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Mapping England's Trade Through Depictions in English Emblems

A thesis

presented to

the faculty of the Department of History

East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in History

by

Valerie J. Erickson

May 2011

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Keywords: English Emblems, English trade, English shipping, English Empire, Empire-building, colonial expansion.

ABSTRACT

Mapping England's Trade Through Depictions in English Emblems

by

Valerie J. Erickson

This thesis explores the growing interaction between England and foreign countries comparing their trade with contemporary later sixteenth century and seventeenth century English emblems. The emblems used are those available over the internet from several different library and university sources. As England expanded its trade throughout the world, English emblems began to show the exchange occurring between England and its various trading partners. Historians have largely overlooked this valuable source of information. By studying emblems historians gain invaluable insight into the economy, society, politics, religion, and other matters with which England was concerned.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my husband Joseph for his unending support and enthusiasm. To my children, Tiana, Nora, Trevin, and Arlewyn and my son by marriage, James. Thank you for supporting me and being so patient as you grew up while your mom was following her dream. To my mom, Sandra, for her editorial skills and backing and to my dad, Darwin, for his encouragement. To the wonderful Dr. Jennifer Hall, my deepest appreciation, for a debt I cannot repay, for having introduced me to the world of emblems. To my dear professors, David Knowles and Darrel McGhee, for challenging me, giving me advice, and always believing in me. Lastly, thank you to my thesis committee, Dr. Brian Maxson, Dr. Mel Page, Dr. Doug Burgess and Dr. Henry Antkiewicz for your endless patience, guidance, and teachings.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on trade and the expansion of England and how aspects of English trade throughout the world, and major historical events associated with trade, continued to develop and appear in English emblems from 1566 until about 1635. As Spain declined in world power, England stepped into the sphere. The effect of this burgeoning empire meant trade increased, including supporting potential trading partners in power struggles against common enemies, establishing and maintaining control over colonies in foreign lands, the developing racism due to the slave trade, and coming into contact with exotic plants and animals. During this period emblems depict the increasing interaction between England, her colonies, and foreign lands. This influence can be seen in emblems including such items as connecting with Ethiopia, apes, crocodiles, a rhinoceros, and a Native American headdress. Emblems illustrating these topics decreased as the fashion of emblems were changing in England and on the continent after 1635 into a predominantly more religious and moral tone.

The Italian Andrea Alciato published the first emblem book in 1531. All of the early English emblem writers based their work on Alciato's. Alciato's emblems evolved from a variety of sources including *impresas*. *Impresas* were a symbolic image that elites either wore or painted onto the walls of their homes. Elites intended their *impresas* to display their ambitions in the form of a witty pictorial riddle. The viewer was intended to decipher its meaning from the objects placed in the picture. Whereas the emblem consists of three elements, the *impresa* only has one.

The proper emblem contains three pieces: the motto, the picture, and the verse. First, emblems have the motto written in either Latin or the vernacular. This summation consists of the

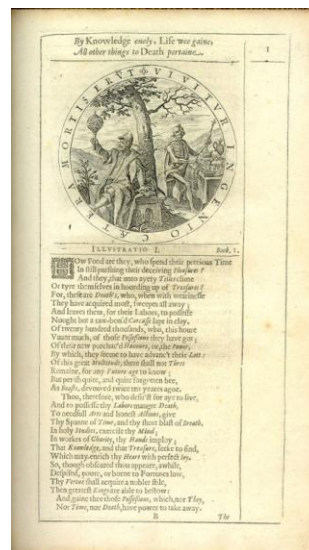
moral or sentiment associated with the picture and verse. Some English emblematisers used a dedication to an aristocrat in lieu of a formal *sententia*. The main element of the emblem lies between the *sententia* and verse, the picture. This element gives the emblem its name. The word “emblem” comes from the Greek word for “inlay,” and so the picture lies between the textual contents.¹ Some emblem books exist without this element due to the high cost of including pictures in publications. English emblematisers generally referred to Alciato’s or another well-known English or continental emblematiser. Other emblematisers have borrowed woodcuts or engravings from an earlier book. The last aspect of the emblem, the verse or poem, can sometimes be the most important component. Through this element the moral or explanation is given. The English emblematisers generally took a great degree of pride in creating poetry rather than simply describing the picture and motto as was done in earlier works especially on the continent. By studying the verse and picture historians not only learn about emblems but also about issues that society deemed as important for that time period. Together these three aspects create an emblem, as shown in Figure 1 below:

Heading/Motto:

Picture:

Verse/Poem:

Figure 1. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne*. (London, 1635): 1, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/withe001.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).



¹ Elizabeth K. Hill, “What is an Emblem.” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 29, no.2 (winter 1970): 264, www.jstor.org/stable/428607 (accessed 02/18/2010).

Despite the advantages of studying emblems some scholars have downplayed their value as a historical source. Theresa M. Kelley in her article “Visual Suppressions, Emblems, and the ‘Sister Arts’,” says that emblems are unsuitable to study for the understanding of allegory because, “complex emblematic texts may be misunderstood; for this reason, they are morally unstable guides to symbolic truths.”² She also states that they reflect errors of philosophy. Kelley condemns emblems for their over reliance on image to reflect meaning and not having enough text. Perhaps through thoughtful contemplation, as emblems teach, the erudition of emblems may be seen by observers, supporters, and critics.

Emblems have been studied by art historians and English literary scholars for their symbolic and literary value, yet such studies have really overlooked their historical importance. Emblems were used in contemporary architecture, painting, poetry, plays, and prose. There are stained glass windows in London that show emblematic images from Whitney’s book.³ Emblem books were also used as pattern-books for the creators of architectural motifs in plaster, wood, and other mediums. These were not entire emblems but the imagery used from within. When seen as a whole emblems give a window of information into the life and minds of sixteenth and seventeenth century society.

Several literary and art historians have researched emblems including English emblem books, portraying them in relation to literature or their images. The leading scholars of emblems include Mario Praz, Rosemary Freeman, Michael Bath, and John Manning, just to name a few. All of these scholars specialize in English literature and look at emblems for what they represent within the context of English works of prose. The potentiality of scholarship in other areas exists

² Theresa M. Kelley, “Visual Suppressions, Emblems, and the ‘Sister Arts’.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17, no.1 (Autumn 1983): 28, www.jstor.org/stable/2738259 (accessed Nov 8, 2008).

³ Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (New York: Longman, 1993): 87.

as one emblem scholar, Huston Diehl explains in her *Index of Icons in English Emblem Books: 1500-1700*. These areas include theology, rhetoric, sociology, and history.⁴

These previous scholars have all taken a literary approach on studying emblems focusing on the verses of the emblems instead of the emblem in its entirety. Each of the major emblem scholars focuses on similar aspects of the emblem being their literary significance. Mario Praz was an Italian emblem scholar who had ready access to the Italian emblems and wrote a book that was somewhat in the nature of an emblem encyclopedia listing their contribution to contemporary literature.⁵ Rosemary Freeman's book focuses on the literary aspects of emblems and whether or not the verses in the emblems qualify as literature. Her main argument is that the verse brings everything together and makes sense of the picture and motto.⁶ Michael Bath has also written many articles and several books on the topic of emblems and their literary significance expounding the literary meanings behind the emblems and how emblems were used in various ways throughout England.⁷ Bath is most likely considered to be the leading expert on emblems. John Manning mostly disagrees with the other emblem scholars, but his focus still lies on the literary facets of emblems focusing on how emblems came about, from where, topics of emblems which are literary, and how they began to decline not only in England but in Europe as well.⁸

All emblem books were written for particular people or events, and many emblems were dedicated to particular people, especially members of the aristocracy. Often this was done in order to seek patronage from those to whom the emblems were dedicated. Such was the case for

⁴ Huston Diehl, *Index of Icons in English Emblem Books: 1500-1700* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986): 6.

⁵ Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* (Roma: Edizioni Di Storia E Letteratura, 1964).

⁶ Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1967).

⁷ Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture*.

⁸ John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004).

Geffrey Whitney's book *Choice Emblems and Other Devices*, which was made as propaganda for the Earl of Leicester's campaign in the Netherlands.⁹ Another example is the individual emblems in the emblem book *The Mirrour of Majestie, or, the Badges of Honour Conceitedly Emblazoned* by H.G. In this book each individual emblem is dedicated to a different nobleperson.¹⁰

The books of five English emblematisers in particular portray the growing influence of global trade on England and its society. Thomas Palmer was the first published English emblematiser. His book *Two Hundred Pooses* was published in 1566 and shows one emblem that likely shows the beginning of English growth and trade with a reference to Ireland.¹¹ The second emblem writer is Geffrey Whitney who wrote *A Choice of Emblemes, and Other Devices, For the Most Parte Gathered Out of Sundrie Writers, Englished and Moralized, and Divers Newly Devised*. Whitney's book was published in 1586 and contains fifteen new emblems with topics such as apes, crocodiles and the glory of Sir Francis Drake, as well as emblems portraying English concerns.¹² P.S. (identity unknown), the third emblem writer, translated and adapted the work, *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradon*. This work was published in 1591 with seven new emblems involving apes, crocodiles, weaponry, wealth, and other topics related to trade.¹³ Henry Peacham is the fourth English emblematiser whose work encompassed such themes. In his work *Minerva Britanna, or a Garden of Heroical Devices, Furnished, and Adorned with Emblems and Impresa's of Sundry Natures, Newly Devised, Moralized, and Published*, fifteen more emblems appear with topics such as the rhinoceros and a Native

⁹ Geffrey Whitney, *Choice Emblems and Other Devices* (London, 1586): preface.

¹⁰ H.G., *The Mirrour of Majestie, or, the Badges of Honour Conceitedly Emblazoned, A photo-lith. fac-simile reprint from Mr. Corser's perfect copy. A.D. 1618* (London: A. Brothers, 1870).

¹¹ Thomas Palmer, *Two Hundred Pooses* (London, 1566).

¹² Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes, and Other Devices, For the Most Parte Gathered Out of Sundrie Writers, Englished and Moralized, and Divers Newly Devised* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586).

¹³ P.S., *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradon* (London, 1591).

American head dress. Peacham's work was published in 1612 and contains more emblems that outline political and social situations of England.¹⁴ He reiterates the importance of shipping, wealth, and foreign influences and shows important aspects such as silk, plantains, and the rhinoceros. In 1635 George Wither used five emblems that display English trade and a few more societal concerns. Wither's work is entitled *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne, Quickened with Metricall Illustrations, both Morall and Divine: and Disposed into Lotteries, That Instruction, and good Counsell, may bee Furthered by an Honest and Pleasant Recreation*.¹⁵ At that point emblems rapidly lost their representation of society and took on a solely moral and religious outlook.

¹⁴ Henry Peacham. *Minerva Britanna, or a Garden of Heroical Devices, Furnished, and Adorned with Emblems and Impresa's of Sundry Natures, Newly Devised, Moralized, and Published* (London, 1612).

¹⁵ George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne, Quickened with Metricall Illustrations, both Morall and Divine: and Disposed into Lotteries, That Instruction, and good Counsell, may bee Furthered by an Honest and Pleasant Recreation* (London, 1635).

CHAPTER 2

ANDREA ALCIATO AND THOMAS PALMER

Andrea Alciato published the first emblem book in 1531 in Italy. He had a major impact on the development of the first English emblems. Future emblematisers used his emblems and process of formation, known as commonplaces, as a base for creating their own. Alciato was influenced by ordinary objects, animals, mythology, fables, humanist thought, and exposure to a few contacts from outside Italy such as Ethiopia. In Alciato's emblems we can see a slight shift towards racism as the slave trade becomes established, this will be developed further in later emblems that are discussed in following chapters. Thomas Palmer followed Alciato to become the first published English emblematiser. Palmer used Alciato and a French emblematiser, Barthelemy Aneau, as sources. Prior to and during the time of Thomas Palmer England grew in trade and world influence beginning with the conquest of Ireland. The important historical aspect in dealing with emblems comes in understanding how they display the concerns, economy, values, morals, and characters of society or what are believed to be important ideals to maintain and what represents society at that time.

The sources for Alciato are varied coming from hieroglyphs, proverbs, ancient mythology, fables, bestiaries, rhetoric, and some outside issues. The development of emblems evolved from hieroglyphs and ancient mythology. The use of proverbs helps to explicate the connection of emblems to hieroglyphs. Alciato's emblem is similar to one that is shown in Thomas Palmer's and follows the proverb of "one good turn deserves another,"¹⁶ see figure 2. Michael Bath explains that the process of naturalization of emblems illuminates how

¹⁶ Thomas Palmer's book has not been digitized and made available online which is why his emblems are not seen in this paper. All emblems in this paper have been accessed via the worldwide web.

emblematisers claim the use of hieroglyphs as an authority.¹⁷ Just as hieroglyphs connote meaning through images, emblems follow this same tradition. These images also allow the illiterate to “read” the meaning of the emblem from the pictorial representation. Reading the image above, contemporaries would understand it meant mutual support.

“*Mutuuum auxilium.*”
Mutual help



*Loripedem sublatum humeris fert lumine captus,
Et socii haec oculis munera retribuit.*

Quo caret alteruter, concors sic praestat uterque.

Mutuat hic oculos, mutuat ille pedes. A man deprived of sight carries on his shoulders one with deformed feet and offers this service in return for the use of his companion’s eyes. So each of them by mutual consent supplies what the other lacks. One borrows eyes, the other feet.

Figure 2. Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libri II* (Lyons: Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, 1556). 22, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A56a022> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Library Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 36.

Alciato also used ancient mythology as another source for the development of emblems.

Many emblem books contain references to Roman myths. The emblem about Ganymede, Figure 3, represents one example. Ganymede was taken by the eagle of Jove to become Jove’s cup-bearer. Contemplation of higher things such as the aspects of God and heaven can bring peace and joy to those who follow this advice. The motto says, “In Deo Laetandum : Joy is to be found in God.”¹⁸ In order to understand the meaning behind the emblem, the reader must have prior knowledge of Roman mythology and their implications.

¹⁷ Bath, 6.

¹⁸ Andrea Alciato, *Livret des Emblemes* (Paris, 1536): 32, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=FALa032> (accessed Sept 12, 2009).

“In deo laetandum”
Joy is to be found in God



*Aspice ut egregius puerum Iovis alite pictor
Fecerit Iliacum summa per astra vehi.
Quis ne Iovem tactum puerili credat amore?
Dic haec Maeonius finxerit unde senex?
Consilium mens atque Dei cui gaudia praestant,*

Creditur is summo raptus adesse Iovi. See how the skilful illustrator has shown the Trojan boy being carried through the highest heavens by the eagle of Jove. Can anyone believe that Jove felt passion for a boy? Explain how the aged poet of Maeonia came to imagine such a thing. It is the man who finds satisfaction in the counsel, wisdom and joys of God who is thought to be caught up into the presence of mighty Jove.

Figure 3. Andrea Alciato, *Livret des Emblemes* (Paris, 1536): 32, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=FALa032> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Library Shelf Mark: SP Coll S. M. 23b.

Aesop's fables are another source for Alciato's emblems. D.L. Ashliman in his edition of *Aesop's fables: With an Introduction and Notes* says that the world view and roots in antiquity as well as its erudite nature was what appealed to European writers of the Renaissance and age of Reason.¹⁹ The fable was used as a teaching tool; fables were used in emblems to produce the same erudition. On page 186 of Ashliman's book is a fable titled "The ass carrying the image." The moral of the fable: "Rude shocks await those who take to themselves the credit that is due to others." Many emblematisers use this same fable. The emblem verse discusses how a donkey believes people are worshipping it instead of the statue it is carrying. As many emblematisers did, Palmer substituted a religious moral for the traditional mythological one. Palmer makes the image the Virgin Mary. Figure 4 displays Alciato's emblem where a small donkey carries a

¹⁹ D.L. Ashliman, *Aesop's Fables: With an Introduction and Notes* by D. L. Ashliman (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2003): xx.

carved relief of a goddess on its back while several people bow to the ground in front of the donkey. The master holds a whip above his head ready to humble the ass. Animals generally signify something specific in emblems; in this case the ass signifies someone who is slow, stubborn, dim-witted, and seeking earthly glory instead of heaven.

“Non tibi sed religioni.
Not for you but for religion



*Isidis effigiem tardus gestabat asellus,
Pando verenda dorso habens mysteria.
Obvius ergo Deam quisquis reverenter adorat,
Piasque genibus concipit flexis preces.
Ast asinus tantum praestari credit honorem
Sibi, & intumescit admodum superbiens,
Donec eum flagris compescens dixit agaso,
Non es Deus tu aselle, sed Deum vehis.*

An ass with dragging feet was carrying an image of Isis, bearing reverend mysteries on its sagging back. So all who met him reverently offered worship to the goddess and recited pious prayers on bended knee. The ass however took it that all this honour was offered to himself, and began to swagger along swollen with pride - until his driver, reducing him with blows, said, ‘You are not god, my little ass, you are carrying god’.

Figure 4. Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum libri II* (Lyons: Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, 1556): 35, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A56a035> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Library Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 36.

From Alciato onward animals are common themes of emblems, both real and fantastical. An example of this can be seen in this Alciato emblem. Figure 5 shows Bellerophon riding Pegasus about to drive a pike through the head of the small chimaera. Animals that emblematisers had never seen before appeared in their emblems. The inclusion of such beasts served the purpose of teaching the reader some important issue. Bestiaries were books that described these animals and their characteristics. These books were especially popular during the Middle Ages, but their influence extended well into the Renaissance. Within the bestiaries illustrations, and what was assumed to be their natural history, was given along with what they represented

morally. The bestiary was also a reference book for the symbolic language of animals in Western Christian art and literature. Emblems and emblem books were didactic tools for the Renaissance which carries the importance of morals, values, and societal concerns to the classes.

*Consilio, & virtute Chimaeran superari, id est, fortiores & deceptores.”
Wisdom and courage defeat Chimaera (i.e. the powerful and deceivers)”*



*Bellerophon (ut fortis eques) superare Chimaeran,
Et Lycii potuit sternere monstra soli.
Sic tu Pegaseis vectus petis aethera pennis.
Consilioque animi monstra superba domas.*

Bellerophon, that bold horseman, was able to overcome the Chimaera and lay low the monsters of the Lycian land. You likewise, borne on wings of Pegasus, seek the high heavens and, by the counsel of reason, tame proud monsters.

Figure 5. Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata* (Lyon, 1550): 14, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?ii=A50a014> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. Add q78-q79c vol.1

Another important aspect of Alciato’s emblems and their erudition includes the aspect of ordinary objects taking on metaphorical symbolism. Michael Bath says that, “Emblems... moralise the actual properties of objects in the real world, and they thus depend, in ways that not all metaphor does, on a belief shared by author and reader in the reality of their symbolic object and its properties.”²⁰ By portraying everyday objects as symbolic, people were reminded of its meaning whenever they came into contact with that entity. One example of this can be seen in Alciato’s emblem where the grape vine and the oak tree represent two friends as in Figure 6 below. Here the vine wraps around the withering tree, giving it support as it gets old and dies.

