

accompagne le poète au cours de son voyage à l'île mysté-
rieuse de la poésie pure.

**EMBLEMATIC, ENGRAVED
TITLE-PAGES AND OWEN
FELLTHAM'S *RESOLVES***

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Those who have worked with Renaissance texts are familiar with the elaborate engraved title-pages, often with accompanying verse explanations, which announce these books. Although critics seem to ignore or give these title-pages and verses short shrift, readers should not. Emblematic title-pages, usually designed by the author, serve as a gloss to the content of the book and occasionally confirm biographical information about the author as well. Four of the emblematic title-pages of Owen Felltham's *Resolves Divine, Moral, Political* (1623, 1628, 1636, 1661) demonstrate the kinds of information these title-pages provide.

In the Renaissance books were sold *unbound* so that buyers could have them bound according to their own tastes and pocketbooks. Booksellers displayed their books on slanted shelves with the book flat against the shelf rather than perpendicular to it as we do today. Thus the title-pages were clearly visible and emblematic, engraved title-pages served as advertisements for the book. They provided a visual representation of the content and scope of the book and were surely designed to provoke the potential buyer's curiosity which could only be fully satisfied by reading the book.

Emblematic title-pages began to be popular on the continent in the early sixteenth century, gradually became popular in England at the end of the century, and became the rage in the seventeenth century. Elizabethans delighted in visual symbols of arms and the increasingly elaborated title-pages of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are another manifestation of this fascination.

Most of the English engraved title-pages have little artistic merit; the engravers were usually third rate artists and the authors who designed the title-pages were more concerned with the content of the design than with aesthetic principles. But the title-pages do allow authors to provide visual symbols for their ideas and are a rich source of Renaissance symbolism.

There are several reasons for supposing that authors or scholars, rather than engravers, invented the designs for the engraved title-pages. Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown give most of these reasons in *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550-1660* (London, 1979), and I briefly summarize their findings below. The main reason is simply that the designs are so ingenious, intricate, and learned and so closely connected to the contents of the books, and the art work so inferior, that it is hard to imagine the engravers were given responsibility for the designs. Anyone other than the design and the time necessary to do so would have made the engravings more costly than they were worth. In Felltham's case, no one but Felltham could have designed at least one of the title-pages since some of the changes in design precede changes in the text. Moreover, since *Resolves* is a series of short prose pieces arranged without any thematic order, it would have been extremely difficult to grasp the underlying themes, which are presented in the emblematic title-pages, without very careful readings of *Resolves*. Would engravers have been willing to study all the books for which they did emblematic title-pages?

The origins of emblematic title-pages also suggest that authors or scholars, not engravers, designed emblematic title-pages. As Corbett and Lightbown point out, emblematic title-pages probably derive from and were influenced by the device and the emblem book. These traditions indicate that the learned were the ones who invented the designs and then inevitably wrote books describing these designs. These books in turn provided sources for images used on title-pages.

The device is a visual representation usually with a motto that states something about the individual courtier who wears it in his cap or as a badge on his arm or has it carved in furniture or cut in stone on a wall or tomb. Devices are personal symbols of what the individual stands for much as a coat of

arms indicates what a family stands for. Devices are associated with the nobility, and the literati probably created the designs for them based on symbols from Egyptian, classical, or medieval literary traditions. Perhaps this is what humanists did in their spare time.

Emblem books consist of a series of woodcuts or engravings which accompany short poems with the verse epigram explaining the picture. The process of developing an emblem book was to start with the verses, then the poet or some learned person designed the visual representation, and finally the author or publisher hired the engraver who worked according to written or verbal descriptions.

The books written about devices and emblem books, books with verbal descriptions more often than illustrations, provided sources for new designs for the pageants, triumphal entries, funerals, and weddings so popular with Elizabethans, as well as for emblematic title-pages. All these visualizations draw on ancient myths, images of gods and goddesses, natural history, and medieval allegorical personifications for their symbols. The visual images are intended to be neither to obscure nor too open, but to give the reader the pleasure and challenge of working out the meaning for himself. This it would seem that the traditions from which the emblematic title-pages grew were aimed at literary men more than artists. Artists simply gave form to the inventions of poets, courtiers, and humanists.

The popularity of coin and medal collections and of handbooks to ancient gods and myths also served as stimuli for and sources of emblematic title-pages. Coin and medal collections became very popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with Roman coins and medals the most popular because of the figures stamped on them. The figures indicated the different symbols for the different attributes of the mythological or historical figures and intelligent gentlemen, according to Henry Peacham in *The Complete Gentleman*, were supposed to be able to recognize all the different attributes and their symbols.

