

1. Donne's monument in the present St. Paul's. Photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

## New Evidence on Donne's Monument: I

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This essay, the first in a two-part study, sets out to present new images and new information about the vicissitudes of the remarkable monument of John Donne erected in St. Paul's in late 1632 or early 1633, which has led an eventful life of its own (Fig. 1). A more accurate history of the surprising odyssey of Donne's effigy has interesting implications not only for the evolution of Donne's reputation after his death but also for the place of this effigy in the history of art and literature. A second part of the study, to be published in a subsequent issue, will attempt to establish more fully the context of earlier and later funerary art in which the monument should be seen, setting this firm visual evidence against our limited knowledge of Donne's intentions and his more certain published thoughts on death and resurrection in order to approach more nearly the meaning of the monument. Labeled by Helen Gardner as "strange," an "oddity" which reflects a misbegotten commission,<sup>1</sup> the statue is rather, I hope to show, a true original whose power lies in part in its ability to produce, as Donne intended, revealing (and sometimes almost inadvertently mannerist) mental and verbal contortions in critics and other beholders—twists and turns present also in the

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<sup>1</sup>"Dean Donne's Monument in St. Paul's," in *Evidence in Literary Scholarship*, ed. René Wellek and Alvaro Ribiero (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), pp. 40, 44; all page numbers in text and notes for Gardner refer to this work. The following abbreviations are used below: *BJD* (Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Doctor John Donne . . .*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1973]; *Var* VIII (*The Variorum Edition of the Poems of John Donne*, vol. VIII, *The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Miscellaneous Poems*, ed. William A. McClung, Jeffrey Johnson, Ted-Larry Pebworth, Gary A. Stringer, and Ernest W. Sullivan, II [Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana Univ. Press, 1999]).

various understandings and misunderstandings of its history examined here.

A brief summary of what we know about how the monument came into being is appropriate. Donne's will, signed by him on 13 December 1630, specifies both the spirit of his burial ("in the moste private manner that maye be") and the place (that "wch the nowe Residentiaries of that Church have bene pleased at my request to assigne for that purpose") but makes no mention of a monument.<sup>2</sup> The first contemporary evidence of plans for a monument dates from over three months after Donne's death, which took place on 31 March 1631. On 18 July 1631, according to the records of the sculptor Nicholas Stone, Donne's executors Henry King and John Mountfort commissioned the making of such a memorial. Stone in turn employed the help of three other artisans. On 27 February 1632, Humphrey Mayer (or Moyer) was promised eight pounds for finishing the effigy itself ("Doctor doon's pictor"), and on 14 May Robert Flower six pounds for the "nech [niche] of Doctor done and the under stone and the tabell." A final ten shillings was paid to "Mr. Babbe" on 30 November "for Doctor Dones tabell of in[s]cription and blaking the wall."<sup>3</sup> As indicated on the ground plan drawn and engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar for Sir William Dugdale's 1658 *History* of the old cathedral, the monument was erected very near the western end of the south choir aisle (i.e., outside the choir itself), against the aisle's

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<sup>2</sup>See R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (New York and Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), p. 563, for the entire will (from Somerset House, PCC 46 St. John, proved 5 April 1631); and Gardner, p. 31. All page numbers in text and notes for Bald refer to this work.

<sup>3</sup>Stone's notebook and account book survive in Sir John Soane's Museum, London. For these transcriptions from the manuscripts see W. L. Spiers, "The Note-Book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone," *Walpole Society* 6 (1918-19), ed. A. J. Fineberg, pp. 63-64, 85, 90-91. Although Babbe has been given sole credit for the tablet by Gardner (p. 31), his small fee suggests that he may merely have blackened it, as he did for the Digges monument noted in the same entry (Spiers, p. 91), and that Flower, whose fee was larger, was the carver. On Moyer and Stone's monument, see further Adam White, "A Biographical Dictionary of London Tomb Sculptors," *Walpole Society* 61 (1999), pp. 106-07, 121 (no. 46), and nn. 135-36, pp. 131-32, who attributes the tablet to Flower.

north or inside wall between two pillars, abutting the larger one to its west (Fig. 2).<sup>4</sup>

All the rest we know about the genesis and raising of the monument comes from the 1640 and 1658 editions of Izaak Walton's *Life of Donne*—not always, as Gardner and others have pointed out, the most reliable of sources. In the 1640 edition, which was prefaced to Donne's *LXXX Sermons*, Walton reports that following Donne's funeral on 3 April his grave was liberally strewn with flowers by admirers until the stone masons closed and leveled the floor, rendering his place of burial "undistinguishable to common view." He adds that Donne's executors received 100 marks for a monument from an unknown benefactor, and describes the resulting effigy as "as lively a representation, as in dead marble can be made of him."<sup>5</sup>

In the 1658 edition this account is much embellished.<sup>6</sup> Identifying the anonymous donor as Dr. Fox, Donne's physician and friend,

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<sup>4</sup>[Sir] William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London, 1658), p. 160 (foldout). The plan is dated "A[ugust] 1657." Donne's monument is no. 14; the monument appears to back on the choir wall, directly abutting the pier to its west. The small gap between its left (eastern) side and the next pier would appear inadequate to have allowed the monument to face east, as has sometimes been suggested (see below); indeed, no other monuments up to Donne's time in St. Paul's seem to have done so. Eastward along the same north wall of the aisle (nos. 15, 17, 18, 20, and 26 on the plan) were the monuments of Dean John Colet (d. 1519), Sir William Hewett, Sir William Cockayne, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Dean Valentine Carey (Donne's predecessor), and Sir Christopher Hatton.

<sup>5</sup>"The Life and Death of Dr Donne . . .," in *LXXX Sermons Preached by that Learned and Reverend Divine John Donne . . .* (London, 1640), sigs. C2v-C[3]. One hundred marks equaled £66.13.4.

