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Topical portrait print advertising in London newspapers and *The Term Catalogues*, 1660-1714

C.H.L.George

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR

THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Durham University

Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies

and the Department of History

2005

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Abstract

C.H.L.George

Topical portrait print advertising in London newspapers and *The Term Catalogues*, 1660-1714

This thesis examines the advertisements for portrait prints that were placed in London newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* between 1660 and 1714. These notices were instigated by specialist printsellers and a large number of participants in the book trade. The majority of these advertisements were placed when the sitters were topical. In chapters four and five each notice is investigated in the context of the sitter's reputation at the time of advertising. Portrait prints were advertised in response to some of the most significant political events and concerns of the later seventeenth century. Regular portrait print advertising began with a series of notices that were intimately linked with the Exclusion Crisis and it continued to reflect the changing fortunes of the Stuarts throughout the final period of their rule. The advertisements also testify to newspaper readers' interest in European affairs. Portrait prints were marketed of sitters who fought in the Austro-Turkish war and in Baltic and Northern European conflicts. Chapter six demonstrates that portrait print retailers were not the only advertisers to respond to contemporary events and ideas in this way. Portrait prints were advertised alongside topically motivated notices for maps, playing cards, medals and other goods. The evidence presented here highlights the existence of a visual circulation of news previously unacknowledged by text-based scholars of the Habermasian public sphere.

Note on references and dating

Throughout this thesis newspaper dates have been modernised so that the year begins on 1st January. Many newspapers were published with a start and end date (for example *The London Gazette* 1st January- 3rd January.) Where this has occurred only the first date is given in the main text and the full date in Appendix One.

Where articles and books are cited a second time in the footnotes the author`s surname is given without the short title unless more than one work by the author has been used in the thesis.

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Chapter One- Introduction

This thesis is about the advertisements for single-sheet portrait prints that were placed in London newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* between 1660 and 1714.[1] It shows that the majority of these notices were placed at times when the sitters were topical. This finding is important for what it reveals about the historical context of portrait prints and the marketing behaviour of printsellers at this early stage in newspaper advertising. This research places the portrait print in the mainstream of early modern news circulation and through doing so helps to uncover a new area of study. It shows that portrait prints were one of a number of products to be topically advertised in newspapers and that these notices are evidence for early modern consumers' interest in the news.

The starting point for this research was the predominantly museum-based literature on the London print trade of the seventeenth century.[2] The trade's use of newspaper advertising has never been studied as a subject in its own right, but the portrait print advertisements' relationship with topicality has been alluded to by several authors. This work began with the aim of testing the truth of these allusions by surveying the extent and nature of the connection between topicality and portrait print advertising. The resulting thesis has been shaped by the need to present and contextualise this survey and to understand the implications of its results. This work was completed after five years of interdisciplinary postgraduate study at Durham University's Centre for Seventeenth-Century Studies and a first degree in the History of Art.

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[1] *The Term Catalogues: 1668-1709 AD*, ed. Edward Arber, 3 vols (London, 1903-06).

[2] The term print trade is used in this thesis to describe the producers and retailers of engravings and mezzotints.

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This introductory chapter discusses the literature on the seventeenth-century London print trade and outlines its treatment of the relationship between topicality, advertising and portrait prints. It then goes on to explain the materials and research methods used in the survey and concludes with an overview of the thesis. The chapter begins with examples of retail advertisements that were placed at times when the goods they promoted bore depictions of topical subjects.

Topical retail advertising

The advertising sections of later Stuart newspapers were rich sources of news. On 14th September 1710 Joseph Addison wrote in *The Tatler* that 'It is my Custom, in a Dearth of News, to entertain my selfe with those Collections of Advertisements that appear at the End of all our publick Prints. *These I consider as Accounts of News from the little World, in the same Manner that the foregoing Parts of the Paper are from the great*. If in one we hear that a Sovereign Prince is fled from his Capital City, in the other we hear of a Tradesman who hath shut up his Shop, and run away. If in one we find the Victory of a General, in the other we see the Desertion of a private Soldier.'[3] In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the term advertisement applied as equally to notices of information as it did to those retailing goods. The word advertising began to be used to describe retail publicity in the early modern period. It signified the giving of information from at least as early as the fifteenth century.[4] The information notices that Addison enjoyed touched many different areas of early modern life. The news from the little world consisted of appeals for lost dogs, stolen

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3 *The Tatler*, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford, 1987), Vol. 3. p.166. Cited in Michael Harris, 'Timely Notices: The Uses of Advertising and its Relationship to News during the Late Seventeenth Century,' in *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Joad Raymond (London, 1999), pp. 141-156 (pp. 153-154). Italicised emphasis added.

4 *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1991), pp.190-191.

property, missing children, runaway slaves, murder victims and wandering elderly, and announced occasions like sporting events and community celebrations. What Addison did not mention, possibly because it was so commonplace that he did not notice it, was that the advertising sections also carried news from the great world in their retail notices. The 'Victory of a General' was seldom confined to the foregoing parts of the paper because London's retailers were jostling to make a profit from it.

One such general was the Imperial commander Charles V of Lorraine. On 2nd September 1686 he raised the siege of Buda. This decisive victory against the Turks was hailed across Christian Europe and English interest in the Austro-Turkish war can be seen in *The London Gazette's* extensive coverage of it. (Earlier in 1683 when the Turks besieged Vienna there had been an 'abnormal demand' for the newspaper.)[5] The fame of Charles V's victory at Buda also made its way into the advertising section on the back page of *The London Gazette.* Map and printseller John Oliver placed three advertisements for products related to the siege. On 9th August he advertised a map described as 'an Exact Delineation of the Famous Siege of Buda', on 13th September he promoted a mezzotint portrait of Charles V and on 1st November he placed a notice for 'A curious Delineation of the Storming of Buda.' On the 4th and 7th October His Majesty's printer Henry Hills advertised 'An exact Description of the City of Buda' and on 28th October the stationer Richard Palmer inserted a notice for a map of Hungary.[6] On 21st October the medal maker George Bower advertised 'A Medal of the Duke of Lorrain, with a Reverse representing the Figure of the Christian Religion triumphing over the Crescent'. Only thirteen newspaper advertisements for

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[5] P.M.Handover, *A History of The London Gazette 1665-1965* (London, 1965), p.22.

[6] Sarah Tyacke, *London map-sellers, 1660-1720: a collection of advertisements for maps placed in the London Gazette, 1668-1719: with biographical notes on the map-sellers* (Tring, 1978), pp. 34-35. See Appendix One for transcriptions of portrait print advertisements.

medals were placed in the later Stuart period which means that the presence of this notice is evidence for the strength of English response to the siege.[7]

The retailers' response to the siege of Buda was not unusual. Topical advertisements for portrait prints, maps and plans, playing cards and other goods were widespread in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* across the later Stuart period. No survey has yet been carried out to assess and analyse the extent of topicality in retail advertising but observation in the course of this research suggests that it was widespread and with a few exceptions restricted to printed goods.[8] Many products were advertised at times when the subjects they depicted and discussed were topical. The progress of wars can be traced in the advertisements for maps depicting the battlefields, poems celebrating the generals and books about the participating powers. Planned days of celebration were marked by notices that often appeared within a week and sometimes even on the day of the event. Other advertisements promoted products that related to ideas that were particularly current. The preoccupation with the Protestant succession is reflected in the notices for portraits of the designated heir Princess Sophia, her son and her grandson that were placed in *The Post Man* on 5th and 10th October 1704. In June 1680 Thomas Hobbes' publisher advertised his portrait in *The Term Catalogues* at a time when the writer's ideas had renewed relevance because of the Exclusion Crisis.[9] The ebb and flow of early modern events and ideas can be traced in the texts and visual goods that were advertised in newspapers and the *Term Catalogues*.

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[7] C.H.L.George, 'Marketing Medals in Early Modern Britain: Advertisements for Medals of Charles V of Lorraine and Charles III "King of Spain,"' *The Medal,* 42 (2003), pp. 23-26.
[8] Chapter Six discusses topical advertisements for other products.
[9] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 1, p.406.

The later Stuart period is particularly important for the study of topical retail advertising in newspapers. The first retail advertisements appeared in English newspapers in the 1620s but advertising was not used regularly in newsbooks until the 1650s when on average between three and six retail and information notices were placed per issue.[10] The use of advertising accelerated after the Restoration in 1660 and by 1700 newspapers usually carried more than a page of notices. This means that this period saw the first widespread use of topical retail advertising in newspapers. The extent of topical retail advertising in English newspapers has never been researched. This thesis' survey and analysis of topical portrait print advertising is the first piece in a rich jigsaw and it shows how the study of topical retail advertising can be used to better understand the role of consumer goods in the circulation of news and opinion.

Research context

My research is the first to address portrait print advertising in London newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* between 1660 and 1714. This is because the study of the seventeenth-century London print trade is still a relatively small field. Before discussing the relationship between this thesis and other works, this section outlines the most prominent literature and primary characteristics of seventeenth-century English print trade studies. Recent scholarship on the single-sheet print trade in this period has been dominated by descriptive works and catalogues. This has been necessary to bridge the enormous gaps in knowledge that previously existed as a result of scholarly neglect. The larger volume and great success of the eighteenth-century print trade has meant that scholarship has often focused on this later period to the detriment of the seventeenth century. Eighteenth-century graphic satire in

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[10] R.B.Walker, 'Advertising in London newspapers, 1650-1750,' *Business History*, 15 (1973), pp.112-130 (p.115).

particular has received a great deal of attention.[11] Yet the seventeenth century was more than a prelude to the success of the later period. By the time that regular portrait print advertising began in the late 1670s specialist print publishers had been a part of London retailing for over seventy years. The first specialist print publishers Sudbury and Humble were in partnership by 1603 and the number of businesses of this type grew throughout the seventeenth century. For much of the twentieth century these retailers were overlooked and many of the most significant advances in research have only been made in the last ten years.

In 1998 Antony Griffiths' *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603-1689* provided the first survey of the single-sheet production of line engravings and mezzotints over the course of the seventeenth century.[12] Before Griffiths the only comparable work was Hind's three volume *Engraving in England* published fifty years earlier.[13] Hind's work covers line engraving from its introduction under the Tudors to the end of Charles I's reign. Both books are catalogue reference works that focus on production rather than consumption. Hind does not discuss print trade marketing and Griffiths only approaches the subject obliquely. They are complimented by Tim Clayton's extensive survey of the eighteenth-century print trade *The English Print 1688-1802* (1997).[14] Clayton focuses on the business history of the trade and his account of the topography of London printselling and the hierarchy of printsellers has been a

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[11] Diana Donald, *The age of caricature: satirical prints in the reign of George III* (London, 1996). Mark Hallett, *The spectacle of difference: graphic satire in the age of Hogarth* (London, 1999).
[12] Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603-1689* (London, 1998).
[13] Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the sixteenth & seventeenth centuries: a descriptive catalogue with introductions,* 3 vols (Cambridge, 1952-64).
[14] Tim Clayton, The *English print, 1688-1802* (New Haven, 1997).

particularly useful guide for this thesis.[15] Clayton shows an awareness of advertising but like Griffiths he does not address it as a subject in its own right.

Two other survey works focus on specific forms of production. Carol Wax's *The Mezzotint: History and Technique* (1990) describes the medium's history from its early innovations in the 1660s to the twentieth century.[16] The breadth of this work means that relatively little space is devoted to the seventeenth century and it also does not examine advertising. Sheila O'Connell's *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (1999) examines the cheaper end of print production.[17] The seventeenth century receives little coverage because of the low survival rate of cheap woodcut pictures from that period.[18] O'Connell devotes more attention to the Georgian period because this is when the first print publishers specialising in genuinely cheap prints emerged. *The Popular Print in England* does not tackle advertising at all.

Taken together these works have mapped out the print trade's outlines but much of its detail is still unknown. Many of the most significant engravers have yet to receive monographs including Robert White and Peter Vanderbank.[19] Some retailers involved in single-sheet print publishing, like the bookseller Jacob Tonson, have received more attention because of their other activities, but of the majority little more

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[15] Leona Rostenberg, *English publishers in the graphic arts, 1599-1700* (New York, 1963). Despite its archaic style this work also provides a useful outline of the major print publishers of seventeenth-century London. It has since been superseded by more recent scholarship, the latest of which is the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

[16] Carol Wax, *The mezzotint: history and technique* (London, 1990).

[17] Sheila O'Connell, *The popular print in England* (London, 1999).

[18] Tessa Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991), p42.

[19] Antony Griffiths, 'White, Robert (1645-1703)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29268, accessed 20 June 2005] Antony Griffiths, 'Vanderbank, Peter (1649-1697)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28068, accessed 20 June 2005] Vanderbank's surname was spelt in several different ways. These include Vanderbank, Vandrebanc and Vander-bank. This thesis follows the usage established by the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

is known than their dates, movements and a scattering of their publications.[20] This can be seen in Griffiths' unpublished *A Dictionary of Print Publishers Active in London in the Seventeenth Century* and the entries for print trade participants in the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*[21] The study of the trade is made particularly difficult by the fact that even the British Museum's extensive collection of prints has not been fully catalogued. The museum's mezzotint and line engraved portraits have not been listed since the early twentieth century.[22] No work has yet been carried out on the English print that can even be said to be comparable to the Hollstein series of Dutch, Flemish and German prints.[23]

The years covered by this thesis encompass a particularly important phase in the London print trade's history. The regular placement of portrait print advertisements in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* began in the late 1670s. At the same time the trade underwent a massive increase in output so that in Griffiths' words 'the final quarter of the century seems almost a new world.'[24] Despite the importance of this period relatively little work has been done on it. When Griffiths began to write its history he discovered that: 'The history of this remarkable period between the early 1670s and mid-1680s has not yet been written, and there are immense difficulties in doing so. There is hardly any documentation . . . The prints themselves are hardly ever

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[20] Kathleen M.Lynch, *Jacob Tonson, Kit-Cat publisher* (Knoxville,1971).
[21] Antony Griffiths, *A Dictionary of Print Publishers Active in London in the Seventeenth Century,* (unpublished manuscript).
[22] Mezzotint portraits have been catalogued by John Chaloner Smith in *British mezzotinto portraits: being a descriptive catalogue of these engravings from the introduction of the art to the early part of the present century* 5 vols (London, 1878-1883).
[23] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.12. For example see *F.W.H.Hollstein: German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1400-1700,* Vol. 8, (Amsterdam, 1968).
[24] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.193.

dated . . . and although the mezzotints have been thoroughly catalogued . . . the engravings have not even been listed adequately.'[25]

The acceleration in the print trade's growth can partly be explained by the introduction of the mezzotint, which first came into commercial use in the late 1670s.[26] The early mezzotint publishers have received more attention than the line engravers of the same period but the literature is not extensive. The mezzotint was used for popular compositions and the reproduction of portrait paintings.[27] Griffiths attributes the beginning of regular mezzotint production in England to the painters' use of the new medium to publicise their work.[28] The National Portrait Gallery has been at the forefront of recent mezzotint research and the cooperation between painters and printmakers is touched upon in many of the exhibits in its 2001 exhibition catalogue *Painted Ladies: Women at the court of Charles II.* [29] The gallery has also recently hosted a project to catalogue and display online the work of the early mezzotint publishers Richard Tompson and Alexander Browne, as well as the printmaker and publisher John Smith. [30]

This thesis aims to make a significant contribution to the field through its investigation of print trade advertising and the portrait print. Both subjects have received far less attention than they deserve. Only two publications focus on

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[25] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.217.
[26] Antony Griffiths, 'Early Mezzotint Publishing in England I: John Smith 1652-1743,' *Print Quarterly*, 6 (1989) pp.242-57. Antony Griffiths, 'Early Mezzotint Publishing in England II: Peter Lely, Thompson and Browne,' *Print Quarterly*, 7 (1990) pp.130-4. Carol Wax, *The Mezzotint: History and Technique* (London, 1990) pp. 25-40 (p.23).
[27] James A. Ganz, *Fancy pieces: genre mezzotints by Robert Robinson & his contemporaries* (New Haven, 1994).
[28] Griffiths, 'Early Mezzotint Publishing in England II,' p.140.
[29] *Painted Ladies: Women at the Court of Charles II*, eds Catherine MacLeod and Julia Marciari Alexander (London and New Haven, CT, 2001).
[30] *The early history of mezzotint and the prints of Richard Tompson and Alexander Browne.* http://www.npg.org.uk/live/mellon.asp.

advertising itself and neither explores the advertisements in newspapers or *The Term Catalogues*. In 1984 Antony Griffiths' 'A Checklist of Catalogues of British Print Publishers c.1650-1830' listed the catalogues that were issued by print publishers from the mid-century onwards.[31] In the following year Alexander Globe's *Peter Stent, London printseller, circa 1642-1665: being a catalogue raisonné of his engraved prints and books* discussed the contents of the catalogues issued by Stent.[32] The portrait print dominated print trade output throughout the seventeenth century and until it receives a survey the print trade of this period can not be said to be understood. However, the portrait print has been discussed far more frequently than print trade advertising and aspects of this work are cited where relevant in the thesis.[33] To the casual observer the portrait print can give the impression of being ubiquitous in historical scholarship. This is not the case because where portraits appear they are often used to merely illustrate the appearance of historical figures. They are seldom discussed as a subject in their own right.

Recent discussions of topicality and portrait print advertising

The majority of portrait print advertisements found in London newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* from 1660 to 1714 were placed at times when the sitters were topical. This finding will not be a surprise to print scholars. The production of portrait prints dominated the print trade and printsellers concentrated on portraits of famous and topical people because they were the most likely to sell.[34] Clayton writes that portraits 'were invariably of celebrated or notorious figures, for whom there might be

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[31] Antony Griffiths, 'A Checklist of Catalogues of British Print Publishers c.1650-1830,' *Print Quarterly*, 1 (1984) pp. 4-22.
[32] Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent, London Printseller circa 1642-65: Being a catalogue raisonné of his engraved prints and books with an historical and bibliographical introduction* (Vancouver, 1985).
[33] Richard Sharp, *The engraved record of the Jacobite movement* (Aldershot, 1996).
[34] Portraits were also commissioned for private distribution. Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.21.

national demand over and above the usual virtuoso interest.'[35] He also observes that 'It was common to advertise publication of any plate that might have wide or unpredictable appeal.'[36] David Alexander agrees, writing of line engravings that it is 'understandable that the more important or topical prints should have been advertised in newspapers, principally in the *London Gazette*.'[37] These comments are correct but also illustrate the lack of attention that has been given to topical portrait print advertisements until now. This type of marketing is written about in passing as an understood fact but the extent to which it occurred and what it reveals about the use and meaning of portrait prints is never discussed.

Part of the problem comes from the way in which advertising has been used. Antony Griffiths highlighted the value of the newspaper advertisements as source material in his 1984 article on the publishers' catalogues and returned to this point in *The Print in Stuart Britain,* where he also draws attention to print trade advertising in *The Term Catalogues.*[38] Griffiths describes the advertisements' value in terms of the information that they provide for prices, dating and the movements of engravers and publishers, and this is largely the use to which they have been put by other print scholars. This usage is correct but it fails to take full advantage of the advertisements' potential as evidence.

Despite not directly addressing the subject of topical portrait print advertising Griffiths provides evidence for its existence. This was an important starting point for

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[35] Clayton, p.76.
[36] Clayton, p.10.
[37] David Alexander, 'English Prints and Printmaking' in *The Age of William III and Mary II: Power, Politics and Patronage 1688-1702,* eds Robert P.Maccubbin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips (Williamsburg, 1989), pp. 272-280 (p.273).
[38] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.24. Griffiths, 'A Checklist of Catalogues of British Print Publishers c.1650-1830,' p.5.

this thesis because it showed the potential value of a survey of portrait print advertisements. In *The Print in Stuart Britain* Griffiths shows that Vanderbank, Loggan and White responded to George Walker's topicality with the production of portraits, and that advertisements for his picture were placed in *The London Gazette* at the height of his celebrity. Walker was topical because he had been governor of Londonderry during the recent siege in 1689.[39] Griffiths also connects topicality, portrait print production and advertising in his discussion of a double portrait of the Bantam ambassadors, who arrived in England in 1682. The ambassadors visited England to seek support in a civil war in the Javanese kingdom of Bantam. This was particularly pertinent to the English because their rivals the Dutch supported the opposing side in the conflict. Griffiths describes how 'Numerous pamphlets were published in London about the conflict, and so the arrival of the ambassadors was greeted with intense interest and a flurry of prints. . . The rivalry between various [portrait print] publishers can be followed in several advertisements in the *Loyal Protestant.*' [40] In his accounts of the portraits of the Bantam ambassadors and George Walker Griffiths reveals that the events that had made these sitters topical also prompted the production of texts. In Walker's case this was his own *True Account of the Siege of Londonderry.* This suggested that other topical portrait prints were also advertised at times when the events that had made their sitters topical were also the subject of texts. This led to a search for concurrently published texts, the results of which can be seen in chapters four and five. The fact that portrait prints and texts were often published in response to the same events is important because it shows that the prints were part of the mainstream of news circulation.

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[39] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* pp.302-303.
[40] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* pp.255-256.

Griffiths also provides evidence for the topical retail advertising of other goods in his discussion of medal advertisements in *The London Gazette*. He shows that the medal of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was advertised at a time when he was topical because of popish plot fears. Godfrey's murder in 1678 was thought to have been carried out by Catholics and this made him into a Protestant hero. Griffiths shows that the medal of the Prince of Orange was advertised because his seizure of power had made him topical and that a notice was placed for a medal of Mary II because she had died a month and a half previously.[41] The topical advertising of other products is important because it shows that topically advertised portrait prints were part of a wider circulation of news related consumer culture. This thesis examines the topical advertising of other products to illustrate this point.

The themes of this thesis also appear in Clayton's *The English Print 1688-1802*. Clayton shows that the print trade reacted to contemporary events with the production of topical goods. In the following passage Clayton identifies the way that print and mapsellers responded to the public appetite for depictions of war. 'In *Tristram Shandy*, Uncle Toby's appetite for plans and views in Marlborough's sieges and battles was fed during the war by a steady output of prints. Plans of Namur - Toby's original desideratum - were issued by Robert Morden in 1692 and 1695, and each new incident in the war continued to be illustrated by maps, plans and views of various sizes and prices.'[42] Although Clayton does not discuss advertising this passage is relevant because topical production and topical advertising are both a part of the print trade's response to news.

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[41] Antony Griffiths, 'Advertisements for medals in *The London Gazette*,' *The Medal*, 15 (1989) pp.4-6.
[42] Clayton, p.79.

Clayton points out that for those buying portrait prints the identity of the sitter was often the most important reason for purchase. This is confirmed by the portrait print advertisements discussed in this thesis, which show that prints were always marketed on the basis of the sitters' identities. Clayton writes: 'Their prints might be taken from good paintings and be well engraved, since this might attract sales, but the important thing was that the sitter should be interesting . . . portraits of theological (and political) controversialists like Henry Sacheverell and Benjamin Hoadly could also expect wide sales.'[43] David Alexander agrees and points out that only a few people sought prints primarily for their aesthetic qualities: 'The print shops in London, where the trade was based, supplied prints for amusement, decoration, information, and instruction . . . The print trade was at the same time very alive to topical demands. In England the most popular kind of print was the engraved portrait - of monarchs, aristocrats, military and ecclesiastical leaders, and fashionable beauties.'[44] Alexander writes of Thompson and Browne, the principal publishers of portrait mezzotints before 1688: 'Both had brought out many mezzotints without naming the engravers, which suggests that the prints were aimed at those who were seeking portraits rather than fine prints.'[45] The importance of the sitter's identity is examined in greater depth in chapter three.

Alexander Globe highlights the existence of topical portrait print advertising in other media in his study of Peter Stent's catalogues. Globe shows that during the interregnum Stent 'catered to the popular demand for portraits of participants on both sides of the conflict,' using his catalogues to advertise depictions of both royalists and

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[43] Clayton, p.76.
[44] Alexander, p.272.
[45] Alexander, p.272.

parliamentarians.[46] Globe shows that Stent's unpartisan sale of portraits illustrates the way in which production was usually led by market demand for pictures of topical sitters.

O'Connell's discussion of cheap prints in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries further emphasises the connection between prints and current affairs. She describes the way in which the 'marketing opportunity afforded' by 1746 was exploited throughout the country; and like Clayton demonstrates a connection between print production and interest in the news of war.[47] This shows that the relationship between topicality and prints was not restricted to the more expensive products but extended across the market as well as into the eighteenth century.

The extent to which wider scholarship has understood topical retail advertising is difficult to estimate. It is possible that just as it is implicitly and indirectly touched upon in the literature on the seventeenth-century print trade it may also be briefly dealt with by the scholarship of the other advertised products like political verse and maps. Sarah Tyacke's *London Mapsellers, 1660-1720* contains many examples of topically advertised maps but she makes no comment on it. Christine Ferdinand briefly touches on the existence of topical book advertising, noting that in the eighteenth century 'Advertisements were sometimes hidden in the news, or casually linked to a topical event.'[48] It is hoped that this thesis will alert other scholars of printed culture to the great potential of topical retail advertisement studies.

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[46] Globe, p.9.
[47] Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England* (London, 1999) pp.83, 86-8.
[48] Christine Ferdinand, 'Constructing the Frameworks of Desire: How Newspapers Sold Books in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Joad Raymond (London, 1999), pp.157-175 (p.167).

This thesis is important because it is the first to study in detail the relationship between portrait print advertisements and the news. The response to news and market demand for images of topical sitters was clearly a significant factor in portrait print production and has been widely commented on. It is therefore surprising that this theme has received so little in-depth attention until now.

One further point that must be made is that studies of the seventeenth-century London print trade have largely focused on production. This focus has varied from Hind's concentration on engravers to Clayton's concern for the business practices of print publishing. The consumers are an unknown quantity in print trade studies because so little evidence survives to show who they were and what they did with the prints they bought. Through its focus on marketing this thesis brings print trade studies closer to an understanding of consumers. The many topically placed portrait print advertisements presented in this thesis show that retailers were selling portraits in response to demand for images of topical people. The sitters were often topical because of elections, political controversy, military victories and days of celebration. When an advert was placed because the sitter was contesting an election this suggests that consumers displayed the portrait to show their political allegiance. When a portrait was advertised after the celebration of a military victory this suggests that it was bought as a souvenir and was perhaps displayed in celebration. In this way the advertisements are evidence for the consumers' use of portrait prints and this thesis is a contribution to the understanding of this under-researched area.

Methodology

This section begins by describing the evidence that was used to determine whether a portrait print advertisement was topically placed. It then goes on to outline the methodology employed in the collection of newspaper advertisements.

If the portrait's sitter was in the news at the time of advertising the advert was described as topically placed. The expression 'in the news' is an admittedly loose concept for the early modern period. It is taken here to mean that the sitter was discussed in printed and manuscript texts, wider oral circulation and in topical visual artefacts like the single-sheet prints studied in this thesis. In all cases the sitters were in the news if they had recently been involved in a well-known event, if they were associated with an ongoing topical discussion (such as debates surrounding the Duke of York's right to the throne during the Exclusion Crisis), or if they were a figurehead linked to particular days of celebration (like the use of the monarch's image on days of national thanksgiving).

Over one hundred advertisements were studied in this thesis so it was necessary to use a restricted number of sources to establish the sitter's profile at the time of advertising. Secondary literature was an important reference source but modern historians often fail to give specific dates for events. It was necessary to know the month, and more often the week or day when events involving the sitters were first made public knowledge. Too often modern writers only cite the year. Furthermore secondary literature could not be relied upon alone because what is known to the historian was not necessarily in general news circulation at the time. It was therefore

important to use primary sources as evidence for what contemporaries were likely to know about events.

Narcissus Luttrell's current affairs diary, kept between 1678 and 1714, was particularly useful because it gives specific dates for events and like the newspapers uses the old style calendar.[49] This was valuable when referring to the date of knowledge in England about events in Europe where the use of Gregorian, Julian and modified Julian calendars can lead to confusion in modern writing.[50] This thesis uses the old style calendar but dates each year from 1st January.

If Luttrell's diary recorded an event or widespread discussion involving the sitter during the time period that the advert was published then this was taken to show that the sitter was in the news at the time of advertising. References in the text of Luttrell's diary show that it was collated from a mixture of written and oral sources.[51] Luttrell was also a collector of printed news texts and gathered together a significant collection of printed material published during the Popish Plot.[52] This demonstrates the diary's reliability as a general record of news in circulation at the time. A criticism of the use of Luttrell's diary might be that as a Middlesex JP and MP for a Cornish borough he was a well connected member of the southern English elite who may have had more access to news than people in other areas of society or parts of the country. This does not negate the diary's value as source material. In response to the regional

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[49] Henry Horwitz, 'Luttrell, Narcissus (1657-1732)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17226, accessed 20 June 2005]
[50] *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1959), vol. 4 pp. 568-570.
[51] Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, 6 vols (Farnborough, 1969), vol. 1 p.156: 'There has been much discourse about the citty of a Whipping Tom, who is used to bestow some pains in chastizeing the posteriors of severall females who have fallen into his hands:'
[52] *Narcissus Luttrell's Popish Plot Catalogues*, introd. by F.C. Francis, Luttrell Soc. Reprints, 15 (Oxford, 1956).

issue the newspaper and print trades were London based, so both Luttrell and the advertisers were responding to news circulation in the south of England. (However this thesis should not be considered as a regional study. Research has shown the speed with which news could spread to all parts of the country.)[53] Apart from the clear fact that Luttrell was using text sources, most of the news that he recorded is not about events in which he was personally involved so it is highly likely that he was obtaining the information from a widely accessible arena and not just through his elite social circle.

John Evelyn's diary was also used for the same purpose. Evelyn wrote about current affairs far less frequently than Luttrell, but it was useful in a different way. Evelyn wrote as a first person eyewitness to events in the public spaces of the capital and the royal court. Where Evelyn was one of a number of onlookers the contents of his diary are evidence for the type of news about an event that might have been passed on in oral circulation.[54] A good example of this is his eyewitness account of the Moroccan ambassador's public display of horsemanship.[55] Evelyn was also searched for records of word of mouth stories about the sitters that might have been heard at the time of advertising.

Other methods were also used to research the sitters' topicality. The existence of other publications relating to the same event as the portrait print was taken as evidence that the sitter was in the news when the notice was placed. Major online library and

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[53] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2001), pp.343-346.
[54] *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S. Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn: to which is subjoined the private correspondence between King Charles I and Sir Edward Nicholas and between Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Richard Browne,* ed. William Bray, (London, 1906). See p.394 for Evelyn's eyewitness account of the Bantam ambassadors in 1682.
[55] *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn,* p.391.

bibliographical catalogues were searched for surviving texts about the sitter published in the same year that the advertisement appeared.[56] The results of these searches can be found in the footnotes of chapters four and five. This method is less reliable than using diaries because most catalogue entries only date publications to the year, whereas the record left by Luttrell is an almost daily account. As a consequence publications were found that had no connection with the relevant events. In all cases where this occurred reference to other primary and secondary sources allowed the publications to be discarded. The release of topical texts about the sitters shows that portrait print advertisers were acting within a larger response to the news. This further supports the idea that portrait prints should not be studied in isolation from other artefacts.

Evidence for concurrent publications was also found in newspaper advertising. When several advertisements for products related to the sitter were placed in the same period it is usually evidence that the sitter was topical. An example of this can be seen in the advertisers' responses to the Siege of Buda discussed earlier in this chapter. However, the appearance of several advertisements related to the same sitter is not always evidence of the sitter's topicality. In 1686 when Alexander Browne and Isaac Beckett both advertised reproductions of a portrait of James II it was probably the result of a misunderstanding over who had the rights to sell the image.[57] Nearly all of the newspaper advertisements used in this thesis were gathered in the course of the search for portrait print notices. However some notices for maps were found in Sarah Tyacke's collection of map advertisements in *The London Gazette* and several portrait

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[56] The following online bibliographic catalogues were used: *COPAC* http://copac.ac.uk/, *The British Library Public Catalogue*, http://catalogue.bl.uk/ , *The English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC) http://www.rlg.org/en/page and *Early English Books Online* http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home.

[57] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.236.

print notices were taken from the work of Antony Griffiths and Tim Clayton. The final part of this section outlines the methods that were used to collect the portrait print advertisements.

The purpose of research was to collect as many portrait print advertisements as possible from between 1660 and 1714. This was so that a large enough sample could be obtained for the examination of the extent and nature of the relationship between portrait print advertising and topicality. These dates were chosen because they mark the beginning and end of the second part of the Stuart era. It was decided not to include the interregnum or the Georgian period in this study because it would extend an already broad survey area.

The most important source for seventeenth-century newspaper advertising is *The London Gazette*.[58] This is because this newspaper ran continuously throughout the later Stuart period from its foundation as *The Oxford Gazette* in 1665. *The London Gazette* first allowed retail advertisements on its back page on 1st July 1667.[59] It faced competition from a number of short-lived rivals during the Exclusion Crisis and between 1688 and 1689 but as the government's official newspaper it dominated the market until the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695. *The London Gazette* was searched exhaustively for portrait print advertisements from 1667 to 1720. The copies used in

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[58] A list of the newspapers used in this research can be found in Appendix Three. To compare this list with extant newspapers see *British newspapers and periodicals, 1641-1700: a short-title catalogue of serials printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and British America: with a checklist of serials printed 1701-March 1702 and chronological, geographical, foreign language, subject, publishers, and editor indexes, 1641-1702,* compiled by Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe.

[59] In 1665 and 1666 *The London Gazette* only carried information notices. The first retail advertisement was placed on 1st July 1667, 'There is newly published, An Exact Collection of all the STATUTES at large, now in Force from the year 1640 to this present time. Printed in a fair Character by His Majesties Printers; and to be sold by the Booksellers of Fleetstreet and Holborn.' C.John Sommerville is mistaken when he writes that advertisements were not included until 1671. Sommerville, C.John. *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information* (New York,1996), p.69.

research are held in bound volumes in the special collections of Durham and Newcastle university libraries.[60] The libraries have not noted how complete their holdings of *The London Gazette* are but very little appears to be missing. The advertisements collected from this newspaper form the backbone of the portrait print survey in chapters four and five. *The London Gazette's* longevity means that the advertisements are a comprehensive sample stretching across the entire period.

Advertisements were also collected from Edward Arber's three-volume facsimile of *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709* (1903-06).[61] This publication was chosen because Antony Griffiths identified it as a rich source of print trade advertisements.[62] Its use compliments *The London Gazette* because it was published across a similarly long period. Advertisements in both publications have an almost identical format, which means that the notices collected are of a standard type. The use of these two publications also means that changes in advertising can be charted within a consistent sample across the entire later Stuart period. A consistent sample is important because it makes it possible to measure the extent of the relationship between portrait print advertising and topicality. *The Term Catalogues* were published four times a year to coincide with the law terms. This meant that rather than appearing every three months in an average year issues were published in February, May, June and November. The number of pages in an issue varied. The edition of November 1683 consisted of twenty pages, that of June 1689 fourteen pages and that of November 1693 eighteen pages.[63] Each issue was largely devoted to the advertising of books and other texts such as poems and plays. Visual printed material began to be included from the early

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[60] See Appendix Three.
[61] Robin Myers, 'Arber, Edward (1836-1912)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30428, accessed 20 June 2005]
[62] Griffiths, *The print in Stuart Britain,* p.24.
[63] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol .2, pp. 37-57, 268-281, 471-489.

1670s when maps were first regularly advertised and a section was dedicated to maps from 1674 onwards. This was extended to include prints from the late 1670s. *The Term Catalogues* were begun and edited by Robert Clavell and were 'the first significant attempt at providing a systematic bibliography of new English publications, and to establish a network for the marketing of books published in London to booksellers in the provinces.'[64] They were probably also distributed in coffee houses.[65]

After *The London Gazette* and *The Term Catalogues* had been examined it was clear that within these two publications portrait print advertising was dominated by its relationship with topicality. It was assumed that portrait print advertising in *The London Gazette* and *The Term Catalogues* was not unlike that in other publications but it was necessary to check additional newspapers to confirm this. The other purpose of this supplementary search was to gather more examples of topical portrait print advertisements in order to increase the quantity available for analysis.

The London Gazette and *The Term Catalogues* are the only advertising publications that were issued continuously throughout the later Stuart period. It was therefore not possible to compare them with a third long running publication. It was decided to collect advertisements from the short-lived newspapers that were published during the Exclusion Crisis and between 1688 and 1689, and then to search a selection of the major newspaper titles that became established after the lapse of the Licensing Act in

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[64] David Stoker, 'Clavell, Robert (*b.* in or before 1633, *d.* 1711)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5552, accessed 20 June 2005]

[65] C.John Sommerville, p.92. Majorie Plant, *The English book trade: an economic history of the making and sale of books* (London, 1974), p.251.

1695.[66] With the exception of *The Daily Courant* all of the newspapers searched are held in the Burney collection at the British Library. A large proportion of the available newspapers of the Exclusion Crisis and the late 1680s were searched but the patchy nature of newspaper survival meant that this could not be a comprehensive survey of newspaper advertising in these years. This was not a problem as these newspapers were not rich sources of advertising because retailers preferred to advertise in high circulating established newspapers like *The London Gazette.* After 1695 three such titles came onto the market. These were *The Post Boy, The Post Man* and *The Flying Post.* A number of more minor newspapers were also published during this period. Another major title *The Daily Courant,* Britain's first daily newspaper was issued from 1702 onwards. These newspapers all carried significant volumes of advertising and their presence led to the gradual decline of retail advertising in *The London Gazette* in the first decade of the eighteenth century. In the context of this three year research project it was not possible to comprehensively investigate every newspaper published after 1695. For the purposes of comparison with *The London Gazette* and *The Term Catalogues* it was decided to search a minimum of one of these major newspapers for each year until 1714. This yielded a significant number of new advertisements and showed that portrait print advertising in these publications was not unlike that in *The London Gazette* and *The Term Catalogues.*

The search for additional newspaper advertisements was conducted in titles produced from the late 1670s onwards because this was when regular portrait print advertising began. No portrait prints were advertised in *The London Gazette* or *The Term*

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[66] Thomas O'Malley, 'Religion and the Newspaper Press, 1660-1685: A Study of The London Gazette' in *The press in English society from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries*, eds M. Harris and A. Lee (Rutherford, 1986), pp.25-46. Michael Harris, 'Chapter four: 1620-1780,' *Newspaper history from the seventeenth century to the present day,* eds D. G. Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (London, 1978) pp.79-97 (pp.79-81).

Catalogues before the late 1670s. This is despite the fact that both had been carrying retail advertisements for a decade. An investigation of *The Kingdoms Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Publicus* of 1662 and *The Intelligencer* and *The Newes* of 1664 and 1665 showed that portrait prints were not regularly advertised in the 1660s. Only two notices were found and both related to the same event in 1664. This confirms Griffiths' comment that newspapers 'began to carry advertisements of interest from 1664 onwards, although the numbers became significant only from the late 1670s.'[67] A number of 1670s publications remain to be searched in order to prove conclusively that regular portrait print advertising did not begin at an earlier date, however publications in this period were sparse in comparison to the 1680s.[68] At present it seems unlikely that more than a handful of notices will be found for the 1660s and early 1670s. [69]

The search for portrait print advertisements shaped the entire focus of this thesis. In the process of reading half a century of advertising columns it became very obvious that the topical portrait print advertisements hinted at by Griffiths and Alexander were not the only notices placed in response to the news. Many examples of topical advertisements for other products were recorded and are presented in chapter six. The recognition that topical portrait print advertising was part of a wider pattern of topical retail advertising confirmed the value of this avenue of research.

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[67] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.24.
[68] Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, *British newspapers and periodicals,* pp. 654-660.
[69] 'The most important London Newspapers from 1660-1720' in James Sutherland, *The Restoration newspaper and its development* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 250-253.

Chapter overview

Chapters two and three explore the background of portrait print advertising. Chapter two looks at the factors that contributed to the beginning of regular portrait print advertising in the late 1670s and examines aspects of the notices' relationship with topicality. It shows that they can be used as evidence for consumer interest in the news and that they are a key to the contemporary interpretation of the prints they advertise. Chapter three discusses the identity of the advertisers, the people who read the notices and the consumers who bought the prints. It concludes by demonstrating that the phrasing of the advertisements is evidence for the importance that contemporaries placed on the sitter's identity. This finding is then supported by additional evidence from the portrait print collectors Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn.

Chapters four and five present the portrait print advertisements. Each notice is analysed to show whether the sitter was topical at the time of advertising. The chapters show that the majority of portrait prints were advertised when the sitters were topical, and that a significant number reflect the most important political issues of the day. Chapter six shows that the portrait print retailers were acting within a larger trend of topical advertising. It demonstrates that notices were also placed for other products at the times when the subjects they depicted and discussed were topical.

Chapter seven examines the findings of the thesis and discusses the different opportunities for further research. It shows that the advertisements are evidence for the contemporary usage of portrait prints and that topical retail advertising is a valuable source material for the investigation of the types of news that most interested the general population of later Stuart England.

Chapter Two- Topicality and Portrait Print Advertising

This chapter begins by exploring the factors that contributed to the start of regular portrait print advertising in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* in the late 1670s. It shows that it was the result of changes in the print trade and that a key part of the explanation also lies in the advertisements' relationship with topicality. It then contextualises the print trade within the growth of printed and manuscript news texts and discusses Habermas' public sphere. The final sections show that the portrait print advertisements were placed in response to market demand and that topicality affected the way that contemporaries viewed portrait prints.

The beginning of regular portrait print advertising

During the search for portrait print notices it was discovered that regular portrait print advertising did not begin in *The London Gazette* or *The Term Catalogues* until the late 1670s. The first portrait print advertisements found in the research for this thesis were printed in *The Newes* and *The Intelligencer* of 1664. After that no other notices were uncovered until Vanderbank's advertisement for Charles II's portrait in *The Term Catalogues* of 1676. Portrait print advertising did not become truly regular until 1680. It is highly unlikely that this decade-long gap is the result of circumstances peculiar to *The London Gazette* and *The Term Catalogues*. They were separate publications, produced by different people and for different purposes. From the late 1670s onwards portrait print advertising in *The London Gazette* and *The Term Catalogues* was representative of that found in other newspapers. It is therefore highly probable that regular portrait print advertising did not begin in any publication until the late 1670s. The following pages are written on the basis that the absence of portrait print

advertising in *The London Gazette* and *The Term Catalogues* during the 1670s is representative of all publications.

The fact that regular portrait print advertising began a decade after the start of retail advertising in *The London Gazette* in 1667 and *The Term Catalogues* in 1668 shows that it was directly initiated by changes that occurred within those ten years. Regular portrait print advertising emerged between 1675 and 1685, a decade which witnessed a considerable expansion in print trade production. It is clear that the two are connected. There were also more notices for other kinds of single-sheet prints in this period, which lends support to the idea that increased advertising was a response to an expansion in output. Other kinds of single-sheet prints appear to have been advertised less frequently than portrait prints for at least the first half of the period under study. Further data needs to be collected before this can be confirmed.

The regular commercial use of the mezzotint from the late 1670s onwards contributed to the growth of the print trade and the beginning of regular portrait print advertising. Mezzotints became extremely popular in this period. Contrary to expectation this did not lead to a high number of advertisements for mezzotint portraits. Instead many line engravings were advertised in the first decade of regular portrait print advertising, particularly those of Robert White. One possibility is that White placed so many advertisements because of competition from the mezzotint.[1] An alternative explanation is that the mezzotint's popularity increased interest in all kinds of portrait prints and made them more marketable. When Robert White began advertising he was already an established engraver. His earliest print was published in 1666 and he took

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[1] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.203.

John Sturt as an apprentice in 1674.[2] The fact that he did not begin advertising earlier supports the suggestion that the beginning of regular portrait print advertising was prompted by changes that occurred in the 1670s.

Robert White and Peter Vanderbank, another line engraver who also advertised in the 1680s, published their own engravings. Self-publishing engravers emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century. Griffiths suggests that one of the reasons they were able to work without the print publishers was because newspaper advertising gave them direct access to the market.[3] Other retailers who advertised in the 1680s include the booksellers Moses Pitt and Thomas Simmons, and the specialist print publishers Edward Cooper, Robert Walton and John Overton. Among these men Robert White stands out as a pioneer of portrait print advertising because he placed more notices than any other retailer. To some extent his notices can be said to shape portrait print advertising in the 1680s.

The importance of individuals as innovators in print trade developments is underlined by Griffiths' investigations into early mezzotint publishing. The mezzotint was already known in England by 1662 and it flourished commercially on the continent throughout the 1670s. However, it was not used on a regular commercial basis in England until the late 1670s. Griffiths concludes that the delay in the introduction of the mezzotint was because no one in England recognised its potential until portrait painters realised that it could be used to publicise their works.[4] Without the actions of those individual innovators the commercial introduction of the mezzotint would have

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[2] Antony Griffiths, 'White, Robert (1645-1703)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29268, accessed 25 June 2005]
[3] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.25.
[4] Griffiths, 'Early Mezzotint Publishing in England- II,' p.145.

been further delayed. In a similar way Robert White's recognition of the effectiveness of this form of marketing was a major driving force in the beginning of regular portrait print advertising. However it should not be forgotten that other retailers were advertising portrait prints in the 1680s so the credit does not belong to White entirely.

Regular portrait print advertising also began because Robert White and the other early advertisers recognised that placing notices in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* was the best way to market portraits of topical sitters. This can be seen by comparing this form of advertising with the other available marketing methods.

Like other businesses printsellers probably employed criers and made use of notices displayed on walls or distributed in the street.[5] As a result of their ephemeral nature none of these are known to have survived. Printed catalogues were also released from at least as early as the 1650s. This material is often referred to as the print publishers' catalogues and it takes three different forms: broadsheets, pamphlets and lists inserted into books. The existence of the publishers' catalogues shows that printsellers knew about printed marketing long before the beginning of regular portrait print advertising in newspapers. Seventeen are known to have been issued between the date of the earliest, a broadsheet produced by Peter Stent between 1649 and 1653, and Thomas Bowles' catalogue of 1720.[6] A larger number were published in the eighteenth century and in this later period they had many more pages. The seventeenth-century catalogues were between one and two pages long, with the exception of Philip Lea's twenty-one pages of 1698. In comparison in 1766 Robert Sayer produced a catalogue that was one hundred and sixty-eight pages long. Some of the catalogues were

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[5] Blanche B.Elliott, *History of English Advertising* (London, 1962), pp. 11-12.
[6] See bibliography for the location of all print publishers' catalogues cited in this thesis.

inserted into books that the printsellers had published themselves. In *c.*1680 John Garrett placed a one page catalogue in a book that he published entitled *Albert Durer Revived.* In 1662 Thomas Jenner did the same when he placed a two page catalogue in *A Book of the names of all parishes*. In 1658 and 1663 Peter Stent placed his two page catalogue in Robert Fage's *Cosmography*, a book he had published himself. In 1667 and 1671 Stent's successor John Overton also inserted catalogues of between one and two pages in Fage's book. It is likely that more catalogues were produced than those that have been found so far. The format of the print publishers' catalogues was completely unlike that of the newspaper and *Term Catalogue* advertisements. The greater number of products marketed in the catalogues meant that they were presented in lists of titles rather than in the more descriptive way of the notices. The language used by newspaper and *Term Catalogue* advertisements is examined in chapter three.

Printsellers with retail premises were also able to market goods through shop display.[7] Historians of the eighteenth-century print trade are familiar with the 'established genre of views of satirical printsellers' windows'.[8] In these scenes rows of prints are shown displayed in the glazed windows of London printshops. Glazed windows came into use in London shops in the late seventeenth century but in the period under study they were restricted to the wealthier shops. This does not mean that prints were not displayed in the windows of businesses without glazing since it would always have been possible to hang them across open windows. Shops of this period tended to have wooden shutters opening out onto the street, on which wares could be pinned. They could also set out a stall in front of the window. Even after the advent of regular

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[7] Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and shopkeeping in eighteenth-century England* (London. 1989), pp. 221-248.
[8] Donald, p.7.

advertising in newspapers the shop would have been the primary place of marketing for print retailers.[9]

For retailers who wished to advertise portraits of topical sitters none of these forms of advertising was as effective as placing a notice in newspapers or *The Term Catalogues.* Retailers could move quickly to advertise portraits of topical sitters by displaying them in a window or distributing handbills in the streets, but this was only effective within London. Newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* circulated more widely and were distributed in the provinces. This meant that when a sitter was topical enough to appeal to consumers who did not usually buy portrait prints this form of advertising could communicate to the widest possible market. The print publishers' catalogues were one-off publications, unlike newspapers which were published several times a week and *The Term Catalogues* which were produced at each law term. If printsellers wished to take advantage of a sitter's topicality before it went cold it was better to advertise the portrait as soon as possible in a newspaper or the latest edition of *The Term Catalogues.* This was a faster method of marketing than producing a one or two page catalogue. Retailers only had to prepare one notice and they did not have to print or distribute it themselves. The topical nature of the newspaper meant that its distribution network needed to be rapid enough to ensure that its contents did not become old news before they reached the reader. In this way the readers would also see portrait print advertisements before the sitters' topicality was forgotten. There was less reason for *The Term Catalogues* to be distributed so quickly but the fact that they were produced four times a year makes it likely that they reached booksellers outside London within three months of publication.