²⁰ Bath, 4.

Emblems show everyday items in new ways. Students were encouraged to go about their day seeking out the application of parables to life. Through this activity students and emblematisers incorporate their culture and society into their emblems making emblems important to study for their historical applications.

“AMICITIA ETIAM POST” mortem durans.
Friendship lasting even beyond death



*Arentem senio, nudam quoque frondibus ulmum,
Complexa est viridi vitis opaca coma.
Agnoscitque vices naturae & grata parenti,
Officii reddit mutua iura suo,
Exemploque monet, tales nos quaerere amicos,
Quos neque disiungat foedere summa dies.*

A vine shady with green foliage embraced an elm tree that was dried up with age and bare of leaves. The vine recognises the changes wrought by nature and, ever grateful, renders to the one that reared it the duty it owes in return. By the example it offers, the vine tells us to seek friends of such a sort that not even our final day will uncouple them from the bond of friendship.

Figure 6. Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 6 April 1531 2ed): 12, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A31b012> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 19.

Alciato’s emblems also show influences from outside and societal issues with the inclusion of elephants, leopards, crocodiles, and an ostrich. There are emblems in Alciato’s 1531 and 1536 books that display images of foreign influences such as the elephant which is not native to his Italy. One emblem portrays the elephant as strength, Figure 7. Here the elephant is seen as insignificant to the armor and weaponry of war. The emblem teaches that it is better to lose for the right reasons than win for the wrong ones. The other elephant, in Figure 8, epitomizes peace. This elephant has submitted itself to the service of man and carries on its back what appear to be six rockets or flags in celebration of peace. Once the warring was over, preserving peace became

the duty of the elephant, as should be the case for governments. The fact that these elephant emblems are included in Alciato's book only accounts for Livy's explanation of Hannibal invading Italy with elephants in 218 BCE. The first impression of these great animals remained imbedded on the society of Italy for centuries to come.

“IN ILLAUDATA LAU-dantes”
Praising the wrong things

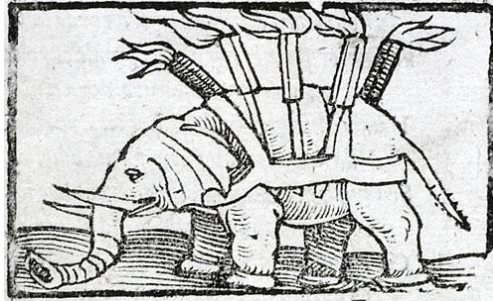


*Ingentes Galatum semerini [=semermi] milite turmas,
Spem praeter trepidus fuderat Antiochus.
Lucarum cum saeva boum vis, ira proboscis,
Tum primum hostiles corripuisset equos.
Ergo trophaea locans Elephantis imagine pinxit,
Insuper & sociis occideramus ait.
Bellua servasset ni nos foedissima barrus,
At superasse iuvat, sic superasse pudet.*

Antiochus, in spite of his fears, had beyond all expectation routed the huge squadrons of Galatians with his light-armed troops, when the savage might of elephants, their raging and their trunks, for the first time ever fell upon the enemy's cavalry. So when he set up the trophy, he adorned it with the picture of an elephant and furthermore said to his troops: "We would have fallen, if this revolting beast, the elephant, had not preserved us. Pleasing as it is to conquer, it is galling to conquer like this".

Figure 7. Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum Liber* (Augsburg: 6 April, 1531, 2ed): 37, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A31b037> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 19.

Peace



*Turrigeris humeris, dentis quoque barrus eburni,
Qui superare ferox Martia bella solet.
Supposuit nunc colla iugo stimulisque subactus,
Caesareos currus ad pia templa vehit.
Vel fera cognoscit concordēs undique gentes,
Proiectisque armis munia pacis obit.*

The elephant, with its tower-bearing shoulders and ivory tusk, a beast accustomed to dominate the conflicts of Mars with savage ravings, has now submitted its neck to the yoke: subdued by goads, it draws Caesar's chariot to the holy temples. Even the beast recognises nations reconciled on every side, and rejecting the weapons of war, it performs the duties of peace.

Figure 8. Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum Liber* (Augsburg: 6 April, 1531): 79, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A31b079> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 19.

Ethiopia appears to have made a great deal of influence during the time of Alciato stemming from an emblem depicting a leopard and another of an Ethiopian man. At that time Ethiopians were making attempts to create a bridge between themselves and Europe. David Northrup states that the “first persistent effort to build ties to Europe came from the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia in the mountainous highlands of the upper Blue Nile.”²¹ In 1402 Ethiopian delegates traveled to Venice and presented the Doge with aromatic spices and leopards. This explains the presence of emblems showing leopards in Alciato's emblem books because leopards are not native to Italy but are in Ethiopia. The verse expresses the admiration for a certain woman's valor whose name was Lioness, the picture of the feline in the emblem, however, clearly shows spots, which a lioness does not have. Compare Figures 9, 10, and 11. One explanation for this would be that Alciato did not understand the difference between a leopard and a lion when he included this in his books. Another could be that all big cats at that time were referred to by a common term, “lion.”

²¹ David Northrup, *Africa's Discovery of Europe: 1450-1850* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2009): 3.

“Nec quaestioni quidem cedendum”
Do not yield even to torture



*Cecropia effictam quam cernis in arce leaenam,
Harmodii, an nescis hospes? amica fuit.
Sic animum placuit monstrare viraginis acrem
More ferae, nomen vel quia tale tulit
Quòd fidibus contorta suo non prodidit ullum
Indicio, elinguem reddidit Iphicrates.*

This lioness that you see represented on the Athenian citadel was Harmodius's lover - stranger, you must know the story. This was how they decided to proclaim the brave woman's fierce spirit, by representing her as a lioness. Besides, her name was Lioness too. Tortured on the rack, she betrayed no-one by her evidence, and so Iphicrates represented the beast without a tongue.

Figure 9. Andrea Alciato, *Les Emblemes* (Paris: Chrestien Wechel, 1542): 63, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A42a063> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. Add 347.



Figure 10 and 11. Leopard on Left and Lioness on Right. Paul for Devonian farm. Ontology2 (2007-2009), <http://animalphotos.info/a/>. "Images on this site are under creative commons and are free to use on web sites and other projects" (accessed 2 March 2011).

When Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Empire more diplomatic missions were sent to Europe from Ethiopia for the purpose of creating a Christian alliance against the encroaching Turks. They succeeded in conducting a military alliance with Portugal, reconciling Africa's

largest Christian community with European Christianity.²² The first Ethiopian emblem to appear anywhere comes in Alciato's first emblem book. Here, in Figure 12, the subject of impossibility is explored. The Ethiopian is the man lying on the table seen as a white man. A European man attempts to wash the Ethiopian with the assistance of a white servant. No one seems to know why the Ethiopian was shown white until Alciato's later publication in 1534, seen in figure 13. Perhaps it was due to Alciato having never seen an African man before or that he did not understand that they were darker skinned.

“IMPOSSIBILE.”
The impossible



*Abluis Aethiopem quid frustra? ah desine, noctis
Illustrare nigrae nemo potest tenebras.*

Why are you washing an Ethiopian in vain? Oh, do stop. No one can turn the shades of black night into light.

Figure 12 . Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum Liber* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steyner, 28 Feb. 1531): 83, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A31a083> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 18.

²² Northrup, *Africa's Discovery of Europe*, 45.

“Impossibile.”



*Abluis Aethiopem quid frustra? ah desine, noctis
Illustrare nigrae nemo potest tenebras.*

Why are you washing an Ethiopian in vain? Oh, do stop. No one can turn the shades of black night into light.

Figure 13. Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum Libellus* (Paris, 1534): 84, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A34b084> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 28.

In all of Alciato's emblem books there do not appear any other exotic animals such as a crocodile or camel, as appear in the works of future emblematisers. The remaining emblems of Alciato focus on mythology, morals, and internal interests of Italy. One example of this Italian concentration is displayed in Figure 14 with the emblem discussing the tomb of the Viscount Galeazzo. Throughout the sixteenth century, Italy experienced a great deal of internal conflict and invasion from outside its borders. This may explain why Alciato's emblems lack the association of international issues and concentrates instead on his homeland. England was freer to focus on outside issues as they were filling the void left behind as Spanish power declined. England also enjoyed much less societal turmoil under Elizabeth I and James I, whereas Italy had many problems.

“*Tumulus Ioannis Galeatii vicecomitis, primi ducis Mediolani.*”
 The tomb of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, first Duke of Milan



*Pro tumulo pone Italiam, pone arma ducesque
 Et mare, quod geminos mugit adusque sinus.
 Adde his Barbariem conantem irrumperere frustra,
 Et mercede emptas in fera bella manus.
 Anguiger ast summo sistens in culmine dicat:
 Quis parvis magnum me super imposuit?*

Instead of the tomb, put Italy, put weapons and leaders, and the sea which roars right up to the twin curving coasts. Add to these the barbarian host, trying in vain to burst in, and forces hired with money for savage wars. But the one holding a snake, standing on the roof of the tomb, may well say: Who has put me, great as I am, on top of little things?

Figure 14. Andrea Alciato's, *Liber Emblematum/Kunstbuch* (Frankfurt: AM Main, 1566/67): 2, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A67a002> (accessed 2 March 2011). University of Glasgow Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 46.

All emblematisers made use of Alciato's emblems, taking the original images and altering or exchanging them as needed. Figure 15 shows an emblem that comes from the English emblematiser Geoffrey Whitney who had taken the image of Alciato and adapted it to fit a different time and situation. In the verse Whitney discusses how men should tame their passions and use reason unlike the driver of the carriage who has lost his patience and now exemplifies disgrace. More of Whitney will be discussed in chapter two. Alciato's emblem, in Figure 16, discusses an ancient moralization of Anthony, who after killing Cicero yoked two lions to his chariot to show how he had controlled his enemies. Alciato's emblems deal with issues that were common in most societies at that time, such as religion and virtue, rarely extending them to any other purpose.



Figure 15. Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devices* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 6, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn006.htm> (accessed 2 Mar. 2011).

“ETIAM FEROCISSIMOS DOMARI”
 Even the fiercest are tamed.



*Romanum postquā eloquium, Cicerone preempto
 Perdiderat patriae pestis acerba suae,
 Incendit currus victor iunxitque leones,
 Compulit & durum colla subire iugum
 Magnanimos cecisisse suis Antonius armis,
 Ambage hac cupiens significare duces.*

After Antony, that grievous bane of his country, had destroyed eloquence by slaying Cicero, he mounted his chariot in triumph and yoked to it lions, forcing their necks to bow to the harsh yoke, desiring by this symbolic act to indicate that great leaders had given way before his military might.

Figure 16. Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum Liber* (Augsburg, Heinrich Steyner, 6 April 1531 2nd edition): 4, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A31b004> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 19.

In creating emblems, including Alciato's, an ordinary practice was to produce them through a process called commonplaces. Commonplaces were widespread teaching tools consisting of a collection of descriptions, quotes, thoughts, perceptions, images, and the like. Commonplaces were the basis for elaboration on meanings and the subject for new creative displays. As the same image comes to be used in the same way for a number of years, the image became a commonplace and was adopted to imply the same particular meaning. Additions may be made to show the image with the traditional meaning along with additional aspects to transfer meanings. Today, Facebook, blogging, and scrapbooking would be similar comparisons to their contemporary commonplaces. Plagiarism was of no concern for the period and artists and scholars frequently "borrowed" from others without references. The emblem books in England would also be like a commonplace. Students used commonplaces to collect valuable items to learn and were encouraged to write down their observations of nature. From these collections, which they also called "posies", they would create emblems. The importance of collecting explicates why commonplaces were important; this collecting precedes the creation of commonplaces.

Thomas Palmer published the first English emblem book in 1566, *Two Hundred Pooses*, using his title to reflect the commonplace origins, some of which came from Alciato. Palmer mainly copied the images and thoughts brought forth by Alciato and a French emblemist Barthelemy Aneau, not significantly altering the emblems. Palmer included three elephant emblems similar to those shown in Alciato. One emblem shows an elephant carrying a college on its back with the title, "Liberality founders of a College."²³ The second elephant is standing and represents "Religion."²⁴ The final elephant emblem, "The King Will not Hear

²³ Palmer, *Two Hundred Pooses*, 7.

²⁴ Palmer, 10.

Those that Will Him to Ill,” shows an elephant running from a grunting hog.”²⁵ Because Alciato had shown elephants, it is not surprising that Palmer included them as well.

Palmer’s emblem showing the Ethiopian displays the practice of borrowing from Alciato’s emblem books. Rosemary Freeman says that Palmer’s woodcuts were mostly taken from the French emblemist Aneau’s 1552 book *Picta Poesis*, while others were from Alciato’s, 1534 Paris edition.²⁶ No image similar to the Ethiopian occurs in Barthelemy Aneau’s *Picta Poesis* book; however, the image contained within Figure 17 of Alciato closely matches the image found in Thomas Palmer’s book. Seen here are two white men, probably Europeans, attempting in vain to wash the color from off the Ethiopian who is now black. Even the Ethiopian man appears to be discouraged. Racism was not as highly practiced at this time as what occurs later. As Europeans came into further contact with Africans, the more racism developed and prejudice grew stronger. England may have had some limited contact with Africa earlier than Palmer, but little evidence of this exists in his emblems. Through the fifteenth century Europeans recounted tales of meeting Africans who had no heads and had skin like serpents.²⁷ There were also accounts of men with more pronounced lower lips. While this physical characteristic was grossly exaggerated, it was possible it was based on factual accounts of Africans.²⁸ At that point in time Africans were still seen as a curiosity. Palmer does include another emblem illustrating an African man. In his emblem 121 the title is “Under a beggarly cloak wisdom is sometime hid.” The description says, “A foul favoured man, his head like a sugar loaf, blabber-lipped (= with protruding, swollen lips) with a short nuck (= nape of neck)

²⁵ Palmer, 106.

²⁶ Freeman, *English Emblem Books*. 235.

²⁷ Dorothy Hammond and Alta Jablow, *The Africa that Never Was* (Illinois: Waveland Press, 1970): 20.

²⁸ Elizabeth Morrison, *The Medieval Imagination: Beasts Factual and Fantastic* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2007): 88.

and a black skin, and a multitude of people wondering at him.”²⁹ There are no emblems like this in either Alciato or Aneau. Africans were still too few to make any other kind of impression on English society. During the later sixteenth century England became more heavily involved in the slave trade with Africa. It became a “mark of distinction” for the nobility to have African slaves. As more Africans came to England and became servants, racism and prejudice developed further, which is an issue that will arise in later chapters.

“Impossibile.”
The impossible



*Abluis Aethiopem, quid frustra? ah desine. noctis
Illustrare nigrae nemo potest tenêbras.*

Why are you washing an Ethiopian in vain? Oh, do stop. No one can turn the shades of black night into light.

Figure 17. Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata* (Lyons: Macé Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1551): 59, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A51a059> (accessed 2 March, 2011). University of Glasgow Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 35.

Palmer’s work does not contain any emblems depicting monkeys or apes, yet his second source for his emblems, Barthelemy Aneau’s emblem books, contains two references to such animals. Alciato’s works never refer to apes or monkeys. The question must be asked, why did Palmer overlook these in Aneau’s? The answer is that he most likely could not relate to them. The ape and monkey were only novelties, something from a bestiary, a metaphor that was not important to what he wanted to portray. To Palmer these were just animals with no significance to real life experiences.

²⁹ Palmer, 121.

Considering the fact that England did not have any great wealth at the time of Thomas Palmer's publication due to the expensive habits of Henry VIII, it is not surprising to see little outside influence on Palmer's work. Trade was not developed because England did not have the money necessary to spend on ships and merchant ventures. It took many years after Elizabeth I came to rule in 1558 to regain any wealth to spend on exploring and trading adventures. It is really through the investment into such enterprises as John Hawkins's slave trade and the privateering of Francis Drake that brought such lucrative dividends to the throne.

Ireland became the first step towards England's empire building. One of Palmer's emblems, titled "Wisdom goes to war" shows a lady holding a harness.³⁰ A close image to this is found in Alciato (see Figure 18). The connotation for Palmer's emblem was similar to this that war was not moderate and was against God's law. Before he died Henry VII declared Ireland to be part of England. Henry VIII fully endorsed this project and selected Protestants to fill all political posts within Ireland after the Reformation in England. In 1541 there was a rebellion in Ireland, which Henry VIII had squelched with cruelty. Henry feared that the Catholic subjects would join with the Spanish or French and attempt to overthrow him; in this, he was correct. He and his descendants managed to control the rebellions in one way or another. Henry VIII also managed to gain the support of the Irish nobility by promising them acceptance into English nobility. The Irish subjects were not so compromising. English authority existed in Ireland only by force and continued to show up in emblems if nothing more than in dedications.

³⁰ Palmer, 169 [image not available].

“Nec verbo nec facto quenquam laedendum”
Injure no-one, either by word or deed.



*Assequitur, Nemesisque virūm vestigia servat,
Continet & cubitum duraque frena manu.
Ne malè quid facias, neve improba verba loquaris:
Et iubet in cunctis rebus adesse modum.*

Nemesis follows on and marks the tracks of men. In her hand she holds a measuring rod and harsh bridles. She bids you do nothing wrong, speak no wicked word, and commands that moderation be present in all things.

Figure 18. Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum Libellus* (Paris, 1534): 13, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A34b010> (accessed 2 March 2011). University of Glasgow Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 28.

Andrea Alciato made an important establishment of emblems when he published his first book in 1531, setting the stage for future emblematisers. Alciato used commonplaces to collect his perceptions on animals, mythology, everyday objects, and other issues that set the tone for Palmer's work as well as others. Racism was beginning to develop as the slave trade became established. Palmer was the first published English emblematiser and his work reflects Alciato and Aneau's with very few changes and little outside influence other than one emblem in reference to Ireland, some elephant emblems, and a couple of Africans. Emblems were ubiquitous aspects of the Renaissance world and as England sought to increase its power through trade and wealth English emblems began to include more aspects of such societal issues. The growth of an English empire did not die with Henry VIII, for Elizabeth I continued and excelled at trade and imperial conquest. Later English emblematisers were the ones who altered emblems more than Palmer and interjected their own interpretations and purposes.