<sup>6</sup>As Gardner notes, commenting that "we are not, I believe, dealing with an inexact memory, but embroidery on a basis of truth"; she points out that although Bald finds Walton occasionally unreliable, he apparently "threw caution to the winds" when he dealt with Donne's last days, accepting Walton's account as authentic (pp. 29-31). The last days are not covered in Bald's earlier piece, "Historical Doubts Respecting Walton's *Life of Donne*," in *Essays in English Literature from the Renaissance to the Victorian Age . . .*, ed. Millar McClure and F. W. Watt (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 69-84. On Walton's versions see also David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1968), chaps. 1-4. Novarr mentions the



Walton goes on to say that Fox convinced Donne to have a monument made for himself, but “undertook not to perswade how or what it should be; that was left to Dr. *Donne* himself.” There follows the famous and bizarre account of how Donne asked a “Carver” to provide a wooden urn of certain dimensions and a “board of the height of his body”; how he then “without delay” summoned “a choice Painter”; and finally how, having warmed his study with charcoal fires, Donne stripped to don a winding sheet knotted at top and bottom—with “so much of the sheet turned aside as might show his lean, pale, and death-like face”—and perched atop the urn for his picture, “drawn at his just height.”<sup>7</sup>

Helen Gardner has pointed out that such a feat would be a physical impossibility for an aging, let alone a dying man, and moreover completely unnecessary to enable an artist of any skill to perform such a commission.<sup>8</sup> It seems clear only that a painting was indeed made—one that Walton claims Donne kept by his bedside until his death, when it was “given to his dearest friend and Executor Dr. *King*”—and that it has vanished from sight. It has, however, left behind its distinctive imprint in an early image engraved by Martin Droeshout (Fig. 3).<sup>9</sup> Droeshout’s engraving appeared as the frontispiece to the

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deathbed preparations for the picture but not the resulting monument, as is also the case in Judith Anderson, *Biographical Truth* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1984), p. 55.

<sup>7</sup>*The Life of John Donne . . .* (London, 1658), pp. 111-13. This passage is retained in Walton’s last two versions (*The Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr Richard Hooker, Mr George Herbert* [London, 1670], p. 75; and 1675, pp. 71-72). In his preface “To the Reader” in these editions, Walton is misleadingly silent about any additions, noting only that he “lay quiet twenty years” after writing the 1640 version.

<sup>8</sup>Gardner, p. 35. Although echoing Gardner’s skepticism about Walton’s account, John Carey nevertheless remarks rather uncharitably of the scene: “[Donne] balanced [on the urn] looking, one imagines, like a competitor in some grotesque sack race. . . . He was stage-managing his own demise. In this way he attained that command of death that suicide aspires to” (*John Donne: Life, Mind, and Art* [New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981], p. 214).

<sup>9</sup>On this engraving, which measures 4 5/8 x 6 1/4”, see Geoffrey Keynes, *BJD*, pp. 50-54, no. 24, pl. II. In an appendix, Keynes states that he is uncertain whether the engraving was “after the stone effigy . . . or the original drawing on a board” (p. 375, no. 10). But in his edition of *Deaths Duell*

1632 edition of *Deaths Duell*, the name given to Donne's last sermon, preached before King Charles at Whitehall on 25 February, five weeks before his death, of which Henry King observed, "Thou thither cam'st to preach thy Funerall."<sup>10</sup> The gaunt image presents a striking contrast to the earlier gallery of Donne portraits: William Marshall's engraving of Donne as a young man of 18 in 1591; the melancholy lover of the "Lothian" portrait (c. 1595); and the 1620 portrait at the Deanery, later engraved by Pieter Lombart, showing Donne in a dark gown at age 49.<sup>11</sup>

Soon after Donne's monument was put up, two prominent antiquarians described it in their pages. In his *Ecclesia Sancti Pauli Illustrata* . . . (1633), a revision of his earlier *Monumenta Sepulchra* . . . (1614), Henry Holland notes, "And to come backe to the South Ile, betweene the doore and Deane COLETS Monument, is newly erected a Monument for Deane DONNE, which is, his face appearing

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(Boston: Godine, 1973) he concludes that the painter's work "was also the source of the engraving" (p. 43).

<sup>10</sup>King, "To the Memorie of My Ever Desired Friend Dr. Donne," l. 34; elegy printed in *Deaths Duell* and appended to Donne's 1633 *Poems* and later editions. A similar statement appears on the title page of *Deaths Duell*, and Walton too reports in the 1640 *Life* that observers thought Donne "had preach't his own Funeral Sermon" (sig. C2). On the origin of the sermon's title, see Gardner, p. 34n; on the date, stated by Walton to be the first Friday in Lent, see Keynes, *BJD*, p. 52n.

<sup>11</sup>For Keynes's comments, see *BJD*, p. 198, no. 79, pl. X (on Marshall); appendix 6, pp. 373-74, no. 6, pl. XII (on the Lothian portrait, discovered at Newbattle Abbey, Midlothian, Scotland [Norman Bryson, "Lost Portrait of Donne," *The Times*, 13 Oct. 1959, pp. 13, 15]; appendix 6, p. 373, nos. 4-5 (on the Deanery portrait and a "replica or copy" now in the Dyce Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum); pp. 135-36, nos. 55-56, pl. V, and appendix 6, p. 375, no. 9 (on the Lombart engraving, mistakenly labeled "1612. Aet. 40"). On the portraits see also Dennis Flynn, "Donne's First Portrait: Some Biographical Clues?," *BRH* (Spring 1979): 7-17, and *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 1-8, 146, 195-96; Kate Gartner Frost's three articles on the Lothian portrait (*JDJ* 13.1-2 [1994]: 1-11; *N&Q* 41.4 [Dec. 1994]: 455-56; *JDJ* 15[1996]: 95-121); Ernest Gilman, "'To adore, or scorne an image': Donne and the Iconoclastic Controversy," *JDJ* 5.1-2 (1986): 63-100; and Annabel Patterson, "Donne in Shadows: Pictures and Politics," *JDJ* 16 (1997): 1-31.