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[9] Email from Claire Walsh 3rd February 2003. Nancy Cox and Claire Walsh, 'The shops are Dens, the buyer is their prey:' shop design and sale techniques,' in *The complete tradesman: a study of retailing, 1550-1820,* by Nancy Cox (Aldershot, 2000) pp.76-115 (pp.79-81).

Topical portraits were advertised in the print publishers' catalogues but it was a topicality of a different kind to that seen in the notices in *The Term Catalogues* and newspapers. The print publishers' catalogues advertised portraits of people who were topical or well known for long periods of time. In 1674 Robert Walton advertised pictures of the King, the Queen, the Duke of York and the Duke of Monmouth. In 1675 Arthur Tooker advertised pictures of the King, the Queen and the Duke and Duchess of Monmouth. Charles II, Katherine of Braganza and the Duke of York were always prominent because of their positions. Monmouth had a long-term topicality because he was Charles II's illegitimate son and throughout the reign it was thought that he could be acknowledged as the legitimate heir. Many of the portraits advertised in the print publishers' catalogues depicted people who were topical in the past. Among those that Thomas Jenner advertised in 1662 were pictures of sitters who had been prominent at the start of the civil war. These included the politician John Pym[10] (d. 1643), the Scottish covenanter Alexander Henderson[11] (d. 1646), the politician Sir Benjamin Rudyerd[12] (d. 1658) and the naval officer Sir John Pennington[13] (d.1646). Other entries were for portraits of sitters who had been played public roles before the civil war. These included the clergyman Richard Stock (d. 1626) and the Count of Gondomar[14] (d.1626) who had been Spanish ambassador to the court of James I.[15]

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[10] Conrad Russell, 'Pym, John (1584-1643)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22926, accessed 10 July 2005]
[11] John Coffey, 'Henderson, Alexander (*c.*1583-1646)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12900, accessed 10 July 2005]
[12] David L. Smith, 'Rudyerd, Sir Benjamin (1572-1658)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24256, accessed 10 July 2005]
[13] Andrew Thrush, 'Penington, Sir John (*bap.* 1584?, *d.* 1646)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21842, accessed 10 July 2005]
[14] Glyn Redworth, 'Sarmiento de Acuña, Diego, count of Gondomar in the Spanish nobility (1567-1626)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69257, accessed 10 July 2005]

The variation between the types of portraits advertised in the print publishers' catalogues and those promoted in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* shows the different functions of these two forms of marketing. The print publishers' catalogues advertised portraits of people because they were well known. The catalogues reflect contemporary tastes and interests but they were not produced in response to peaks of topicality. They were designed to sell portraits for which there was a steady demand. The notices in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* were responses to short periods of topicality when events and ideas had created a higher than usual demand for images of the sitters. This is not to say that the types of sitters advertised in the print publishers' catalogues were radically different to those promoted in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues*. There were some variations but the majority of sitters marketed in both ways came from the upper levels of society and in social or political terms were close to the centre of government and the royal court. The difference is that the print publishers' catalogues advertised portraits simply because the sitters were well known whereas the notices in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* marketed portraits of well known sitters because they had been involved in recent events and ideas. For example when pictures of members of the royal family were advertised in the print publishers' catalogues it was because of their status. When they were advertised in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* it was because recent events such as coronations or victory celebrations, and debates such as the disputed succession had made them more topical than usual. This difference explains why portraits of prominent noblewomen were advertised in the print publishers' catalogues but not in

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[15] Brett Usher, 'Stock, Richard (1568/9-1626)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26540, accessed 28 June 2005]

newspapers and *The Term Catalogues.* They had the status that was required for their portraits to be advertised in the print publishers' catalogues, but their gender prevented them from becoming publicly involved in the kinds of events and debates that caused advertisements to be placed in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues.*

The portrait print notices themselves are evidence that regular portrait print advertising began in the late 1670s because retailers recognised that newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* were the most effective way to market topical portraits. The fact that the majority of portrait print notices were placed at times when the sitters were topical and that only a handful appeared each year, confirms that retailers regarded this as a form of advertising to be used in the special circumstances. It also explains why so few portrait print advertisements were placed each year despite the fact that portrait prints dominated the output of the print trade. The newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* were not seen as means to market the many portraits for which there was general demand because retailers had other forms of advertising that suited this purpose.

The early years of regular portrait print advertising coincided with the Exclusion Crisis. Many of the portraits advertised in these years depicted people who were topical because of the events and ideas of this tense political period. It is likely that this is not a coincidence and that these events were the catalyst for the advertisers' recognition of newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* as suitable vehicles for topical advertising. The expansion of the print trade, the threat to line engravers caused by the popularity of the mezzotint and the innovatory behaviour of the early advertisers were

required before any events could act as a catalyst. This explains why earlier political crises did not trigger the beginning of regular portrait print advertising.

Before the late 1670s businesses that sold portrait prints used newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* to advertise other products. It is not yet possible to say exactly how many notices for other products were placed by portrait print retailers but it is likely it was widespread. This is for two reasons. Booksellers sold portrait prints and book advertising in newspapers was both regular and extensive from at least as early as the 1650s. Secondly, the specialist printsellers who sold portrait prints also sold maps, which were regularly advertised from at least as early as the late 1660s. The fact that portrait print retailers were familiar with this form of marketing before the 1670s but did not use it to promote portrait prints confirms that a specific set of conditions had to be in place before regular portrait print advertising could begin.

The full marketing activities of the portrait print advertisers studied in this thesis have yet to be traced. Enough evidence has been found to confirm that at least some were placing notices for other products in newspapers before the late 1670s. It is expected that more examples will be found. The print publisher John Overton, who placed several portrait print notices in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues*, also advertised maps in *The London Gazette* in the 1670s. On 17th October 1672 he advertised two maps of Germany and on 14th November 1672 a map of Poland.[16] On 24th January 1676 he advertised 'A New Map of the City of London.'[17] The bookseller Thomas Bassett, who placed two portrait print advertisements, was one of the retailers named in a notice for 'One of Mr. Blomes Volumes, being a Geographical Description of the

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[16] Tyacke, p.7.
[17] Tyacke, p.14.

World' which appeared in *The London Gazette* of 21st October and 13th December 1669.[18] He was also listed in an advertisement for a map of England, placed on 18th June, and on 2nd and 9th July 1677. The bookseller Moses Pitt, who advertised portraits in *The Term Catalogues* of 1682 and 1684, was also involved in the advertising of an atlas on 13th May 1678.[19] John Oliver, the mapseller who advertised Charles V of Lorraine's portrait in 1686, was also one of the retailers named in an advertisement for the *Atlas Anglicanus* of 24th November 1679.[20] These examples all show that members of the print trade advertised other products besides single-sheet prints and that as a subject for study print trade advertising should be understood in this broader sense rather than as simply the promotion of single-sheet prints.

The establishment of *The Term Catalogues,* the print publishers' catalogues and the increased employment of newspaper notices by all retailers of printed goods are symptomatic of the growing use of printed marketing in the seventeenth century, including in the second half of the century the arrival of publications dealing exclusively with advertising.[21] Louise Hill Curth found further illustration of the growing use of printed marketing in her examination of mid to late seventeenth-century medical advertising in almanacs. This has shown that in 1640 'only 7% of almanacs contained promotional notices of any type' but that by the end of the century 'the figure was nearer to 70-80%.'[22] Portrait print advertising in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* must be considered as a development within the broader context of marketing growth. Its relationship with topicality and the expansion of the

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[18] Tyacke, p.3.
[19] Tyacke, p.22.
[20] Tyacke, pp.24-25.
[21] Jeremy Black, *The English Press 1621-1861* (Stroud, 2001), p.65. Elliott, p.57.
[22] Louise Hill Curth, *The Medical Content of English Almanacs, 1640-1700* (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2001), unpublished PhD, p.246.

print trade also means that it has to be examined as a part of the mounting circulation of printed information.

The circulation of printed and manuscript news and opinion

During the seventeenth century there was a noticeable increase in the quantity of printed and manuscript news and opinion in circulation. The passage of information through private letters became easier as the postal service expanded. The introduction of the penny post in 1680 was a particularly important innovation.[23] Private letters were an efficient news medium and it was not unusual for their contents to be read aloud, copied and passed around.[24] From the 1620s the post also carried manuscript newsletters written by professional journalists.[25] These newsletters were an important source of information and their contents often appeared in printed newspapers.[26] Manuscript news also circulated in the form of manuscript libels, ballads and satirical verses. After the Restoration thousands of satirical verses on affairs of state circulated the realm. Many never appeared in print at all.[27]

Historians have noted that the establishment of coffee houses from the 1650s onwards facilitated the oral discussion of news.[28] They were stocked with printed and manuscript news for their customers to peruse and discuss over coffee. Fox writes

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[23] Fox, p.371.
[24] Fox, p.374.
[25] Ian Atherton, '"The Itch grown a Disease": Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century' in *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Joad Raymond, pp.39-65.
[26] Fox, p.370.
[27] Fox, p.392.
[28] Fox, pp.363, 380. Steven Pincus, '"Coffee politicians does create": coffeehouses and Restoration political culture,' *Journal of Modern History*, 67 (1995), pp.807-34.

that 'These news institutions were the most active centres of gossip and discussion precisely because they were the most dynamic market places for script and print.'[29]

The seventeenth century saw many important developments in the transmission of printed news, the most significant of which was the development of the newspaper.[30] The first English language newspapers were imported from Amsterdam in 1620 and from 1621 single-sheet corantos were produced in London. [31] By 1622 newsbooks with several pages were appearing in numbered sequences. These early papers were produced in response to public interest in the 'Thirty Years' War' and focused on events abroad. [32] This focus on foreign news continued to a very large extent in the second half of the seventeenth century and explains why portraits of foreign sitters were familiar enough to be topical to an English audience.[33] The newspaper's evolution did not follow a smooth path. The government prohibited coranto printing in 1632 and the printed quarto newsbooks that appeared from this year were suppressed in 1638. [34] The lapse of censorship during the civil wars unleashed a flood of news texts. Three hundred and fifty newsbook titles are recorded for the years from 1641 to 1659.[35] Censorship was tightened with the Restoration and the 1662 Licensing Act not only prohibited printing outside London, Oxford and Cambridge but also restricted the practice to government-licensed printers. In an effort to counteract subversive news the government supported a number of newspapers in the

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[29] Fox, p.404.
[30] Fox, p.397.
[31] Sommerville, p.22.
[32] Sommerville notes that periodical news sheets appeared at an earlier date on the continent. In 1594 *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* appeared semi-annually from Cologne, then others appeared in Strasbourg and Augsburg in 1609, Basel in 1610, Frankfurt and Vienna in 1615, Hamburg in 1616, Berlin in 1617, Amsterdam in 1618 and Antwerp in 1620. p.20.
[33] Black, *The English Press,* pp.5-7. Sommerville notes that in 1628-29 newspaper circulation was adversely affected by the collapse of the Protestant cause in Germany. p.27.
[34] Fox, p.394.
[35] Jerome Friedman, *Miracles and the pulp press during the English revolution: the battle of the frogs and Fairford's flies* (London, 1993), p.3.

early 1660s and from 1665 it established *The London Gazette*. The development of the later seventeenth-century newspaper trade is outlined in chapter one. *The London Gazette* had a near monopoly on the newspaper market until 1695 when the final lapse of the Licensing Act led to an explosion of new titles.

The increased accessibility of printed and manuscript news and opinion made information about topical people more readily available. Over the course of the seventeenth century this may have contributed to print trade growth by increasing demand for images of the events, places and people in the news. The growth of the print trade and the circulation of printed and manuscript news and opinion were parallel movements that increased the availability of visual and verbal information. The fact that text-based scholars often overlook visual artefacts in their investigation of the circulation of news and opinion is discussed further in the next section.

Habermas and the neglect of the visual public sphere

One way of looking at the circulation of news and opinion is through the theoretical work of Jürgen Habermas. His pioneering book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* outlines the development of public opinion in early modern Europe.[36] The theory describes an arena in which the private individual enters into public discussion with other private individuals about matters of interest to a wide number of people. Habermas describes how the circulation of news and opinion increased through the expanding quantity of printed literature and the establishment of new public meeting places like the coffee houses. Habermas and later academics have

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[36] Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, tr. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA, 1989).

divided the public sphere into arenas of interest, such as literature, politics, science and culture.[37] Habermas himself points to late seventeenth-century England as the place where the political public sphere first developed and names 1695 as a pivotal year for its formation with the lapse of the Licensing Act and the foundation of the Bank of England. However Habermas' timescale for England is inaccurate. The explosion of printed texts in the 1640s means that the public sphere began earlier than Habermas suggests. Some historians have traced it back to the sixteenth century.[38] The definition of the public sphere is loose enough for the dating of its beginnings to be an ever movable feast. With regards to this thesis one major problem with Habermas' theory is that he does not acknowledge that visual artefacts like single-sheet prints were as much a part of the circulation of news and opinion as the written and spoken word.

It is difficult to tell if Habermas' failure to engage in the visual public sphere is reflected in today's writing about the communication of news and opinion in early modern England. The entire corpus of literature about the circulation of news and opinion is spread across the many different disciplines that study the past. Often where writers have not discussed visual material it is because they have chosen to focus on one medium, like newspapers, and it is outside their area of study. Researchers in the material culture disciplines have written extensively about the ways in which objects contained meanings and conveyed values. Whether the reader believes that the circulation of news and opinion in visual form is adequately understood will depend on whether he or she comes from a text-based discipline like history or literary studies or a material-culture-based discipline like art history or

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[37] David Zaret, 'Religion, Science, and Printing in the Public Spheres of England,' in *Habermas and the public sphere,* ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA, 1992), pp.212-235.
[38] Zaret, p.218.

archaeology. This thesis emerges from the field of seventeenth-century print trade studies where it is felt that text-based historians are largely ignorant of the value of visual objects like single-sheet prints as evidence for news and opinion. It is hoped that this thesis will go some way to changing that.

One other problem with the use of Habermas' theory is that despite its huge impact it is not universal to all scholarly disciplines that study the past. It has not been applied in the published scholarship on the seventeenth-century print trade despite the fact that prints often depicted current affairs and contemporary preoccupations. A survey of museum-based literature on ceramics, medals, playing cards and other early modern visual artefacts that sometimes communicated news and opinion through image would very probably find that Habermas is rarely if ever mentioned.

The early modern visual public sphere was vast. Opinions were expressed through visual displays like effigy burnings, fireworks, riots, processions and pageantry. Many of the portrait print advertisements were placed during periods when events of this type occurred. Ideas about the world were also expressed with images. The portrait prints studied in this thesis communicated approval of the sitters by depicting them in a respectable manner and using particular icons. Other prints criticised people and events with unflattering and satirical representations.[39] Opinion was also voiced through the exhibition of visual goods. Loyalty to monarchy was shown by the display of their portraits on prints, medals and other objects.

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[39] T.M. Williams, *Polemical Prints of the English Revolution 1640-1660* (Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1987), unpublished PhD.

Many of the portrait prints were advertised at times when they could be displayed as symbols of allegiance, commemoration and celebration. They were marketed in this way in response to consumer demand. The fact that advertisements of this type were placed across the later Stuart period is evidence for the active use of portrait prints in visual expression. The demand for portrait prints is discussed in the next section. Their display is investigated in chapters four, five and seven.

Consumer demand

The portrait print advertisements were often placed at times when the sitters were topical. Among these topically placed portrait print advertisements many reflect the major political concerns of their time. In the early 1680s a significant number were placed for portraits of sitters who were topical because of the Exclusion Crisis and the Tory reaction. Under William and Mary portraits were advertised of people who played roles in the regime change of 1688 and the maintenance of William's power. During Queen Anne's reign portrait print advertisements reflected the importance of the War of the Spanish Succession.

The topical portrait print advertisements met a market demand for images of sitters who were in the news. This explains why so many of the advertisements correspond to major political concerns. Consumers wanted images of the people who were involved in the most frequently discussed contemporary events. There is an element of demand creation in the later seventeenth-century advertising of portrait prints. The portrait print advertisements created demand for the specific engravings or mezzotints that they promoted, but they would not have been placed if there was not already a

pre-existing demand for products related to the event or idea that had made the sitter topical.

Several factors support the idea that the majority of topically placed portrait print advertisements were published in response to market demand for products related to particular events or ideas. Portrait prints notices were relatively infrequent with only a handful appearing each year. This suggests that the advertising of portrait prints in newspapers and *The Term Catalogue* was reserved for special circumstances when there was a high demand. The fact that portrait print advertising was consistently topical over a thirty year period despite being the result of the activities of a diverse group of retailers shows that the special circumstance was the topicality of the sitters. If portrait print advertising had not been a response to market demand then it would not show such consistent patterns of topicality. Advertisers would have advertised their full range of portraits, at times when the sitters were not topical and notices would have been placed more frequently.

The idea that portrait prints were advertised in response to demand is supported by the existence of a wide range of topical advertisements for other products. These advertisements often responded to the same events as the portrait print notices. For example the strong relationship between portrait print advertising and the War of the Spanish succession is echoed by the frequent promotion of maps and plans depicting the battlefields. In some cases when a portrait print notice was placed in response to a specific event advertisements also appeared for other related products. In chapter one it is shown that retailers responded to the siege of Buda with advertisements for a portrait print, a medal and maps of the event. Further cases where the advertisers of

different products responded to a single event are presented in the exploration of topical retail advertising in chapter six.

The sitters' topicality would have alerted retailers to the presence of market demand. The retailers would know that a sitter was topical if that person was discussed in the circulation of news. Information and debate about sitters was spread through word of mouth, printed and manuscript texts and the production of images. The survey of portrait print advertisements in chapters four and five also shows that a sitter's topicality could be communicated through street demonstrations and national ceremonies such as days of thanksgiving. During the Exclusion Crisis partisan rioting highlighted the importance of the Duke of York and the annual observance of the anniversary of Charles I's death on 30th January told printsellers that he was also topical. The diverse ways in which topicality manifested itself were the products of different social groups. This means that rather than responding to a single homogenous market demand the advertisers were reacting to a varied range of market *demands*.

At the beginning of this section it was stated that most topical portrait print advertisements were placed in response to demand. The fact that some portrait prints were advertised at times when the sitters were closely involved in politics suggests that the placement of these notices could have been politically motivated. No evidence has been found to show that this ever happened. Without evidence it should not be assumed that printsellers published or advertised partisan portraits because of their own beliefs. The interregnum catalogues of print publisher Peter Stent show that motivated by profit he sold portraits of both parliamentarians and royalists. When

retailers advertised portraits of political sitters the possibility that they were motivated by profit should always be considered before it is asked whether it was an expression of their own opinion. There is also the possibility that external agents commissioned the placement of advertisements for portraits of sitters that they wished to show support for. If this happened it is most likely to have been as a gesture of respect to a patron or friend. It is slightly less probable that an advertisement would be commissioned for propaganda purposes because it was more effective to distribute portraits by hand. However, the government announcements and the other information notices that appeared in advertising sections suggest that this part of the paper was read with attention and considered to be a serious communication method.

Under William and Mary a significant number of advertisements were placed for prints of sitters and subjects that were favourable to the Orange regime. On 21st February 1689 Peter Vanderbank advertised a portrait print of the new King and Queen, just days after their status had been confirmed by convocation. This advertisement could have been placed in response to market demand or it could have been externally directed by a supporter. The same possibility arises with the following advertisement, which appeared in *The London Gazette* on 9th November 1691: `On Monday next will be published a Draught of the Arch that stood in Cheapside on the 4th of this Instant November, (being His Majesties Birth-Day) and the 5th , (being the day of His Majesties happy Landing in England) done upon a Copper Plate in Mezzo Tinto Work.' The Orange regime's use of printed propaganda is well documented which supports the idea that these notices could have been politically motivated.[40]

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[40] Robert P.Maccubbin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips, `Introduction` in *The Age of William III and Mary II*, pp.3-18.

On a few rare occasions notices could have been placed to publicise the subject for monetary gain. In *The Newes* of 26th May 1664 an advertisement was placed for a portrait of a giant known as the 'Monstrous Tartar'. It states that the picture was 'sold at the Glebe [Globe] in the Old-Bayly' but what it does not say is that this was also where he had been on display as recently as February.[41] If he was still present in May this raises the possibility that the portrait print and advertisement might have been used to promote the exhibition.

When the following advertisement was placed in *The Post Man* on 12th August 1704 it could have been to publicise the visitor attractions that were run at the Water Works and at the house in Littlebury.[42]

> A Large Print of Edyston Light House, on two Sheets of Imperial Paper, the Prospect taken and Engrav'd by the late Mr Henry Winstanley, Contriver and Builder of the said Light House are to be sold at the Water Works near Hide Park, and at his late Dwelling House at Littlebury in Essex, and at Mr John Bretts an Apothecary at the Blue Boar near St Clements Church in the Strand.

The sitters' topicality not only alerted retailers to market demand for their images. It also influenced the way that contemporaries viewed portrait prints. The final section of this chapter explains how topical advertising can be used as a key to the understanding of consumers' interpretations of portrait prints.

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[41] C.J.S.Thompson, *Mystery and Lore of Monsters* (London,1930), p.149.
[42] Paul Waterhouse, 'Winstanley, Henry (*bap.* 1644, *d.* 1703)', rev. Mike Chrimes, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, July 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29757, accessed 10 July 2005]

Portrait print advertisements and contemporary perception

This section looks at the two different ways in which a portrait print carried meaning. It begins by showing how printmakers used elements of the image to communicate ideas about the sitter. It then explains how the viewer's knowledge of the sitter affected his or her interpretation of the portrait.

Image based meaning

Prints, paintings and other art and craft objects communicate meaning through aspects of their design. These include composition, colouring, allusion to other images and visual traditions, specific iconographic elements and references to cultural ideas such as the Bible. An image is like a tightly bound bundle of pictorial languages. It can not state the intended message unless the viewer understands them all. The viewer can only do this with knowledge of the image's historical context and the visual vocabulary of the time and place of production. For early modern viewers education and experience would have affected their ability to interpret imagery.

All seventeenth-century portrait prints communicate ideas about the sitters but these were not all the result of the printmakers' conscious intentions. When sitters are depicted surrounded by frames mounted on classical pediments this is usually the result of early modern visual convention rather than a conscious attempt by each individual printmaker to evoke ancient Rome. In a similar way certain poses and backgrounds can be analysed for their historical precedents and cultural influences but it is likely that in most cases they were adopted by printmakers because they were the convention. When prints were reproduced from paintings and other images the ideas

that they communicated about the sitter came from the original artist. For example on 1st May 1701 an article in *The Post Man* described a painting of Philip V of Spain that was rich with symbolism. This painting was reproduced as a print for sale by Ann Baldwin and is discussed further at the beginning of chapter five.

Many prints were produced with visual elements that were consciously intended by the printmakers. Prints sometimes carried 'emblems', symbols that carried meanings about the subject. On 7th December 1702 a notice was placed in *The London Gazette* for a subject print commemorating William and Mary. It was 'adorn'd with figures, emblems, Histories, & c. to the Memories of the most Heroick Prince K.William III. And of his Excellent Princess Q.Mary; representing in one Broad side, 34 Inches long, and 26 Inches broad, the Grand Actions of that Monarch; particularizing his many Battles, Sieges, &c. Illustrated with Medals, Triumphal Arches and Fire-works: With both their Lives.' The figures and emblems communicated ideas about William and Mary's lives and reputations. On 13th February 1705 a notice was placed in *The Daily Courant* for a group portrait celebrating the battle of Blenheim. The image contained a 'variety of very significant Emblems and Hieroglyphicks upon that memorable Victory and its happy Consequence.'

Some of the surviving advertised portrait prints contain clear visual messages. In Vanderbank's 1686 portrait of James II (see figure 7) the King is represented with the accoutrements of British monarchy.[43] The frame is decorated with a crown, the English rose, the Scottish thistle, the lion and the unicorn, the shields of England, Scotland, Ireland and France and the text 'Jacobus 2 Dei Gratia Magnae Britania

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[43] See Appendix Four for illustrations.

Franciae & Hiberniae Rex. Fidei Defensor & c.' This national imagery proclaims James as the king of Britain, Ireland and France. James is also given a martial character by his depiction wearing armour.[44] The dressing of a sitter in armour was a common shorthand statement of military valour. Among the surviving advertised prints General Ginkel (see figure 18) and the Elector of Brunswick are also depicted in armour.

Robert White's portrait of Sir Thomas Pilkington, the Whig Lord Mayor of London, is similar to Vanderbank's James II in the devices it uses to draw attention to the sitter's status. Pilkington is depicted in mayoral robes with the sword, mace and shield of office decorating the frame. The text also asserts the sitter's status with the words 'Thrice successively Elected into that great office of Honour and Trust Under the Auspicious Government of their Majesties King William and Queen Mary.' When this portrait was advertised the Whigs' victories during the city election were in dispute by the Tories.[45] The language of the print asserts the legality of the election.

Other prints are less visually ornate but they still communicate meaning through text. In the portrait of the late Whig radical John Tutchin support for the sitter is shown in the text around the frame 'Pulchrum est pro patria mori.' Tutchin was supposed to have died after being beaten up in prison, where he had been thrown after opposition to the government. This print voices an opinion of Tutchin as a martyr. Text is also the method of communication in Robert White's group portrait of the Portsmouth

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[44] Gibson identifies the armorial pose of Charles II in his portraits. Gibson, K.M.B *"Best Belov'd of Kings" The Iconography of King Charles II,* 3 vols (Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1997). unpublished PhD p.94.
[45] See Chapter Four p.130.

captains who defied James II before the Glorious Revolution. The statement 'Pro Latria. Patria. Atria' signifies approval of the men.

These examples show that the design of portrait prints enabled them to communicate messages about the sitter. However, when a contemporary viewed a portrait print the greater part of his or her interpretation did not come from these visual elements but from what they already knew about the sitter.

Interpretation and the identity of the sitter

The greatest part of any portrait's meaning is the identity of the sitter. It provides the key to the interpretation of the image. If the viewer knows about the sitter then their interpretation of the portrait is affected by this knowledge.[46] The meaning of a portrait changes with the viewer's knowledge of the sitter's life. It also changes as the sitter's life progresses. In 1680 a person viewing a portrait of the Duke of York would have seen the image of an unpopular heir to the throne. In 1685 the same picture now represented the King and in 1688 it became the depiction of an exile. To the many people today who have never heard of James II it is just an antique. The purpose of this thesis is to revive these old portraits and show that they were once objects with meaning.

When a sitter was topical at the time of advertising this explains why the notice was placed. Our knowledge of the sitter's topicality is the key to understanding what was known about him or her and how the viewers interpreted the image in that brief period. When Shaftesbury's portrait was advertised in June 1680 he was involved in a

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[46] Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the head: portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven, 1993), p.81.

heated political campaign. The people who saw it would not have read it as a picture of the man he had been before the Exclusion Crisis, or of who he became in the following years. During this brief period this was a print of a Whig leader who was agitating against the government on the issue of the succession. In a similar way when Peter the Great's portrait was advertised at the time that he visited England the viewer's reading of the portrait would have been affected by this knowledge. This was not just a portrait of a Russian sovereign, this was a picture of an exotic visitor.

With the exception of diaries, letters and printsellers' records no other source material provides the key to the topical meaning that portrait prints had during such specific time periods. Of course it is possible to take any portrait print and study the sitter's biography to determine whether it would have been topical at particular times, but this method is artificial. The advertisements are an authentic record of moments in time when the sitter's topicality prompted a market demand for an image.

The use of advertisements also removes the bias towards studying prints in the context of the first year of their production. Copperplates could remain in use for decades and without the aid of advertisements it is impossible to tell if a print became the subject of topical demand when the image was already several years old.[47] The inscriptions and compositions of prints sometimes provide information about the sitters' topicality but in many cases they were kept deliberately neutral so that they could be resold in other circumstances.

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[47] On 24th August 1702 Christopher Browne used *The London Gazette* to advertise a set of Vanderbank prints he had purchased from the engraver's widow.

In metaphorical terms a topical portrait print advertisement can be described as the key that opens the door to the study of the possible contemporary interpretations of the print. The viewers' knowledge and opinions of the sitters affected their interpretations of the prints. Evidence for the knowledge and opinions that contemporary viewers may have had of the sitters can be found in texts and images. In the case of Peter the Great's portrait the key is that at the time of advertising he was a visitor to England. The advertisement tells the researcher that he or she must investigate contemporary texts and images that discuss Peter the Great and his visit in order to understand what the portrait could have meant to consumers in the month of its marketing. In this thesis topical advertisements open the door to the study of the contemporary interpretations of over a hundred separate portrait prints. It shows how the study of topical retail advertising can be used to understand the contemporary context and interpretation of artefacts like portrait prints. This text based method compliments the more image orientated approaches that are usually used in the interpretation of portraiture. This thesis has emerged from the largely museum-based field of seventeenth century print trade studies and its approach could one day be adapted to exhibitions that set artefacts in the context of contemporary interpretation.[48]

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that portrait print advertising in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* largely existed because of its relationship with topicality. Regular portrait print advertising began because retailers realised that it was the quickest way to promote topical prints to a wide audience before they became old news. No other

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[48] An example of this type of material culture exhibition can be seen in the British Galleries of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

form of marketing had both the speed and breadth of production and distribution. The majority of portrait print notices were topical because retailers had no need to promote other kinds of portraits in this particular way. The portrait prints were advertised because the retailers saw that the sitters' topicality had created a market demand for their images.

The findings in this chapter are useful for the future study of topical retail advertising because they provide a model for reference. The comparison between the portrait print notices and the print publishers' catalogues has shown that both were forms of topical marketing. The newspaper and *Term Catalogue* advertisements responded to a fleeting event and idea related topicality, whereas the print publishers' catalogues promoted portraits of sitters because they had long term fame. This has demonstrated that the nature of topical advertising depends on whether it is part of a periodical or a one-off publication.

This chapter has redefined the term *print trade advertising*. The development of single-sheet print advertising can only be fully comprehended if the complete marketing activities of all retailers who sold single-sheet prints are traced. This means that the evolution of book and map advertising also needs to be examined. When this has been carried out it will be possible to see the extent of the connections between the retailers who placed advertisements for books, maps and prints. It has been shown that maps were regularly advertised at least a decade earlier than portrait prints and that some single-sheet print retailers placed map advertisements in the 1670s. Chapter six shows that many maps were topically advertised. A more extensive study of the notices placed by single-sheet print retailers may show that topical portrait print

advertising was influenced by topical map advertising. Chapter three continues to explore the diversity of print trade advertising by identifying the different types of businesses that placed portrait print notices.

Chapter Three- Retailers, Consumers and the Focus on the Sitter

Portraits were regularly advertised in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* because retailers wanted to appeal to a wide market. These publications circulated throughout London and beyond, which ensured that a large number of people would see the advertisements. This chapter defines the extent of this readership and asks who amongst it was able to buy the advertised portrait prints. It shows that a broad spectrum of society across England had access to these publications and the possibility to purchase the prints. This explains why most of the advertised portrait prints depicted sitters who were topical at a national and international level. In terms of domestic sitters this broad market was only unified by the topicality of events that affected the entire country. That many advertisements were placed for portraits of participants in European wars suggests the presence of a widespread interest in continental affairs.

The fact that the majority of portrait prints were advertised because the sitters were topical is reflected in the language used in the advertisements. This chapter analyses this language to show that among the key listed selling points the identity of the sitter was the most important. This echoes the attitude of contemporary portrait print collectors who arranged their collections around the identities of the sitters. The advertisements show that the collectors' attitude was also that of the general market.

In chapter two it was shown that printsellers marketed other products besides single-sheet prints, and that single-sheet prints were advertised by booksellers. The diversity of the print trade is returned to at greater depth in the first section of this chapter in order to place the portrait print advertisements in their retail context. The information in this section is complimented by an appendix detailing biographies of the portrait print advertisers.

Portrait print retailers

The print publishers' catalogues show that printsellers not only sold single-sheet prints but also stocked maps, books and art material. Shops that specialised in prints alone did not begin to develop until the first third of the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century the printsellers also sold paintings. Paintings and prints were both described as pictures and the shops that sold them were called picture shops.[1] It is important to understand that the print specialists stocked a diverse range of goods because it places these businesses within a wider trade context than the term 'specialist printseller' might suggest. In 1659 Peter Stent, whose print publishing business was the largest in the city, placed an advert in *The Publick Intelligencer* for four copy-books, a book of 'The Anatomy of the inward parts of Man and Woman' and Fage's 'Description of the whole World.'[2] His catalogues included entries for single-sheet prints, maps, copy-books, and other engraved goods like 'Indentures, for to bind Apprentices.'[3] It also listed lesser known printed products that are barely heard of today like '12 plats, for to adorn Tobacco-boxes, much in use'[4] and 'A Book

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[1] Clayton, p.3.
[2] Globe, p.172.
[3] Globe, p.181.
[4] Globe, p.184.

of 6 Plats for Trenchers, 18. Leaves.'[5] His successor John Overton published catalogues in 1667 and 1669 that listed a similar variety of single-sheet prints, maps, copy-books and engraved goods like 'A Collection of several Signs and Badges for Inns, Taverns, or Victualling houses, to distinguish each Room by its Name, in Colours or other waies'[6] and a book or print of 'The Postures of Musket and Pike, useful for Practitioners thereof, as also for Officers.' His rival Robert Walton marketed a comparable selection of maps, single-sheet prints, prints in books, single page almanacs and copy-books.[7] In 1680 John Garrett advertised in the front and the back of *Albert Durer Revived,* a book that had been 'Printed by S. and B. Griffin, for John Garrett at his Shop, as you go up the Stairs of the Royal Exchange in Cornhil: where you may have choice of all sorts of large or small Maps: coloured, of uncoloured, variety or Dutch Prints: as also Colours ready prepared and ground, to colour Prints with, and very good Indian Ink to draw withal.' In the back he advertised maps, single-sheet prints and 'The New Horn-Book, or a Pleasant way to teach young Children to know their Letters.' In 1675 Arthur Tooker informed the world that at his shop there was 'choice of Maps, and also Italian, German, and the Low Countrey Prints, Indian Inks, Abortive Skins, all sorts of Paintings, and all Stationary Wares.' He also advertised single-sheet prints and 'Two Badges or Choice of Signs for Bars and Rooms.' The catalogue published by Henry Overton in 1717 advertised a similar range of single-sheet prints, maps, and copy-books.

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[5] Globe, p.178.
[6] John Overton, Catalogues, 1667 and 1669. See bibliography for full reference and catalogue location.
[7] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.17. Griffiths points out that Robert Walton's 1674 catalogue contains a vitriolic rant against John Overton. 'And this R.W. is the oldest in London of this way, and J.O. and several others are but Intruders into that they were never brought up to, and employ simple people as understand little, either of Arts or Reason in their work, though they may please or serve fools, and therefore I still truly say as doth the poet G.W. *When each man keeps to his own trade, Then all things will be better made.'* See bibliography for catalogue location.

The catalogues suggest that the overlap between print and mapselling was greater than that between print and bookselling. Thomas Jenner's 1662 catalogue is the one that contains the most advertisements for books. He marketed single-sheet prints, playing cards, maps, and emblem books like '*Divine Mysteries,* or 31 spirituall Emblems' and 'Emblems Satyricall and Epigrammaticall, by Talor [*sic*] the Water-Poet.'[8] He also advertised books like 'Book Treating of the Soul, in verse or in prose. A short Method of Physick, shewing all the diseases incident to the Body, with the Causes and the Cures of them. Book of the path of life, and the wayes leading to the Chambers of Death.' The evidence from the portrait print advertisements show that the overlap between the book and print trades was greater than the print publishers' catalogues suggest. This is demonstrated in the following pages which outline the different types of businesses that were involved in portrait print advertising.

There were different kinds of specialist printsellers. Clayton has identified two ranks of specialist printsellers in the seventeenth century. The highest class of picture shop was clustered around Covent Garden. These businesses belonged to Edward Cooper, Alexander Browne, Richard Tompson, Joseph Smith and Michael Hennekin. An advertisement has yet to be found for Richard Tompson but the other printsellers all placed notices discussed in this thesis. 'The tone of the next rank of print shops was perceptibly lower, although their turnover was often larger.'[9] There were four major businesses based in the area of the City. The oldest and largest belonged to John Overton. His son Henry Overton took over in 1707 and his other son Philip set up another shop in 1708. The Overtons placed several portrait print advertisements. The Overtons' principal rivals were the Bowles family. Thomas Bowles the elder set up in

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[8] Bernard Capp, 'Taylor, John (1578-1653)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27044, accessed 10 July 2005]
[9] Clayton, p.5.

1691 in St Paul's Churchyard and advertised just once in the survey. The third major business belonged to Christopher Browne who operated at the Globe at the west end of St. Paul's Churchyard. Browne advertised twice in the survey. Further east John King, who advertised twice in the survey, was selling prints at the Globe near Mansion House by 1702. Two more businesses of a similar kind operated to the west. From 1710 to 1726 Thomas Taylor, who advertised three times in the survey, sold prints at the Golden Lion in Fleet Street. A portrait print advertisement has yet to be found for Robert Hulton, 'the first printseller to set up west of Charing Cross in order to service the new developments around St James's Square.'[10] A number of smaller boutiques and stalls operated in Westminster Hall and the Royal Exchange.[11] All businesses sold cheap prints but there were no specialist publishers aiming solely at the lowest end of the market until the eighteenth century. The first of these was the Dicey family, who set up in the second third of the century.[12]

In 1698 the mapseller Philip Lea released a catalogue advertising a large number of maps, as well as mathematical projections and books, playing cards and single-sheet prints. The mapselling, bookselling and printselling trades were intertwined to such an extent that despite their differences they would benefit from being studied as one group. Sarah Tyacke's work on mapsellers who advertised in *The London Gazette* illustrates the point because it contains the names of several men who advertised portrait prints and who are familiar to print scholars and book trade specialists alike. These include the bookseller Thomas Bennet, the printsellers Christopher Browne and

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[10] Clayton, p.5.
[11] Clayton, p.7.
[12] O'Connell, pp. 55-60.

John Overton and the stationer Thomas Cockerill.[13] Other examples of businesses that traded in books, maps and prints can be found in Griffiths' dictionary of printsellers, which includes the bookseller Moses Pitt[14] who dealt in maps and prints and Robert Green[15] who dealt in maps and books and is known to have issued prints.[16] Both men placed portrait print advertisements. The portrait print advertisements are also evidence for the overlaps between the trades because they often end with the statement that a print could be bought from both 'Booksellers and Picture-Sellers.'[17]

Outside London prints were sold through a network of booksellers, wholesalers and auctioneers. On 2nd September 1689 the auctioneer Edward Millington placed an advertisement in *The London Gazette* for the sale of 'a Collection of curious Prints, Paintings, &c by the best Masters of Europe; together with many Choice and valuable Books' to be held at 'the Auction-Booth in Cooks Row in Sturbridge Fair near Cambridge.' On 19th August 1689 a notice was placed in the same newspaper for an auction of prints, paintings and miniatures at Mary's Tea-house in Tunbridge Wells. On 15th October 1698 an advertisement was placed in *The Post Man* for a portrait of the nine Lord Justices. It was sold by printsellers in London and Westminster and by the booksellers Hall and Green in Oxford and Cambridge respectively.

Single-sheet prints were also sold by businesses outside the usual print trade. In January 1703 advertisements for Baston's Royal Navy print listed as retailers Mr

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[13] See Appendix Two for full listing of portrait print advertisers. Sarah Tyacke, *London map-sellers, 1660-1720: a collection of advertisements for maps placed in the London Gazette, 1668-1719: with biographical notes on the map-sellers* (Tring, 1978)

[14] Griffiths, *Dictionary*, p.112.

[15] Green also advertised maps in *The London Gazette*. Tyacke p.13.

[16] Griffiths, *Dictionary*, p.66.

[17] *The London Gazette,* November 30-December 3 1691 'The True Effigies of his Grace, John, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Engraven by Rob White on a large Sheet of Paper. Price 12 d. Sold by B.Aylmer in Cornhil, W.Rogers in Fleetstreet, and most Booksellers and Picture-Sellers in Westminster.' See Appendix One for more examples.

Wansell the frame-maker in Tower street, Mr Armstrong's at the Ship Tavern in Paul's chain near Doctor's Common and the St Caecilia's Coffee-house at the corner of Peter's Court in St Martin's-Lane.[18] Further examples show that print sales could also be handled by goldsmiths,[19] linen drapers,[20] apothecaries[21] and jewellers.[22]

Enough booksellers advertised in the newspaper sample for them to be a factor that must be taken seriously. It is tempting to assume that when portrait prints were advertised by booksellers that they were only for use as frontispieces, but they were nearly always marketed with no indication that they were to be used as such.[23] Some advertisements placed by booksellers explicitly state that the prints were destined for wall display. On 7th January 1703 the booksellers Samuel Cope and Benjamin Bragg advertised Queen Anne's portrait in *The Post Man* with the words that 'you may have them in black frames for two shillings and six pence; also finely painted gilded and Glass before them to the price of five pounds.'

In the 1680s many of the portrait print advertisements were placed by the self-publishing engravers and specialist printsellers but others were placed by the booksellers Thomas Simmons, William Crook, Walter Davies, Dorman Newman, Moses Pitt, Jacob Sampson and J.Hindmarsh. From 1690 more booksellers became involved in portrait print advertising in newspapers so that perhaps slightly less than half of the businesses were in the book trade. The proportion of booksellers advertising portrait prints in *The Term Catalogues* is higher, which is to be expected

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[18] *The London Gazette,* January 6, 1703.
[19] *The London Gazette,* October 6, 1692.
[20] *The London Gazette,* September 25, 1701.
[21] *The Post Man,* August 12, 1704.
[22] *The Flying Post,* March 14, 1702.
[23] The exception to this is the portrait of Matthew Poole advertised by Thomas Simmons in *The Term Catalogues,* June 1680.

as it was a book trade advertising publication. Approximately two thirds of the businesses involved were booksellers.

Several booksellers advertise the portraits of the authors they dealt in. The bookseller Anne Speed advertised Vertue's portrait of William Dawes when he was Bishop of Chester and later when he was Archbishop of York. Many of Dawes' writings were published first by Thomas and then later by Anne Speed.[24] When Dryden died in 1700 the bookseller Jacob Tonson advertised his portrait. Tonson was Dryden's publisher.[25] The bookseller William Crook advertised Thomas Hobbes' portrait in 1680 at the same time as he appears to have produced an illicit copy of *Leviathan.* In 1709 when booksellers Bragg and Meere advertised John Tutchin's portrait it was probably intended as a frontispiece because back copies of *The Observator*, the newspaper that Tutchin had edited, were promoted in the same notice.

Some of the booksellers advertising in the newspaper sample were involved in the newspaper trade itself. These are the bookseller and political writer Abel Roper, who started *The Post Boy* in 1695, William Hurt who printed *The Flying Post* in 1711 and H.Meere, printer of *The Daily Post* and *The British Journal.*[26] Benjamin Bragg published several of Defoe's writings and printed Dunton's *Whipping Post* in 1706.[27] Their presence in the sample is evidence of just how entwined the connections between portrait prints, their advertisers, print culture and the news trade could be.

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[24] http://www.copac.ac.uk/.
[25] Raymond N. MacKenzie, 'Tonson, Jacob, the elder (1655/6-1736)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article 27540, accessed 10 July 2005] Paul Hammond, 'Dryden, John (1631-1700)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article 8108, accessed 10 July 2005]
[26] Henry R.Plomer, *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (London, 1922), pp.148, 202. Griffiths' dictionary shows that many booksellers sold single-sheet prints. These include Thomas Archer, William Battersby and Nicholas Bourne, pp.4,13,28.
[27] Plomer, p.47.

In some cases what we know of the booksellers' other publications provides context for the portrait print advertisements. Thomas Simmons was a bookseller who also published many broadsides and pamphlets during the Popish Plot. His notice for Matthew Pool's portrait in 1680 could be seen as a continuation of this. Samuel Keble was a bookseller specialising in divinity. In 1703 he advertised the 'Remarkable Sayings of King Charles the Martyr' with his portrait on one large sheet of paper. The Tory Anglicans appropriated the martyr's image and Keble might have stocked other products of interest to them. Bibliographic searches failed to find anything related to Charles I published by Keble between 1700 and 1703 except for the broadsheet itself. [28]

Among the other booksellers advertising in the sample Thomas Bassett was a large scale bookseller publishing mostly law books.[29] Randal Taylor was a minor bookseller who published a few large prints. John Nutt was a printer and bookseller who published portraits, plans of battles and topical prints.[30] On 7th January 1703 Nutt and the bookseller Samuel Cope placed an advertisement in *The Post Man* for a portrait of Queen Anne and all her speeches to parliament on a single sheet. The bookseller John Wyatt also advertised by himself 'An oration sacred to the Imperial Majesty of Queen Anne' in *The London Gazette* of 23rd January 1707. The bookseller George Sawbridge, who published many scientific books, advertised two portrait prints in the sample. The first of these was a broadside carrying Charles I's portrait in *The Daily Courant* on 23rd July 1703. The second was a portrait of Charles Leslie in

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[28] Microfilm. London: British Library. 1 reel(149fr.); 35 mm. (a c). Neg: PB.Mic.18816. Pos: Mic.A.19855.
[29] See Appendix Two.
[30] Clayton, p.9.

The Daily Courant of 7th October 1715. The bookseller Thomas Bennet advertised a portrait of Marlborough engraved by Van Gunst in *The Daily Courant* of 28th March 1706. In *The Post Man* of 24th April 1707 the booksellers Feltham and Sanger advertised a Van Gunst portrait described in the notice as Charles II of Spain but probably of the pretender Charles III.[31] In *The Tatler* of 8th July 1710 the booksellers Whitledge and Lintot advertised a sheet carrying Queen Anne's portrait and speech to parliament. The bookseller J. Baker advertised a portrait of Prince Eugene in 1712 and Queen Anne's portrait with a summary of her life in *The Daily Courant* of 3rd September 1714. In 1708 the bookseller J. Goudge advertised a print of Anne and George in *The Daily Courant* of 22nd November 1708. In 1708 the bookseller John Morphew advertised Prince Eugene's picture with his prayer in *The Daily Courant* of 18th August.

The links between different types of printselling businesses is demonstrated when retailers placed notices in partnership. It was usually not enough for the engraver to make sales from his house alone. Many of the advertisements placed by engravers like Vanderbank and White end with words to the effect that the print was also available at 'most Picture-sellers in London and Westminster'.[32] Sometimes, as was the case with the engraver John Savage, who on 15th October 1698 advertised his print in *The Post Man* with the help of booksellers Green and Hall, the engraver went into partnership with other businesses. Robert White sold some prints in conjunction with Jacob Tonson. For example in 1697 he advertised his portrait of the Grand Czar of Muscovy in partnership with the bookseller in *The London Gazette* of 8th November. In 1707

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[31] Plomer, p.116.

[32] *The London Gazette,* February 2-February 5, 1701.
'The Effigies of the Grecian Archbishop of Philopopoli: Taken from the Life, and engraven by R.White. Sold at his House in Bloomsbury-market, and by most Picture-sellers in London and Westminster.'

the engraver Joseph Nutting and the music and picture seller Henry Playford advertised a portrait of Charles I and eighteen of the chief nobility who suffered for him in *The Daily Courant* of 31st January 1707. In 1714 the bookseller Richard Smith and the engraver Vandergucht advertised a portrait of William Beveridge, late Lord Bishop of St Asaph in *The Post Boy* of 4th March 1714. The mezzotinter John Simon advertised prints in partnership with specialist printsellers Edward Cooper and Henry Overton in *The Post Man* of 14th February 1712 and *The Post Boy* of 21st April 1713.