CHAPTER 3

WHITNEY, PS, AND PEACHAM

The emblems of Whitney, PS, and Peacham cover a wide range of images that relate to aspects of the burgeoning empire. By Whitney's time the government had taken control of the growing national economy and had developed a new colonial system of trading. Whitney's work was dedicated to Leicester and England's campaign to the Low Countries. While Whitney's emblems can be broken into three distinct groups-Natural, Historical, and Moral- the main focus lies on the historical. His work contains a wider variety than those Palmer created. PS (full name unknown) translated the work of the French emblemist M. Claudius Paradin into English. The book PS created came after the Spanish Armada had been defeated and the decline of Spain had begun. Some of his emblems reflect these issues. Other emblems contain references from influences that came from trade relations in foreign lands. Henry Peacham had a talent for metaphorical analysis of everyday objects. Just like the previous emblem writers, Peacham's work displays influences from without the boundaries of England as well as situations that were occurring in England at that time. This work reflects the height of emblem popularity in England.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, amongst threats of societal upheaval, foreign attacks, and frequent economic issues, the government began to take control and organize the national economy. One of the government's main concerns was that exports would not be enough to pay for the extensive luxury items being imported. Overseas trade began to be broken down into figures that could be followed so the government could account for import and export issues and relate these issues in Parliament.³¹

³¹ Lawrence Stone, "Elizabethan Overseas Trade," *The Economic History Review*, New Series 2, no.1 (1949):31, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2590080>.

A new colonial system of trading developed which connected men of means with the state strategizing for profits. Until the sixteenth century the vast majority of English commodities came from Europe, aside from the small amount of valuables coming from overland routes from the East. Most of the exports from Britain went to European countries.³² This fact only serves to illustrate the importance and influence that continued interaction between the British and non-European countries made on society. The colonies allowed the manufactured goods of England guaranteed markets outside the country. With peace finally settled between France and Spain with the Cateau-Cabresis agreement, it became clear that it would benefit the European countries to build up bullion in case of subsequent wars.³³ This growth of the English economy in the 1500s created a general optimistic environment amongst society.

Literary scholars have said that Whitney's emblems appear to have been "thrown together" in some "haphazard manner."³⁴ When Whitney's emblems are viewed with the purpose of the emblem books and the contemporary historical aspects of what was occurring, however, the emblems have distinctive meanings. The pictorial aspects chosen for inclusion in the emblems along with the motto and verse associated undertake an explanatory nature of describing their times. Repeatedly Whitney's emblems reflect the inferences of these outside effects from trade.

Geffrey Whitney's emblem book, *A Choice of Emblemes, and other Devises*, was written for the Earl of Leicester's campaign to the Netherlands to glorify not only Leicester himself but also his expected accomplishments. When reading the book, some of the emblems only make sense when seen in relation to this context. Whitney's book was propaganda for the day,

³² Robert Steel, "The Trade of the United Kingdom with Europe," *The Geographical Journal* 87, no. 6 (Jun 1936): 525. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1786296>.

³³ Lawrence Stone, "Elizabethan Overseas Trade," 31.

³⁴ Manning, *The Emblem*, 133.

justifying to the English the use of force to support the Protestant Dutch in their fight against Catholic Spain. By assisting the Dutch, the English hoped to tear down the influence of the Spanish Empire and establish their own. They would therefore gain an invaluable ally and trading partner. Whitney was a member of Leicester's entourage to Amsterdam.

Whitney declared that his emblems may be categorized into three different kinds: Natural, Historical, and Moral. The historical emblems, most important to this topic, represented the actions of noble persons, praising someone of importance or showing a historical event. The emblem in Figure 19 shows the danger of a nation in turmoil. England had experienced a great deal of trouble and internal strife under the reigns of Henry VIII, his son Edward VI, and "Bloody Mary." The image in Figure 19 depicts workers building a strong, well-fortified brick wall. The verse declares that a nation needs stability and strength, freedom from internal and external strife. England enjoyed this under Elizabeth I and hoped to export some of that security to the Dutch Republic. What England most hoped to gain by stabilizing the Low Countries was a trading partner because the Netherlands was a wealthy commercial area. He could not have known that less than a year later Leicester would lose favor with the Queen and be forced to leave the Netherlands; the "political moment was passing within months of its appearance."³⁵ The impact and social presentations of Whitney's emblems are not nullified by this fact for they present the expected outcome and therefore the mindset of the government and society.

³⁵ Bath, 69.

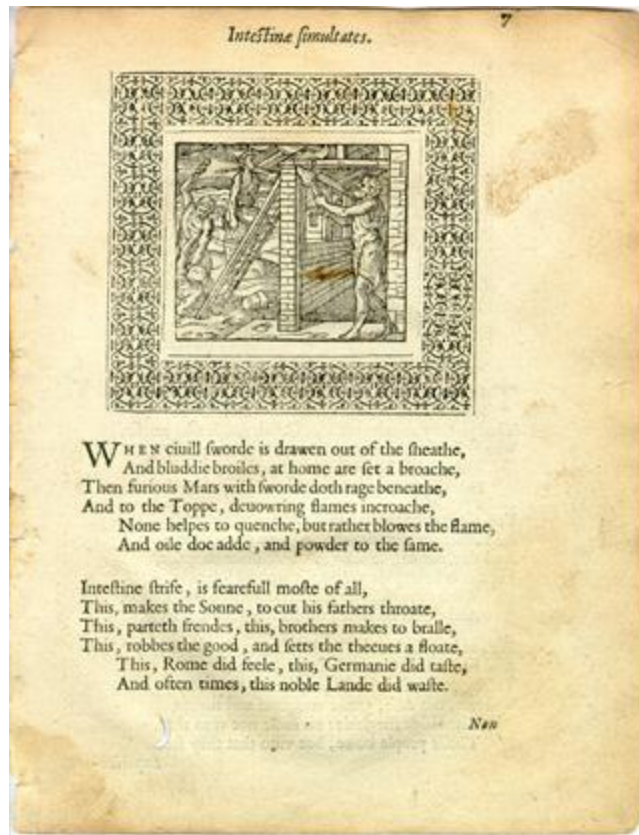


Figure 19. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586):7, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn007.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

One of the most prominent examples of English concern over trade and extending influence lies in their connection with the Netherlands. There are a number of emblems dedicated to this end in Whitney's book, the previous emblem being an example. Whitney's first emblem, "For as long as you stand, I shall flourish," was addressed to the Queen.³⁶ This emblem displays fortitude with the spire and the twining ivy symbolizing the church, see Figure 20. Whitney's dedication praises the Queen, Warwick and Leicester. The verse compares the spire to the Queen and the ivy with the English church. The spire upholds the church and by England's involvement in the Low Countries, the Queen shows her support for the righteous rebellion of

³⁶ Whitney, *Choice of Emblems*, 1.

the people against the Catholic Spanish tyrants. The ideology behind this emblem book was to uphold and maintain the Protestant cause in the Netherlands which this first emblem embodies.

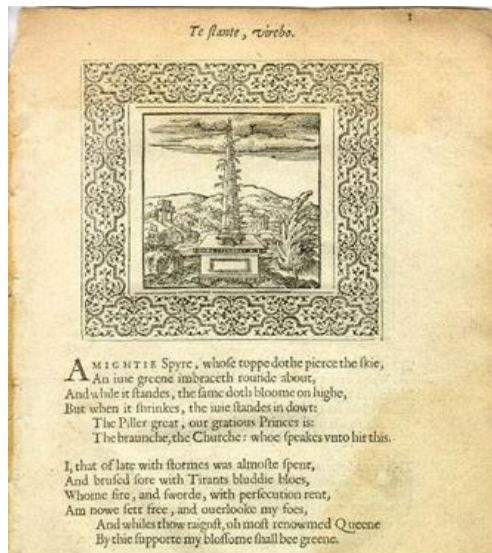


Figure 20. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586):1, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn001.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

A Spanish troop set up a siege of Leyden in 1572. The people of Leyden opened the dikes there and the Dutch ships attacked the Spanish. Throughout the “long war, the superior Dutch fleet kept the Spanish ships in port, while the English Navy, allied with the Dutch in 1586, controlled the English Channel.”³⁷ In Figure 21 can be seen the cannons, horses, and artillery of the army as an onlooker surveys a city below him of what may represent Leyden. The verse declares, “Though citie stronge the cannons shotte dispise/ And deadlie foes, besiege the same in vaine.”³⁸ Whitney portrays the English winning their war and defeating their deadly enemy, the Spanish. Manning says of Peacham’s work that, “the adopted emblematic mode might be seen in itself as something of an implied compliment to his Dutch hosts at a time when the English forces under Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, were present in the Low Countries opposing

³⁷ John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe: From the Renaissance to the Age of Napoleon* (NY: WW Norton and Company, 2004): 213.

³⁸ Whitney, 189.

Spanish oppression.”³⁹ Leyden was important because it was a financial district and one of the continental cities where publishing was flourishing.



Figure 21. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 189, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn189.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

When the threat from Spain surfaced Queen Elizabeth I and her advisors debated the issue of whether or not to assist the Netherlands in their rebellion. Lord Walsingham convinced the Privy Council that should the Dutch rebellion fail, as they were already in a bad position, the Channel and thus England would be threatened by Philip II: “Stand aside from the fray in Europe, doom the Dutch to go down and you merely postpone the evil day and make the enemy a hundred times stronger... Make him scatter and run and you have a fighting chance.”⁴⁰ The decision was made to assist the Dutch. Figure 22 shows the danger of not being watchful. As the mill owner’s son, who was left in charge, sleeps on the hillside, the mill does nothing. While profits decreased the son just hopes that things will improve without him actually doing anything to make it so. England had to be vigilant and protect not only her own shores but those around

³⁹ Manning, 133.

⁴⁰ Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: At the Edge of the World? 3000 bc-ad1603* (NY: Hyperion, 2000): 377.

her in order to keep the enemy from her doors. The army of the Dutch was not very good and they have had few successes against Alva and the Spanish troops on land. Like the English, they were better on the sea and are very successful in raiding Spanish ships.

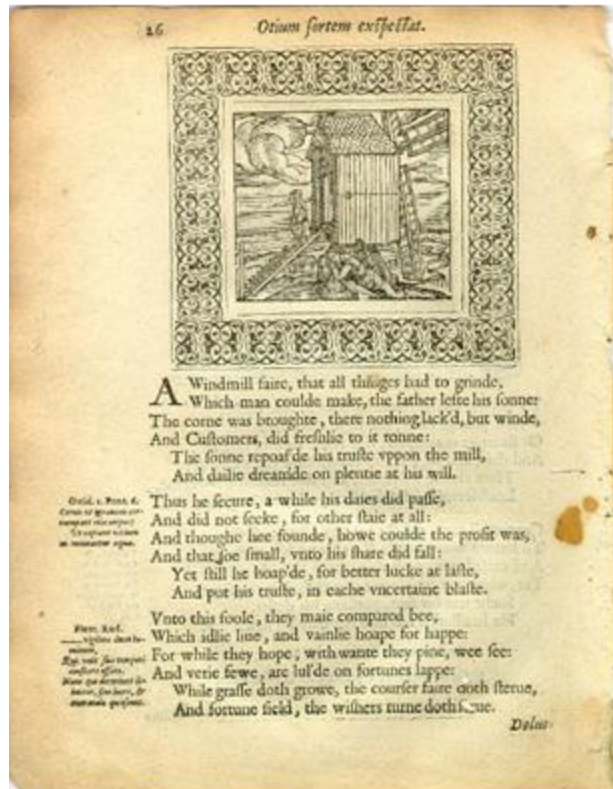


Figure 22. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 26, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn026.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

In addition to foreign campaigns, Whitney also continues to show overseas influence by extending the theme of exotic animals, as was established by Alciato, when he compares England to the elephant helping the Netherlands. This emblem is different from the ones found in Alciato, Aneau, or Palmer. A contemporary Englishman who wrote a book *History of the Four-footed Beasts* (1607), Edward Topsell, said that the elephant was the greatest creature on the earth. In emblems the elephant signifies good memory, duty, diligence, and faithfulness.⁴¹

⁴¹ Edward Topsell, *The History of the Four-footed Beasts*. (London: William Jaggard, 1607): 192.

England was being diligent in assisting its neighbors to oust their Catholic foes when they were asked to help. They believed that their faith, Protestantism, was the right religion so they also showed their faithfulness in fighting what they believed to be a corrupt church. Topsell states that while the Macedonians in Asia used them, they originated in India and Africa, especially in Ethiopia. He says, “They are bred in the hot Esterne countries, for by reason they can endure no cold, they keep only in the East and South.”⁴² The first European to have an elephant was considered to be Alexander Magnus in Italy, again establishing the connection between Italy, Alciato, and the elephant tradition.⁴³ This emblem, see Figure 23, portrays England as the great, mighty brute strength of the elephant giving itself to assist the Netherlands. Whitney warns, though, of the possibility of enemies undermining her valor. Compare Whitney’s elephant (in Figure 23) to Alciato’s seen in Figures 24 and 25. Whitney’s emblem depicts an African elephant. The size is small but when compared to the man, it is at least equal in size and the tusks are shorter, likely depicting a baby elephant being trained, a common practice in Africa. Whitney may have seen an elephant or at least had access to someone or some other source that had seen one due to the much better, more accurate portrayal of his elephant. While the elephant is still smaller in Figure 23, its physiognomy looks more like the elephant that we are accustomed to seeing. In Figure 24, notice how small the elephant is compared to the men. It is not likely that a baby elephant would be saddled like a horse, nor would any other elephant; saddles were not used to ride elephants. The ears of the elephant in Figure 24 make it more likely to be the African elephant yet they are still incorrect in shape. The emblem of Figure 25 probably represents an Asian elephant but the ears are still too small and misshapen. The tusks designate an adult elephant, but they are too thin and pointy and located in the wrong spot. While Asian elephants

⁴² Topsell, *History of Foure-footed Beasts*, 192.

⁴³ Topsell, 192.

are smaller than African elephants, this one is ridiculous small. The trunk does not match the appearance of an authentic elephant because the length is too long. It is very likely that Alciato had never seen an elephant even though he probably had details of them from Italian history, such as the account of Pliny. By Whitney's time England was already conducting greater amounts of trade with Africa and India than what Italy had experienced during the publications of Alciato's books.

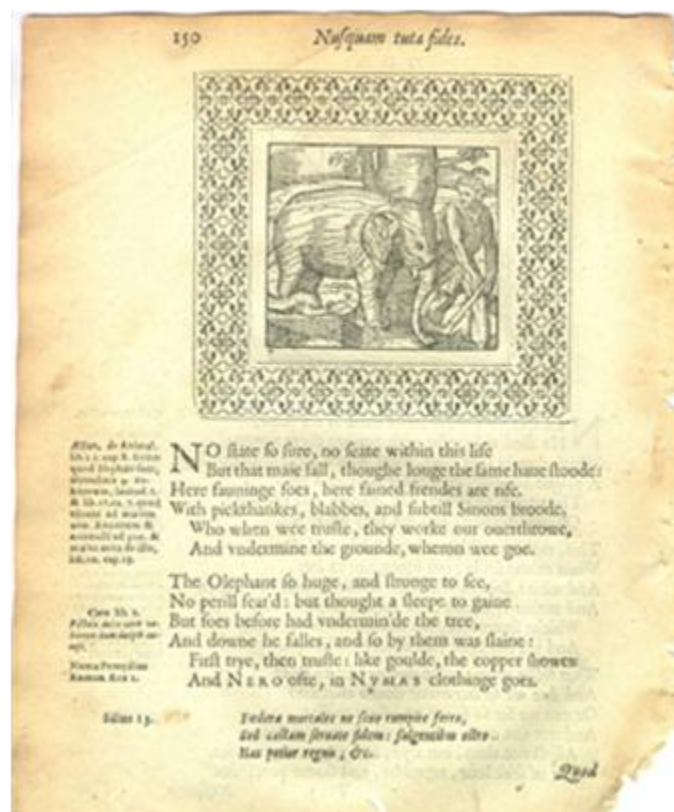


Figure 23. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 150, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn150.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).



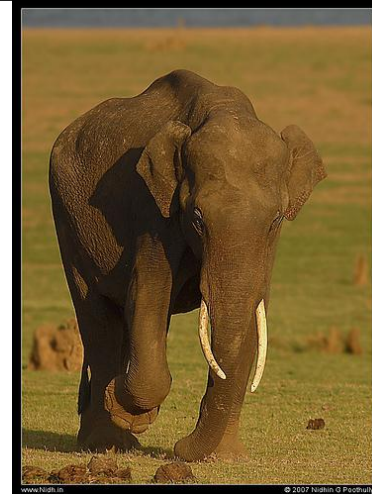
Figure 24. Andrea Alciato, *Toutes les Emblemes* (Lyons, Macé Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1558): 166, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A58a166> (accessed 2 March 2011). University of Glasgow Library Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 37.



Figure 25. Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum libri II* (Lyons: Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, 1556): 36, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A56a036> (accessed 2 March 2011). University of Glasgow Library Shelf Mark: SP Coll S.M. 36.



Figure 26. African Elephant on left, Asian Elephant on right. Paul at Devonian Farm, "Animal Photos!" Ontology2, <http://animalphotos.info/a/topics/animala/mammals/elephants/> (accessed 2 March 2011).



When the author of an emblem portrays a prodigious animal such as the elephant as dead, this signifies the opposite of its living counterpart. By using such contexts the same animal can display two different things. The following emblem shows Spain as the fallen elephant. Whitney attempted to portray the defeat of the Spanish with England taking its place. Some years later an Amsterdam burgomaster compared the King of Spain with an elephant and the Netherlands as a mouse.⁴⁴ In the Richard Barber translated edition of the *Bestiary*, the elephant supposedly

⁴⁴ Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (NY: HarperCollins, 2003): xxiii.

tramples to death any snake that it encounters.⁴⁵ The Sultan of Jolo of the Philippines, which had been conquered by Spain at that time, commented to an official that Spain was like an elephant.⁴⁶ Whitney saw himself as a type of translator who adapted his sources by applying methods of creating commonplaces. He used what was available and common and then adapted those to imply the meanings which he desired. In emblem Figure 27, Whitney shows a dead elephant lying on top of a lifeless snake. The verse says, “The Olephante with stinge of serpent fell...Through poison stronge, his bodie so did swell, That doune he sinks, and on the serpent falls: Which creature huge, did fall upon him soe, That by his deathe, he also killed his foe.”⁴⁷ The moral concludes that those who shed the least amount of blood is the winner. Whitney portrays Spain as the dying elephant who has stomped on its foe, the Netherlands. When the Netherlands fought back much blood was shed on both sides. England went to assist the Low Countries in gaining freedom from the corrupt elephant and take its place as the true example of faith and diligence.

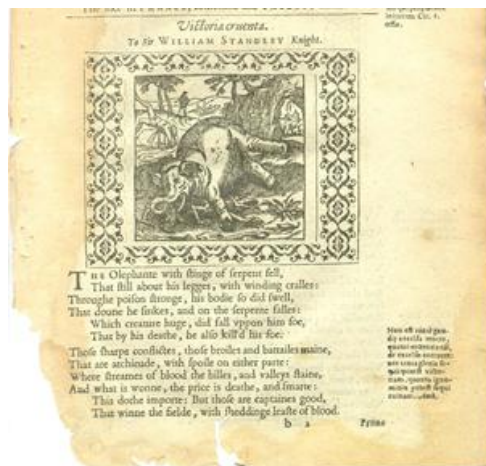


Figure 27. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 195, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn195.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

⁴⁵ Richard Barber, *Bestiary: Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764, with all the Original Miniatures Reproduced in Facsimile* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999):39.