Books on ancient gods and myths were principally catalogues or handbooks to gods and myths called from the writings of classical authors and contain etymologies of names,

descriptions of the images, and explanations of the historical and allegorical meanings of the attributes associated with each figure. Most of these books were first published without illustrations and when they finally did appear in illustrated editions, the illustrations representing the gods were based on literary descriptions of their attributes rather than on surviving images from antiquity. Thus the literary rather than the visual source had the greater authority.

Two further pieces of evidence indicate that authors invented the designs for their title-pages. First, engravers, if they signed their works at all, usually signed *fecit* or *sculpsit*, maker or sculptor, not *inventor* except on rare occasions. Second, authors sometimes commented that engravers did not follow directions. George Wither was obviously annoyed with William Marshall, who engraved the emblematic title-page for his *Emblems* (1635), for he comments in the verse explanation of the title-pages:

This Booke contayning EMBLEMS, 'twas thought fit,
 A Title-page should stand to usher it,
 That's Emblematical: And, for that end,
 Our AUTHOR, to the *Graver* did commend
 A plaine Invention; that it might be wrought,
 According as his Fancie had forethought.
 Insteed thereof, the *Workeman* brought to light,
 What, here, you see; therein, mistaking quite
 The true *Designe*: And, so (with paines, and cost)
 The first intended FRONTISPIECE, is lost.

The emblematic title-page and explanatory verse of Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1628) indicates a similar problem, though he may only be complaining about the poor quality or workmanship. He describes what should be in one of the panels of the design and concludes "If't be not as't should be, / Blame the bad Cutter, and not me."

To appreciate fully the value of these engraved title-pages it is necessary to see the close relationship between the design and the content of the work. Owen Felltham's *Resolves* provides a good example.

Since Felltham is not the best known, best loved writer of seventeenth-century England a brief introduction to him and to *Resolves* may be helpful. Felltham was born in Mutford,

Suffolk about 1602. The records of Oxford and Cambridge do not indicate that he attended either university, but he obviously read widely both classical and contemporary texts and wrote often of the pleasures of books. In the early 1620s, he was probably a merchant in London and traveled to Holland and the Low Countries. From this experience, he wrote *A Brief Character of the Low Countries Under the States*, which became part of the vogue for characters of a country. About 1628 he became steward, or estate manager, for Barnaby O'Brien, sixth Earl of Thomond. Felltham probably spent much of the next 40 years at the Thomond estate, Great Billing, in Northamptonshire, though he came to London from time to time where the Thomonds had a house on the Strand. He remained with the Thomond family until he died, in London, in 1668.

Felltham is most noted for his *Resolves Divine, Moral, Political*. *Resolves* consists of three sets of essays or resolves published over a period of 38 years. The first set of 100 resolves was written when Felltham was 18 and was entered in *The Stationers' Register* in 1623: the second set of another 100 was published in 1628. Each of these sets of 100 is called a century which I label A and B in order of publication. These two centuries were published together as *Resolves Divine, Morall, Politicall: A Duple Century* twice in 1628 and again in 1631, 1634, 1636, and 1647. During the Civil War and Commonwealth experiment there were no more editions; Felltham was a Royalist and an Anglican though he did not hammer home his political and religious beliefs like so many of his contemporaries. In 1661, after the Restoration of the monarchy, Felltham published a collected works in folio containing poems, letters, *A Brief Character*, the 100 resolves of 1628, reprinted without change, and a revised version of the original 1623 resolves. There are only 85 revised resolves, but they occupy 203 folio pages while the original 1623 resolves required only 129 quarto pages. Thus the revisions and additions are sufficiently extensive to constitute a third set of resolves labeled C. The 1628 resolves and the 1661 resolves were published together for the remainder of the century and into the eighteenth century. In total there were 12 editions of *Resolves* between 1623 and 1709.

Rather than being three separate works, *Resolves* was probably intended to be a simple work of two parts. The first two centuries were always published together from the second edition of 1628 through the seventh edition of 1647, they always had the same title and motto, and the content of the 1628 set expands upon, but does not repeat, the content of the first set of 1623. Furthermore, the revisions of 1661 indicate that Felltham saw the two sets as companion pieces. If, for example, he is talking about courage in a 1661 revised resolve, he will use and develop an idea on courage from a 1623 resolve, but not treat another aspect of courage which he had treated in 1628 and which would have been published together with the revisions. To understand his complete idea on courage, one must read both the 1628 and the revised resolves on courage.