The diversity of this group of retailers shows that the boundaries of London's print culture trades blurred into each other. Portrait print advertising is not only relevant to studies focused on the specialist printsellers but also to scholars investigating the history of the book trade. Chapter six shows that topical retail advertising was dominated by printed goods. It is likely that the overlaps in the print, book and map trades led to common advertising practices being adopted for the promotion of all three types of good. The blurred boundaries also show that studies of single-sheet print sales and distribution need to pay more attention to the work of book and map trade specialists on the same subject. This was realised too late in the writing of this thesis for it to be incorporated into the next section, which uses distribution practices as evidence for the number of consumers who had access to single-sheet prints.

Readers of adverts and buyers of prints

The advertisements in the survey were directed towards a very wide pool of newspaper readers and potential buyers of prints. This section explores the ways in which this group is defined.

Newspaper readership

Literacy rates are not a good indicator of newspaper readership because it is not easy to say who could and couldn't 'read.' Reading was taught before writing so that many more people could read than could sign their name.[33] The type of material that could be read also differed. Script was more difficult to read than print for those who could not write and black letter type was easier for less educated readers than Roman type. 'In the early modern period, therefore, there was an elaborate hierarchy of literacy skills; and this makes it hard to determine just what proportion of the population was 'literate.'' [34] Even the inability to read print would not have stopped a person from 'reading' the newspaper because of the social activity of reading aloud.[35]

Evidence for distribution can also be used to examine the extent of readership. Newspaper reading was not just a London phenomenon although the highest proportion of readers was in the capital. Papers were available in the scores of coffee houses which had been established in the provinces by the late 1670s. [36] There were already several in Oxford and Cambridge by the 1660s and the ones in Bristol were causing political concern by the mid-1670s. Pincus records other examples in York, Nottingham and Plymouth.[37] In his discussion of the London corantos of the 1620s Michael Frearson makes the case for the existence of a widespread national readership of seventeenth-century English serials.[38] Frearson pinpoints the London carriers, the bookselling network and the public postal service from 1635 as the means of

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[33] Tessa Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991), p.7.
[34] Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England' in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition* ed., Gerd Baumann (Oxford, 1986), pp.97-131 (p.101).
[35] Fox, p.37.
[36] Fox, p.405.
[37] Pincus, pp.813-14.
[38] Michael Frearson, 'The distribution and readership of London corantos in the 1620s,' in *Serials and their readers 1620-1914,* eds Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, 1993), pp.1-26.

distribution.[39] James Sutherland found evidence for this in an advert in *The Daily Courant* of 26th November 1702.[40] 'The News of every Post-Day's Courant is printed on the Back of the News of the Day before, upon a whole sheet of Writing-Paper, a Blank left for the Conveniency of sending it by the Post.'

In this motor-driven age it is easy to assume that communications around early modern England were sluggish to non-existent but evidence to the contrary shows the potential that newspapers had to be distributed over long distances. Adam Fox has demonstrated the speed of news transmission by printed, written and spoken word.[41] Tessa Watt has discussed the mobility of ballads,[42] and Margaret Spufford has examined the widespread distribution of chapbooks. She writes: 'If the chapmen bought books as one of their specialities purchased for a return journey from London, these books had a real, if highly erratic, chance of spreading even to the highest Pennines.'[43] Britain was crossed by a network of trade routes and newspapers, like other goods, had the potential to reach any part of it. Lorna Weatherill's work on the spread of consumer goods ownership across the English regions is a demonstration of this.[44]

Newspaper advertisements also provide evidence of a readership outside London because some refer to events and places outside London. On 25th October 1686 an advertisement was placed in *The London Gazette* for information on an abducted

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[39] Frearson, p.7.
[40] James Sutherland, 'The circulation of newspapers and literary periodicals, 1700-30,' *The Library*, 4th ser., 15 (1934-5), 110-24 (p.110).
[41] Fox, pp.343-374.
[42] Watt, pp.32, 273.
[43] Margaret Spufford, *Small books and pleasant histories: popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth-century England* (London, 1981), pp.120-121.
[44] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (London, 1996)

slave taken from 'Bangor near Wrexham'. The notice asked for information to be sent to the slave owner near Wrexham or to Mr John Elmore at Exeter-Change Coffee-house in the Strand.' On 2nd July 1685 an advert was placed in the same paper for information on a theft from Mr George Porter's house near Worcester. Information was asked to be sent to Porter's house or Joseph Randal in London. On 3rd December 1685 a notice was placed for information on a horse that had been lost from Downham Market in Norfolk. On 23rd May 1689 a notice informed readers that catalogues for the sale of Lord Maitland's art collection were available from a number of London businesses and Mr Shirly in Oxford and Mr Dawson in Cambridge. On 19th August 1689 an advert was placed for an auction at Tunbridge Wells and then another on 2nd September for an auction near Cambridge. However most notices refer to events in London. Hannah Barker is almost certainly correct when she writes that 'There is little doubt that the proportion of newspaper readers was higher in the capital than anywhere else during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.'[45]

Figures for actual newspaper circulation survive in contemporary government papers. In 1704 when the stamp tax was proposed, estimates were made for current circulation. Then in 1712 when it was introduced figures became available in tax records. The most widely circulated paper was *The London Gazette*. The 1704 estimate gave *The London Gazette* a six thousand per issue estimate. Surviving sales records for 1705-1707 show that circulation rarely dropped below seven thousand and that on occasion it exceeded eight thousand.[46] *The Daily Courant* had a daily circulation of eight hundred in 1704 and by the first months of the stamp tax had reached between nine hundred and a thousand a day. *The Flying Post* had an

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[45] Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, politics and English society, 1695-1855* (Harlow, 2000), p.47.
[46] H.L.Snyder, 'The circulation of newspapers in the reign of Queen Anne,' *The Library*, 5th ser., 23 (1968), pp.206-35 (p.216).

estimated readership of four hundred in 1704 and in 1712 a circulation of between one thousand four hundred and one thousand six hundred and fifty per issue. Each of the thrice-weekly copies of *The Post Boy* had a circulation of three thousand a week in 1704. The tri-weekly *The Post Man* was estimated at three thousand eight hundred per number in 1704, reaching four thousand on Saturdays.[47] Newspaper readership cannot be accurately deduced from surviving circulation figures because each paper could be read by more than one person. Sutherland estimates that there were twenty readers for each paper.[48] This tallies with contemporary observations. Joseph Addison thought that at least twenty people read each copy of the *Spectator* [49] and Charles Leslie, author of *The Rehearsal*, noted at the very beginning of the eighteenth century that 'the greatest part of the people do not read books, most of them cannot read at all. But they will gather together about one that can read, and listen to an Observator or Review.'[50] The twenty readers per paper estimate suggests that if a portrait print advertisement was placed in *The London Gazette* in 1705-7 at times as many as a hundred and sixty thousand people could have seen it. Even an advert in a lower circulation newspaper like *The Flying Post* could have been read by over twenty thousand people. It seems unlikely that every copy was read by twenty people so these figures may be an overestimate of readership.

The portrait print advertisements that were placed in newspapers had the potential to reach consumers in any part of England although readership was probably higher in London. Those placed in *The Term Catalogues* would also have circulated through the

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47 Snyder, pp.210-11.
48 Sutherland, 'The circulation of newspapers,' p.124.
49 Barker, p.46.
50 Barker, p.53.

provinces. The next section asks who among these readers had access to prints and the money to buy them.

Defining print ownership wealth, region and trade capabilities

Some evidence of print ownership can be garnered from inventories. Lorna Weatherill's work on inventories between 1660 and 1760 reveals that the ownership of household goods including pictures (a category covering both paintings and prints) varied between regions, inside regions, between occupations and inside social groups. Over the period studied by this thesis ownership of decorative goods like prints increased in many regions. From Weatherill's evidence between 1675 and 1725 picture ownership appears to have been the highest among the trades, the clergy, the professions and the gentry, appearing in between 29% and 35% of inventories. The lowest rates of ownership were found among those working in the agricultural sector. No small farmers were found owning pictures at all.[51] When Weatherill contrasted English localities she found that between 1675 and 1725 37% of London inventories included pictures, followed by 25% for the North-East, 16% for East Kent, 9% for Cambridgeshire and the North-West and below 5% for Hampshire, Cumbria and the North-West Midlands.[52] The highest concentration was found in London because this was the centre for supply. Despite being so far north the North-East ranked highly for the possession of household goods because of return trade from the export of coal to London. This meant that many household and consumer items were more readily available here than almost anywhere else in England outside London.[53]

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[51] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer behaviour and material culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London, 1996), p.168.
[52] Weatherill, p.44.
[53] Weatherill, p.52.

It must be asked how expensive the advertised prints were in contemporary terms. Where price is mentioned the most typical were 6d., 1s and 1s 6d. In comparison in 1708 other luxuries like tobacco ranged from 12d. to 20d. a pound. the best French brandy cost 2s 6d. a quart and port wine 8d. a pint.[54] In Weatherill's survey of inventories between 1660 and 1760 the range of values for relative necessities like tables was 3s to 4s, pewter plates 6d. to 2s, knives and forks 6d. to 8d. each and curtains at 1s to 4s. She also found that books sat in a very wide range of 6d. to 4s.[55] This means that the portrait prints were significant purchases, in some cases costing as much or more than pewter plates, half as much as a table and more than the cheapest curtains. Those who could most easily afford to buy portrait prints would have come from the wealthier sections of society.

Measurement of a person's wealth at death provides another gauge against which to measure how expensive the prints were. In Weatherill's sample the mean value of household goods in gentry inventories was £56, for merchants £46, for innkeepers £44, for booksellers £36, for tanners £21, for grocers £19, for spinsters of no occupation £8 and for labourers £5. If a labourer's household goods included a one shilling print it would be worth 0.01% of the total. If a member of the gentry owned a one shilling print it would be 0.0009%. This shows that a 1s print would have been a larger part of a labourer's expenditure than it would have been for a member of the gentry but it was not beyond possibility. This calculation is rather crude because in reality whether either a labourer or a member of the gentry could actually afford to buy a one shilling print would have depended on the availability of cash and the prioritisation of household expenditures.

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[54] Clayton, p.22.
[55] Weatherill, p.110.

The example of the incomes of specific historical individuals found by Weatherill provides another way to gauge who could afford to buy prints. Weatherill estimates that the successful early eighteenth-century doctor James Yonge probably earned several hundred pounds a year. The well-to-do shopkeeper William Stout seems to have made, after household expenses, between £100 and £150 a year. This increased to over £200 in the early 1720s. Members of the gentry could have even more, in 1686-1688 Timothy Burrell had an income of about £300 a year.[56] In 1659 the Essex clergyman Ralph Josselin earned £80 a year from his ecclesiastical living. At the lower end of the scale in the Midlands a skilled potter could earn up to 10s a week with an annual income of £20. Unskilled potters could perhaps earn 6s a week.[57] Without knowing the non-cash sources of income and the expenditures of each group it is difficult to say exactly what impact the purchase of a one shilling print would have had. It seems that whilst its purchase would have been financially insignificant to a doctor like James Yonge it was not out of the reach of an unskilled potter in the Midlands.

The evidence from Weatherill's research opens up the idea of who could have owned the portrait prints. In showing that the gentry, the clergy, the professions and the dealing trades had the highest rate of picture ownership and that Londoners owned more household goods than other regions it seems to support the assumption that the most typical print owner was a well-to-do Londoner. However it also refutes it by showing that it was also possible for people as far from London as the North-East and as low down the hierarchy as labourers to own prints.

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[56] Weatherill, p.102.
[57] Weatherill, p.100.

Print ownership can also be defined by the trade's capabilities. The ownership of a particular print could not exceed the number produced and the limitations of the distribution network. The minimum number of prints produced for each edition was probably between three and five hundred. However the copperplate could be reused until it wore out so that several thousand copies could be produced if a print was in demand. This was the case with Vertue's portrait of George I. Printing was a slow process, for example in 1754 the copperplate printer Henry Lewis could only produce thirty prints a day.[58] It is not known how many copies the retailers had prepared when they advertised portrait prints. This is an important point because it affects the number of people who could display a print when it was at its most topical, such as in periods of celebration. Some of the advertisements contain the words 'This day is published' but this does not give a clue to the numbers. It is possible that where advertisers had advance warning of events when prints would be topical they were able to produce large numbers of copies but that in other cases they were printed off to meet demand. When prints were ordered by letter from the provinces this gave the retailer time to produce extra copies. This point is returned to in chapters four and five where evidence is presented for the timing of each advert.

Prints were readily available to consumers in London because it was the supply centre. Clayton points to the use of the booksellers' provincial correspondence network as a means of regional distribution. 'Booksellers in the principal towns supplied others in the smaller market towns and 'travelling hawkers' who served rural

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[58] Clayton, p.22.

areas.'[59] In an age when Samuel Pepys could ask his nephew to send back prints from Rome it was not impossible for the advertised portrait prints to be dispersed around Britain.[60] Even without retail networks it was always possible for prints to travel across country via the postal service and in the bags of travelling friends and family.

In short the evidence surveyed by this section shows that almost anybody with an income could have seen an advertisement and obtained a print. It was certainly easier for a wealthy and literate London gentleman than for an illiterate labourer in the northern borders but it was not beyond the realms of possibility and a wide range of potential consumers exist between these two extremes. The key factor in defining the consumer for the advertised portrait prints is not the ability to buy but the inclination to do so. The survey of advertisements in chapters four and five reveal some of the reasons why consumers might have been inclined to buy prints. The next section explains how the language of advertising can be examined to determine which aspects of a print were most important to consumers.

The language of newspaper advertisements for portrait prints

The selling points listed in newspaper advertisements.

During the period under study the majority of newspaper advertisements for portrait prints follow a standard format. Robert White's advertisement from *The London Gazette* of 25th January 1703 is a characteristic example.

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[59] Clayton, pp.9-11.
[60] Jan van der Waals, 'The Print Collection of Samuel Pepys,' *Print Quarterly*, 1 (1984), 236-57 (p.239).

> The True Effigies of Her present Majesty Queen ANNE: In a Royal Sheet: Taken from the last Original drawn by the Life by sir Godfrey Kneller. Engraven by R.White; and sold at his House in Bloomsbury-Market.

It is typical in length for a notice promoting just one portrait. The citation of the sitter first and retailer last occurs in nearly every advertisement. The prominence of the sitter's name shows that this was the key selling point. In approximately half of the newspaper advertisements the sitter's name is prefaced or followed with a phrase attesting to the authenticity of the likeness. 'True Effigies' was found most frequently but other terms included 'true Pourtraicture', 'the true and lively', 'the true and exact Picture', 'Done from the Life' and 'A most exact Draught.' A few notices were more specific, Matthew Pool's portrait was described as 'so well performed upon a Copper Plate, as to represent his True Idea to all that knew him.' Henry Overton's advertisement for George I's portrait in 1714 uniquely includes the expression 'A fine (and very like) Print.'

The phrase 'Taken from the last Original drawn by the Life by sir Godfrey Kneller' also serves to certify the authenticity of the likeness. The images in portrait prints had diverse origins. Some reproduced paintings and others were copied from prints, medals, monuments and life drawings.[61] Robert White's advertisement promotes the quality of the likeness by connecting it to an original work taken from life by an eminent artist. A number of advertisements give very detailed provenances for the images that the prints reproduce. This is clearly designed to underline the authenticity of the likeness. The 1664 advertisement for Nicholas Serini's portrait bears the words

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[61] See Griffiths, 'Early Mezzotint Publishing in England- II' for examples of prints reproduced from paintings.

'Taken from an original presented to the Kings most Excellent Majesty.' In 1697 Tonson and White advertised their portrait of the Czar with the phrase 'by an original, sent from the Hague by a Person of Honour.' John Overton advertised his rival print with the words 'The Original Plate of the Effigies of the Grand Czar of Moscovy; Engraven in Holland, is lately brought into England.' In 1701 Robert White gave a very detailed provenance for the origin of his portrait of the King of Sweden. It was 'taken from a Picture of his Majesty on Horseback as big as the Life, in the custody of Sir Jacob Banks, Kt. Which he had from his Excellency Count Bondes, late Ambassador here.'

Just over two thirds of the newspaper advertisements consulted for this study indicated the source of the portrait by mentioning the artist, engraver, designer or the image that the print reproduced. The sample is too small for real statistical analysis but overall it can be said that there was no obvious correlation between the price of the print, the identity of the advertiser and mention of image origin.

On occasions when several prints of the same sitter were on the market advertisers sought to bolster their product's status with extra statements of authenticity. In 1710 Philip Overton's advertisement for Henry Sacheverell's portrait declared that it was the 'only true Print of the Effigies...To distinguish this from Counterfeits, it has besides the Painters Name, that of Andrew Johnson at the Bottom, all others being imperfect Copies, and not taken from the Painting.' In 1686 when Alexander Browne and Isaac Beckett advertised prints after the same painting by Largilliere Browne's two notices distinguished his print as the authorised version with the words 'the best that have been yet made' and 'after the last Original Paintings of Mr. Largilliere, and

exactly Corrected by himself, the Lest [last] that have been made yet, are now finished.' [62]

Robert White's advertisement includes the words 'In a Royal Sheet.' Other notices also referred to the type and size of the paper. Common descriptions included 'Imperial Paper,' 'large Imperial Sheet of Paper', 'Royal Paper, 'large Sheet of Paper' and 'a fair Sheet of Papers.' Paper type and size were important selling points because they affected the quality of the portrait. Approximately half of the newspaper advertisements cited paper size or type.

Robert White's advertisement does not refer to some of the other print features commonly described in portrait print notices. A limited number of phrases were used to describe the quality of the printmaking process in approximately half of the newspaper sample. These included 'curiously Engraven', 'ingenuously engraved', 'finely Engrav'd', 'well Engrav'd', 'neatly engraven', 'curiously Engraven by skilful Hands', 'curiously perform'd', 'Curiously done in Mezotinto' and 'very finely done'. In the early modern period 'curiously done' meant that it had been carefully and attentively executed.[63] To fully understand how quality was marketed one must also consider whether and how the printmaker was mentioned. The mention of a printmaker with a good reputation was a mark of quality. In Tonson's advertisement for Dryden's portrait, placed in *The Post Boy* of 14th May 1700, the phrase 'Engraven at Paris by the famous Hand of Monsieur Eldelnick' is used.[64] Smith's advertisement in *The Post Boy* of 6th September 1712 uses the phrase 'curiously engraven by some

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[62] Griffiths concludes that Beckett and Browne both reproduced the same painting because of a misunderstanding over who had the right to do so. *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.236.
[63] OED, Vol.4, pp.145-146.
[64] This is the engraver Gérard Edelinck.

of the best Masters in Rome.' On 17th March 1701 Nutt's advertisement in *The London Gazette* included the phrase 'from the best Originals by skilful Hands.'

The language of the advertisements shows that their authors' main concern was to present the name of the sitter, the authenticity of the likeness and the quality of the print. The composition is mentioned less often and this shows that in most cases marketing was directed towards consumers who were primarily motivated by the desire to have a good quality image of a specific sitter. For readers who were familiar with the productions of portrait painters and printmakers the names of the artists and engravers/mezzotinters may have given them an idea of what to expect from the print. The most common compositional descriptions refer to the portrait type, such as half-length, full-length or equestrian. In 1689 when Robert White advertised William and Mary's portrait he signified that it would be of interest to those interested in the coronation by saying that they were pictured 'with Their Crowns on, and Coronation Robes.'

Only a small number of advertisements describe the decoration in the area surrounding the portrait. This is no doubt largely because many portrait prints had quite plain surrounds. This can be seen when looking at photographs of the advertised portrait prints that have been identified in museum collections (see appendix). When prints had highly decorative surrounds this fact was not necessarily referred to in the advertisement. This is the case with Nutting and Playford's 1707 notice for the group portrait of Charles I and the eighteen nobles and Robert White's 1682 Russian ambassador portrait (see figure 14). In contrast in the same year Henry Peart's print of the Bantam ambassador was described in great detail 'Adorned with Umbrello's,

supported by two of His Slaves, with all his Titles in English and Malaian Characters.' The number of advertisements that refer to the decorated surround is so low that it is not possible to detect any characteristic that sets these prints apart. It may well be the case that prints with ornate calligraphic detail or emblems were more likely to have descriptive advertisements. Cope and Bragg's notice of 1703 described a print with emblematic elements. Queen Anne was depicted with 'the emblems of Religion, and Wisdom on the right hand, Justice and Moderation on the left hand: also an Essay upon the Character of her most sacred Majesty.' Other factors might include advertiser preference or the necessity to add more description to differentiate the product from rival images. The overall scarcity of descriptions like this in the advertisements shows that most printsellers did not consider it to be a necessary selling point and that it was of less importance than the identity of the sitter and the authenticity and quality of the image. Study of the sample suggests that these descriptions were of most importance as selling points when the advertisers were promoting prints with unusual compositions. This certainly seems to be the case with Charles Woodfield's group portrait commemorating the victory at Blenheim. It was 'above a Foot square, engrav'd by a good Hand after a Drawing of Mr Cha.Woodfield. In which is represented in large Figures at whole length the Queen, D.of Marlborough, E.of Bavaria, and M.Tallard, besides variety of very significant Emblems and Hieroglyphicks upon that memorable Victory and its happy Consequence. With a View of the Battle and Danube, & c.'

Some advertisements also attempted to sell portrait prints by telling readers how they could be used. In 1680 Matthew Pool's portrait was advertised as a frontispiece. In 1691 Thomas Basset's advertisement for a large map sized print of the royal family

from the heptarchy to William and Mary was described as 'Contrived both for Use and Ornament.' The advertisers of Woodfield's print suggested that 'This Piece is about the size of the Elements, and being done in a Circle after the manner of them, will serve very properly to be placed with them.' In 1708 Morphew advertised Prince Eugene's prayer as 'fit to be put into Frames, and hung up in all Families.' The same idea was repeated in Baker's advert of 1712.

A few adverts suggested a moral imperative to buy the prints. Goudge's 1708 notice for Prince George's portrait, advertised not long after his death, bears the words: 'design'd for Frames, to perpetuate the Memory of his Royal Highness's great Actions.' In 1710 Whitledge and Lintot appealed to monarchism by suggesting that purchasers of Queen Anne's portrait and her speech to parliament should buy in bulk. 'Those that would buy Numbers to give away, may have them printed on a small Paper for 25 Shillings per Hundred.' Baker's advert for Queen Anne's portrait after her death in 1714 bore the words 'Recommended to all those who value Her Sacred Memory.'

A few advertisements offered a choice of the print with or without frame. In *The Post Man* of 7th January 1703 Cope and Bragge advertised Queen Anne's portrait 'in black frames for two shillings and six pence; also finely painted gilded and Glass before them to the price of five pounds.' This in itself is interesting because it shows that prints were displayed on the wall. George Sawbridge's advert for Charles I's pious instructions was also advertised as 'to be put into Frames.'

The language of the newspaper advertisements shows that the sitter was the most important selling point. Chapters four and five of this thesis demonstrate that the sitters' topicality was the prime factor behind marketing patterns. The sitters' topicality was only infrequently referred to in the wording of the advertisements themselves. This is no doubt because consumers were expected to already know why the sitters were topical. In 1686 John Oliver described his sitter as 'the Valiant and Victorious Prince Charles the V of Lorrain', assuming that the reader knew about the victory at Buda. In April 1682 when Robert White advertised 'His Excellency the Embassador of Morocco, with the manner of his riding on Horseback & c' he expected the reader to know that the ambassador had attracted attention for his horsemanship in Hyde Park.[65] Examples of notices that make more explicit reference to the sitters' topicality include Robert White's advertisement for the Portsmouth captains, 'who were turn'd out, for refusing to receive Irish [in] their Companies.' placed in *The Orange Gazette* of 19th February 1689 and the 1664 notice for 'a Monstrous Tartar taken in Hungary by Count Serini.' In some cases extra description of the sitter may have been supplied when they were less topical and there was a greater need to explain who they were. In June 1713 Philip Overton's advert for the print of Sir John Holt's monument bears the words 'that Great Man Sir John Holt, Knt. Late Lord Chief Justice of England.' Henry Overton's advert for George Vertue's portrait of Sir John Blencowe, placed in 1713, describes him as 'one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas.'

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[65] *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn,* p.391. Evelyn wrote that the Moroccan ambassador: 'went often to Hyde Park on horseback, where he and his retinue showed their extraordinary activity in horsemanship, and flinging and catching their lances at full speed; they rode very short, and could stand upright at full speed, managing their spears with incredible agility.'

Advertisements for portrait prints in *The Term Catalogues* are very similar to those found in the newspapers. Several advertisements in the sample appeared in both the newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* with little or no change in format. The only noticeable difference is that because *The Term Catalogues* were published less frequently than newspapers, printsellers were more likely to advertise in bulk, promoting several prints together.

Entries for portrait prints in the print publishers' catalogues are completely unlike those found in the newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* but they confirm that the sitter was the most important selling point. The publishers' catalogues contain entries for large numbers of prints and other products. The entries had to be short and this is very revealing of which selling points were considered to be the most important. In the other advertisements the retailer had more space to mention less important selling points, in the publishers' catalogues only the most important points appeared.

The majority of portraits and other kinds of prints are only described by the name of the sitter or the title of the item. With the exception of copybooks, authorship is also very infrequently mentioned for the books, maps and other products promoted in the catalogues. The evidence from the publishers' catalogues suggests that in most cases in the marketing of prints the identity of the printmaker was less important than that of the sitter.

The British Museum possesses the catalogue of a print auction held at Leeds on 26th November 1716. It is referred to as the Thoresby catalogue because Antony Griffiths

has identified that it belonged to the print collector and diarist Ralph Thoresby.[66] It advertises over a hundred maps, subject prints and portraits. It is similar to the print publishers' catalogues because each entry is given very briefly. In the majority of cases the subject of the print is given rather than the image's originator. Most portrait prints are described by the sitter's name alone. In just a few cases the artist is mentioned but not the subject. When the artist's name was given this shows that they were recognised for the quality of their work.

'Large Heads. By Vanderbank

Large Heads of Princes & C. By Gulson'

All of the surviving portrait print advertising material supports the idea that in the majority of cases the identity of the sitter was the most important selling point. Prints were sometimes advertised because they were the work of eminent engravers but these examples were in the minority. The next section shows that the emphasis on the sitter in portrait print advertising was a reflection of wider cultural attitudes towards portraiture.

Portraits as a record of the sitter

Chapters four and five demonstrate that the topicality of the sitters determined patterns of advert placement. The examination of advertising language also confirms that the sitter's name was a primary selling point. It is necessary to stress these facts to show that most marketing did not rely on the reputation of the artist. This might be a

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[66] Antony Griffiths, pers. comm. *A Large and curious collection of maps and prints Colour'd and Plain; fit for Halls, chimney-Pieces, stair-Cases, closets, & C. Which will be expos'd to SALE by way of AUCTION; (or who bids most) On Thursday the 22 of November 1716 at the Royall Oack in briggate Leeds beginning at four a Clock.* British Museum Sale Catalogues, Vol. 1, 1716-1800, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.

surprise to non-specialists who are used to our present artist-driven culture but not to those familiar with print scholarship.

Studies of portrait print collecting in the early modern era reveal a pattern of choice on the basis of the sitters. Collectors bought prints that would allow them to build up a people map of contemporary life or history, or as Pointon describes it: 'a complete map which, like the world of plants, would be open to taxonomic investigation.'[67] In John Evelyn's *Numismata*, published in 1697, the writer organises the ideal portrait print collection into categories of sitter that encompass the good and the bad as well as the male and the female. Evelyn recommends hundreds of names under categories that include: 'Scholars and Divines; Historians, Chronologers, Antiquaries, Rhetoricians, Grammarians; Critics, Orators, Poets, and extraordinary Wits; Philologers, Philosophers; Physicians and Naturalists; Chymists, Botanists; Mathematicians, Musicians; Juris-Consults and Lawyers; Great Travellers and Discoverers.' He notes at the end of the list: 'but especially (and which indeed I should have named in the first place) the Heads and Effigies of Emperors, Kings, Princes and other renowned Persons, conspicuous for their Birth, Title, Courage, Counsel and Policy, or any Famous and Heroic Exploits by Sea or Land; in Church or State.'[68]

Evelyn's friend Samuel Pepys also divided his collection into categories of sitter. Jan van der Waals has shown that the portraits were arranged historically, hierarchically and topographically in accordance with the sitters' identities. In the eighteenth century with the popularity of Grangerizing, the extra-illustration of books with portrait and

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[67] Pointon, p.58.
[68] John Evelyn, *Numismata, a discourse of medals, ancient and modern: together with some account of heads and effigies of illustrious, and famous persons in sculps, and taille-douce, of whom we have no medals extant, and of the use to be derived from them: to which is added a digression concerning physiognomy* (London, 1697), p.257.

other prints, portrait print collecting continued to be organised by categories of sitter.[69] When Jan van der Waals argues for the existence of three kinds of portrait print collection they are all sitter dependent. They are the collection as a pictorial catalogue of books in a library, a collection as substitute to a medal collection and an ideal collection of illustrious or famous persons.[70]

The ideal portrait print collection had its roots in the Renaissance.[71] Paolo Giovio's sixteenth-century collection of over four hundred paintings, later transferred into print, is credited as 'the principal stimulus for the publication of collections of effigies of all kinds.'[72] It was followed by others, including Giorgio Vasari's illustrated second edition of his *Lives* in 1568, André Thevet's *Portraits et vies des hommes illustres* of 1584 and Anthony van Dyck's *Iconography,* which the artist began work on in the 1620s.[73] In England this trend was continued by an influential series of portraits of the kings of England from the conquest until the present day called the *Baziliologia*, first published in 1618. It helped prompt a vogue for other series of kings and queens described by Griffiths as 'the first British collections of portrait prints.'[74] In 1620 Henry Holland published the *Heroologia*, a series of portraits of famous Englishmen.[75] A similar series, Josiah Ricroft's *A Survey of England's Champions,* appeared in 1647 and in the intervening years portrait prints of outstanding people were very popular.[76] The advertised portrait prints all depict outstanding sitters who would have been very suitable for ideal collections. They exist

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[69] Pointon, p.56.
[70] Van der Waals, p.251.
[71] Francis Haskell, *History and its images: art and the interpretation of the past* (New Haven, 1993), pp. 41-59.
[72] Haskell, p.43.
[73] Jeremy Wood, 'Dyck, Sir Anthony Van (1599-1641)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article 28081, accessed 10 July 2005]
[74] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.21.
[75] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.50.
[76] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.53.

in the context of a culture of portrait print collecting that was driven by the sitters' fame and reputation. This culture is a good explanation for why portrait print advertising was also driven by the sitters' fame and reputation.

Ideal collections appeared not just in the form of portrait prints but also as medals, paintings and busts. One reason for their widespread appeal was the commonly held idea that looking at portraits of great people could inspire the viewer to emulate their deeds.[77] In *Numismata* Evelyn cites earlier writers who had expressed this, including Sir Thomas More who placed statues of great men in the marketplace of Utopia to inspire its citizens.[78] Evelyn writes of the purpose of portrait collecting: 'And for what Use and End all this Cost and Curiosity we are told by that noble Historian (de Bello Jugurth,) not for nothing or merely to look upon and delight the Eye. . .The very sight of their Effigies call'd to their minds the glorious Actions they had perform'd, and even inflam'd them with an Emulation of their Virtues; nor did it rest there till they themselves also had done something worthy their Example.'[79]

In *Numismata* Evelyn proposes that having portraits made of significant contemporary people will be beneficial to future generations of viewers and act as a record of the present time. He suggests that a collection of medals be made: 'for Encouragement and the Benefit of future Ages, as well as of the present: For who can Divine (as all things are in continual Flux in this sublunary State, obnoxious to Changes and Vicissitudes) what, or when the Period of things, seemingly never so fixt and stable may be? Since we our selves have seen, daily read, and have before us the Fate and

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[77] Margaret Aston, 'Gods, saints and reformers: portraiture and Protestant England' in *Albion's classicism: the visual arts in Britain, 1550-1660,* ed. Lucy Gent (New Haven, 1995), pp.181-220 (pp.197-203).
[78] Evelyn, *Numismata,* p.67.
[79] Evelyn, *Numismata*, p.66.

Catastrophe of the most polish'd and civil Nations.'[80] To modern eyes the phrase 'daily read, and have before us' suggests the daily press, the first daily paper *The Daily Courant* was not started until five years later in 1702. Nevertheless Evelyn may have been referring to numerous other news publications as well as books in this comment. It highlights the connection between an increasing awareness of the acts of individuals, the transience of time and the expansion of news.

Throughout *Numismata* Evelyn returns again and again to the idea of the portrait as a record of a sitter and an age. In many places he is talking about durable medals rather than ephemeral paper but the ideas can be transferred over. Evelyn describes print collecting as a cheap alternative to medals and he furthers the comparison with the comment that 'as also in as much as besides the Heads and Pourtraits, they seldom or never appear without Inscriptions of the Names, Qualities, Virtues, most signal Works and Actions of the Persons whom they represent, which makes up the defect of Reverses.'[81] With these words alone Evelyn confirms that his primary motive in collecting is to obtain a record of the sitter. He describes a collection of medals as 'a Series Capable of furnishing an Historical Discourse with a Chain of Remarkable Instances, and Matters of Fact, without Fiction or vain Hyperboles.'[82] In fact the portrait as record of the sitter is so important to Evelyn that he considers even works by masters of the Renaissance to be of less value if the sitter's identity is not known. In a letter to Pepys on 12th August 1689 Evelyn advised his friend on portrait collecting. 'I consider what extravagant sums are given for a dry scalp of some (forsooth) Italian painting, be it of Raphael or Titian himself; which would be infinitely more estimable, were we assured it was the picture of the learned Count of

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[80] Evelyn, *Numismata*, p.168.
[81] Evelyn, *Numismata*, p.257.
[82] Evelyn, *Numismata,* p.157.

Mirandola, Politian, Guicciardini, Machiavel, Petrarch, Ariosto, or Tasso: or some famous pope, prince, poet or other hero of those times.'[83] He also writes that 'faces. . .signify nothing to the possessor' if the sitter's name is lost 'so as one cannot tell whether they were drawn from any of their friends or ancestors, or the picture of some porter or squalid chimney-sweeper, whose prolix beard and wrinkled forehead might pass him for a philosopher.' This supports the point made in chapter two of this thesis. The viewer's knowledge of the sitter profoundly affected their interpretation of the portrait.

John Evelyn's conception of portrait collecting is not as an appreciation of art but as a record of history. In *Numismata* he writes 'And now after all we have said of Heads and Effigies, what would one not give for the true Picture of Hero's, Heroines, and other illustrious Persons whom we have mention'd, and that have made such a noise in the World?'[84] The evidence that survives from the print trade, print marketing and print collecting shows that Evelyn was not alone in his ideas. Collections were organised around famous sitters from past and present. Print scholars have frequently noted the high production of portraits of famous contemporary and historical sitters. The language used to advertise portraits in newspapers, *The Term Catalogues* and the print publishers' catalogues shows that the sitter was almost always the primary selling point. All of the portraits advertised in these mediums depicted sitters whose significant fame and stature meant that they could be counted as illustrious.

This section's purpose has been to explain why the advertising surveyed in the next two chapters is so driven by the sitters' identities and reputations. Perhaps the most

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[83] *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn* , p.678.
[84] Evelyn, *Numismata*, p.43.

telling evidence of all for the primary importance of the sitter is the state of the prints in Samuel Pepys' albums. Pepys' collection was named by Evelyn as the most worthy of note in England and was pasted into the albums following a careful plan in 1700.[85] Yet many prints are trimmed down to leave only the portrait oval and the larger ones are creased from being folded over to fit the pages.[86] They show that Pepys was not collecting prints for their own sakes but as records of the sitters. His behaviour is reflected by the unknown hands who trimmed large numbers of prints in Britain's collections. Pepys had many of the advertised portrait prints in his collection and his concern for these objects as records was probably quite typical of the buyers appealed to in the adverts.

Conclusion

The advertisements' language shows that the identity of the sitter was the most important selling point of the portrait prints. This echoes the attitudes of collectors who also arranged their collections around the sitters rather than the artists. The advertisements are evidence that the collectors' attitudes towards portrait prints extended into the general population. The notices were designed to appeal to a wide readership some of whom could buy one or two portrait prints but could not afford to collect them.

Evelyn believed that portraits of great men could inspire the viewer to emulate their actions. The advertisements suggest that this was also the view of the general population because the majority promote pictures of sitters who could be described as national, international or political heroes. The advertisers were perhaps responding to

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[85] Van der Waals, pp.240, 251.
[86] See the crease mark in the centre of Samuel Pepys' print of James II. See Figure 7, Appendix Four.

a consumer desire to only buy portraits of sitters who were worthy of emulation. This belief may have had a impact on portrait print advertising but chapters four and five reveal a more complex picture, showing that the placement of notices were most influenced by the political preoccupations of the day.

The advertisements surveyed in chapters four and five also provide more evidence for the distribution of portrait prints around England. Some advertisements were perhaps designed to appeal to a specifically London-market. For example in 1683 a portrait was advertised of the London based preacher Joseph Caryl. In November 1684 Catherine of Braganza's portrait was advertised in *The Term Catalogues* to coincide with celebrations for her birthday held in London. In 1691 Robert White advertised the portrait of Thomas Pilkington, the Lord Mayor of London. However further research is required before it can be decided whether advertisements such as these are evidence for the intended market. It needs to be asked to what extent events in the capital were news outside and in specific cases such as Catherine of Braganza's birthday celebrations, whether it was also marked in other towns or cities. The fact that these notices were placed in publications that circulated in the provinces strongly suggests that they were also designed to appeal to a market outside London. If retailers wished to specifically target consumers in the capital other marketing methods were available to them.

Chapter Four- Survey of Portrait Print Notices 1660-1702

This chapter examines the portrait print advertisements that were found in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* from Charles II to the death of William III in 1702. The evidence is presented in three sections divided by the reigns of Charles II, James II and William and Mary. Portraits of foreign sitters advertised between 1664 and 1714 are discussed in a fourth section. Chapter five ends the survey with an investigation of portrait print advertising under Queen Anne.

Portrait print advertising under Charles II

The earliest portrait print advertisements in *The London Gazette* and *The Term Catalogues* were placed during a particularly difficult political period. In the summer of 1678 Titus Oates fabricated claims of a Popish Plot against the King's life.[1] This invention was widely believed and it had serious consequences for the Duke of York, Charles II's Catholic heir. Attempts were made to exclude him from the succession and this became known as the Exclusion Crisis.[2] These events were the catalyst for the early formation of the Whigs and Tories. The Tories supported James because they believed in 'the royal prerogative, hereditary succession, and ideas of passive obedience.'[3] The Whigs opposed James and sought for alternative solutions including the passing of the Exclusion Bill, a remarriage for Charles II and the recognition of

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[1] John Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London, 1972).
[2] Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II. Propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, 1987).
[3] Julian Hoppit, *A land of liberty? England, 1689-1727* (Oxford, 2000), p.139.

his illegitimate son the Duke of Monmouth as the rightful heir.[4] In 1681 the crisis began to die down and the Tories became the dominant political group for the rest of the reign. These years are often called the Tory reaction.[5]

Many of the portrait prints advertised during these years depicted sitters who were made topical by these events. The evidence presented in the following pages shows that advertisements were deliberately timed to coincide with periods of crowd agitation between Whigs and Tories. This is evidence that the tense political climate of this period was a catalyst for the beginning of regular portrait print advertising.

The Popish Plot, the Exclusion Crisis and the Tory reaction

November was an important month in the Stuart ritual calendar. The 5th November was Gunpowder Treason day, a date that increased in significance with the rising anti-Catholicism of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis.[6] The Whigs held Pope burning processions on 17th November, which was the anniversary of Elizabeth I's accession to the throne. The virgin queen was adopted as a Protestant heroine by Exclusionists.[7] During the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis these celebrations were flashpoints for anti-Catholic demonstrations and partisan rioting. The tories attempted to use Catherine of Braganza's birthday on 15th November as a counterpoint to

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[4] Tim Harris, 'Cooper, Anthony Ashley, first earl of Shaftesbury (1621-1683)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6208, accessed 24 June 2005]
Tim Harris, 'Scott [Crofts], James, duke of Monmouth and first duke of Buccleuch (1649-1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, June 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24879, accessed 24 June 2005]

[5] Paul Seaward, 'Charles II (1630-1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5144, accessed 30 June 2005]

[6] David Cressy, *Bonfires and bells: national memory and the Protestant calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989), pp.175-178.

[7] Harris, *London Crowds,* p.113, 145. Cressy, p.130-140.

Elizabeth's anniversary, but the day was never as popular.[8] A series of advertisements were found scattered through the Novembers of the final years of Charles II's reign. All of them are connected in varying degrees to the celebrations and demonstrations of this month. This pattern of November advertising also continued to some extent under James II and William and Mary. The timing of these advertisements suggests that the portraits were used as displays of political loyalties.

Vanderbank's portrait of Charles II after Lely was advertised in *The Term Catalogues* of November 1677.[9] It had been advertised once before in the *Term Catalogues* of February 1676. It is likely that this first notice was an attempt by Lely to rival the large engraving of Charles II produced by Vanderbank after Gascar in 1675.[10] The Lely print was described in the advertisement as being on 'extraordinary large paper.' Gascar's print had been the largest produced in England since Delaram's portrait head of James I in 1619.[11] If the November 1677 advertisement was placed because of the rituals of that month it would have been because memories of Elizabeth I and the Gunpowder plot focused thoughts on the monarchy. In 1677 the population's attention was undoubtedly drawn to the monarchy by the marriage on 23rd October of Princess Mary, the second in line to the throne, to William of Orange.[12] The strongest evidence to support the idea that this advertisement was published because of November's ritual significance is found in the fact that other notices were certainly placed for that reason in the following years.

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[8] Harris, *London Crowds,* p.168.
[9] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.1, p.292.
[10] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.220. *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.1, p.226.
[11] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.55.
[12] W. A. Speck, 'Mary II (1662-1694)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18246, accessed 6 June 2005]

In November 1682 two advertisements for portraits of the King, Queen and Duke of York appeared in *The Term Catalogues.*[13] The bookseller Moses Pitt advertised full-length portraits made for his English Atlas project but 'sold alone'. [14] The printseller John Overton advertised their pictures 'as Large as the Life.' When separate businesses advertise similar sets of sitters in this way it is often strong supporting evidence for the sitters' topicality. In 1682 both advertisers were responding to a tense and violent political atmosphere. Despite the loss of the Whig advantage in high politics anti-Catholic sentiment had reached fever pitch and crowd agitation was at its climax.[15] Elizabeth I's anniversary was such a flashpoint by 1682 that the Privy Council prohibited bonfires and fireworks in the celebrations. Luttrell wrote that: 'The 17th of this month approaching, being the anniversary of queen Elizabeth's birth day [*sic*], which uses to be kept with ringing of bells, and at night bonefires, with the burning of the pope, his majestie, for the preventing all tumults and disorders which may happen on such occasions, has ordered in council that there should be no bonefires or publick fireworks on any festival.' [16]

The sitters in the portraits advertised by Pitt and Overton were particularly topical. The Duke of York was a controversial figure because of the disputed succession. That possession of his portrait was a political act can be seen in attempts that were made to mutilate it. Pub signs bearing images of the Duke of York and the Cardinal's Head were destroyed in mob violence between Tories and Whigs in Cheapside during the Gunpowder celebrations of 1682.[17] In January 1682 Luttrell reported that the Duke's

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[13] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.1, p.513.
[14] Michael Harris, 'Pitt, Moses (*bap.* 1639, *d.* 1697)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22331, accessed 30 June 2005]
[15] Cressy, p.182. Harris, *London Crowds,* p186.
[16] Luttrell,Vol.1, p.237.
[17] Harris, *London Crowds*, p.186.

portrait was slashed on the legs where it was displayed in Guildhall. 'The 25th or 26th, some persons (as yet unknown) came into Guildhall, and there cutt the picture of the duke of York acrosse upon the legs: severall reflexions are made hereon, according to the different judgement of the parties.'[18] It was not unusual to destroy portraits of controversial political figures. The pope-burning processions held by Whigs and the presbyter burning processions of the tories revolved around the burning of effigies.[19] This raises the possibility that the portraits advertised by Pitt and Overton might have been purchased by those intending to deface them. However, without evidence it would be unwise to speculate on this point.

As a Catholic and someone who had been implicated by Titus Oates, Catherine of Braganza was also topical.[20] Those who supported her could find themselves under attack. On her birthday in November 1681 'Mr Rutland at the Angel, Cheapside, . . had a bonfire made at his own door' and a 'crowd gathered and drank healths to the king and queen, . . . Some apprentices, hearing a report that the promoters were drinking the health of the pope, proceeded to put out the bonfire and then break the windows of Rutland's house.'[21] The Queen's portrait was advertised again in November 1684 when Robert Walton promoted 'The Picture of Catharine, Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland' in *The Term Catalogues.*[22] There can be no doubt that this notice was placed to coincide with a spectacular public celebration of the Queen's birthday described by Evelyn in his diary: 'Being the Queenes Birth-day, there was such fire works upon the Thames before White-hall, with pageants of

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[18] Luttrell, *State Affairs,* Vol.1, p.160.
[19] Harris, *London Crowds,* pp.121,133.
[20] S. M. Wynne, 'Catherine (1638-1705)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4894, accessed 6 June 2005]
[21] Harris, *London Crowds*, p.168.
[22] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.2, p.99.

Castles, Forts, & other devices of Gyrandolas, Serpents, The King & Queenes Armes & mottos, all represented in fire, as had not ben seene in any age remembred here: but that which was most remarkable was the several fires & skirmishes in the very water, which actually moved a long way, burning under the water, & now and then appearing above it, giving reports like Muskets & Cannon, with Granados, & innumerable other devices: It is said this sole Triumph cost 1500 pounds: which was concluded with a Ball, where all the young Ladys & Gallants daunced in the greate Hall: The Court had not ben so brave & rich in apparel since his Majesties restauration: . .'[23] The Queen's birthday was pointedly marked at Court during these years because the King wished to demonstrate support for his Catholic wife. The birthday celebrations of 1684 were particularly significant because they marked the Tories' 'final triumph over the Whigs.'[24] The portrait cost 4d and is one of the lowest priced prints to be found advertised in the later seventeenth century. The rarity of prints of this price in portrait print advertising suggests that anything below 6d. was not usually considered to be worth the cost of advertising. The fact that Walton advertised this particular print at this price suggests that he may have anticipated a high demand for images of the Queen. The price seems less significant when it is noted that he also advertised a 3d. portrait of John Sobieski in the same edition of *The Term Catalogues.* However there may also have been a high demand for pictures of the Polish king.

When Robert White advertised his portrait of Charles I after Van Dyck in the same edition of *The Term Catalogues* it could have been in connection with the Tory

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[23] *The diary and correspondence of John Evelyn,* p.416.
[24] Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: the ritual year 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994), p.252.

triumph (see figure 6).[25] Charles I was a Tory symbol and continued to be regarded as such throughout the later seventeenth century. [26] He symbolised the tories' adherence to passive obedience and the hereditary order. The same notice also appeared in *The London Gazette* of 8th December 1684. The picture was part of an open-ended series of portraits of monarchs and their consorts and was advertised again with the other prints in *The London Gazette* of 26th November 1685.

The timing of the advertisements suggests that the prints were sold to be displayed by consumers as an expression of their political views. It is easy to imagine that during Catherine of Braganza's birthday celebrations in 1684 Tory supporters displayed her portrait alongside that of Charles I to symbolise their support for the hereditary principle and that in 1682 toasts were drunk to pictures of the Duke of York. Throughout the later Stuart period news and opinion about people, events and ideas were communicated in texts, visual goods and public displays such as parades and street demonstrations. These all told retailers when particular people were topical enough for there to be a high demand for their portrait. The November advertisements must have been placed in response to the street rituals and demonstrations of that month.

The royal cast of sitters reflects the fact that the Exclusion Crisis was focused on the issue of monarchy itself. However, not all of the portraits advertised in this period depicted members of the royal family. The portrait of the independent divine Joseph Caryl was advertised by William Marshall in *The Term Catalogues* of November

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[25] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.2, p.99.
[26] Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the martyr* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.145, 154-56, 159, 161.

1683.[27] No evidence has been found to confirm that the notice was placed in relation to the November rituals but the possibility remains convincing. Caryl had died just over ten years earlier in February 1673 and as a non-conformist he would have been a sympathetic figure for the London Whigs who remembered him.[28] If the only reason for the advertisement was to commemorate the tenth anniversary of his death this does not explain why the notice appeared in November and not February. The only other explanation is that the portrait was advertised to coincide with a publication by Caryl but no evidence has yet been found to confirm this.

