custom, statutes, episcopacy, monarchy, church lands and tithes, nobility and the house of lords, and 'gaine', symbolised by a pile of coin, it excretes 'the fruits of a commonwealth', identified as 'esse', 'esse', 'monstrosa', 'liberum', 'xean morte', 'orde of covensants', 'engagements' and 'aliquaorum', while the common people are bound within the chains that form the dragon's tail, ironically exclaiming 'o wonderfull reformation'. the book includes a second frontispiece, the reduced version of the frontispiece to quarles's shepherd's eclogues (1645), described above.

oliver cromwell

just as contemporaries do not seem to have gone overboard in producing dramatic and horrific images of the beheading of king charles i at the restoration, neither do they seem to have gone in for pictorial demonisation and vilification of the man who supplanted him. although the woodcut-illustrated sheet the true emblem of antichrist (held uniquely in the british museum's department of prints and drawings) - the text of which seems to imply that cromwell is dead (d. 1658) - sounds alarming in its portrayal of him as 'the chief head of the fanaticks and their vices supported by devils', it is merely a schematic 'genealogy', with a small portrait bust of oliver at its head, literally supported by two winged devils. he is enabled 'ante-chier prattiff of hell', and his hand is joined in the marriage-clasp with 'pride daughter of ignorance', who, the inscriptions go on to say, 'begot hereticks, blasphemers, atheists' and a host of contemporary sects.

at any rate, it is a very different image from faithorne's engraving after barlow's drawing of cromwell in glory, against a background of emblems, in a superb large sheet entitled the embleme of england's distractions as also of her attained, and further expected freedom, & happiness per h m 1658 (pl. 4.17). oliver stands holding a sword piercing three crowns upraised in one hand, an open book in the other, and tramples with one foot between the bare breasts of the prostrate king. three old testament vignettes are placed above him. the first, showing noah's ark safely arriving through wind and wave to the top of ararat, on which the sun beams down, is clearly another example of the ship metaphor explored above: oliver has steered the ship of state safely through trials and tribulations, till it has now come to rest in the sunny uplands of divine favour. somewhat more puzzling, even sinister, is the third scene, the sacrifice of isaac, with abraham's sword poised about to decapitate the boy; surely this cannot allude to the king's beheading?

the bottom of the sheet is filled with several emblematic scenes of peace and prosperity (left) and machinations against the state (right). a shepherd pipes to his sheep beneath several peaceable emblems, while one man with bellows tries to set light to barrels of gunpowder, and a pair of hares yoked by the tale about to fire a cornfield (these last not in barlow's preparatory drawing), some of which imagery recurs a few years later in pyrotechnica loyolana, ignatian fireworks (1667), which is discussed in chapter five. a gallows with noose is labelled 'peckorum finis fune' (the rope is the end of traitors). the gunpowder is placed within a cartwheel of the rock on which the right-hand pillar featuring the representations of england, scotland and ireland stands, and is also attacked by a number of men (one with a 'red's head, pouting perhaps on fowkes') wielding pickaxes - literal attempts to undermine the state, presumably. the final scene, which remains mysterious to me, is of three rackets, one with pitchfork, approaching a small coop at the foot of the same rock. ironical, in the fifth state of the plate (1690), the head is changed to that of william of orange, while the head of queen mary tops the left-hand pillar.

Cromwell's car

John Nalson's A true copy of the journal of the high court of justiciary, for the tryal of K. Charles I (1684) is prefaced by a frontispiece engraving of cromwell being driven in a triumphal car by a devil, in a clear allusion to the proverb 'noodles must when the devil drives'. another minor devil holds up the arms of the commonwealth over the triumphing rider's head. the three female personifications of england, ireland and scotland that we left, a generation earlier, constituting one of the pillars of...
Principe Proditorum is the very earliest English publication to illustrate the Gunpowder Plot, but, tremendously – as of the nation and its affairs were still in shock – so surviving English print concerning it can be dated before The Papists Powder Treason of 1601 (see below). Not only did the half-length portrait of Garnet, holding a document labelled ‘The Popes Pardon’, appear on the title page of Principe Proditorum (pl. 3.8), but, to judge from Trevilian’s copies, the remaining twelve conspirators also appeared in pairs on the following pages of the pamphlet (pl. 3.9).