The underlying theme in *Resolves* is how to attain the good and happy life or the principles divine, moral, and political by which man may govern his life and make it smoother. Like most essayists of the seventeenth century, Felltham is didactic and moralistic, but more than most he makes virtue seem challenging and rewarding and he is often quite witty. *Resolves* falls within the tradition of courtesy literature which begins with Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Book of the Governour* and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* in the sixteenth century, Ben Jonson's lyric poetry and plays and Milton's *Paradise Lost* in the seventeenth century and extends to Pope's *An Essay on Man* in the eighteenth century. What Felltham does essentially is provide a courtesy book in the form of resolves for the gentleman of the mid-seventeenth century. And along the way he shows the development of the essay and of English prose style from Bacon to Addison and Steele.

The resolve was a literary form, like the character, the meditation, and the paradox, that developed, became briefly popular, and died in the seventeenth century as the essay was born, took shape, and became the dominant form for short prose pieces. There were about 20 resolve writers publishing between 1605 and 1664 with the heyday 1612 to 1634. Felltham was the most popular, if we judge by numbers of editions, because he adapted the resolve to the essay as the essay became popular and because he was the best. He was, as John

L. Lievsay notes, "the prince of resolve writers" (*The Seventeenth-Century Resolve*, 80).

The resolve form is very simple, even formulaic. It begins with a statement of general principle or comment on the human condition: "I will take heed both of a *speedy Friend* and a *slow Enemy*" (B3), "*Dreames* are notable *meanes* of discovering our own *inclinations*" (B52), "*Humane life* hath not a *sure friend*, nor many times a *greater enemy*, then *Hope*" (B81), "*Some* are so *uncharitable* as to thinke *all Women bad*, and others are so credulous; as they beleeve they *all are good*" (B30), "I finde many that are called *Puritans*; yet few, or none that will owne the *name*" (B5). The resolve then expands upon this generalization with aphorism and epigram, witty similes and analogies, and sometimes examples from the Bible and the ancients to bring the point home. It concludes with a resolve to follow the advice for the general principle: I will do so and so or not do so and so or some variation on this. The form is structurally tight: the initial moral proposition and the illustrations lead to the resolve which becomes the climax of each and which points back to the beginning principle. Most resolves are shorter than essays: one half a page to a page and a half. And as the form indicates they are more didactic and exhortatory than the essay.

As sudden passions are most violent, so sudden occasions of sinne are most dangerous: for while the sense are set upon by unthought of objects, reason wants time to call a Counsell to determine ho to resist the assault: 'tis a faire booty makes many a thiefe, that if he had missed of this accident, would perhaps have liv'd honestly. Opportunity is a wooer, that none but heaven can conquer. Humanity is too weake a spell for so powerfull a charme: shee [opportunity] casts a fury into bloud, that will teare out a way, though the soule be lost by it. The 'racke is easier than her importunity, flames are snowbals to it, sure if the Devill would change his properties, he would put himselfe into this subuill thing: shee puls us with a thousand chaines; at every nerve she hangs a poize [weight], to draw us to her sorcery; and many times in our gaine, smoothly perswade; shee breakes all bonds, lawes, resolutions, oathes. Wise was the abstinence of *Alexander* from the sight of shee runnes us into forbidden errors and makes us so desperate as to dare any thing; if she offer mee her service to ill, Ill either kicke her as a bawd to vice, or else when shee showes me her painting. Occasion is a witch, and I'll be as

heedfull in avoiding her as I will bee wary to eschew a sinne.
But if I bee constrained to heare the Syren sing, *Ulysses* was wise,
when he ty'd himselfe to the mast. (A72)

The engraved title-page of the 1623 *Resolves* (illustration 1) both helps to confirm biographical information about Felltham and to give a visual representation of the content of the book. The parish register of St. Dunstan's Stepney lists the marriage of Owen Feltham of St. Dionis Backchurch, London merchant, to Mary Clopton of Melford, Suffolk on 10 October 1621 (*The Marriage Registers of St. Dunstan's Stepney*, 1: 129). Owen Felltham was from Mutford which is about 45 miles from Melford, but is Owen Feltham, London merchant, the Owen Felltham (Feltham) of *Resolves*? The title-page suggests they are the same. Above the pillar of constancy on the left is a caduceus, symbol of Mercury and of heralds, and the words *Tam Mercurio*. Opposite this, above the pillar of fortitude, is a galleon with the words *Quam Mercatori*. Mercury is the god of eloquence and of merchants and the motto *Tam Mercurio Quam Mercatori* can be translated [dedicated] as much to Mercury (eloquence) as to Commerce if we read Mercator (the merchant) as metonymy for Mercaturae (commerce). Between the caduceus and the galleon is a heart with a face and hand writing within a banner inscribed *Deo Amicis* (for my God, my friends). Since the heart probably represents Felltham, it seems likely that the caduceus, galleon, and Latin motto which bracket the heart, also refer to Felltham and that he is dedicating himself not only to God and his friends, but also to eloquence and commerce. If this is true, it certainly accords with Felltham's concept of the ideal gentleman as one who is both cultured and capable of conducting business affairs, who values faith and friendship, and who might have combined business and pleasure on his trip to the Low Countries which resulted in *A Brief Character of the Low Countries Under the States*.