The Term Catalogues of June 1680 saw advertisements for four portraits of sitters who were associated with the Exclusion Crisis. Vanderbank's large portrait of Charles II after Gascar, first published in 1675, was released in a second altered state by Tooker and Battersby in 1680.[29] Griffiths found the portrait advertised in *The London Gazette* of 26th April 1680 and a notice for it was also placed in the June edition of *The Term Catalogues*.[30] The June notice differs from the usual format of portrait print advertising because the print is not mentioned until the last line and is followed by a phrase promoting 'Tables of Accounts, being sums ready cast up.' The greater part of the text promotes a travelling map of England.

The April advertisement was placed just over a month before Charles II's birthday and the twentieth anniversary of his restoration on 29th May. This suggests that it was placed in anticipation of the celebrations held on that day. The advertisement might

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[27] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.2, p.45.
[28] P. S. Seaver, 'Caryl, Joseph (1602-1673)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4846, accessed 30 June 2005]
[29] 'and in it Charles's appearance has been updated: he has lost his moustache, and his wig and cravat are lengthened to cover the Garter, which is now worn over armour, rather than robes.' Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.220.
[30] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.33. *The Term Catalogues,* Vol 1, p.406.

have been placed so early in order to take advantage of orders from the provinces. In 1680 Luttrell wrote: 'We are advised from Edenburgh in Scotland, from Wigan in Lancashire, and other places, of the great joy and solemnity the 29th of May, his majesties birth day, was kept.'[31] When the portrait was advertised again in June Charles II had just recovered from a serious illness suffered in May 1680.[32] The illness raised such concern that it is reasonable to suggest that the advertisement could have been targeted at consumers who were celebrating his recovery. The advertising of portraits in conjunction with celebrations at other points in the later Stuart period supports this idea. The advertisement was also placed because of the intense political activity of June 1680. The Whigs were campaigning for the recall of parliament so that Exclusion could continue to be discussed, the Shrieval elections were held in London and the Duke of York was indicted as a recusant.[33] In these contentious times the King's image would undoubtedly have been displayed by those wishing to show their loyalty to the crown. When Robert White's portrait of the Earl of Shaftesbury was advertised in *The Term Catalogues* of June 1680 it was because of the Whig leader's activities.[34] Shaftesbury was a leading figure in the campaign for the recall of parliament and responsible for indicting the Duke of York with recusancy.[35]

Thomas Simmons' advertisement for the portrait of presbyterian biblical scholar Matthew Poole was placed in *The Term Catalogues* of June 1680 and in three separate newspaper titles in February, March and April (see figure 11).[36] Poole had died in Amsterdam on 12th October 1679. His death occurred during Popish Plot fears and as

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[31] Luttrell,Vol.1, p.46.
[32] Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge, 1994), p.268.
[33] Harris, *London Crowds,* p.115. Knights, p.304.
[34] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.1, p.405.
[35] Harris, *London Crowds*, p.115. Knights, p.268.
[36] See Appendix One for newspaper advertisements. *The Term Catalogues.* Vol.1, p.406.

Titus Oates had listed him as one of those designated for assassination it was suspected that Catholics had poisoned him. [37] The fact that the notice appeared seven months after his death shows that the portrait was not advertised in immediate response to it. One explanation is that the advertisement was placed because Poole's controversial death and his anti-Catholicism had made him a figurehead for Exclusionists. The advertisement states that the portrait could be used as a frontispiece for Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum.* It is possible that Simmons advertised the portrait because he was selling copies of Poole's work. However there is no evidence that he published anything that Poole had written. The most recent edition of the *Synopsis Criticorum* had been published in 1676 by Elizabeth Flesher and Charles Smith.[38] Other advertisements show that booksellers sold portrait prints of authors whose work they stocked. This can be seen in the following example.

The final portrait to be advertised in *The Term Catalogues* of June 1680 was that of Thomas Hobbes, who died of old age in December 1679.[39] Luttrell wrote of his death 'Mr Hobbs of Malmsbury died the middle of this month, being 92 years old: he was a very learned man, but broacht severall pernicious principles destructive to religion and government.'[40] Before his death there was revived interest in his views and writings as a new generation made comparisons between the Exclusion Crisis and the beginning of the civil war. New Exclusionist work echoed older ideas and civil war tracts were reprinted. [41] Hobbes' *History of the Civil Wars* or *Behemoth* was printed

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[37] Kenyon, p.57. Nicholas Keene, 'Poole, Matthew (1624?-1679)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article 22518, accessed 30 June 2005]

[38] http://copac.ac.uk/.

[39] Noel Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Thomas (1588-1679)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13400, accessed 11 July 2005]. *The Term Catalogues,* Vol 1, p.406.

[40] Luttrell,Vol.1, p.30.

[41] Knights, pp. 190, 249, 254-55.

shortly before his death in September 1679.[42] His political theories and denial of the divine right of Kings made him particularly interesting to Exclusionists.[43] Entries in Robert Hooke's diary on 30th July and 2nd August 1679 are evidence for the circulation of Hobbes' beliefs.

> 'Took of Mr Pitt, Hobbs history, 2s. 6d. not paid'
>
> 'With Linnen James to Jonathans. Discoursd Godfrey of Hobbs.'[44]

Anthony Wood noticed that Hobbes' *Leviathan* was republished in 1680 using the old date as a safeguard against prosecution.[45] The original edition was published by Andrew Crook, who along with his successor William Crook published many of Hobbes' works and tracts on Hobbes.[46] William Crook was the retailer of the Hobbes portrait and it is probable that he was also responsible for the secret 1680 reprint. The advertisement for Hobbes' portrait is firmly embedded in the topical ideas of the day because of the relevance of his beliefs to the issues under debate. One reason for the advertisement's appearance in June 1680 must be because Crook saw that the picture was very marketable in this politically tense month. An additional explanation could be that it was Crook's way of indicating that he was selling the secret reprint of *Leviathan*. An advertisement from *The Term Catalogues* of February 1680 shows that Crook was selling other publications by Hobbes.

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[42] Knights, p.254.
[43] Knights, p.244.
[44] *The diary of Robert Hooke, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., 1672-1680: transcribed from the original in the possession of the Corporation of the city of London (Guildhall library)*, eds Henry W.Robinson and Walter Adams (London, 1935), p.419.
[45] Knights, p.255. Anthony Wood noticed that *Leviathan* itself was reprinted in 1680, 'with the old date' a safeguard to avoid censure.
[46] http://copac.ac.uk.

> The Life of Mr. Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury: written by himself in a Latin Poem; and now translated into English. In Folio. Price 6d. Sold by W.Crook at the Green Dragon, without Temple Bar.

Thomas Hobbes' portrait was also advertised in *The Term Catalogues* of February 1680 as 'Memorable Sayings of Mr. Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, in his Books and at a Table; with his true and lively Effigies. Price 6d.'[47] The notice was placed by unnamed retailers at 'the King's Arms in the Poultrey, and at the Feathers in Lumbard street.' These retailers also advertised a print of the Whig Pope burning procession in the same issue. The advertisement was followed by a notice for Popish Plot playing cards placed by a separate group of businesses. This shows that Hobbes' portrait was sold at the same time as Popish Plot material and it suggests that it may have been part of the same circulation.

It is perhaps surprising that no more than three portraits of the Duke of York were advertised during the Exclusion Crisis. The two portraits advertised in November 1682 have already been discussed; the third advert to appear during this period was published by Robert White in Nathaniel Thompson's *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* in December 1681. Nathaniel Thompson was one of the tories' chief publicists and his newspaper supported the Tory cause. This may explain why Robert White advertised the Duke of York's portrait in this particular paper. The Duke of York's succession was still the subject of debate. The parliamentary exclusion movement had been effectively squashed with the dissolution of the Oxford parliament in March 1681 but this had not stopped discussion of the issue. The

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[47] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.1, p.384.

government launched a propaganda campaign against the Exclusionists and this was led by Nathaniel Thompson and Roger L'Estrange.[48] Tim Harris identifies the role of visual material in this propaganda: 'Playing cards and prints were used as visual forms of propaganda, whilst poems, pamphlets, broadsides and the popular press carried written propaganda.'[49] The Duke of York's portrait may have been a part of this visual propaganda. It was advertised on the 3rd, 8th and 10th December 1681, shortly before the election of 21st December in which the Tories increased their majority.[50] It is very likely that the election increased market demand for images of the Duke of York and that this led to the placement of the advertisement. However, the connection with Thompson also supports the idea that this portrait print may have been advertised as propaganda.

Roger L'Estrange was well known when Walter Davis advertised Robert White's portrait of him in *The Term Catalogues* of May 1684.[51] As a chief Tory propagandist he was a topical figure throughout the period, particularly for his critical attacks on Titus Oates.[52] At the time of advertising the tories were enjoying success. The exclusion risk had been averted and the tories dominated the political scene. In April the Duke of York was made Lord High Admiral and in May Luttrell was able to report that: 'The duke of York comes now into the councill as formerly, his majestie thinking it fitting.'[53] Finally L'Estrange's adversary Titus Oates was turned over to the King's Bench prison by habeas corpus. It is likely that the portrait was advertised to celebrate the triumph of L'Estrange and the Tories. White engraved the portrait

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[48] Harris, *London Crowds,* pp.130-31.
[49] Harris, *London Crowds,* p.133.
[50] Luttrell, Vol.1, p.152. Harris, *London Crowds,* p.164.
[51] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol 2, p.72.
[52] Harold Love, 'L'Estrange, Sir Roger (1616-1704)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16514, accessed 4 July 2005]
[53] Lutrell,Vol.1, p.308.

after Kneller's 1684 painting of L'Estrange. It is also possible that the advertisement appeared to mark the creation of this painting.[54]

The same issue of *The Term Catalogues* also contained a notice for a portrait of Princess Anne placed by the bookseller Moses Pitt.[55] The princess was popular. Her marriage to the Lutheran Prince George of Denmark in December 1683 had given rise to hopes that the Anglican succession would be ensured. [56] In the last days of April Luttrell reported that Anne had given birth to a stillborn child.[57] Luttrell also records that Prince George was installed into the society of the noble order of the Garter on 8th April.[58] The advertisement might have been placed because of one or both of these events. Interest in the royal couple is shown by the fact that in the same year Nathaniel Thompson published *The genealogies of the high-born Prince & Princess, George and Anne of Denmark, &c: shewing the lineal descent of these two noble and illustrious families: with their matches, issue, times of death, places of sepulchre, impresses, devices, &c. from the year of grace M. to this present year, MDCLXXXIV.*[59] Genealogies such as this were relatively common in the later Stuart period.[60]

The advertisements placed for the portraits of Shaftesbury and the Duke of York in 1680 and 1681 respectively were published during election periods. It is very likely that they were sold for display by political supporters. Shaftesbury's portrait would

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[54] Harold Love, 'L'Estrange, Sir Roger (1616-1704)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16514, accessed 10 July 2005]
[55] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.2, p.72.
[56] Harris, *London Crowds,* p.151.
[57] Luttrell,Vol. 1, p.307.
[58] Luttrell, Vol.1, p.304.
[59] http://copac.ac.uk/.
[60] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.45, figure 4.

have been bought by Whigs and the Duke's by Tories. Further research of pictorial evidence is required to find out where they were exhibited. There are several possibilities. The prints could have been displayed in the public rooms of domestic properties where householders received guests. Weatherill has shown that more display items were kept in these rooms than in the private areas.[61] One wonders whether prints could have been displayed in windows or on doors in the same manner as the political posters of today. Another possibility that needs to be looked at is whether they could have been pasted on boards and carried in the streets.

Portrait prints were also advertised when consumers wished to celebrate events. In some cases the evidence for this is clear. In November 1684 Robert Walton advertised Catherine of Braganza's portrait to coincide with her birthday celebrations. In April 1680 Charles II's portrait seems to have been advertised in anticipation of his birthday. These notices raise the same questions about how portrait prints were displayed in the context of these events. In other cases it seems very likely that the portraits were advertised to take advantage of a celebratory mood but no clear evidence has yet been found to confirm it. For example in June 1680 Charles II's portrait was advertised when he had just recovered from a serious illness. In May 1684 L'Estrange's picture was promoted when the causes he had worked for had found success. When Robert White's portrait of Heneage Finch was advertised in *The Term Catalogues* of June 1681 it was certainly in celebration because the Lord Chancellor had been made Earl of Nottingham in the previous month.[62] If these advertisements were placed to take advantage of celebratory feeling they must have

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[61] Weatherill, pp.8-13.

[62] Luttrell, p.84. D. E. C. Yale, 'Finch, Heneage, first earl of Nottingham (1621-1682)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9433, accessed 2 July 2005]. *The Term Catalogues*. Vol.1, p.451.

appealed to different groups of consumers. The portraits of Catherine of Braganza and Roger L'Estrange's portrait would have been bought by Tories. Charles II's portraits were undoubtedly unpartisan. Heneage Finch's portrait could have appealed to those who, like him, were opponents of Exclusion. However, it is possible that Finch's portrait was not advertised in response to market demand. It is the only example found under Charles II of a portrait advertised because the sitter had received a title. It seems out of place in this highly politicised period and it may be that the advertisement was commissioned by someone wishing to make a gesture of respect to the Earl. In the same year a poem was published entitled *A congratulary poem on the Right Honourable Heneage Lord Finch, Baron of Daventry, Earl of Nottingham and Lord High Chancellor of England.*[63] This is an example of the circulation of texts and images related to the same event.

Portraits were also advertised in response to death. It is tempting to label these as commemorative prints but these portraits were about more than memory because the circumstances of the sitters' lives gave the images additional associations. Thomas Thynne's portrait was advertised by Langley Curtis and Edward Cooper in the *True Protestant Mercury* of 21st February 1682 and later by Robert White in the same newspaper on 8th April.[64] Both advertisements appeared because of interest in the way that he had died. Thynne was murdered in Pall Mall on 12th February after parting from his friend the Duke of Monmouth just fifteen minutes earlier. This advertisement has some connection to contemporary politics because amidst the initial speculation surrounding the murder it was thought that it was 'a design against him and the duke of Monmouth' but it was soon discovered that his assassination **had** been ordered by

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[63] http://copac.ac.uk.
[64] Langly Curtis advertisement cited in Griffiths, *Dictionary of Print Publishers*, p.45.

his Swedish love rival Count Königsmark who "had some pretensions to the lady Ogle, whom Mr. Thin had since married:"[65] Königsmark and the three assassins were taken prisoner but the Count escaped to France after being released on bail. The other men were executed in early March. Thynne was buried in Westminster Abbey on 9th March. Thynne's murder excited a lot of attention including that of John Evelyn who went to view the embalmed body of one of the murderers 'it being one of the first, which was embaulmed by a particular art invented by one Will: Russell a Coffin Maker.'[66] The portrait was advertised as part of a stream of printed response to the events. These included the following text which was printed for Langley Curtis: *A Hew and cry after blood & murther, or, An Elegie on the most barbarous murther of Thomas Thinn, Esq: with some thankful ejaculations to heaven for the miraculous escape of his Grace the Duke of Monmouth from the hands of the bloody ruffians.*[67]

When Sampson advertised the late Earl of Rochester's portrait in *The Term Catalogues* in February 1681, he was not responding to the death itself.[68] Rochester had died in July 1680. The advertisement was instead a response to the considerable interest that had been aroused by the sitter's deathbed repentance of his debauched life and his turn to Christianity. Several tracts were published in 1680 and 1681 discussing

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[65] Luttrell, *State Affairs,* vol 1, p.164 , Alan Marshall, 'Königsmark , Karl Johann, Count Königsmark in the Swedish nobility (1659-1686)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68006, accessed 5 July 2005]

[66] *The diary and correspondence of John Evelyn,* p.286.

[67] http://copac.ac.uk Other publications include: *A True and impartial account of the cruel and bloody murther committed upon the body of Thomas Thin, Esq: on Sunday last, being the 12th of this present February, 1682, between the hours of seaven and eight at night, who was barbarously and inhumanely butcher'd in his own coach in the open street, by three out-landish villains, named, Frederick Fratz, a German captain, and George Boroskie, a Polander, and John Stern, a German,* printed for J.Deacon (London, 1682).
A True account of the discovering and apprehending of Count Conningsmark: together with the place and manner of his being taken, printed for Richard Baldwin (London, 1682).

[68] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol 1, p.431.

Rochester and his conversion.[69] Rochester's conversion was seen as a victory against the growing atheism of the age because he had lived his life as an avowed atheist and his writings had personified the court's debauchery.[70] When Sampson advertised the portrait he was marketing towards consumers who were interested in Rochester as a poster boy against atheism.[71]

Prince Rupert's portrait was advertised by Robert White in *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* of 20th February 1683, not long after his death on 29th November 1682.[72] The portrait is advertised as 'Newly done in a large Sheet', which suggests that it was produced in direct response to the death. The three-month gap between the event and the advert's appearance is consistent with the time needed to produce the portrait. Like the portraits of Thynne and Rochester this print was on the market at the same time as texts discussing the sitter.[73]

Throughout the later Stuart period the sitters' topicality prompted the production of both portrait prints and texts. Images and texts communicated in different ways but they were part of the same coverage of the sitter. The consumers' interpretation of the portraits was affected by what they had read about the sitter. The images of the sitter that they had seen stayed in their minds as they read. Taken together text and image

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[69] Rochester's conversion was widely publicised by Gilbert Burnet's *Some passages in the life & death of the Right Honourable John Earl of Rochester, who died the 26th of July, 1680* (London, 1680).
[70] John Redwood, *Reason, ridicule and religion: the Age of Enlightenment in England, 1660-1750* (London, 1976), p.177.
[71] Frank H. Ellis, 'Wilmot, John, second earl of Rochester (1647-1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29623, accessed 11 July 2005]
[72] Luttrell, Vol. 1, p.241.
[73] Thomas Flatman's, *On the death of the illustrious Prince Rupert: a Pindarique ode* was in published 1683, as well as *Historical memoires of the life and death of that wise and valiant Prince Rupert, Prince Palatine of the Rhine,* published by Thomas Malthus.

allowed the consumer to come as close to the sitter as was possible without meeting them in the flesh.

Conclusion

Under Charles II the features that characterised regular portrait print advertising throughout the seventeenth century had already emerged. All of the sitters with the exception of Princess Anne and Catherine of Braganza were male. Up to 1714 portraits of female sitters were only advertised if they had royal status. Many of the sitters were closely connected with the primary political concerns of the day. Those who were not were still associated with events and ideas that were discussed in the circulation of news. These varied as widely as Rochester's repentance and Thynne's murder. There is a strong trend of marketing at times of mass politicisation, during elections, political campaigns and periods of celebration and this continued to occur throughout the period. The majority of portraits were advertised when the sitters were topical. A handful of adverts for portraits of historical figures were placed in the later Stuart period. In *The Term Catalogues* of June 1679 Robert Green advertised 'The Heads of Twelve Roman Emperours, neatly graven in half sheets; with Verses of their Lives and Deaths.'[74]

The fact that portrait print advertising demonstrated its dominant features as soon as it began suggests that these were the characteristics of long term trends in portrait print sales. It is likely that retailers advertised portrait prints associated with these kinds of

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[74] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol 1, p.360.

events because past experience had shown them that they were the most popular with the general market.

James II

James II came to the throne after his brother's death on 6th February 1685. Despite the Exclusion Crisis he was unexpectedly popular and the only resistance he met was that of the failed rebellions led by Monmouth and Argyle in the late spring and early summer of 1685. Their failure led James to believe that he was blessed by providence and this encouraged him in his attempts to establish Catholicism on the same legal footing as Anglicanism. This was to be the ultimate cause of his downfall. When James turned from Anglican advisors to Catholics and dissenters in early 1687 it was a turning point in his reign. On 12th February 1687 James made a Declaration of Indulgence in Scotland which suspended, stopped or disabled laws and Acts of Parliament against Catholics. This seemed to meet a favourable reception so a Declaration of Indulgence was proclaimed in England and Wales on 4th April 1687. This met with opposition and on 18th May 1688 the Archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops presented a petition to James asking him not to insist that the Declaration of Indulgence be read in their dioceses. When the bishops published their declaration James decided to prosecute them for seditious libel and they were put on trial. To his dismay the seven bishops were subsequently acquitted and became iconic figures of resistance.

Public opinion turned against James as he attempted to pack the House of Commons with men who would support his pro-Catholic policies. He installed Catholics in leading positions in Oxford and Cambridge and persuaded the pope to appoint four vicars-apostolic as bishops. In late September 1688 when he heard that William of Orange was preparing to invade he reversed the concessions he had made to Catholics but it was too late. William landed at Torbay on 5th November and on Christmas Day James began his exile in France.[75]

Portrait print advertising under James is characterised by a restricted range of domestic sitters in comparison to the preceding and following reigns. With the exception of the image of Titus Oates in 1685, all domestic portraits advertised under James II depicted members of the English royal family. This can partly be explained by the length of the reign, which was so brief that it reduced the opportunity for a diverse range of sitters. No portraits were found advertised in 1688 until after William's seizure of power, so the period under study is just three years long. From the late 1670s up until 1714 portrait print advertising was dominated by portraits of members of the British royal family. It would therefore be more surprising if they did not dominate James' short reign. The restricted range of sitters is also a reflection of the differences between events in the reigns of the four later Stuarts. England was not at war during James II's reign. This meant that there could be no portrait prints of military leaders of the type advertised between 1688 and 1713.

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[75] W. A. Speck, 'James II and VII (1633-1701)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14593, accessed 30 July 2005]

In May 1685 the portrait of Titus Oates in the pillory was advertised in *The Term Catalogues* because of his trial for perjury by a London jury at the King's Bar.[76] The trial began on 8th May and Oates received his sentence, which included several annual appearances in the pillory, on 16th May.[77] However, no portrait print advertisements were found to mark the trial of the seven bishops in June 1688.[78] The absence of an advertisement stands out because their acquittal met with popular rejoicing and prints bearing their group portrait were produced. One would expect the inevitable demand for their portraits to have resulted in an advertisement. In other reigns portraits of sitters who were disapproved of by the government were advertised. These were Shaftesbury and Thomas Hobbes under Charles II, James II and Henry Sacheverell under Queen Anne, and Charles Leslie under George I. The absence of a seven bishops advertisement suggests that it was not safe for retailers to publicise the fact that they were selling the portraits. Two advertisements were placed for portraits of the bishops after William III seized power and there was no longer any possibility of danger for retailers. Titus Oates' trial was greeted with a flood of texts including several ballads.[79] These include *The Salamanca doctor's farewel, or, Titus's exaltation to the pillory, upon his conviction of perjury* printed by Randal Taylor, and *Ots's lamentation and a vision that appeared to him since his tryal: over heard by one of his keepers in his chamber at the Kings Bench, a song to the tune of State and ambition* printed by James Dean.

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[76] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol 2, p.125. Alan Marshall, 'Oates, Titus (1649-1705)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view article 20437, accessed 30 July 2005]
[77] Luttrell, Vol.1, pp.341-343.
[78] R. A. P. J. Beddard, 'Sancroft, William (1617-1693)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article 24610, accessed 4 July 2005]
[79] http://copac.ac.uk.

In 1685 and 1686 advertisements were placed for portrait prints of James II, Mary of Modena, Charles II, Charles I and Catherine of Braganza. In 1687 two notices were placed for pictures of Charles II. After that no more advertisements appeared until the regime change of 1688. This pattern of advertising probably reflects changes in James' popularity as his reign progressed. The last advertisement for his portrait was placed in 1686. In early 1687 he turned away from his Anglican advisors and began pursuing his pro-Catholic policies with greater force. It is very probable that his portrait was not advertised in 1687 or 1688 because his lack of popularity meant that there was no longer a demand for it.

In the May 1685 issue of *The Term Catalogues* Robert Walton advertised two portraits of James II.[80] The advertisement appeared shortly after James' coronation at Westminster Abbey on 23rd April. It is likely that the advert was placed to meet demands for portraits of the new king. Portraits of James had circulated since the Restoration so it is unlikely that the demand for these prints was driven by curiosity to see what he looked like. It is more probable that they were sold to consumers who customarily displayed portraits of the reigning monarch in their properties. James II's accession and coronation also prompted a large number of congratulatory verses and ballads. James Dean published *A New song upon the coronation of King James II: to the tune of King James's jigg,* John Philips wrote *A poem on the coronation of King James II and his royl [sic] consort Queen Mary* and Nathaniel Thompson printed *On the Most High and Mighty Monarch King James the II: his exaltation on the throne of England: being an excellent new song: to the tune of Hark! the thundering cannons roar.* Monmouth's failed rebellion became the subject of ballads like *Monmouth*

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80 *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.2, p.126.

degraded, or, James Scot, the little king on Lyme: a song, to the tune of Hark, hark, the thundering cannons roar, &c and *The Young bastards wish: a song to the tune of the old mans wish* both published by James Dean.[81]

On 16th July 1685 Vanderbank's portrait of James II was advertised in *The London Gazette* (see figure 7). It is possible that Vanderbank placed the advertisement in response to consumer demand for images of the new monarch. However the fact that this advertisement appeared quite some time after James' accession and coronation suggests an alternative explanation. (In comparison the advertisements for portraits of William and Mary that Vanderbank placed after their arrival appeared just days after the establishment of the new regime.) In July Luttrell recorded that on 'The 12th came out his majesties proclamation for a solemn and publick thanksgiving throughout the kingdome the 26th instant, for his majesties late victories over the rebels.'[82] The portrait was marketed just days after the thanksgiving for the Duke of Monmouth's defeat was announced and it was undoubtedly for this reason that the advertisement appeared. Portraits were regularly marketed near days of thanksgiving under Queen Anne.

Robert White advertised his portrait of James' consort Mary of Modena in *The Term Catalogues* of November 1685 and *The London Gazette* of 26th November.[83] Griffiths identifies this as part of White's open ended series of royal portraits.[84] These portraits included Charles I, Charles II and James II and they were also promoted in the same

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[81] Over twenty texts related to Titus Oates were published in 1685 and can be found on http://copac.ac.uk. Typical of these is *The Life of Titus Oats from his cradle to his first pilloring for infamous perjury; with a true account of his birth and parentage; impartially set forth for the satisfaction of all persons,* printed by E.Mallett (London, 1685).
[82] Luttrell, Vol.1, p.353.
[83] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.2, p.148.
[84] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.206.

notice. It is possible that this notice was placed in response to demand for images of the new Queen. The precedence of previous November advertising suggests that the portraits could have been advertised together because the celebrations of this month had made the royal family topical. Luttrell's diary shows that the celebrations were reduced during James II's reign but still widely marked.[85] In 1685 he wrote that: 'The 5th, being gunpowder treason day, there were sermons at the churches in London, but little or no ringing of bells, nor hardly any bonefires at night, except two or three in some places, as formerly was usuall.' Another possibility is that the portrait was advertised because Mary had aroused interest by suffering some minor injuries in a riding accident in October.[86]

Advertisements for Vanderbank's print of Grinling Gibbons' Royal Exchange statue of Charles II were placed for different reasons. After the statue was erected in the spring of 1684 Gibbons obtained a rare patent to protect his rights over its reproduction in prints.[87] This is evidence for public interest in the statue. Poems about the statue were also printed. In 1684 James Norris published Samuel Philips' poem *To the Learned and Worthy Artist Mr. Grinsted [i.e. Grinling] Gibbons. (On Mr. Gibbons his carving the matchless statue of the King erected in ... the Royal Exchange.)* In the same year Randal Taylor published *A poem upon the new marble statue of his present Majesty, erected in the Royal Exchange: by the Society of Merchants Adventurers of England: together with a copy of the inscription upon the pedestall.* William Downing published the Latin verse *Augustissimo et optimo regi Carolo Secundo, in statuam ei in medio Mercatorum Foro positam.* In 1685

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[85] Luttrell, Vol.1, pp. 362,388, 419.
[86] Andrew Barclay, 'Mary (1658-1718)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18247, accessed 3 July 2005]
[87] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.224.

Vanderbank's engraving of the statue was advertised by Dorman Newman in the *Observator* of 12th January and *The Term Catalogues* of February.[88] It was later marketed in *The Term Catalogues* of June and November 1687.[89] In the notice of January 1685 the print cost 2s. 6d. but by November 1687 it had dropped to 1s. 6d. This is because it was a later impression and of a lower quality due to the repeated use of the plate.[90] The successive number of impressions supports the view that there was a demand for this image. The first advertisement of January 1685 was placed because of interest in the new statue but the second in February was a response to Charles II's death on 6th February. In the same issue of *The Term Catalogues* an advertisement was placed for: 'Miscellaneous Poems: with some Remarks on the Death of Charles II., and the happy Succession of King James II., in a Poem to the Magistracy of England. John Whitehall. Quarto. Printed for T.Salusbury at the Black Lyon, Post Office in Fleet street.'[91] There is no clear evidence to suggest why the print was advertised again in June and November 1687. It may have been in response to the continuing popularity of this print. The precedence of earlier November advertising suggests that the final notice were placed to coincide with the ritual days of that month.

In February 1686 two sets of royal portraits were advertised in *The Term Catalogues*. John Overton advertised portraits of 'King James II., Queen Mary, King Charles I., King Charles II., and Queen Dowager: made by several Masters' and Robert Walton advertised 'King Charles I., after Sir Anthony Vandyke, King Charles II., and King

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[88] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 2, p.115. Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.224.
[89] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 2, pp. 200, 207.
[90] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.267.
[91] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 2, p.114.

James II., by R.Robinson; all in Mizzo-tinto.'[92] It is likely that the notices appeared because February 1686 was the first anniversary of Charles II's death and James II's accession to the throne. In late January Luttrell recorded that: 'The late kings effigies at length is done in his robes in waxwork, and is putt amongst the tombes at Westminster.'[93] Evelyn wrote that on the '6: Being his Majesties day, on which he began his Reigne; By Order of Council, it was to be solemniz'd with a particular Office, & sermon, which the Bis: of Ely preached at W:hall: on 11: Numbers: 12: a Court-Oration, upon the Regal Office & c: It was much wonder'd at; that this day which was that of his late Majesties death, should be kept as festival, & not the day of the present Kings Coronation: It is said, that it had formerly ben the costome, though not 'til now, since the Reigne of K.James. 1.'[94]

On 19th August 1686 Edward Cooper placed an advertisement in *The London Gazette* for 'the Portraicture of their Majesties and all the Royal Family Compleated from the Originals, Painted by Mr. Wissing.' Cooper appears to have had an arrangement with Wissing for the exclusive publication of his paintings.[95] This portrait may have been placed because James II was touring the west of England in order to raise support for parliamentary members who would carry out his pro-Catholic policies. In August Luttrell wrote that: 'The 23d, his majestie began his progresse into the west: that night he lay at Marlborough; the 24th at the duke of Beaufords at Badminton: the 25th at Bristoll; the 27th at Bridgewater, and saw Sedge moor in his passage; the 28th at the earl of Pembrokes at Wilton; the 29th at Southampton; the 30th at Portsmouth; and the

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[92] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 2, p.158.
[93] Luttrell, Vol.1, p.370.
[94] *The diary and correspondence of John Evelyn,* p.449.
[95] Griffiths, *Dictionary of Printsellers,* p.41.

31st the king returned to Windsor.'[96] It is possible that the portrait was marketed towards consumers in the West Country.

In December 1686 Isaac Beckett and Alexander Browne advertised prints of 'their Majesties Effigies, after the last Paintings. By Mr. Largilitere.' Beckett's notice was placed in *The London Gazette* of 9th December and Browne advertised in the same paper on 13th and 20th December. In this case the placement of two similar advertisements is not evidence for the sitters' topicality. Griffiths suggests that Beckett and Browne both released reproductions of the painting of James II because of a confusion over who had the rights to reproduce the picture.[97]

Conclusion

The advertisements placed during James II's reign show that portrait prints were purchased during periods when the sitters were the focus of attention. This raises questions about the ways that the prints were displayed, particularly on the occasions where the sitters were the subjects of ceremony and ritual. Vanderbank's picture of James II was advertised in July 1685 shortly after it was announced that there would be a day of thanksgiving to mark the defeat of the rebellions. The timing of the notice suggests that the prints were aimed at consumers who wished to celebrate the defeat. It seems possible that the prints could have been prominently displayed by consumers to symbolise their allegiance to the king. In some cases if groups of people gathered to toast the victory the prints might have been the focus of toasts.

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[96] Luttrell, Vol.1, p.384.
[97] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.236.

In order to see whether portraits were used in ceremonies or whether they were advertised because the ceremony had made the sitters topical it is necessary to refer to the timing of the advertisement. Vanderbank's picture of James II could have been used in the context of the thanksgiving because it was advertised beforehand. In February 1686 two retailers advertised portraits of members of the royal family. February saw the first anniversary of Charles II's death and James II's accession. Luttrell wrote: 'The 6th was kept as a thanksgiveing day for his majesties accession to the crown; for which there was a particular church service appointed, and sermons preach'd in most churches, and bonefires at night.'[98] It is tempting to suggest that the portraits were displayed when the bonfires were lit but it is not known if consumers could have seen the February edition of *The Term Catalogues* in time to purchase the prints before the 6th. In this case the prints were probably bought because the anniversary had drawn attention to the royal family.

At first glance portrait print advertising under James II seems different to that of other reigns because of the restricted range of sitters. However portraits were advertised at times when the sitters were the subject of ceremony and ritual throughout the period. This subject is discussed at greater depth in chapter seven.

William and Mary

William and Mary were recognised as joint monarchs on 13th February 1689. They faced relatively little opposition in England and Wales despite the survival of a Jacobite underground and the fact that three hundred clergy, including seven bishops, refused to swear oaths to them. These clergymen were known as non-jurors. Scotland

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[98] Luttrell, Vol.1, p.371.

proved to be more difficult but the Jacobites were effectively defeated at Dunkeld on 21st August 1689. Some resistance continued in highland areas until 1692. It took William three years to gain control of Ireland because the Catholic majority supported James II and the Jacobites received the support of French troops. It was not until 1690 that the tide turned in William's favour and it took until 1691 to quell the final resistance.

William's foreign policy was controlled by the need to combat France's territorial ambitions. On 5th May 1689 England declared a war on France that did not end until the treaty of Ryswick in September 1697. This war faced parliamentary opposition throughout the reign because it was thought that William was using England to further Dutch interests.

Many of the portrait print advertisements under William and Mary promoted pictures of the sitters who were associated with the establishment and maintenance of the new regime and the war against France. William employed skilled propagandists, including the printmaker Romeyn de Hooghe. In the light of this it seems possible that some of the advertised portrait prints may have been produced as pro-government propaganda. However no evidence has yet been found to demonstrate this and it is most likely that the prints were produced in response to demand for images of topical sitters.

Portraits of William and Mary

Advertisements for portraits of the royal couple appeared quickly after William formally assumed the reigns of government on 28th December 1688. [99] Vanderbank advertised a portrait of the Prince and Princess of Orange in *The London Gazette* as early as 31st December. The print is advertised again but described as a portrait of the King and Queen in *The London Gazette* of 21st February, just a few days after William and Mary formally accepted the Convention's offer of the throne on 13th February.[100] Luttrell wrote that: 'The 13th, the lords and commons assembled at Westminster came both houses to the banqueting house at Whitehal, and there presented the prince and princesse of Orange with the instrument agreed on for declaring them king and queen, and received their consent theretoo: then immediately the officers of arms and serjeants at arms, with the lords and commons, went and proclaimed their majesties at Whitehall gate, then between the two Temple gates, then in Cheapside and at the Royal Exchange; and the night ended with bonefires, ringing of bells, and great acclamations of joy.'

Robert White's portrait of William and Mary was first advertised in *The London Gazette* on 11th April, the day of their coronation at Westminster (see figure 8).[101] It was advertised again in the same newspaper on 18th November 1689, the day after Elizabeth I's anniversary. This may have been a continuation of the practice of advertising to coincide with the November rituals. Just a few days after the notice was placed William's portrait at Guildhall was defaced. Luttrell wrote: 'His present majesties picture at Guildhall was taken down the 21st, some person having defaced it

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[99] Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: revolution, religion and war* (Oxford, 1999), p.10.
[100] Luttrell, Vol.1, p.501.
[101] Luttrell, Vol. 1, p.520.

by cutting out the crown and sceptre: the lord mayor and court of alderman have published an order for the discovery of the author, promising the reward of 500 *l.*[102] The attack shows that portraits were regarded as representatives of the sitter's physical presence. This helps to explain why portrait prints were often advertised at times when they could be the focus of ceremonial occasions.

The portraits were produced at the same time as texts about the new monarchs. Poems were produced such as *A Poem on the coronation of King William and Queen Mary* and Francis Crake's *A congratulatory poem upon the coronation of William and Mary, King and Queen of England &c,* both published by Randal Taylor. There were also ballads like *The Protestants Joy; or, an excellent new song on the glorious coronation of King William and Queen Mary, etc.* and other texts including *The form of prayers and services used in Westminster-Abby at the coronation of the kings and queens of England: with an account of the procession from the palace to the abby,* also published by Randal Taylor. [103]

The pattern of November advertising first observed under Charles II continued under William and Mary. Catherine of Braganza's birthday on 15th November and Elizabeth I's accession on 17th November were still marked and the days of celebration were added to by William's birthday on the 4th and the anniversary of his landing at Torbay on Gunpowder day.[104] Claydon writes: 'An occasion which sometimes embarrassed Charles and James could be useful to William. His reformation propaganda presented him as the saviour of the same cause which had been rescued in 1605, and the coincidence of the prince's landing at Torbay on 5 November 1688 added to the

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[102] Luttrell, Vol. 1, pp.606-607.
[103] http://copac.ac.uk
[104] Luttrell,Vol. 2, p.130.

anniversary's Orange resonance. The ceremonies of the day could thus be used to establish the providential link between England's two salvations from popery, and to legitimate the later event with reference to the earlier.'[105]

In November 1690 John Overton advertised a portrait of the King and Queen in *The Term Catalogues*.[106] That year Luttrell recorded that 'The 4th, being his majesties birth day, was observed here very strictly, by shutting up the shops, firing the great guns at the Tower, ringing of bells, and bonefires at night; their majesties dined publickly at Whitehall, where was a great resort of nobility and gentry, and at night was a consort of musick and a play afterwards. And the next day, being the anniversary of the gunpowder plot, (being likewise the day of his majesties landing in England,) was observed with great solemnity and general rejoicing.' The celebrations drew attention to the monarchy and on 20th November 1690 Robert White advertised a portrait of the heir to the throne Princess Anne and her husband Prince George in *The London Gazette.*

In 1691 Vanderbank advertised a portrait of William and Mary after Kneller in *The London Gazette* of 29th October. It was undoubtedly placed because of the celebrations surrounding the 4th and 5th of November.[107] An advertisement for a print of an arch erected at Cheapside to commemorate the events of the 4th and the 5th was also advertised in *The London Gazette* of 9th November 1691. Kneller was official painter to the King and Queen and *The London Gazette* was the official government newspaper. This suggests the possibility of an element of state instigation for this advertisement. November 1691 also saw an advertisement placed in *The Term*

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[105] Tony Claydon, *William III and the godly revolution* (Cambridge, 1996), p.102.
[106] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.2, p.336. Luttrell, Vol. 2, pp.125,130.
[107] Claydon, p.102.

Catalogues for: 'The Monarchs of England, from the Heptarchy to their present Majesties K.William and Q.Mary; curiously Engraven on Copper. taken from Medals and Original Paintings: with a Compendious History of their several Reigns by Guy Miege, Gent. Printed for T.Basset at the George in Fleet street.'[108]

In the next reign a number of portraits of Queen Anne were advertised to coincide with the days of national thanksgiving held for the War of the Spanish Succession. Under William and Mary days of thanksgiving and fasting were also organised for the War of the Grand Alliance and in 1693 a fast was held every month between May and October.[109] On 17th August 1693 the Calligraphic engraver John Sturt advertised an unusual portrait of William and Mary in *The London Gazette:* 'The Effigies of King William and Queen Mary, with the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments; the Magnificat, the Prayer for the King and Queen; the Prayer for the Royal Family; the Prayer for Clergy and People; the Prayer of St Chrysostom; and the Blessing. Engraven within a Circle, two Inches and Quarter Diameter. Engraven and Sold by John Sturt in Crane Court in the Old Change near St Paul. Price 2s.' The inclusion of prayers suggests that this was marketed towards consumers who wanted a print to mark the days of national thanksgiving and fasting.

When William's absences abroad left him unable to govern his administration was left under the control of the Lord Justices. In the same way that consumers wanted images of new monarchs they also sought pictures of the Lord Justices. On 13th July 1695 Robert White advertised a group portrait of the Lord Justices of England in *The Post*

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[108] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.2, p.382.
[109] Claydon, p.105.

Boy.[110] Then in 15th October 1698 a portrait of 'the Effigies of their Excellencies, the nine Lord Justices of England, for the Administration of the Government in his Majestys absence' was advertised in *The Post Man* by Hall, Green and Savage.

William and Mary's supporters

In the period following 1688 portrait prints were advertised of people who had played a significant role in the seizure and maintenance of power. The extent to which these portraits were advertised as propaganda can only be guessed at because of the lack of evidence. Claydon rightly points out that some businesses could have produced pro-Orange material because it was profitable rather than for partisan motives. [111] 'There were independent writers, songwriters, engravers, and craftsmen who supported the king (or saw cash to be made from promoting his image) and produced their own forms of propaganda. Their products- from pamphlets and newspapers to broadside ballads and decorated pottery- often popularised the case made by the court's publicists and may have played a considerable role in attaching people to their ruler.'

Robert White advertised his portrait of the Portsmouth Captains in *The Orange Gazette* of 19th February 1689, just days after William and Mary's formal acceptance of the crown (see figure 5). The Captains were heroes for the new regime. They were members of the Duke of Berwick's regiment at Portsmouth and had been cashiered in the autumn of 1688 for their refusal to accept Irish Catholic recruits. Their resistance reflected fears that James II planned to recruit large numbers of Catholic Irishmen into the army and was a contributory factor in much of the army's support for William.[112]

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[110] Luttrell, Vol. 3, p.467.
[111] Claydon, p.88.
[112] http://www.national-army-museum.ac.uk/pages/glor-rev.html.

This print was probably marketed towards those who wished to celebrate the events of the revolution. In the same notice White advertised his print of the Seven Bishops (figure 2). They were also Orange heroes because 'The case of the seven bishops was an important turning point in the development of events leading up to the Revolution.'[113] The seven bishops became symbols for protest against James II and a large number of group portrait prints were produced.[114] The seven bishops were discussed in texts published in 1689 including the anonymous verse *The Confinement of the Seven Bishops* and Gilbert Burnet's *A Compleat collection of papers in twelve parts relating to the great revolutions in England and Scotland: from the time of the seven bishops petitioning K. James II. against the dispensing power, June 8. 1688. to the coronation of King William and Queen Mary, April 11. 1689.*[115]

Portrait prints were also advertised of participants in the war against France and the fight against the Jacobites in Ireland. Vanderbank's portrait of George Walker was advertised in *The London Gazette* of the 5th September and 28th October 1689.[116] Walker was a Church of England minister who had been made Governor of Londonderry and had led its successful defence against James II's troops.[117] The siege was lifted on 31st July 1689 and Walker left for Scotland shortly afterwards.[118] On 1st August 1689 Luttrell wrote: 'Mr. George Walker, late governour of London Derry. since his arrivall here in England, hath been to wait on their majesties at Hampton

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[113] Tim Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660-1715* (London, 1998), p.128.
[114] Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.297. David Alexander, 'English Prints and Printmaking', pp. 272-280 in R.P.Maccubbin & M.Hamilton-Phillips eds, *The Age of William III and Mary II: Politics, Power and Patronage 1688-1702*, (Williamsburg, New York and Washington D.C., 1989), p. 272.
[115] http://copac.ac.uk.
[116] Piers Wauchope, 'Walker, George (1645/6-1690)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28479, accessed 11 July 2005]
[117] Luttrell, Vol.1, p.526.
[118] Hoppit, p.94. Luttrell, Vol. 1, p.573.

Court, and was introduced by the lord president: he was very gratiously received, and his majestie, as a present mark of his favour, ordered him 5000 *l.* (which was paid him the next day), and assured him of further kindnesse, and that he would also have a care of the other officers and gentlemen in Derry;' [119] William commissioned Kneller to paint the portrait, now lost, that was the basis for this image. Walker was also depicted at the same time by David Loggan and Robert White[120] and was the subject of a number of texts. These included *An Encomium on the reverend and valiant Mr. George Walker* printed for J.Green in 1689, and the verse *The Arrival and welcome of Mr. George Walker, late governour of London-Derry in Ireland* sold by Randal Taylor.[121]

Robert White's portrait of William's Dutch General Godard van Ginkel was advertised in *The London Gazette* of 28th January 1692 (see figure 18). The House of Commons was moved to deliver a vote of thanks to Ginkel in the January of 1692 for his command in Ireland, but due to resentment of William's favouritism towards Dutch officers this decision was not popular with all MPs.[122] In the same month Ginkel was showered with respect and honours. Luttrell records that on 16th January 'general Ginkle dined with the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, and after dinner his majestie honoured him with his company.'[123] At the end of January Ginkel was created Earl of Athlone and Baron of Ballimore.[124] It is without a doubt that the portrait was advertised because of these events.

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[119] Luttrell,Vol. 1, p.575.
[120] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.302-303.
[121] http://copac.ac.uk.
[122] Rose, p.39.
[123] Luttrell, Vol.2, p.341.
[124] Luttrell, Vol.2, p.346.

In *The London Gazette* of 20th June 1692 Thomas Bassett advertised a portrait of Edward Russell, the Admiral of the Fleet. Russell achieved eminence through his commanding role at the battle of La Hogue between 19th and 24th May.[125] The victory led to the reversal of French control over the Channel.[126] At the time of advertising the Admiral was at sea.[127] A number of texts were published in response to the same events. These included *A Congratulatory ode to Admiral Russel and the other sea-commanders for their late, glorious victory* printed by Edward Jones. and *An Account of the late great victory, obtained at sea, against the French: by Their Majesties fleet, commanded in chief by Admiral Russell, and the Dutch commanded by Admiral Allemond, near the Cape of Barsteur in May, 1692* printed for John Rawlins.[128]

In November 1691 Robert White advertised a portrait of another supporter of the Williamite regime, John Tillotson, the new archbishop of Canterbury (see figure 12).[129] The advert appeared in *The Term Catalogues* of November 1691 and *The London Gazette* of 30th November.[130] Tillotson, one of William`s chief propagandists, was nominated in April 1691 to replace the non-juror William Sancroft.[131] The non-juring bishops had been deprived of their sees since February 1690 but the positions had been kept open in the hope of a compromise. William found that it was difficult to fill the vacancies and Tillotson received criticism for taking the position.[132] The new Archbishop was consecrated on 31st May[133] and in the month that the advert appeared

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[125] D. D. Aldridge, 'Russell, Edward, earl of Orford (1652-1727)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24304, accessed 5 July 2005]
[126] Rose, p.123. Luttrell, Vol. 2, pp.464, 468.
[127] Luttrell, Vol.2, p.484.
[128] http://copac.ac.uk
[129] Hoppit, p.147.
[130] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 2, p.383.
[131] Isabel Rivers, 'Tillotson, John (1630-1694)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27449, accessed 11 July 2005]
[132] Rose, pp.157-58.
[133] Luttrell, Vol. 2, p.238.

he was sworn into the House of Lords alongside the new Archbishop of York on 5th November.[134] The fact that Tillotson was a topical figure at the time of advertising is shown by public support for Sancroft. On 5th November 'Sancroft gave the sacrament at Lambeth, where was a great crowd of all sorts of persons; but the door were kept shutt, and not above 60 admitted in to communicate.'[135] The appointment's political dimensions is illustrated by the fact that in the same year the radical Whig John Tutchin wrote *A congratulatory poem to the Reverend Dr. John Tillotson: upon his promotion to the arch-episcopal-see of Canterbury.* [136]

Other portraits

Robert White advertised his portrait of Sir Thomas Pilkington, the Whig Lord Mayor of London and former Exclusionist, in *Mercurius Reformatus* of 15th May 1691 (see figure 19).[137] The Whigs had been losing ground to the Tories and Pilkington was involved in a series of disputes as the tories contested his and other Whigs' victories in the elections of May 1690.[138] Part of this dispute involved the choice of Mr Leonard Robinson over Sir Peter Rich as London chamberlain.[139] This ended in a court case, which Pilkington lost, in June 1691.[140] It is very likely that Pilkington's portrait, in which he is depicted with many references to his status as Lord Mayor, was marketed towards Whig supporters and even perhaps that it was commissioned by them as a gesture of support.