out of his Winding-sheete, done in white Marble, standing upon an Vrne, and this Inscription following: all done according to the will of the sayd Deane DONNE"—the last statement, as we have seen, being plainly untrue, unless by "will" Holland merely means "intention." There follows a nearly exact quotation of the epitaph as it appears in the Hollar engraving (of which more below). The 1633 edition of John Stow's *Survey of London* describes the monument more briefly, giving another version of the epitaph: "In the South side of the Quire of Saint *Pauls* Church stands a white Marble Statue on an Vrne, with this Inscription over it."<sup>12</sup> In the next year the first image based on the monument itself appeared in the small frontispiece facing the title page of the fourth edition of Donne's *Devotions* (1634). Engraved by William Marshall, this first published portrait of the monument faintly suggests the luminous transformation wrought by Nicholas Stone on the rather grim visage of the Droeshout engraving (and presumably of the original painting), and shows Donne for the first time standing on his urn, balancing on the knotted end of the shroud (Fig. 4).<sup>13</sup>

When we next encounter the monument in a published work, in the engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar for Dugdale's 1658 *History* (Fig. 5), it has already begun its adventures in adversity. In addition to the Latin epitaph carved on the wall tablet above the effigy, thought to be composed by Donne himself, and (above that) the armorial shield

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<sup>12</sup>See Holland, 1633 (reissued 1634), sigs. E2v-E3 (quoted by Keynes, *BJD*, p. 286; not in *Var VIII*); and John Stow, *The Survey of London*, rev. A[nthony] M[unday] et al. (London, 1633), "Remaines," p. 776. Bald claims erroneously that Holland's 1633 volume includes an engraving of the monument (p. 533), an error also made in Keynes's edition of *Deaths Duell*, p. 42. Stow's account (which also appeared in an edition dated "1633" but issued after 1640; see revised *STC*) is quoted by Payne Fisher, *The Tombes . . . Lately Visible in St. Paul's Cathedral . . .* (London, 1684), p. 56; in *Var VIII*, p. 438; and recently by Wesley Milgate, ed. *The Epithalamions, Anniversaries, and Epicides* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), p. 218.

<sup>13</sup>This small frontispiece (2 x 3 3/4"), reproduced from the copy at Pembroke College, Cambridge by permission of the President and Fellows, appears on the unpaginated recto preceding the title page, A1; it was used again in the 1638 edition. It seems to be missing from most other copies listed by Keynes (*BJD*, pp. 87-88, nos. 39-40, pl. IV). In his edition of *Deaths Duell*, Keynes calls these engravings "title-pages" (p. 42).

impaling the arms of Donne and those of the cathedral, Hollar's view shows an inscribed panel—apparently the artist's addition rather than an actual tablet carved or painted on the wall—placed at the upper right of the monument (Fig. 6).<sup>14</sup> The Latin text of this new panel asserts that Margaret Clapham, “gemens talis . . . Ecclesiae profanationem, et dilapidationem” (“groaning at . . . so much profanation and delapidation [of the church]”), has paid for Hollar's engraving and provided for the reconsecration and probably also the repair of the monument.<sup>15</sup> This is no doubt an allusion to damage wrought during the civil wars and interregnum, lamented by Walton, Dugdale, and others, when the organ-loft and choir stalls were destroyed and horses were stabled in the choir—presumably not far from Donne's monument, which backed on the choir.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>On Donne's epitaph see *Var VIII*, pp. 194-96, 438-40 and the discussion below; on the armorial shield, Bald, p. 534. Keynes alone seems to have called attention to the engraved panel added by Hollar (ed., *Deaths Duell*, p. 42). Hollar's engraving as a whole measures 11 3/4 x 6 1/4”.

<sup>15</sup>Margaret Clapham was the wife of Sir Christopher Clapham of Bramesley (i.e., Beamesly), Yorkshire, whose arms are added by Hollar at upper left. The full text of the engraved message at upper right reads: “Impia ne manus et sacrilega,/ Sacris etiam et Sepulchris mini=/ tans ruinas, nimium in Templa/ Dei saeviret, MARGARETA CLAP=/ HAM, uxor CHRISTOPH: CLAP=/ HAM de BRAMESLEY in Com:Ebor./ Armageri, gemens talis et tantae/ Ecclesiae profanationem, et dilapida=/ tionem, memoriam Monumenti/ melliflui et eximii Doctoris, IO=/ HANNIS DONNE, aevitati; atque/ posteritati consecrari curavit.” An inscription above Donne's arms locates the monument “Inter Chorum et alam australem” (“between the choir and the south aisle”).

<sup>16</sup>Other damage included the selling of plate and vestments, the destruction of Paul's Cross, and the conversion of the dean's house to a prison. Recalling Augustine's lament over the desecration of sanctuaries in his time, Walton says of the cathedral: “But now, oh Lord—” (*Life*, 1658, p. 79; and 1670, p. 56, adding the date “1656”); in 1675, he retained the date and added “how is that place become desolate” (p. 54). See also Dugdale (1658), pp. 172-73, and Holland, *Ecclesia . . .* (1633), preface. On these accounts and others by John Evelyn, Thomas Fuller, and royalist newspapers, see W. Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's* (London, 1881), pp. 263-90; and [Dean] Henry Hart Milman, *Annals of S. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1868), pp. 347-54.