The other aspects of this title-page refer to the book itself. The overall shape is a *pegma*, or architectural design popular in the seventeenth century. The *pegma* suggests a raised stage used to presentation of pageants or plays. It may be a way of saying this is the stage for my work which I am presenting to you. The columns are labeled *Constantia* and *Fortitudo*, two virtues from classical moral philosophy, which sustain men

just as pillars sustain buildings. The strength of fortitude is suggested by the rampant lion and the sword, the light of reason and the courage of constancy are suggested by the sun and palm. The base of the *pegma* forms a cross which supports the whole and is labeled LEX, the Law, and EVAG, the Good News, or the Old and New Testament, and FIDES, Faith. So the Bible and a Christian virtue, faith, support the more classical virtues of constancy and fortitude. On either side of the cross are various implements of work from different areas of life: a hammer, knight's lance and wreath of honor, bundles of grain. The general idea is obvious, works as well as faith are necessary to the Christian life. Underneath the heart at the top is Love, against a background of flames, the Petrarchan conceit for love, which for Felltham means love of God and love of fellowman. Below Love is Innocence with dove and lamb, and Prudence with the eyes and mirror we need to see the reality of the world and ourselves. In the square in the middle is the title and author's name and a quotation from one of Horace's anti-ambition satires (*Satires* 1:6) which translates "in this and a thousand other ways I live in more comfort than you, illustrious senator" (translated by H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classics Library).

In these early resolves, Felltham is more didactic than in the later resolves. His topics are primarily religious and moral: sin, repentance, faith, death, prayer, the advantages of virtues like humility, courage, moderation (fortitude) and the disadvantages of worldly benefits like wealth and honor. There is a definite medieval anti-worldliness in these resolves suggested by the quotation from Horace. And Felltham stresses the importance of faith, fortitude, and fidelity. Faith and love are necessary to preserve one's relationship with God and follow divine law, fortitude and innocence are necessary to preserve one's own peace of mind and follow natural law, and fidelity and prudence are necessary to preserve one's relationship with one's fellowman and obey the laws of nations or society. Hence the title *Resolve Divine, Moral, and Political*.

Felltham wrote these early resolves when he was only 18 and had he stopped writing after his volume, he would have ended in oblivion. The resolves first published in 1628 account for his popularity. This volume, a quarto instead of a duodec-

imo, has a newly designed engraved title-page to reflect the new content (illustration 2). In the center of the page is the world labeled NATURA which contains the phrase *Per Visibilia Invisibilem*, the invisible by the visible. God shows himself in the Book of Nature and hence offers man truth through natural law and reason as well as through divine revelation in the Bible. The hands which uphold the World are *Sapientia*, Wisdom, and *Veritatis*, Truth; the chains which pull Nature down, *Vinculum Vanitatis*, the chains of vanity, are held by *Opinio* and *Ignorantia*. Opinion has five heads to suggest man's many erroneous beliefs and is probably akin to Francis Bacon's Idols of the Mind (*Novum Organum* 1620). Ignorance is blindfolded and carries keys. The blindfold is obvious, the keys are probably similar to Spenser's portrayal of Ignao in *The Faerie Queene*, who carries keys that he cannot use because he does not know. Knowledge promises much, but Ignorance prevents fulfilling the promise. One breast revealed often cannot chastity, but here the seductiveness of Ignorance seems more pertinent. It is so easy to be ignorant and so hard to find the truth. Both Spenser and Milton suggest the seductiveness of Error and in *The Faerie Queene* and *Paradise Lost*.

Above the globe is a heart with wings spread, still close to the world, but trying to rise above it and shedding the drops of the mire, tears, or blood which bind us to the earth. Above the heart is a Tetragrammaton, not very clear in the 1628 title-page but clearer in the 1636 title-page (illustration 3). The Tetragrammaton consists of the Hebrew letters which stand for Jehovah, JHWH. God is unknowable, like the Hebrew alphabet, and to Protestants of the Reformation, God is non-representational. After the Great Bible of 1539, God does not appear in representational form on English title-pages although God as a bearded patriarch continues to be used on the continent (Corbett and Lightbown 39-40). The Protestant prohibition against representing God pictorially is similar to the ban on using the word God in plays of the early seventeenth century, a taboo which still survives among people who are more comfortable with By Jove! than By God! Extending down from the Tetragrammaton is the phrase *Nisi tu Domine* (Unless you Lord). Man needs God's grace as well as wisdom and truth to

rise above his earthly self. In the center of the page is the heart with the title and author and the motto "*et sic demulceo vitam*," and so smooth life. The heart and the motto form a device for *Resolves* which was used in the second through twelfth editions. Beneath that is the Felltham coat of arms and the imprint. The plate for this emblematic, engraved title-page was used again for the third edition of 1628, and in 1631 and 1634; only the edition number and date of publication were altered. The verse explanation of the title-page, which together with the title-page creates an emblem for the book, was added in the third edition 1628 although here it is included with the 1636 title-page (illustration 3).

