"A NEW AND STRANGER SIGHT":

ALLEGORY, EMBLEMS, AND INTERACTIVE IMAGES IN A

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PURITAN TOY BOOK

by

Lily Higgins

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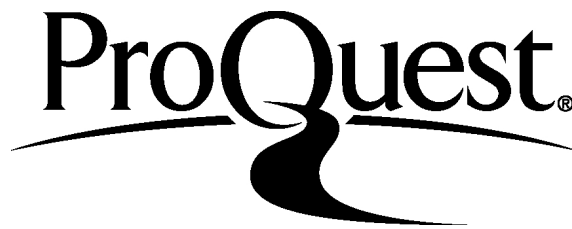
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

Obscured by myth and misunderstanding, Puritan visual culture has often been overlooked or considered undeveloped. An interactive English toy book, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*, reveals that Puritans used images in inventive ways, and relied on them both for the purposes of entertainment and education. When placed in conversation with other examples of Puritan art from seventeenth-century Europe and North America, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* provides insight into an artistic tradition that, despite being shaped by iconoclastic values, was far more lively and complex than previously imagined.

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 2013, I found myself researching a toy book in the Downs Collection of Manuscripts at the Winterthur Library, hand-drawn by a Quaker schoolboy named John Chapman in 1808 while he was a student at Westtown School in Chester County, Pennsylvania (fig. 1).[1] Eventually, I was able to trace the content of this booklet to its source—a seventeenth-century English text titled *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*. I was surprised, to say the least, that despite a difference in age of approximately one hundred and fifty years, both the format and content of the booklet had changed very little. This continuity was certainly unexpected, but there was another reason that I was puzzled by the booklet's seventeenth-century origin— the lively imagery and playful quality of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* seemed to go against all of my assumptions about seventeenth-century Puritan culture.

Consisting of five panels, decorated with simple, vivid illustrations paired with rhyming verse, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* unites the stories of the Old Testament to contemporary concerns in a continuous narrative of piety and redemption, all the while fusing the world of myth and monsters with elements of scripture (fig. 2, 3, 4). At face value, this object seems fairly simple. After all, it is nothing more than a single sheet of paper that has been put to exceptionally imaginative use—embellished with images and words, folded, and cut in a few key places. The simplicity and fragility of this ephemeral text accentuates its striking ability to complicate our perceptions of the past. As an object that forces us to lay

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[1] Susannah Smedley, *Westtown Through the Years: Officers, Students, and Others, Fifth Month 1799 to Fifth Month 1945*, (Westtown: Westtown Alumni Association, 1945), 37.

aside our assumptions and reconsider what we take for granted as fact, its value resides partially in its unfamiliarity, but *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* is not important merely because it is a rare survival. This strange toy book does not just add something new and different to the material record. Begging to be placed in conversation with other objects, it challenges us to actively reconsider what we know about Puritan visual culture and material life more generally. When studied in comparison with poetry, emblem books, paintings, gravestones, and other artwork from the period, this peculiar book doesn't seem so peculiar anymore. Instead, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* fits into a centuries-old tradition of inventive Protestant imagery that developed on both sides of the Atlantic. At the same time, it provides insight into conversations about how images should (and should not) be used as tools for education and worship, at a time when Calvinist cultures were actively debating the role of imagery in religious and secular life.

This booklet is a material manifestation of religious belief that exemplifies a religious environment characterized by complexity, fluidity, and ambivalence. When approached contextually, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* reveals that Puritan colonists engaged with the material world actively and intentionally, re-imagining a visual canon with roots in antiquity to confront new spiritual and physical demands. This interactive text is the product of a culture in which doctrine and folk belief mingled together, and the material world was not perceived as separate from the invisible one. As such, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* provides an interesting starting point for understanding the history and use of allegorical imagery in the material culture of Puritan North America, illuminating connections between North American objects and the sources in England and continental Europe that influenced their creation. When we consider this object, and other examples of allegorical imagery from seventeenth-century England and North America, it becomes clear that, despite their iconoclastic beliefs, seventeenth-century Puritans used images in complex and imaginative ways to negotiate the ever-entangled relationship between spiritual belief and material life.

The Beginning, Progress and End of Man, though it may seem humble, is a valuable testament to the lively nature of Puritan visual culture, and provides new insight into the complex tensions that shaped daily life in seventeenth-century English and Anglo-American culture. Painted on canvas, printed on paper, and carved into stone, images from this era reside at the intersection between material and intellectual history, art and ideology. This interactive toy book challenges persistent misunderstandings and assumptions about the Puritan relationship with art and objects, revealing a visual culture that was characterized by contradiction and creativity, as well as continuity and commonalities. Rich in symbolic imagery and metaphorical verse, tangible and engaging, studying *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* offers the welcome opportunity to reassess how the Puritans used images, unveiling a society and visual culture as much in flux as it was rooted firmly in tradition, and influenced by political motivation and the realities of seventeenth-century material life, as well as spiritual convictions.

Chapter 1

MYTH, MATERIALITY, AND THE ICONOCLASTIC ORIGINS OF PURITAN ART

In 1630, nearly seven hundred English Puritans set out across the Atlantic Ocean to found a community that they hoped would serve not only as a religious haven where they could worship God free from persecution, but also as an example to England and the world. Not satisfied with the changes of the English Reformation, these hopeful dissenters broke with the Church of England to establish a community that their leader, John Winthrop, would immortalize in his sermon, "A Modell of Christian Charity," as a "city upon a hill". They believed that their community—and its ultimate success or failure—would be hidden neither from divine nor human eyes. Reacting against Catholic ritual, denouncing the perceived distraction of the sacraments, the intervention of clergy, and the corruption of luxury, the Puritans aimed to establish a more direct and unadulterated relationship with God. Even as they escaped persecution in their homeland, the Puritan dissenters that settled in the newborn Massachusetts Bay Colony hoped to transform the Church of England by their pious example, rather than breaking away from it entirely. The number of settlers that made the young colony their home would multiply to impressive numbers during the course of the next decade, increasing from hundreds to tens of thousands during a period of mass exodus known as the Great Migration.[2]

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[2] David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 70.

To claim for themselves and their descendants the environment of religious freedom that they longed for, Puritan settlers were forced to make substantial sacrifices. Choosing to follow their religious conviction, families and individuals traveled thousands of miles to make a new home on unfamiliar (and often inhospitable) shores. The lack of attention directed towards the study of Puritan art seems to be the product of the pervasive belief that the colonists who settled in North America were too concerned with their own daily struggle for survival to be interested in or capable of producing art. The notion persists that English settlers were either too primitive in their skills and technology to have made any sophisticated art, or that they were too desperately trying to make a living in an unfamiliar land to have concerned themselves with such matters.

There is no shortage of scholarship that aims to tease apart what a famous historian named Perry Miller called "the New England Mind." Scholars of religion, history, and literature alike continue to comb the writings of figures like John Winthrop, Increase Mather, and Anne Bradstreet to gain insight into the Puritan intellect and trace its influence on American political and religious life from the seventeenth century to the present day. Compared to the world they left behind in England, Puritan settlers in New England formed communities that were defined by a relatively high level of literacy.[3] The religious and social experiment of the Massachusetts Bay Colony likewise attracted a number of highly learned scholars to the community, who wrote eagerly and eloquently about their experiences in America—recording their disappointments and fear of failure, as well as their high

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[3] David D. Hall, *Ways of Writing: The Practice and Politics of Text Making in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 32.

hopes for the new colony.[4] Considering that the challenges and goals of this idealistic venture are so well-preserved in the written record, it's scarcely a surprise that the dramatic story of Puritan settlement in North America has achieved almost mythic status, and attracted the attention of so many distinguished scholars working within diverse disciplines.[5]

The carefully-crafted sermons, diary entries, and poems created by English settlers in seventeenth-century North America ought to be evidence enough that these early colonists were able to devote their time and talents to intellectually and creatively stimulating leisure pursuits, producing works with enduring artistic merit. Just as early records reveal a highly literate population, they show communities composed of an unusually high proportion of craftspeople—indicating that early New England was an environment where skilled artisans were in no short supply.[6] In 1982, the groundbreaking exhibition, "New England Begins," and the exhibition's accompanying three-volume catalogue, offered a survey of the richness and depth of material culture that survives from seventeenth-century Puritan New England, in a successful attempt to reengage with the material world of these early colonists. The objects brought together in "New England Begins" range from furniture to silver to paintings to textiles, and collectively reveal that seventeenth-century Anglo-American artisans were highly attuned to even the slightest evolutions of taste in the country they left behind. The most elite American customers expected products as refined and

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[4] Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century*, (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 16.

[5] Ibid., 219.

[6] Ibid., 26.

elegant as those produced in their homeland.[7] Clearly, the perceived lack of visual art in seventeenth-century North America can be attributed neither to an inability to make art nor to an inability to make time *for* art. The answer lies instead in the iconoclastic origins of Puritan culture.

Protestant settlers in North America remained rooted in a strong tradition of Protestant iconoclasm, influenced by a wave of anxiety over the use of religious imagery that swept Europe in the mid-fifteenth century. Believing that the Catholic Church was allowing and even encouraging such heresy as the worship of graven images, Protestant iconoclasts took it upon themselves to reform the place of worship. In some places in Europe, religious imagery was destroyed in riots, in others these works of art were systematically removed from churches by government authorities.[8] Rather than worshiping God, many Catholics seemed to Protestants to be praying to lifeless objects. The rejection of cultic imagery was one of the fundamental changes of the Reformation, and Puritan settlers in North America certainly subscribed to this system of belief. It is this iconoclastic worldview that directed and limited the development of Puritan visual culture in America, just as it transformed the visual culture of England and the Netherlands. As a consequence of the Reformation, cultic images like altarpieces, used as objects of religious devotion, were systematically destroyed or removed from churches throughout Europe.

Seventeenth-century colonists remained rooted in the Protestant tradition of iconoclasm, and thus feared the potentially corrupting power that they believed images possessed. The Puritans did not spurn all kinds of imagery, or even all forms of

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[7] Albert S. Roe and Robert F. Trent "Robert Sanderson and the Founding of the Boston's Silversmith's Trade" in Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent (eds.) *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century*, vol. III (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 480-489.