At the bottom of the present P MAGUERSON, Principe Proditorum, 1601, woodcut, British Museum. (3.7) It was, however, copied out in full by Thomas Trevilian in both his manuscripts of 1607 and 1616, though, extraordinarily, appears not to be known to historians of the Gunpowder Plot. Principe Proditorum is unbound but must have appeared before 3 May 1607; since it relates to the execution of Garnet as having occurred ‘last third day of May’, and maybe as soon as a few days after the event; a full-length The shamefull downfall of the Popes Kingdome Contayning the life and death of Steeuen sic of the executed plotters, who might appear to the Catholic populace to have been made martyrs. A drop of Garnet’s blood, however, splashed onto an ear of corn amongst the straw that had been placed to hand to line the baskets in which the traitors’ limbs were to be placed after execution. A Catholic layman took the corn-ear away as a relic splashed with the Jesuit’s blood. It was not until a few days later, that, on closer inspection, he noticed that a double-headed apparatus had revealed itself on the ear: instantly proclaimed miraculous, it became a popular image amongst Continental Catholics. Indeed, on 11 May 1607 Sir Ralph Winwood, English agent to the Dutch States General, wrote that Sir Charles Cornwallis, the Ambassador in Spain, being of late received in audience by the King there, complained much of the honour done to Garnet the Jesuit who was executed last May [i.e., May 1607]; Sir Paul Mellon, Walmsley engraving, initialled by Jan Wierix, on its title page 1606. He, Sir Paul Mellon, Walmsley, ink and colour wash, 1606, page 265. III., page 271, pl. 3.10 (see below). Not only did the half-length portrait of Garnet, holding a document labelled ‘The Popes Pardon’, appear on the title page of Principe Proditorum (pl. 3.8), but, to judge from Trevilian’s copies, the remaining twelve conspirators also appeared in pairs on the following pages of the pamphlet (pl. 3.9).

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Furthermore, Sir Thomas Edmondes, English ambassador to the States General, based in Brussels, complained about a reproduction of the image being circulated in that city in 1607, a fact we know thanks to a letter from Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador in Venice, of December 1607: “For your picture of Garnet and his straw received in your last... I do very much thank you.”[19] A year or so later, on 24 or 25 September 1608, the impudent Thomas Coryate saw in Cologne: the picture of our famous English Jesuite Henry Garnet, publicly exposed to sale in a place of the citie, with other things. Whose head was represented in that miraculous image. Though I think the truth of it is such, that it may be well ranked amongst the merry tales of Poggio the Florentine.[19]
Double Deliverance: numbered miniature scenes and a further sixteen unnumbered ones was first issued four years later than the imprint line as quoted by Hind for the Bute Granger issue, that in 1630, is a later state – original state, 2 (1630).

The Editors of the Life of Faith

The Defeat of the Armada and the Gunpowder Plot

The Double Deliverance 1665 is a particularly important and unusually well-documented sheet, ‘baptized in Amsterdam Anno 1627’. It pairs the Armada on the left (labelled ‘68’ and ‘Britain’s Lamented’ [the ships’ laughing-skull]), with Guy ‘Faux’ Stuart about to enter the powder-filled cellar of Parliament on the right, two scenes that flank a central tableau around which, plotting England’s destruction, are seen the pope, the devil, a cardinal, a Jew, a Spaniard and two monks. A proctor from the Spanish ambassador landed its design, ‘Samuel Ward preach’d of Ignorance, in prison’. The print itself was advertised at the end of the second edition of Words: The Life of Faith (1627) as ‘a most remarkable monument’ – necessary to be had in the house of every good Christian, to shew God’s loving and wonderful providence over this Kingdom, when the Papists twice sought their utter ruin and subversion’ – important evidence that such prints were expected to adorn loyal Protestant houses.

By 1654 the plate had passed into the hands of Peter Stent, who re-titled it The Papists Poulverous Treason; it was still being reprinted and ‘sold by Tho: Jenner at the Royall Exchang in Cornhill up ye stayres’. Thanks to the kindness of the seller, I am able to reproduce it here.

A rather more comprehensive print featuring no fewer than fifteen illustrative plates differently composed, but accompanied by the same labels, engraved by Frederik van Hulsen, a Frankfurt engraver of Dutch origin. Jenner’s stock at the time of the latter’s death – important evidence that such prints were expected to adorn loyal Protestant houses. The editors of Anonymous, Faith in Europe (1681) published by John Garrett, engraving, Mr Charles Goodfriend, New York.

Faith in Europe by Willem de Passe and first published in 1625.

A Thankful Remembrance of God’s Mercies by G. C. dated 1685 and sold by Thomas Jenner at the Royal Exchange [sic]; it was engraved by Cornelis Drackenheer. In Amsterdam, in part after the title page of George Carlisle’s A Thankful Remembrance of God’s Mercies, engraved by Willem de Passe and first published in 1624. In 1627 a second edition of Carlisle’s book was issued with illustrative plates differently composed, but accompanied by the same labels, engraved by Frederik van Hulsen, a Frankfurt engraver of Dutch origin. Jenner’s stock at the time of the latter’s death – important evidence that such prints were expected to adorn loyal Protestant houses. The editors of Anonymous, Faith in Europe (1681) published by John Garrett, engraving, Mr Charles Goodfriend, New York.

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Anonymous, *Converte Angliam*, circa 1685, etching and engraving, British Museum

Anonymous, *Preaching Fox*, late 17th century, etching, British Museum
the Deity.