The 1628 emblematic title-page vividly emphasizes Felltham's basic point in all the resolves from 1628 to 1661: man's struggle for the wisdom and truth necessary to break the shackles of human vanity caused by opinion and ignorance. The visible world provides the necessary information for a virtuous life, and man, with the help of God, must struggle to obey the dictates of wisdom and truth. When he does, his heart rises and his way through life is made smoother. Otherwise, nature is dragged down by opinion and ignorance. The essence of the good life, as Felltham says in "To the Peruser" (1623) is not that man attain perfect virtue, but that he struggle toward it and live "as well as he can, and as human frailties will let him."

Felltham obviously intends *Resolves* to provide some of the truth and wisdom necessary to make life smoother and to stir men's hearts to make and keep their resolutions. As he says in the 1628 resolve "Of Resolution,"

a good *Resolution* is the most *fortifying Armour* that a *Discreet* man can wear. That, can defend him against all the unwelcome *Shuffles* that the poore rude *World* puts on him. Without this, like *hot Iron*, hee *hisses* at every *drop* that findes him. With this, he can be a *servant* as well as a *Lord*; and have the same inward *pleasantness* in the *quakes* and *shakes* of *Fortune*, that he carries in her *softest smiles*... That which puts the loose *woven mind* into a whirling *tempest* is by the *Resolute seene*, *slighted*, *laughed at*: with as much *honour*, more *quiet*, more *safety*. The *World* has nothing in it worthy a man's *serious anger*. The best way to perish *discontentments*, is either not to *see* them, or to a *dimpling mirth*.

(B2)

Although the 1623 and 1628 designs differ considerably, they make the same essential point. Christian truth, the Bible and faith, which forms the foundation for all in the 1623 design is broadened in the 1628 design to include all truth and wisdom whether Christian or pagan, revealed or reasoned. But truth and wisdom, still support the world and man. The mailed fist of Wisdom and the strength and light of the arm to Truth suggest the fortitude and constancy necessary to follow truth and wisdom. This broadening of wisdom and truth indicates the greater breadth of the 1628 resolves. The topics are often more secular: scandal, dreams, music, poetry, women, marriage, friendship, grief, and preaching. The trend continues in 1661 when Felltham comments on superstition, dancing, gambling, memory, and reading history, and where he adds more political resolves, that is, resolves that treat man as a social being or deal with the concept of civility. Furthermore, as shown below, Felltham is more willing to believe in classical moral philosophy, or reasoned truth, than he had been in 1623.

The basic design of the 1628, 1636, and 1661 engraved title-pages remains the same although new plates were made in 1636 and 1661. But there are differences: some minor, some significant. The minor differences include the Tetragrammaton which in the 1636 and 1661 plates are enclosed within a triangle. This symbolizes belief in the Trinity and was frequently used after the anti-trinitarian movement gained force at the end of the sixteenth century. The 1661 plate adds an architectural arch, a popular feature of seventeenth-century title-pages. It signifies the triumph of the work or the author and here both have triumphed into a collected works in folio. Moreover, in this case, the arch may signify the triumph of the soul which follows the resolutions of the book. The heroism of virtue is one of Felltham's favorite themes in 1661. Like Milton, Felltham believes in "the better fortitude of patience and heroic martyrdom unsung." The figure of Opinion changes in 1636 and 1661 but only in the style of her clothes, perhaps to keep us with the changes in women's fashions, and in her face: she is younger and prettier in 1628 than in either the 1636 or 1661 engravings. The changes do not

seem significant; she is an English woman in simple English garb and she probably represents what Bacon calls the Idols of the Tribe and Market-Place or the erroneous beliefs that are inherent in human nature and those common among groups of people passed on in discourse which would represent, in this case, England. If Opinion represents the Idols of the Tribe and Market-Place, then perhaps Ignorance represents the Idol of the Cave, or individual ignorance.