[8] Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts* Vol. I: *Laws Against Images* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 247.

religious imagery. Puritan communities in both Europe and North America recognized the ability of images to convey complex stories at a glance. Rather than creating devotional images, they valued images as sources for self-reflection and tools for education. Despite being suspicious of religious imagery, Puritans used allegorical imagery as a form of visual shorthand that helped them communicate with one another and make sense of their daily existence, locating it in the context of scripture.[9] Like allegorical literature (John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* is a famous example of the genre), allegorical imagery had utility as a tool for teaching, as aids for memory, and as entertainment that also had the potential to spark inward reflection and conversation with God. By combining simple images together to make allegorical works like *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*, Puritans created narratives that were simple to digest but nevertheless full of nuance and depth. Puritan artists sometimes departed from established European visual traditions; more often than not, they drew upon an existing repository of imagery, reshaping the elements to suit Calvinist needs and tastes and creating works of art steeped in allusions.

Compared to seventeenth-century Puritan literature, Puritan material culture, and especially visual culture, has sustained minimal scholarly attention. Nevertheless, just as seventeenth-century settlers related their fears and desires in writing through poetry, diary entries, and sermons, they used images as tools for education and as a cultural touchstone through which they could convey both simple and complex messages. Intellectual history cannot be divorced from the material world—even the intangible thoughts and words of thinkers from the past are preserved for present readers only because they have been left behind on paper in stains of black ink. Besides accentuating the materiality of written documents, a material culture approach

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[9] Sally M. Promey, "Mirror Images: Framing the Self in Early New England Material Piety," in *Figures in the Carpet: Finding the Human Person in the American Past*, ed. Wilfred M. McClay (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007), 75.

has merit when studying seventeenth-century North America, because it allows access to otherwise unintelligible stories. While Puritan colonists in New England enjoyed generally elevated levels of literacy, literary accomplishment was still the exception rather than the norm. Only a few, exceptional individuals were writing the poems and sermons that so thoroughly captivated the imagination of Nathaniel Hawthorne. The visual vocabulary of Puritan belief, expressed through symbolism and allegory and made manifest through a wide variety of media, offers a rich complement to the more familiar literary tradition of the colonists. The kinds of visual cues and messages contained in objects may be more representative of the way that the average Puritan, whether in Boston or London, encountered religion in daily life. Examples of Puritan visual allegory can be as simple as a single, stand-alone symbol. In other cases, multiple symbols or emblems combine to construct a much more elaborate narrative. The simple structure of allegorical art makes it a form of cultural expression that could be understood by the underprivileged as well as the elite.

Chapter 2

THOMAS SMITH'S *SELF-PORTRAIT* AND THE CONVENTIONS OF PURITAN VISUAL EXPRESSION

Featuring a stiff pose, somber clothing, and severe gaze, Thomas Smith's circa 1680 *Self-Portrait* initially does little to dispel the visual stereotype of the iconoclastic and dour American Puritan—solidified in the modern popular imagination as a pious soul that eschewed all contact with the physical world, preferring instead to occupy his mind with lofty spiritual pursuits. In depicting his own likeness, however, Thomas Smith showed that he was a worldly man, well versed in the conventions of English portraiture (fig. 5). Besides inserting himself into a well-established artistic tradition of self-portraiture, Smith also uses the painting as an opportunity to assert his elite status. The materials, time, and care required to create such a work of art make the self-portrait an impressive, and carefully considered, effort. The pose, background, arrangement of props all combine to convey a strong message about the sitter, and the cultural values that this rich, important man embodied. Even today, this portrait is a testament to Smith's stature and prestige—it is widely considered the most important document of his life that still exists to offer modern historians evidence of his achievements.

In *Self-Portrait*, Smith develops several of the tensions that are most characteristic of Puritan art. The written poem depicted in the portrait's front left corner highlights a common theme in Puritan religious expression and thought—the union of word and image.[10] The lines of poetry link Smith's hand-written initials and

his physical likeness offer the viewer two different depictions of the self; they provide the key to understanding all the subtle and not-so-subtle symbolic meanings apparent in the surrounding context and reiterated through symbol. The poem is a brooding self-elegy, laced with references to warfare and to death's inevitable conquest, and the content of the poem mirrors the visual content of the portrait. Smith's hand rests on a skull, suggesting death's looming presence, while the warring ships visible through a window in the painting's background suggest, in visceral and politicized terms, mankind's ongoing spiritual struggle. The resulting scene is meant to be absorbed as a symbolic whole, rather than a group of isolated, individual elements that can be understood literally.[11]

As evidenced by Thomas Smith's *Self-Portrait*, the use of symbolic prompts for spiritual reflection (and usually for meditation on the inevitability of death) is a common theme in Puritan art. *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* draws on the same vocabulary of allegorical imagery and the same tenets of religious belief used by Thomas Smith to depict his likeness. Like Thomas Smith's *Self-Portrait*, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* relies on both text and image to convey its vital meaning. However, the textual instructions printed on each panel invite the viewer to become not only an observer, but also a participant. By lifting the booklet's pages in the prescribed sequence, the reader transforms the images even as they themself are transformed by meditating on the book's message. As the reader turns up the folded pages of each panel, the interactive illustration changes—resulting in an experience

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[10] Sally M. Promey, "Mirror Images: Framing the Self in Early New England Material Piety," in *Figures in the Carpet: Finding the Human Person in the American Past*, ed. Wilfred M. McClay (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007), 78.

[11] Max Cavitch, "Interiority and Artifact: Death and Self-Inscription in Thomas Smith's *Self-Portrait*," *Early American Literature* 37, no. 1 (2002), 91.

that is at once tactile, visual, and intellectual. In this way and others, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* is an object with the potential to reshape our assumptions about how the Puritans engaged with art and how they navigated its use. When placed in comparison with more traditional works of art like Thomas Smith's *Self-Portrait*, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* highlights hidden complexities that reside in even the most familiar artworks. Such comparison allows us to see, with fresh eyes, how evolved these seemingly simple works of art really are. Familiar themes are enhanced, while new details emerge—both shape our understanding of how and why Puritan artists relied on the visual vocabulary of allegory to structure their artwork. By investigating Puritan allegorical imagery, it is possible to see, at a glance, the connections—both subtle and not so subtle—that developed over centuries and across thousands of miles.

Printed works and paintings are among the most prevalent sources of Puritan allegorical art, but the use of symbolism extends well beyond the realm of paint, pen, and paper. Gravestones, for instance, have arguably been the focus of the most in-depth research on the iconography of seventeenth-century Puritan New England. These surveys reveal that simple motifs like skeletons, hearts, and hourglasses comprised the most basic elements of the lexicon of Puritan visual expression. *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* employs all of these concise symbols—familiar fixtures on Puritan gravestones—but combines them in surprising ways. This playful text embellishes upon standard Christian doctrine in ways that portraits and gravestones cannot, incorporating elements of superstition and fantasy that reflect a widespread interest in astrology, myth, and magic. Shedding light on the complex relationship between art and religion in an iconoclastic culture, the booklet ties seventeenth-century colonists to a rich and well-established visual tradition—one that encompassed many genres of artistic production, but is only rarely acknowledged. *The Beginning, Progress, and End of Man* falls both within and outside the traditional understanding of Puritan art—its study confirms past scholarship, even as it provides

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new insight into the links between seventeenth-century Puritan visual culture and ideology.

Chapter 3

THE INFLUENCE OF EMBLEM BOOKS

The symbols that grace the pages of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* were adapted from and inspired by a wide variety of European visual traditions, including medieval bestiaries, classical art, and folk belief. All of these elements are present in the compilations of allegorical imagery known as emblem books, texts that paired images—of both a secular and religious nature—with succinct explanatory captions meant to educate, discipline, inspire, and improve. These culturally significant books—which now seem unconventional—were once popular, mainstream texts that contained images collected from cultures all across Europe, including the tradition of Catholicism. Emblem books developed first in Italy during the sixteenth century, but remained popular throughout the seventeenth century, particularly in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and, to a lesser extent, England. One of the best-known English emblem books, *A Collection of Emblemes*, first published in London in the year 1635, may have been a resource that provided the creator of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* with both visual and intellectual inspiration. Many of the themes and images used in *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* are derived from or concurrently at play in this collection of emblems, and in many of the other emblem books produced during the early modern period.

While the author of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* is anonymous and almost certainly untraceable, George Wither, the author of *A Collection of Emblemes,* was a prominent English public intellectual, political figure, and poet, as well as a devout Puritan. He was imprisoned several times throughout his life for writing and distributing verse that upset the status quo and criticized the regime in

power. During the English Civil War, Wither was one of the many English Puritans who pushed for greater reform in the Church of England, and ultimately chose to side with Parliament against the royal authority of King Charles I.[12] The allegorical images that Wither compiled in his emblem book are not of his own invention. He was an accomplished poet, but there is no evidence to suggest that he was even an amateur artist. These emblems are the work of a Dutch engraver by the name of Crispijn van de Passe. The van de Passe engravings had previously been published in 1611 and 1613 in two German emblem books—Gabriel Rollenhagen's *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum and Emblemata centuria secunda*—where the illustrations were accompanied by Rollenhagen's short Latin inscriptions. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Netherlands had emerged as a center for emblem book production; a number of Dutch authors were producing multiple versions of the same emblem book, tailored and marketed to suit the specific needs and desires of potential consumers, both Catholic and Protestant. Once these volumes left the printer's press and began to circulate amongst consumers, imagery from these kinds of books was often copied reproduced without obtaining the official permission of the original artist.[13] The emblems in Wither's collection, however, are not merely copied from the Rollenhagen emblem books by sight—the engraved illustrations are identical to the van de Passe engravings featured in Rollenhagen's two volumes. To reproduce these images exactly, Wither must have either purchased or borrowed the original van de Passe plates used in the Rollenhagen texts.

Although van de Passe's engravings clearly satisfied Wither, he seems to have

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[12] Rob Browning, " 'To serve my purpose': Interpretive Agency in George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes*" in *Images of Matter: Essays on British Literature of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 68.