⁴⁶ Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power*, xxiii.

⁴⁷ Whitney, 195.

Emblems reflect improvements in English shipping, ship-making, and captains. Part of the European Renaissance included the shift of trade from the Mediterranean to parts further south, east, and west which required better shipping vessels to carry loads of merchandise. The “immediate, tangible result of the era of discoveries was the creation of a world market [with the] expropriation of Europe having reached its limit under the known industrial methods the Far East was the goal of wealth seekers.”⁴⁸ For a time the English enjoyed a close, although sometimes strained, relationship with the Dutch and Holland for the next couple of decades and they shared a mutual enemy, the Spanish.

John Hawkins was important in developing the slave trade that brought great wealth into England, allowing profits to be used for further trading endeavors. He had seen the vast wealth collected by Spain through its colonial exploits in the “New World” and devised a plan in which to extricate some of that for England. Along the coast of South America, Hawkins saw the great pearl export that the Spanish were collecting. He and Francis Drake, Hawkins’s younger cousin, in 1569 came back to England after a fishing trip to the Americas with, “according to the infuriated Spanish ambassador—a ‘small trunk’ of pearls,’ as well as vast amounts of gold.”⁴⁹ No one knew the exact amount they had collected because before it could even be counted assorted people had already taken their share.

John Hawkins was the son of William Hawkins, who had traded with Brazil in the 1530s. John Hawkins allied himself with several members of the Queen’s navy and built a syndicate in London. In 1562 Hawkins sailed for West Africa where he bought slaves. Hawkins was the first Englishman to deal in the slave trade. He knew that the Spanish needed slaves to work in the

⁴⁸ Charles Zueblin, “England’s Dominant Industrial Position,” *The Journal of Political Economy* 5, no.2 (March 1897): 224, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/181778> (accessed 6 March 2011).

⁴⁹ Liza Picard, *Elizabeth’s London: Everyday Life in Elizabethan London* (NY: St. Martin’s Griffin, 2003): 142.

Americas. Hawkins's shipping was a product of the new colonial trading organization previously mentioned. His "slaving expeditions to Africa...and Drake's circumnavigation were famous Elizabethan examples of an extension of the partnership principle—a number of people...put up the capital...taking it back with... the profits at the end of the voyage."⁵⁰ Hawkins and others learned that "handsome and notable beginnings were made...when English traders found their affairs forcing them to follow the romantics oversea."⁵¹ His second voyage attracted backers the likes of Leicester, Cecil, and even Elizabeth I. The new colonial trade syndicates as joint-stock companies continued to make profits under the Francis Drake.

Through Drake's privateering and circumnavigation, England's wealth continued to grow and its position in Europe continued to advance. Francis Drake set out in 1577 to circumnavigate the globe. In March 1579 Drake was able to capture a Spanish carrack carrying a large cargo of silver and secured the wealth that would repay both Drake and England for his exploits. Drake then headed towards Asia where he made treaty agreements with countries ready to use the English against the Portuguese and Spanish. Whitney shows the pride of England in one of his emblems, as seen in Figure 28. This image shows a contemporary ship sitting literally on top of a globe. The celestial bodies of sun, moon, and stars smile upon the scene as the hand of what represents God holds the reigns connected to the shipping indicating divine guidance. The verse makes note of three important aspects. First we see that the English traditionally associate themselves closely with Jason from Jason and the Argonauts:

but, God was on his side/ And through them all, in spite of all, his shaken shippe did guide/ And, to requite his paines: By helpe of power devine/ His happe, at lengthe did aunswere hope, to fine the golden mine/ Let Graecia then forbear, to praise her Jason boulede/ Who through the watchfull dragons pass'd, to win the fleece of goulde/ Since by Medeas helpe, they were inchaunted all/ And Jason without perrilles, pass'de: the conquests therefore small/ But, hee, of whome I write, this noble minded Drake/ Did bringe away his goulden fleece, when thousand eies did wake.⁵²

⁵⁰ G.R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (NY: Routledge, 2006): 250.

⁵¹ Elton, *England Under the Tudors*, 251.

⁵² Whitney, 203

This metaphor indicates that England was prodigiously proud of its shipping skills as well as their ship-building and sailing. This theme reoccurs later. The second note of attention is the specific mention of the Ganges River: “Yf that you can, come alwise home, by Ganges golden sandes/ And you, that live at home, and can not brooke the flood/ Geve praise to them, that passe the waves, to doe their cuntry good.”⁵³ India had already become an area of importance to the country and trading colonies had been established there. The third thing is that Whitney says, “Wherefore, yee worthie wightes, that seeke for forreine lands”, “yee worthie wightes” may denote that at this time the English were promoting their own skin color and racism had developed further in England by that time.

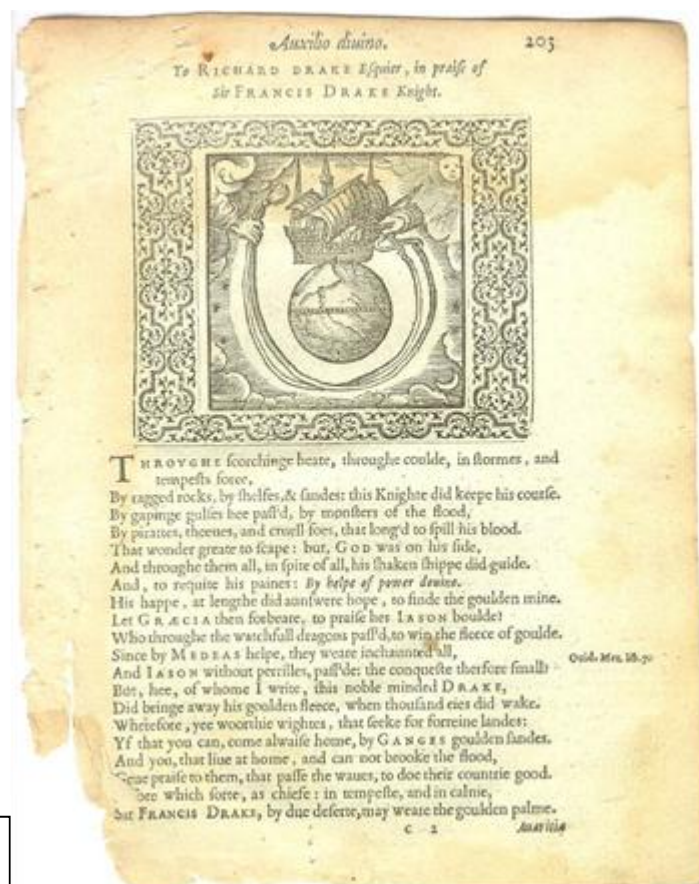


Figure 28. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 203, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn203.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

⁵³ Whitney, 203. 4-

The Oxford Dictionary lists “wight” as “a person of a specified kind, especially one regarded as unfortunate.”⁵⁴ This definition would apply when seen through the eyes of a sixteenth or seventeenth century Englishmen to those of the African race. The English did see them as unfortunate, somehow forsaken and condemned by God. The Free Dictionary lists it as “strong and brave” or “a human being.”⁵⁵ Merriam-Webster defines “wight” as “a living being; creature; especially: a human being.”⁵⁶ But why, then, did Thomas Palmer choose to not use this specific reference in any of his emblems? Why does Peacham later choose to use it in his emblems as well? Coming from a male-dominated society, it seems unlikely that they would use a word at that time that could likewise refer to a woman with a general meaning of “human being.” Due to the presence of Africans in England at that time, if Whitney wanted to refer to an English man in this emblem he had created, he probably would have specified “Englishman.” “Yee worthie wights” also does not rhyme with any of Whitney’s text so that is unlikely its purpose. It is also not likely that the English would see any Africans “seeking for foreign lands” as they were. Peacham later uses the same connotation of “wight” when comparing a barren tree to the “meaner wight” when they only have the shell.⁵⁷

Peacham also compares people to slothful wights with a serious derogatory meaning, this is discussed later.

What Drake managed to accomplish through his privateering and coastal raiding elevated him to the status of an English demigod and amazed all of Europe, he truly was the golden boy, Jason. Through his privateering, Drake was able to gain some wealth for England as well as infuriate the Spanish. While Drake was not greatly successful in capturing very much of Spain’s

⁵⁴ “wight,” The Oxford Online Dictionary, http://oxforddictionaries.com/view/entry/m_en_us1306368?rskey=2lclm&result=1#m_en_us1306368 (accessed 22 March 2011).

⁵⁵ “wight,” The Free Dicitonary, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/wight> (accessed 22 March 2011).

⁵⁶ “wight,” Merriam Webster Online Dictionary, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/wight>

⁵⁷ Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, 79.

wealth, what he did accomplish was to cripple Philip internationally. Here, in Figure 29, is seen the greatness of England’s success at sea, “Her tackle sure, with shotte her foes to urge/With Captaines boulder, and marriners of skill”. The verse also declares that fortune ends, “Which warneth all, on Fortunes wheele that clime/ To beare in minde how they have but a time.”⁵⁸ Whitney was again telling Leicester and England that Spain’s time as being the leader of the world was declining, just as he had with the elephants, while England’s turn on Fortune’s wheel was rising. Financial credit at that time was dependent upon one’s prestige and Drake was very successful in deteriorating Philip’s. After Drake’s escapades in the Caribbean, Philip had to obtain more ships and guns to replace the ones Drake had destroyed. Philip was forced to pay a higher interest rate to his Italian bankers as well as taking resources away from the Netherlands which were scarce enough already. Drake “in the Caribbean had done more than Leicester in Zeeland to ease pressure on the Dutch.”⁵⁹ This had contributed to Drake’s fame.

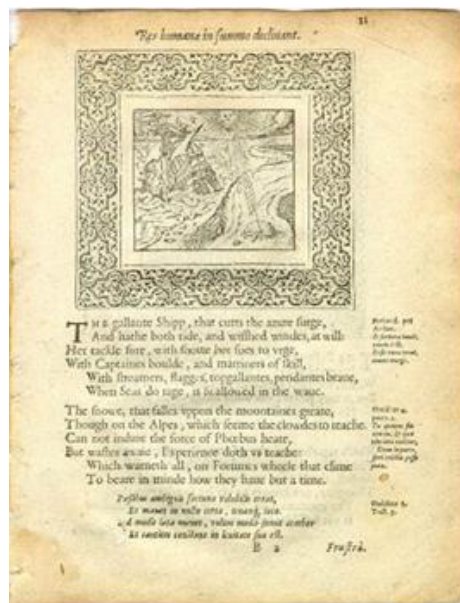


Figure 29. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 11, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn011.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

⁵⁸ Whitney, 11.

⁵⁹ Elton, 366.

After John Hawkins successful trading ventures, the queen called him in to rebuild and reorganize the Navy. He placed his first priority on developing a new style of ship. He had not forgotten the advantage that had given him the power to escape the Spanish at San Juan de Ulua. Hawkins wanted to replace the old carracks, floating castles, and galleons with a ship that was smaller, faster, and more maneuverable. Hawkins called these new ships “race-built galleons.” These galleons were long, low, and speedy. *The Revenge* was the first ship built to Hawkins’s recommendations. By the time Hawkins left his position in 1587, England’s Navy had “twenty-three ships and eighteen ocean-going pinnaces, all of them representing a formidable fighting force.” These ships were “capable of outsailing and outfighting any possible enemies afloat...Elizabeth I was the mistress of the most powerful navy Europe had ever seen.”⁶⁰ The captains of these new ships claimed they were the world’s best ships. England was ready to face the Armada in 1588.

One of Whitney’s emblems shows the English pride of sailing and capturing the desired prize (see Figure 30). This emblem discusses how the sailor often faces many dangers upon the seas yet if he perseveres he will obtain his goal, “Which beinge wonne, the trumpets ratlinge blaste/Dothe teare the skie, for joye of perils past.”⁶¹ With every success achieved by England’s sailors, explorers, and privateers, England grew in power and came closer to expanding its boundaries throughout the world. The verse continues to say, “So, whilst that man dothe saile theise worldie seas...And if he keepe his course directe, he winnes/ That wished porte, where lasting joye beginnes.”⁶² They were also becoming a bigger threat to Spain.

⁶⁰ Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959): 195.

⁶¹ Whitney, 137.

⁶² Whitney, 137.

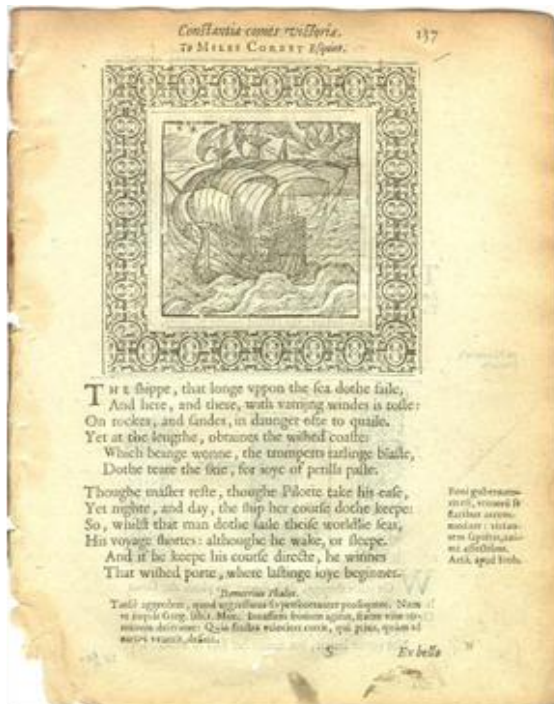


Figure 30. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 137, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn137.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

Through commercial exploits English men came into further contact with African, Asian and Indian men as well as seeing for themselves mysterious animals that they had only previously encountered in bestiaries or fables. The Ethiopian emblem continues to show up in English emblem books underlying the continued importance of trade with foreign states, especially Africa. Whitney includes his own version of the Ethiopian emblem (see Figure 31). By this time African men and women would not have been such a foreign concept, although they were still less common than what will be in the future. The English would have understood the African race better because they most likely had seen them in their own country. The English, and all of Europe, continued to develop racist attitudes towards Africans.

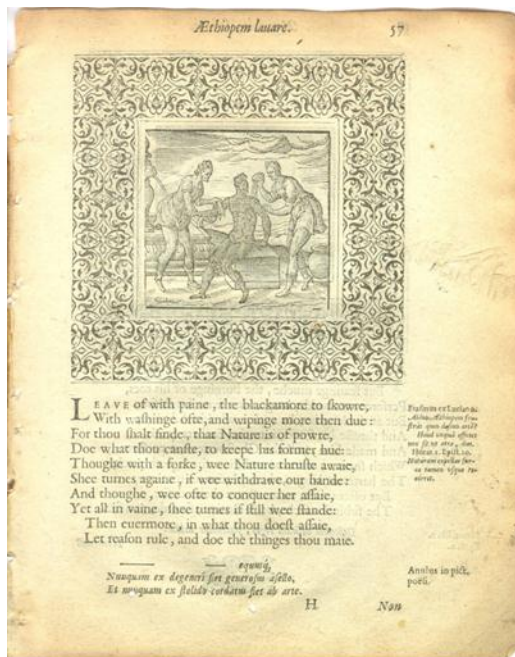


Figure 31. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 057, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn057.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

As emblems in England continued to adopt influences from trade and growth, English emblems began to include animals they may have previously heard of but only had now encountered. One such example is the ape. Alciato did not include any emblems depicting an ape or monkey and while Palmer's contained one, Whitney refers to them in five different situations. The first ape emblem that appears in Geoffrey Whitney's emblem book displays a small chimp, a mole, and a donkey holding a discussion (see Figure 32). The image of the ape is the most important part of this emblem. This is thirty years after Palmer's work and England has had much more influence from the slave trade on its society. The slave trade had begun and likely for the first time the English were coming into more contact with real apes and monkeys.

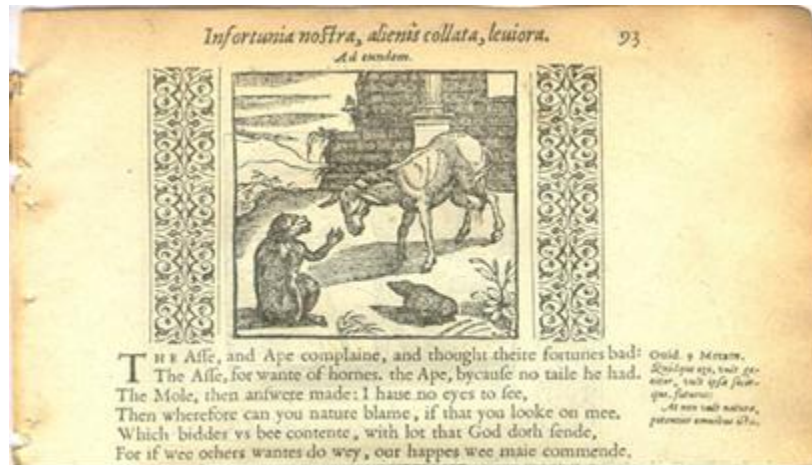


Figure 32. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 093, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn093.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

It was in the 1560s when England was first introduced to permanent slaves from Africa, and the mainstream public saw for themselves people of color. The evolution of ape emblems can be seen in the work of Whitney. Hawkins had brought some Africans to England by this time. Unfortunately, with further contact and interaction, the English saw Africans and people of darker skins as sub-human, something caught between an ape and a human. They understood that apes had some human-like characteristics such as love and anger but the perception of apes only served to quicken the prejudice that arose from the English towards the African people. Topsell says that, “Apes are much given to imitation and derision, and are called Cercopes, because of their wicked crafts, deceits, impostures and flatteries.”⁶³ That helps to explain some of the bigotries Africans had to face. Whitney shows an emblem in Figure 33 of the affection apes have for their children. This emblem shows a mother ape holding her young one and says that apes love their children too much, that they tend to kill them from smothering. In 1607 Edward Topsell says that the name “ape” came around because of the ape’s flat nostrils, he

⁶³ Topsell, 2.

unfortunately does not explain why. According to Topsell men who have lips like apes are deemed to be fools and you cannot trust men who have flatter nostrils.⁶⁴ This is a continuation of the unjust comparison of Africans to apes, just as the protrusion of the lower lip mentioned earlier.