More significant are the changes in Ignorance in 1636 and 1661. Through these differences we see that Felltham's ideas were changing much earlier than the text shows and that only Felltham could have designed the engraved title-page of 1636. In 1628 Ignorance wears a Roman toga, in 1636 a monk's cloak and cowl, still with keys, and he uses a cane, the weakness of Ignorance as opposed to the strength of truth. The monk's habit obviously indicates the Protestant view of Catholicism. Felltham, like Sir Thomas Browne, is a voice of tolerance in an age of great intolerance, but he is definitely Protestant and Anglican. He does not argue controversial religious doctrines in *Resolves*, but rather talks about the every day practice of Christianity. He does, however, in the 1628 resolve "Of the Choice of Religion," argue that Protestantism is truer than Roman Catholicism, Judaism, or Islam (B16).

The change from Roman toga to monk's garb, especially when combined with the progression from eyes blindfolded in 1628 to eyes closed in 1636 to eyes open but unseeing in 1661 has an additional importance that reflects fundamental changes in Felltham thinking. In 1623 Felltham felt the same conflict between Christian and pagan philosophy (Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, et. al.) that troubled the early sixteenth-century humanists. Can we accept truth that is not Christian or revealed truth? Hence the cross, Bible and Faith which support all in the 1623 title-page and the Roman toga for Ignorance in 1628. But gradually Felltham's respect for pagan philosophy (that is, reasoned or natural truth) surpassed his doubts and he came to believe that conduct is more important than creed and that many pagans are more virtuous than some professed Christians. Hence the broadening of truth in 1628.

Felltham hints at this idea of conduct over creed in 1628 when he says the inhabitants of the West Indies are better

men than the Spaniards who conquered them (B29). He also suggests, rather hesitantly in 1628, that reason is sufficient to guide man to goodness and that virtue is following nature or obedience to reason. In 1628 he usually attributes these ideas to one of the ancients. "Socrates calls *Nature*, the *Reason of an honest man*: as if *man* following *her* had found a *square*, whereby to direct his *life*." And Plautus says "when man obeys his minde, he's wise, and loves, and does right" (B19). In his own voice, Felltham says that in the face of controversial opinion, "the best *guide* that I would chuse, is the *reason of an honest man*, which I take to be a *right informed Conscience*" (B59). But he also says that reason (natural truth) without religion (revealed truth) is "like a *Clocke* without a *weight* to set it going: *Curious workmanship*, but it wants a *mover*." Reason and nature may be the counselors of religion, but "they are to *Religion*, as *Apocrypha* to the *Bible*: they are good things, may be *bound up*, and *read* with it: but must be rejected when they cross the *Text Canonical*" (B63).

By 1661 Felltham's faith in reason has grown considerably and he very nearly equates reasoned truth with revealed truth, or natural law with divine law. Natural law is the "Primitive and Everlasting Law and *Religion* of man: which, instamped in his soul at his Creation, is a *Ray* arising from the *Image of God*" (C3). Natural law, then, comes from God and man's reason is sufficient "to curb the loose exorbitances of depraved nature" and to lead man to his duty. Moreover, divine law is based on natural law and reason leads to faith.

What *Barbarous Heathen* condemns not in his Conscience, what the Law *prohibits*; or applauds not what it does *command*?... Even *Reason*, which is *Nature*, leads a man up to *Religions Palace*, though it show us not all the *private rooms* within it. It brings us into the *Presence*, though not into the *Privy Chamber*. It ushers us to *Faith*, which rightly stated is little more than rarified and pure *Celestial Reason*. (C3)

So faith and revealed religion still are superior to reason but revealed truth is reduced to a privy chamber while the rest of religion's palace is open to reason, and faith itself has become "Celestial Reason."

Given this belief it is not surprising that Felltham argues for the salvation of the heathen in 1661. This is an idea Sir Thomas Browne wanted to believe in *Religio Medici* (1642) but rejected as too heretical. Felltham does not deny the validity of God's grace and he does not agree with those who believe the heathen are "naturally saved" by virtue of their own goodness. But he does believe that the heathen who act virtuously and repent believing in God's mercy, indirectly believe in Christ, the manifestation of God's mercy, even though they do not know a nominal Christ. They may therefore be saved though it is God's grace that enables them to act virtuously and obey reason (C19).

In short, Felltham disagrees with the Calvinists who deny reason and insist on revelation and with the deists who deny revelation and insist that reason is sufficient. For Felltham reason is not sufficient, but neither is revelation. The fact of God's grace, not its revelation in Scripture, is what matters. Even without the Gospel, man can know God as he is revealed through reason and nature. Salvation depends on obedience to God not on scriptural revelation and faith. The Christian is advantaged because he has the Gospel, but if he does not act upon it, he is less noble and less religious than the morally honest heathen. Moral honesty or reason is above revelation, conduct above creed. And if you believe this, you cannot dress Ignorance in a Roman toga. Tough from a seventeenth-century Englishman's point of view, you can dress him in monk's habit since Roman Catholicism has simply ignored both reasoned and revealed truth.