Some eight years later, with the Great Fire of 1666, the monument embarks on its wanderings, showing an unusual amount of liveliness for a supposedly inanimate object. In the general conflagration it either fell or (more likely) was carried into the crypt below, suffering only minor fire damage and the loss of the left handle of its urn.<sup>17</sup> It thus became, as London historians and travel guides are fond of trumpeting, the only monument of the old cathedral to survive the Great Fire intact. Several accounts of the fire have with unintended humor stressed the advantages of Donne's pose under the circumstances. Thus Walter B. Bell suggests in *The Great Fire of London in 1666* (1920, repr. 1971) that "being erect [the effigy] slipped down into [the crypt]." In his *London and the Great Fire* (1965), E. N. Hearsey claims more vividly yet that "the effigy, which is tall and narrow, slithered from its place and fell right down into the small vault below.' Even a recent guide to St. Paul's cheerfully states that Donne's "unconventional" insistence on posing in a sheet "meant that his image had no arms and legs to be broken when it fell into the crypt during the Great Fire or during the bombings of World War II"—the latter assertion a good example of how myth often nudges aside fact in histories of the monument.<sup>18</sup>

Writing almost two decades after the disaster of the Great Fire, Payne Fisher in his *Tombes, Monuments, and Sepulchral Inscriptions, Lately Visible in St Paul's Cathedral . . .* (1684) recalls Donne's monument as it stood in its original location ("on the south-side of the quire, a very Fair polisht monument of white marble . . . of that incomparable Person, both the Wonder and Envy of that Age") and quotes its

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<sup>17</sup>Edmund Gosse speculates: "It is . . . not impossible that a rope may have been thrown round the neck, and whole work have been softly tilted forwards, and so carried out of the blaze" (*Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2 vols. [London, 1899], II, 287). Gosse's claim that "One toe is broken off" is puzzling, for the feet are shrouded.

<sup>18</sup>See Bell, *The Great Fire of London in 1666* (London: John Lane, 1920; repr. Greenwood, 1971), pp. 135-36; Hearsey, *London and the Great Fire* (London: John Murray, 1965), pp. 156-57; and Anon., *St. Paul's Cathedral, Official Guide Book* (n.d. [1999?]), p. 34. Donne's effigy did not fall into the crypt during the bombing, as the guidebook suggests, but was carried there for safety (see below).

inscription but says nothing of its current location or condition.<sup>19</sup> Also omitting any mention of the monument's fate, but adding greatly to our general store of knowledge, is a second edition of Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (1716), left in manuscript ready for the press by its author at his death in 1686. Found by Edward Maynard, a clergyman and an admirer of the antiquarian, among papers left to Dugdale's grandson, this enlarged and corrected edition opens with Dugdale's own account of his life and thus of how his project originally came into being.

From Dugdale's original dedicatory preface it is clear that through an interesting chain of circumstances we owe the existence of Hollar's engraving, the most accurate rendering we have up to now possessed of the monument in its original state, at least partly to the foresight of Dugdale's patron Sir Christopher Hatton (1605?-70), King Charles's Comptroller of the Household and a member of the Privy Council, whose father was cousin to the famous lord chancellor of the same name in Elizabeth's time. Dugdale's grateful acknowledgment of Hatton's role is further filled out in the "Life" published in the 1716 edition of the *History*. There we learn that in 1641, anticipating the "Destruction of Monuments in Churches, and Defacing [of] whatsoever was Beautiful and Ornamental therein" that was to come, Hatton encouraged Dugdale, accompanied by a "skilful Arms-Painter" then in Hatton's employ, one William Sedgwick, to visit and record the monuments of St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, and other major English cathedrals and churches. It is presumably these drawings that provided Hollar with an accurate record of the appearance of Donne's monument and others "As they stood in SEPTEMBER, *Anno* D.MDCXLI. WITH THEIR EPITAPHES EXACTLY IMITATED," as Dugdale's title page to the plates in the 1658 edition declares (p. 59). Dugdale goes on to assure the myopic reader, "In regard OF WHICH that to every Eye, the Character is not so legible, I have added the Copies; with such other Monumentall Inscriptions, made upon Tablets of Marble or otherwise, as were then extant there."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Fisher, *Tombes*, pp. 55-58. For Fisher's version of the inscription see below.

<sup>20</sup>Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London . . .*, 2d ed. Cor. And enl. *By the author's own hand. To which is prefixed, his life, written by himself. Publish'd by*

From the foreword to the 1716 volume written by its editor, Edward Maynard—himself something of a hero for his role in preserving and publishing this intriguing bit of history—we further learn that five of Hollar's original plates had been lost in the confusion of the Great Fire and had to be reengraved for the new edition. The others, presumably including the engraving of Donne's monument, "were generally worn so smooth, that they would want to be *Retouch'd*, (as the Engravers call it) to restore them to the Beauty they once had, (from the hand of *Hollar* the most noted Engraver of his Time)." The plate for Hollar's engraving of Donne's monument itself had an eventful afterlife, being used in a number of subsequent published collections of Hollar's work before it finally vanishes from sight.<sup>21</sup>

Dugdale's "Life" is important not only because it testifies to the complete accuracy of Sedgwick's drawings, which Dugdale describes as being "exact Draughts of all the Monuments . . . Copying the Epitaphs according to the very Letter; as also all Arms in the Windows, or Cut in Stone," but also for its hint about their preservation. "Which Draughts are in the Custody of the now Lord Hatton," he continues, "being trick'd [heraldically delineated] by the said Mr. *Sedgwick*, then Servant to the said Sir *Christopher Hatton*." The drawings resurfaced

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*Edward Maynard* . . . (London, 1716), p. ix ("Life of Sir William Dugdale") and sigs. A1-A1v ("To the reader"); the plate and text for Donne's monument are on pp. 62-63, and the ground plan, reengraved by John Harris, appears on p. 161 (foldout). For a partial account of these events see Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated 1604-1851* (London: Library Association, 1983), pp. 13-16; a short life of Maynard (1654-1740) is in *DNB*. Dugdale's "Life" was also published three years earlier in a pirated edition by Edmund Curll (London, 1713).