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[134] Luttrell, Vol. 2, p.289.
[135] Luttrell, Vol. 2, p.238.
[136] http://copac.ac.uk
[137] Gary S. De Krey, 'Pilkington, Sir Thomas (1628-1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22280, accessed 11 July 2005]
[138] Luttrell, Vol. 2, p.140.
[139] Luttrell, Vol. 2, p.49.
[140] Luttrell, Vol.2, p.251.

There may have been a political dimension to the two portraits of Dryden that were advertised after his death on 1st May 1700. The first by Edelinck after Kneller was advertised in *The Post Boy* of 14th May, the day after his interment at Westminster Abbey. The second, sold by John Nutt, was advertised in *The Flying Post* of 16th July. These portraits appeared as part of a flurry of commemoration and comment. Poems appearing in this year included Thomas Brown's satirical *A description of Mr D-n's funeral: a poem*, Mrs Manley's *The nine muses, or, Poems written by nine several ladies upon the death of the famous John Dryden esq.*, Alexander Oldys' *An ode, by way of elegy, on the universally lamented death of the incomparable Mr. Dryden* and the collection *Luctus britannici: or, The tears of the British muses.* Dryden's image could have had partisan connotations. He was not only the former poet laureate and an eminent literary figure, but also a believer in the divine right of kings and a Catholic Tory who had fallen out of favour with William's regime.[141]

A year after the composer Henry Purcell died on 21st November 1695 his portrait was advertised in *The Term Catalogues* of November 1696.[142] 'The Effigies of the late famous Mr. Henry Purcell, exactly engraved by Mr White. Price in a frame, 18d.; in a sheet, 6d. Sold by H.Playford in the Temple Change, Fleet street.' Playford sold sheet music and in 1696 he also sold Purcell's 'A choice collection of lessons for the harpsichord or spinnet' which were 'Printed on copper plates for Mrs. Frances Purcell, executrix of the author, and are to be sold by Henry Playford at his shop.'[143]

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[141] Paul Hammond, 'Dryden, John (1631-1700)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8108, accessed 11 July 2005] Luttrell, Vol. 4, pp.645, 655.

[142] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 2, p.604.

[143] http://copac.ac.uk.

The portrait print may have been advertised both to publicise the sale and commemorate the first anniversary of Purcell's death.[144]

Conclusion

The timing of many of the advertisements suggests that the portraits were displayed as symbols of political loyalty. William and Mary's portraits were advertised in December 1688 shortly after they had formally assumed the reins of government, then in February when they had just been recognised as monarchs and in April on the day of their coronation. It is easy to imagine that supporters exhibited the prints to show their allegiance to the new regime. When William and Mary's portraits were advertised in November 1690 and late October 1691 it is likely that advertisers were appealing to buyers who wanted to signal their support for the monarchs in the context of the ritually significant month of November.

The portraits of the Portsmouth captains, the seven bishops, George Walker, General Ginkel, Admiral Russell and John Tillotson could also have been displayed to signify support for the Orange regime. The roles that these sitters had played in the events leading up to and following the regime change meant that they symbolised the new order. In addition to this these portraits represent an interest in images of eminent men of the kind shown by Evelyn and Pepys in their portrait print collecting. This was not a new development in portrait print advertising because pictures of foreign sitters who performed great deeds had been advertised since the reign of Charles II.

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[144] Robert Thompson, 'Purcell, Henry (1659-1695)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22894, accessed 11 July 2005]

Britain and the wider world

This section surveys advertisements for portrait prints of foreign sitters from the reign of Charles II to the death of Queen Anne in 1714. These portraits were advertised to meet demand for images of exotic visitors and the participants in international affairs. The advertisements discussed in this section demonstrate the fact that groups among the British public were interested in events outside Britain. They both complement and reflect the extensive coverage of European events in London newspapers of the later seventeenth century.

The majority of the portrait prints discussed in this section depicted sitters who were involved in international conflict. This is a reflection of the frequency of warfare in seventeenth-century Europe. The first two portraits were advertised in 1664 and depict participants in the Austro-Turkish war of 1663-1664. The Ottoman Empire was a serious threat to Christian Europe in this period and this was just one of a number of wars against the Turks in the seventeenth century. These wars were extensively reported in London newspapers. The portrait of the Imperial commander Nicholas Serini was advertised in *The Intelligencer* of 27th June 1664. On 26th May a portrait of the 'Monstrous Tartar', a man captured by Serini in Hungary, was advertised in *The Newes.* Serini was the subject of a book published by Sam Speed in London in 1664 entitled *The Conduct and character of Count Nicholas Serini, Protestant Generalissimo of the auxiliaries in Hungary: with his parallels Scanderbeg & Tamberlain: interwoven with the principal passages of the Christians and Turks discipline and success, since the infidels first invasion of Europe, in the year 1313.*

In 1686 Charles V of Lorraine's portrait was advertised in *The London Gazette* of 13th September as a response to his raising of the siege of Buda on 2nd September. An advertisement for a medal of Charles V appeared in the same newspaper on 21st October. Medal advertising was extremely rare in the early modern period and the existence of this notice testifies to public interest in Charles V. The victory at Buda was important for Christian Europe because the city was seen as the key to the Ottoman Empire and had been held by the Turks for a century and a half. [145] At the time of advertising the Austro-Turkish war of 1683-1699 was in progress. Several publications were produced in response to the siege. The title of this liturgy published by Bill, Hills and Newcomb shows that the victory was formally celebrated one day before Charles V of Lorraine's portrait was advertised: *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the Prosperity of the Christian Arms against the Turks, and especially for taking the City of Buda: to be used publickly on Sunday the twelfth of September in His Majesties Free Chappel of St. Georges Windsor, in the Collegiate Church of St. Peters Westminster, and in the Parish-Church of St. Mary le Bowe in the City of London, etc. B.L.*[146]

On 11th November 1686 Robert White advertised a portrait of the Venetian commander Captain General Morosini and a map of Napoli di Romania[147] in *The London Gazette.* The wording of the advertisement shows that this advertisement was prompted by Morosini's capture of Nauplia in September and the Venetian success in the Morea as a whole.[148]

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[145] Kenneth Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the seventeenth century* (Philadelphia, 1991), p.278.
[146] http://copac.ac.uk.
[147] Napoli di Romania is Nauplia in modern day Greece.
[148] Setton, pp.299-300. Luttrell, Vol.1, p.385.

A true Prospect of the City of Napoli di Romania, lately taken by the Venetians (in a large Sheet) and the Effigies of Captain General Morosini. done by R.White. Sold at his house in Bloomsbury-market. and most Picture-Sellers in London and Westminster.

In 1691 a portrait of Prince Louis von Baden was advertised in *The London Gazette* of 24th September. The Emperor declared him viceroy of Hungary in June of that year.[149] The advert appeared because on 19th August 1691 he 'defeated the Turks in an almost decisive battle at Slankamen, on the Danube in northern Serbia. The grand vizir. . was killed. The battle was disastrous for the Turks and costly for the Austrians, but it secured the Hapsburg possession of Hungary and Transylvania.'[150] In the same year Edward Jones printed *A more particular relation of the victory obtained by the imperialists under the command of Prince Lewis of Baden, in the battel against the Turks, under the command of the Grand Visier, on Aug. 19, 1691,* and a map entitled *The plan of the march of the armys and of the ground on which the battle was fought in Hungary, the 19th of Aug. 1691.*[151]

A further portrait of a military leader in the fight against the Turks was advertised in *The Term Catalogues* of February 1685.[152] The sitter was Count Rudiger von Staremberg. He was famous for his role at the raising of the siege of Vienna in 1683 and went on to fight in the War of the Spanish Succession. This notice does not appear to have been placed because of more recent events.[153]

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[149] Luttrell, Vol.2, p.254.
[150] Setton, p.390.
[151] http://copac.ac.uk
[152] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 2. p.115.
[153] Jeremy Black, *European International Relations 1648-1815* (Basingstoke, 2002). p.79.

During this period a number of portraits were advertised depicting foreign sovereigns. The portrait of John III, perhaps better known as John Sobieski, was advertised in *The Term Catalogues* of November 1684.[154] Sobieski had been king of Poland since 1674, during which time he had been involved in a large number of conflicts against the Turks. In 1683 Sobieski assumed the overall command at the siege of Vienna, which ended on 12th September. This was followed by other Imperial victories in the autumn.[155] In March 1684 Sobieski joined the Holy League against the Turks, alongside the Emperor Leopold I and the Venetian Doge under the aegis of the Pope.[156] In the autumn of 1684 when the portrait was advertised the Poles made unsuccessful attempts to win back Podolia whilst Charles V of Lorraine worked on winning Buda.[157] The portrait was sold for 3d., which suggests that there was a high demand for it. In the same year Thomas Malthus published *Scanderbeg redivivus: an historical account of the life & actions of the most victorious Prince John III, K. of Poland.*[158]

In 1698, when a portrait of Frederick Augustus the King of Poland and Elector of Saxony was advertised in *The London Gazette* of 21st February, it was also because of recent events. In the autumn of 1697[159] with the support of Austria and Russia he beat the French candidate, the Prince de Conti, to the Polish throne.[160] This was followed by a very eventful period. Luttrell reports that in January 1698 the King issued an ultimatum to malcontent subjects to submit to him[161] and later in the month writes

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[154] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.2, p.99.
[155] Luttrell, Vol.1, pp.284, 286.
[156] Setton, p.271.
[157] Setton, pp.273-4.
[158] http://copac.ac.uk
[159] Luttrell, Vol.4, p.294.
[160] Black, *International relations,* p.83.
[161] Luttrell, Vol. 4, p.329.

that: 'Yesterday came in 3 foreign posts, which say that the king of Poland made his publick entry the 12th instant into Warsaw in great splendour.'[162]

In 1701 White and Overton advertised separate portraits of Charles XII, the King of Sweden. White's advertisement appeared in *The London Gazette* of 24th February and Overton's in the same paper on 27th March. This period falls at the beginning of the Great Northern War of 1700-1721. In 1701 Sweden was engaged in battle in Poland. In late January Luttrell reported that: 'the King of Sueden is sending 17. 000 men towards Novogrod, and designs to march with the rest of the army to Ploscow; but there is great appearances of an accommodation between him, the king of Poland, and the Czar. . .'[163]

Between 1691 and 1712 three advertisements were placed for multiple sitters. These are more difficult to connect to specific events on the continent but can be described as symptomatic of an interest in continental affairs. On 8th October 1691 Christopher Browne advertised a group portrait of 'the present Emperor of Germany and the six Christian Kings of Europe' in *The London Gazette.* The emphasis on the six ***Christian*** Kings of Europe suggests that this print was marketed because of the Austro-Turkish war and should be classed alongside the portrait of Louis von Baden which was advertised on 24th September. On 17th March 1701 John Nutt placed an advertisement in the same newspaper for depictions of 'Clement XI. Pope, Leopold Emperor of Germany, William III. King of Great-Britain, Lewis XIV. The French King, Charles XII. King of Sweden, Frederic King of Prussia, Peter II. King of Portugal, Frederic-Augustus King of Poland, Peter-Alexeewitz Czar of Muscovy, and the present Grand

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[162] Luttrell, Vol. 4, p.338.
[163] Luttrell, Vol.5, p.12.

Signior.' The large number of sitters suggests that this advertisement was intended to appeal to anyone who was interested in the entire breadth of European affairs. On 6th September 1712 Joseph Smith placed an advertisement in *The Post Boy* for: 'complete Setts of the Effigies, with an Historical Account of all the Emperors of Germany, the Kings of Spain and France, and of all the Popes, complete to this time.' Smith's advertisement also promotes 'exact Draughts of all the ancient and modern Buildings, Triumphal Arches, and Statues there; the Galleries of Luxemburgh, &c. and several Setts of other fine Prints, fit for furnishing Rooms, Stair Cases, and Closets.' Joseph Smith's trade as a retailer of connoisseurial imports and the fact that the portraits were advertised with groups of architectural prints suggests that they were primarily marketed because of their decorative value.

Foreign visitors

Robert White's portrait of the Moroccan ambassador was advertised in *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* and *The True Protestant Mercury* on the 4th and 8th of April 1682. The advertisement appeared because the ambassador was in England from January to July 1682 to negotiate the Treaty of Tangier. The ambassador and his retinue attracted a great deal of attention during their stay in London and their visits to other parts of England. This suggests that there would have been a strong demand for the portrait. Luttrell and Evelyn described the scene the ambassador made when riding on horseback in the park.[164] In January Luttrell wrote: "the Morocco ambassador, with his attendants, went into Hide park, and mounted their Barbary horses, where they shewed great activity in managing the same, and

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[164] *The diary and correspondence of John Evelyn*, p.391.

their dexterity in shooting,"[165] White appears to be exploiting interest in this because the advert states that the portrait also shows "the manner of his riding on Horseback & c."

In 1680 a civil war broke out in the independent Javan state of Bantam. The Dutch and English supported opposite sides of the conflict. Ambassadors were sent from Bantam to England and in June 1682 their portraits were advertised twice in London papers. These were placed by Robert White on 3rd June and Walter Davis on 6th June. The ambassadors and their retinue of about thirty persons had made their public entry into London one month earlier on 9th May.[166] Their exotic appearance attracted a great deal of public interest and Evelyn recorded seeing them dine at Lord George Berkeley's on 19th June.[167] Several texts were published about the conflict including *A true account of the burning and sad condition of Bantam in the East-Indies: in the war begun by the young king against his father* and *The Civil wars of Bantam, or, An Impartial relation of all the battels, sieges, and other remarkable transactions, revolutions and accidents that happened in the late civil wars.* [168]

White might have been inspired by the popularity of the portraits of the Moroccan and Bantam ambassadors to advertise a further ambassadorial portrait. The portrait of the Russian ambassador Peter John Potemkin was advertised in *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence* on 31st August 1682 (see figure 14). Situated on the edge of Europe, Russia was as exotic a country as Morocco and Bantam. The ambassador appears to have left the country eight months before his portrait was advertised.

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[165] Luttrell, Vol.1, p.157.
[166] Luttrell, pp.158,182.
[167] *The diary and correspondence of John Evelyn,* p.394.
[168] http://copac.ac.uk. Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* p.255.

Luttrell reports that on 10th January 1682 "the Moscovite ambassador had his audience of leave of his majestie, and during his stay here he has been severall times at the playhouses."[169] However Evelyn's diary suggests that the ambassador was still present in June 1682: 'at this time we had in London the Russian, Moroccan, and Indian Ambassadors.'[170]

Peter the Great's portrait was advertised by White and Tonson in 1697 and John Overton in 1698 as a direct result of his tour of Western Europe (see figure 15). When the first adverts appeared in *The London Gazette* of 8th November and *The Post Boy* of 9th November he had been in England for just a few days.[171] However White and Tonson would have had adequate warning of his arrival because Luttrell was able to report the Czar's movements across Europe from as early as June.[172] He recorded that the Czar met William III at Loo in October and in mid-October that 'It is still said the czar of Moscovy will come over with his majestie.'[173] When John Overton advertised his portrait in *The London Gazette* of 27th January the Czar was still at the Royal court and Luttrell recorded on 22nd January that: 'The revels in the Temple are ended, where was a masquerade last night, and the czar amongst them incognito in a butchers habit.'[174]

On 25th November 1710 a portrait of Baron Spanheim, the first Prussian ambassador to London, was advertised in *The Post Boy.* Spanheim was renowned across Europe as a man of letters and was very popular. The wording of the advertisement reveals that

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[169] Luttrell, Vol.1, p.157.
[170] *The diary and correspondence of John Evelyn,* p.394.
[171] Luttrell, Vol. 4, p.301.
[172] Luttrell, Vol. 4, p.234.
[173] Luttrell, Vol. 4, p.290, 296.
[174] Luttrell, Vol. 4, p.335.

Spanheim, who had lived in London for nine years, had recently died. [175] The advertisement appeared very soon after his death.

> Original Effigy or Print of his Excellency Baron Spanheim, Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of Prussia, lately deceased; is only sold by J. Daliston at his Toy-shop in Great Newport Street, directly against the Barbers Pole. Price One Shilling and Six Pence and with Glass and Frame 3s. 6d.

In 1710 the portraits of four Indian princes were advertised in *The London Gazette* of 16th November. Interest in these sitters is demonstrated by the following advertisement placed in *The London Gazette* of 18th May. 'Whereas an Advertisement was Published on Monday last, that the Effigies of the four Indian Princes were drawn from Mr Verelst's Original Pictures; these are to give notice, that Mr Verelst has not permitted any Person to take any Draught or Sketch from them; if he should he will take care to have it correctly done by a skilful Hand, and inform the Publick thereof in the Gazette. John Verelst at the Rainbow and Dove by Ivy Bridge in the Strand.' The princes were in fact four Native Americans. 'In 1710, a colonial official from New York, Peter Schuyler, brought four "Indian Kings" to meet Queen Anne. The visiting dignitaries created a stir throughout London. . .the four men were almost certainly not the tribal leaders that Schuyler claimed them to be. They appear to have been four young men who, having formed friendly relations with British traders and officials,

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[175] Richard G.Maber, *Publishing in the republic of letters: the Menage-Graevius-Wetstein correspondence 1679-1692* (Amsterdam, 2005), p.74 n.6

agreed to participate in a calculated effort to gain support from the Crown for military efforts against the French.'[176]

On 2nd February 1702 the portrait of 'the Grecian Archbishop of Philopopoli' was advertised in *The London Gazette* (see figure 13). The Archbishop visited England in 1701. On 6th September 1701 Luttrell recorded: 'The Greek archbishop of Philopopoli, by recommendation of the duke of Ormond, chancellor of the university of Oxford, was this week made a doctor of divinity there, upon which he made an excellent speech in old Greek, and much applauded; and afterwards was nobly treated, and some of his deacons made masters of art.'[177]

Adverts for prints of sitters as diverse as the Archbishop of Philopopoli, the Bantam ambassadors and Charles XII of Sweden reflect an interest in a wide range of issues. The advertisements for portrait prints of domestic sitters were dominated by concerns related to the government of the country. When these adverts for portrait prints of domestic sitters are examined in isolation they create the impression that portrait print advertising was almost entirely political. The notices for foreign sitters show that this was not the case. There was probably a great deal of difference between the purchase of a partisan portrait like that of Shaftesbury at the height of the elections and buying a picture of a participant in a foreign war. As a whole the advertisements for portraits of foreign sitters suggest that these prints were often bought because of curiosity and interest in the news rather than political beliefs. It must be stated however that the sitters in these portraits were not completely unconnected to British concerns. For example Charles XII of Sweden's fight against Poland was inevitably of less impact

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[176] George A.Miles and William S.Reese, *America pictured to the life: illustrated works from the Paul Mellon bequest* (New Haven, 2002), p.44.
[177] Luttrell, Vol. 5, p.87.

on the English consumer than the change of regime in 1688. However it may have affected English trade in the area. The Austro-Turkish wars would not have had as much influence on the consumers' lives as the war of the Grand Alliance, or later under Queen Anne the war of the Spanish succession however it was a pertinent contemporary concern. Nabil Matar has shown that there was a real Turkish presence on the shores of Britain throughout the later seventeenth century and people from the British Isles were regularly carried off to be enslaved.[178] The consumers would also have been interested in the Austro-Turkish war because it was perceived as a fight between Christianity and Islam. Evidence for this can be seen in the description of the George Bower medal of Charles V of Lorraine which had a 'Reverse representing the Figure of the Christian Religion triumphing over the Crescent.' The advertisement was placed in *The London Gazette* of 21st October 1686. The relevance of sitters who visited or lived in England is clearer. The Bantam ambassadors tried to engage English assistance in a civil war in Java. The Moroccan ambassador was in London to negotiate a treaty with the English. The presence of foreign visitors like the ambassadors, Peter the Great and the Indian Kings perhaps flattered the consumers by showing them that their country had an international presence.

The advertisements for portraits of people who did not visit Britain are overwhelmingly military in tone. This suggests that consumers were more interested in continental warfare than any other aspect of European life. Only one advertisement was found for a portrait of a foreign cultural figure who was not living in Britain. This portrait depicted the Quietist Michael de Molinos and was advertised in *The*

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[178] Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999).

Term Catalogues of February 1688.[179] Topical advertisements for other products also support the idea that consumers were more interested in war than any other kind of event on the continent. A large proportion of topical map advertising also followed the course of European wars and a significant number of texts were also promoted. Evidence for this is presented in chapter six.

At the end of this chapter it is clear that most portrait print advertisements were placed when the sitters were topical. The intense political atmosphere of the Exclusion Crisis appears to have acted as a catalyst for the beginning of regular portrait print advertising and it was sustained by the difficulties of the following years. However the advertisements for foreign sitters show that the political climate was not the only driving force behind this strand of marketing. The timings of the advertisements and the different ways in which the sitters were topical suggest ways in which the prints could have been used by consumers. A significant number show that portrait prints were often advertised during and shortly after anniversaries, ceremonial occasions and elections. This suggests that they were somehow displayed in connection with these events. The survey of portrait print advertisements continues in chapter five with an examination of notices for domestic sitters under Queen Anne. The findings of the survey are developed further in chapter seven.

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[179] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 2, p.218

Chapter Five- Survey of Portrait Print Notices 1702-1714

On 1st May 1701 Francis Leach took advantage of his position as the printer of *The Post Man* to place the longest portrait print advertisement found in the later Stuart period.[1] The five hundred and seventy-four word advertisement was presented as a news article and promoted a reproduction of 'the Picture of the new King of Spain done at Brussels.' The print was said to illustrate the 'hopes the French and Spaniards entertain, upon account of the Union of their Nations.' This referred to the fact that the Spanish throne had just been inherited by Philip V, the grandson of the French king Louis XIV. Philip's succession was unpopular with other European countries because it threatened the balance of power. Leopold I of Austria also had a claim to the Spanish throne and his grandson the Archduke Charles was presented as a candidate. The war of the Spanish Succession began in 1701 with England formally joining in support of Charles in 1702. The long description of the picture of Philip V that was given in *The Post Man* is evidence of the way that contemporaries read portraits as documents of political events and ambitions. The article told readers that the portrait spoke of Spain's aim to conquer Portugal: 'You may observe likewise, that the Spaniards hope to re-conquer Portugal, as well as to subdue Holland; since one may see in the Scutcheon of the new King, the Arms of Portugal with those of Castile.' The print also showed the dangers of a united France and Spain: 'you may observe the French Mars and the Spanish Hercules, concerting the vast designs of the two United Nations, who propose to themselves, to extend their Glory to the most extreme parts of the

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[1] See Appendix One for full text.

World.' The article ended by telling readers that 'The abovesaid Plate is Printed for F.Leach in the Old Baily, and Sold by A.Baldwin in Warwick lane.'

The War of the Spanish Succession dominated the reign of Queen Anne, which began when William III died on 8th March 1702. It also had a major impact on portrait print advertising because many of the notices were direct responses to military events. One of the reasons why more portraits of Anne were advertised than of any previous British monarch since 1660 was that notices were published after military victories and near days of thanksgiving and fasting.

Anne was more popular than William III which also explains why her portrait was advertised more frequently than his. Her dynastic legitimacy made her a difficult target for Jacobites and she was favoured by Tories because she was an English born Anglican supporter of the Church of England, whereas William had been a foreigner and a Calvinist.[2] The high number of advertisements for portraits of the Queen parallels Paul Kléber Monod's observation that more statues of Anne adorn English public buildings than of any other monarch before Victoria.[3]

It was already clear in 1702 that Anne would not have any children. This meant that her reign was dominated by the issue of who would succeed her. In 1701 the Act of Settlement debarred Catholics from the throne and named the next in line as

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[2] Edward Gregg, 'Anne (1665-1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/560, accessed 10 June 2005] Hoppit, p.283.
[3] Paul Kléber Monod, *The power of kings: monarchy and religion in Europe, 1589-1715* (New Haven, 1999), p.295.

Princess Sophia, the Electress of Hanover.[4] However, the Protestant succession was not seen as inevitable during Anne's reign because the Jacobites hoped that James II's son, James Francis Edward Stuart would be the next king. This issue was reflected in portrait print advertising with a number of notices placed for portraits of sitters from both sides of the argument.

Anne's reign is often described as the Age of Party because of the fierce conflicts between Whigs and Tories. Many of the disagreements focused on the war and the succession. A third group of advertisements promoted portraits of sitters who were active in high politics, government and officialdom in the early eighteenth century. Towards the end of the reign a small number of portraits in this group were advertised at times when the sitters were well known but not topical. The expansion of the press after 1695 had created more space for advertising. This enabled more portrait print advertisements to be placed under Queen Anne than in any previous reign. It is likely that this increased use of advertising led to a natural expansion in the types of portraits that were promoted. This resulted in the advertising of portraits of sitters who were not in the news. The most striking example of this new kind of portrait print advertising was placed in *The Tatler* on 31st October 1710:

> This Day is publish'd, on a Sheet of Royal Paper, A Poem on Writing; dedicated to the Six most eminent Writing-Masters of Great Britain, with each of their Pictures: Adorn'd with great Variety of Flourishes and

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[4] Jeremy Black, 'Sophia, princess palatine of the Rhine (1630-1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004
[http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37994, accessed 10 June 2005]

Designs. Invented, written and engraven, by George Bickham. Sold by H.Overton without Newgate, I.King in the Poultry, and J.Barnes in the Pall-Mall. Price 2s. 6d.

George Bickham was an engraver and writing master who had been apprenticed to John Sturt. His most well known portraits are a series of depictions of famous writing masters which were used as frontispieces in their copy books.[5]

Despite these changes portrait print advertising under Anne was a continuation of that of the later seventeenth century. The range of sitters was still almost entirely restricted to the elite levels of society and the notices reflected the primary political concerns of the day. The idea that some advertisements were placed for political motives remains open but no evidence has yet been found to show that this happened. In fact in this period there is strong evidence that portrait print advertising was largely a response to market demand. The portrait prints that were advertised at significant moments in the War of the Spanish Succession were just one product among many that were marketed in the context of these events. The volume of this advertising suggests that it must have been a response to demand and that interest in the war had become commercialised. Notices for other products that were advertised in relation to the War of the Spanish Succession are discussed in chapter six.

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[5] Kim Sloan, 'Bickham, George (1683/4-1758)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2353, accessed 6 July 2005]

The War of the Spanish Succession: portraits of Queen Anne

Portrait prints marketed in response to the War of the Spanish Succession make up a large proportion of the advertisements found under Queen Anne. Many of these promoted pictures of the military participants in the war, but there were also portraits of the Queen herself. Some of the Queen's portraits were marketed around the time of victory celebrations. On 2nd and 4th January 1705 John Nutt advertised a portrait in *The Daily Courant* to coincide with celebrations in London to mark the victory at Blenheim (13th August 1704). Luttrell recorded the ceremonies "'The duke of Marlborough has appointed Wensday, the 3d of January, for the colours and standards taken by his grace at the battle of Hockstet, which are now in the Tower, to be brought thro' this citty in state to Westminster Hall, where they are to be hung up as trophies of that victory;"[6]

The victory at Blenheim also led to the creation of a portrait depicting the Queen, the Duke of Marlborough, the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Tallard. This was advertised in *The Daily Courant* on 13th February 1705. The advertisement must be highlighted because Bavaria and Tallard were fighting against Marlborough's forces at Blenheim. This is one of only two known occasions in the later Stuart period that a notice was placed for a portrait of sitters who opposed the British in war. The advertisement shows that this print, like the portrait of Philip V discussed at the start of this chapter, contained visual elements that could be read by contemporaries as references to the event that the portrait commemorated.

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[6] Luttrell, Vol.5, p.502. Hochstet means Blenheim.

To the Memory of the Glorious Victory at Hochstet, There is now publish'd a large piece of Sculpture above a Foot square, engrav'd by a good Hand after a Drawing of Mr Cha.Woodfield. In which is represented in large Figures at whole length the Queen, D.of Marlborough, E.of Bavaria, and M.Tallard, besides variety of very significant Emblems and Hieroglyphicks upon that memorable Victory and its happy Consequence. With a View of the Battle and Danube, & c. Humbly dedicated to Her Majesty. This Piece is about the size of the Elements, and being done in a Circle after the manner of them, will serve very properly to be placed with them.[7]

On 21st December 1706 John Wyatt and Benjamin Bragg used *The Daily Courant* to advertise 'An Oration sacred to the Imperial Majesty of ANNE Queen of Great Britain. To which is perfix'd [*sic*] her Majesty's Picture.' The advertisement was probably placed to take advantage of the mood of celebration following the victory at Ramilies (23rd May 1706). It was published shortly after a victory parade was held on 19th December. Luttrell recorded that: 'This afternoon 26 standards and 63 colours, taken at the battle of Ramelies, were carried in great state from St. James to Guild hall, to be hung up there, being attended by a detachment of the 3 troops of guards, and a batallion of foot.'[8] A thanksgiving day was held at St. Paul's on 31st December and 'at night were bonefires and illuminations, and the Tower guns were thrice discharged, viz. at her majesties first setting out, at the anthem, and at her return.'[9] Several weeks later on 23rd January 1707 John Wyatt advertised 'An oration sacred to the Imperial Majesty of Queen Anne, occasioned by the late

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[7] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain,* pp. 163, 308.
[8] Luttrell, Vol 6, p.119.
[9] Luttrell, Vol.6, p.122.

Glorious Successes of Her Majesty's Arms: To which is prefixed Her Majesty's Picture' in *The London Gazette*.

Advertisements for portraits of Queen Anne were also prompted by other elements of the war. On 6th August 1702 her portrait on a broadsheet with a list of 'the Principal Officers Civil and Military of England' was advertised in *The Post Boy*.[10] This type of print was rarely marketed in newspapers so it is likely that it was advertised because war had been declared a few months earlier in May. A similar advertisement for a portrait of Anne and Prince George with 'A True List of the Royal Navy of England, with the Particular Dimensions of every Ship, as the Names' was placed in *The Daily Courant* of 6th March 1706 by Benjamin Bragg. The navy played a significant role in the war in 1705 and 1706.[11]

There is a very clear connection between the war and the placement of these advertisements. Other portraits of the Queen and the royal family also seem to have been marketed in response to the war. Christopher Browne advertised Vanderbank's portrait of Queen Anne alongside prints of Prince George, Charles II, James II and William and Mary in *The London Gazette* of 24th August 1702. These were not new prints because Browne had purchased Vanderbank's plates after his death in 1697.[12] The age of the plates supports the view that an event prompted Browne to market the prints at this point in time. It is likely that they were promoted on this date because of celebrations for the recent French defeat in Italy. On Saturday 22nd August Luttrell recorded that on 'Thursday, about 12 at

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[10] This copy of *The Post Boy* was found inserted in the 1702 volume of *The London Gazette*, Newcastle University Library, Robinson 444.
[11] John B. Hattendorf, *England in the War of the Spanish Succession: a study of the English view and conduct of grand strategy, 1702-1712* (New York, 1987).
[12] Griffiths, *Dictionary of printsellers*, p.32.

night, count Wratislaw, the imperial minister here received an expresse of the defeat of the French in Italy,' and that 'the action being at large in all the prints'.[13] He then wrote that 'The guns at the Tower were yesterday discharged, and the rejoycings in this citty (for the good news from Italy) by bonefires, illuminations, & c. were so extraordinary last night, that the like has not been known upon any such occasion.'[14] The inclusion of James II's portrait adds another dimension to this advertisement and suggests an alternative or additional reason for its placement. The notice was published shortly before the first anniversary of James' death on 5th September. Browne was telling Jacobite sympathisers that he had a portrait that they could buy to commemorate the king. Charles II's portrait was also advertised a year after his death in two separate notices placed by John Overton and Robert Walton. Other Jacobite portrait print advertisements are discussed later in this chapter.

In July 1706 Browne advertised the same portraits by Vanderbank in *The Term Catalogues* alongside pictures of 'the late and present Emperor of Germany, the French King, King of Sweden, Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, the Dauphin; each on a Sheet of Imperial Paper.'[15] The inclusion of the Dauphin makes this the only other advertisement for a portrait of wartime British enemy to be placed in the later Stuart period. The allied victory at Ramilies occurred on 23rd May 1706 and there was a thanksgiving service at St Paul's on 27th June but it is unlikely that the advertisement was placed in direct response.[16] In this instance Browne was capitalising on general interest in the war's key players.

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[13] Luttrell, Vol.5, p.206.
[14] Luttrell, Vol.5, p.207.
[15] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.3, p.512.
[16] Luttrell, Vol.6, p.61.

The war can not be held entirely responsible for the large number of advertisements for portraits of the Queen. Her image was also marketed for other reasons. On 8th June and 30th July 1702 two separate prints were advertised by John Nutt and Thomas Atkins respectively carrying Anne's portrait and the text of her first speech to parliament on 25th May. Another advertisement for a transcript of a speech to parliament was placed in *The Tatler* of 8th July 1710. The text of this notice is quoted in full because it is rare evidence for the transmission of portrait prints after sale.

> This Day is published, The Queen's most Gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, April 5. 1710, with Her Majesty's Effigies and the Arms of Great Britain curiously engraved on a large Copper Plate. Price 6d. Those that would buy Numbers to give away, may have them printed on a small Paper for 25 Shillings per Hundred. Printed for R.Whitledge and sold by B.Lintott at the Cross-Keys between the Two Temple-gates in Fleet-street.

The Queen's portrait was advertised again with that of her husband in *The Daily Courant* of 22nd November 1708. The notice was placed in response to George's death on 23rd October.

> The Effigies of her most sacred Majesty Queen Anne; also his Royal Highness Prince George, neatly engrav'd from Original Medals, by the late ingenious Mr Spossarth, just before his Death, with some Memoirs of the

> Princes Life. Printed on a Sheet of large fine Paper, and allow'd to be most like of any yet done, design'd for Frames, to perpetuate the Memory of his Royal Highness's great Actions.

Portraits of the Queen were also advertised in the context of the issues surrounding the Protestant succession and are discussed later in this chapter. The following pages return to portrait print advertising's response to the War of the Spanish Succession.

The War of the Spanish Succession: Portraits of military leaders

Portraits of military leaders on the British side were advertised in newspapers throughout the duration of the war. Some of the advertisements were placed because the sitter had recently been involved in a battle and others were a response to the high public profile brought about by involvement in the war. The fact that the majority of the advertisements were for depictions of Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough shows the prominence of these two leaders in the public's perception of the campaigns.

Edward Cooper and John Overton advertised the portrait of 'Prince Eugene of Savoy, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Privy Councellor to his Imperial Majesty and Generalissimo of all his Forces in Italy' in *The Post Man* on 23rd January 1703. During the winter Prince Eugene had been fighting the French in Italy.[17] His portrait was then advertised twice in *The Post Man* in 1706. On 9th February 1706 Edward Cooper advertised a mezzotint 'from the Original. Painted at Vienna, by D.Rickter, soon after the Battel of Hochstet, and sent over to Mr

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[17] Luttrell, Vol.5, p.252.

Boet, Enameller to her Majesty.' Blenheim had been won in 1704 so the portrait was not advertised in immediate response to that victory. It is likely that in this case Cooper was marketing towards general interest in the prince. However when John Smith advertised Prince Eugene's portrait in *The Post Man* of 31st December 1706 it was in response to the thanksgiving for the victory at Ramilies held on that day.

On 18th August 1708 and 29th January 1712 Morphew and then Baker sold a print described by the latter as: 'The Character of Prince Eugene, with his daily Prayer and Effigies, Engraven on Copper; printed on a Broad-Side fit to be hung up in all Families.' In the summer of 1708 Prince Eugene was extremely active in the field with many of his troops' actions assisting the Duke of Marlborough's forces. The 1712 advertisement undoubtedly appeared because in the January of that year Prince Eugene paid a visit to Britain. On 5th January Luttrell reported 'It's said prince Eugene this day arrived here incognito.'[18] The prince then went on to take part in a number of social engagements with the British elite. Both advertisements state that the print can be displayed in family homes, which is good evidence that interest in the war was taken into the domestic sphere.

On 26th July 1705 John Nutt used *The Post Man* to advertise 'The Life of John Duke of Marlborough, Prince of the Empire, on a large broad Sheet, with his Grace's Picture.' This print was undoubtedly advertised in response to Marlborough's successes against the French in the Spanish Netherlands earlier in that month. He had besieged Huy between 6th and 11th July and then on 17th and

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[18] Luttrell, Vol.6, p.711.

18th July had captured Tirlemont and routed a Franco-Bavarian army at Elixheim. The Duke of Marlborough's portrait had also been advertised three months earlier by Edward Cooper and John Overton in *The Post Man* of 26th April 1705. On this occasion the notice appears to have been placed in response to the beginning of the new campaign season in early May. The start of the campaign season also seems to have prompted Thomas Bennet's first notice for Van Gunst's portrait of the Duke after Van der Werff in *The Daily Courant* of 28th March 1706. This portrait was evidently popular because it was advertised at least seven more times before 8th May. [19]

The only advertisement for other military leaders on the British side besides Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough was placed by Edward Cooper in *The Post Man* of 20th August 1706. The notice promoted portraits of the Earls of Galway and Peterborough. In that year both men had played prominent roles as commanders in Spain. Luttrell records that on 18th July Galway's forces had seized Madrid[20] and that on 13th August Peterborough had come to Galway's assistance with six thousand troops from Valencia.[21]

A portrait of the Duke of Ormond was advertised earlier on 18th November 1703 in a notice placed in *The Daily Courant* for a selection of prints by Temmen, an Amsterdam engraver. In 1702 Ormond had commanded forces in Spain but in February 1703 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The advertisement was clearly designed to capitalise on the market for portraits of topical and well-

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[19] John B. Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650-1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, June 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5401, accessed 11 June 2005]

[20] Luttrell, Vol.6, p.68.

[21] Luttrell, Vol.6, p.76.

known sitters because it also promoted the 'Effigies of Queen Anne and Her Royal Consort Prince George, and the present King of Spain,' and the Duke of Marlborough.

The end of the war produced new figures of prominence, the peace negotiators. On 13th April 1713 Henry Overton and John Simon advertised the portrait of Prime Minister Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer in *The Post Boy*. The notice appeared just two weeks after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht on 31st March 1713. Harley had been extremely active in the pursuit of the peace and it is likely that this portrait was advertised towards those who wished to celebrate the success. The advertisement could have been placed for political motives by Harley's supporters although it appeared too far in advance of the autumn general election to be directly connected.

On 25th March 1712 Taylor and Smith advertised Vertue's portrait of John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol in *The London Gazette*. The advertisement describes him as 'first Plenipotentiary at the Congress at Utrecht, 1712.' He had been the first of the principal foreign delegates to arrive at Utrecht on 15th January and had formally opened the negotiations on 29th January.[22] Robinson was accompanied by Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, whose portrait was advertised by Edward Cooper on 7th January 1713.[23]

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[22] John B. Hattendorf, 'Robinson, John (1650-1723)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23849, accessed 11 June 2005]

[23] Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, 'Wentworth, Thomas, first earl of Strafford (1672-1739)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29059, accessed 6 July 2005]

The advertisements surveyed in this section are strong evidence for the contemporary use of portrait prints. Enough advertisements appeared at times of military success to show that the prints were displayed in a celebratory context. Just days after news of a victory over the French in August 1702 Christopher Browne advertised portraits of Queen Anne, Prince George, Charles II, James II and William and Mary. The fact that the prints came from plates that had been in Browne's possession since Vanderbank's death in 1697 supports the view that the notice was placed because of the victory. In January 1705 John Nutt advertised Queen Anne's portrait on the days immediately before and after the celebrations for the victory at Blenheim. This was followed in February by the advertisement for Woodfield's Blenheim group portrait. On 26th July 1705 John Nutt advertised Marlborough's portrait shortly after his success in the Spanish Netherlands. At the end of 1706 when victory celebrations for the battle of Ramilies were held on 19th and 31st December, Wyatt and Bragg advertised Anne's portrait on 21st December and John Smith placed a notice for Prince Eugene's on 31st December. This was followed on 23rd January by Wyatt's notice for a portrait of Anne. Finally in 1713 Robert Harley's portrait was advertised two weeks after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht. Chapter four shows that prints were also advertised at times of celebration under Charles II, James II and William and Mary.

The Protestant succession

Despite legislation ensuring the Protestant succession it was not seen as inevitable during Anne's reign. Consequently the portrait print advertisements examined in this section are a reflection of division and insecurity. For those who supported the Hanoverian succession Protestantism and the British monarchy went hand in hand.

This view was expressed pictorially in a print advertised by Nicholls and Earle in *The Daily Courant* of 14th November 1707. The print depicted 'Her Majesty's first most gracious Speech to the first United Parliament of Great Britain.' The speech was made on 6th November which shows that if this print was ready for sale at the time of advertising it had been produced in less than eight days.[24] The importance of a Protestant monarchy for the United Kingdom was communicated by the print's inclusion of a group portrait of 'the Protestant Kings and Queens of this Nation, viz. K.Edward the 6th, Q.Elizabeth, K.James the 1st, K.Charles the 1st, K.Charles the 2nd, K.William and Q.Mary.'

The preoccupation with the Protestant succession was also reflected in an advertisement placed in *The Term Catalogues* of February 1703 by Henry Playford. It was for Gribelin's group portrait 'of Four Protestant Princes, viz. King Edward VIth; Henry, Prince of Wales, Son of King James Ist; Henry, Duke of Gloucester, Son of King Charles Ist; William Duke of Gloucester, Son to Her Present Majesty, Queen Anne.'[25] The death of Anne's son in 1700 had endangered the Protestant succession because it left no direct non-Catholic heirs. The romance of this depiction of Stuart Protestant princes who had died young and unsullied by Catholicism would have been a potent image for supporters of the Hanoverian succession. It was perhaps produced to counteract the portrait prints of the Catholic Stuarts that came into the country from France. The Gribelin portrait would have reminded viewers that the historical roots of the Stuart dynasty were Protestant. The youthfulness of this image was needed to counterbalance that found in the

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[24] Luttrell, Vol.6, p.231.
[25] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.3, p.336.

portraits of the pretender James III and his sister, who were considerably younger and more attractive than the stout Anne and her Danish husband.

The Jacobite use of portrait prints to promote their cause may have triggered the production of images of the designated Protestant successor Princess Sophia and her family. Prints of the Hanoverians would also have been in demand to satisfy the public's curiosity about their future rulers. On 18th March 1701, not long before the Act of Settlement was passed in June, the following advert appeared in *The Flying Post* for a print that both asserts the hereditary legitimacy of the Hanoverian claim and explains it for the curious.[26]

> The Genealogy of the most Illustrious House of Brunswick Lunenburgh. Together with an Account of the Posterity of King James I shewing what Princes are of the Royal Blood of England. Printed for R.Parker, under the Piazza of the Royal Exchange. And sold by A.Baldwin in Warwick-Lane.

A portrait of Princess Sophia's grandson Georgius Augustus was advertised by Edward Cooper in *The Post Man* of 19th February 1702.[27] Two years later portraits of Georgius Augustus, Princess Sophia and her son the Elector of Hanover (the future George I) were advertised in *The Post Man* of 5th and 10th October 1704. On 31st December 1706 John Smith advertised portraits of Princess Sophia, the Elector of Brunswick (the Elector of Hanover), the Electoral Prince and Sophia's

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[26] Luttrell, Vol. 5, pp.22-23
[27] Found inserted on the microfilm consulted for *The Post Man* of 1702. See Appendix Three appendix for location.

granddaughter the Princess Royal of Prussia in *The Post Man* (see figures 9.10). Then on 13th September 1707 Sophia's portrait was advertised again in *The Post Man* by Edward Cooper.

The advertisements reflected long running concerns about the Protestant succession but a few also appear to be responses to more specific events. In February 1702 Edward Cooper's advert appeared in the same month as the abjuration bill repudiating the rights of James II's son.[28] Cooper's advertisement of 13th September 1707 was published shortly before the first united parliament of Great Britain. John Smith's notice of 31st December 1706 appeared on a day of thanksgiving after the victory at Ramilies. [29] On 21st November 1706 Luttrell records that 'This morning a proclamation was publisht appointing the 31st of December for a general thanksgiving throughout England for the wonderful successe of the arms of her majestie and allies this summer against France.' The fact that portraits of the Hanoverians were advertised because of days of thanksgiving suggests that they were already regarded in some way as members of the British royal family. The war and the Protestant succession were interrelated issues because the French supported the Jacobite cause.

On 17th June 1703 Benjamin Bragg used *The Post Man* to advertise 'The picture of her Majesty Queen Ann, being the best yet done with the Oath for Abjuring the pretend Prince of Wales, and the Clause making it Treason to oppose the

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[28] 'Passages on the question of the Hanover Succession: 1702', *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons: volume 5: 1713-1714* (1742), pp. 110-19. URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=37703. Date accessed: 11 July 2005.
[29] Luttrell, Vol. 6, pp.109, 122-123.

Succession in the Protestant Line.' [30] The Act making it necessary to swear the oath had been passed in 1702 but it remained topical in 1703 because some refused to take it and in the February of that year parliament had to move to extend the time allowed.[31]

The remaining part of this section deals with prints of sitters who were Jacobite symbols. Evidence that the Jacobites actively distributed portraits as propaganda is provided by Luttrell. On 9th December 1703 he recorded that 'And yesterday a person was seized in the citty as he was dispersing gratis to several the prince of Wales his picture.'[32] This might suggest that images of the exiled Stuarts were distributed with considerable risk but the evidence of the following notice placed in *The Post Boy* of 11th June 1702 shows that this was not always the case:

> King James the Second his last Dying Words and Expressions, printed on a sheet of Royal Paper, with his Effigies, curiously Engraven by Mr. White, Price 6d. or 2s. in a Frame, or in Gold Letters 3s. Printed for D. Edwards in Fetter Lane, and Sold by most Printsellers in London & Westminster.[33]

The offer of gold lettering and a frame shows that this print was intended for wall display. Sharp has traced this print to the Sutherland collection and has found a

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[30] Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London, 1987), pp.90-91, 408 Howard Nenner, *The right to be king: the succession to the Crown of England, 1603-1714* (Chapel Hill, 1995), pp.230-231.

[31] 'House of Lords Journal Volume 17: 9 February 1703', *Journal of the House of Lords: volume 17: 1701-1705*, pp. 274-75. URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=14657. Date accessed: 11 July 2005.

[32] Luttrell, Vol.5, p.367.

[33] My thanks go to Tim Clayton for bringing this notice to my attention.

similar one published by R.Rogers, also from 1702.[34] The portrait commemorates James II's death but the advert was certainly placed to mark the Pretender's birthday on 10th June. James had died in the September of the previous year. The Pretender's birthday was one of the preferred Jacobite days of celebration.[35]

The only other openly Jacobite advertisement in the sample was placed after Queen Anne's death. Charles Leslie's portrait was advertised by George Sawbridge in *The Daily Courant* of 7th October 1715. Leslie was a prominent writer for the Jacobite cause and had gone into exile at the Jacobite court in France in 1711. The portrait was undoubtedly advertised because of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, which had begun on 25th September and continued until early in 1716.

Portrait prints of Charles I were political symbols for Jacobites as well as for Tories loyal to the Protestant succession. Throughout the later Stuart period belief in the cyclical nature of history led many contemporaries to compare current political problems with those that had led to the civil war. Jacobites even believed that the Pretender would return in an echo of the Restoration of Charles II. [36]

The day of commemoration for Charles I's death on 30th January was a Jacobite day of celebration but it was not as popular as the pretender's birthday.[37] The fast day prompted S.Keble to advertise 'Remarkable Sayings of King Charles the Martyr, 1. Of the Church; 2. Of royalty; 3. Of the Clergy; 4. Of Loyalty; 5. Of Sufferings and Afflictions; 6. Of Success and Prosperity; In a large Sheet of Paper:

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[34] Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (Aldershot, 1996), pp.77-78.
[35] Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the martyr* (Woodbridge, 2003), p.214.
[36] Lacey, pp.213-217.
Daniel Szechi, *Jacobitism and Tory Politics 1710-14* (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 36-38.
[37] Lacey, p.214.