Furthermore, Felltham's ideas on why men sin change. In 1623 he believes in original sin and the Calvinistic doctrine that man is inherently evil because of this fallen state: "While bloud is in our veines, sinne is in our nature" (A32). Sin is simply a part of our corruption and reason too is corrupt. By 1628 Felltham is beginning to see that man is responsible for his own wickedness. God provides him with the necessary means to truth: the Bible, Book of Nature, and Reason, but man fails to see and act upon the truth because he is blinded by opinion and ignorance. Our senses deceive our judgment and we fail to see the difference between vice and virtue and mistake the apparent goodness of vice (B4, 9). Man sins not

because he loves vice but because he mistakenly thinks he will gain good from it. "Even the firs sinne [Adam and Eve] was by a *willfull blindnesse*, committed, out of respect to a *good*, that was look't for by it" (B19). In the world, vice seems to be rewarded and virtue punished and we forget God's justice works indirectly and slowly (B58). Our passions control our reason and reason is often seduced by opinion (B66, 59, 29).

By 1661 Felltham has firmer faith in free will, and as we've already seen, greater confidence in reason's ability to discover truth. If man does not follow reason, it is because he *does not want to see*. "A man may *live at ease* [virtuously] if he will: and if he does not, tis by his own default, that it happens (C85). There is no blindfold placed on man because he is corrupt or his reason faulty. If he errs, it is because he does not take the trouble, eyes open but unseeing. And because Felltham now sees man with free will and reason, his persistent theme in 1661 is not that sin is vicious or wicked, but that it is pure folly.

Sin is so purely *Folly* that it is in the main assuredly, never less than an Aversion from true Wisdom. *Sin* can no more be without *Folly*, the *fire* without *dryness*, or, *water* without *moisture*. 'Tis *Folly* that opens the dore, and lets it into the heart; that hugs it, and retains it there, as the Kidney does the Stone, till it eats and grates out that which gave it birth and breeding... Of all that's ill, 'tis *Folly* is the Mother... 'Tis the *fool* that utters *slander*,... 'tis the *fool* that *rages* and is *confient*, 'tis the *fool* that *rages* and is *confident*, 'tis the *fool* that *despiseth instruction*,... 'tis the *fools lip* that enters into *contention*, 'tis the *fool* that will be *medling*, 'tis the *fool* that *folds his hands in sloth*, 'tis the *fool* that *trusteth in his own frail heart*, 'tis the *fool* that makes *mock at sin*. (C71).

But what is interesting is that this progression of ideas from hesitant to full belief in the power of reason and free will represented by eyes blindfolded to eyes open but unseeing and from Roman toga to monk's cloak and cowl begins in 1636 *before* the text itself shows clearly the development of Felltham's ideas. It is almost as if one can date the beginning of the change in his thinking and certainly the change in design came from Felltham. William Marshall, the engraver, could not have seen it in the text because it wasn't there.

Emblematic engraved title-pages are useful. They can aid in determining biographical data, possible dates for changes in ideas, and the underlying themes in works of literature. I have dealt only with English title-pages in this essay, but Spanish books of the period also have emblematic title-pages and La Casa del Libro has a number of exquisite examples where the art work is far superior to those shown in Felltham's title-pages.