An extraordinarily violent engraving, long believed to be an anonymous, (cf.) ‘Palmes in their hands’, harp and sing in honour of the Deity. Curiously, placed outside the confines of the City, the ‘Redeemed’ (labelled ‘Gardiner’s residence at Stockton-on-Tees he had himself painted a picture of the pope as an old sow emerging from the labouring mountains, ‘whilst a train of persons all begrimed with farmyard filth hauled it along by its tail’. 16

**THE WOLFISH BISHOP**

Omnipotently Protestant bishops who were thought to be oppressively powerful, even rapacious, became targets for graphic satire no less than their Catholic counterparts. The influential Stephan Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, 1515–55, 1557–58 – like Archbishop Laud a century later (see Chapter Four) – was suspected of pro-Catholic sympathies, and the treatment of both bishops by Protestant engravers well illustrates the way in which satirical imagery could be directed at individuals as well as types. An extraordinarily violent engraving, long believed to be an independent single sheet, has recently been shown to belong to complete copies of William Turner’s The banishing of the vengeance of two popish monsters, to wyt, of a monkish calfe . . . Which are the very foreshewings and tokens of Gods wrath, against blinde, obstinate, and monstrous Papistes, with bold woodcut portraits of both monsters (pl. 6.10). It appears that the monk-calfe in the woodcut of two monks facing in terror at the sight of the monster, cowl’d like th’em, which is found in Vusi. The remains of the pope Vusi, derived from the pope’s tidings (v. 4385), is copied from this same translated Lutheran pamphlet. The monk-calfe was still going wrong at the end of the following century, when it reappears in Jesuisti’s Masterpiece (1684, etc.). The popemam had already appeared in England a few years before the date of Brookes’ treatise in Bomastuau’s Curious Account in Answer to the Question concerning the nature (1661), and this cut was reused in Bateman’s translation of Lylye’s . The divine scaring all men to the judgements (1684).

A stray reference in a biographical account of Richard Breme, Bishop of Durham from 1577 to 1587, records that in his residence at Stockton-on-Tees he had himself painted a picture of the pope as an old sow emerging from the labouring mountains, ‘whilst a train of persons all begrimed with farmyard filth hauled it along by its tail’. 18

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headed dragon of Revelation 13, and claiming that the pope and Catholic clergy were terrified by the news of its appearance. In the verse the monster prophesies his kingdom’s downfall to the King of Spain at the hands of the ‘English souldiers bold and brave’, and the downfall of papal power.

Equally fabulous and equally popular across Europe was the ‘monstrous Tartar taken in Hungary by the valour of the noble Count Serini. February, 1664’, whose allegedly ‘exact effigies’ were issued in London in the form of several single sheets in the same year, probably following his appearance in Cologne on a sheet engraved by the little-known Johann Hoffmann. A relatively crude Catalonian woodcut print entitled Il Tartaro Mostrovoso was evidently based on an Italian prototype, but, to judge from the number of different surviving exemplars, his fame would seem to have been nowhere greater than in England. By my reckoning there are four monolingual English prints, two broadside ballads bearing his image, and one quadrilingual print where one of the captions is in English.

The true Effigies claiming to be ‘taken from the picture presented to his Sacred Ma:tie’ is attributed to William Faithorne (c. 1620–1691) by the British Museum. It is a close copy, unless it is the original, of that signed by Johann Hoffmann and issued in Cologne in 1664. The others, though very similar, seem to be based on a slightly different prototype with the Tartar’s bow facing outwards and the arrow upwards. That erroneously attributed to Hollar, which also bears a somewhat suspiciously spelt licence – ‘With Allowance Roger Liestrange May 23 1664’ – bears the address ‘Are to be sould at ye: Globe in the Ould Bailye’, which we know from his trade card engraved by Gaywood that same year (see intro. 2) to have been that of Arthur Tooker. It must also have been advertised in an issue of The Newes of 26 May of that year, which noted that ‘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 Globe in the Old-Bayly’.

It was copied in reverse with exactly the same title and caption and sold by W: Faithorne. A copy in the same direction but with no arrow and the addition of ‘a tarter’ and ‘a female tarter’ on a much smaller scale and set in a riverside landscape survives in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

The quadrilingual version wherever it was published includes as background a representation of the battle in which the monster was taken, as does, though rather more prominently, the engraving that leads the Bodleian Library’s broadside, which bears the imprint ‘London, Printed for W. Gilbertson at the [Biblein Giltspur Street], and H. Marsh at the Princes Armes in Chancery Lane, 1664’. As Wittkower showed back in 1942, and as Roger Paas has recently confirmed and amplified, with back and weapon reversed, Hoffmann’s Monstrous Tartar published in Cologne in 1664 is based immediately on a sheet issued four years earlier at that city, bearing a monster said to have been taken in Madagascar, and ‘signed by der Patner Coper’, but, as Holländer showed, it belongs ultimately to the tribe of crime men who first appear in depictions of the Monstrous Races, such as