To which are prefixed three Copper Cuts of his Majesty, 1. in his Prosperity. 2. in his Solitude, 3. on the scaffold.' The notice appeared in *The London Gazette* on 22nd January 1703. The fast day also prompted Joseph Nutting to advertise 'the Effigies of that Glorious Martyr King Charles I, and 18 of the chief Nobility and Gentry that suffer'd for him' in *The Daily Courant* of 31st January 1707, and John Faber and Nat Crouch's placement of a notice for 'The True Portraicture of the Royal Martyr Charles I King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. D.F. as he sate in the pretended High-Court of Justice, *Anno* 1648' in *The Post Boy* of 31st January 1713.[38] (see figure 3)

The final advertisement to be examined in this section may be a reflection of the belief that contemporary events were comparable to those of the civil war. On 29th May 1714 George Vertue used *The Post Boy* to advertise 'The Effigies and Monumental Tomb of the most Rev.Father in God, Dr James Sharp, late Lord arch bishop of St Andrews, Primate and Metropolitan of all Scotland, wherein is represented his barbarous Murder by the Nine Phanaticks near the City of St Andrews.' Sharp had supported the Restoration of Charles II.[39] This print could have been marketed towards consumers interested in historical images, however the fact that it was advertised on the anniversary of the Restoration and a day of Jacobite celebration suggests that it had another significance.

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[38] My thanks go to Tim Clayton for drawing my attention to this advertisement. Lacey pp. 179-211. The following advertisement was placed in *The Daily Courant* of 23rd July 1703. It does not appear to have been published in response to a specific event. "Pious Instructions, which were found hanging up in a black Ebony Frame, written in Gold, in King Charles the First's Closet soon after his Death 1648, neatly printed upon a Broad-side with His Majesty's Picture, to be put into Frames. Sold by Geo.Sawbridge in Little Brittain price 6d."

[39] David George Mullan, 'Sharp, James (1618-1679)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25211, accessed 13 June 2005]

Edwards' print of James II was advertised the day after the Pretender's birthday. The notices placed by Nutting and the partnership of Faber and Crouch were published the day after Charles I's Fast day. Only Keble advertised Charles I's portrait far enough in advance of the 30th January for it to be reasonable to suggest that the print was marketed towards those who wished to display it on the day itself. The timing of these advertisements shows that the response to the celebrations told retailers that there was a demand for the images.

Images of political and government figures

The advertisements examined in this section promote images of sitters who were prominent in high politics and government. Some are united by the theme of Whig and Tory rivalry but others are neutral. The significant feature of this section is that it illustrates the emergence of advertisements for portrait prints of sitters who were well known but not topical. However, many of the notices discussed here confirm that topical advertising continued until the end of the reign.

When the Whig Richard Steele's portrait was advertised in *The Post Boy* on 4th March 1714 it was because he had written a pamphlet called *The Crisis,* which led to him being charged with sedition by Harley's Tory ministry. In the pamphlet Steele alleged that the Catholic Pretender would inherit the throne after the Queen's death. The pamphlet sold an estimated forty thousand copies and Steele was expelled from the House of Commons on 18th March.[40] The portrait was advertised in the last line of a notice for a print of William Beveridge, Bishop of St

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[40] Calhoun Winton, 'Steele, Sir Richard (*bap.* 1672, *d.* 1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26347, accessed 12 June 2005]

Asaph. The notice stated that the print of Steele was only available from the engraver Vandergucht, whereas that of the Bishop could also be obtained from the other retailer Richard Smith. Beveridge was not a topical sitter. His portrait was advertised because Richard Smith published his works.[41] Smith's imprint was placed on three separate texts by Beveridge in 1714 and he had published many others before and since the Bishop's death in 1708.[42] The strong association between Smith and Beveridge's work is shown by Smith's address at 'Bp.Beveridge's Head in Pater-Noster-Row.' Those who bought the print from Smith's shop may have used it as a frontispiece for Beveridge's publications.

The portrait of William Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph was advertised in *The Spectator* on 18th October 1712. He was a divisive figure in that year and his views were very much opposed by the Tories. When the mezzotint reproduction of Richardson's painting of Fleetwood was advertised there was undoubtedly a demand for his image because of the topicality of his writings. Fleetwood published controversial sermons throughout 1712. In January the House of Lords had had to adjourn to prevent him preaching a pro-war sermon which then quickly made its way into print. In May the publication of his *Four Sermons* with a preface attacking the principle of non-resistance was so offensive to the Tories in the Commons that on 10th June it was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. 'Fleetwood was undeterred by this punishment, claiming that it merely increased

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[41] Leonard W. Cowie, 'Beveridge, William (*bap.* 1637, *d.* 1708)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2321, accessed 12 June 2005]

[42] http://copac.ac.uk *A companion for the candidates of Heaven: being two discourses on prayer and the love of God. By William Beveridge, D.D. late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph..* printed for Richard Smith (London, 1714). *The great necessity and advantage of publick prayer and frequent communion; design'd to revive primitive piety. ... The sixth edition. By ... William Beveridge,* printed by G. James, for Richard Smith, (London, 1714). *Sermons on several subjects. By the Right Reverend Father in God, William Beveridge, D.D. Now first published from his original manuscripts.* Vol. XI, printed for, and sold by Richard Smith, (London, 1714)

the number of his readers.'[43] It is significant that the notice was placed in this newspaper because Fleetwood's four sermons had also been reproduced as an issue of *The Spectator* on 21st May 1712. This suggests that the advert was published here because regular readers would have read Fleetwood's work. *The Spectator* was written as a non-partisan paper despite the fact that Addison and Steele were Whigs.[44]

Another example of deliberate targeting can be seen in the following advertisement which was placed in the Whig newspaper *The Observator* on 20th April 1709.

> Compleat Sets of the Observator, or single ones, ever since it was begun by Mr Tutchin, to this Time, are to be had of B.Bragge in Pater-Noster-Row, and H.Meere at the Black-Fryar in Black-Fryars; where may be had Mr Tutchin's Effigies, neatly engraven on Copper.

The radical Whig writer John Tutchin had edited *The Observator* before his death in 1707 (see figure 16). The notice shows that Meere entered into cooperation with Bragg so that his portrait of Tutchin could be advertised in a place where the readers would be receptive. This is not only because this was a Whig newspaper but also because the print could have been used as a frontispiece for the back copies of *The Observator.* There is no evidence that this advertisement was placed in connection with a specific event, however it appeared at the end of the

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[43] Stuart Handley, 'Fleetwood, William (1656-1723)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9691, accessed 12 June 2005]

[44] Calhoun Winton, 'Steele, Sir Richard (*bap.* 1672, *d.* 1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26347, accessed 12 June 2005]

parliamentary session which 'saw the climax of the Whig party's fortunes under Anne.'[45] This suggests that the advert could have been placed in response to the Whigs' good fortune.

The portrait of the Whig John Somers was advertised in *The Tatler* on 14th November 1710 and then in *The Spectator* of 22nd January 1712. The first advertisement was undoubtedly placed because Tory opposition had forced Somers from his office of Lord President of the Council on 21st September 1710. When Somers' portrait was advertised again in January 1712 he was active in opposition and in his support of the war.[46] The placement of the advertisement in *The Tatler* could have been a deliberate attempt to target a Whig readership.

When the High Church Tory Henry Sacheverell's portrait was advertised in *The Evening Post* on 25th February 1710 he was a very topical figure. The advertisement was placed just two days before the opening of his trial for a sermon that he had delivered and printed in November 1709. At least a hundred thousand copies were sold and it caused a sensation. The trial proved to be problematic for the Whig government because Sacheverell enjoyed a great deal of support. 'Numerous pamphlets were published in his favour, prayers were offered for him in churches, and crowds began to gather on the streets on his behalf.' He was found

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[45] Hoppit, p.298.
[46] Stuart Handley, 'Somers, John, Baron Somers (1651-1716)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26002, accessed 12 June 2005]

guilty but his punishment was a lenient three year ban on preaching.[47] The portrait was part of a flood of pro-Sacheverell material produced at this time.

The portrait of Low Church Whig Benjamin Hoadly was advertised in *The Post Boy* on 8th June 1710.[48] Hoadly was nationally popular in 1710 because he was widely seen as an opponent to Sacheverell. Both Hoadly and Sacheverell were depicted in satirical prints throughout 1710.[49] He was burned in effigy in the Tory celebrations following the Sacheverell trial.[50]

On 15th December 1711 George Vertue's portrait of the moderate Hanoverian Tory High Church man Sir William Dawes, Bishop of Chester, was advertised in *The London Gazette* by Ann Speed. No evidence was found to connect the placement of this advertisement to an event involving Dawes. The advertisement was placed because Ann Speed published Dawes' sermons.[51] The same portrait was advertised a second time on 13th March 1714 because Dawes had been invested as Archbishop of York on 9th March.[52]

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[47] W. A. Speck, 'Sacheverell, Henry (*bap.* 1674, *d.* 1724)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24440, accessed 12 June 2005]

[48] My thanks go to Tim Clayton for drawing my attention to this advertisement.

[49] F.G. Stephens, *Catalogue of prints and drawings in the British Museum: Division 1: Political and personal satires*, Vol. 2, (London, 1873) pp.287, 290, 294-95,305, 306, 314.

[50] Stephen Taylor, 'Hoadly, Benjamin (1676-1761)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13375, accessed 12 June 2005]

[51] http://copac.ac.uk.

[52] Stuart Handley, 'Dawes, Sir William, third baronet (1671-1724)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7336, accessed 12 June 2005]

The final portrait print advertisements examined in this section were not placed when the sitters were topical or had a high public profile. However, all of the sitters were important establishment figures.

Joseph Smith advertised the portrait of the financier and government official Sir Stephen Fox's portrait in *The Post Boy* of 2nd August 1709. Fox had retired from public office in 1702 and did not die until 1716.[53] The portrait of seventy-one year old judge and politician Sir John Blencowe was advertised in *The Post Boy* on 16th May 1713 by George Vertue and Henry Overton. On 23rd June 1713 Philip Overton placed an advertisement in *The Post Boy* for 'A most exact Draught of the Marble Monument erected, at Redgrave in Suffolk, to the Memory of that Great Man Sir John Holt, Knt. Late Lord Chief Justice of England; wherein is represented his Portraiture in full Length sitting in a Judiciary Posture, adorn'd with several curious Hieroglyphicks denoting his many excellent Virtues, &c. with a Latin Inscription wrote by Dr Hally.' Holt had died in 1710 after a long and important career. It is likely that this print was marketed towards collectors interested in the image of the sculptural portrait of a great man. The portrait of Lord Chief Justice Parker, advertised in *The Post Man* of 14th February 1712 also appears to have no immediate topical significance. Parker presided over Sacheverell's prosecution in 1710 and his image would have appealed to Whigs. It is likely that this picture was also marketed towards print collectors.

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[53] Michael J. Braddick, 'Fox, Sir Stephen (1627-1716)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10043, accessed 12 June 2005]

The advertisements examined in this section illustrate the connection between portrait prints and texts. Steele's portrait was advertised at a time when his controversial pamphlet *The Crisis* was selling thousands of copies. Fleetwood's portrait was advertised three months after the burning of his sermons, which he claimed led to an increase in readership. Sacheverell's portrait was marketed shortly before his trial for another controversial sermon that circulated widely. Finally Tutchin's image was advertised in conjunction with copies of the newspaper he had edited, and the portraits of Beveridge and Dawes were advertised by the publishers of their books.

Conclusion

When portrait print advertising from Charles II to Queen Anne is examined it is clear that some categories of portrait print production are missing. Portraits of women were only advertised if the sitter belonged to the royal family and there were no pictures of children. With the exception of the giant Tartar advertised in *The Newes* on 26th May 1664 there were also no advertisements for portraits of people famed for their unusual physical appearance. The absence of these sitters highlights the character of portrait print advertising in the later Stuart period. The advertisements were placed because the sitters were involved in events that were significant at a level of national and international government and security. Public roles at this level were not open to women and children outside the royal family, or to giants, dwarves and bearded ladies. Much of the advertising of domestic sitters revolved around the issue of monarchy and who should govern the country. The problems caused by James II's Catholicism emerged in portrait print advertising

throughout the later Stuart period. This can be seen in the notices for sitters who were involved in the Exclusion Crisis, the 'Glorious Revolution', the war in Ireland that followed and the debate over the Protestant succession. These issues were key factors in the division between Whigs and Tories, whose conflicts also filtered into portrait print advertising.

The frequent occurrence of war means that it was also a dominant theme in the advertisements. The majority of the notices for portraits of international sitters were published because of wars in Europe and as far afield as Java. Under Queen Anne the War of the Spanish Succession, which was also a fight for British security and the Protestant succession, had a significant impact on portrait print advertising. These themes dominated portrait print advertising because they were the primary political concerns of the time. Portrait print advertising's close relationship with politics raises the possibility that some notices were placed for political motives. However no direct documentary evidence has been found to suggest that this happened. Newspaper advertising was used relatively rarely by portrait print retailers, and for those who pioneered this form of marketing it made good business sense to advertise portraits of sitters involved in issues that were of interest to the broadest possible market. Under Queen Anne a handful of notices were published for portraits of sitters who were not involved in current political issues. These reflect the growing maturity of portrait print advertising and the further expansion of the print trade. It was now less of a risk to advertise portraits of sitters who were of interest to a narrower market. It is possible that these notices represent the beginning of a trend and a study of portrait print advertising in the

Georgian period may find that the range of sitters diversified to include those who were not marketed under the later Stuarts.

Chapter Six- Consumer Goods and the News

Topical portrait print advertisements are evidence for the commercialisation of news. They show that when consumers were interested in contemporary events and ideas they could respond by purchasing related portraits. The majority of the portraits advertised in newspapers were engravings and mezzotints but notices were also placed for medals, waxwork displays and other portrait types. Like the notices for portrait prints some of these advertisements were published at times when the sitters were topical. They show that news had an impact on the production of other consumer goods besides portrait prints. The first part of this chapter examines these advertisements and then looks at examples of unadvertised topical portraiture. Taken together this evidence shows that topically advertised portrait prints were part of a wider response to news in the production and sale of portraits on consumer goods. The second part of the chapter surveys the topical advertising of other products. Maps and plans, playing cards, subject prints and texts were all advertised during periods when the subjects they depicted and discussed were in the news. The later Stuart period did not see the beginning of topical depictions on consumer goods but it is likely that it increased in the context of the general rise in consumption seen in the later seventeenth century.

Advertisements for wax effigies

Between 1695 and 1708 a series of advertisements were placed for an exhibition of waxworks at the premises of Mr and Mrs Goldsmith of Green Court in the Old Jury, London. The models were posed as if they were at a banquet and were kept on

permanent display alongside other curiosities.[1] The waxworks depicted members of the royal family, nobility and gentry and almost all of the notices were placed shortly after the sitters' funerals. On at least one occasion the Goldsmiths were able to take a cast directly from a royal corpse. After the death of Princess Anne's son *The Flying Post* of 1st August 1700 reported that 'Mr. Goldsmith in the Old Jury, who made the Effigies of the late Queen Mary, which is so much admired, went on Tuesday last to Windsor, and by Permission took off a Mold from his Highness the Duke of Gloucester, in order to the making of his Effigies, which will be done to the Life in his Ducal Robes.' The Duke was buried on 9th August and an advertisement telling readers that his effigy could be viewed at Green Court appeared in *The Flying Post* on 17th August 1700.[2] It seems rather peculiar that Goldsmith would be given permission to take a mould from the Duke's body solely for the purpose of the display in Green Court. The probable explanation is that the Goldsmiths were also responsible for the wax effigies that were typically displayed at royal funerals.[3] Those on display at Green Court may have been duplicates. An advertisement was placed in *The Daily Courant* of 6th August 1703 which shows that one of the Goldsmiths' effigies was displayed in Westminster Abbey almost a year after the subject's funeral on 22nd October 1702.

> On Wednesday last Mrs Goldsmith, the Famous Woman for Waxwork, brought to Westminster Abbey the Effigies of that celebrated Beauty the late

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[1] Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The origins of museums: the cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe* (Oxford, 1985).

[2] Matthew Kilburn, 'William, Prince, duke of Gloucester (1689-1700)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29454, accessed 14 June 2005]

[3] In January 1686 Luttrell noted that Charles II's wax effigy was on display in Westminster Abbey. 'The late kings effigies at length is done in his robes in waxwork, and is putt amongst the tombes at Westminster.' Luttrell, Vol.1, p.370.

> Dutchess of Richmond, which is said to be the richest figure that ever was set up in King Henry's chappel.

Stuart Handley writes that the Duchess' will left an 'unusual request, which was honoured, that an effigy be made of her 'as well done in wax as can bee'. . . dressed in her coronation robes and coronet, and set up under glass near the tomb of the second duke and duchess of Richmond in Westminster Abbey.'[4] However, the phrase 'the richest figure that ever was set up in King Henry's chappel' suggests that this request was not unusual.

The Goldsmiths were evidently favoured by high society but they were not the only wax modellers in town. On 7th September 1695 the following angry notice was placed in *The Post Boy.*

> Whereas there hath been lately an Advertisement published by Mrs Goldsmith intimating, That the excellent Figures made and set up by Mrs Mills in the New Exchange (who is the greatest Artist in Europe for Wax Figures) are reported to be Mrs Goldsmiths: These are therefore to make known to all persons (lovers of Art) that Mrs Mills is so far from using any such little Artifice, that she looks upon such a Report as the great derogation from her Skills that may be, and that she desires all persons by no means to entertain any such thoughts of her, as that they should admit of her ill-favoured Figure which she calls the Queen, being the worst in the Town, to

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[4] Stuart Handley, 'Stuart , Frances Teresa, duchess of Lennox and Richmond (1647-1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26703, accessed 14 June 2005]

> the great detraction from her Majesty's beauty, into the presence of her excellent Effigies; therefore gives the Reader the trouble of this Advertisement.

The figure of Queen Mary referred to in Mrs Mills' tirade (which suggests that there were versions by other modellers) was advertised in *The London Gazette* on 28th March and 22nd April 1695. Mary had died at the end of 1694 but arrangements for her lying-in-state had continued until 21st February 1695. 'She then lay in state from noon until five o'clock every day until. . .On 5 March she was buried with elaborate ceremony in Westminster Abbey.'[5] An advertisement placed in *The Post Man* of 7th, 21st, 24th and 28th August 1697 shows that the figure was still on display and was part of a larger exhibition of models.

Just twenty days after William III's death on 8th March 1702 Goldsmith placed an advertisement for his effigy in *The Flying Post* of 28th March. William was buried in a private ceremony on 12th April.[6] The notice was repeated five more times until 5th May. It shows that Goldsmith's effigy of the Duke of Gloucester was still on display and that models were also made of sitters who were alive.

> The Effigies of His late Majesty King WILLIAM III of Glorious Memory, is curiously done to the Life in Wax, richly dress'd in Coronation Robes; standing by the Effigies of His Royal Consort, the late Queen MARY, in the

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[5] W. A. Speck, 'Mary II (1662-1694)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18246, accessed 14 June 2005]
[6] Tony Claydon, 'William III and II (1650-1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, June 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29450, accessed 14 June 2005]

like Dress: With the effigies of the late Duke of Gloster, in his Garter-Robes. Together with the Effigies of several Persons of Quality and others; all which are alive, or have been so of late Years. Likewise a number of other Curiosities. They are to be seen every Day at Mr Goldsmith's in Green-Court, in the Old-Jury, London.

Finally the following advertisement was placed in *The English Post* of 13th December 1708. George had died on 28th October 1708 and was buried at Westminster Abbey on 13th November.

> The effigies of his Royal Highness George Prince of Denmark, made in wax, and seated at a banquet, near the effigies of Her Present MAJESTY, and His Highness the Duke of Gloster. All happily performed in a very near Imitation of the life. By Mrs. Goldsmith. Also the effigies of King William, and Queen Mary, with divers of the nobility and gentry. To be seen at Mr. Goldsmith's, at the sign of King William and Queen Mary, in the Old-Jury. Where are six rooms furnish'd with variety of curiosities. Price one shilling. All persons that have been already there, shall be kindly receiv'd at half the price.[7]

This advertisement tells us that at the Goldsmiths' exhibition the living monarch could be seen seated at a banquet with her dead husband and son. This was a place where for the relatively expensive fee of one shilling visitors could view a mirror of high society and admire the artifice of reproductions of royalty, nobility and gentry.

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[7] Burney collection, microfilm reel 115 bb, British Library.

The waxworks were part of a larger display of curiosities which were possibly objects such as stuffed animals, shells, souvenirs from foreign countries and historical memorabilia. The Tradescants' museum at Lambeth contained similar items.[8]

Collections of portraits of illustrious men and women had existed since the renaissance and they continued to be formed through the efforts of collectors like Evelyn and Pepys. Collecting portraits in this way was a cultured and educational pastime. The waxwork exhibitions of the Goldsmiths and their rival Mrs Mills can be seen as a part of this tradition because they gathered together portraits of notables. The collectors of portraits of illustrious men and women believed that the images of the great could inspire the viewer to emulate the sitters' actions. It is likely that this idea was present in exhibitions where the great and the good were depicted in wax. The waxwork exhibitions also represented something else. They were established as a commercial rather than gentlemanly pursuit, and were set up as fee paying attractions. Mrs Mills' display in the public space of the Exchange, the Goldsmiths' one shilling entry fee and their use of advertising place these portraits in the realm of commerce. These exhibitions and the advertised portrait prints met a need to see depictions of famous people that was probably both part of and separate to the established traditions of portrait collecting. The waxworks are not necessarily evidence for a culture of celebrity in the way that we would understand it in the twenty-first century but they do suggest that portraits of the famous were viewed for pleasure. When wax figures were displayed shortly after the sitters' deaths the exhibitions may temporarily have become places of homage and mourning. However the mixture of living and long dead figures in the Goldsmiths' display suggests that the exhibition was primarily a

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[8] Arthur MacGregor ed., *Tradescant's rarities: essays on the foundation of the Ashmolean Museum 1683, with a catalogue of the surviving early collections* (Oxford, 1983).

place of entertainment. This in turn suggests that in addition to being purchased for their relationship with contemporary events, topical portrait prints may also have been bought because there was an appetite for seeing pictures of famous people.

The majority of the Goldsmiths' newspaper notices were placed at times when the topicality of the royal sitters' deaths and funerals increased the number of potential customers. Some single-sheet prints were also advertised shortly after the deaths of members of the royal family. Three days after Queen Mary died the calligraphic engraver John Sturt used *The London Gazette* to advertise 'An Elegy on the Death of our late most Gracious Soveraign Lady Queen Mary; Engraven within so small a Circumferance, that it may be Set in Rings or Lockets.' Sturt advertised a similar print in *The Flying Post* of 14th March 1702 after William's death and in *The Daily Courant* of 7th October 1714 to commemorate Anne. The William and Mary prints were advertised within days of their deaths. The Anne print was marketed several months after she died on 1st August because it was advertised with 'a Welcome to his present Majesty King George, in the Compass of a Silver Halfpenny'. George I did not arrive in England until 18th September.[9] The arrival of the new king appears to have stirred up thoughts of the death of the Stuart dynasty. The following notice for a print of the tomb of the last Stuart monarchs was placed in *The Daily Courant* on 28th October 1714:

> This Day is Published, A True Plan in Perspective, with a Scale of Feet and Inches, of the Royal Vault in King Henry VIIth's Chappel in Westminster-Abbey, wherein are interr'd the Bodies of King Charles II. Queen Mary II.

[9] G. C. Gibbs, 'George I (1660-1727)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, June 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10538, accessed 15 June 2005]

King William III. Prince George and Queen Anne. Humbly Dedicated to the Lord Bishop of Rochester. Curiously Engraven by Mr Sturt. Sold by the Author, William Illidge, in King's Head Court in Wood-street Westminster, and by the Printsellers in London and Westminster. Price 1s.

The fact that multiple businesses responded to royal deaths by placing notices is typical of topical retail advertising. Advertisements for different products were often placed in response to the same events or types of event. This means that topical portrait print advertising did not exist inside a vacuum. The consumers who bought portrait prints at times when the sitters were topical would have been accustomed to seeing other products promoted and sold in similar circumstances. Topical portrait print advertising was not unusual, but instead was typical of late seventeenth-century consumer culture. In its examination of topical medal advertising the next section presents further examples where different businesses responded to the same events.

Advertisements for medals

Medals were advertised far less often than portrait prints. Only thirteen notices in periodical publications have been discovered in the later Stuart period. Five of these were placed at times when the people depicted on the medals were topical. [10] On three occasions medal and portrait print notices were published in response to the same events. The example of George Bower's medal of Charles V of Lorraine has already been discussed in chapter one. It was advertised in *The London Gazette* of 21st October 1686 in response to the siege of Buda. A portrait print of Charles V and a

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[10] D.J.Bryden, 'Medals for Funerals: Thomas Woods and the Roettiers Medals of 1694/5,' *The Medal*, 18 (1991) pp.23- 27.

number of related products were promoted in the same period of weeks. On 26th February 1680 George Bower published an advertisement in *The London Gazette* for a medal depicting Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. The magistrate's murder in October 1678 helped to spark the hysteria of the Popish Plot. Bower's notice was placed two years after the murder but it was still topical because of the Exclusion Crisis and other related advertisements also appeared in the winter of 1680. These are discussed later in this chapter.[11]

Other medals were also advertised in the same period as related single-sheet prints. On 17th January 1689 George Bower placed an advertisement for medals of the Prince of Orange and the Seven Bishops in *The London Gazette* and *The Orange Gazette.* The Seven Bishops were heroes for those who supported the Orange regime because they had opposed James II's Declaration of Indulgence. The notice appeared during the Convention Parliament which met to decide the succession. In the same period Vanderbank advertised a portrait print of William and Mary on 31st December and 21st February, and Robert White advertised his portrait print of the Seven Bishops on 19th February. The advertisement for Bower's medals can be counted among the many notices for portraits of heroes of the Orange regime that were published under William and Mary. After Queen Mary's death at the end of 1694 'One large funeral medal of copper to preserve the memory of her late Majesty Queen Mary' was advertised in *The London Gazette* of 14th February 1695. The notice was repeated on 19th July. It was placed in the same period as the advertisements for Sturt's calligraphic print and the Goldsmith wax model.

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[11] W. W. Wroth, 'Bower, George (*d.* 1690)', rev. Stuart Handley, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3044, accessed 14 June 2005]

A further example of a medal that was advertised in the same period as related portrait prints can be found on 11th January 1704 when the bookseller Pierre Varennes used *The Post Man* to advertise 'A curious Silver Medal, lately done in Honour to Charles III. King of Spain, his Picture drawn after the Life, and finely engraven.' Charles III of Spain was the Archduke Charles, the Austrians' candidate for the Spanish throne in the War of the Spanish Succession. Varennes' advertisement was one of a cluster that appeared in a period of several months to mark Charles' visit to England between 26th December and 13th February. The mezzotinter George White advertised Charles' portrait in *The London Gazette* of 15th November 1703 and then again in *The Daily Courant* of 30th December. Bernard Lens II also advertised a mezzotint of Charles in *The Daily Courant* of 15th November. The War of the Spanish Succession led to the publication of one other medal advertisement in *The Daily Courant* of 31st December 1707. A printing error resulted in the omission of the retailer's name: 'There is lately 3 curious Medals struck, viz. of the Battles of Blenheim and Ramilies and the Relief of Barcelona.' It shows however that topical medal advertising extended beyond the promotion of medals bearing portraits.

Evelyn recommended collecting portrait prints as a cheaper alternative to medals. Medals were probably less frequently advertised in newspapers than portrait prints because they were more expensive. The medal of Mary II advertised in *The London Gazette* cost five shillings. This was five times more expensive than many of the advertised portrait prints. The price of medals meant that the market for them was more restricted than it was for portrait prints. This suggests that medal retailers placed notices in newspapers less often than portrait print retailers because they were targeting a more specific group of consumers. They therefore had less need of

newspaper advertising which was most suited to the promotion of goods to a broad market. The only medals that were advertised in periodical publications had a wide appeal. This suggests that newspapers were used in these cases because their suitability for topical advertising towards a wide market was recognised by the retailers. If this is true then in this sense medal advertising echoes portrait print advertising. Medal and portrait print advertising are also similar in the types of sitters that were topically advertised. With the exception of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey all of the topically advertised medal sitters were promoted in portrait print form as well. The study of the portrait print advertisements showed that there was demand for images of sitters involved in certain types of event such as military victories and political crises. The evidence of the medal advertisements demonstrates that the demand extended to other types of portrait good besides prints. Further research is required to determine to what extent the types of topical sitter favoured in advertised portrait prints can also be frequently found in other portrait goods such as ceramics and lockets.

Portraits on consumer goods

Prints, wax effigies and medals were part of a larger circulation of portrait objects. It is common to think of the portrait as something confined to paintings, prints, drawings and sculpture but this was not the case. Portraits appeared on a wide range of consumer goods. A comprehensive survey is not possible within one section so the purpose here is to indicate the diversity of portrait goods and to show that they were part of the daily visual experience for many people. This demonstrates that when consumers bought portrait prints they were already familiar with images of famous people depicted in other mediums. The extent of their familiarity would have depended on the accessibility and affordability of each type of consumer good.

The majority of the examples presented in this section are drawn from the online catalogues of the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert museum. Some others were found in the Museum of London's catalogue and in articles. They were collected with the aim of illustrating the diversity of portrait goods. It was found that most of the portraits depict British monarchs. It is not yet known if this is a reflection of actual production or the nature of the museum's holdings. Sitters who were not British monarchs were often depicted in medals and portrait prints so there is no reason to suppose that this was not also the case in the production of other kinds of portrait goods. Further research is required to illuminate this area and when it is carried out it will provide a valuable context for portrait print production. The search will have to encompass a wide variety of objects. The following advertisement, placed in *The Tatler* on 3rd November 1709, shows how a snuff dealer used Prince Eugene of Savoy's portrait on his boxes:

> Prince Eugene's most delicious Snuff, so much celebrated in most Courts of Europe, is solely dispos'd of in this Kingdom at Mr Morris's, the Corner-House of St Alban's-street facing Pall-Mall, seal'd up in Half-Crown Boxes; the Seal representing his Head; and round it, Prince Eugene's Snuff.

The advertisement was placed at a time when Prince Eugene was topical because of his commanding role in the War of the Spanish Succession and his newsworthiness was used here to promote the product. This snuff box must be understood in the context of the portrait prints and other products depicting and discussing Prince Eugene that were also advertised during the war. Further examples are presented later

in this chapter. If it is possible to speak of a culture of celebrity in later Stuart England then Prince Eugene of Savoy would make a good case study. Consumers who were particularly interested in him could engage in his life and reputation through purchasing these goods. Whether this kind of behaviour existed in later Stuart society or is a development of the twentieth-century fan is a subject for further investigation.

The Prince Eugene snuff box could be carried around in the pocket like a number of other small portrait objects. On 6th December 1714 when the Jacobite rebellion was in progress the jeweller David Clayton used *The Daily Courant* to place a notice calculated to appeal to the loyalist market.

> The Head of His most Excellent Majesty King George curiously done in Gold, and exceedingly like, fit to be set in Gold Seals, to be had at David Clayton's, Jeweller, at the Golden Unicorn in Butcher-hall lane, Newgate street: Where you may have Gold Seals ready set, and also Middle-Pieces for watches very finely stampt.

The notice was placed a second time on 29th December prefixed with the words 'To all that Love King George.' It was not unusual to carry small items pledging loyalty to the monarch. After the execution of Charles I in 1649 royalists carried small objects bearing his image. Some of these were expensive individual pieces whereas others were cheaper multiple productions. Two surviving examples of expensive pieces show that royalists had to resort to ingenious methods to hide the late king's portrait from view. One of these is a gold mourning ring with an enamelled portrait of Charles

I hidden beneath a hinged diamond lid.[12] The other, produced between 1650 and 1660, was designed as a slide and a pendant. When it is worn as a slide the viewer can see a picture of flowers, however when it is reversed to be worn as a pendant the portraits of Charles I and Charles II are displayed.[13]

The Victoria and Albert museum possesses two examples of miniatures of Charles I made from embroidered silk on satin. Six others are known. It is believed that they were embroidered professionally and made for sale during the civil war or after the execution.[14] The embroidered portrait brings an interesting complication to the study of topical portraiture because some were produced in private and others for sale. A future study should ask if it is possible to differentiate between the types of sitters depicted in the two processes.

The same collection also holds a relatively cheap silver heart shaped locket depicting the profile of Charles I. Hundreds of lockets like this were made for mass sale in the mid and later seventeenth century.[15] When Charles II married Katherine of Braganza in 1662 heart shaped lockets were made depicting both the King and the Queen.[16] This was one of a number of different products manufactured in response to the royal marriage. In addition to this there were prints depicting the royal couple and painted portraits and inscriptions on tin-glazed earthenware, more commonly known as

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[12] British Museum. Catalogue number: M&ME Dalton ring cat. 1365, Compass. http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/.
[13] Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue number: M.253-1975, Access to Images. http://images.vam.ac.uk/.
[14] Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue number: 812-1891, Access to Images.
[15] Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue number: 827-1864, Access to Images.
[16] Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue number: M.104:1, 2-1962, Access to Images. Museum of London inventory checklist for a group 8 Jan 2002. Catalogue number: NN18477.

delftware.[17] The Victoria and Albert museum has a dish depicting the King and Queen which is believed to have been produced to commemorate the wedding.[18] Charles II and Katherine of Braganza were both portrayed individually on a number of similar dishes throughout the reign. The later Stuart period saw a large output of delftware dishes carrying portraits of monarchs and their consorts. James II, William and Mary and Queen Anne were all depicted on delftware dishes.[19] The frequency of depiction may have corresponded to the popularity of the sitter because James II`s consort Mary of Modena was rarely if ever depicted.[20]

Portraits were also painted on delftware mugs and cups such as the mug carrying the image of Charles II now held in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[21] The restoration, coronation and marriage of Charles II were all commemorated with the production of delftware pieces. Some examples carried portraits whereas others were decorated with inscriptions.[22] In addition to this consumers could buy large engraved pewter chargers. Approximately twenty of these survive from the period between 1660 and 1662, although there is some doubt about the authenticity of at least half a dozen of them. They were made to commemorate the restoration in 1660, the coronation of 1661 and the marriage in 1662. They do not carry portraits but other pewter items produced later in the century certainly did. At the accession of James II in 1685 John Donne of London made a flat-lidded pewter tankard carrying a head and shoulders

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[17] The National Portrait Gallery. Catalogue numbers: NPG D11128, NPG D11129, http://www.npg.org.uk/live/search/.
[18] Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue number: 3869-1901, Access to Images.
[19] Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue numbers: 3868-1901, 3870-1901, 3872-1901, 536-1872, Access to Images.
[20] Michael Archer, 'Delftware from Brislington,' *The Connoisseur*, 171 (1969), pp.152-61 (p.155).
[21] Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue number: C.201-1938, Access to Images.
[22] Museum of London. Catalogue numbers: A4946, A4578, 46.78/581, 59.16, c.85-1947, c.1042-1922.

portrait of the new king.[23] In *c.*1695 Robert Seare or Rowland Steward made a pewter plate and tankard with the portrait busts of William and Mary.[24]

Other portrait items were also produced in pewter. Anne's coronation in 1702 was commemorated with cheap spoons carrying the queen's portrait in relief on the stem.[25] Inexpensive examples made from lead alloy and carrying the portraits of William and Mary have also been found. It is presumed that these were made to commemorate their coronation. [26] Few souvenir spoons are thought to pre-date William and Mary but the Museum of London owns two lead alloy spoons that may depict Charles II.[27]

Portrait goods depicting non-royal sitters were produced. George Monck and the Duke of Monmouth were posthumously portrayed on dishes produced in 1680 and 1696 respectively.[28] Another delftware portrait depicts William Bedloe, one of the informers in the Popish Plot.[29] His image appears on one of the nine tiles produced in Lambeth in 1680 to commemorate the fictitious conspiracy.[30] The tiles and the George Bower medal of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey are just two examples of the many consumer objects that were produced in response to the plot and the Exclusion Crisis. After Godfrey's murder retailers sold hundreds of Godfrey daggers so that the Protestants could defend themselves against their supposed Catholic attackers. The British Museum owns an example with the words MOMENTO GODFREY CAESVS OCT. 12 and 1678: PRO RELIGIONE PROTESTANTIVM inscribed on the gilded

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[23] Ronald F. Michaelis, 'Royal Occasions Commemorated in English Pewterware.' *The Antique Collector* (August 1966), pp.175-179.
[24] Victoria and Albert museum. Catalogue number: M.14-1991, Access to Images.
[25] Michaelis, p.177.
[26] Museum of London. Catalogue numbers: 83.619, 97.12.
[27] Museum of London. Catalogue numbers: 97.12/1, 97.12/2.
[28] Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue number: C.21-1966, Access to Images. Archer, p.157.
[29] Alan Marshall, 'Bedloe, William (1650-1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1940, accessed 16 June 2005]
[30] Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue number: 414:823/9-1885, Access to Images.

blade.[31] The list of objects that depicted and discussed the plot even extends to buttons. On 9th April 1680 Jeremiah Baker used *The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence* to advertise 'a new Set of very useful Buttons, for shirt Sleeves or Ruffles, there being described upon them some of the most remarkable passages of the late Horrid Plot.' Further examples of Popish Plot advertising are discussed below.

The understanding of topical portrait prints would be greatly enhanced by further study of topicality in other kinds of portraits. Inconsistent survivals might hamper the process but it is hoped that eventually a database of portrait objects could be built up that shows the frequency with which particular sitters and events were depicted in all portrait media. This would be evidence for the popularity of sitters such as Prince Eugene of Savoy and could be used to estimate the extent of consumer interest in the news. The study of topical portrait print advertising is one step towards the use of portraiture to examine consumer interest. However it can also be argued that such a study should not be restricted to portrait goods. The next section surveys the topical advertising of other printed goods besides portrait prints and shows that there was a rich response to news in visual culture. It demonstrates the fallacy of regarding news circulation as an entirely text-based phenomenon.

Topical retail advertising for other printed products

The final part of this chapter examines the advertisements that were placed for printed goods at times when the subjects they depicted were in the news. It looks at notices for single-sheet prints other than portrait prints, maps and plans, playing cards and texts. It begins with a brief survey of examples of advertisements for each kind of

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[31] British Museum. On display. MLA 1931, 11-13, 1.

product before looking at the advertisers' responses to the Popish Plot, the Austro-Turkish wars and the War of the Spanish Succession. The chapter concludes with a rare example of a notice for a poem that refers to a topically advertised portrait print.

The majority of portrait print advertisements were topical. Advertisements for other kinds of single-sheet print were often not topical. For example on 25th February 1689 'the Cryes and Habits of London,' were advertised in *The London Gazette* and on 12th March 1706 a notice was placed in *The Daily Courant* for 'the South Prospect of the Cathedral Church of St.Peter in York.'[32] When other varieties of single-sheet print were advertised topically, it was sometimes placed in response to the same events and themes as portrait prints. Many of the advertised portrait prints depicted Whigs and Tories. On 12th December 1710 a print referring to the Tory landslide in the October elections was advertised in *The Post Boy.*[33] This is one of the very few satirical prints to be advertised in the later Stuart period. Its title refers to the Whigs' associations with Low Church Anglicans and nonconformists.

> The Funeral of the Low Church, or the Whiggs last Will and Testament, curiously engraven on a Copper Plate. Printed on a fine Dutch paper, with an Heroic Poem explaining the whole. To be sold by W.Pennock at the picture Shop in Pannier-Alley in Pater-Noster-Row. Price 2d. where is to be had Faults on both Sides, a Copper Plate. Price 1d.[34]

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[32] For further information about the Cries of London series see Sean Shesgreen, *The Criers and Hawkers of London: Engravings and Drawings* (Aldershot, 1990).
[33] Lutrell, Vol. 6, pp.637-648. Hoppit, p.302.
[34] *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Division I: Political and Personal Satires.* Vol.2, pp.311-313.

In *The Term Catalogues* of November 1683 Randal Taylor placed a notice for 'A true description of the strange wonderful She-Elephant, sent from the Indies, which arrived at London, August 1., 1683; with a true Pourtraiture of the wonder in Nature. In one Sheet.'[35] Advertisements for pictures of exotic animals were rare but one other was placed in *The London Gazette* of 26th January 1684 when Pierce Tempest advertised a mezzotint of 'the Rhinoceros and Elephant lately brought from the East-Indies to London.' An entry from Evelyn's diary in October 1684 shows just how unusual animals like this were in England at this time. He writes: 'Sir William Godolphin and I went to see the Rhinocerous (or Unicorne) being the first that I suppose was ever brought into England: It more ressembled a huge enormous Swine, than any other Beast amongst us. . .'[36]

Many portrait prints were advertised during wartime and this is paralleled by the placement of notices for other kinds of single-sheet print. On 20th June 1692 Thomas Bassett advertised the portrait of Edward Russell, the Admiral of the Fleet. In this year the navy reversed French control of the channel and the defeat of the French at the battle of La Hogue in May had been particularly significant. The navy's topicality led to the advertising of prints depicting its ships. On 6th October 1692 *The London Gazette* carried a notice for 'the Section of a First Rate Ship; Explaining all Parts thereof well Engraved, after the Design of Captain Tho.Phillips, 2d Engenier of England.' The print was sold by an unnamed goldsmith who worked at the sign of the Golden Key. Later on 14th November 1692 Philip Lea and Thomas Batchelors published an advertisement for: 'the Draught of the Britannia, Royal First Capital Ship of England, built by Sir Phineas Pett, late Commissioner of the Navy; the

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[35] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.2, p.45.
[36] *The Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn,* p.415.

Draught consisting of 4 Sheets of Imperial Paper, designed by William Vandevelde senior.' John Garrett placed an advertisement for another picture of a ship in *The Term Catalogues* of November 1692.[37]

> GLORIA Britanniae or An exact draught of the large Ship, called the 'Royal Prince,' in several postures, drawn by Mr. Isaac Saylmaker. Curiously Engraven upon a Large Copper Plate, above two foot long and a foot and nine inches deep. Price 1s. In large Dutch paper, pasted on paper and coloured, 2s. 6d.

Many advertisements for architectural prints were not topical but others were. The long running construction of St Paul's had a huge visual impact on the City of London. Advertisers responded to the inevitable interest by placing notices for prints. It is probable that prints of St Paul's became popular after its architect Sir Christopher Wren commissioned Jan Kip and Simon Gribelin to produce engravings in 1702.[38] The printseller Thomas Bowles, who was based in St Paul's Churchyard, used *The London Gazette* of 4th January 1703 to advertise William Emmet's set of views of the cathedral. On 4th February the same newspaper carried an advertisement placed by Robert Trevitt for 'a large Engrav'd Print of the inside of the Cathedral Church of St.Paul.' Trevitt advertised more prints of the church in *The London Gazette* on 30th August 1703. Finally in *The London Gazette* on 4th November 1708 Thomas Bowles advertised: 'Three New Prospects of the Cathedral Church of St Pauls, viz. the North, East and West, and Foundation, with the Steeples and Cupolo.' This advert must have

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[37] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.2, p.425.
[38] Ann Saunders, St *Paul's: the Story of the Cathedral* (London, 2001), p.85.

been prompted by the setting of the last stone in the lantern on top of the dome in late October 1708.[39]

The prolonged saga of Europe's first offshore lighthouse at Eddystone rock near Plymouth was also reflected in a number of advertisements. The first lighthouse on the site was built by Henry Winstanley. Work began in 1696. In June 1697 Winstanley was kidnapped by a French privateer and the work was destroyed but by 1700 it was completed. On 2nd March 1699 the following advertisement appeared in *The Flying Post:*

> There is a large Print of Eddystone Light-House near Plimouth, that was erected and contrived by the famous Mr Henry Winstanley: engraved by Mr John Sturt, and are to be sold by Jaazael Johnston, in Bedford-court in Covent-Garden, and at most Print-Shops in London. Price 1s.

Winstanley was killed in the storm that destroyed his lighthouse in November 1703 and his engraving of it was advertised in *The Post Man* on 12th August 1704.[40] John Rudyerd completed the second lighthouse on Eddystone rock in 1709, during which year the new lighthouse was greeted with an advertisement in *The Post Boy* on 1st March.[41]

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[39] Saunders, p.89.
[40] Paul Waterhouse, 'Winstanley, Henry (*bap.* 1644, *d.* 1703)', rev. Mike Chrimes, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, June 2005 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29757, accessed 17 June 2005]
[41] James Hodge, 'Rudyerd, John (*fl.* 1703-1709)', rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37922, accessed 17 June 2005]

Playing cards were advertised less often than single-sheet prints and the notices were not always topical because they were designed to meet diverse requirements. Many were educational. In 1662 the catalogue of print publisher Thomas Jenner advertised 'A New sort of Card, teaching Children to spell and read and play with.' Later in November 1679 the following notice was placed in *The Term Catalogues:*

> Geographical Cards, describing the whole world; a particular Map in each Card, with Longitude and Latitude: newly engraven in Copper plates by J.Moxon. The like not extant. Price 1s. Sold by T.Norman at the Pope's Head in Fleet street, near Fleet Bridge. [42]

Other playing cards depicted contemporary events. The British Museum owns packs that depict the Rye House plot (1683), Marlborough's victories and the Sacheverell affair.[43] On 9th November 1685 Brown and Jones advertised a pack of playing cards depicting the Monmouth and Argyle rebellions 'in various lively Figures.'[44] The notice appeared in *The London Gazette* at this date because Argyle's aide Col. John Ayloffe, and Richard Nelthorp who had fought with Monmouth, were executed on 30th October.[45] Copies of the proceedings against Ayloffe and Nelthorp were published in London and Edinburgh.[46]

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[42] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.1, p.372.
[43] William Hughes Willshire, *A descriptive catalogue of playing and other cards in the British museum: accompanied by a concise general history of the subject and remarks on cards of divination and of a politico-historical character* (London, 1876), p.245.
[44] J.R.S.Whiting, *A handful of history* (Dursley,1978), pp.89-104.
[45] Warren Chernaik, 'Ayloffe , John (*c.*1645-1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/937, accessed 13 June 2005]
Richard L. Greaves, 'Nelthorpe, Richard (*d.* 1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19891, accessed 13 June 2005]
[46] English Short Title Catalogue. http://www.rlg.org/en/page.php. *A true account, of the proceedings against John Ayloff, and Richard Nelthorp Esquires at the King's-Bench-Bar, on the 27th. of October, 1685. Relating to their award of death, upon their being out-lawed for high-treason, in conspiring the death of his late most sacred Majesty, Charles the Second of ever blessed memory: together with their*

The events of 1688 were portrayed in 'Orange-cards, representing the late King's Reign, and Expedition of the Prince of Orange.' This pack of cards was advertised by Dorman Newman in *Mercurius Reformatus* of 24th July 1689 and included scenes such as 'The Prince of Orange's landing. The Jesuits scampering. Father Peter's Transactions. . . The Army going over to the Prince of Orange. Tyrconnel in Ireland. My Lord chancellor in the Tower. With many other remarkable Passages of the Times To which is added, The effigies of our gracious K.William and Q.Mary.'

Maps and plans were advertised more often than any other visual product and it is likely that at least half of the notices were placed at times when the areas they depicted were topical. Some map advertisements reflected England's expanding horizons. On 6th October 1673 John Thornton used *The London Gazette* to advertise 'A New Map of the Island of Santa Helena, lately Retaken by Captain Richard Munden, in His Majesties Frigat the Assistance.'[47] The island had been briefly occupied by the Dutch before being retaken by the British in May 1673. This was particularly significant because it occurred within the context of the third Anglo-Dutch war.[48]

On 14th February 1676 Morden and Berry advertised 'A Map of New England, New York, New Jersey, Mary-land, and Virginia.' This was followed on 10th April by

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behaviour, confession, and manner of execution on the 30th. of October, in the year aforesaid: on which day, Richard Nelthorp was executed on a gibbet erected at Greys-Inn-Gate in Holbourn, and John Ayloff on a gibbet erected at Chancery-Lane end in Fleet-street: both quartered as in case of high-treason,. D.Mallet (London, 1685).

[47] Tyacke, p.11.

[48] J. D. Davies, 'Munden, Sir Richard (1639/40?-1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19537, accessed 17 June 2005]

Seller and Hills' advertisement for a map of New England.[49] The notices were undoubtedly placed because of interest in the conflict between the English settlers and the native Americans known as King Philip's war (1675-76).[50]

In the winter of 1683-1684 the cold was so severe that the Thames froze over and a Frost Fair was held on the ice. Several retailers advertised maps and plans of the event. The stationer William Warter advertised 'an Exact and Lively Map' in *The London Gazette* of 4th February 1684. On 25th February Joseph Moxon used the same newspaper to advertise 'an exact Map of the River of Thames from London-bridge to Fox-hall, as it was lately Frozen over, describing the Booths, Foot-paths, and various Representations upon it.' This was followed on 17th March by a similar map advertised in the same newspaper by Robert Walton and John Seller. The Victoria and Albert museum possesses a small glass mug produced at the Frost Fair as a souvenir.[51]

The most noticeable trend in map advertising of this period is its coverage of the wars in mainland Europe. Advertisements for maps of the battlefields of the War of the Spanish succession and the Austro-Turkish war are discussed later in the chapter.