<sup>21</sup>Some of Hollar's engravings were published by "Robert Seymour" (J. Reed) as an appendix to his serialized edition of Stow's *Survey*, vol. II (London, 1753), where Donne's monument appears (p. 289); see Adams, *London Illustrated*, pp. 74-76, no. 31. And early in the next century, the engraving of Donne seems to have appeared in Robert Wilkinson, *A Collection of Forty-Nine Plates Engraved by Hollar, for "Dugdale's Monasticon" and "History of St Paul's Cathedral." From the Original Copper-plates* . . . (London, 1815). Wilkinson's book is listed by William Upcott, *A Bibliographical Account of the Prime Works Relating to English Topography*, 3 vols. (London, 1818), II, 705, and mentioned by Adams, *London Illustrated*, p. 15, but unfortunately no copy seems to have survived.

briefly in 1860 in a note reporting that they were then “in possession of the Earl of Winchilsea, the representative of Sir Christopher Hatton, at whose instance they were made.”<sup>22</sup> Remarkably, Sedgwick’s detailed drawing of Donne’s monument, reproduced here for the first time, has survived with its fellow drawings to the present day. In this view, now in the holdings of the British Library’s Department of Manuscripts, the monument stands before us as it was before it was touched by the tumult of history (Fig. 7).<sup>23</sup>

In Sedgwick’s delicate rendering the tablet, swags, and inscription match those in the Hollar engraving, while other details show tantalizing variations that remind us that each artist’s eye is unique. Sedgwick is apparently an excellent arms painter but no portraitist: he shows Donne with open eyes and an alert, even pleased expression—both details belied by the present monument. Donne’s shroud descends in billowing folds with no knot at the bottom, suggesting that Marshall’s distinct knot, so unlike Hollar’s tapered rendering and later depictions, is an aberration that was nevertheless apparently followed in the nineteenth-century restoration, resulting in the present crisp ruff-like knot beneath Donne’s feet. Under the urn, which is perhaps closer in shape to the present (apparently original) urn than is Hollar’s pot-shaped version, Sedgwick shows a pedestal unlike that in the Hollar engraving. The tablet containing the

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<sup>22</sup>On the ownership in 1860 see *DNB*, “Dugdale,” citing *N&Q* 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. x, 76, a report of July 28 by one “CANTIANUS” quoting from *Archaeologia Cantiana* 1 (1858), p. 59, and adding “And matchless volumes they are.” Cantianus was answering a query of July 21 (p. 47) which had followed the fortunes of the drawings from 1641 through Maynard’s 1716 edition of the “Life.”

<sup>23</sup>Sedgwick’s drawing of Donne’s monument has recently been noted in passing (though without identifying the artist) by Adam White (“London Tomb Sculptors,” p. 132, n. 136). Measuring 14 7/8 x 8 5/8”, it is reproduced from Dugdale’s Ms. book of monuments by kind permission of the British Library Board, from Ms. Add. 71474 [formerly Ms. loan 38], fol. 164. At upper left is written “In Ecclesia cathedrali S. Pauli London mense Iunii A[nn]o 1641” and “Inter chorum et Alam Australem,” and at right “Tumulus Iohannis Donne S.T.D. [Sacrae Theologiae Doctor, i.e., Teacher, Professor] huius Ecclesiae Decanus.”



inscription appears to be blackened, presumably by Stone's helper Mr. Babbe, setting off the inscription itself.

In the years that followed the fire Donne's monument was by no means forgotten. The eighteenth-century antiquaries Elias Ashmole and Richard Gough described their respective visits to the crypt in *Antiquities of Berkshire* (1723) and *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain 1786-96* (1799). Gough gives us our first clear glimpse of Donne's monument after the catastrophe: "In St. Faith's vaults, May 19, 1783, I saw . . . Dr. Donne's whole figure: the urn flat at top, and never open, in the window of a separate vault; and fragments of his tomb are on the other side of the church."<sup>24</sup> Such eighteenth-century sightings were supplemented by a new printed image, a version of the Droeshout deathbed image reengraved somewhat sweetly and sentimentally by W. Skelton, with the Horatian tag "Non Omnis Moriar," for Thomas Zouch's 1796 edition of Walton's *Lives* (Fig. 8).<sup>25</sup>

The new location of the monument after the fire is confirmed in a two-panel engraving by the noted topographer and historian James Peller Malcolm for the third volume of his *Londinium Redivivum* (Fig.

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<sup>24</sup>See Ashmole, *Berkshire*, II, 241; and Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, II, cccxxiv. Gough's comment also appears in his own hand in the margin of his copy of Dugdale (1658), now in the Bodleian Library, where he adds that "Walton in his Life of D. p. 71-2 [i.e., 1675 edn.] describes such a picture taken of him before death." (Clare Brown of Bodley's staff kindly supplied this quotation.) "St. Faith's" refers to the chapel created in the eastern end of the old cathedral's crypt when a church of that name outside the walls was torn down.

<sup>25</sup>Walton, *Lives*, 2 vols. (York, 1796), I, facing p. 97 (also in 1807 and 1817 eds.). Keynes says simply that Droeshout was "copied by Skelton" for this volume (*BJD*, p. 375). William Skelton (1763-1848), a London engraver who provided a portrait of Wenceslaus Hollar himself for Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (1827), was "best known by his many portraits of contemporary notabilities" (*DNB*; Hunnisett, *Illustrated Dictionary of British Steel Engravers* [London, 1989]). Donne's image in the Zouch edition promptly attracted the attention of one "B," a contributor to a current issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who however does not mention the monument (letter of 21 April, *GM* 66 [1796]: 298; listed by John Shawcross, "Additional Allusions to Donne and Herbert," *JDJ* 18 [1999]: 171).

9).<sup>26</sup> Dated “Jan. 1, 1805,” the careful rendering illustrates Malcolm’s account of his own visit to the crypt some twenty years after Gough, in which he states that he found the effigy in “a portion of the North aisle, at the East End . . . dedicated to St. Faith” (p. 61). The right panel of this little-noticed engraving shows the intact effigy propped against the wall, together with more fragmentary monuments. Of the effigy itself, Malcolm reports: “It stands erect, in a window, without its niche, and deprived of the urn in which the feet were placed. . . . Below the window, on the floor, [is] the urn . . . and a heap of rubbish” (pp. 61-62). In the left panel, Donne’s effigy is shown from the front, standing alone, the lower ruff again missing.