[13] Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1948), 9.

found Rollenhagen's latin inscriptions too brief or shallow to adequately describe the allegorical images and explain what readers might gain from looking upon them. While Wither (or perhaps his publisher, Henry Taunton) deemed these decades-old emblematic images suitable for expressing the kind of moral messages that would resonate with his modern, English customers, he altered the text for publication in 1635 London by uniting the van de Passe images with long, unwieldy poems of his own invention. The latin inscriptions that accompanied the van de Passe engravings in Rollenhagen's *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum and Emblemata centuria secunda* are reproduced faithfully in the Wither's text, but he has gone a step further by supplying the reader with an English-language translation of these verses, in which he occasionally adjusts Rollenhagen's explanations slightly to better suit the values of his English audience. Although Wither was compelled to add new poetic explanations to accompany each engraving, the images themselves seemingly needed no adjustments. Unlike words, they transcended linguistic, geographical, and temporal boundaries, and could be traded seamlessly between the two cultures once a more pleasing and relevant literary interpretation was applied. This exchange highlights the unique fluidity characteristic of emblematic images—transferred throughout Europe and passed down through the decades by Europe's flourishing print culture. Perhaps more importantly, the multi-national origins of George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes* reveal how allegorical images had the ability to strengthen connections between distinct cultures and distant countries, bound together by shared Calvinist values and iconographical traditions.

As moral guides, emblem books like the Wither volume were valued for their power to aid reflection and meditation. Treatises on the proper use of emblems highlight the anxiety that surrounded the production of elaborate images within Protestant texts. The full title of George Wither's *Collection of Emblemes Ancient and Moderne* describes the repository of images as, "*quickened with metrical illustrations, both morall and divine: And disposed into lotteries,*" and goes on to give a succinct summary of the book's purpose: *"That instruction, and good counsell, may bee*

furthered by an honest and pleasant recreation." George Wither intended his book for the edification of adults, but was hopeful that it might prove a useful tool for educating children as well, though he expected that such efforts might be met with more limited success. In one of several dedications peppered throughout the four volumes of *A Collection of Emblemes*, Wither explains the book's usefulness to the young Charles II, Prince of Wales, extolling the virtue of the text and its potential for both enlightening and entertaining the young royal. Manuscript versions of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* drawn by children suggest that this simple, changeable text and others like it were meant to instruct young people not only in literacy, but in the practical art of penmanship as well—simultaneously indoctrinating them with the religious values of their community and providing them with an opportunity to develop more utilitarian skills.[14]

In his work on literacy in early America, religious historian David D. Hall notes how the development of the printing press promoted increasingly widespread literacy, which in turn allowed popular literature to blossom. A greater variety of printed works, some (like *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*) suitable even for children, became increasingly accessible to a broader audience.[15] *The Beginning, Progress, and End of Man*, in contrast to more impressive texts like George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes*, is composed of woodcuts. Its production neither required the more elaborate technology of a printing press, nor benefited from the speed and consistency of this process. In some ways, this curious interactive booklet raises as many questions as it answers about literacy and access. What is certain is that

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[14] Jennifer E. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 128.

[15] David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 27.

seventeenth-century Puritan colonists in North America—like their English countrymen—spent money on books.[16] Many of these books had images in them, and—more often than not—they were imported to New England from London.[17] Exchanged across the Atlantic, images printed in London, England informed artistic production in North America. The influence of improved printing technology allowed for increasingly easy exchanges of ideas and imagery, and visual sources like emblem books moved fluidly both throughout Europe and to North and South America as well, forming a shared vocabulary of imagery that extended across both land and sea.

Although *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* may have been widely circulated in the seventeenth-century, only three examples of the text are known today—each one a unique survival. Though only three copies survive in modern collections, the fact that each was printed in a separated edition proves that this English toy book enjoyed at least modest popularity, and remained relevant enough to be printed several (and, perhaps, many) times across the span of several decades. The earliest known version of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* has resided in the collection of the British Library since the mid-eighteenth century and enjoys a known provenance. The artifact came into the library's holdings as part of a large collection books and printed ephemera accumulated by the seventeenth-century bookseller George Thomason during the English Civil War—a time of religious reform, as well as political strife. T. Dunster and E Alsop, who paired up to publish and print this edition of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*, were also producing politically-charged works of anti-Catholic propaganda together during this time period. The British Library edition has only four panels of transforming imagery and text, where

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[16] Virginia DeJohn. Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 173.

[17] David D. Hall, *Cultures of Print* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 42.

the other two editions have five. As in most manuscript copies of the text, the story of Cain and Abel that appears in the two later printed versions is omitted. The images are subtly different than the later editions as well, and the rhyming verse is also worded differently than in the two other examples, although the booklet's overall message is unchanged.

A second version of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* is now in the collection of Harvard's Houghton Library. Although both the Harvard and British Library copies are marked, "printed by E. Alsop for T. Dunster," the woodcut engravings in the Harvard version were printed from different blocks than those in the British Library example. Considering that both of editions were printed at the same shop for the same publisher, this disparity is strange. One possible explanation is that the two versions were printed with different blocks because the original wooden blocks became worn out with time and repeated use, possibly from producing so many copies of the booklet. When these two versions are compared side by side, some of the illustrations appear to have been reversed. Perhaps the engraver of the new blocks worked from a copy of the printed booklet, rather than basing his replica on the original woodblocks themselves, to create the new version—resulting in reversed illustrations.

The Harvard edition, unlike the British Library version, states that it has been "licensed and entered according to order." This claim was the equivalent of a copyright—a stamp of protection against the theft of intellectual property, which was rampant during this period. Despite being licensed, the latest known edition of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* bears a mark that it was printed, not by E. Alsop, but by J. Deacon. In all other ways, the content of this final copy is identical to the Houghton Library specimen. This edition, residing in the collection of the Bodleian Library, is believed to have been printed between 1680 and 1690. Perhaps Deacon purchased the blocks after Dunster's death and used them to produce this much later edition of the *Beginning, Progress and End of Man*. This edition makes a claim for the

longevity of the booklet's popularity. Hoping to profit from the text, Deacon clearly deemed its contents worthy of print even after several decades had passed.

Printed on sturdy laid paper, strong enough in rare cases to withstand centuries of abuse (or neglect), *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* was certainly not intended to be a disposable amusement. In a time when paper was still made by hand and printing was still far from an automated process, this toy book would have had intrinsic value. Nevertheless, the *Beginning, Progress and End of Man* would have been an economical choice—both a novel plaything and a useful moral guide folded (literally) into a single sheet of paper. *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* was undoubtedly less expensive to produce and to purchase than more elaborate and voluminous texts like George Wither's emblem book, which consists of hundreds of detailed printed pages. Toy books like *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* may have been attainable for those who would have considered a fully-fledged emblem book utterly beyond their reach. The "metrical verse" with which George Wither garnished the van de Passe engravings could easily have proven as off-putting to a barely literate customer as such an embellishment may have seemed enticing to a well-read one. Only the barest trace of literacy is required of a reader to enjoy *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*—the images are concise and demand little explanation for any viewer who is familiar with their cultural meanings. A picture book like this one might have been a welcome alternative to a more expensive and potentially less useful, if more traditional, text like the *Geneva Bible*.

While it is unclear exactly how, where, and to whom *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* was primarily sold, some seventeenth-century English booksellers separated their inventory into two separate categories—one for religious texts and another for secular texts—and advertised them accordingly. J Deacon, who printed the final known copy of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*, categorized his

inventory in this way.[18] The version of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*
produced in his print shop states that his establishment was located "at the Sign of the
Angel," and the image of an angel that distinguished his shop front from others that
lined Guiltspur Street was the same emblem with which he chose to decorate his
printed inventories. Instead of printing both lists with an identical engraving of an
angel, Deacon embellished each with a slightly different version of the emblem. The
list of religious texts on offer at his establishment is decorated with an angel that
appears slightly more demure than the one gracing the secular list, meant to appeal to
a potentially less pious group of customers.[19] Clearly, the distinction between
religious and secular texts was an important one, significant enough to be observed by
customers and booksellers alike as they marketed their wares or chose which shop to
patronize. It is unclear what category—religious or secular, profound or profane—a
text like *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* would have occupied.

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[18] Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction
and Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 1985), 198.

[19] Ibid., 199.

Chapter 4

A TRADITION OF TRANSGRESSIVE IMAGERY

Unlike gravestones and portraits, printed works on paper survive only as ephemeral expressions of religious belief. Though insubstantial, prints were well equipped to communicate controversial themes to a broad audience at relatively low risk. Printed works of art could be quickly produced and widely distributed, and were thus uniquely suited to conveying and disseminating less conventional beliefs and cultural knowledge. Through printed media, artists could delve into provocative themes and develop potentially incriminating messages. *Allegory of Iconoclasm*, a remarkable etching by Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, is one example of Protestant allegorical art that expresses meanings that were neither easy nor appropriate to convey through more traditional and long-lasting media like paintings and gravestones. Unsurprisingly, only a single copy of *Allegory of Iconoclasm* (fig. 6) survives to the present day, now in the collection of the British Museum.

Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder was a Flemish artist who fled his native country for London in the wake of the religious persecution aimed at participants in the iconoclastic riots of 1566. "Allegory of Iconoclasm," is an explicitly political artwork, produced during a critical moment of the Reformation. This work of anti-Catholic propaganda pre-dates the first known copy of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* by nearly a century, but exemplifies the consistently political nature of Protestant art in the early modern period, and establishes a precedent for the transgressive use of imagery in *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*.

Gheeraerts' grotesque etching depicts a dense swarm of laypeople and clergy engaged in all kinds of Catholic devotional behaviors, believed by Protestants to be inherently corrupt and backwards. In the print, Gheeraerts shapes the writhing mass of

pilgrims into the form of an enormous, monstrous head, probably that of a monk. The ears, mouth, and eyes of this hideous creature are simultaneously shaped by the bodies and actions of the misguided worshipers, and blocked by their frantic activity. By depicting the senses as blocked off, Gheeraerts makes a visual statement denouncing the seven sacraments (fundamental to the practice of Catholicism) as empty gestures. In Gheeraerts' provocative visual, Catholic worship effectively prohibits direct access to God's word and grace, which Protestants understood to be the source of all salvation.[20] Gheeraerts used the visual tradition of allegory to convey a belief shared by many Protestants in the wake of the Reformation—that the doctrine of the Catholic Church promoted distorted and deformed practices of Christianity and transformed what should have been sacred actions into sacrilegious ones. Each heretical gesture, acted out by the individuals in the scene, contributes to the structure of the terrible, monstrous head that dominates the composition. Like the Catholic Church, seen as corrupt, the head appears to be in a state of decay—founded in corruption, it is rotting from within.