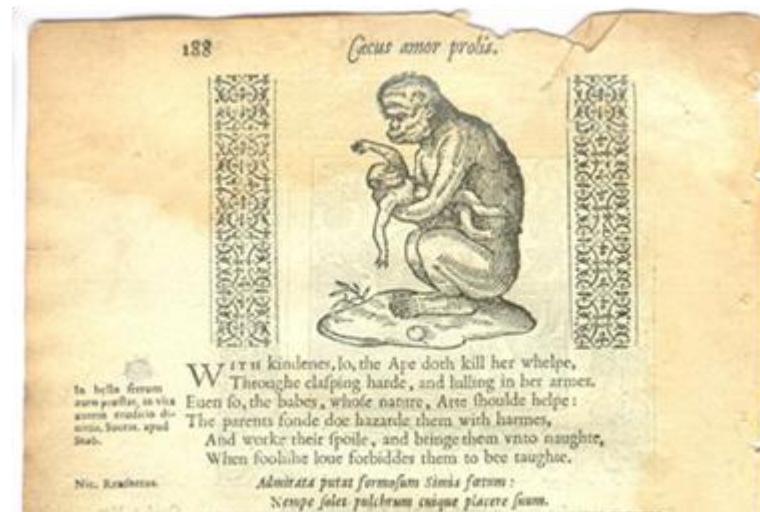


Figure 33. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 188, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whit188.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

Other emblems in Whitney’s work depict apes in human-like actions which reinforced even more the concept that at least some of the English had in regards to their southern neighbors. This emblem (see Figure 34) places the fox above the ape in the ladder of animal hierarchy. An ape is seen up in a tree, a fox on the ground below it, and a European man hiding behind the tree. The verse says that at least the fox has a tail to hide and cover its behind. The ape only brought scorn worse than a serpent’s sting because the ape did not have the decency to cover itself. Too many English scorned the Africans for generations to come as too many societal aspects continued to be applied to the Africans and apes. This aspect can also be seen in the following ape emblems. Figure 35 covers the topic of the imprudence of allowing the fool to

⁶⁴ Topsell, 2.

climb the social ladder. One ape sits on the ground, another has climbed up a tree exposing its bottom. A group of white men stand underneath the ape in the tree. Here an ape embodies the fool. This same image is found in Barthelemy Aneau's *Picta Posies* (see Figure 36). While Palmer did not use it, Whitney included it thirty years later stemming from the commonplaces and societal realities. Whitney frequently changed the implication behind the moral of the emblems that he used by fitting it to the circumstances. Whitney said himself, "because none to my knowledge, hath assayed the same before: and, for that divers of the inventions are of my own slender workmanship."⁶⁵ Even when images are borrowed from another source what does appear in the image only serves to underlie the importance of its inclusion. The author could relate to the image's content and see within it an English application. The slave trade had occurred everywhere in Europe and it is significant that this particular emblem does not appear in England until thirty years after its publication elsewhere when they had reached a point where they understood better and could transmit its implication to their reality.

⁶⁵ Whitney, 3.

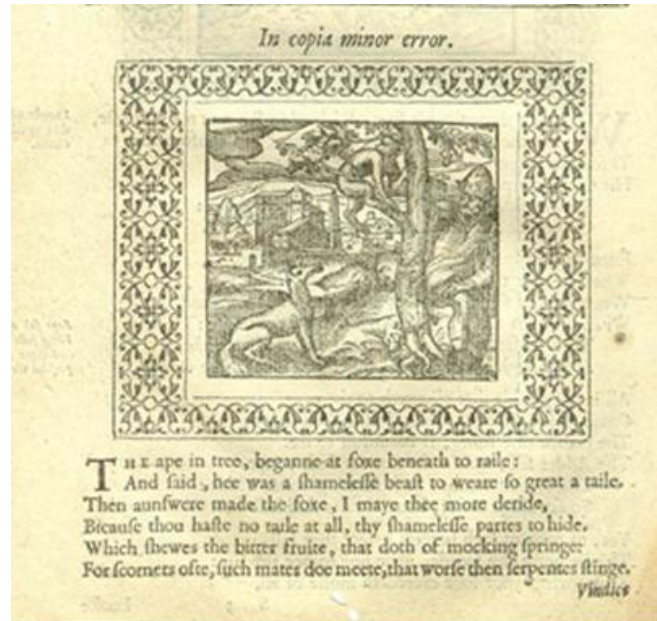


Figure 34. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 142, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn142.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).



Figure 35. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 190, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn190.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

“*STULTORUM QUANTO STATUS SUBLIMIOR: TANTO MANIFESTIOR TURPITUDO.*”
The Higher the Status of Fools, the More Obvious is Their Shame.



*Ad formam, gestumque hominis quadântenus usque
Simius accedit: dum sedet aptus humi.
Altiùs at quantò se effert: tantò magis ipse
Apparet culo Simius esse glabro.
Sic & personati homines, quos gloria tollit,
Quo magis alta petunt: sunt mage ridiculi.
Sic & Brutus homo, qui se maiora capessit:
Ridiculus proprio [=proprius?] proditur indicio.*

The monkey approaches human form and gesture to a degree when he sits comfortably on the ground. But the higher he climbs, the more obvious it is that he's a bald-arsed monkey. Just so, the hypocrites raised high by love of glory are all the more laughable the higher they climb. Just so, the brutish man who seeks to climb above his station is betrayed and humiliated by the testimony of his own nature.

Figure 36. Barthélemy Aneau, *Picta poesis* (Lyons: Macé Bonhomme, 1552): 50, PennState University Libraries, <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.pph?id=FANa050> (accessed 6 March 2011).

The following emblem in Figure 37 shows that men should remain within their realm and not try to extend beyond their sphere showing a much more evolved ape-man. This only minutely distorts its intended implication of Africans. A very large ape has its foot caught in a piece of wood it had been attempting to split while a white European stands next to the ape, pointing at him and chastising him. The moral implies that Africans should not be taught to do anything beyond the mundane. The ape attempted to learn the skill of the English man; the ape was “playing” at a skilled trade but received his punishment when he crushed his own foot because he could not figure out how to do it correctly.



Figure 37. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 145, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn145.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

Besides apes, Whitney's emblem books displayed other trading influences from without his country, namely Egypt, with the inclusion of crocodiles. These crocodile emblems are not seen in previous English emblem books nor in Aneau's. While Alciato did include emblems of crocodiles within his works, Whitney's emblems were the first English ones and they are different from Alciato's. The first crocodile emblem in Whitney's *Choices* is "Provedentia". Thinking things through before setting out to do them entails the moral in the emblem of Figure 38. Here is seen a crocodile sitting on the edge of a river watching its eggs that it had placed on the opposite bank. The Egyptians watched the crocodile to see how far up the bank the crocodile laid its eggs so that they knew how high the Nile River would supposedly rise. From that height,

the Egyptians would then have a gauge of how much water they would have for their crops. Ironically, Leicester's campaign was not successful but Whitney had no way of knowing that and was instead rendering its predicted success. The English hoped to be able to obtain another trading partner by pairing up with the Netherlands and ousting the Spaniards. England also still had a trading contract with the Levant so there was still contact with the Mediterranean and Egypt. This trade network explains the use of the crocodile as representing Egypt, which is still used later on in the work of PS.

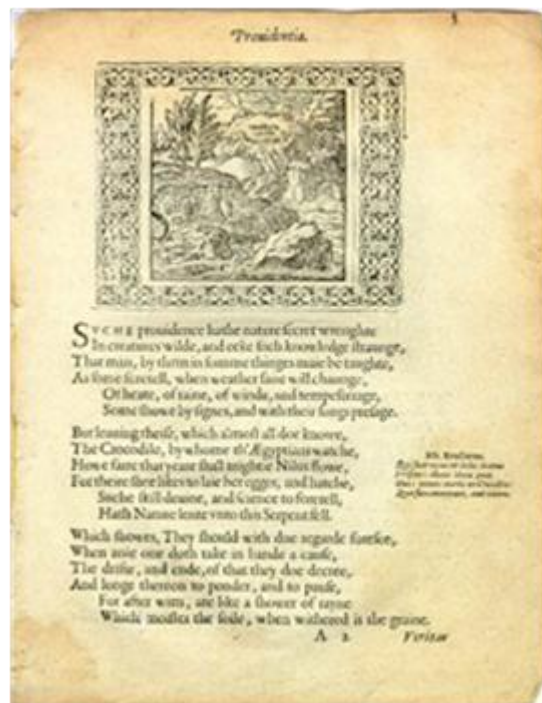


Figure 38. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 3, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn003.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

Wood was another important commodity to the English. Being on an island, the English realized that they would eventually run out of this resource and needed to find more. Their American colonies were very important to provide this necessary product as well as others so England had to establish colonies elsewhere and maintain them. Besides for building ships, wood

was also needed for smelting iron and creating glass. England advanced the glass industry and placed glass in the windows long before it became common on the continent.⁶⁶ The image in Figure 39 holds the importance for this topic. There is a window displayed in this emblem that does not appear in any other English emblems, nor in Alciato's or Aneau's. All other emblems depict windows as an empty opening.

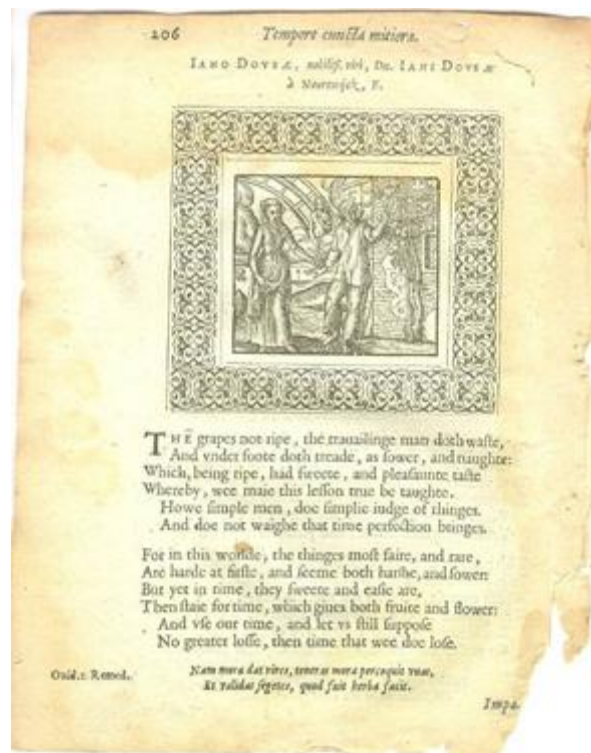


Figure 39. Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586): 206, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/whitn206.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

The next English emblem writer is PS who translated into English the French emblemist Claude Paradin's book. This book mainly deals with the heraldry associated with the French nobility. Due to some representation remaining the same throughout emblems worldwide, these topics would be applicable anywhere. As stated previously, however, the

⁶⁶ H. G. Koenigsberger, *Early Modern Europe 1500- 1789: A History of Europe* (NY: Longman, 1987): 106.

English were clever in applying their own contemporary significance into emblems. So, while this emblem book was originally intended for the French, its translation into English made it more accessible in England and would reflect English values, morals, and experiences.

PS's book went to one Captain Christopher Carleill who was serving over the Protestant community of Ulster, in Ireland. The second, and vastly more interesting fact, lies in the indication that the Captain who had defeated the Spanish in West India, had been to Russia "with worthy commendation," as well as France, the Low Countries, and Ireland, "with renowned fame have with generall voice and consenting occurence even from them all to both far and neere founded and emblazed wherein can not be forgotten your zeale."⁶⁷ Here a clear indication can be seen that England was extending her trade and interests throughout Eastern Europe and India.

While the importance of the Mediterranean Sea and trade throughout that area had declined due to the Ottoman power, it still remained a vital trading area. Its history and continued position can be seen in the following emblem where the verse discusses a background to the region around Gibraltar. The people in this region believed that there were two hills there, one in "Granalia" towards Spain while the other was in "Mauritania towards Affrike called Abila."⁶⁸ The post on the left in Figure 40 represents Europe's magnanimities while the post on the right embodies the valiance of Africa. The Straits of Gibraltar runs between. This was viewed as the gateway to the world. While the French Paradin compared this to Charles V, the implication of this emblem in England and PS would indicate Elizabeth I entering the gateway to the world.

⁶⁷ PS, *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin*, Dedicatorie.

⁶⁸ PS, 31-34.

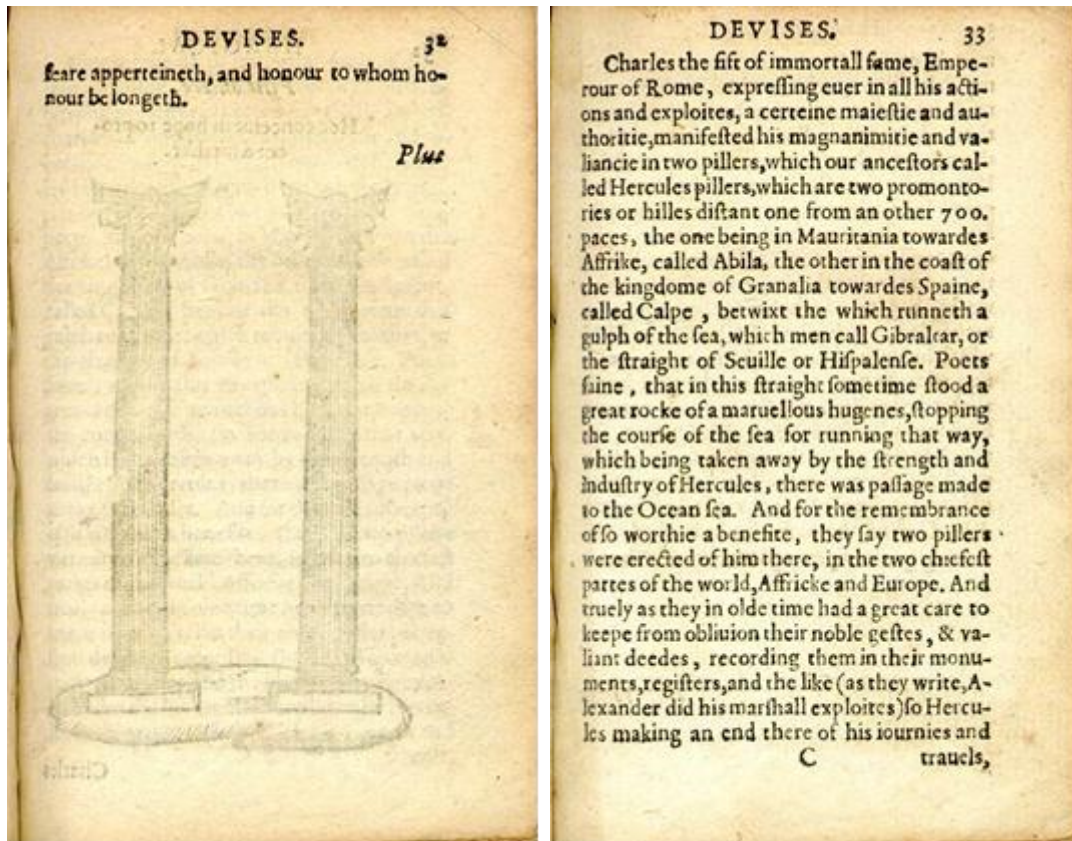


Figure 40. PS, *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin-Translated into English by PS* (London: William Kearney, 1591): 32-33, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad031.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

The ape continues to make an appearance in emblem books due to the continued slave trade and other trade with Africa and destinations East. As seen earlier, it is not uncommon to see the same image appear in multiple emblem books. This emblem seen in Figure 41 is an exact replica of the picture from Whitney's book. The application of ape traits to Africans continued because this emblem continued to be used and served to reestablish the connection between apes and Africans with racist tones.



Figure 41. PS, *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin-Translated into English by PS* (London: William Kearney, 1591): 282-3, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad282.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

Like Alciato and Whitney, PS included an emblem containing a crocodile although this emblem differs from those in previous works. According to A.H. Lybyer, about the same time that the Turks gained complete control over the Mediterranean, the Portuguese had found another way around Africa to obtain a trading route without having to pass through the Levant. The Turks had taken control of the entire area including Egypt.⁶⁹ The crocodile still represents Egypt and in this case one is seen literally chained to a palm tree with the motto: “Hitherto no man hath conquered me.”⁷⁰ This emblem is seen in Figure 42. In “1515 the Turks fell on Egypt and blocked the only remaining land route to the East,” this only served to stimulate more searches

⁶⁹ A.H. Lybyer, “The Ottoman Turks and the Routes of the Oriental Trade,” *The English Historical Review* 30, no.120 (Oct, 1915): 577, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/551296> (accessed Jan, 2011).

⁷⁰ PS, 81.

for sea routes to trading partners.⁷¹ The verse of this emblem discusses how Caesar Augustus had taken control over Egypt. Egypt was again under the chain of a foreign power, the Ottoman Empire.



Figure 42. PS, *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin-Translated into English by PS* (London: William Kearney, 1591): 81-2, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad081.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

The textile trade, which England was greatly dependent upon, was linked very closely with Antwerp, in the Spanish Netherlands. In Antwerp the Dutch would dye the cloth brought to them from England. Once Antwerp came under fire from the Spanish, London became Europe's center for trade. One of the leading trade companies was London's Merchant Adventurers who competed with the Portuguese and Spanish for products such as spices, sugar, and slaves that Europeans desired from far away countries. They traded textiles for products from Africa and Brazil as well as for Virginian tobacco and West Indies sugar. England merchants created

⁷¹ Zueblin, "England's Dominant Industrial Revolution," 218.

lucrative industries in Indonesia, India, and Russia. Joint-stock companies were still the main way to finance imports and various trade ventures. The country with the most money and military might was seen as the leader of international power and prestige. In Figure 43 the motto states, “Authoritie and dignitie commeth of Fortune.”⁷² The verse conveys how three monuments became the symbol of noble exploits of Pompeyus. Excessive wealth is portrayed by the amount of armor and weapons. Only a country with profits could afford such surplus and England was enjoying greater amount of returns than ever before. With an increase of profits, more exploration and trading followed.



Figure 43. PS, *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin-Translated into English by PS* (London: William Kearney, 1591): 204, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad204.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

⁷² PS, 264.

The expansion of international trade created greater wealth and prosperity than what had ever been experienced in England before, one way of achieving wealth was through capturing the commodities held on another ship from another country. Figure 44 shows an emblem of the glory of capturing such a prize. The title says, “The reward of him that boarded his enemies shippe.”⁷³ Capital was now a possibility and credit became the way of obtaining goods and services throughout Europe. If too many of your country’s ships were captured and merchandise lost, your credit decreased. The crown represents the glory of being the captor at sea especially in gaining the profit from another ship and country. Extra capital meant extra goods and more trade, even more credit and further profits. English trade extended further into the American and Asian continents providing new markets for their products. During this time, greater ships were constructed for the sole purpose of carrying more goods to increase their wealth. These ships could carry up to eighty tons and this size remained the largest until the mid-nineteenth century. Privateering and piracy still abounded in the oceans and seas of the world. These extra profits were very beneficial to the country and stock companies. Only in England did trade and privateering play such a major role in the national economy. The importance of this fact lies in understanding why English conquest and trade influence continued to grow and expand throughout the world.

⁷³ PS, 316.