The recent visual history of the monument, with a few scattered exceptions noted below, has henceforth rested with Malcolm’s view of 1805, which has been published in whole or in part on a few occasions. But perhaps more important, the verbal history has ended with Keynes’s categorical but unexplained assertion in his edition of *Deaths Duell* that the monument was retrieved from the crypt and re-erected in the south choir aisle “about the year 1818,” an error inexplicably repeated by Gardner (p. 31) and given further currency in Pevsner and Metcalf’s *Cathedrals of England* (1985) and Bradley and Pevsner’s *London I: The City of London* (1999).<sup>27</sup> Bald’s influential biography,

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<sup>26</sup>James Peller Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, 4 vols.? (London, 1802-07?), III (dated 1803 on title page), facing p. 61 (“by J. P. Malcolm of Somers Town”). The engraving measures 5 3/4 x 6”. Its right panel is mentioned in passing by Bald (p. 534) and Keynes (*BJD*, p. 31), and is listed (but not reproduced or discussed) by Adams, *London Illustrated*, p. 187; this portion of the engraving is reproduced in Keynes’s edition of *Deaths Duell* (p. 42, pl. 3), as noted by Gardner (p. 42 and n.). The left panel is reproduced only in Gardner’s essay “The ‘Metempsychosis’ of John Donne,” *TLS* (29 Dec. 1972): 1581, without explanation; its use there is noted without comment by Raoul Granqvist, *The Reputation of John Donne 1779-1873* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1975), pp. 145-46 and n. Malcolm (1767-1815) published many other engravings in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* from 1792 to 1814. *DNB* calls his *Londinium Redivivum* a fine “parochial history of the metropolis . . . compiled from original records.”

<sup>27</sup>See Nikolaus Pevsner and Priscilla Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England*, 2 vols. (New York: Viking, 1985), II, 141 (giving a restoration date of “c. 1818”); and Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London I: The City of London*, 3rd rev. edn. (London: Penguin, 1999), p. 177 (“c. 1818”).

meanwhile, had neatly sidestepped the issue, stating only that the effigy "remained [in the crypt] throughout the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth" (p. 534).

The surprising truth is that Donne in fact languished in the crypt from 1666 to 1873—some 207 years—before being restored to public view. His image remained in the public consciousness, however, through such reminders as this forgotten sketch published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1808 by another visitor to the crypt, one Samuel Paterson, who in an accompanying letter dated 15 October states that he found Donne's "admirable" effigy among monuments "placed under the great East window" (Fig. 10).<sup>28</sup> A more limited audience, perhaps, would have been aware a decade later of a third edition of Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (1818), edited by Henry Ellis, librarian of the British Museum, which is described as a continuation with additions. The illustration of Donne's monument was reengraved faithfully "After Hollar" for the occasion by W. Finden, perhaps because the Hollar plates were now too worn to use (Fig. 11).<sup>29</sup> The popular memory was further jogged in these years by the reproduction of Malcolm's 1805 engraving in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1820 (Fig. 12). There it accompanied a plaintive letter dated 11 February from one "S. S. J.," a recent visitor to the crypt who urged that Donne's monument, now "ignominiously cast aside like a broken vessel," its urn liable to be "tossed about by every wanton or idle

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<sup>28</sup>*Gentleman's Magazine* 78 (1808): 1073-74, pl. II, no. 7. The image measures 1 1/8 x 4 1/8". Granqvist mentions Paterson's letter but not his drawing (*Reputation*, p. 146 and n. 38).

<sup>29</sup>Sir William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral . . . A continuation and additions . . . by Henry Ellis* (London, 1818), pl. [V] (following p. 500). The description of Donne's monument in the text (p. 46) is filled out with notes from Gough and Malcolm, and Donne's inscription is rearranged. The ground plan (pl. [L]) is reengraved by John Coney. Dugdale's "Life" was absent from this edition of the *History*, but reappeared soon after in *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale* (London, 1827), edited by the antiquarian William Hamper. Hollar's plates may well have no longer been viable due to the uses noted above. Finden's exceptional accuracy "within a millimetre" is praised by Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated*, pp. 287-88.

foot,” should “be removed from its present state of obscurity and degradation, to some conspicuous place in the Cathedral.”<sup>30</sup>

Even more striking evidence that Donne was still receiving visitors in the darkness of the crypt is presented by another hitherto unnoticed image, a watercolor by the artist G. F. Sargent now in the holdings of the Guildhall Library in London (Fig.13).<sup>31</sup> A tentative date of c. 1843 or earlier is suggested by the fact that a crudely drawn, anonymous version of the image is reproduced as an engraved illustration in Robert Chambers’s *Cyclopaedia* of 1843 and later editions (Fig. 14).<sup>32</sup> Donne’s statue appears to have been moved since Malcolm’s view of 1805, now keeping company with the effigies of Sir Christopher Hatton (d. 1591), Elizabeth’s lord chancellor, on the left,

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<sup>30</sup>*Gentleman’s Magazine* 90 (1820): 113-14 and foldout facing 113. The engraving, 6 x 6 3/4”, labeled simply “Malcolm” at the bottom, is titled there “East End of the North Crypt of St Paul’s, dedicated to St. Faith.” The writer of the letter does not refer to the engraving, which was provided by the journal’s editor, who in the accompanying note mentions Stone’s fee and Gough’s visit of 1783 but not Malcolm or his *Londinium Redivivum*. The engraving of 1820 has been reproduced twice, by Granqvist in 1975 (*Reputation*, p. 145, pl. II), and by Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), figs. 119a-b, pp. 166-67 and n. 74; but in neither case is the artist or the source of 1805 identified.

<sup>31</sup>The watercolor, 4 1/2 x 6 3/4”, under which is written in script, perhaps by the artist, “The Effigy of Dr. Donne. In the Crypt under St. Pauls Cathedral,” is part of the Sargent Collection, Vol. I, p. 21. Sargent (flor. 1840-60) provided wood engravings for Charles Knight’s *London* as well as Knight’s *Shakespeare Illustrated* (1842), *The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare* (1839), and other volumes to 1871. For the view that he was “too bad” to be put to the ballot for the New Watercolour Society in 1854, see H. L. Mallalieu, *Dictionary of British Watercolourists up to 1920*, vol. I, 2nd edn. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors Club, 1986), p. 302.