Gheeraerts' bold anti-Catholic statement makes a visual claim that needs no written interpretation or explanation. Nevertheless, a scattering of letters on the print's surface, hints that it was originally published with an accompanying key. Although now lost, evidence of a key reinforces the print's political purpose, and implies that it was widely circulated to a public audience. Although the print is heavily stylized, it seems likely that Gheeraerts' experiences in the riots of 1566 may have inspired him to create this work of art. The key may have provided the viewer with information that related elements of the scene to actual events and to real people. Alternatively, the key could have supplied a curious viewer with satirical commentary on the image, supplementing both its political purpose and its entertainment value.

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[20] Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 168.

In his condemning depiction of the Catholic faith, Gheeraerts created an image of Protestant religious and political propaganda that decried idolatry. But the artist is at once an "image-breaker" *and* an "image-maker," immortalizing these reviled acts of sacrilege and corruption in great detail on paper, even as he denounces them.[21] *Allegory of Iconoclasm* reveals that anxiety about the proper use of imagery could be the impetus for creating politically potent imagery. This complicated work of Protestant allegorical art shows the ambiguous power of imagery to both eradicate and conserve forbidden activities and ideas. *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* likewise invites the reader to partake in an ambiguous feast of imagery that has the potential to convey spiritual truth and to warn the viewer against straying from the righteous path. For Protestant cultures, images clearly constituted one venue through which individuals could absorb important information about how to develop a meaningful relationship with God and live a pious life, often by depicting the disaster that would ensue if the reader dared to disobey the image's warning.

The Beginning, Progress and End of Man cannot be interpreted merely as a series of images and words printed on a page—its power and efficacy as an interpretive tool stem from its materiality. Just as the importance of establishing a direct and unmediated relationship with God's word is reiterated in *Gheeraerts' Allegory of Iconoclasm*, readers could only access the message imbedded in images and verse in *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* if they engaged with it physically. By manipulating, looking at, and reciting from these pages, the viewer of this ever-transforming text might undergo a spiritual transformation. But in spite of its serious purpose, the booklet encourages playfulness, featuring fanciful and detailed depictions of eagles, lions, griffins, and mermaids that appeal to the youthful imagination. These fantastical symbols work together in the context of the text to form

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[21] Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 111.

a narrative that is highly nuanced (if somewhat disjointed and episodic). Nevertheless, the changeable book seems to invite lively disobedience. By lifting the flaps in incorrect order, the reader might create grotesque transformations that were humorous and even subversive. In comparison with a more official religious text, like the *Geneva Bible*, *The Beginning, Progress, and End of Man* presents an alternative, but parallel image of lived religion that is not so restrictive as it is interactive, tactile, and inventive.

The transgressive content of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* highlights the deep sense of ambivalence that the Puritan's felt, not only towards imagery, literacy, and the printed word. By learning to read and write, a child gained access to spiritual reflection and redemption through God's word, but also entered a new realm of temptation. Although the ability to read scripture was recognized as the key to receiving salvation (fig. 7), man's quest for knowledge could also be a source of temptation and sin, as epitomized by the story of Adam and Eve, who disobeyed God's word to eat from the tree of knowledge. Exemplifying this anxiety, the image of the mermaid in the booklet's first panel is accompanied by a warning. The reader is cautioned not to look at the mermaid's face or listen to her voice, lest he fall victim to her siren song. But the warning cannot prohibit the reader's eye from enjoying the illustration of the mermaid's shapely form, which is preserved on the page in great detail. Looking at the images depicted in printed works like *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* could introduce the reader to previously unknown temptations, just as easily as it could direct them on a virtuous path.

Regardless of the kinds of problems that interactive texts posed for the Puritans, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* is only one example of the many ways that the Puritans brought images in books to life. George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes* is also interactive, but incorporates movable elements differently than *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*. When Wither modified the work of Rollenhagen and Crispjin van de Passe to appeal to the sensibilities of his English audience, he also decided to enhance its entertainment value by turning it into a lottery

book. *A Collection of Emblemes* contains two volvelles—printed, paper wheels that have been fastened to the back page of the text. One volvelle indicates which volume of *A Collection of Emblemes* the reader should consult to find his fortune; the other indicates a number that corresponds to a particular emblem within that volume. Wither's instructions tell the curious reader how to proceed, reminding him to leave his fortune in the hands of fate and to "Turne about one of the Indexes in the Figures … without casting your eyes thereupon to observe where it stayeth until your hand ceaseth to give it motion," or to move the volvelle without peeking. The reader is then encouraged to page through the book and find the number that he or she has chosen, but there is a twist—"If it be any Number above Fifty, it is a Blancke Chance, and you are to looke no further." The reader may draw a blank, instead of a lot, and end up without a prediction of his fortune. Otherwise, a number directs the reader to the emblem, and pithy moral message, that fate has decided for him. Besides fitting into a Puritan tradition of interactive imagery and texts, the lottery within George Wither's emblem book shows how a superstitious amusement like fortunetelling could be incorporated into a text meant primarily for spiritual reflection.

Seventeenth-century Puritans were always looking for signs from God—signs that might be made apparent to them through nature or through communication with one another.[22] One of the fundamental tenets of Puritan faith was the necessity for direct spiritual contact with God, and they looked for his presence everywhere. Superstitious elements like the volvelles in *A Collection of Emblemes* highlight the lottery as a venue for receiving spiritual truth, in an environment where signs in the natural world were also interpreted as signals of whether or not an individual or community was on the right path. Within the tradition of Calvinist determinism, the spiritual elect were chosen by God's grace rather on the basis of their own good deeds.

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[22] David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 80.

Puritans looked for signs to determine whether they were slated for salvation or damnation. The interactions of every day life took on great spiritual significance in this environment.[23] Images had great (albeit contested) power, and were recognized for their ability to make hidden truths apparent. Just as Puritan images could be decidedly political in nature, interactive texts like *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* and *A Collection of Emblemes* contained threads of superstition that reveal the close relationship linking the Puritan's use of symbolism with their deterministic beliefs.

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[23] Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 2.

Chapter 5

THE BEGINNING, PROGRESS AND END OF MAN

<u>Genesis</u>

The narrative of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* begins with Adam and Eve's fall from grace—depicting mankind's descent into original sin—the impetus for all worldly suffering and the event that initiated the Puritan desire to reconnect with God and receive his grace once more. A seventeenth-century definition of "Van" from the Oxford English Dictionary states that it means "the foremost position in a company or train of persons moving, or prepared to move forwards or onwards." In the very first verse, the booklet explicitly makes reference to the idea of motion and forward progress that is the defining characteristic of this interactive book. The term also conveys a sense of progress through human history, starting with Adam—the first man—to stress the interconnectedness of all the characters and stories that are about to unfold in the reader's hands. Adam, as the "mirror of unstained life" is a character that the reader may use to measure his own worth, holding the Biblical story up as a mirror in which he can see reflections of his own life.

The illustration of Adam transforms into a depiction of his wife Eve – shaped, as scripture would have it, from his own rib (fig. 8). The book hints that Adam's stainlessness is cut short by his marriage to Eve. Part of Eve's punishment is to forever be subordinate to her husband. Because of her sin in succumbing to temptation, in the final step of this transformation, Eve is changed into a mermaid (fig. 8). Holding a comb and a mirror in her hands, the mermaid symbolizes vanity, worldly temptation,

and female impropriety.[24] In seventeenth-century England, the term mermaid also carried connotations of prostitution.[25] With the face and torso of a beautiful woman, but made monstrous by the presence of a fish's tail, the mermaid was a symbolic reminder to avoid sexual intercourse outside of marriage, where it was unsanctioned and had no reproductive end. This transformation reiterates Puritan anxiety about female sexuality, showing how easily the virtuous and virginal Eve can be transformed into a deceptive and unchaste woman.

The mermaid is a popular folk symbol that pre-dates Christianity. There is no biblical story featuring a mermaid, but she nevertheless shows up in the same panel with Adam and Eve—arguably the most famous of biblical figures. The mermaid was absorbed into religious art in communities throughout Europe at an early date; in the misericords of medieval English cathedrals, mermaids are sometimes incorporated into the very architecture of the church itself. Perhaps the engraver of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* was influenced by these carvings, already centuries old when he decided to include a mermaid in his booklet as a warning against vanity and worldly temptation.

As evidenced by the allegorical depiction of a monstrous head in Marcus Gheeraerts' *Allegory of Iconoclasm*, deformed bodies and monstrous creatures were popular and recurring motifs. For Puritans, physical deformity was an outward reminder of the ever-lurking presence of sin, not only in the wider world, but also in their own community and in their own hearts.[26] In George Wither's *A Collection of*

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[24] Gertrude Grace Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Collier Books, 1975), 23-24.

[25] "*mermaid*, n." Oxford English Dictionary. OED Online. http://dictionary.oed.com/.

[26] Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 171.

Emblems, several emblems warn against the invisible presence of sin, concealed by a pleasing façade. Outward beauty's potential to hide inward monstrosity was usually depicted in gendered terms, incriminating women for their false and wicked nature (fig. 9). Although often internal and often invisible, sin was a perversion that was always believed to be present in the world.[27] The image of the mermaid—though it may appear peculiar and out of place—actually reinforces very mainstream ideas about the sometimes hidden or disguised, but ever-present nature of sin, so often associated with the shape of a woman.

The next panel focuses on Cain and Abel, the two sons of Adam and Eve (fig. 10). In *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*, the two brothers are identical—they are only distinguished from one another when the reader turns down the first flap to reveal the different sacrifices they offered to God. The sameness of the brothers, reiterated through the transformation of Abel into Cain, highlights the problem that spurs Cain to curse God and to kill his own brother—while Abel and Cain each make a sacrifice, God is pleased only by Abel's offering. A small number of Renaissance paintings depict the struggle of Cain and Abel. This story is not an easy one to come to terms with, however, and perhaps this is the reason that it is an infrequent motif in seventeenth-century art. By pairing the story of Abel's murder by his brother with the story of Adam and Eve's fall from grace, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* cites original sin as the origin of all human suffering and traces it into the present day.

The Eagle and The Baby

From the Old Testament world of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, the booklet then moves into the world of fantasy and myth. The booklet's instructions promise, again and again, that each transformation will strike the reader as stranger than the

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[27] David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 101-102.

last. First, a lion, standing upright and "rampant" on its two hinds legs, turns into a griffin (fig. 11). The griffin and lion both enjoyed popularity as emblems, and in *A Collection of Emblemes*, George Wither praised the griffin as "the figure of a creature, not found within the Catalogues of *Nature*" that combined both the physical and mental characteristics of bird and beast, "Importing…The *Vertues*, both of *Body* and of *minde*" (fig. 12). He went on to note that men who emulated both the virtues of the eagle and the lion, and who succeeded in cultivating this perfect balance of mastery over both body and mind, were the only mortals worthy to ride on the backs of these fantastic beasts.