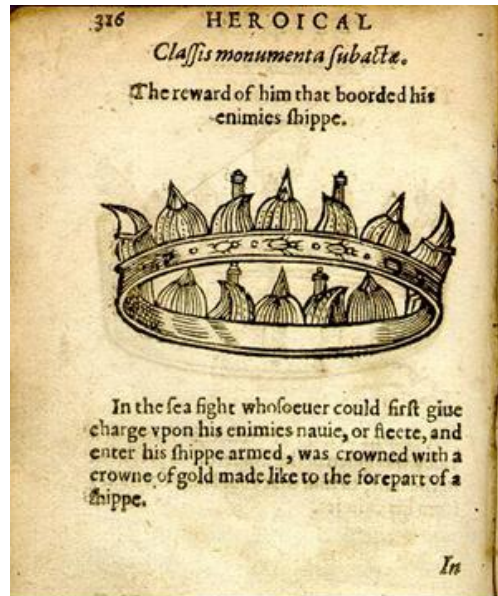


Figure 44. PS, *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin-Translated into English by PS* (London: William Kearney, 1591): 316. PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad316.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

In 1587 Drake left England with twenty-three ships and royal troops to raid the coast of Spain in an attempt to stop the invasion that they knew was going to come. In Cadiz he gathered a load of wealth and destroyed thirty ships that were intended to be used in the Armada. This delayed the attempted invasion of England by Spain for a year. The importance of Drake and his success was that he was able to prove by this attack that England was capable of successfully challenging Spanish power. This event “accentuated England’s rise to international dominance, enormously boosting English self-confidence.”⁷⁴ One of the major results of this was Spain’s continued decrease in world credit as well as prestige.

The Spanish did not survive the financial crisis they created. Their merchants did not have the flexibility of the Dutch and English to adjust to the different conditions and new demands of the developing market trends. As Whitney had predicted, Spain was on the down

⁷⁴ Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 178.

turn of Fortune's wheel. Spanish merchants "proved less able than their northern rivals to lower costs of transportation from the New World. In contrast, English textile merchants found new markets in Spain and the Mediterranean for their cloth."⁷⁵ Prior to the Elizabethan era England's overseas trade consisted of one main item, cloth.⁷⁶ While Spain and Portugal were leaving the business of trade, England filled the void with better ships, new connections, and developing colonies. Figure 45 characterizes how England felt, they were conquering the world just as Caesar stands atop the world holding his sword and a book in the emblem. Wit and weapons were what allowed England to gain power and it was their duty to exercise justice in their new role of leadership. Traders eventually expanded what type of goods they dealt in as well as their range. England saw herself as a conqueror of the seas and as God's chosen country to forward Protestantism and gain control of the world trade to become the dominant world power. The prudent English believed they would use justice and learning to be great rulers.

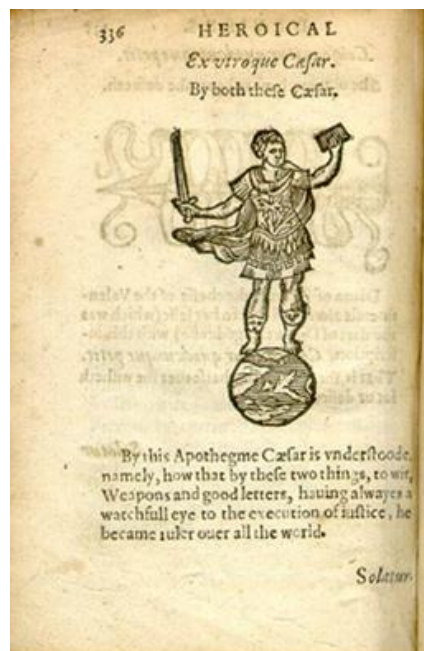


Figure 45. PS, *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin-Translated into English by PS* (London: William Kearney, 1591): 336, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad336.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

⁷⁵ Merriman, 179.

⁷⁶ Stone, 39.

During the 1550s and 1560s it was necessary for England to import grain in large quantities from the Baltic.⁷⁷ Later on, during the year of famine, 1596, it was extremely important for the English government to prevent starvation and keep the people content due to the lack of a police-force. England was dependent upon her ships to provide these goods for the populace. The importance of grain appears in this emblem (Figure 46). During the 1590s, food riots occurred in England. Women were generally the main instigators and participants. It was their responsibility for feeding the family and for obtaining food from the markets. The growing population throughout England was putting a strain on the food sources available. Along with an increase in people, more and more nobles were pushing tenants off the land they rented to the peasants in order to grow crops. During the sixteenth century and especially in the later end of the 1500s, prices of grain in England rose to five times that of the cost in the early part of the century. Complaints about prices were directed towards the landowners rather than the growing population.⁷⁸ England had to expand its trade and establish control over more colonies to secure the grain that was so desperately needed for the growing English population.



Figure 46. PS, *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin-Translated into English by PS* (London: William Kearney, 1591): 257, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad257.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

⁷⁷ Koenigsberger, *Early Modern Europe*, 106.

⁷⁸ Koenigsberger, 29.

The death of Elizabeth in 1603 brought James VI of Scotland to the English throne as James I. It was during the reign of the first James that Henry Peacham published his emblem book coinciding with the height of emblems and their representation of influences and societal issues. John Manning places Peacham's work among the same vein as Whitney's, with part of Peacham's title explicitly stating it as being a "sundry nature", meaning it as a collection of miscellaneous emblems.⁷⁹ All emblem scholars agree that Peacham created his own plates for the illustration of his emblems which is unique to him. Freeman considered Peacham's emblems to be "original in design, they are considerably more complicated, and often include a far wider range of ideas than did the earlier ones."⁸⁰ Freeman also praises Peacham's skill in writing, "Peacham was a man of considerable versatility of mind and his wide range of accomplishments were of a kind peculiarly well suited to the writing of emblems."⁸¹ Peacham covers the same topics that other emblematisers addressed.

The importance of colonies and maintaining control over them is one topic that Whitney addressed in his dedicatory *Minerva Britannia*. This book was purposely set out for Prince Henry in hopes that Peacham could gain favor and patronage from his father, King James. James I had an exalted view of himself and believed in the divine right of kings. This emblem supports James's ideal of God giving him the right to rule not only England, Scotland, and Ireland, but over the seas, wherever British colonies lay. The dedication says, "To my dread sovereign James, King of great Brittainne, etc." The chain holding the crown signifies the bond that links King James with God. This purposely introduces the concept of divine kingship. The crown is representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The emblem in Figure 47 shows a crown being held the hand of God from a chain attached to the crown. There is a large sea underneath

⁷⁹ Manning, 132.

⁸⁰ Freeman, 33.

⁸¹ Freeman, 68.

the crown, with a city scene on the right side and a more desolate landscape on the left. The sun is also setting to the west indicating the colonies in the west or North America and there are several ships on the ocean. Peacham acknowledges that James rules over more lands than just Britain.

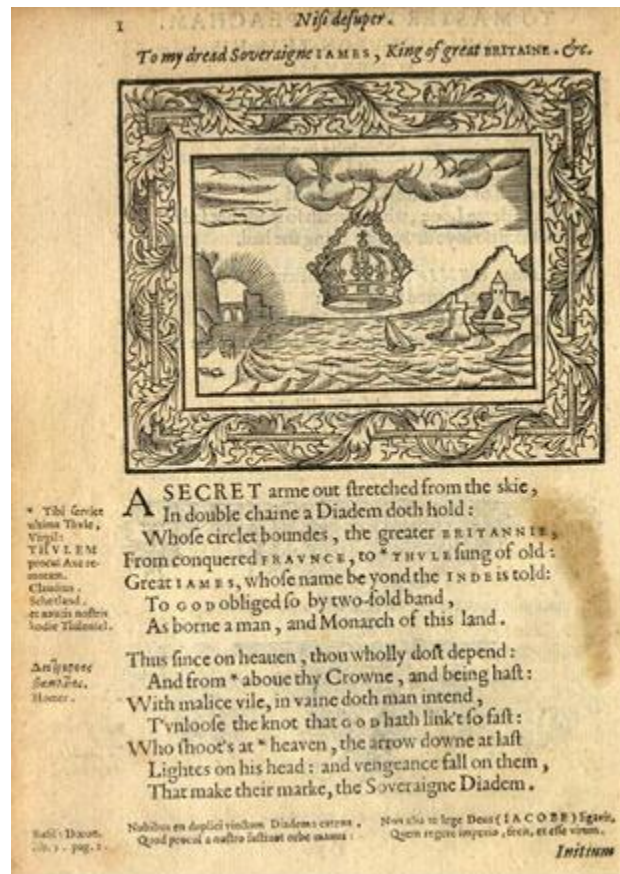


Figure 47. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannia*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612):001, <http://f01.middlebury.edu/FS010A/students/Minerva/001.JPG> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

Emblems were also used to portray a common enemy, to arouse suspicion and vilify a person, or to remember a certain event or place, as seen in previous emblems. Another example is in Peacham's work, Figure 48. This emblem represents England after the Romans left. A shabby woman pushes a ship with her foot away from the land. She holds a scepter in her left hand and a town can be seen in the background. To their contemporary period she was replacing

the Romans, “Thrice-famous Ile, whome erst thou didst obey/ Usurping Roome, standes now in aw of thee/ And trembles more, to heare thy Soveraignes name.”⁸² The boat signifies the Romans who conquered England. England still holds the scepter of rule, she had overcome her conquerors to rule her own nation. During times of crisis or hardship it was especially true for emblems to display an enemy or some anxiety society experienced, hence the dead elephant previously seen in Whitney’s work. This “latter tendency will...be more prominent at times of national anxiety...These factors also go some way towards explaining the necessarily ephemeral nature of the genre.”⁸³ More importantly, emblems continue to display societal concerns, how they view themselves, their life, and their country.

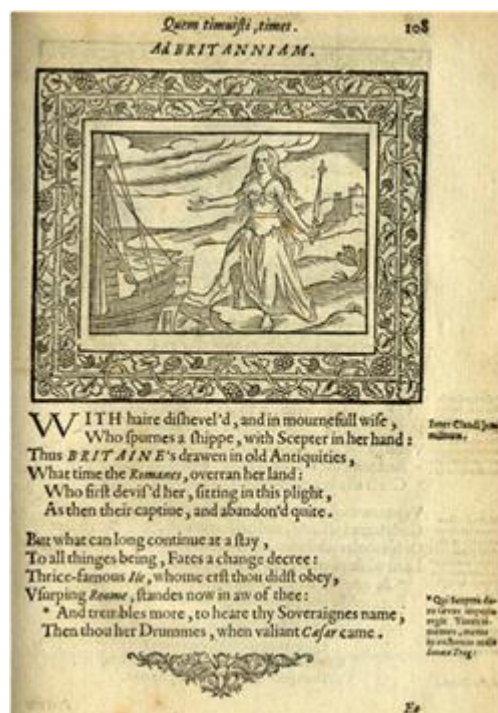


Figure 48. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612):108, <http://f01.middlebury.edu/FS010A/students/Minerva/108.JPG> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

⁸² Peacham, 108.

⁸³ Manning, 186.

Like Whitney, Peacham's collection also addressed a political movement that was transient for his dedicatee would soon pass away. Peacham attempted to "portray the court of Prince Henry as the moral and cultural powerhouse of a flourishing commonwealth."⁸⁴ Michael Bath declares that one way to see a healthy commonwealth is to see how well the arts are supported, those arts include emblem books. Peacham's "success and that of the civil polity it is advocating are intimately identified."⁸⁵ One of the main endeavors of Peacham was to glorify Great Britain and thereby exalt the rule of King James I. This emblem, seen in Figure 49, presents an example of Peacham venerating the growing English empire. The naked woman has her right foot on the globe, she holds the sun in her right hand and a book and quill in her left. In this emblem the sun represents being a friend to light. The woman symbolically represents Truth, but she is Truth in the body of Britain. England, who has gained a foothold on the world, governs both on land and on sea. The nakedness equals simplicity; the book means history and strength. The importance of history being that the world will record Britain as the victor and bearer of light and truth to the world. The palm represents victory over a tyrant's spite. The verse talks about how the woman represents Truth seen as comely, simple, and wise. Truth will overcome the earthly things of this world. When seen within the context of historical elements this emblem comes to represent the greatness of England. The tyrant overcome is England's longtime rival, Spain, due to the Peace Treaty signed by James I in 1604.

⁸⁴ Bath, 90.

⁸⁵ Bath, 91.



Figure 49. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612):134, <http://f01.middlebury.edu/FS010A/students/Minerva/134.JPG> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

In 1604 King James I made peace with Spain. Peacham shows the fear of many Englishmen and their distrust of the Spanish and how society felt would be the best route when dealing with them. The emblem, Figure 50, shows a hand caught in a net by the sea. While socially, peace with Spain may not have been particularly popular, financially it was a smart move. Peacham preaches the necessity of being wary of the enemy and not to trust it even if it has been caught. With the Spanish conflict out of the way, money was then available to use towards more expansion and trade. The southern portions of Europe, including Spain and Portugal, as well as Africa and the Mediterranean proved to be important buyers of England's exports. Those "exports consisted almost entirely on woolen textiles of one kind or another.

During the first fifteen years of the century they prospered greatly.”⁸⁶ Trade continued to be an important source of revenue and wealth.

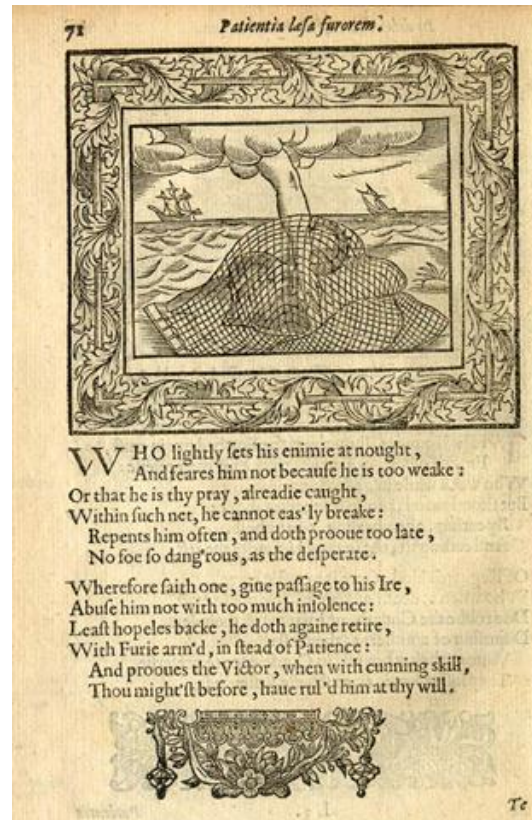


Figure 50. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannica*. (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612):071, <http://f01.middlebury.edu/FS010A/students/Minerva/071.JPG> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

English country gentlemen did not shy away from investing money in their farms, in trade, and in industry unlike their continental counterparts. Continental gentleman preferred not to sully their hands with such matters. Due to this practice, social mobility was different in England. Families rose and dropped along the social ladder causing much consternation among the upper classes. These “characteristics of English social and economic life were to give

⁸⁶ F.J. Fisher, “London’s Export Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century,” *The Economic History Review* 3, no.2 (1950): 154, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2590765> (accessed Jan 4, 2011).

England a great advantage over her commercial and industrial development.”⁸⁷ This emblem shows a hand drawing a lion on a blank shield with a town seen in the background. The satire of an egalitarian and mercantile economy embodies Figure 51. The verse bemoans what would happen if the inglorious were allowed to rule, the age would be a disgrace. Peacham perceived government to be equally inglorious should the newly wealthy merchant class be able to take part in governmental and societal affairs. Government was not something that could be drawn and transmitted via simple means. Mercantilism fitted the aims and desires of the English government, investors, and individual merchants. A couple of the trading companies were the Merchant Adventurers who exported cloth, usually to the Netherlands to be finished, and the English Staplers who exported wool.⁸⁸ To the government an increase in wealth also meant a better army and navy. What mercantilism ended up being was a large protective racket organized for the benefit of the state and privileged merchants.⁸⁹ Merchants were important to the government because it was from these merchants that the government gained money via forced loans.



Figure 51. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612):24, <http://f01.middlebury.edu/FS010A/students/Minerva/024.JPG> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

⁸⁷ Koenigsberger, 38.

⁸⁸ Koenigsberger, 102.

⁸⁹ Koenigsberger, 105.

Other textiles had been imported into England such as silk. Silk had become a necessity by this point, especially in the upper classes. Then the English found that they could supply their own silkworms where they had been previously been dependent upon silk from Asia.⁹⁰ In Figure 52 are seen the silkworms eating mulberry leaves to grow and be able to produce silk. A large castle can be seen in the background with a moat. The verse in this emblem relates the silkworm to those who work for the benefit of others and gain nothing for themselves. Prior to this period, England had obtained much of its silk from Iran after the Portuguese monopolized the silk industry in China. Shah Abbas controlled the area around Iran that was a silk-producing area for the Caspian Sea region. Shah Abbas came after Mohammed II.⁹¹ Silk remained a highly valued commodity, by producing their own they lowered the cost of purchasing and England could export silk to their colonies.

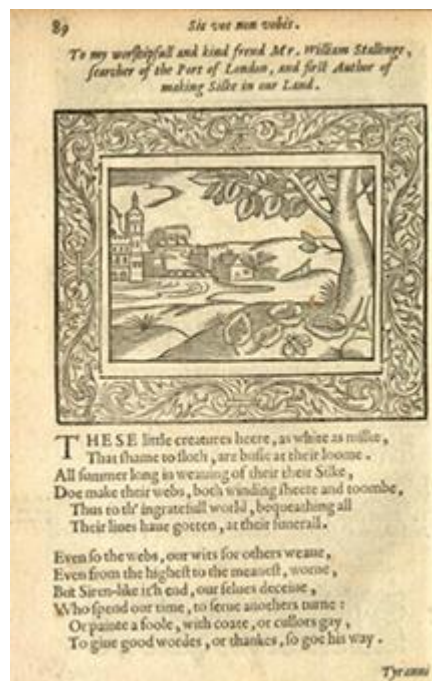


Figure 52. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612): 89, <http://f01.middlebury.edu/FS010A/students/Minerva/089.JPG>(accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

⁹⁰ Koenigsberger, 174.

⁹¹ Linda K. Steinmann, "Shah 'Abbas and the Royal Silk Trade, 1599-1629," *Bulletin* (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies) 14, no. 1 (1987): 68, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/194456> (accessed Jan, 2011).

Fruits and wares from other regions also made an impression on society as evidenced in the inclusion of these issues in emblem books. Peacham thought bananas important enough to include in his work. According to the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, the Plantain grows between 38° N. latitude 35°S. latitude, either wild or cultivated.⁹² The emblem in Figure 53 says that it is the plantain tree; however, the illustration does not appear to match the real thing (see Figure 54). The Mediterranean had the climate for plantains, as the verse describes the Po River as well as the southernmost parts of North America, Central and much of South America. Because people in England could not grow bananas at that time without a hot house, the only source for the plantain would be from foreign trade. Peacham must have never seen a plantain tree nor fruit for himself, for the image does not depict the plantain tree accurately. Peacham discusses again the attributes of the white, “And yet, they of themselves, are barren oft/ Wanting th’endowments, of the meaner wight.”⁹³ In this case “meaner” does not connote someone spiteful or unkind but rather someone who lived in the middle, appropriately balanced. The mean meant something that was virtuous and right, a way to live a proper, religious life.