<sup>32</sup>Robert Chambers, ed., *Cyclopaedia of British Literature*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1843), I, 110 (and in further editions through 1868). The engraving, 2 1/2 x 3 1/2”, is captioned simply “Monumental Effigy of Dr. Donne.” This “spectral drawing” is noted by Granqvist (citing the 1844 edn.), who is however unaware of its artist or original source, erroneously stating that it was “copied” from Malcolm and “reproduced by Gardner in *TLS*” (*Reputation*, pp. 144, 146, nn. 35, 37).

and Sir Nicholas Bacon (d. 1579) on the right—both originally recumbent, praying figures on very large monuments, as shown by Dugdale (pp. 70-71, 82-83). The much-reduced Hatton no longer “takes up all the roome” with his monument, as a contemporary satire had once complained, and a humbled Bacon obligingly illuminates the scene by bearing a lighted candle on his head.<sup>33</sup>

To these newly discovered images can be added still another, an unnoticed scene drawn and engraved by the topographer John Wykeham Archer in his *Vestiges of Old London* (1851), in which effigy and urn are shown more closely reunited, though not yet rejoined (Fig. 15).<sup>34</sup> The record of the urn’s survival to this late date as well as its shape as depicted by Archer seem to confirm that the present urn is Stone’s original, and that Sedgwick’s rendering is more accurate than Hollar’s. It may be significant that in none of these images is there any sign of the original tablet bearing Donne’s epitaph or its three surrounding swags—a point to which I will return below. In Archer’s scene, Donne stands in the middle of a line of effigies, possibly arranged by the engraver’s fancy, though the central group of three (Fig. 16) recalls Sargent’s view. To the left of Donne we find Sir William Cockayne (d. 1626), whose funeral sermon Donne preached, and Hatton, and on the right Bacon, Dean Alexander Nowell (d. 1602)—the only figure besides Donne’s originally erect—and Donne’s

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<sup>33</sup>See Holland, *Monumenta Sepulchraria* . . . (1614), sig. [C4], slightly revised in his *Ecclesia Sancti Pauli Illustrata* . . . (1633), sigs. C1v-C2: “*John Stow* saith a merry Poet wrote thus, *Philip and Francis they haue no Tombe/ For great CHRISTOPHER takes all the roome.* And no doubt but the merry Poet was the merry old man *Stow* himselfe.”

<sup>34</sup>Pl. xxii (“Monuments Belonging to Old St. Paul’s”), pp. 1-2. The engraving measures 7 3/4 x 6”. Archer (1808-64), a “diligent antiquary” (*DNB*) who was also a watercolorist, wood engraver, and poet, was elected associate of the New Society of Painters in Watercolours in 1842 (Mallalieu, *Dictionary*, p. 19) an honor that Sargent was denied (see above). The engraving seems to have been overlooked and unpublished since; Adams in *London Illustrated* mentions only Archer’s drawing of the west front of the cathedral (p. 433, no. 3). There is a separate example of the engraving in the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.

friend Lady Cockayne (d. 1648).<sup>35</sup> Archer's text touchingly likens these figures, "huddled together," to "forlorn ghosts waiting their turn to be ferried over by the 'grim boatman of the Stygian lake'" (p. 1).

It seems clear, then, that Donne's statue was most certainly not resurrected in 1818, a fact supported by verbal accounts of various writers, beginning with the contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1820. Such writers form a kind of Greek chorus lamenting the fact that the effigy is still consigned to the depths of the crypt. In the 1840 edition of Donne's *Devotions*, the publisher's advertisement calls for the re-erection of the monument, an appeal somewhat weakened by his implication that only the "head and urn" survive in the crypt, as well as by the edition's bastardized frontispiece, an anonymous engraving which places Hollar's shrouded figure of 1658 in the surrounding frame of Marshall's original frontispiece of 1634 (Fig. 16).<sup>36</sup> A more coherent case is made by J. Saunders in 1843: "Why this statue is not carefully cleaned, and placed in one of the best parts of the Cathedral, it is impossible to say. St. Paul's certainly does not possess any other relic of half its interest—the history of the Cathedral presents no name that is calculated to shed so much lasting honour upon it as the poet-dean's." Saunders's no-nonsense comment is accompanied by an anonymous reengraved version of the effigy in its niche, with tablet, swags and urn, following Hollar's engraving.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Nowell's was a wall monument behind the high altar (Dugdale, pp. Ff1v-Ff2, and no. 32 on the plan, Fig. 2 above), showing him preaching in demi-figure. Behind Donne's urn here is a fragment bearing the arms of Sir John Wolley (d. 1595), father of Donne's friend Francis Wolley. For battered effigies still surviving in the crypt, see Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London, Vol. IV: The City* (London, 1929), p. 50 and pls. 106, 777 (Francis Wolley, Cockayne, Bacon), and Bradley and Pevsner, *London I* (1999 edn.), p. 178 (on the "pathetic remnants" of Francis Wolley and others).

<sup>36</sup>*Devotions*. . . (London: William Pickering, 1840), pp. [ii, v-vi], frontispiece measuring 2 1/2 x 4 5/8". Keynes calls the image simply "an engraved reproduction," enlarged, "of Marshall's frontispiece" (*BJD*, p. 89, no. 41; see also, on Marshall as "reproduced in Pickering's edition," p. 375, no. 11). I have not seen the 1841 *Devotions* (Oxford: D. A. Talboys), whose illustrations Keynes terms "inept" (*BJD*, p. 89, no. 42).