Rather than a man riding on the back of a griffin, the next transformation shows a tightly swaddled baby, caught in the clutches of an enormous eagle. This image is a direct reference to the classical story of the Abduction of Ganymede. In the tradition of Greek myth, Ganymede was a beautiful mortal who attracted the attention of Zeus. The god transformed into an enormous eagle so that he could carry the teenager off to Mount Olympus to serve as his cupbearer. George Wither's emblem book, like so many others, features an engraving of a teenage Ganymede, being abducted by Zeus (fig. 13). Never one to be brief, Wither explains the symbolic importance of Ganymede's capture by the eagle in a lengthy poem. For Wither and his readers, the emblem symbolizes God's ability to lift the soul to new and greater heights and to inspire human souls with divine purpose.

Classical stories like this one provided inspiration for many Renaissance artists, and engravers probably encountered the story through a variety of visual media. Like painters, emblem artists almost unanimously depicted Ganymede as a beautiful teenager. The only exception to this rule seems to be the famous Dutch painters, Rembrandt van Rijn, who broke with classical tradition to depict Ganymede not as a self-possessed youth, but as a frightened, squalling baby (fig. 14). Rembrandt's 1635 painting, *Abduction of Ganymede,* makes an anti-classical statement; his unconventional depiction of Ganymede reimagines a myth in everyday terms and his bold visual statement rejects the idealization of the human body that is

fundamental to classical Italian painting and sculpture.[28] George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes* works within the accepted conventions of classical art and portrays Ganymede as a young man, but the engraver of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* chose to depict the mythological figure as a baby instead. The artist may not have been familiar with Rembrandt's painting, since it seems unlikely that he had the opportunity to encounter it in the form of a painted copy or an engraving at such an early date. Like Rembrandt, by transforming Ganymede into baby, the author of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* reinterprets a classical tradition in the vernacular. Placed in the perilous clutches of an enormous eagle, the baby also makes a bold statement about the fleeting nature of earthly existence, emphasizing the cyclic nature of life—from cradle to grave—that is a common theme in Puritan art. The vulnerable child reminds the reader that life is precious and brief—and that it can be unexpectedly snatched away at any moment. Another emblem from the George Wither's volume depicts a plump and healthy toddler, leaning casually against a human skull (fig. 15). The reclining figure is encircled by the symbol of ouroboros—a snake consuming its own tail—that represents eternity. The accompanying caption sums up the significance of this layered use of imagery: "As soone, as wee to bee, begunne;/ We did beginne, to be undone." The cyclical nature of the emblem's visual content shows that the potential for everlasting life can be found only in death, just as it reminds the viewer that death's shadow looms, ever present, over even the youngest child.

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[28] Eva C. Keuls, "Rembrandt's Use of Classical Motifs." In *The Great Emporium: The Low Countries as Cultural Crossroads in the Renaissance and the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Cedric C. Barfoot and Richard Todd (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), 148-149.

The Heart and the Purse

The booklet now returns the reader from a literal flight of fancy filled with mythical beasts back to the realm of everyday life (and death). The baby captured by the eagle manages to survive the encounter, but escapes disaster only to become fixated on curing his empty heart by gathering worldly wealth (fig. 16). In contrast to Gheeraerts' *Allegory of Iconoclasm*, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* depicts the heart, rather than eyes, ears, or a mouth, as the site for receiving God's grace and spiritual redemption. The heart is a very common and popular motif in Christian art— its use extends well beyond Protestant tradition and into Catholic visual culture as well. In the Puritan artistic tradition, this simple symbol appears seemingly everywhere—from illustrations in the *Geneva Bible,* to emblem books, to gravestones that pepper cemeteries all across New England. A gravestone from the burial ground that surrounds the last surviving seventeenth-century Puritan Meeting House—Old Ship Meeting House in Hingham, Massachusetts—portrays a death's head, or skull, with a mouth in the shape of a heart (fig. 17). The symbol of the heart stands in for the abstract and otherwise invisible soul, and the heart—positioned as the mouth of the skull—is the link between the end of earthly existence and a new spiritual beginning. At once, the headstone prompts meditation on the inevitability of death and the transient nature of the material world, while also suggesting the possibility of everlasting life that can be achieved only through spiritual salvation. Like this gravestone, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* depicts the heart as a spiritual vessel. In one of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man'*s most compelling transformations, an "up-side-down" heart morphs into a purse—overflowing with gold coins, and complete with drawstrings that can be pulled tight, as if to close off all access to salvation (fig. 16). By being "turn'd up-side-down," the heart displays its ability to be disfigured and altered by greed. Once filled with coins, the transformation is complete—the sickly heart is no longer a heart at all, but a mere container, so fully occupied with hoarding material wealth that no room is left to protect the soul.

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The connection from heart to purse may have been an obvious one for the reader; the Oxford English Dictionary gives one colloquial definition of purse as "A person's conscience, heart, etc., regarded as a place of safe storage or supply; a person's thoughts or store of ideas." The symbol of the purse also contains a more subtle biblical allusion, calling to mind the purse of thirty pieces of silver that the Gospels claim were given to Judas as a bribe, in return for his collaboration in Christ's arrest. Judas, of course, later regrets this bargain deeply, and medieval and Renaissance artists often identified Judas by depicting him with the full purse that condemns him. Not merely a prop, this purse became a relic and a symbol in its own right as one of the Arma Christi, the instruments of Christ's passion. Not quite thirty, but twenty-eight coins are depicted in *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*, but the number of coins actually shown alongside the purse (or whether any coins are shown at all) varies widely in depictions of Judas' purse. One example of Arma Christi artwork from the Eastern Orthodox tradition displays many of the symbols and relics of the passion (fig. 18). This image shows a drawstring purse with its contents, exactly twenty-eight coins, tumbling out from inside it; this traditional Arma Christi depiction of Judas' purse is almost identical to the purse featured in *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*. The connection between the visual contents of the toy book and Arma Christi imagery speaks to the continuity of visual religious expression across very different sects of Christianity that often employed the same symbols, despite using these images in divergent ways. The purse identifies the sinful greed of the worldly man in *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* with Judas' betrayal of Christ. In doing so, the booklet makes a bold statement about the nature of sin, condemning sinners as traitors who are they themselves complicit in Christ's execution.

The Skeleton

In the booklet's final transformation, the worldly fellow realizes his folly too late, lamenting his greed even as he is transformed into a skeleton (fig. 19). The first

four panels of imagery featured in *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* should offer proof enough that Puritan art extends well beyond depictions of death. That being said, images like skulls, skeletons, and hourglasses are some of the most popular and common motifs of Puritan art. Innumerable New England gravestones are decorated with death's heads, just as Thomas Smith broods over a skull in his self-portrait, and *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* is no exception to the rule. Rather than being hunted by a skeleton or haunted by a skull, two figural representations of death, the man is gradually transformed *into* the skeleton as he transitions from health to sickness and ultimately succumbs to illness. Even as he perishes, he reminds the reader of his or her own mortality, warning that he goes ahead only to "lead the way" to death for the reader who, eventually, will have no choice but to follow. Visually, the panels of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* connect the Old Testament to everyday life—fallen Adam and his infamous son Cain are equated with the modern man (depicted in fashionable, contemporary clothing), who seeks only personal gain and wealth. Adam and Eve, the first mortals and therefore the first sinners, are poised as responsible for creating this unbreakable cycle of birth and death. Ultimately, a skeleton replaces Adam as leader of the "Van"—reminding the reader that original sin is the cause of mortality.

Two symbolic accessories mark the skeleton for his important role; he carries an arrow to strike down the living and an hourglass as a reminder of life's fleeting nature. An example of early modern or medieval graffiti carved into the door of St. Bartholomew's Church in Gloucestershire, England, depicts a mermaid holding her usual comb along with what appears, rather than the standard mirror, to be an hourglass.[29] Like the man transformed unwillingly into a skeleton, the mermaid is a symbol of vanity. In comparison to the lines of poetry sometimes found carved into

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[29] Jones-Baker, Doris. "The Graffiti of Folk Motifs in Cotswold Churches." *Folklore* 92, no. 2 (1981): 160-167. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1259469, 167.

the walls of English churches by churchgoers showing off their literacy, simple images like this mermaid are less likely to have been the work elite individuals.[30] Whoever the artist was, he seems to have made one of the same symbolic connections stated in the narrative of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*, conflating the image of the mermaid with the image of death.

While this example of medieval church graffiti is a rare survival, many expansive and thorough studies document the symbols carved into gravestones in cemeteries throughout New England, often tracing the stones to the particular craftsmen who might have been involved in creating them. Such studies prove not only that skilled artisans were in high demand in Anglo-American New England, but that seventeenth-century consumers valued this repertoire of images to such an extent that they were eager to mark the gravestones of their loved ones with it, and willing to pay for the privilege. While historical studies of early gravestones sometimes fail to see past the fascinating iconography, the materiality of these monuments is vital to understanding their decorative carving. Just as reading *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* is an interactive, tactile experience, the experience of walking in a seventeenth-century New England graveyard would have been a sensory one.[31]

A pair of gravestones that once marked the final resting place of John Foster, now on display at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, again assert the importance of tangible objects conveying messages through visual allegory in Puritan religious, intellectual, and social life. Like painted portraits, early gravestones offer substantial insight into seventeenth-century New England art and ideology; meant to serve as lasting and legible monuments through the ages, carved headstones survive in abundance. As one of North America's first printmakers, Foster spent his life

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[30] Ibid., 161.