⁹² C.W. Meaden, “Species and Principle Varieties of Musa,” *Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information* (Royal Gardens, Kew) 1894, no. 92 (London: Springer, Aug.,1894): 229, <http://www.clker.com/clipart-26264.html> (accessed 6 March 2011).

⁹³ Peacham, 79.

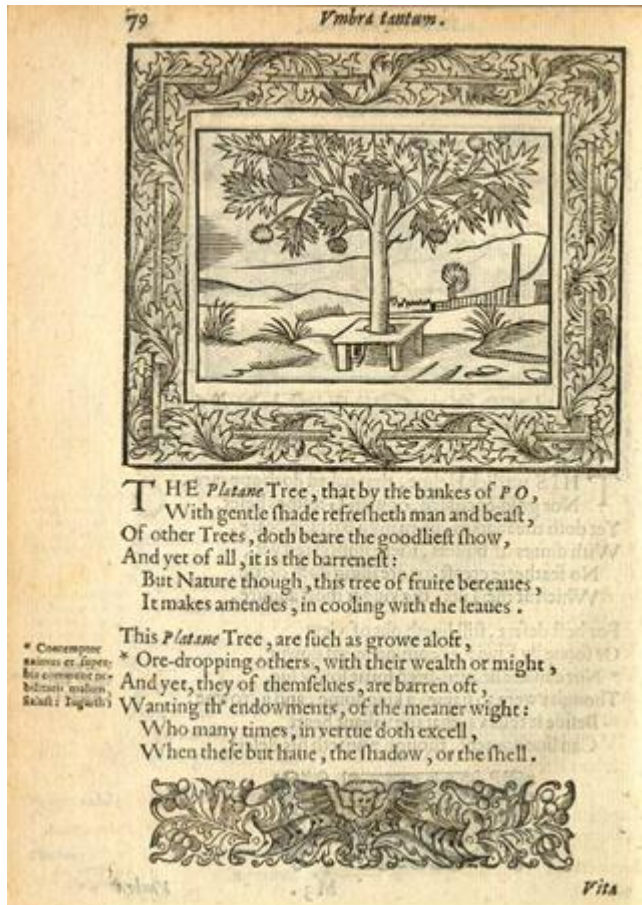


Figure 53. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612): 79, <http://f01.middlebury.edu/FS010A/students/Minerva/079.JPG> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).



Figure 54. Plantain Tree. <http://www.clker.com/clipart-26264.html> (accessed 6 March 2011).

English shipping and therefore its ships still remained a vital aspect of the English economy and an integral part of the people's identity. The English still associated themselves with the Greek tale of Jason and the Argonauts. The emblem in Figure 55 displays a great, sturdy ship at sea. The verse emphasizes the dangers of the sea and how by necessity cowardice has to be set aside to gain the important prize, "The Dread-nought Argo, cuts the foaming surge... We should avoide ignoble Cowardize/ And undertake with pleasure, any paine/ Whereby we might our wealth, or honour gaine."⁹⁴ Peacham, just as Whitney had, likewise emphasizes racial issues, "When slothfull wightes, by nature we destest."⁹⁵ The implication appears to be that a slothful white is more revolting than just about anything or anyone. One of the ships that Drake took to

⁹⁴ Peacham, 54.

⁹⁵ Peacham, 54.

raid the Spanish coast in delaying the Armada was called the Dreadnought.⁹⁶ This remained such an important aspect of British society that when the English created new warships in the early twentieth century they named their new battleships “dreadnoughts.” PS had also included an emblem depicting the Argonaut ship as can be seen in the following emblem in Figure 56. The motto says something like, “Behold another ship Argo.”⁹⁷ The verse in this emblem conveys the belief that the French claimed their ancestry from the remainder of the Trojan warrior fleet. As seen previously, the English would have adapted this meaning to their own circumstances and societal concerns, that being Jason and the Argonauts. The English had conquered the seas, subdued most navies, and were therefore the victors over the oceans. They would have seen it as a triumph over the French.

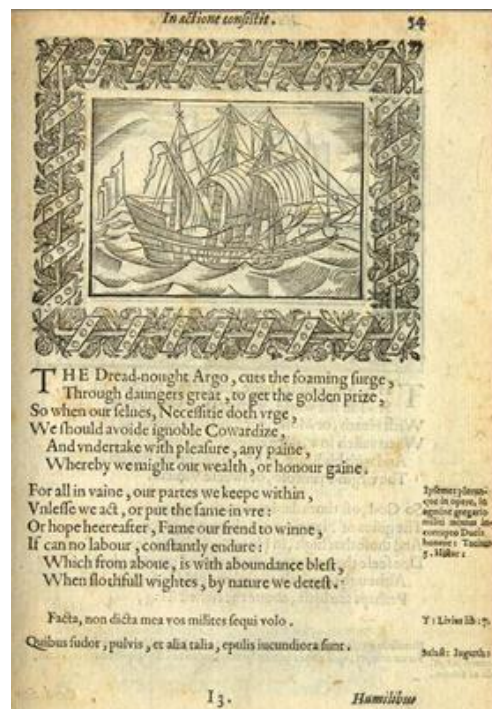


Figure 55. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannica*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612):54, <http://f01.middlebury.edu/FS010A/students/Minerva/054.JPG> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

⁹⁶ Mattingly, 94.

⁹⁷ Personal translation using Portuguese to estimate meaning in Latin.

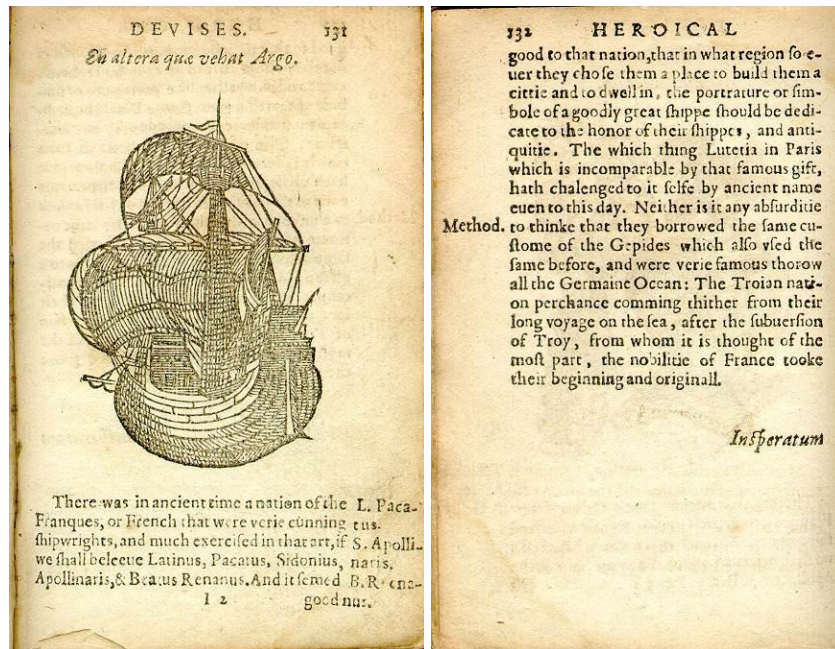


Figure 56. PS, *The Heroicall Devises of M. Claudius Paradin-Translated into English by PS* (London: William Kearney, 1591): 131-132, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad131.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

Colonial expansion continued to produce a variety of goods available to the English. This emblem mocks the fact that England exported its valuable and worthy wool and the merchants returned with useless trinkets on which the English wasted their money. In the emblem, shown here in Figure 57, a small monkey is seen holding some toys such as a stick horse, windmill, and toy arrows. Peacham in the verse questions the purpose of knighting a merchant who has brought these trinkets and amassed a great amount of wealth for these superfluous objects. What the English could rally around was the “aggressive prosecution of the national interest.”⁹⁸ Mercantilism and profits were what drove the state and people. This emblem lacks the racial undertones that have previously been seen in other emblems, likely due to the depiction of a monkey and not an ape.

⁹⁸ Simon Schama, *A History of Britain*, 219.

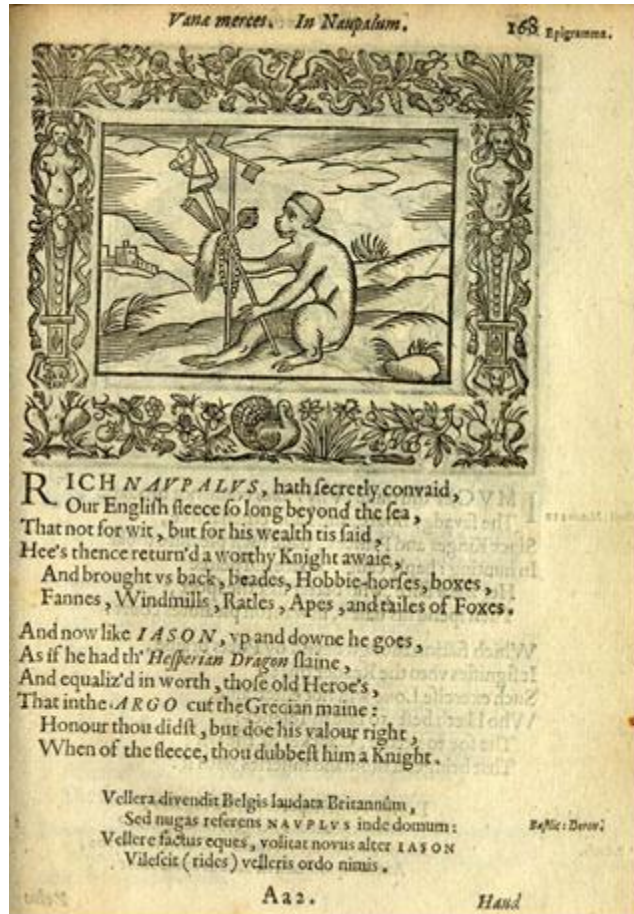


Figure 57. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612):168, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad168.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box 000000485605).

Along with the monkey and other animals, Peacham also includes the crocodile within his work. By now, however, the crocodile has come to be a metaphor for Egypt but not in relation to trade. In Figure 58 Peacham shows the crocodile being kept away from the beehive by the planting of saffron on the ground. The impressiveness of the crocodile and its societal interests appear to be waning.

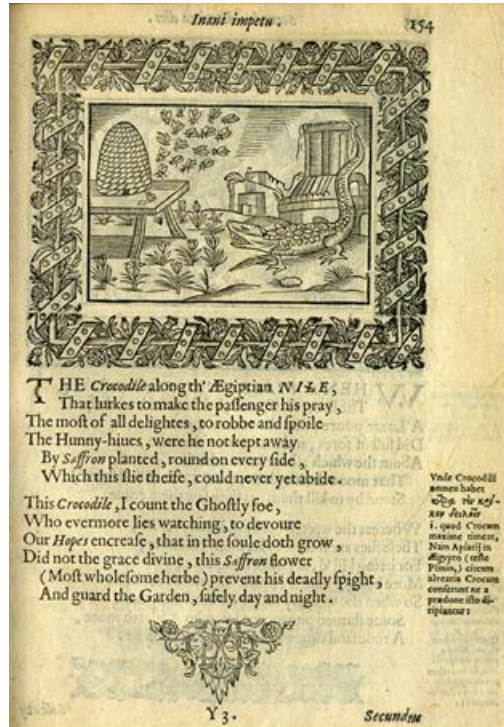


Figure 58. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannica*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612):154, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad154.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

Peacham was impressed enough to include in *Minerva* an emblem depicting the magnificent rhinoceros. This is the first English emblem that shows a rhinoceros. It is obvious that Peacham had never seen an actual rhinoceros, due to the depiction in Figure 59 of the rhino in what appears to be literal pieces of armor. He likely had either seen someone else's drawing of one or had read a detailed description. Edward Topsell wrote that the rhino signified "a beast every way admirable, both for the outward shape, quantity, and greatness, and also for the inward courage, disposition, and mildness."⁹⁹ Topsell also had to admit that he was basing his interpretation of the beast on second-hand accounts because he did not know of any person in England who had ever seen one. He had known that the Portuguese had taken one to Lisbon. There were also accounts of one being taken to Rome by Caesar Augustus when he returned with

⁹⁹ Topsell, 594.

Cleopatra.¹⁰⁰ The rhinoceros was greatly esteemed for its armor or plating that does not allow any type of piercings.



Figure 59. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannia*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612):106. <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad106.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

Another animal that made an impression on the English and Peacham was the camel of the Middle East and Africa. English men had likely encountered these through their overland trading. Before the new sea trade routes came to be, land was the best way to get into Africa, Persia, and Asia, including India. Camels were used to cross the large deserts and carry goods for merchants. The English were impressed with the camel's ability to go without water for such a

¹⁰⁰ Topsell, 595.

long time and for its ability to carry such heavy burdens. The camel in emblems came to signify strength. There are limits to strength, however, as this emblem indicates. Figure 60 shows a camel that refuses to get up due to its load being too heavy. Peacham had dedicated the emblem to the Treasurer of War who presided over Ireland and England. Peacham advised him to be careful in how much he took on and to not become overburdened himself. Only give out what was earned and what was due.

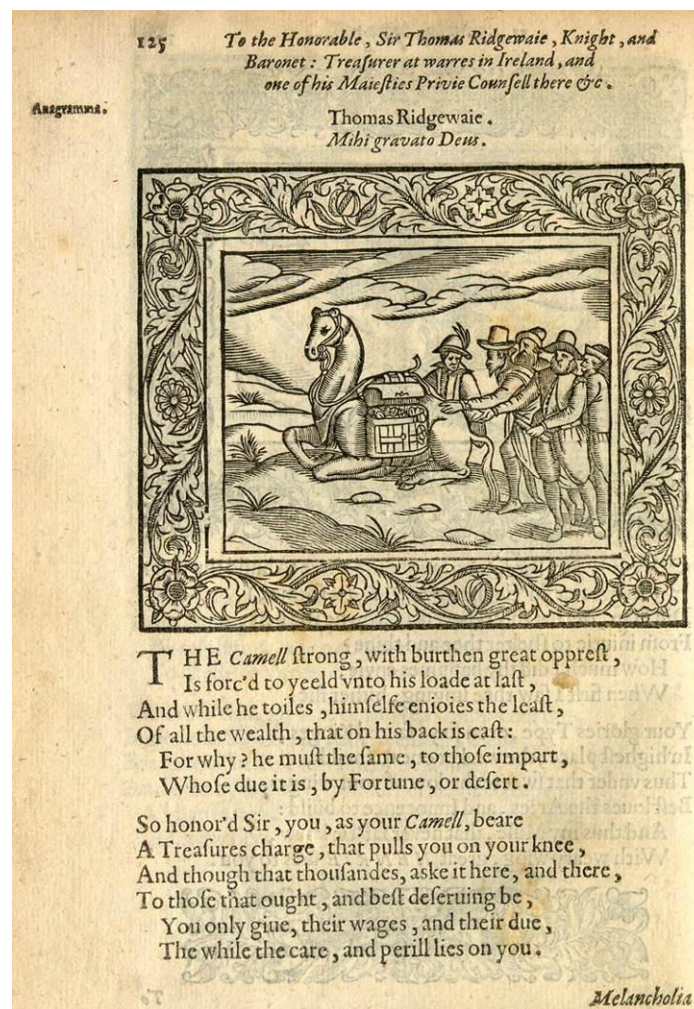


Figure 60. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612):125, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad125.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

When dealing in land routes and with the Levant, English merchants would have dealt with and traded with the Turks who still governed that region. England even had a formal trade

agreement with the Sultan. The Turks conquered and entrenched themselves in Asia Minor and the entire Balkan peninsula including Syria, Egypt, the Black Sea, and the North African coast.¹⁰¹ Figure 61 shows a heavy gate with chains on both sides and a crown above. The verse declares that the Turks should tremble at the very name of King James, “Belov’d of all thy people, farre and neere.”¹⁰² The Turks effectively held the gate to the Middle East and were then able to control the land trade route that had gone through central Asia, India, and China by way of the Black Sea.¹⁰³ Piracy and the cost of having to pay the Turks a percentage on their commodities prevented the English from conducting more of their trade within the Mediterranean region. They did have one joint stock company that specifically focused attention here, the Levant Company. During times of peace caravans passed through Persia through the Aegean Sea into the interior of Asia, and from Bagdad to Mecca and points further east.¹⁰⁴ The imports of the Levant Company were marginal.¹⁰⁵ It was still enough, however, to keep the English interests.



Figure 61. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612): 31, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/para031.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

¹⁰¹ Koenigsberger, 3, 85.

¹⁰² Peacham, 31.

¹⁰³ Lybyer, “The Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade,” 578.

¹⁰⁴ Lybyer, 584.

¹⁰⁵ Stone, 40, 53.

Trading in the Crimea was another important source of profits. Mohammed II had taken control of the Crimea away from the Genoese during the later 1400s. He subjugated the local tartars and was able to control the Black Sea. The English viewed the way that the tartars lived as both something to be admired for its simplicity but also somewhat barbaric for they would never live that way themselves in a civilized society. Figure 62 shows a Tartar tent. The verse itself describes the life of a merchant while pursuing his trading commodities, “as a Pilgrim wandering from his birth/ In Countries strange, and deserts wild unknown/ Like Rechabite, or those Tartarian Hordes.” Peacham also addresses joint stock companies, “In following state, eke not to spend our stock/Where oft for merit, we but gaine a mock.”¹⁰⁶ Society in general was still nervous about the influx of wealth, the mobility of classes, and losing money and credit as a state.



Figure 62. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannica*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612): 196, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad196.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011). Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

¹⁰⁶ Peacham, 196.

Under the rule of Ivan IV the large Volga River basin was brought under Russian control, down to the Caspian Sea. This conquest was seen as a Christian victory over the barbarians. More importantly, Russia now controlled the trade routes to Central Asia that ran through the region. In order to deal with the burgeoning Russian Empire and the English interest in trade throughout the region, merchants in London created the English Russia Company.¹⁰⁷ Figure 63 shows a rocky ring filled with water representing the Caspian Sea. An overland route for trading went by the mouth of the Don River located north of the Caspian Sea into China.¹⁰⁸ The Caspian Sea appears as the prominent focus in this emblem. One of the major cities on the Caspian Sea was along the Silk Road, Baku.

