *Double Deliverance* print issued 1621 (see Chapter Three).

Above the central scene of the present print is depicted (imaginary) 'solemn Procession for ye good success of the Plott' which includes the pope borne on men's shoulders with the devil behind whispering in his ear. As the title implies, some of the details of this scene recall the *Solemn Mock Procession* print 1680, which shows 'the Man of Sin himself on a Throne, with Counsellor the Devil inspiring of him, what new Artifice of crueltie must come next' (see Chapter Six). On either side of the central scene are four smaller scenes. They show, *inter alia*, the excommunicated James II receiving the pope's blessing for the plot via the papal nuncio; James embarking an invasion fleet at Calais, 'Company with mank [recte monk] and Friars' – shades of Hogarth; William granting 'his Gracious Pardon to Prendergras for the discovery of ye Plott'; the trials of the conspirators, and the hanging from the gibbet and quartering at Tyburn.

Epitaph for a Queen

Yet another *unicum* we know of only thanks to Luttrell is the sheet entitled *Emblems for the King and Queen with An Epitaph for Her Majesty, And a Brief Character of Her Vertues*, issued on the occasion of Mary's death in 1695. Its interest for us lies in the seven sets of emblems engraved in roundels at the head of the sheet: the first two, 'For the King and Queen together'; the next three, 'On the Queen's Death'; the sixth, 'For the King alone', and the final one, 'For Great Britain'. They are described and interpreted as follows:

A Sun and a Moon	A Matchless Pair
The two Heads on the Coin	One Mind
A Setting Sun	Rising in another World
A large Pearl, taken by a Hand, out of its shell	She is lifted up to Honour
An Eagle out of its Cage, flying up towards the Sun	She mounts to take a new view of glory
A Ring without its Diamond	My better Part is lost
A Woman of Quality, having lost one of her Ear-Pendants, which were 2 large Pearls	When shall I find its Equiv