[31] Gordon E. Geddes, *Welcome Joy: Death in Puritan New England* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 147.

producing words and images for popular consumption.[32] It is fitting, therefore, that his headstone is so impressively decorated. The Foster headstone is remarkable because it is so expressively carved, but the headstone's message is not at all exceptional. Time, depicted as an old man, holds a scythe and an hourglass, as Death, in the form of a skeleton, blows out a candle set atop a large globe (fig. 20). Although the flame representing Foster's life on earth has been symbolically snuffed out, the sun shines brightly from the top of the scene, promising eternal life in heaven. The carved poem and image that decorate John Foster's headstone were both lifted directly from Francis Quarles' *Emblems, Divine and Moral, With Hieroglyphicks of the Life of Man*.[33] The stonecutter's reliance on Quarles' *Emblems* proves that New Englanders were tied to Europe in a system of trade that encouraged the exchange of printed images. This pragmatic choice also reveals the very different attitude towards originality that persisted in the seventeenth century—if the sentiment of an existing poem or emblem seemed suitable for the project, craftsmen saw no reason to reinvent the wheel by looking further for a good image or idea. Clearly, the influence of emblem literature was not confined to the printed page, when reproduced on objects like the John Foster headstone, these morally instructive images became accessible not only to elites who could afford to purchase emblem books for their own libraries but visible to anyone who passed by the stone in the local burial ground.

In contrast to the heavily carved Foster headstone, the accompanying footstone reads simply, in both Latin and English, "skill was his cash." The paired stones embody the dual function of gravestones in Puritan society. The familiar scene of death's ultimate triumph depicted on the headstone invites viewers to contemplate the

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[32] Elisabeth Louise Roark, *Artists of Colonial America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2003), 34-35.

[33] Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Hanover: University Press of New England: 1966), 295.

inevitability of their own mortality and inspires inward reflection. The viewer sees his own existence echoed in the memorial to Foster's life. [34] The imagery and poem on the headstone, though elaborate, are impersonal, and were copied from the stock images and words in an emblem book. The Quarles image was incorporated into the decoration of at least one other seventeenth-century Massachusetts gravestone, which marks the burial place of Joseph Tapping in Boston.[35] The footstone, though simple, offers a proud (if brief) endorsement of Foster as an individual, remarking on his considerable skill and boasting of his ability to profit from it. Both the universal sentiments and the strikingly individualistic and worldly elements are worthy of commemoration—each one painstakingly carved into solid stone.

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[34] Sally M. Promey, "Mirror Images: Framing the Self in Early New England Material Piety," in *Figures in the Carpet: Finding the Human Person in the American Past*, ed. Wilfred M. McClay (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007), 86.

[35] Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols, 1650-1815* (Hanover: University Press of New England: 1966), 295.

CONCLUSION

The five scenes of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* form a prescriptive narrative—death is inevitable, and salvation through Christ is the only lasting reward. Accumulating personal wealth, or chasing other earthly temptations, the booklet chides, is a worthless endeavor in the face of all eternity—earthly existence is better spent serving God. This metaphorical text is a typical example of Biblical typology, a concept that shaped all facets of Protestant religious expression. By linking Old Testament stories and themes to fulfillment in the promises of the New Testament, and relating scripture to the trials of daily life through a concise and repetitive vocabulary of metaphor and symbol,[36] typology made God's word present in everyday experience. [37] Even John Winthrop and his followers compared their exodus from England to the Old Testament story of the Israelites fleeing Egyptian oppression. Images played an important role in Protestant daily life, as prompts for stories, reminders, and lessons that aided individuals and communities in relating to scripture and other fundamental elements of their faith on a daily basis.

As John Foster's headstone reveals, symbols from the pages of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* did not only occur in printed form; images like griffins and

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[36] Sally M. Promey, "Mirror Images: Framing the Self in Early New England Material Piety," in *Figures in the Carpet: Finding the Human Person in the American Past*, ed. Wilfred M. McClay (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007), 92.

[37] David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 167.

mermaids or Adam and Eve likely jumped off the page at readers who were accustomed to encountering these decorative motifs in everyday life as well. Elite families in the old world and the new harnessed their symbolic potential, using them as heraldic emblems to assert the superiority of their bloodline and make claims to property and rank. Shopkeepers used many of the same symbols to identify their storefronts and attract patrons to their shops. In a world where spiritual concerns permeated every facet of daily life, these images might also be carefully stitched into needlework or used to decorate household ceramics, where they served not only as appealing ornaments, but also as prompts for self-reflection.[38]

The visual vocabulary of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*, as well as its moral message and typological theme, are common threads in Puritan art, and these traits links the peculiar text to more familiar examples of Puritan art like gravestones and portrait paintings. While all of these objects function through the use of allegorical imagery, those that were meant to last for the ages use visual allegory to rigidly uphold traditional values. These more conventional artworks serve as testaments of personal achievement and propriety meant to assert status and inspire others in the community. In contrast, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* is a more open-ended and ephemeral text. Though brief, it combines a greater variety of images, some of which seem to transgress the typical boundaries of Puritan art. Because of the booklet's tendency to show up in library archives, rather than museum exhibits, it has seldom been studied in the context of other works of art.

When studied side by side with works of art like the John Foster gravestone and *Thomas Smith's Self-Portrait*, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* fits into the traditional scholarly understanding of Puritan visual culture as introspective, text-

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[38] David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 24.

oriented, prescriptive, and death-obsessed. The booklet, however, also diverges with the themes portrayed in these two conventional examples of Puritan art. Especially when placed in conversation with seventeenth-century English emblem books, this booklet reveals a visual culture that is more imaginative, and complex than it often receives credit for being. Emblem books are especially useful for deciphering the meanings of the precise symbols that the booklet contains, and are helpful for piecing together its more puzzling juxtapositions of imagery. Like George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes*, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* is comprised of motifs with diverse origins—some became popular during the medieval period, others carry complex symbolic associations that pre-date Christianity.

The visual contents of the booklet (and the playful medium through which they are conveyed) may seem subversive, but when placed in the context of politically charged artworks like *Allegory of Iconoclasm* by Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, *The Beginning, End, and Progress of Man* fits seamlessly into the customary use and production of Protestant art. Besides offering evidence of an evolved (if conflicted) visual culture, the booklet dispels stereotypes of the Puritans—and especially Puritan communities in New England—as aloof and removed from the material world. Despite such a reputation, seventeenth-century colonists were, in fact, intensely aware of the significance of material objects, and used allegorical imagery as one means of reconciling their religious beliefs with their worldly experiences and observations.[39] Through obsessive mediation between the spiritual and material world, Puritan settlers like Thomas Smith struggled to tease enduring spiritual truth from everyday interactions. The tension between the spiritual and the material, between image and idea, manifested itself in a wide variety of objects—from substantial monuments like

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[39] Sally M. Promey and Shira Brisman. "Sensory Cultures: Material and Visual Religion Reconsidered" in *Blackwell Companion to Religion in America*, edited by Philip Goff. 177-205 (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 177-205

gravestones to printed broadsides—but is nowhere more evident than in *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*.

EPILOGUE

The use of allegorical imagery by no means came to a halt as the seventeenth century came to a close. Although some of the individual elements of the Protestant visual vocabulary shifted and morphed over time, much about the use and production of images stayed the same. *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* retained its relevance to such an extent that, in the late eighteenth century, a Philadelphia entrepreneur eagerly incorporated the content of the earliest known edition of the booklet into a work of his own, naming it *Metamorphosis*. Although several of the panels contain subtle differences, eighteenth and nineteenth-century copies of *Metamorphosis* retained the overall message of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*—some of the details have been brought up to date, but most of the original illustrations and verses are more or less unchanged. The booklet was printed in Philadelphia, as well as in nearby Wilmington, Delaware, and was marketed at least as far as New York City, where in 1811, bookseller Samuel Woods advertised it for sale at the price of six cents.[40] Benjamin Sands, the author of *Metamorphosis,* expressed his anxiety about using superstitious images as tools for education, stating his concerns very explicitly in the brief disclaimers that he added to the text. One such disclaimer states, "That we may not mislead our little readers, it is desired they would understand the *Mermaid* and *Griffin* to be only creatures of fable, that never did

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[40] "Advertisement" (New York: Commercial Advertiser, 1811), America's Historical Newspapers: 106F2483AD91C284.

exist."[41] Likewise, Sands feels it necessary to explain that, "although Death is represented in the form of a human skeleton, yet this is only an emblem; for Death is not a being, but a state." Sands' fretful additions reveal an anxious relationship towards religious imagery, shaped over centuries by the iconoclastic roots of the Protestant Reformation.[42]

If Benjamin Sands quickly recognized the potential of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*'s, so did Starck und Lange, printers who specialized in German-language religious broadsides, recognize the potential of Sands' *Metamorphosis*. By 1814, Starck und Lange were producing a German-language version titled, *Metamorphosis, oder, eine Verwandlung von Bildern: mit einer Auslegung in Versen zum Vergnügen junger Leute,* in their Hannover, Pennsylvania printshop. Although the English and German language versions are nearly identical, the German-language copy uses the angular, Gothic-style typeface known as Fraktur. Pennsylvania Germans were known for favoring Fraktur script in their drawings and printed materials, and this modification helped *Metamorphosis* meet the visual expectations of the Pennsylvania German community. Without a language barrier to overcome, the Pennsylvania Germans, well known for creating lively illuminated manuscripts of their own, could easily have identified with this text. Steeped in Protestant rhetoric, *Metamorphosis* clearly had the potential to appeal to both Germanic and Anglo-Americans, united by common religious belief.

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[41] Benjamin Sands, *Metamorphosis, or, A transformation of pictures, with poetical explanations, for the amusement of young persons* (Philadelphia: Joseph Rakestraw, 1814).

[42] Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995), 12.

Through carefully considered negotiations, Protestant communities both past and present have found a variety of ways to visualize and materialize their beliefs through a shared visual vocabulary whose value has stood the tests of time. The relationship between *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* and its offspring, *Metamorphosis*, shows a continuity of religious belief and expression across the centuries, as well as across cultural and linguistic barriers. The booklet's ability to appeal to diverse cultures over one hundred years after its original publication in England is evidence of the continuity of religious belief and expression across time. Vestiges of Puritan visual culture survive well into the nineteenth century through the use and re-use of images transferred through print culture. The simple engraved depiction of Cain, making his ill-fated offering in *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*, resurfaces in the mid-nineteenth century on a nineteenth-century balled broadside.[43] The emblem and poem inscribed into John Foster's headstone, taken from a seventeenth-century emblem book by Francis Quarles, can still be found in the editions of Quarles' work printed well into the late nineteenth century. Like *Metamorphosis*, survivals like these show the interconnectedness and enduring legacy of Protestant allegorical imagery and the longevity of material culture.