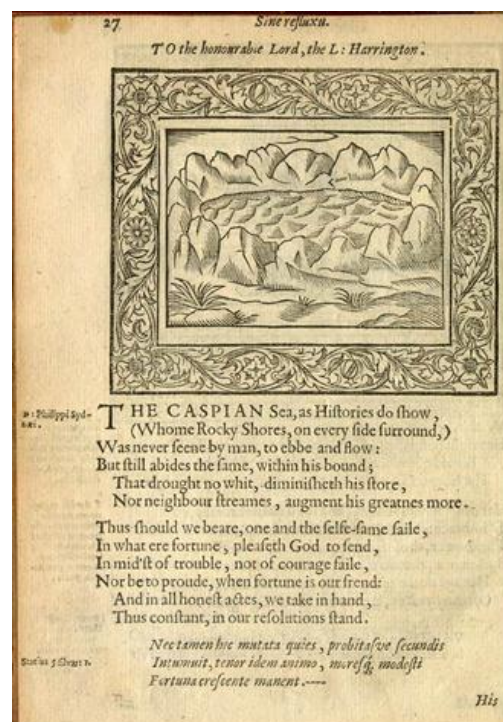


Figure 63. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612): 27, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad027.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

¹⁰⁷ Koenigsberger, 130.

¹⁰⁸ Lybyer, 578.

Since the time that Columbus set foot in the “New World,” Native Americans had been viewed through the lens of curiosity to the English just as the Africans had been. Throughout the 1500s, “Indians” were brought back to England for various reasons. Some were used for display as oddities and souvenirs of the Americas, others went to work as translators for the English. In 1616 Pocahontas immigrated to England with her English husband, John Rolfe. An Indian headdress depicts how people often seek and choose praise from people like an “Indian Diadem” in Figure 64.¹⁰⁹ The headdress floats above a body of water. They insert folly and vain glory into themselves like Indians insert feathers into a band to show their worth and accomplishments. Tobacco had already become a major import from the colonies. It was so important to the English that King James I, who absolutely despised tobacco, felt compelled to write a book about it, trying to dissuade its use.¹¹⁰ This emblem of an Indian headdress is the only one ever seen in any English emblem books. Peacham drew it himself from what had to have been something he read or heard from someone that had either seen a Native American or seen a headdress. He also says in the verse, “Nor he that followes Fashion, light and vaine/ Saluting windows, and around doth wheele.”¹¹¹ Here again the importance of making windows in England is outlined, as well as showing that shallow reflection is of no value.

¹⁰⁹ Peacham, 199.

¹¹⁰ King James Stuart I, *A Couberblaste to Tobacco* (London: 1604).

¹¹¹ Peacham, 199.



Figure 64. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*. (London: Shoe-Lane at the Sign of the Falcon, 1612):199, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/parad199.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011). © British Library Board, Bodleian Library Shelfmark: 21998 d.75/5 (Box B000000485605).

The emblems of Whitney, PS, and Peacham include various tributes to the trade that was occurring in England during their lifetimes. During the time of Whitney joint-stock companies were becoming more important in the development of individual and state wealth. Whitney's book was written for the Earl of Leicester's campaign to the Netherlands. While Ireland was the first step in extending its sphere, England concentrated on assisting the Protestant cause in ousting the Spanish from the Low Countries. Prior to Whitney's publication, John Hawkins had established the slave trade, beginning the process of what develops into greater racial prejudice over the next twenty-six years with the evolution of the ape becoming more and more an ape-

man. Whitney also includes exotic animals such as the crocodile and elephant. Along with these topics, Whitney glorifies the greatness of England's ships, sailing, and the hero of their time, Francis Drake. Through Drake's adventures, Spain's financial credit was ruined giving England a greater edge in being able to take the helm of power. PS outlines the importance of money and how it equates to world power and being able to take over Spain. The Mediterranean was seen in a specific emblem depicting England's entrance into the world. Another important issue for PS was the issue of grain and how England needed more of it. Creating more colonies in America was an important factor in assisting England in gaining some food sources for its growing population. Just as Alciato and Whitney, PS also shows the crocodile and the ape. Peacham's work displays the greatest emblems related to trade that were ever produced. The heyday of the emblem reached its climax during the period that Peacham published his book. The colonies are still an important aspect to English society, as was their pride in ships and sailing which remained an important tradition. More home issues included the distaste for an egalitarian economy, creating silk, and foolish merchants. By Peacham's time the crocodile had diminished in significance but the camel and rhinoceros appear for the first time. Important trading contacts focused on the Turks and Russia. The plantain tree was one example of the show of Mediterranean or American influence, along with the important addition of the Indian headdress. A decline in the use of emblems as a way to exhibit what was happening within society comes after Peacham. Emblems and emblem books after this time begin to take on a much more religious aspect than what was previously seen. The final emblematicist that indicates some influence, although diminishing, of current events are the emblems of George Withers.

CHAPTER 4

GEORGE WITHER

George Wither is the final emblemist whose work shows aspects of trade and outside influences on emblems. Wither was a modest poet, but he was a Puritan and his work reflects his ideology and religious simplicity. Wither lived during a time in English history when there was much turmoil and dissatisfaction with the monarchy. Many of his emblems reflect these issues. Imagery is still an important factor in emblems. Joint-stock companies had gained even more power and government backing and shipping was still a priority. Like PS, Wither experienced social turmoil especially illustrative were the clothiers and merchants. Familiar animals appear with the elephant and the crocodile. Finally, the ape has completely evolved into an ape-man with no attempt to disguise its identity. The emblems in his book also cover other familiar topics that have already been seen such as ships, elephants, and wood.

Wither used plates from Gabriel Rollenhagen's emblem book which was published in Holland in 1611-1613. The fact that so many English emblemists borrowed plates from other sources not only speaks of their economy, but also to their ingenuity, continued reliance on commonplaces, and access to world goods. Wither did not approve of Rollenhagen's verses, and in fact called them "so meane that he had to cut them off."¹¹² He continues the English imagery that was so popular during the Elizabethan age and maintained that the picture had to be read according to allegory, not its natural representation. As Freeman states, "the picture and the word...were to be closely interrelated [this was achieved]...in the use in the picture itself of detail which had a literary rather than a visual significance."¹¹³

¹¹² Freeman, 55.

¹¹³ Freeman, 18.

The appreciation and value for shipping can still be seen within Wither's work. The emblem in Figure 65 displays this aspect by showing the contentment of a person in possessing a boat. A man sits inside a little sailboat while the east wind fills his sails. England during this time enjoyed the prosperity of being in possession of many boats, owned by the government and individual merchants or stock companies. Trade was still growing and England was enjoying more affluence and growth within her colonies, especially in the "New World." The wind in this verse can be seen as either God's will and blessing or as the prosperity enjoyed by England. Prosperity pushes the industry of trade which continued to grow throughout the world wherever English sailors went.

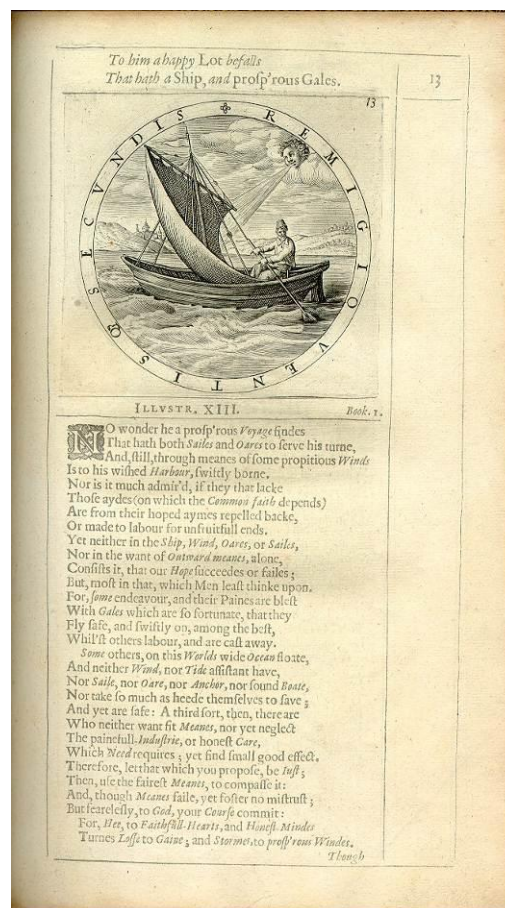


Figure 65. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (London: AM, 1635): 13, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/withe013.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

Clothiers and merchants protested loudly of tax increases. They wanted to see an escalation in the restrictions placed on the import of raw materials, which caused an adverse effect on the American colonies. This resulted in a cut in wages that caused major social problems due to the extremely poor conditions of the sweat-shops, especially in the major cloth industries.¹¹⁴ Eventually these conditions as well as a declining market for English cloth led the clothiers to develop new types of cloth. Their heavy woolens were far too heavy for the Mediterranean, Spanish, and southern American colonial markets. Lighter weight cloth had to be created for these areas if England were to continue on a world trade system. The new cloth caused problems for makers of the heavy wool which was mostly overseen by guilds. Governments were concerned about riots from unemployed cloth workers so they backed the guilds. This concern is shown in Figure 66 where people are encouraged to remain within their own sphere and trades. Those who wanted to make the lighter cloth simply moved out to the countryside and hired people to make cloth at piece rates. The result was the decline of old cloth towns because the demand for the new cloth was greater and specialization in industry developed. Wealth grew through an increase of productivity.¹¹⁵ England by this time was largely involved in the market of re-exporting. By this is meant the importing of foreign goods from ports around the globe and reselling them outside of England. F.J. Fisher states that they took wares from East India and sold them to Russia, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy. They also sold Mediterranean goods to the Netherlands and tobacco to Germany. English merchants sold European goods to the Americas and Africa.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Fisher, "London's Export Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century," 156.

¹¹⁵ Koenigsberger, 99.

¹¹⁶ Fisher, 160.

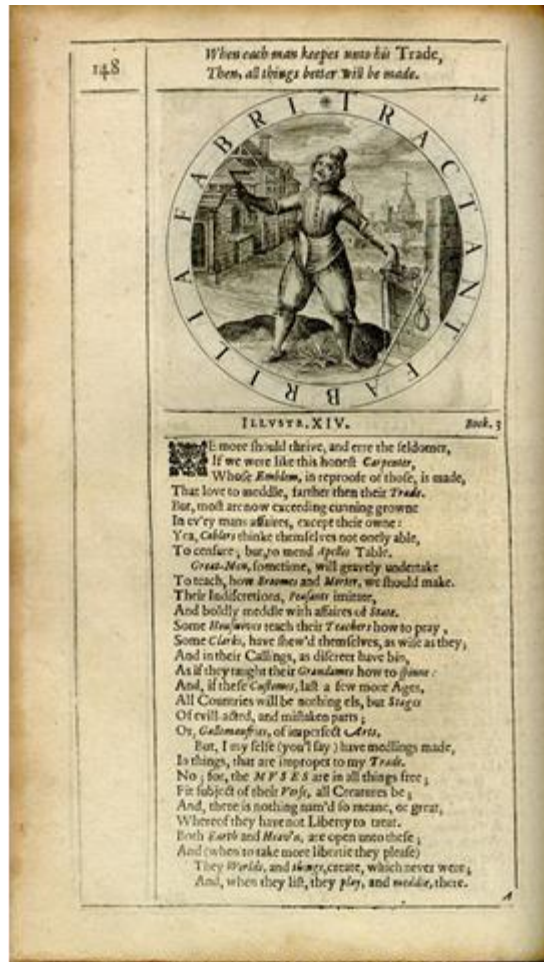


Figure 66. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (London: AM, 1635): 148, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/withe048.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

The slave trade was one of the most, if not the most, lucrative trade industries and many invested. As we have seen throughout this paper, the ape has evolved from a full animal to this depiction in Figure 67. This shows the full transformation of African men from full apes into English dressed ape-like men attempting to imitate the Englishmen. A small English-looking man stands on stilts looking into a mirror. The title says, “Though he endeavor all he can, An Ape, will never be a Man.”¹¹⁷ Racial prejudices continued to permeate English society as the

¹¹⁷ Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes*, 14.

wealthy classes enslaved more and more Africans. Capital was still being used to back the African slave trade to the Caribbean and Americas.



Figure 67. George Withers, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (London: AM, 1635): 112, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/withe112.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

The crocodile continues to appear in emblems and as was the case with Peacham, the crocodile has become more of a metaphor symbolizing protection. They still recognized the defensive skin that the crocodile possessed. In some respects, Wither, in Figure 68, depicting a crocodile sitting on the ground, gives the crocodile the same attributes previously given to the

rhinoceros, with its protective “coat of mail.”¹¹⁸ This emblem iterates the necessity for men to protect themselves not only with outward metal, but with inward innocence and justness.



Figure 68. George Withers, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (London: AM, 1635): 112, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/withe112.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

The elephant is another animal that Wither characterized like his predecessors. The attribute ascribed to elephants is strength. Wither, as was the case for most emblematisers, admits to having never seen an elephant himself but cites his sources as “others” who have been to the desert.¹¹⁹ Figure 69 has a small elephant pushing against a tree as two Arabian looking men use a saw to cut down the tree. Both wear turbans indicating their race and ancestry of the Middle East or India. This indicates further proof of the continuation of English trade through the Levant and India. This emblem does not appear in any other English emblem books.

¹¹⁸ Withers, 112.

¹¹⁹ Withers, 183.



Figure 69. George Withers, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (London: AM, 1635): 183, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/withe183.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

The English realm with its vast expanse lies outlined within the verse of this emblem. Withers states, “A Kingdome, is not alwaies eminent, By having Confines of a large extent; For, Povertie and Barbarousnesse, are found Ev’n in some large Dominians, to abound.”¹²⁰ The emblem in Figure 70 has a scepter standing upright upon the ground, a crown positioned almost halfway down. In the background can be seen towns, castles, knights, the sea, and distant ships. Scotland, Ireland, and England are implied by this people and distant towns. Overseas colonies are acknowledged by the ships sailing away into the horizon. More exemplary are Withers’ sentiments in the verse, “From whence we fetch the Gold and Silver-ore; And, where we gather

¹²⁰ Withers, 78.

Pearles upon the shore.¹²¹ Charles I ruled over a vast expanse of territory far greater than what his father had governed. The verse talks about lands big and small as well as little towns and bigger cities. The colonies were still a vital part of the empire. The importance in life was to stay the course and direct a straight way. Do not follow others in their folly. The crown and scepter represent the king who administrated land and sea over great distances.

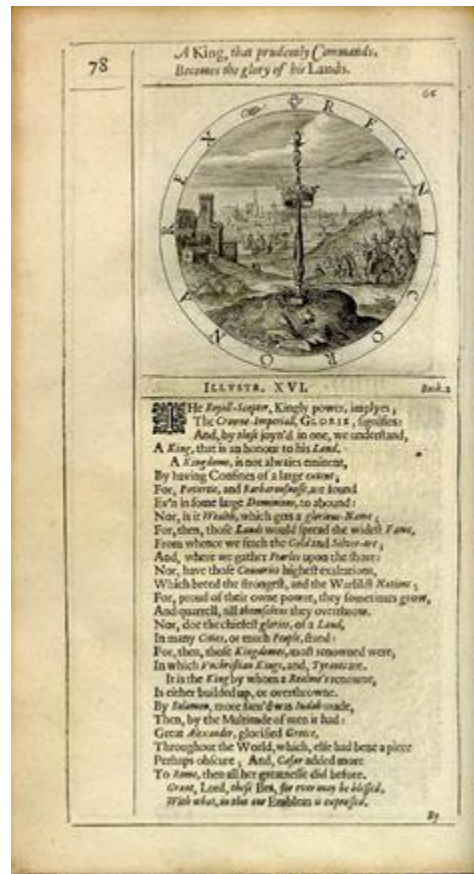


Figure 70. George Withers, *A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne* (London: AM, 1635): 78, PennState University Libraries, <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/withe078.htm> (accessed 2 March 2011).

Consideration must be made when dealing with emblems by Wither considering the changing of times and the evolution of the emblem. Wither addressed topics such as elephants, crocodiles and joint-stock companies much like the previous emblematisers. He also portrayed societal concerns with the clothier and merchant problems. Finally, Wither completes the

¹²¹ Withers, 78.

evolution of the ape into what the English perceived to be an ape-man of the African. By the end of the 1630s and into the later half of the seventeenth-century, emblem books were no longer meant solely for the upper classes. Wither meant for his work to be seen and read by the wider audience, the general public, especially the mean or the crude. Emblems and emblem books were moving away from the realm of the truly erudite to become tools for teaching the lower classes and to obtain religious purposes. English emblem books after Wither take on a significantly solid religious role with their purpose being in teaching religious values, no longer conveying the interests of society or country. After Wither emblems and emblem books cease to compare nature, items in life, and objects to spiritual things or other matters. From this time on, emblems basically become more pictorial books solely presenting the spiritual without their comparisons to other objects.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

From about 1566 until about 1635 the expansion of trade in England and factors related to the national economy showed up in emblems being produced by English emblematisers. There are emblems influenced by treaties made, shipping endeavors, trading partners, foreign animals and foods, societal concerns, territories, and other commodities. By the end of 1635 the emblematic fashion was declining and emblems were becoming less secular in nature and much more religious.

Andrea Alciato was the first emblematiser to publish a book of emblems. He had some emblems that reflected issues associated with prior encounters of outside influences mainly attributed to Italy's history. Alciato's main themes were related to antiquity and internal concerns. The first English publisher of emblems was Thomas Palmer. Relatively little indication of outside or societal impacts appear to have influenced Palmer's work. He does, however, reflect issues from Alciato as well as the inclusion of an emblem portraying the conquest of Ireland. Geoffrey Whitney's book is the first emblem book that displays a major number of emblems concerning trade and influences from England's growth. His emblems include the first show of apes evolving into Africans as far as its relation to England, with apes having human characteristics and the image showing more of an ape-man. Important to this work is the discussion of the Netherlands and England's assistance in their fight against Spain. His work is also the first to show a real window, along with an emblem particularly written and formed to praise Francis Drake. PS has a few more emblems that take a French source and makes them applicable to the English. These emblems still show how trade was expanding in England through the inclusion of emblems concerning the Turks and wealth of England. He also contains

societal issues such as the growth of population and difficulty in feeding them that resulted in protests for wheat. The apex of emblems displaying aspects of the culture, concerns, and trade of England were reached in the work of Henry Peacham. Peacham not only wrote his own verses but created his own emblem images that were important for specifically English applications. Peacham's emblems show societal concerns related to trade such as the growing mercantile class wealth, the silk industry, shipping, and luxury items. Peacham also includes emblems related to exotic plants and animals as well as the first ever rhinoceros and Indian head dress.

By studying the images and verses of emblems, it is possible for historians to learn more about the concerns, issues, and influences that affected England during the late Renaissance, Early Modern era. Emblems, imagery, and symbolism were ubiquitous aspects of society and are therefore valuable resources for study. Commonplaces were useful due to their content and how people went about collecting aspects from the everyday as well as from mythology and other traditional sources. How these sources were used to create emblems was unique. These emblems would therefore reflect what had been seen, heard, or read about the English society. By studying this previously untapped source historians may come to better understand the English people and their history.

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