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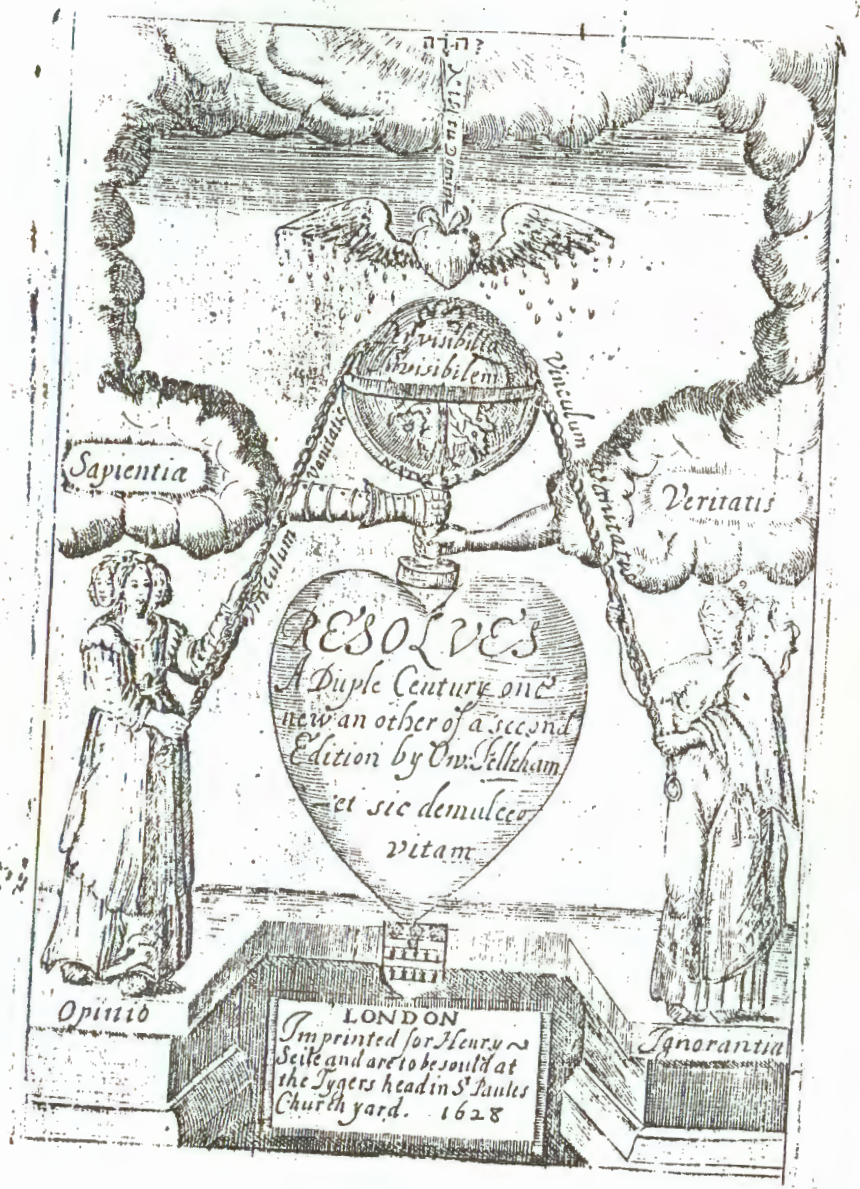
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ILUSTRACION 1



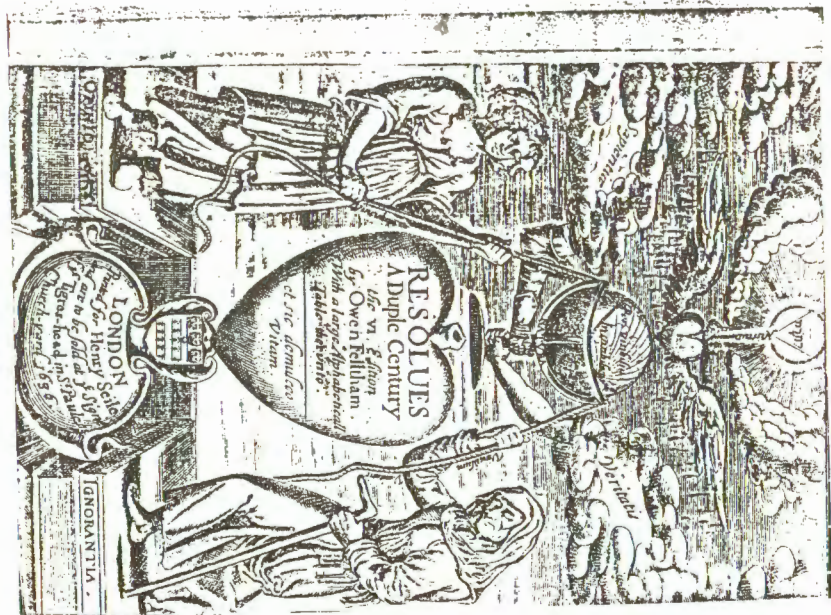
ILUSTRACION 2



The Face of the Booke,
unmarked.

Here, th' *Virtues* in *Natures* Frame,
Sustain'd by *Truth*, and *Wisdoms* Hand,
Doth, by *Opinions* sceptic Names,
And *Ignorance*, diltracted stand:
Who, with strong *Carols* of *Vanitie* confpire,
Tangling the *Trails*, with abstruse *Deigne*.

But then, the *Noble Heart* in fi'd
With *Eyes*, divinely from above,
Mounts (thogh with *Wings* mortif, and beaur'd)
The great *Gods* glorious *Lights* to prove,
Slighting the *World*: yet *Self-renewing* tries,
That where *God* dwaves not, there she *sinks*, & dies.



ILUSTRACION 3



ILUSTRACION 4