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[43] *The Conveyor*, "Cane in the Canefields" Oxford: Bodleian Center for the Study of the Book, October 8, 2009, http://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/theconveyor/2009/10/08/cain-in-the-canefields/

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Appendix A

FIGURES

Figure 1:
Manuscript metamorphosis
John Chapman
Pennsylvania; 1808
Watercolor and ink on paper
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and
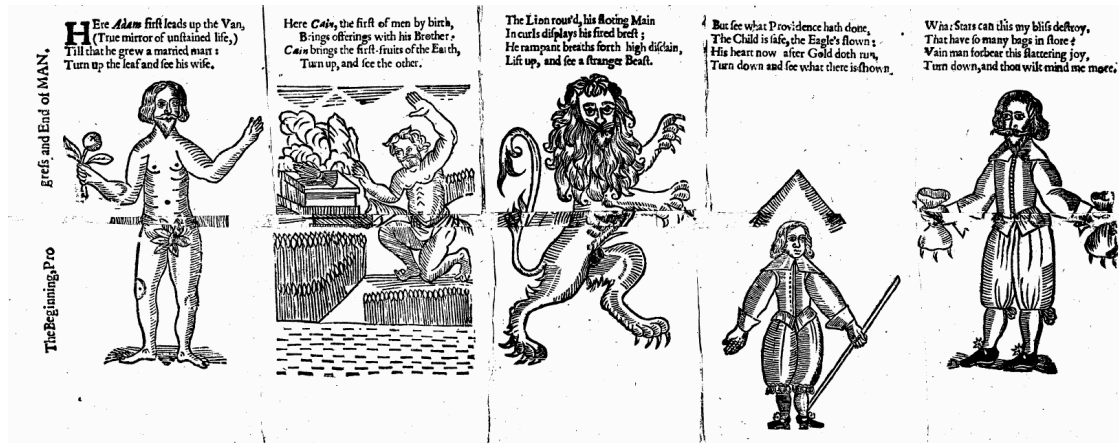Printed Ephemera

Figure 2:
The Beginning, Progress and End of Man
(Pictured with both of the flaps closed, showing the first set of images)
Printed by B. Alsop for T. Dunster
Harvard University Library
London, England; 1654
Woodcut

Figure 3:
The Beginning, Progress and End of Man
(Pictured with one of the flaps closed and one open, showing the partially transformed second set of images)
Printed by B. Alsop for T. Dunster
Harvard University Library
London, England; 1654
Woodcut

Figure 4:
The Beginning, Progress and End of Man
(Pictured with both of the flaps open, showing the final set of fully transformed images)
Printed by B. Alsop for T. Dunster
Harvard University Library
London, England; 1654
Woodcut

Figure 5:
Self-Portrait
Thomas Smith
Massachusetts; ca. 1680
Worcester Art Museum
Oil on canvas
1948.9 Museum Purchase

Figure 6:
Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder
Allegory of Iconoclasm
Netherlands; ca. 1566
British Museum
Etching
1933,1111.3 Museum Purchase

Figure 7:
Detail from *A Collection of Emblemes*
George Wither and Crispijn van de Passe
London, England; 1635
Rare Book & Manuscript Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,
Emblematica Online Digital Collection
Engraving

HEre *Adam* first leads up the Van,
(True mirror of unstained life,)
Till that he grew a married man :
Turn up the leaf and see his wife.

Eve in her Virgins blush array'd,
Her face more fair her smiles are freer ;
But would you see a stranger Maid,
Turn down the leaf and you shall see her.

Eys, look not on this Mermaids face,
And Ears, forbear her song :
Her face hath an alluring grace,
More charming is her tongue.

Figure 8:
Details from The Beginning, Progress and End of Man, juxtaposed to show the
sequence of transforming imagery in the first panel
The Beginning, Progress and End of Man
Printed by B. Alsop for T. Dunster
Harvard University Library
London, England; 1654
Woodcut

Figure 9:
Detail from *A Collection of Emblemes*
George Wither and Crispijn van de Passe
London, England; 1635
Rare Book & Manuscript Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,
Emblematica Online Digital Collection
Engraving

Here *Cain*, the first of men by birth,
    Brings offerings with his Brother:
Cain brings the first-fruits of the Earth,
    Turn up, and see the other.

Here *Abel* comes and brings to God
The best and youngest of his Fold,
But would you learn his period,
    Turn down the leat and it behold.

Accursed *Cain*! what dost thou do?
Must Brothers murther thus begin?
And one man die, ere more than two
As yet were born to mourn thy sin?

Figure 10:
Details from The Beginning, Progress and End of Man, juxtaposed to show the
sequence of transforming imagery in the second panel
The Beginning, Progress and End of Man
Printed by B. Alsop for T. Dunster
Harvard University Library
London, England; 1654
Woodcut

The Lion rous'd, his floting Main
In curls difplays his fired breft ;
He rampant breaths forth high difdain,
Lift up, and fee a ftranger Beaft.

The Griffins head and wings unto
The Lions back and legs are joyn'd :
Turn down the lower leaf, and you
A new and ftranger fight fhall find.

An Eagle here with wings difplay'd,
Doth gripe (alas) a lovely prey :
Why is there help fo long delay'd
To refcue this fweet Babe away ?

Figure 11:
Details from The Beginning, Progress and End of Man, juxtaposed to show the
sequence of transforming imagery in the third panel
The Beginning, Progress and End of Man
Printed by B. Alsop for T. Dunster
Harvard University Library
London, England; 1654
Woodcut

Figure 12:
Detail from *A Collection of Emblemes*
George Wither and Crispijn van de Passe
London, England; 1635
Rare Book & Manuscript Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,
Emblematica Online Digital Collection
Engraving

Figure 13:
Detail from *A Collection of Emblemes*
George Wither and Crispijn van de Passe
London, England; 1635
Rare Book & Manuscript Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,
Emblematica Online Digital Collection
Engraving

Figure 14:
The Abduction of Ganymede
Rembrandt van Rijn
Netherlands; 1638
Wikimedia Commons, Google Art Project
Oil on canvas

Figure 15:
Detail from *A Collection of Emblemes*
George Wither and Crispijn van de Passe
London, England; 1635
Rare Book & Manuscript Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,
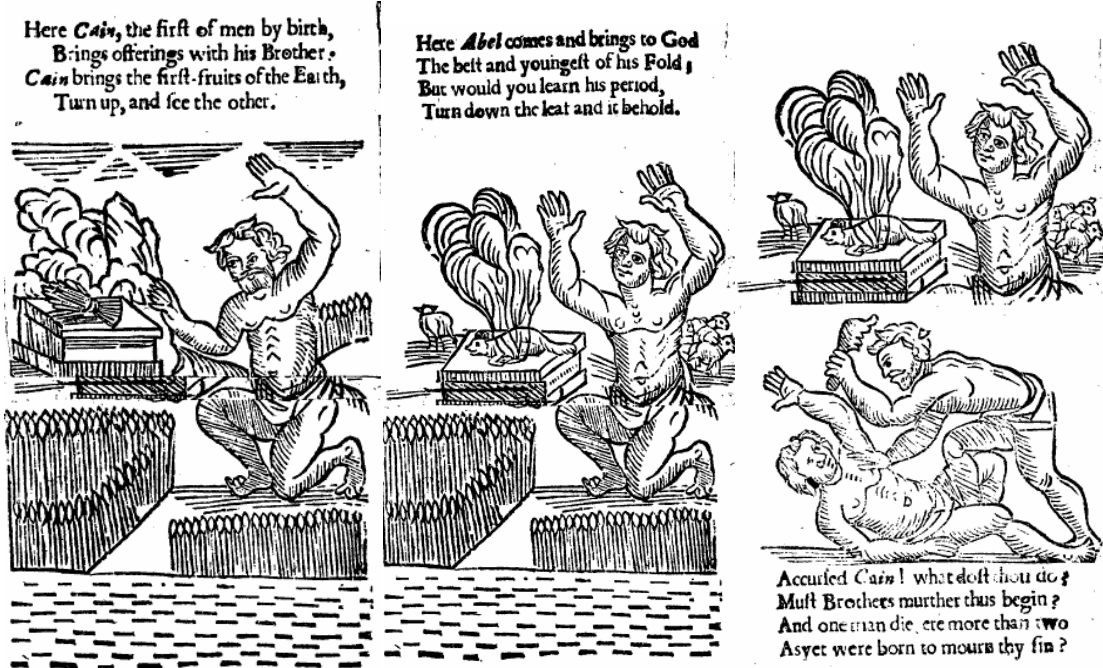Emblematica Online Digital Collection
Engraving

But see what Providence hath done,
The Child is safe, the Eagle's flown:
His heart now after Gold doth run,
Turn down and see what there is shown.

Aleft with Gold, in ev'ry part
A sudden joy and health doth warm him:
His heavy purse makes light his heart, (him.
And now he boasts what pow'r can harm

A Heart turn'd up-side-down, and wholly
Fixt on this worlds unconstant wealth;
Sick of a greedy melancholy:
Turn up and find its way to health.