Newspaper advertising was dominated by notices for printed texts like books, sermons and poems. So many advertisements were placed that it is not possible at this stage in research to quantify how many of them were topical. Nevertheless it is clear that many advertisements were published for texts that discussed subjects that were in

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[49] Tyacke, p.16.
[50] J. Frederick Fausz, 'Eliot, John (1604-1690)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8631, accessed 17 June 2005]
[51] Victoria and Albert Museum. Catalogue number: C.156-1997, Access to Images.

the news. In February 1676 a notice was placed in *The Term Catalogues* for 'The present state of New England with respect to the Indian War; wherein is an Account of the true Reason thereof. Together with most of the remarkable Passages that have hapned from the 20. of June to the 10. of November, 1675. Composed by a Merchant at Boston, and communicated to his Friend in London.'[52] This text was about the war between English settlers and Native Americans known as King Philip's war. The maps discussed above were also advertised in response to this conflict.

In the February 1680 issue of *The Term Catalogues* a notice was placed for 'The Sentiments. A Poem to the Earl of Danby in the Tower. By a person of Quality. Folio. Price 3d. Sold by J.Vade at the Cock and Sugar Loaf in Fleet street.'[53] Danby was imprisoned in the Tower of London from 1679 to 1684 because of his dealings with France and because he was believed to have deliberately concealed the Popish Plot.

In November 1680 an advertisement appeared in *The Term Catalogues* for ' A PINDARIQUE Ode to the Death of the right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Ossory. By Thomas Flatman, Esq Printed for B.Tooke at the Ship in St Paul's Churchyard.' It was followed by an advertisement for 'An Heroick Historical Poem of the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Ossory. By Elkanah Settle. Gent. Folio.'[54] Ossory was a politician and a naval officer who had died in London on 30th July of that year. 'Ossory's death triggered a remarkable and genuine outpouring of popular grief.'[55]

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[52] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 1, p.226.
[53] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 1, p.384.
[54] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 1, p.418.
[55] J. D. Davies, 'Butler, Thomas, sixth earl of Ossory (1634-1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4210, accessed 18 June 2005]

This publication was one of many produced in response to Ossory's death in that year.[56]

The birth of James II's son on 10th June 1688 was marked by the following notice placed in *The Term Catalogues* of July 1688: 'Two Congratulatory Poems; the First occasioned on the universal Hope of all Loyal Persons for a Prince of Wales. The Second, on a happy Birth of a Prince. By Mrs A.Behn. Printed for W.Canning in the Temple Cloysters.'

The storm that killed Henry Winstanley on 26th November 1703 prompted a range of advertisements in *The Daily Courant*. On 18th and 19th January 1704 John Wyatt advertised 'A Poem on the late Storm and Hurricane. With an Hymn. Dedicated to the Queen. By John Crubb'. On 23rd February John Lawrence advertised: 'A Sermon preach'd on the publick Fast appointed by Authority, January 19 1703-4. With a special Reference to the late Dreadful Storm and Tempest. By W. Harris 8°.' This was followed on 24th February by an advertisement for: 'The Lay-Man's Sermon upon the late Storm: Held forth at an Honest Coffee-House-Conventicle. Not so much a Jest as 'tis thought to be.' Then on 4th May John Lawrence advertised 'A Discourse occasion'd by the late Dreadful Storm, and accommodated to the Design of the publick Fast. January 19 1703-4 by B.Gravener.' This was followed on 15th July by Sawbridge and Nutt's advertisement for: 'An Historical Collection of several remarkable Accidents by the late Dreadful Storm,' then on 21st March 1705 by Freeman's notice for 'a little new Book entituled, The Terrible Stormy Wind and

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[56] http://copac.ac.uk.

Tempest, November 27.1703. Consider'd, Improv'd and Collected, to be had in Everlasting Remembrance. Together with Fair Warning to a Careless World.'

These examples have illustrated the diversity that makes topical retail advertising a rich repository for the study of early modern public opinion. It is likely that the themes that were most often responded to in advertising were usually those that attracted the most consumer interest. This is supported by the number of advertisements that appeared promoting products related to the Popish Plot, the Austro-Turkish war and the War of the Spanish Succession. These were all events of major public concern.

Popish Plot

The Popish Plot was the subject of a large volume of printed images and texts which were often topically advertised. This section presents a few examples.

The magistrate Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was murdered on 12th October 1678.[57] This led to the advertising of two anti-Catholic prints in *The Term Catalogues* of December 1678. John Garrett advertised 'A Thankful Remembrance of God's mercy for his deliverance from Popish Plots and Treasons, from the beginning of the Reign of Q.Elizabeth. Illustrated with Emblems, and explained in verse. Price 6d.; Coloured, 1s'. John Overton placed a notice for: 'A collection of the most bloody usage of the Christians in the Ten first persecutions under the Heathen Emperours: with a short parallel of the like by the Pope and that Party in Germany, Bohemia, etc.; especially

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[57] Alan Marshall, 'Godfrey, Sir Edmund Berry (1621-1678)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10868, accessed 13 June 2005]

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.'[58]

In chapter four it was shown that portraits were often advertised in the ritual month of November. In November 1679, just over a year after the murder, Thomas Dawkes used *The Term Catalogue* to advertise: 'A large sheet where Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's murder is made visible, with his Character thereunto; wherein the several Cruelties shewed to him are lively represented.' [59] On the 17th November the Whigs held annual Pope burning processions through the centre of London. On 13th April 1680 Jonathan Wilkins used *Mercurius Civicus* to place a long and descriptive advertisement for 'an exact Representation of the solemn Mock Procession of the Pope, Cardinals, Jesuits, Friars, &c. through the City of London, in the 17th of Novemb. 1679.' The advertisement was published at a time when the Whigs were campaigning for the recall of parliament so that the exclusion of the Duke of York could be debated. The timing of the advertisement suggests that Godfrey and the Pope burning procession functioned as political symbols to remind Whigs of the evils of Catholicism and why exclusion was necessary. This depiction of a great Whig demonstration was undoubtedly advertised at this point because there was a receptive audience. A second print of the procession was advertised by a different retailer in *The Term Catalogues* of February 1680: 'The Solemn mock procession of the Pope, Cardinals, Jesuites, Fryers, etc., through the City of London, November 17. 1679. Sold at the King's Arms in the Poultrey, and at the Feathers in Lumbard street.' [60]

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[58] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.1, p.334.
[59] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol.1, p.372.
[60] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 1, p.384.

In June 1680 advertisements were placed for portraits of Charles II, Shaftesbury, Pool and Hobbes. All four notices were related in varying degrees to the tense political atmosphere of that month. Two notices for anti-Catholic prints were also published in *The Term Catalogues* of June 1680. Richard Janeway advertised 'A Catalogue of the Names of those Martyrs who were burned in Queen Maries reign' and William Marshall published a notice for 'The Catholick Gamesters, or A Double Match of Bowling.' [61]

The Popish Plot was also depicted on playing cards. On 21st October 1679 a one shilling ' Pack of cards, containing a History of all the Popish Plots that have been in England' was advertised in the *Domestic Intelligence* by Randal Taylor.[62] On 4th November 1679 'The Horrid Popish Plot lively represented in a Pack of Cards' was advertised by Jonathan Wilkin and Jacob Sampson in the *True Domestick Intelligence*[63] and the November edition of *The Term Catalogues*. On 26th December Robert Walton used *The True Domestick Intelligence* to advertise: 'a new Pack of Cards neatly cut in copper, in which are represented to the life the several consults for killing the King and extirpating the Protestant Religion, the manner of murthering Sir Edmondbury Godfrey' The pack cost eight pence and was also available 'in sheets fit to adorn studies and houses.'

Thomas and I. Dawkes advertised a set of Popish Plot playing cards with seven other retailers in *The Term Catalogues* of February 1680. It was marketed with a book: 'As also a Book may be had, with each Pack, or Set, of Figures; which will satisfie the Reader, by clearing the History and Evidence of the several discoverers. The price of

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[61] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 1, pp.405-406.
[62] Willshire, p.243.
[63] Willshire, p.244.

a Pack, or Set, of the Figures is 1s.; and a Chronology of Popish Errors, when, and by whom, brought into the Church, 3d; and the Book, 6d.'[64] This was just one of many Popish Plot texts to be advertised during this period. In May 1680 *The Term Catalogues* saw the advertising of 'The Arts and Pernicious designs of Rome. Wherein is shewn what are the aims of the Jesuites and Fryers'[65] and Roger L'Estrange's letter to Titus Oates, then in November John Oldham's 'Satyrs upon the Jesuits. Written, in the year 1679, upon occasion of the Plot.'

The advertisements presented in this section contribute to the evidence for extensive topical consumption in the context of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis. Consumers interested in these events could buy portrait prints and other kinds of single-sheet prints, daggers, tiles, playing cards, buttons and medals as well as texts discussing the issues. When this evidence is taken together it is clear that topical portrait print advertising was part of a much wider trend in the production of goods in response to the news. This is supported by the evidence presented in the next section.

The Austro-Turkish war

The public's interest in the Austro-Turkish war gave retailers the opportunity to profit from the production of books, maps and plans as well as portrait prints such as those of Charles V of Lorraine and Louis von Baden. In 1686 and 1687 *The London Gazette* carried notices for books discussing areas where war occurred and maps depicting them. On 10th and 24th May 1686 a notice was placed for Bernard Randolph's 'A new and exact Map of the Morea' and his 'Book, intituled, The

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[64] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 1, p.384.
[65] *The Term Catalogues,* Vol. 1, p.396.

Present State of the Morea.'[66] On 31st January 1687 John Oliver, who advertised the mezzotint of Charles V of Lorraine, promoted 'a new general Map of the Seat of War from Upper Hungary to the Isle of Candia.' On 11th April a group of retailers (including Thomas Bassett who advertised the portrait of Admiral Russell in 1692) placed a notice for 'A Map of Greece with part of Anatolia, shewing the Conquests which the Venetians have made in the present War with the Turks.'[67] Later on 7th July 1687 a map was advertised of the principal cities and towns between Vienna and Constantinople.[68] Bassett's name appears again as the retailer on 31st October 1687 on an advertisement for Bernard Randolph's book 'The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago, Sea of Constantinople, and Gulph of Smyrna, with the Islands of Rhodes and Candia.'[69]

In the seventeenth century Richard Knolles' *Generall Historie of the Turkes* was the standard account of the Ottoman Empire. It was first published in 1603 and was extended and updated five times. Work for the extension of the sixth edition was taken up by Paul Rycaut.[70] The war undoubtedly boosted the appeal of the book which was advertised in *The London Gazette* of 16th June 1687.

> The History of the Turks, written by Richard Knolles, and continued by Sir Paul Ricaut to the year 1677, with many Additions; and from thence to this present year 1687: To which is added the present State of the Ottoman Empire, by the aforesaid Sir Paul Ricaut. The Effigies of all the Kings and

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[66] Tyacke, p.34.
[67] Tyacke, p.36.
[68] Tyacke, p.38.
[69] Tyacke, p.39.
[70] Christine Woodhead, 'The History of an Historie: Richard Knolles' General Historie of the Turkes, 1603-1700,' *Journal of Turkish Studies,* 26/2 (2002), pp.349-57.

Emperors of the Turks are newly Engraven at large upon Copper. The whole in Two Volumes, will be Printed before next Michelmas [*sic*] next. The said Books will be Sold by Subscription. Proposals with the Specimen annexed, may be had at most Booksellers in London, and other Cities and Country Towns in England.

The war prompted the advertising of other books in *The London Gazette*. These included on 8th March 1687 'A new Account of the present Condition of the Turkish Affairs, with the Causes of the Decay of the Ottoman Power; Of their Wars with the present Emperor,' on 28th March 1687 'A Journal of the Siege and Taking of BUDA,' and on 20th June 1687 'An Historical and Geographical Account of the Morea, Negropont, and the Maritime places, as far as Thessalonica.'

The number of advertisements that were placed in response to the Austro-Turkish war presage the much larger volume that were published because of the War of the Spanish Succession.

The War of the Spanish Succession

Maps of the war's battlefields were frequently advertised in *The Daily Courant.* For example on 4th February the mapseller David Mortier marketed 'The Seat of War in Bavaria in 4 Sheets. The Seat of War upon the Rhine in 4 Sheets. The Seat of War in Italy in 4 Sheets. The Seat of War in Spain in 4 Sheets. The Seat of War in Flanders in 6 Sheets. The Seat of War in Savoy, by N.de Fer.' On 21st March this was followed by a map of 'The Seat of War in Savoy and Piedmont' and on 17th April by 'The Seat of War in the Sevennes.'

Texts about the war were also advertised in large numbers in *The Daily Courant.* The following examples are just a selection of the notices that were placed in 1704. On 29th February an advert was published for 'A Short but Impartial Account of the most Remarkable Transactions of the two last Campaigns in the Netherlands.' This was one of many similar books published during the war. Portugal's role in the war led to the advertising on 11th March of 'Memoirs of the Sieur d'Ablancourt, containing a General History of Portugal, from the Pyrenean Treaty with a full Relation of all the Battles and Sieges in the last War between Spain and Portugal.' This was clearly placed in the hope that the war would generate consumer interest in Portuguese history. On 25th April John Nutt advertised 'A Trip to Portugal. . . an exact List of their Forces; the Situations of their Frontier Towns, and the true prospect of their Fortifications.' Then on 15th May Nutt placed a notice for 'The Portugueze Arms Justified. In Vindication of the Spanish Liberties oppress'd by a French Power. As also, the Title of the most Serene, Potent, and Catholick King, Charles 3. to the Crown of Spain, Asserted.'

On 18th November, 1st December, 8th December and 15th December 1707 *The Daily Courant* carried an advertisement for: 'Victory Cards; Representing in Lively Figures on curious Copper Plates the most Memorable Battles, Seiges, Skirmishes, Sea-Fights, & c. Also the Effigies of the chief Confederates drawn to the Life: . . .The whole contriv'd not only to divert the Ingenious, but to hand down to Posterity the stupendious Victories obtain'd by the Arms of her Majesty and her Allies under his Grace John Duke and Prince of Marlborough'. This particular advert was placed because of a day of thanksgiving. Luttrell records one day earlier on 17th November

Queen Anne proclaimed 'a general fast, to be observed throughout Great Brittain, upon Wensday the 14th January next, for averting Gods judgments, and imploring his blessing on our armes and allies, and our forces by sea and land.'[71]

A number of advertisements were placed because of the allied victory at Blenheim in August 1704. All of the examples given here were printed in *The Daily Courant*. On 4th September 1704 an advert appeared for: 'Prince Eugene's Speech to his Soldiers the Night before the last Great Battle at Hochstetten.' On 13th September advertisements were published for the texts of two sermons given on 7th September, the day of public thanksgiving for the victory. More thanksgiving day sermons were marketed in October. On 5th October a notice was placed for 'To Nikos: or Victory Display'd. In a Sermon Preach'd the 7th of the Seventh Month 1704. being a Day of Thanksgiving for the late Victory at Bleinheim,' and then on 6th October for 'Great Brittain's Acclamation to her Deborah. A Sermon preach'd in the Parish-Church of St Ethelberga, September 4 1704.'

Accounts of the battle were also advertised. On 13th and 14th October John Nutt placed an advertisement for 'An Exact Journal of the Campaign in Germany for the Year 1704' with an 'Account of the Two Famous Battles of Schellenberg and Bleinheim.' On 3rd December N.Boddington advertised 'England's Triumph: Or the Glorious Campaign to the Year 1704. Containing an exact Account of all the memorable Transactions that have happen'd by Land and Sea; . . and the glorious Victory obtain'd by his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, in Conjunction with the Confederate Forces, over the French and Bavarians, at the famous Battle of Hochstet

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[71] Luttrell, Vol. 6, p.235.

and Bleinheim. The Siege of Landau and Traarback. the Taking Gibraltar. and the Defeat of the French Fleet by Sir George Rook.'

The war was also the subject of a number of poems like this one advertised in *The Daily Courant* of 10th November 1704.

Yesterday was publish'd, Albion's Naval Glory, or Britannia's Triumphs: A Poetical Essay towards a Description of a Sea Fight. Occasion'd by the late Engagement between the English, Dutch and French Fleets, in the Mediterranean Sea. August 13 1704. Printed for Francis Fawcett at the Blue Anchor the outward Walk in the New Exchange in the Strand; and sold by Benj. Bragg in Ave-Mary-Lane. Price 6d.

In December 1704 poems promoted in *The Daily Courant* included the following which was advertised on the 14th and 21st of the month: 'The Campaign. A Poem. To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. By Mr Addison. Printed for Jacob Tonson within Grays-Inn-Gate in Grays-Inn Lane.' On 22nd December a notice appeared for: 'A welcome to Victory. A Poem on the Success of Her Majesty's Forces under the Command of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. Price 1s. Observations and Predictions for the Year 1705. Price 3d. All sold by S.Malthus in London-house-Yard.' On 28th December 1704: 'A Congratulatory Poem to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, &c. upon his safe Return to England, on the Glorious Victory obtain'd by the English and the Germans under his Conduct, over the French and Bavarians at the Battle of Hochstet in Germany, Aug 2 1704. By Dr Smallwood, Chaplain to his

Grace the Duke of Marlborough. Printed for John Isted at the Golden Ball against St Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, and sold by B.Bragg in Ave-Mary-Lane. Pr 6d.'

In the absence of data it is not possible to state with accuracy whether the advertisers' response to the war of the Spanish Succession was greater than it had been to the Popish Plot twenty years earlier. However observation suggests that this was the case and that during the later Stuart period topical retail advertising was at its most prolific under Queen Anne. This is to be expected because the expansion of press led to an increase in opportunities for newspaper advertising.

Conclusion

Portrait prints were just one aspect of a wider topical consumer culture. Portrait goods were produced in response to events such as royal marriages and coronations. A diverse range of consumer goods were advertised at times when the subjects they depicted and discussed were topical. This means that topical portrait print advertising did not develop in isolation. It existed within a framework of response to news in consumer culture.

The study of retail advertising in periodical publications presents a real time image of the topical goods that were available in specific periods of weeks and months. This is something that artefacts in museum collections are unable to do because they are often loosely dated. The findings of this chapter suggest that advertisements for different products flock together in response to events and ideas in the news. The political problems of Charles II's final years, the Austro-Turkish war and the war of the Spanish succession had a significant impact on both portrait print advertising and the

marketing of other products. The majority of the advertisements were placed because the retailers saw that there was a demand for goods that depicted and discussed topical events and ideas. This means that the advertisements are evidence for the types of events and ideas that were of most interest to consumers. The large number of advertisements for anti-Catholic prints and other products related to the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis shows that these events were of great interest to the consumer.

Chapter Seven- Conclusion

This thesis set out to examine in depth the relatively unexplored subject of portrait print advertising in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* between 1660 and 1714. One of its principal findings, that the majority of notices were placed at times when the sitters were topical, has largely confirmed the assumptions of earlier researchers. It has also produced a significant number of new findings and areas for further study. The previous lack of direct engagement with portrait print advertising as a subject in its own right means that the notices have never been seriously assessed as source material.

The issues raised by the advertisements are complex but what is clear is that they and the prints they promote should not be studied in isolation. The advertised portrait prints were just one aspect of a topical consumer culture. Portrait prints were one of a range of visual products that were advertised in periodical publications at times when the subjects they depicted and discussed were in the news. They also appeared in response to the same events as books, poems and sermons. The advertised portraits were part of a wider production of portrait goods that were as diverse as medals, lockets and spoons and depicted some of the same sitters. A large proportion of the advertisements were placed by booksellers, which means that this research is also a part of the history of the book trade.

The portrait prints were advertised at times when the sitters were the focus of public attention. Sacheverell's portrait was advertised in 1710 when his trial was exciting feelings across the country. Earlier, in 1685 the prosecution of Titus Oates also prompted an advertisement. William and Mary's portraits were advertised in 1688 and

1689 after their seizure of power. On several occasions notices for pictures of Charles I were placed shortly before or after the 30th January, the day when his execution was commemorated. In 1682 alone the murder of Thomas Thynne and the visits of ambassadors from Morocco, Java and Russia all prompted portrait print advertisements. Other sources such as Luttrell's diary show that these events attracted public interest. The advertisements provide additional evidence because they demonstrate that the level of interest was high enough for retailers to attempt to profit from it. All types of topical retail advertising can be used as a general indicator of the events and ideas that most interested consumers. The responses of advertisers of prints, maps, texts and other goods to the Popish Plot, the war of the Spanish succession and the Austro-Turkish war show that these were subjects of intense and widespread interest.

Some advertisements may have been placed for political reasons. No direct evidence has been found for this and each notice needs to be studied individually. Motives could have included the desire to show support for a patron, the advertiser's wish to signal his or her own views or an attempt to distribute an image in order to influence opinion. Richard Sharp's study of Jacobite portrait prints has confirmed that they could be used as propaganda.[1] A question mark hangs over whether there was a political motivation in a substantial number of the advertisements. In June 1680 Shaftesbury's portrait was advertised during an election campaign and in December 1681 the Duke of York's was also marketed in similar circumstances. In May 1691 Thomas Pilkington's picture was promoted during a court case between the Whigs and the tories. All three advertisements could have been placed in response to demand

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[1] Richard Sharp, 'Prints and Politics: Jacobite propaganda in context, c.1688-1773' in Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 1-39

for images of these topical sitters, or they might be evidence of a deliberate attempt to shape opinion. Some portraits of monarchs and other members of the royal family could also have been advertised for political reasons: for example, it is not impossible that Vanderbank's portrait of William and Mary in 1689 could have been marketed as part of the Orange propaganda effort, a point that might be considered in future studies of efforts to manipulate public opinion.

When Thomas Cockerill published Robert White's portrait of the Kentish petitioners he was accused of acting from political motivations (see figure 4). The portrait was advertised in *The Flying Post* of 1st July 1701 and the June edition of *The Term Catalogues*. On 15th July an advertisement was placed in the same paper for:

> This Day is published, The Kentish Men. A Satyr, occasioned by the late TREAT at Mercer-Hall, and the Publication of Their Five several Effigies. Written by a Commoner. Printed in the Year 1701, and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster.

The Kentish petitioners had been imprisoned by parliament in May 1701 after delivering a Whig-supported petition. They were released after protest from their supporters including Daniel Defoe in June. The anonymous Tory author of *The Kentish Men. A Satyr* accused Cockerill of being a Whig, which suggests that he was thought to have published the print for political reasons.

> C[ockerill] should first the Muses Anger feel,
>
> Confirm'd with Brass, and Foreheaded with Steel,

Audacious in defence of any Cause,

That tends to alter Governments and Laws,

Either against the Church to shew his Hate,

Or tempt the Justice of an injur'd State.

Else had he not want of Duty shewn,

And in his Heroes Faces grav'd his own;

As he for Lucre only puts to sale,

What had been rightly drawn with each a Tail. . .[2]

However, the text also contains a contradiction claiming that he also published for profit. Cockerill might have been motivated by both profit and politics. In the same way many advertisements could have been both a response to the desire to capitalise on demand for images of topical sitters and to express political support.

The analysis of the advertisements provides an indication of the meaning that the prints had to viewers at the time of marketing. The notices highlight specific periods of time when the sitters' topicality would have affected the viewer's interpretation of the portrait. When the print of Grinling Gibbons' statue of Charles II was first advertised in January 1685 it was a depiction of the reigning monarch. When it was marketed again in the following month consumers would have seen it as the image of the recently deceased king. In this way the causes of the sitter's topicality altered the primary meaning of a portrait. The advertisements give us a small idea of what it meant to look at a portrait print in a particular month: such an awareness can transform the modern viewer's response to a print.

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[2] Anon., *The Kentish Men. A Satyr. Occasion'd by the late treat at Mercers Hall, and the publication of their five several effigies. Written by a Commoner* (London, 1701), British Library C.131.h.1.(9.), p.3.

The advertisements also breathe life into the portrait prints by suggesting how they were used. The language of some notices provides concrete evidence that some prints were displayed on walls, framed, and placed under glass. One advertisement in *The Tatler* of 8th July 1710 shows that they could be distributed as gifts.

> This Day is published, The Queen's most Gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, April 5. 1710, with Her Majesty's Effigies and the Arms of Great Britain curiously engraved on a large Copper Plate. Price 6d. Those that would buy Numbers to give away, may have them printed on a small Paper for 25 Shillings per Hundred. Printed for R.Whitledge and sold by B.Lintott at the Cross-Keys between the Two Temple-gates in Fleet-street.

The advertisements also allow patterns of inferences to be drawn which suggest possible display in elections, purchase as souvenirs, and perhaps use in the celebration of political and military victories. The evidence that portrait prints were purchased as celebratory souvenirs is particularly strong. On 3rd January 1705 the colours and standards taken at Blenheim were paraded through the city to Westminster Hall. Advertisements for Anne's portrait were placed in *The Daily Courant* on 2nd and 4th January. A victory parade was held for the battle of Ramilies on 19th December 1706 and a thanksgiving day on 31st December. Anne's portrait was advertised on 21st December and Prince Eugene's on 31st December. On 24th August 1702 Christopher Browne advertised portraits of the royal family shortly after news of a French defeat in Italy. Earlier on 16th July 1685 James II's portrait was advertised in anticipation of the thanksgiving held for Monmouth's defeat. These all suggest that prints were bought as celebratory souvenirs. Portraits were also

advertised at times of royal celebration. James II's portrait was marketed in *The Term Catalogues* of May 1685, shortly after his coronation. In 1689 Robert White promoted William and Mary's portrait on the day of their coronation. Catherine of Braganza's portrait was advertised for her birthday in November 1684 and William and Mary's portrait was marketed shortly before the celebrations for his birthday in 1691. The advertising of prints at periods when the sitter was highly politicised suggests that the portraits could have been publicly displayed to signify partisan loyalties. Prints of this nature include depictions of the Duke of York and Catherine of Braganza advertised during the Exclusion Crisis. On one occasion the Duke's portrait was advertised shortly before the elections of December 1681. In the previous year Shaftesbury's portrait had been advertised during the elections of June 1680. The evidence from Pepys and Evelyn has left us with the image of portrait print purchaser as collector. The inferences drawn from these examples strongly suggest that consumers had additional motivations and that they bought portrait prints in order to participate in contemporary events.

Advertising material supports the idea that portrait prints were bought in two different ways. It shows that some prints were purchased because the sitter was topical and that others were bought because the sitter was well known. A comparison of the advertisements placed in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* with the entries for portrait prints in the print publishers' catalogues illustrates this point. Depictions of sitters who were currently or historically members of the elite were a staple of the portrait print market. The advertisements placed in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* show that depictions of these types of sitter were marketed when they were topical. However, the print publishers' catalogues appear to have promoted

portraits of elite sitters because of their fame and not because they were topical. Topical advertising is evidence that the print trade had a dynamic relationship with the news. However the fact that only a handful of notices appeared each year means it must be asked to what extent they represent the portrait print market as a whole. The likely explanation is that many portraits were sold on the basis of their topicality by retailers who did not advertise in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues.* This issue must be underlined because there has perhaps been a tendency among print scholars to assume that newspaper and *Term Catalogue* notices are representative of the entire portrait print trade without questioning whether this was the case.

With the exception of Alexander Globe's study no published research has focused on the print publishers' catalogues.[3] The listings of portrait prints in these catalogues should be examined in greater depth.[4] The question that must be asked is to what extent were the publishers' choices influenced by the fame of the sitter. Are the catalogues evidence for who was a household name in the later Stuart period? These questions are parallel to those that were asked of the advertisements found in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues* and their consideration will augment the findings of this thesis.

This thesis' investigation of portrait print advertising also highlights important issues in the study of marketing in periodical publications. At the start of research the term print trade advertising was defined as the promotion of single-sheet prints, in much the same way that book trade advertising was thought of as the marketing of books.

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[3] Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent, London Printseller circa 1642-1665: Being a catalogue raisonné of his engraved prints and Books with an historical and bibliographic introduction* (Vancouver, 1985).
[4] See bibliography for location of the print publishers' catalogues.

These logical definitions ignore the complex realities of the retail of printed goods in later Stuart London. Specialist printsellers sold and promoted other goods such as books and maps. Single-sheet prints were stocked and advertised by specialists in the book and map trades. The study of 'print trade advertising' should encompass all of the notices for any product placed by retailers who sold single-sheet prints. In this way the practices of individual advertisers and the way that they shaped print trade advertising can be better understood. Forming collections of notices placed by individual retailers will also be beneficial to the deeper comprehension of topical retail advertising. It will show whether the preferences and personal histories of individual advertisers shaped the type of events that they responded to. At present there is no inclusive narrative history of newspaper advertising in the later Stuart period. Advertising will not be fully understood until the individual contributions of every participant have been charted and analysed in the context of the retailers' backgrounds. This is a large-scale task made complicated by the scattered and patchy nature of newspaper survivals, but it would undoubtedly produce fruitful results.

This thesis has shown that the study of advertising can be used to illuminate the roles that portrait prints and other goods played in the lives of the consumers. The portrait print notices are evidence for the response of retailers and consumers to the news at a time when both consumerism and the press saw considerable expansion.

Appendix One

Portrait Print Advertisements in Newspapers

This appendix presents the portrait print advertisements that were examined in this thesis. The advertisements are arranged by date order and newspaper title. The chapter in which the advertisement was discussed is indicated in brackets.

The Currant Intelligence[1]

The Currant Intelligence, February 28-March 6, 1680

A Picture of the Famous and Learned Mr Matthew Pool, so well Performed upon a Copper Plate, as to Represent his True Idea, to all that knew him, or had a Veneration for him; Printed upon a Paper of the same size with his Synopsis Criticorum, designed on purpose to befriend those that would Prefix it to that his Admired work, Price Six Pence, sold by Tho.Simmons at the Princes Armes in Ludgate-street. **(chapter four)**

The Daily Courant

The Daily Courant, November 18, 1703

J.Temmen Engraver at Amsterdam hath most curiously and ingenuously engraved the Effigies of Queen Anne and Her Royal Consort Prince George, and the present King of Spain, the Crowne, Scepters and other Ornaments round about these Royal Persons are composed of Verses in English, the like Work hath never been seen before in the whole Universe. There is also made an Impression of one of the thirty Silbertings given to Judas the Betrayer of our most Blessed Saviour. The Effigies of their Graces the Dukes of Ormond and Marlborough are also making and will be done in a short

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[1] Newspaper titles are listed in alphabetical order.

time. The Effigies are Sold for 1s and the Impression of the Silberting for 6d. a piece. at J.Robinson's in St Paul's Church-yard, W.Harris at the back side of the Royal Exchange, J.Garratt at the South entrance of the Royal Exchange, J.King at the Globe in the Poultry, B.Lens at the 3 Crowns and Dial in Fleet-street, G.Harris in St. James's-street, and Sarah Tidd in Westminster-Hall. **(chapter five)**

The Daily Courant, January 2, 1705

This day is publish'd, Her Majesty's Head finely Engrav'd upon a Copper Plate fifteen Inches square, and Adorn'd after the manner of Penmanship. Price 6d. Sold by J.Nutt near Stationers-Hall. **(chapter five)**

The Daily Courant, February 13, 1705

To the Memory of the Glorious Victory at Hochstet, There is now publish'd a large piece of Sculpture above a Foot square, engrav'd by a good Hand after a Drawing of Mr Cha.Woodfield. In which is represented in large Figures at whole length the Queen, D.of Marlborough, E.of Bavaria, and M.Tallard, besides variety of very significant Emblems and Hieroglyphicks upon that memorable Victory and its happy Consequence. With a View of the Battle and Danube, & c. Humbly dedicated to Her Majesty. This Piece is about the size of the Elements, and being done in a Circle after the manner of them, will serve very properly to be placed with them. Sold by J.Bowack at the Temple-Coffee-house in Fleet-street, Mr Langthorne Frame-maker in St Martin's-Lane Charing-Cross, and Mr Stuart Stationer at the Square on London-bridge. Where Print-sellers, Country Booksellers, or others that are dispos'd to take a Quantity, may be furnish'd with them with the usual Allowance. Price 4s. **(chapter five)**

The Daily Courant, March 6, 1706

Just publish'd, A True List of the Royal Navy of England, with the Particular Dimensions of every Ship, as the Names, where Built, by whom, year when. Length of the Gun Deck, Breadth, Number of Tuns, Men and Guns, to which is added the Queens Picture and his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark. Lord High Admiral of England, &c. Sold by Benj.Bragg at the Black Raven in Pater-noster-Row. Price 6d. **(chapter five)**

The Daily Courant, March 28, 1706

A Picture of the most Noble John Duke of Marlborough, Prince of the Sacred Roman Empire, &c. Painted by the Sieur Vander Weis. Engrav'd by Van Gunst in Holland, and printed on Imperial Paper. Sold by T.Bennet at the Half-Moon in St Paul's Church-yard. **(chapter five)**

The Daily Courant, December 21, 1706

This Day is publish'd, An Oration sacred to the Imperial Majesty of ANNE Queen of Great Britain. To which is perfix'd her Majesty's Picture, curiously Engraven on a Copper Plate, price 1s. Printed for J.Wyat at the Rose in St Paul's Church-yard, and Sold by B.Bragg at the Black Raven in Pater-Noster-Row. **(chapter five)**

The Daily Courant, January 31, 1707

Whereas the Effigies of that Glorious Martyr King Charles I, and 18 of the chief Nobility and Gentry that suffer'd for him, well Engrav'd on a Copper Plate, by Joseph Nutting, after Vandyke and other famous Masters of that time. could not be

completed; as was intended, by the 30th of this Instant, by reason some Original Heads were wanting, and which have been but just procur'd; This is to acquaint the Publick, that the said Print will be wrought off upon good Paper, and deliver'd to Subscribers by the latter end of February; and all Gentlemen and others who are willing to Subscribe and have not yet done it, are desir'd to pay the 6d. on delivery, within this limited Time, to H.Playford at his House in Arundel-street, or Joseph Nutting, engraver, at his House in Little-Carter-lane, where Subscriptions are taken in, after which time the print will not be Sold under 2s 6d. **(chapter five)**

The Daily Courant, November 14, 1707

This Day is publish'd, Her Majesty's Effigies, with the Effigies of the Protestant Kings and Queens of this Nation, viz. K.Edward the 6th, Q.Elizabeth, K.James the 1st, K.Charles the 1st, K.Charles the 2nd, K.William and Q.Mary. Illustrated with Her Majesty's first most gracious Speech to the first United Parliament of Great Britain, and Ornamented with Hierogliphicks suitable to the Design. Curiously Engrav'd on a Copper Plate about 23 Inches long and 17 Inches broad and printed on fine Elephant Paper. Printed and sold by Sutton Nicholls Print and Mapseller near the Half-Moon Tavern in Aldersgate-street, and by A.Earle at the Sign of the Fan in Exeter-street behind Exeter-Change. Price 1s. **(chapter five)**

The Daily Courant, August 18, 1708

This Day is Publish'd, Prince Eugene's Prayer, with his Character and Picture curiously Engraven on a Copper-Plate, handsomely Printed on a Broadside, fit to be put into Frames, and hung up in all Families; which Prayer for its singular Excellency has been admir'd by all Nations and Translated into all Languages, and ought to be

preserv'd with the Author's Immortal Glory to all succeeding Generations. Price 3d. Sold by J.Morphew near Stationer's-Hall. **(chapter five)**

The Daily Courant, November 22, 1708

This Day is Publish'd, The Effigies of her most sacred Majesty Queen Anne; also his Royal Highness Prince George, neatly engrav'd from Original Medals, by the late ingenious Mr Spossarth, just before his Death, with some Memoirs of the Princes Life. Printed on a Sheet of large fine Paper, and allow'd to be most like of any yet done, design'd for Frames, to perpetuate the Memory of his Royal Highness's great Actions. Price 6d. Sold by J.Goudge in Westminster-Hall, and at most Print Shops in London. **(chapter five)**

The Daily Courant, January 29, 1712

Just published, The Character of Prince Eugene, with his daily Prayer and Effigies, Engraven on Copper; printed on a Broad-Side fit to be hung up in all Families. Price 3d. Sold by J.Baker in Pater-Noster-Row; where may be had, A Poem on the said Prince, finely printed. Price 1d. **(chapter five)**

The Daily Courant, October 7, 1715

This Day is Published, The long-expected large Print of Mr Charles Leslie in Mezzo-Tinto, finely done from an Original Painting, with his Name engraven under it. Price 2d. Sold by G.Sawbridge in Little-Britain, and most Booksellers and Printsellers in London and Westminster. Where may be had the curious French Print of the same Person, at Half a Crown each. **(chapter five)**

The Evening Post

The Evening Post, February 25- February 28, 1710

The only true Print of the Effigies of Dr Henry Sacheverell, curiously perform`d in Metzotinto, done from the Original painting of Mr Gibson. Price 1s 3d. Sold by Philip Overton Map and Printseller against St Dunstan's-Church, Fleet-street. N.B. To distinguish this from Counterfeits, it has besides the Painters Name, that of Andrew Johnson at the Bottom, all others being imperfect Copies, and not taken from the Painting. **(chapter five)**

The Flying Post

The Flying Post, July 16- July 18, 1700

This is to give Notice, That the Effigies of Mr John Dryden, our late famous English Poet, curiously drawn to the Life, is very finely done on a large Copper, Plate, and will be published July the 18th, 1700, by J.Nutt, in Stationers-Court, next Amen-Corner, near Stationers-Hall. Price one Shilling six Pence. They are also to be had at divers Booksellers and Picture-Shops in London and Westminster. **(chapter four)**

The Intelligencer

The Intelligencer, June 27, 1664

The true Pourtraicture of the Noble Count Nicholas Serini, taken from an Original presented to the Kings most Excellent Majesty. Sold by William Faithorne next dore to the Signe of the Drake without Temple-Barre. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette

The London Gazette, December 8-December 11, 1684

The true Effigies of King Charles the First done (from Sir Ant. Van Dyck in a Royal Sheet,) By R.White; Sold by him at his House in Bloomsbury Market, and most Picture-sellers in London and Westminster. Price 1s. 6d. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, July 16-July 20, 1685

There is curiously Engraved by Peter Vander-Bank, on a large copper Plate, the Picture of His Majesty JAMES the 2d. To be sold by the said Peter Vander-Bank at his House in Princes Sreet near Leicester Fields. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, November 26-November 30, 1685

The Effigies of Her present Majesty 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. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, August 19-August 23, 1686

There is now published and sold by Edward Cooper at the 3 Pidgeons in Bedford street near Covent-Garden, the Portraicture of their Majesties and all the Royal Family Compleated from the Originals, Painted by Mr. Wissing, with, great variety of other Prints, and all necessary for Painting on Glass or other ways. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, September 13-September 16, 1686

There is now Extant in Mezzo Tinto, the true Effigy of the Valiant and Victorious Prince Charles the V of Lorrain. Sold by John Oliver at the Corner of the Baily on Ludgate-Hill, where is sold all sorts of Mezzo Tinto Prints. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, November 11-November 15, 1686

A true Prospect of the City of Napoli di Romania, lately taken by the Venetians (in a large Sheet) and the Effigies of Captain General Morosini. done by R.White. Sold at his house in Bloomsbury-market, and most Picture-Sellers in London and Westminster. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, December 9-December 13, 1686

There is now done in Mezzo-Tinto their Majesties Effigies, after the last Paintings. By Mr. Largilitere. sold by Isaac Beckett at the Golden Head in the Old Baily. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, December 13-December 16, 1686

This is to give Notice, That their Majesties Effigies are Curiously done in Mezotinto, after the last original Paintings of Mr. Largillierre, and exactly corrected by himself, the best that have been yet made. Sold by Alexander Browne at the Blue Balcony in Little Queen-street near Lincolns-Inn-Fields. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, December 20-December 23, 1686

This is to give Notice, That their Majesties Effigies Curiously done in Mezo Tinto, after the last Original Paintings of Mr. Largilliere, and exactly Corrected by himself. the Lest [last] that have been made yet, are now finished. Sold by Alexander Browne

at the Blue Balcony in Little Queen-street near Lincolns-Inn-Fields, and several other New Plats of Landscapes and Histories of the same kind. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, December 31-January 3, 1689

There is now Printed and Published their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange's Pictures, Engraven upon Copper Plates, and Printed upon Imperial Paper, by Peter Vanderbank; and are to be Sold at his House in Princes street near Leicester Fields, and by most Print-Sellers in and about London. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, February 21-February 25, 1689

These are to give Notice, That the Pictures of Their Majesties King WILLIAM and Queen MARY are Engraven upon Copper by Peter Vanderbank, and Printed upon a large Imperial Sheet of Paper, and sold at the said Peter Vanderbank's House in Princes-street near Leicester-fields, and by most Print-sellers in London. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, April 11-April 15, 1689

The True Effigies of Their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, newly done; Each on a Royal Sheet in the Robes. Both Engraven by R.White; Sold at his House in Bloomsbury Market, and most Printsellers in London and Westminster. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, September 5-September 9, 1689

Whereas His Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to grant His Royal Licence and Priviledge to a Relation of Mr George Walker's, for the sole Engraving and

Publishing his Effigies, and that no other Person presume to Print or Publish his Picture in any manner or form whatsoever, or to Copy, counterfeit, buy or distribute the said Effigies. These are to give notice, That the said Picture, newly drawn from the Life, will be published in a few days together with a full Account of the Siege of Londonderry. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, October 28-October 31, 1689

There is now Published the true and exact Picture of Mr Walker, late Governor of Londonderry, Painted from the Life by Godfrid Kneller, principal Painter in Ordinary to Their Majesties, and engraven by Peter Vandrebanc. Sold at his house in Prince's Street near Leicester-fields. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, November 20-November 24, 1690

The True Effigies of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Denmark, each in a large Sheet, both newly Engraven by R.White: Sold at his House in Bloomsbury-Market, and most Picture-Sellers in London and Westminster. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, September 24-September 28, 1691

The Effigies of Prince LEWIS of Baden, drawn from the Life, by Herman Verelst, and curiously Engraven by Rob.White, is this day published by Richard Baldwin in Warwick-Lane. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, October 29-November 2, 1691

Their present Majesties King William and Queen Mary. Painted after the Life by Godfrey Kneller principal Painter to Their Majesties, are engraven by Peter Vandrebank, each upon a large Sheet of Imperial Paper, and are to be sold at the House of the said Peter Vandrebank in Greek-street, near So-ho Square, over-against the Hercules Pillars, and at most Stationers Shops in London. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, November 30-December 3, 1691

The True Effigies of his Grace, John, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Engraven by Rob White on a large Sheet of Paper. Price 12 d. Sold by B.Aylmer in Cornhil, W.Rogers in Fleetstreet, and most Booksellers and Picture-Sellers in Westminster. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, January 28-February 1, 1692

The True Effigies of the Lord-General Ginkel, taken from the Life, and Engraven by R.White. Sold at his House in Bloomsbury-market, and by most Picture-Sellers in London and Westminster. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, June 20-June 23, 1692

The true Effigies of the Right Honourable Mr Russell, Admiral of Their Majesties Fleet, curiously engraven on Copper, taken from the Original Painting. Sold by Tho.Basset at the George in Fleet Street. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, August 17-August 21, 1693

The Effigies of King William and Queen Mary, with the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments; the Magnificat, the Prayer for the King and Queen; the Prayer for the Royal Family; the Prayer for Clergy and People; the Prayer of St Chrysostom; and the Blessing, Engraven within a Circle, two Inches and Quarter Diameter. Engraven and Sold by John Sturt in Crane Court in the Old Change near St Paul. Price 2s. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, November 8-November 11, 1697

The Effigies of the Grand Czar of Moscovy, by an Original sent from the Hague by a Person of Honour; Engraven by R.White, sold at his House in Bloomsbury-Market and by J.Tonson at the Judges-head in Fleet-street near the Temple. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, January 27-January 31, 1698

The Original Plate of the Effigies of the Grand Czar of Moscovy; Engraven in Holland, is lately brought into England, and is Printed and sold by John Overton, at the white-Horse without Newgate. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, February 21-February 24, 1698

The effigies of Frederick Augustus the present King of Poland, from an Original. Engraven by R.White, and sold at his House in Bloomsbury-Market. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, February 24-February 27, 1701

The true Effigies of the present King of Sweden; taken from a Picture of his Majesty on Horseback as big as the Life, in the custody of Sir Jacob Banks, Kt. Which he had

from his Excellency Count Bondes, late Ambassador here. Engraven by R.White. and sold at his House in Bloomsbury Market. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, March 17-March 20, 1701

The True Effigies of the several CROWN'D HEADS of Europe, now living, curiously Engraven on copper Plates from the best Originals by skilful Hands: viz. Clement XI. Pope, Leopold Emperor of Germany, William III. King of Great-Britain, Lewis XIV. The French King, Charles XII. King of Sweden, Frederic King of Prussia, Peter II. King of Portugal, Frederic-Augustus King of Poland, Peter-Alexeewitz Czar of Muscovy, and the present Grand Signior. Sold by John Nutt, near Stationers-hall. Price 1 s. 6d. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, March 27-March 31, 1701

The True Effigies of the present King of Sweden: Curiously engraven from the Original Picture. Sold by Edward Cooper at the Three Pidgeons in Bedford-street, Covent-garden, and John Overton at the White Horse without Newgate. Price 1s. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, February 2-February 5, 1702

The Effigies of the Grecian Archbishop of Philopopoli: Taken from the Life, and engraven by R.White. Sold at his House in Bloomsbury-market, and by most Picture-sellers in London and Westminster. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, June 8-June 11, 1702

There is now Published, Her Majesty's Most Gracious SPEECH to both Houses of Parliament on Monday the 25th of May 1702. Printed on a fair Sheet of Papers on one side: With Her Majesty's EFFIGIES curiously Engrav'd on Copper by R.White. sold by John Nutt near Stationers Hall. Price 6d. **(chapter five)**

The London Gazette, July 30-August 3, 1702

The Queen's most Gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the 25th day of May, 1702 upon Her Majesty's happy Accession to the crown: Written in a Round-text Character; adorned with the coronation Medal illustrated with the royal arms, in an Oval; and embellished with loose Knots, and other curious Flourishes of the Pen; all done by command of hand; is now printed from a Copper plate upon a sheet of the largest Imperial Paper. Sold for 2s 6d. apiece by Tho.Atkins, Engraver, in Charles street Covent-Garden, and most Booksellers about Town. **(chapter five)**

The London Gazette, August 24-August 27, 1702

The true Effigies of Her most Sacred Majesty Queen ANNE is curiously engraved by Mr.P.Vanderbanke, after Sir Godfrey Kneller's Painting, His Royal Highness George Prince of Denmark is also engraved by the same hand, by whom Their Majesties King Charles II. K.James II. King William III. And Queen Mary, were also engraved. Each Printed on Imperial Paper, and sold by Chr.Browne at the Globe at the West-end of St Paul's Church-yard. **(chapter five)**

The London Gazette, January 22-January 25, 1703

Remarkable Sayings of King Charles the Martyr, 1. Of the Church: 2. Of royalty: 3. Of the Clergy; 4. Of Loyalty; 5. Of Sufferings and Afflictions; 6. Of Success and Prosperity; In a large Sheet of Paper: To which are prefixed three Copper Cuts of his Majesty, 1. in his Prosperity, 2. in his Solitude, 3. on the scaffold. Price 6d. Printed for S.Keble at the Turk's-Head over-against Fetter-lane in Fleet-street. **(chapter five)**

The London Gazette, January 23-January 27, 1707

An oration sacred to the Imperial Majesty of Queen Anne, occasioned by the late Glorious Successes of Her Majesty's Arms: To which is prefixed Her Majesty's Picture. Printed for John Wyatt at the Rose in St Paul's Church-yard. **(chapter five)**

The London Gazette, May 18-May 20, 1710

Whereas an Advertisement was Published on Monday last, that the Effigies of the four Indian Princes were drawn from Mr Verelst's Original Pictures; these are to give notice, that Mr Verelst has not permitted any Person to take any Draught or Sketch from them; if he should he will take care to have it correctly done by a skilful Hand, and inform the Publick thereof in the Gazette. John Verelst at the Rainbow and Dove by Ivy Bridge in the Strand. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, November 16-November 18, 1710