Figure 16:
Details from The Beginning, Progress and End of Man, juxtaposed to show the
sequence of transforming imagery in the fourth panel
The Beginning, Progress and End of Man
Printed by B. Alsop for T. Dunster
Harvard University Library
London, England; 1654
Woodcut

Figure 17:
Detail of gravestone
Anonymous artist
Hingham, Massachusetts; seventeenth or early eighteenth century
Author's own image
Carved Slate
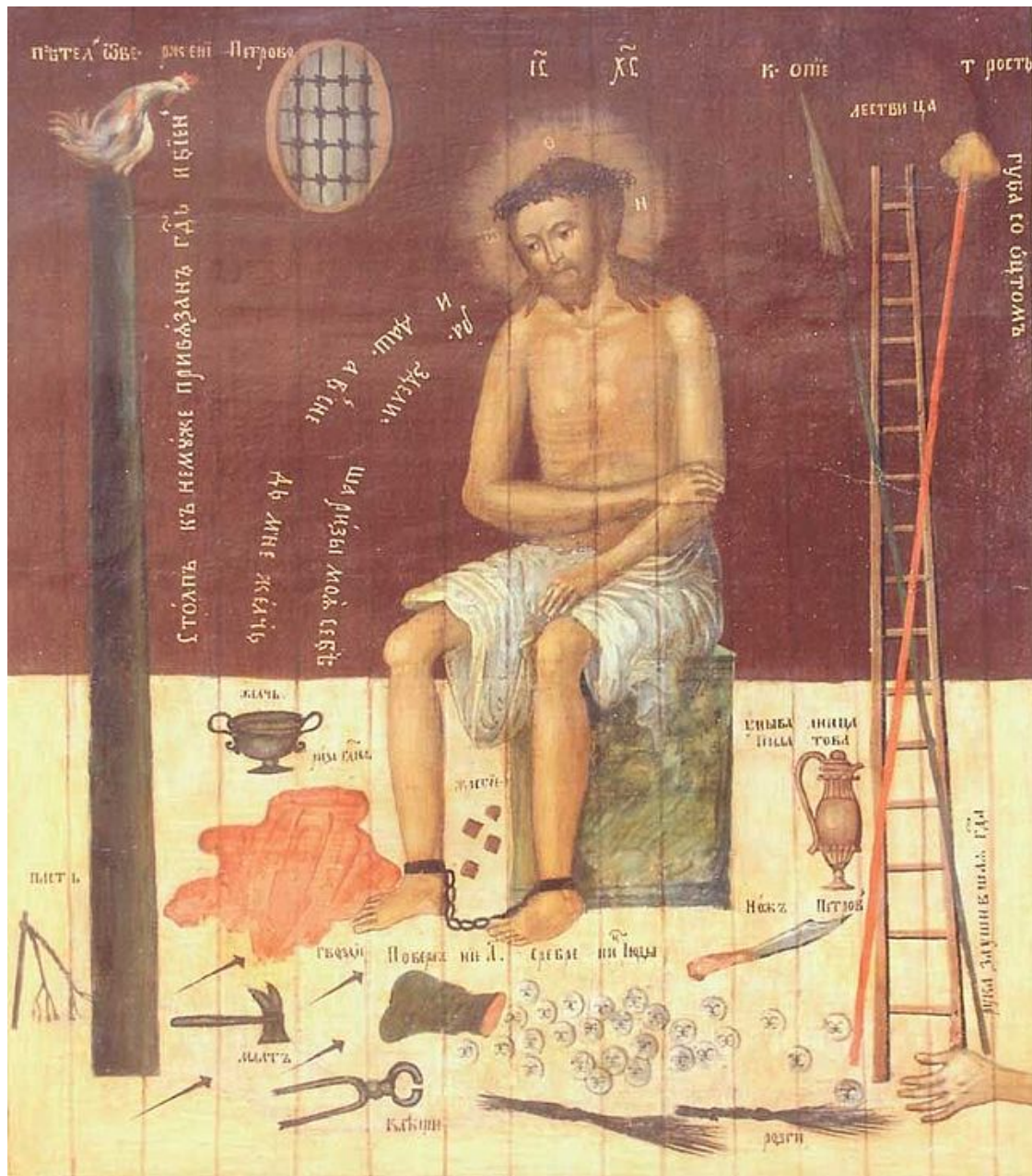
Figure 18:
Anonymous artist
Icon of Jesus in Prison with the Instruments of the Passion
Russia; date unknown
Tempera or oil on wood panel

What Stars can this my bliss deſtroy,
That have ſo many bags in ſtore ?
Vain man forbear this flattering joy,
Turn down, and thou wilt mind me more.

Dropſies draw nigh, the Fevers burn him,
The Chollick girds and lays him waſt,
Conſumptions threat to duſt to turn him :
Turn up and you ſhall read his laſt.

· On this falſe World vain was my ſtay,
And empty all my laughter ɛ
I go before and lead the way,
And thou com'ſt jogging after.

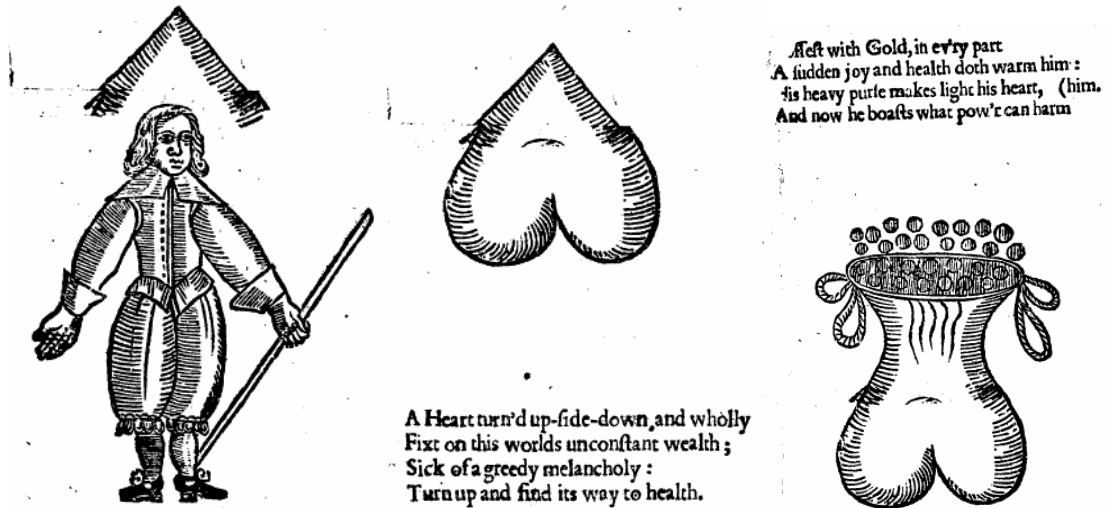**Figure 19:**
Details from The Beginning, Progress and End of Man, juxtaposed to show the
sequence of transforming imagery in the fifth and final panel
The Beginning, Progress and End of Man
Printed by B. Alsop for T. Dunster
Harvard University Library
London, England; 1654
Woodcut

Figure 20:
Detail from John Foster's Headstone
Attributed to "The Old Stonecutter"
Dorchester, Massachusetts; 1681
The Farber Gravestone Collection, American Antiquarian Society
Carved slate

Appendix B

IMAGE PERMISSIONS

Gmail

Lily Higgins <lily.e.higgins@gmail.com>

RE: image permissions
3 messages

Wade, Mara R <mwade@illinois.edu>   Tue, Apr 14, 2015 at 7:13 PM
To: "lily.e.higgins@gmail.com" <lily.e.higgins@gmail.com>, "Cole, Timothy W" <t-cole3@illinois.edu>,
"thabing@illinois" <thabing@illinois>

Dear Lily,

Please follow our conditions of use:

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Thanks for your interest in Emblematica Online. Would you please provide us with the bibliographic info of
your thesis?

Thanks and good luck with your thesis.

regards

Mara R. Wade
Director of Graduate Studies

Managing Editor, Emblematica

PI: Emblematica Online and the OpenEmblem Portal
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Administration, and the European Union Center

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2090 Foreign Languages Building
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_____
From: lily.e.higgins@gmail.com [lily.e.higgins@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 14, 2015 3:35 PM
To: Wade, Mara R; Cole, Timothy W; thabing@illinois
Subject: image permissions

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Sarah Gillis <sarahgillis@worcesterart.org>   Tue, Mar 24, 2015 at 4:43 PM
To: "lily.e.higgins@gmail.com" <lily.e.higgins@gmail.com>

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my Master's thesis. The pages are, as you know, already available in digital form through the wonderful
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I really appreciate your help!

Thank you!

Lily Higgins

Lily <lily.e.higgins@gmail.com>   Tue, Apr 21, 2015 at 12:39 PM
To: "Wade, Mara R" <mwade@illinois.edu>

Thank you, Martha!

My thesis is titled "A Stranger Sight You'll See": Allegory, Emblems, and Interactive Images in a Seventeeth-
Century Puritan Toy Book

Author's name is Lily Higgins, and the thesis is being submitted to the University of Delaware's Winterthur
Program in American Material Culture for Spring 2015.

Many thanks for your help,

Lily Higgins

Sent from my iPhone
[Quoted text hidden]

Wade, Mara R <mwade@illinois.edu>   Tue, Apr 21, 2015 at 2:53 PM
To: Lily <lily.e.higgins@gmail.com>

Dear Lily,

This sounds fascinating.

Good luck with your work,

Mara

Mara R. Wade
Director of Graduate Studies

Managing Editor, Emblematica

PI: Emblematica Online and the OpenEmblem Portal
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Professor of Germanic Languages & Literatures and in the Programs for Comparative and World Literatures,
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Administration, and the European Union Center

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707 S. Mathews Avenue
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_____
From: Lily [lily.e.higgins@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 21, 2015 11:39 AM
To: Wade, Mara R
Subject: Re: image permissions

[Quoted text hidden]

Gmail
by Google

Lily Higgins <lily.e.higgins@gmail.com>

image permissions for farber gravestone collection
4 messages

Lily Higgins <lily.e.higgins@gmail.com>   Tue, Mar 24, 2015 at 4:51 PM
To: reproductions@mwa.org

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I'm a student hoping to include an image of the John Foster headstone in my Master's thesis. Is there a way
that I can get permission to use an image from the Farber Gravestone Collection in my work? Thank you for
your help!

Best wishes,

Lily Higgins

--
Lily Higgins
Lois F. McNeil Fellow, Class of 2015
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture

Penny, Jaclyn <jpenny@mwa.org>   Tue, Mar 24, 2015 at 6:24 PM
To: Lily Higgins <lily.e.higgins@gmail.com>

Hi Lily,
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Very best,
Jackie

Jackie Penny
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185 Salisbury Street
Worcester, MA 01609
jpenny@mwa.org

From: Lily Higgins [lily.e.higgins@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 24, 2015 4:51 PM
To: reproductions
Subject: image permissions for farber gravestone collection

[Quoted text hidden]

Lily Higgins <lily.e.higgins@gmail.com>   Tue, Mar 24, 2015 at 6:51 PM
To: "Penny, Jaclyn" <jpenny@mwa.org>

Thank you, Jackie!
I really appreciate your quick response.
I have to mention also that I love your name - Jackie Penny.

Best wishes,

Lily

[Quoted text hidden]

Penny, Jaclyn <jpenny@mwa.org>   Tue, Mar 24, 2015 at 7:15 PM
To: Lily Higgins <lily.e.higgins@gmail.com>

Awww...this email made my day! Thank you!
Jackie

Jackie Penny
Image, Rights and Design Librarian
American Antiquarian Society
185 Salisbury Street
Worcester, MA 01609
jpenny@mwa.org

From: Lily Higgins [lily.e.higgins@gmail.com]
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April 20, 2015

Lily Higgins
Lois F. McNeil Fellow
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture
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