THIS is to give Notice, that the Metzatinto Prints by John Simmons, in whole Lengths of the four Indian Kings, that are done from the Original Pictures by John Verelst, are now ready to be delivered to Subscribers, and Sold at the Rainbow and Dove, the corner of Ivey-bridge in the Strand. **(chapter four)**

The London Gazette, December 15-December 18, 1711

Lately Publish'd, the exact Effigies of the Right Rev. Father in God William Lord Bishop of Chester, drawn from the Original Painting of Mr Thomas Murry; done from the Life, and curiously engraven on a large Copper Plate by Mr Vertue. from the said Painting. Price in a Sheet 1 s. in a Frame 2s. in a Frame and Glass 3s. 6d. Printed for the sole Proprietor, An Speed. Bookseller at the three Crowns in Exchange ally. in Cornhill. **(chapter five)**

The London Gazette, March 25-March 27, 1712

This Day is Published, the Effigies of his Excellency the Right Reverend Father in God John, Lord Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy Seal, one of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and first Plenipotentiary at the Congress at Utrecht. 1712. Engraved by that Ingenious Artist Mr Vertue, from the Original Painting of Mr Dahl. Engrav'd for and sold by Tho.Taylor Print-seller at the Golden Lyon near the Horn Tavern in Fleet-street, and J.Smith Print-seller in Exeter change in the Strand. **(chapter five)**

The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence

The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence, December 3, 1681

The true Effigies of his Royal Highness James Duke of York, &c. Newly done in a Royal Sheet the same bigness of the Kings, both Engraven by R.White, sold by him at his House in Bloomsbury Market near the Golden Heart, and several Stationers and Print-sellers in London, price 1s 6d. **(chapter four)**

The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence, April 4, 1682

The True Effigies of His Excellency the Embassador of Morocco. with the manner of his riding on Horseback & c. In a large Sheet. Engraven by R.White. Sold by him near the Golden-Heart in Bloomsbury-Market, and at most Print-Sellers in London. Price 1s. **(chapter four)**

The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence, May 23, 1682

For prevention of any false or counterfeit Draughts of the Bantan Embassador's Picture: These are to give publick notice, That a true Draught, taken from the said Embassador, by permission of the Honorable East-India-Company, will suddenly be exposed in Print, with his true Name and Title, in the English, Mallayan and Javan Characters. **(chapter four)**

The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence, June 3, 1682

The True Effigies of His Excellency the Embassador from the King of Bantam, Together with the second, who was to succeed, in case the first had miscarried. Both in a fair Half-sheet, done by R.White: Sold by him in Bloomsbury-Market, and most Stationers in London. Price 6d. **(chapter four)**

The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence, June 6, 1682

Whereas we did formerly promise to gratifie the Curious, with the true and lively Effigies of His Excellency the King of Bantam's Principal Embassador; These are to give notice that the same is now Published (taken from himself by that Exquisite Artist, Mr Henry Peart) Adorned with Umbrello's, supported by two of His Slaves,

with all his Titles in English and Malaian Characters, on a Sheet of Royal Paper. Sold by Walter Davis in Amen-Corner. Price 1s. **(chapter four)**

The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence, August 31, 1682

The true Effigies of his Excellency the Embassador from the Czar of Moscovy, usually call'd the Russia Embassador, with his Figure at length, the exact size of the Morocco Embassador. Done by R.White. Sold by him at his House in Bloomsbury Market, and at most Stationers in London and Westminster. Price One Shilling. **(chapter four)**

The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence, February 20, 1683

The true Effigies of his Highness Prince RUPERT, Newly done in a large Sheet, by R.White. Sold by Him at his House in Bloomsbury Market, and at most Print-sellers and Stationers in London and Westminster. Price 1s. **(chapter four)**

Mercurius Civicus

Mercurius Civicus, February 28-March 6, 1680

A Picture of the Famous and Learned Mr Matthew Pool, so well Performed upon a Copper Plate, as to Represent his True Idea, to all that knew him, or had a Veneration for him; Printed upon a Paper of the same size with his Synopsis Criticorum, designed on purpose to befriend those that would Prefix it to that his Admired work, Price Six Pence, sold by Tho.Simmons at the Princes Armes in Ludgate-street. **(chapter four)**

Mercurius Reformatus

Mercurius Reformatus or The New Observator, May 15, 1691

The True Effigies of Sir Thomas Pilkington, Knight. Present Lord Mayor of the City of LONDON. Newly Engraven by R.White; Printed on a fair Sheet. Sold at his House in Bloomsbury Market, and by most Picture-sellers in London and Westminster. **(chapter four)**

The Newes

The Newes, May 26, 1664

The Effigies of a Monstrous Tartar taken in Hungary by Count Serini, cut from a Description, and Figure sent from beyond the Seas, is to be sold at the Glebe in the Old-Bayly. **(chapter four)**

The Orange Gazette

The Orange Gazette, February 19-February 22, 1689

The Effigies of the Portsmouth Captains who were turn'd out, for refusing to receive Irish [?] their Companies. Done by R.White (who publish'd the Cut of the Seven Bishops a- their Council.) All sold at his House in Bloomsbury Market, and at most Picture Sellers in. . . . and Westminster. [*microfilm unclear*] **(chapter four)**

The Post Boy

The Post Boy, July 13- July 16, 1695

The true Effigies of their Excellencies the LORD JUSTICES of ENGLAND all in one sheet; Engraven by R.White, Sold at his House in Bloomsbury-market, and at most Picture-sellers in London and Westminster. **(chapter four)**

The Post Boy, May 14- May 16, 1700

The Effigies of Mr John Dryden, lately deceased, drawn from the Life by Sir Godfry Kneller, and Engraven at Paris by the famous Hand of Monsieur Eldelnick. Sold by Jacob Tonson, at Grays-Inn-Gate in Grays-Inn-Lane. **(chapter four)**

The Post Boy, August 6-August 8, 1702

A LIST of the Principal Officers Civil and Military of England, in the Year 1702, according to the late Alterations, on a large broad Sheet, with Her Majesty's Effigies curiously Engraven on Copper. Printed for Abel Roper, at the Black Boy in Fleet-street, and sold by J.Nutt near Stationers Hall. **(chapter five)**

The Post Boy, August 2- August 4, 1709

The true Effigies of the Right Hon. Sir Stephen Fox, in Mezzo-Tincto, from the Original, Price 1s. 6d. Sold by J.Smith, in Exeter-Exchange in the Strand. **(chapter five)**

The Post Boy, November 25- November 28, 1710

Original Effigy or Print of his Excellency Baron Spanheim, Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of Prussia, lately deceased; is only sold by J. Daliston at his Toy-shop in Great Newport Street, directly against the Barbers Pole. Price One Shilling and Six Pence and with Glass and Frame 3s. 6d. **(chapter four)**

The Post Boy, September 6- September 9, 1712

Lately brought over from Italy, complete Setts of the Effigies, with an Historical Account of all the Emperors of Germany, the Kings of Spain and France, and of all the Popes, complete to this time, curiously engraven by some of the best Masters in Rome; with exact Draughts of all the ancient and modern Buildings, Triumphal Arches, and Statues there; the Galleries of Luxemburgh, &c. and several Setts of other fine Prints, fit for furnishing Rooms, Stair Cases, and Closets, and to be sold by Jo.Smith, at the Picture-shop in Exeter-Exchange in the Strand. **(chapter four)**

The Post Boy, February 7- February 10, 1713

The Effigies of Thomas Earl of Strafford, Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary at Utrecht, done in Mezzo-Tinto, by J.Simon, after the Original, painted by M.d'Agar; Sold by E.Cooper, at the Three Pigeons in Bedford-street, Covent-Garden; and the Print-sellers in London and Westminster. **(chapter five)**

The Post Boy, March 7- March 10, 1713

A Print of Mr Steel, done from an Original Picture. Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Sold by Jacob Tonson at Shakespears-Head against Catherine-street in the Strand. **(chapter five)**

The Post Boy, April 21- April 23, 1713

This Day is publish'd, The true Effigies of the Right Hon.Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, Lord High-Treasurer of Great Britain, &c. curiously done in Metzotinto, from the Original Picture, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Sold by Henry

Overton at the White Horse without Newgate; and J.Simon in Long-Acre. **(chapter five)**

The Post Boy, May 16- May 19, 1713

This Day is publish'd, A Curious Print of Sir John Blencowe, Knt.one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, neatly engrav'd by George Vertue, after an Original Picture, lately painted by Mr Russel. Printed for, and sold by Henry Overton, at the White-Horse without Newgate; and by the Engraver in Belton-street, near Drury-Lane, pr.1s. **(chapter five)**

The Post Boy, March 4- March 6, 1714

This day is publish'd, The Effigies of the Rt Reverend Father in God, William Beveridge, late Ld-Bishop of St.Asaph, a half length Posture. Engraven from the Original Painting of Mr Benj.Ferrers, by M.Vandergucht. Sold by R.Smith at Bp.Beveridge's Head in Pater-Noster-Row; and M.Vandergucht at his House in Queen-street, Bloomsbury; where may be had, the Effigies of Mr Steel. **(chapter five)**

The Post Boy, May 29-June 1, 1714

The Effigies and Monumental Tomb of the most Rev.Father in God, Dr James Sharp, late Lord arch bishop of St Andrews, Primate and Metropolitan of all Scotland, wherein is represented his barbarous Murder by the Nine Phanaticks near the City of St Andrews. Done from an Original Painting of Sir Peter Lilly. And very finely engrav'd by Mr Vertue; the Monumental Tomb of the said Great Prelate, is to be now seen in the Cathedral Church of the said City. The Plate of the said Tomb, is above a Yard deep, with an Historical Account of the Manner and Circumstances of the said

most barbarous Murther: These Prints, when in private Hands, were not sold under 7s.6d. but now are to be sold by the Printsellers and Booksellers of London and Westminster, for 3s together, or 1s the Effigies, and 2s. the Monument that being in two large sheets. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man

The Post Man, October 15- October 16, 1698

There is now published the Effigies of their Excellencies, the nine Lord Justices of England, for the Administration of the Government in his Majestys absence. Printed on Royal Paper, price 1s. Sold by the Printsellers of London and Westminster, by Mr Hall in Oxford, and Mr Green in Cambridge, Booksellers; and by John Savage Engraver on the South side of St Pauls Church, turning down to Doctors Commons, where you may be furnished with a variety of Metzotinto Prints, & c. **(chapter four)**

The Post Man, May 1-May 5, 1701

London, May 3. What hopes the French and Spaniards entertain, upon account of the Union of their Nations, may be demonstrated by several instances, but amongst others, I think none expresses better their sentiments, than the Picture of the new King of Spain done at Brussels, with the following ornaments and explanation, which the States General complained of to the Elector of Bavaria.

The Explanation of the Picture,

ON the right hand of the new King, is represented the Monarchy of Spain, offering him her Crown, under the Auspicious Conduct of the Roman Church; who presents the King in one hand with the Order of the Golden Fleece, and in the other holds a

Sword, to animate this new Monarch to the destruction of the Hereticks. She also shews him the Standards of France and Spain, join'd together to express the Union of those two Crowns, and their Joynt Resolution to subject the Enemies of St Peter's Chair, which the Holy Church expects to see put in execution.

Next to these Standards, the French being interspers'd with Flowers de Lye you may observe the French Mars and the Spanish Hercules, concerting the vast designs of the two United Nations, who propose to themselves, to extend their Glory to the most extreme parts of the World, which is more particularly express'd by the Oristame, or Great Banner, at the end of which a Lion holds the Letters PV, which equally signify Plus Ultra and Philippus V.

On the left, a Lady representing Belgia kneeling, does Homage to his Majesty, for these Provinces of the Low Countries, which she is already in Possession of; shewing with her left hand, that part of her Robe which is torn from it, which expresses the United Provinces possess'd by the Hollanders, represented by their Arms blason'd: those two rent in the middle signifie the Dutchies of Brabant and Flanders, which the Dutch have a part of, having the other 7 entire; all which is likewise expressed by the 17 Spikes in her Crown, 7 of which are broken; but she not in the least quitting her hold, places her right Arm in the Ring of the Anchor, which Hope has on her Shoulder, and holding the Pillar which she has brought her, to express that by a constant dependance on her, under the auspicious conduct of the new King, she shall arrive at her wishes, which are the recovery of her Ancient Dominions.

Underneath appears the Belgick Lion, who marches roaring to the Conquest of the revolted Provinces.

A little above the figure of Hope, appears Mount AEctus, where they are making instruments of War, and preparing Ships; to shew, that these two United Nations shall go beyond the Seas, in search of, and to reduce Hereticks, and to make themselves Masters of all the Trade of the old and new World. Mercury and Fame in a Cloud publish this great event to all the Universe; and above that, you may observe a Serpent encircling the Eye of Providence, dispersing its Rays thro the Universe, and giving fertility to the project of this Universal Monarchy.

You may observe likewise, that the Spaniards hope to re-conquer Portugal, as well as to subdue Holland; since one may see in the Scutcheon of the new King, the Arms of Portugal with those of Castile.

The abovesaid Plate is Printed for F.Leach in the Old Baily, and Sold by A.Baldwin in Warwick lane. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, February 19- February 21, 1702

The true Effigies of Georgius Augustus (and not Gulielmus Ernestus as was by mistake mentioned) Prince of Hannover, Grandson to the most Illustrious Princess Sophia, Dutchess Dowager, Daughter to Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, Sister to King Charles the first; declared to succeed to the Crown of England, &c. by the late Act, for settling the succession in the Protestant Line. Done from the Original, brought over the late Earl of Macclesfield, and humbly dedicated to the Right Honourable the the

[sic] Lord Mohun. Sold by E.Cooper, at the 3 Pidgeons in Bedford-street, price 1s 6d. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, January 23- January 26, 1703

This day was published. The true Effigies of the most sereno Prince Eugene of Savoy, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Privy Councellor to his Imperial Majesty and Generalissimo of all his Forces in Italy. Done from the original painted at Vienna. Sold by E.Cooper at the 3 Pidgeons in Bedford street, and J.Overton at the White Horse without Newgate. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, June 17- June 19, 1703

Just published, The picture of her Majesty Queen Ann, being the best yet done with the Oath for Abjuring the pretend Prince of Wales, and the Clause making it Treason to oppose the Succession in the Protestant Line, all curiously Engraven in a large Copper Plate, Sold by Ben Bragg at the Blue Ball in Ave Mary Lane, and the Booksellers of London and Westminster, and most Picture Shops, price 1s. the Sheet, and in a Frame 2s. 6d. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, October 5- October 7, 1704

The Efigies of the most Serene Prince George Lewis Elector of Hannover, curiously done in Metzotinto, from an Original brought over by Mr Crester, to be sold at Mr Cowpers at the 3 Pidgeons in Bedfordstreet, where the Effigies of the Princess Sophia and the Electorate Prince are likewise to be sold. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, April 26- April 28, 1705

The true Effigies of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, Prince of the Holy Empire. &c. in Metzotinto, done from the original, drawn by Mr Closterman, 1705. Printed and Sold by E.Cooper at the 3 Pigeons in Bedford street, and J.Overton at the White Horse near Newgate. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, July 26- July 28, 1705

This day is published, The Life of John Duke of Marlborough, Prince of the Empire, on a large broad Sheet, with his Grace's Picture, curiously engraven on Copper. Sold by J.Nutt near Stationers Hall. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, February 9- February 12, 1706

THE true Effigies of his most Serene Highness Prince Eugene of Savoy, curiously done in Metzotinto, from the Original. Painted at Vienna, by D.Rickter, soon after the Battel of Hochstet, and sent over to Mr Boet, Enameller to her Majesty. Sold by E.Cooper, at the 3 Pidgeons in Bedford-street near Covent Garden. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, March 26-March 28, 1706

A Picture of the most noble John Duke of Marlborough, Prince of the Sacred Roman Empire, &c. Painted by the Sieur Vander Werf. Engraved by Van Gunst in Holland, and printed on Imperial Paper, Sold by T.Bennet at the Half Moon in St Paul's Churchyard. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, August 10- August 13, 1706

The true Effigies of his Excellency Charles Earl of Peterborough &c. curiously done in MezzoTinto from the Original Picture painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the year 1705. Sold by Edw.Cooper at the 3 Pidgeons in Bedfordstreet, and J.Overton at the White Horse without Newgate. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, August 20- August 22, 1706

The Effigies of his Excellency the Earl of Gallway, curiously done in Metzo Tinton, to be sold by E.Cooper at the 3 Pidgeons in Bedfordstreet, Where is likewise to be had the Earl of Peterborough's. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, December 31-January 2, 1707

The Effigies of her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia, his E.Highness the Elector of Brunswick her son, his Highness the Electoral Prince her Grandson, and her Royal Highness the Princess Royal of Prussia, her Grandaughter, are engraven in Mezzo Tinto by John Smith, from the Original Pictures lately brought from Hannover by the Hon.Edm.Poley esq; late Envoy there, and are to be sold by J.Smith at the Lyon and Crown in Covent Garden; where the Effigies of Prince Eugene (done from the Original Picture lately brought from Vienna by the Rt.Hon, the Earl of Sunderland) are likewise to be sold. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, December 31-January 2, 1707

The Effigies of her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia, his E.Highness the Elector of Brunswick her son, his Highness the Electoral Prince her Grandson, and her Royal Highness the Princess Royal of Prussia, her Grandaughter, are engraven in Mezzo

Tinto by John Smith, from the Original Pictures lately brought from Hannover by the Hon.Edm.Poley esq; late Envoy there, and are to be sold by J.Smith at the Lyon and Crown in Covent Garden; where the Effigies of Prince Eugene (done from the Original Picture lately brought from Vienna by the Rt.Hon, the Earl of Sunderland) are likewise to be sold. **(chapter five)**

The Post Man, February 14-February 16, 1712

Just publish'd, A New large Metzotinto-head of my Lord Chief Justice Parker, after a Picture of Sir Godfrey Kneller done by John Simon; and is sold by him in Long Acre, over against Cross Lane, and by E.Cooper at the 3 Pidgeons in Bedford-street. **(chapter five)**

The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence

The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence, March 26, 1680

A Picture of the Famous and Learned Mr Matthew Pool, so well performed upon a Copper Plate, as to represent his True Idea to all that knew him, or had veneration for him, Printed upon a Paper of the same size with his Synopsis Criticorum, designed on purpose to befriend those that would prefix it to that his Admired work, Price 6d. Sold by Tho.Simmons at the Princes Arms in Ludgate-street. **(chapter four)**

The Spectator

The Spectator, January 22, 1712

This Day is Published, A Print of the Right Honourable John Lord Somners Baron of Evesham, Engraved from a Painting lately done by Sir Godfrey Kneller. By George

Vertue. Printed for Jacob Tonson at Shakespear's Head over-against Catherine-street in the Strand. **(chapter five)**

The Spectator, October 18, 1712

On Monday next will be Publish'd, The Effigies of the Right Reverend Dr William Fleetwood, Lord Bishop of St Asaph, Curiously done in Mezzotinto, from the Original. Painted by Mr Richardson. Sold by the Printsellers of London and Westminster. Pr. 6d. **(chapter five)**

The Tatler

The Tatler, November 14- November 16, 1710

The Effigies of the right Honourable the Lord Somers, curiously done in Mezzo Tinto from the Original of Sir Godfrey Kneller. Sold by E.Cooper at the Three Pidgeons in Bedford-street, covent-garden, and at the Printsellers in London and Westminster. **(chapter five)**

The True Protestant Mercury

The True Protestant Mercury, April 8- April 12, 1682

The true Effigies of his Excellency the Ambassador of Morocco, with the manner of his Riding on Horse back, sold by R.White near the Golden-hart in Bloomsbury Market, and the Publisher of this Intelligence, and at most Print shops and Booksellers in London Price 1s. Also the Picture of Esquires Thinu by the same hand. Price 6d. **(chapter four)**

Appendix Two

Retailers Who Advertised Portrait Prints

This appendix presents an alphabetical list of the retailers who placed portrait print advertisements in newspapers and *The Term Catalogues.* The advertisements they published are listed by the first date of appearance except in cases where multiple notices are discussed in the main body of the thesis. Further sources of information are cited in the footnotes.

1. Atkins, T - Engraver -

Queen Anne - *The London Gazette*- 30th July 1702

2. Baker, J [1] - Pamphlet and printseller -

Prince Eugene - *The Daily Courant* - 29th January 1712

3a. Baldwin, R[2]- Bookseller –

Louis von Baden - *The London Gazette* - 24th September 1691

3b. Baldwin, A – Bookseller-

King of Spain- *The Post Man* – 1st May 1701

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[1] Clayton, p.78

[2] Henry R. Plomer, *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (London, 1922) p.15 Griffiths *Dictionary,* p.10 Beth Lynch, 'Baldwin, Richard (*c.*1653-1698)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/56526, accessed 8 July 2005]

4. Bassett, T[3]- Bookseller -

Edward Russell - *The London Gazette* - 20th June 1692

5. Beckett, I[4]- Print publisher and mezzotinter-

James II and Mary of Modena- *The London Gazette*- 9th December 1686

6. Bennet, T[5]- Bookseller-

Duke of Marlborough- *The Daily Courant*- 28th March 1706

7. Bragg, B[6]- Bookseller-

Queen Anne- *The Post Man*- 17th June 1703

Prince George and Princess Anne- *The Daily Courant*- 6th March 1706

8. Browne, A[7]- Auctioneer, art dealer and mezzotint publisher-

James II and Mary of Modena- *The London Gazette*- 13th December, 20th December 1686

9. Browne, C[8]- Print publisher-

German Emperor and six Christian kings of Europe- *The London Gazette*- 8th October 1691

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[3] Griffiths, *Dictionary* , p.12
[4] Griffiths, *Dictionary,* p.234 Antony Griffiths, 'Beckett, Isaac (1652/3-1688)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1901, accessed 8 July 2005]
[5] Plomer, p.29
[6] Plomer, p.47
[7] Antony Griffiths, 'Browne, Alexander (*d.* 1706)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3664, accessed 8 July 2005]
[8] Griffiths, *Dictionary*, p.32

Queen Anne, Prince George, Charles II, James II, William and Mary - *London Gazette* 24th August 1702

Queen Anne, Prince George, Charles II, James II, William and Mary, King of France, King of Sweden, Marlborough, Prince Eugene, Dauphin- *The Term Catalogues*- July 1706

10. Cockerill, T[9]- Bookseller-

Kentish Petitioners- *The Flying Post*- 1st July 1701

11. Cooper, E[10]- Print publisher-

The royal family- *The London Gazette*- 19th August 1686

Prince Eugene- *The Post Man* – 9th February 1706

Galway, Peterborough- *The Post Man*- 20th August 1706

John Somers- *The Tatler*- 14th November 1710

Earl of Strafford- *The Post Boy*- 7th January 1713

12. Crook, W[11]- Bookseller-

Thomas Hobbes- *Term Catalogues*- June 1680

13. Daliston, J[12]- Retailer-

Baron Spanheim- *The Post Boy*- 25th November 1710

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[9] Plomer, p.76
[10] Timothy Clayton, 'Cooper, Edward (*d.* 1725)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6215, accessed 8 July 2005]
[11] Mark Goldie, 'Crooke, Andrew (*c.*1605-1674)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67206, accessed 8 July 2005]
[12] Toy shop proprietor . See advertisement.

14. Davis, W[13]- print publisher, book binder, bookseller, printer-

Bantam Ambassadors- *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*- 6th June 1682

Roger L'Estrange- *Term Catalogues*- May 1684

15. Edwards, D[14]- Printer-

James II- *The Post Boy*- 11th June 1702

16. Faithorne, W (the elder)[15]- Engraver and print publisher-

Nicholas Serini- *The Intelligencer*- 27th June 1664

17. Goudge, J[16]- Bookseller-

Queen Anne and Prince George- *The Daily Courant* - 22nd November 1708

18. Hindmarsh, J[17]- Bookseller-

Titus Oates- *Term Catalogues*- May 1685

19. Keble, S[18]- Bookseller-

Charles I- *The London Gazette*- 22nd January 1703

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[13] Griffiths, *The print in Stuart Britain*, p.256 Plomer, p.99
[14] Plomer, p.111
[15] Antony Griffiths, 'Faithorne, William (*c.*1620-1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9102, accessed 8 July 2005]
[16] Plomer, p.130
[17] Plomer, p.156
[18] Plomer, p.176

20. Lens II, B[19]- Mezzotinter-

Charles III- *The Daily Courant*- 15th November 1704

21. Marshall, W[20] – Bookseller and bookbinder-

Joseph Caryl- *Term Catalogues*- November 1683

22. Meere, H[21]- Printer-

John Tutchin- *The Observator*- 20th April 1709

23. Morphew, J[22]- Bookseller-

Prince Eugene- *The Daily Courant*- 18th August 1708

24. Newman, D[23]- Bookseller-

Charles II Royal Exchange Statue- *The Observator*- 12th January 1685, *Term Catalogues*- February 1685, *Term Catalogues* - June 1687, November 1687

Count Rudiger Von Staremberg- *Term Catalogues*- February 1685

25. Nutt, John[24]- Bookseller-

Dryden- *The Flying Post*- 16th July 1700

Clement XI, Emperor of Germany, William III, Louis XIV, Charles XII, Frederic King of Prussia, Peter II, Frederic-Augustus King of Poland, Czar of Muscovy, Ottoman Sultan- *The London Gazette*- 17th March 1701

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[19] Katherine Coombs, 'Lens family (*per. c.*1650-1779)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66537, accessed 8 July 2005]
[20] Plomer, p.198
[21] Plomer, p.202
[22] Clayton, p.13 Plomer, p.210
[23] Plomer, p.217
[24] Plomer, p.222

Queen Anne- *The London Gazette*- 8th June 1702

Queen Anne- *The Daily Courant*- 2nd January 1705, 4th January 1705

Marlborough- *The Post Man*- 26th July 1705

26. Nutting, J[25]- Engraver-

Charles I- *The Daily Courant*- 31st January 1707

27. Oliver, John[26]- Map and print publisher -

Charles V of Lorraine- *The London Gazette*- 13th September 1686

28. Overton, J [27]– Map and print publisher-

Charles II, Catherine of Braganza, Duke of York- *The Term Catalogues*- November 1682

James II, Queen Mary, Charles I, Charles II, Queen Dowager- *The Term Catalogues* – February 1686

King and Queen- *The Term Catalogues*- November 1690

Peter the Great- *The London Gazette*- 27th January 1698

Charles XII- *The London Gazette*- 27th March 1701

29. Overton, P- Map and print publisher-

Henry Sacheverell- *The Evening Post*- 25th February 1710

John Holt- *The Post Boy*- 23rd June 1713

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[25] Richard Sharp, 'Nutting, Joseph (1660-1722)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20414, accessed 8 July 2005]
[26] Griffiths, *Dictionary,* p.104 Note that Griffiths' account is fuller than Cust's. L. H. Cust, 'Oliver, John (1616/17-1701)', rev. Alexander Koller, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20726, accessed 8 July 2005]
[27] Timothy Clayton, 'Overton family (*per. c.*1665-*c.*1765)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64998, accessed 8 July 2005]

30. Pitt, M[28]- Bookseller and printer–

Charles II, Catherine of Braganza, Duke of York- *The Term Catalogues*- November 1682

Princess Anne - *The Term Catalogues*- May 1684

31. Playford, H[29]- Music publisher-

Henry Purcell- *The Term Catalogues* – November 1696

Edward VI, Henry Prince of Wales, Henry duke of Gloucester, William duke of Gloucester – *The Term Catalogues*- February 1703

32. Mr. Richardson (Probably Jonathan Richardson the elder)[30]- Painter-

William Fleetwood- *The Spectator*-18th October 1712

33. Simmons, T[31]- Bookseller-

Matthew Poole- *The Term Catalogues*- June 1680

Matthew Poole- *The Currant Intelligence* – 28th February 1680

Matthew Poole- *Domestick Intelligence* – 26th March 1680

Matthew Poole- *Mercurius Civicus* – 6th April 1680

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[28] Michael Harris, 'Pitt, Moses (*bap.* 1639, *d.* 1697)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22331, accessed 8 July 2005
[29] Robert Thompson, 'Playford, John (1622/3-1686/7)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22374, accessed 8 July 2005]
[30] Carol Gibson-Wood, 'Richardson, Jonathan, the elder (1667-1745)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23571, accessed 23 May 2005]
[31] Plomer, p.270

34. Sampson, J[32] - Bookseller-

Earl of Rochester- *The Term Catalogues*- February 1681

35. Sawbridge, G (the younger) [33] **- Bookseller-**

Charles Leslie- *The Daily Courant*- 7th October 1715

Charles I- *The Daily Courant*- 23rd July 1703

36. Smith, Joseph[34]- Printseller and art bookseller-

Emperors of Germany, the Kings of Spain and France, and all the Popes - *The Post Boy*- 6th September 1712

Stephen Fox- *The Post Boy*- 2nd August 1709

37. Smith, John[35]- Mezzotinter-

Princess Sophia, the Elector of Brunswick, the Electoral Prince, the Princess Royal of Prussia, Prince Eugene- *The Post Man*- 31st December 1706

38. Speed, A [36]– Bookseller-

William Dawes- *The London Gazette*- 15th December 1711

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[32] Plomer, p.260
[33] Elizabeth Lane Furdell, 'Sawbridge, George, the elder (*b.* in or before 1621, *d.* 1681)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69227, accessed 8 July 2005]
[34] Timothy Clayton, 'Smith, Joseph (*fl.* 1709-1731)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64986, accessed 8 July 2005]
[35] Antony Griffiths, 'Smith, John (1652-1743)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25846, accessed 8 July 2005]
[36] Plomer, p.278

39. Sturt, J[37]- Engraver-

William and Mary- *The London Gazette*- 17th August 1693

40. Tempest, P[38]- Printseller-

Michael de Molinos- *The Term Catalogues*- February 1688

41. Tonson, J[39]- Bookseller-

Dryden- *The Post Boy*- 14th May 1700

John Somers- *The Spectator*- 22nd January 1712

Richard Steele- *The Post Boy*- 7th March 1713

42. Vandergucht, M[40] - Engraver-

Richard Steele- *The Post Boy*- 4th March 1714

43. Vanderbank, P[41]- Engraver-

Charles II- *The Term Catalogues*- February 1676, November 1677

James II- *The London Gazette*- 16th July 1685

Prince and Princess of Orange- *The London Gazette*- 31st December 1688

William and Mary- *The London Gazette*- 21st February 1689

William and Mary- *The London Gazette*- 29th October 1691

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[37] Richard Sharp, 'Sturt, John (1658-1730)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26752, accessed 8 July 2005]
[38] F. M. O'Donoghue, 'Tempest, Pierce (1653-1717)', rev. Antony Griffiths, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27108, accessed 8 July 2005]
[39] Raymond N. MacKenzie, 'Tonson, Jacob, the elder (1655/6-1736)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27540, accessed 8 July 2005]
[40] Timothy Clayton, 'Vandergucht, Gerard (1696/7-1776)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28072, accessed 8 July 2005]
[41] Antony Griffiths, 'Vanderbank , Peter (1649-1697)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28068, accessed 8 July 2005]

George Walker- *The London Gazette*- 5th September, 28th October 1689

44. Verelst, J[42]- Portrait painter-

Four Indian Princes- *The London Gazette*- 16th November 1710

45. **Vertue, G**[43]- Engraver-

James Sharp- *The Post Boy*- 29th May 1714

46. Walton, R[44]- Printseller-

Catherine of Braganza, John Sobieski- *The Term Catalogues*- November 1684

James II, James II- *The Term Catalogues*- May 1685

Charles I, Charles II, James II- *The Term Catalogues*- February 1686

47. White, G[45]- Mezzotinter-

Charles III- *The London Gazette* - 15th November 1703

Charles III- *The Daily Courant* - 30th December 1703

48. White, R[46]- Engraver-

Duke of York- *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*- 3rd December 1681

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[42] Paul Taylor, 'Verelst, Simon Pieterszoon (*bap.* 1644, *d.* 1710x17)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28222, accessed 8 July 2005]

[43] Martin Myrone, 'Vertue, George (1684-1756)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28252, accessed 8 July 2005]

[44] Griffiths, *Dictionary,* p.145 Griffiths, *Print in Stuart Britain,* p.14

[45] Antony Griffiths, 'White, Robert (1645-1703)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29268, accessed 8 July 2005]

[46] As above.

Thomas Thynne, The Moroccan Ambassador- *The True Protestant Mercury*- 8th April 1682

The Moroccan Ambassador- *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*- 4th April 1682

The Bantam Ambassadors- *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*- 3rd June 1682

The Russian Ambassador- *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*- 31st August 1682

Prince Rupert- *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*- 20th February 1683

Charles I- *The Term Catalogues*- November 1684

Mary of Modena- *The Term Catalogues*- November 1685, *The London Gazette*- 26th November 1685

Captain General Morosini- *The London Gazette*- 11th November 1686

William and Mary- *The London Gazette*- 11th April 1689, 18th November 1689

The Portsmouth Captains, The Seven Bishops- *The Orange Gazette*- 19th February 1689

Princess Anne and Prince George- *The London Gazette*- 20th November 1690

The Lord Justices of England- *The Post Boy*- 13th July 1695

Godard van Ginkel- *The London Gazette*- 28th January 1692

John Tillotson- *The Term Catalogues*- November 1691, *The London Gazette* 30th November 1691

Thomas Pilkington- *Mercurius Reformatus*- 15th May 1691

Frederick Augustus- *The London Gazette*- 21st February 1698

Charles XII- *The London Gazette*- 24th February 1701

Archbishop of Philopopoli- *The London Gazette*- 2nd February 1702

49. Wyatt, John[47]- Bookseller-

Queen Anne- *The London Gazette*- 23rd January 1707

Retailers who advertise in partnership

1. **Edward Cooper** and:

a. **Langley Curtis**[48] – Bookseller

Thomas Thynne- *The True Protestant Mercury*- 21st February 1682

b. **John Overton** - Print and Map publisher

Prince Eugene- *The Post Man*- 23rd January 1703

Marlborough- *The Post Man*- 26th April 1705

c. **John Simon**[49]- Mezzotint engraver

Lord Chief Justice Parker- *The Post Boy*- 14th February 1712

2. **John Simon** and:

a. **Henry Overton** - Printseller

Robert Harley- *The Post Boy*- 13th April 1713

b. **Edward Cooper**

3. **Henry Overton** and:

a. **I.King,**[50] (bookseller) **J.Barnes** [51] (bookseller)

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[47] Plomer, p.322
[48] Griffiths, *Dictionary,* p.45 Plomer, p.96
[49] Richard Sharp, 'Simon, John (1675-1751)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25575, accessed 8 July 2005]
[50] Plomer, p.180
[51] Plomer, p.21

Six Most Eminent Writing Masters- *The Tatler*- 31st October 1710

b. **George Vertue**

John Blencowe- *The Post Boy*- 16th May 1713

c. **John Simon**

3. **Jacob Sampson and Robert White-**

Earl of Shaftesbury- *The Term Catalogues*- June 1680

Heneage Finch- *The Term Catalogues*- June 1681

4. **Jacob Tonson and Robert White-**

Peter the Great- *The London Gazette*- 8th November 1697. *The Post Boy* - 9th November 1697

5. Arthur Tooker[52] (Print publisher) and **William Battersby**[53] (bookseller)-

Charles II- *The London Gazette*- 26th April 1680, *The Term Catalogues*- June 1680

6. **Hall** [54] (Oxford bookseller) **Green** [55] (Cambridge bookseller) and **Savage** (engraver)-

The nine Lord justices of England- *The Post Man* – 15th October 1698

7. **John Wyatt** and **Benjamin Bragg** -

Queen Anne- *The Daily Courant*- 21st December 1706

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[52] Griffith, *Dictionary*, p.143
[53] Griffiths, *Dictionary,* p. 13
[54] Plomer, p.139
[55] Plomer, p.133

8. **Abel Roper**[56] (bookseller and writer) and **John Nutt**-

Queen Anne- *The Post Boy* - 6th August 1702

9. **Whitledge**[57] (bookseller) and **Lintot**[58] (bookseller)-

Queen Anne- *The Tatler*- 8th July 1710

10. **Sutton Nicholls** (print and mapseller) and **A.Earle** (unknown) – Edward VI, Elizabeth, James I, Charles I, Charles II, William and Mary- *The Daily Courant*- 14th November 1707

11. **Thomas Taylor**[59] (printseller) and **J. Smith**-

John Robinson- *The London Gazette* - 25th March 1712

12. **John Faber**[60] (draughtsman and engraver) and **Nat Crouch**[61] (bookseller)-

Charles I- *The Post Boy*- 31st January 1713

13. **Richard Smith**[62] (bookseller) and **Michael Vandergucht** (engraver)-

William Beveridge- *The Post Boy*- 4th March 1714

14. **J.Bowack** (coffee house proprietor), **Langthorne** (framemaker), **Stuart** (stationer)-

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[56] G. A. Aitkin, 'Roper, Abel (*bap.* 1665, *d.* 1726)', rev. M. E. Clayton, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24070, accessed 8 July 2005]
[57] Plomer, p.310
[58] Plomer, p.189
[59] Griffiths, *Dictionary*, p.137
[60] Richard Sharp, 'Faber, John (*c.*1660-1721)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9052, accessed 8 July 2005]
[61] Griffiths, *Dictionary*, p.44
[62] Plomer, p.275

Duke of Marlborough, Elector of Bavaria, Marhsal Tallard, Queen Anne - *The Daily Courant* -13th February 1705

Retailers described by address only

1. The King's Arms in the Poultrey, and at the Feathers in Lumbard street-

Thomas Hobbes- *The Term Catalogues*- February 1680

2. The Globe, Old Bailey-

Monstrous Tartar-*The Newes*- 26th May 1664

Appendix Three

Newspapers Consulted in Research

This appendix gives the locations of the newspapers that were referred to during the search for portrait print advertisements. Where advertisements were drawn from the work of Antony Griffiths and Tim Clayton this is acknowledged in the footnotes of the main text. Due to the frequent changes of subtitles in this period this appendix only presents short titles.

Original copies of *The London Gazette* were consulted in the special collections of Durham and Newcastle University Libraries. Durham University holds volumes for the years 1685 to 1696 (PG Routh 49.C.12-15). The volumes searched in Newcastle University Library covered 1665 to 1685 and 1696 to 1720 (Robinson 444). All other newspapers were searched on microfilm.

The Daily Courant was searched from 1702 to 1715 using the microfilms produced by Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International. *The Spectator* was searched from 1711 to 1712 and *The Flying Post* from 1698 to 1702 using the microfilms produced by Woodbridge, Connecticut: Research Publications International. The other advertisements were taken from microfilm copies of the British Library's Burney Collection.

Burney Collection microfilms- British Library

1. *Newspapers of the 1660s*

Reels 56a, 58a

The Kingdomes Intelligencer (1661-1662)

Reels 58a, 59a, 60a

Mercurius Publicus (1662-1663)

Reels 62a, 63a

The Intelligencer (1664-1665)

The Newes (1664-1665)

2. *Exclusion Crisis newspapers*

Reel 81a

The English Intelligencer (1679)

Domestick Intelligence (1679)

The Currant Intelligence (1680)

The Protestant Domestick Intelligence (1680)

The Loyal Intelligence (1680)

Mercurius Publicus (1680)

The Faithfull Mercury (1680)

Mercurius Civicus (1680)

Westminster Gazette (1680)

Advice from Parnassus (1680)

The English Gazette (1680-81)

The Impartial London Intelligence (1681)

The Weekly Visions of the Late Popish Plot (1681)

The Weekly Discoverer (1681)

The Observator Observ'd (1681)

Smith's Protestant Intelligence (1681)

A New News-Book (1681)

Mercuris Veridicus (1681)

The True Domestick Intelligence (1679-80)

Reel 83a

The Protestant Oxford Intelligence (1681)

The Impartial Protestant Mercury (1681-82)

The Protestant Observator (1681)

The True Protestant Mercury (1682)

The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence (1681)

The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence (1681-83)

The True Domestick Intelligence (1679-80)

3. *Newspapers of 'The Glorious Revolution'*

Reel 96a

The Universal Intelligence (1688)

The English Currant (1688)

The London Mercury (1688)

Publick Occurrences Truly Stated (1688)

Reel 97a

The Universal Intelligence (1689)

The London Mercury (1689)

The Orange Gazette (1689)

The London Courant (1689)

The London Intelligence (1689)

The Harlem Currant (1689)

Mercurius Reformatus or The New Observator (1689, 1690, 1691)

4. *Newspapers from 1695 onwards.*

Reel 113a

Intelligence Domestick and Foreign (1695)

The English Courant (1695)

The Post Boy (1695)

Reel 115a

The Post Man (1695-97)

Reel 116a

The Post Boy (1697)

Reel 117a

The Post Man (1698)

Reel 121a

The Post Boy (1699-1700)

The Post Man (1699-1700)

The London Post (1700)

Reel 122a

The Protestant Mercury (1700)

The Flying Post (1700)

Reel 155b

The Post Man (1701)

The English Post (1701)

Reel 125b

The English Post (1703)

Reels 125b, 126b

The Post Man (1703)

Reel 127b

The Observator (1704)

The London Post (1704)

The Post Man (1704)

Reel 130b

The Post Man (1705)

The London Post (1705)

Reel 132

The Observator (1705-06)

Reel 136b

The Post Man (1706)

Dawks's News Letter (1706)

Reel 137bb

The Post Man (1707)

Reel 141bb

The Post Boy (1708)

Reel 141ba

The Observator (1709)

Reel 146ba

The Post Boy (1709)

The Observator (1710)

Reel 147b

The Tatler (1709-11)

Reel 153b

The British Mercury (1710)

Reel 150bb

The Evening Post (1710)

Reel 153b

The British Mercury (1711)

The Daily Courant (1711)

Reel 158b

The Examiner (1712)

The Protestant Post Boy (1712)

The Spectator (1712)

The Post Boy (1712)

The Flying Post (1712)

The Post Man (1712)

The Post Boy (1713)

Reel 163b

The Post Boy (1713)

The Post Man (1713)

The Evening Post (1713)

The Guardian (1713)

PAX, PAX,PAX or a Pacifick Post Boy (1713)

The Examiner (1713)

Mercator (1713)

Reel 169b

The Post Boy (1714)

The Flying Post (1714)

The Examiner (1714)

Appendix Four

Illustrations: Advertised Portrait Prints

These prints have been reproduced with the kind permission of the British Museum, the Fairclough collection of Leicester University, the National Portrait Gallery and the Pepys Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge University.

Figure 1- *Henry Sacheverell,* Peter Schenck. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D4126

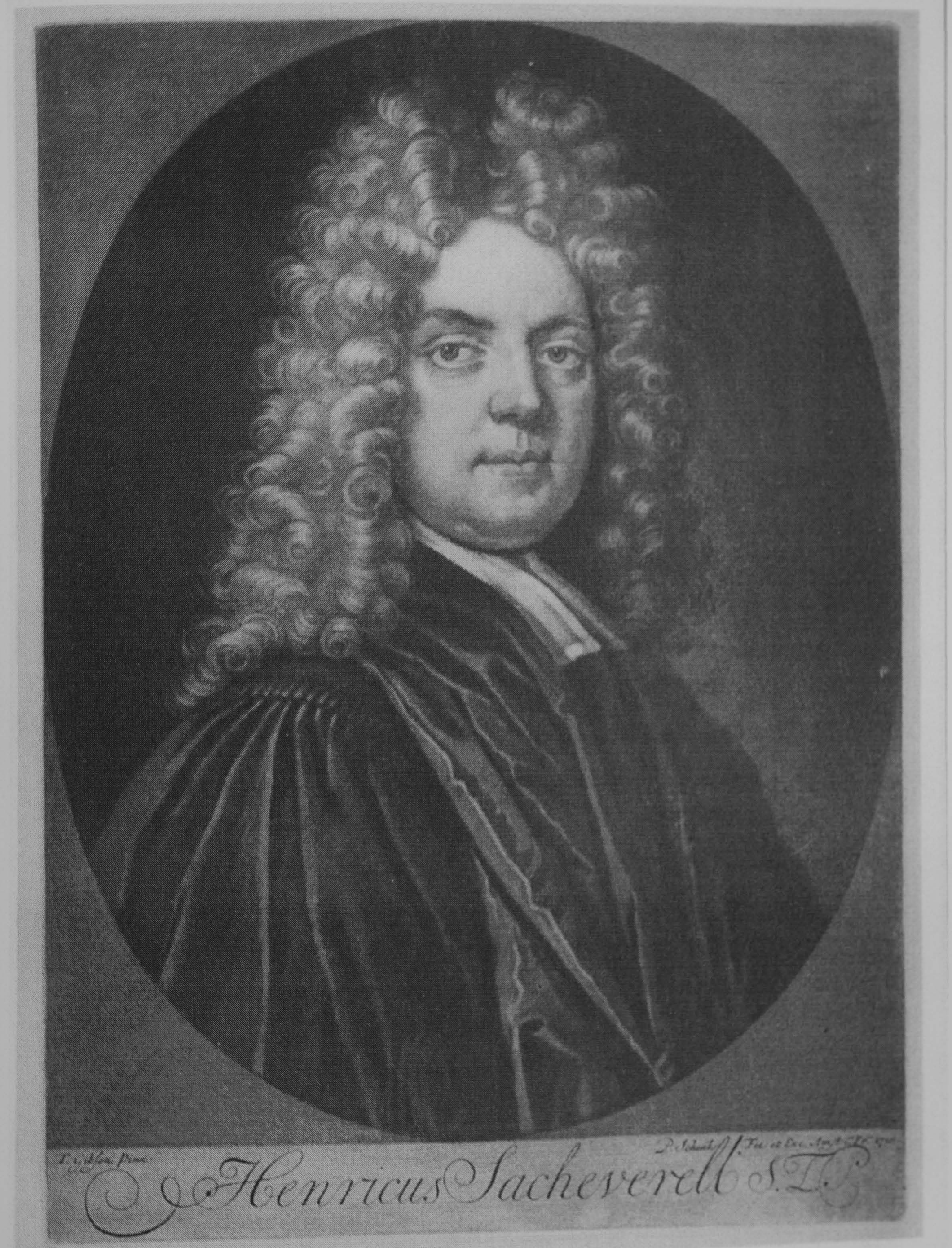


Figure 2- *The Seven Bishops,* Robert White. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D1333



Figure 3- *King Charles I and his supporters,* Joseph Nutting. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D10634



Figure 4- *The Kentish Petitioners,* Robert White. British Museum. 1864- 8.13.119



Figure 5- *The Portsmouth Captains,* Robert White. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D111148



Figure 6- *Charles I,* Robert White. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D10623



Figure 7- *James II,* Peter Vandrebanc. Pepys collection. 2978/110-11



Figure 8- *William III and Mary II,* Robert White. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D10674



Figure 9- *Sophia Dorothea,* John Smith. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D9123



Figure 10- *Elector of Brunswick,* John Smith. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D11633



Figure 11- *Matthew Poole,* Robert White. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D13191



Figure 12- *John Tillotson,* Robert White. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D1341



Reverendiſsimus in Chriſto Pater IOHANNES TILLOTSON *Providentia Divina Archiepiſcopus* CANTUARIENSIS *totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus Serenissimis Principibus Regi* GULIELMO *et Reginæ* MARIÆ *a Secretioribus Consiliis.*

Figure 13-*Archbishop of Philopopoli,* Robert White. Pepys Collection. 2980/132



Figure 14- *The Russian Ambassador,* Robert White. Fairclough Collection.



Figure 15- *Peter the Great,* Robert White. Pepys Collection. 2978/274b



Figure 16- *John Tutchin,* Michael Van der Gucht. British Museum. 360648



Figure 17- *William Beveridge,* Michael Van der Gucht. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D9268



Figure 18- *Godard van Ginkel,* Robert White. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D7423



Figure 19- *Sir Thomas Pilkington,* Robert White. National Portrait Gallery. NPG D8901



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See Appendix Three for the location and short titles of the newspapers used in this thesis.

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John Garrett- 1680 A194

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John Overton -1669 A225

Henry Overton I -1717 A226

John Sturt- 1717 A244

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Robert Walton-1674 A255

Robert Walton -1666 A254

Robert Walton- 1660 A253

Robert Walton- 1659 A252

Robert Walton- 1655 A252

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