<sup>37</sup>*London*, ed. Charles Knight, vol. IV (1843), sect. xcvi, "New St. Paul's. No. II," pp. 347-48, 352. This small reengraving of Hollar's view of the

In the same year, George Lewis Smyth more pointedly directed a similar reproach to the cathedral officials themselves: "In the east window of the present crypt are the remains of a monument in old St. Paul's to Dr. Donne . . . wrapped in his winding-sheet, and standing in an urn, the merits [of which] deserve a far better fate than it has of late years received." Reminding the monument's guardians of Sir Henry Wotton's prophecy (reported by Walton) that posterity would look upon Donne's image as a "miracle," Smyth calls the prediction "an honour which might certainly be attained, were the dean and chapter of the cathedral to renovate the statue, and give it a place among the more modern ornaments of the building."<sup>38</sup> In 1850 J. Heneage Jesse gamely took up the refrain: "[The effigy] is still to be seen in the crypt. . . . We are at a loss to conjecture why nearly two centuries have been allowed to elapse, without so interesting a relic having been restored to a place in the present Cathedral."<sup>39</sup> In 1851 Archer repeated the complaint, and in the next decade even Dean Milman, preoccupied though he was with plans to brighten up the "cold, dull" cathedral with marble and mosaic, spared a glance for the "sadly neglected" state of the monument.<sup>40</sup>

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monument reappears, rendered without tablet and swags or urn, in the 1852 edition of Walton's *Life* (London: Henry Kent Causton), edited by "An Antiquary" (T. E. Tomlins, with long notes from Zouch), p. 142; also included is a retouching of Skelton's version of the Droeshout (p. 149). Keynes mentions the volume (*BJD*, p. 242, no. 194) but not the illustrations.

<sup>38</sup>Smyth, *Biographical Illustrations of St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1843), p. 7. See Walton, *Life* (1658), p. 120.

<sup>39</sup>Jesse, *London and Its Celebrities*, 2 vols. (London, 1850), II, 141. By contrast, Leigh Hunt fastidiously deplored that Donne's "wooden image" [sic] in the crypt should be restored or even described: "We will not do a great man such a disservice as to dig him up for a spectacle. A man should be judged of at the time when he is most himself, and not when he is about to consign his weak body to its elements" (*The Town* [London, 1848], pp. 49-50).

<sup>40</sup>Milman (d. 1866), *Annals of St Paul's Cathedral* (1868), p. 377 (on Donne, without reference to the monument's location); plans for refurbishment, proposed in Milman's letter to the Bishop of London on 1 Feb. 1858 (quoted, p. 496), were described as in progress in a subsequent "Memorandum and statement by Mr. Penrose, Surveyor to the Fabrick" (appendix C, p. 497). Sums in excess of "40,000*l*" would eventually be set forth for decoration of

The first evidence we have of the imminent restoration of the monument—following an 1869 government survey of all funerary monuments thought worthy of preservation—comes in the cathedral’s chapter minutes of 14 October 1872, quoted here from the Cathedral Library’s holdings for the first time. These minutes instruct “Mr Penrose [Surveyor to the Fabric] . . . to prepare plans and to obtain estimates for an exact restoration of the Monument of Dean Donne to a position in the South Choir Aisle of St Paul’s as near to that which it occupied in the old Cathedral as may be consistent with the architectural requirements of the present structure.” Some fifteen months later, the chapter minutes of 21 January 1873 (preserved at Guildhall, and likewise published here for the first time) provide a record of expenses “for the Restoration of Dr. Donne’s Monument” in the amount of “122.18.0.” Soon after, the minutes of 9 February report that “Dr. Donne’s effigy . . . has been put into a marble niche found for it in the south aisle of the choir.”<sup>41</sup>

If Donne’s restoration caused few ripples among the general public, as the evidence below seems to suggest, the re-erection of the monument was movingly hailed in a lecture of 1877 delivered at St. James’s Church, Piccadilly, by Joseph Lightfoot, Canon of St. Paul’s and Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Noting the unusual history of the monument as the sole survivor of the Great Fire, Lightfoot observes that it long lay neglected in the crypt “till, three or four years ago, it was rescued from its gloomy abode underground and

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the Dome “after the manner of St. Peter’s at Rome” (*The Graphic* 15: 567 [16 June 1877]).

<sup>41</sup>Society of Antiquaries of London, *Report of the Sepulchral Monuments Committee* . . . (London, 1872), pp. 1-41 (listing Donne in the crypt, p. 28). Francis Cranmer Penrose (1817-1903) was an architect and architectural historian whose works included the Wellington sarcophagus in the crypt (1858), the dividing of the organ and screen at the choir entrance in 1872, and the stripping away of Wren’s interior, “painted to resemble white marble,” in 1872-75 (Bradley and Pevsner, *London I*, pp. 169-80). The chapter minutes for 1872 (p. 254) are quoted by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter. Extracts from the minutes for 1873 are provided from the Guildhall Library, Department of Prints and Maps, Ms. 25, 809 (Notebooks of E. J. Harding [Clerk of the Works 1873-1912], I, fols. 146-47). I am grateful to Roy Kendall for verifying these Guildhall references in person.



erected in its present position, corresponding, as nearly as circumstances allowed, to the place which it occupied in the old Cathedral before the fire. The canopy and inscription were restored from an ancient engraving." Entitled "Donne: The Poet-Preacher," Lightfoot's tribute places the recent restoration of the monument in the context of a reviving appreciation of Donne's poetry as well as his sermons, noting that "In its quaint affectation and in its appalling earnestness this monument recalls the very mind of the man himself."<sup>42</sup> The lecture is interesting not only for its sensitivity to the monument's troubled past and troubling nature but for the fact that it offers, written as it is some four years after the event, apparently trustworthy testimony about certain details of the restoration.

One such detail is the relationship between the new location of the monument and the old. A plan of 1902 shows the effigy now situated on the aisle's outside or south wall, backed against a pier which is one in from the crossing pier (Fig. 18).<sup>43</sup> Thus Gosse was less than precise in reporting in 1899 that "This monument to Donne has only of recent years been restored to what was in all probability its approximate original position." Equally questionable is Gosse's statement that "The sculptures and the inscribed entablature above, are in their original state; the niche is modern." Apparently Keynes alone has noted that the tablet and its surrounding swags were probably also redone at this time, accounting for the "many differences in detail" between Hollar's engraving and the present monument: "It seems probable that, when the monument was reassembled, this portion was missing or badly damaged, and that the present sculpture is a replica made to replace the original stone."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>"Donne, The Poet-Preacher," in *The Classic Preachers of the English Church. Lectures Delivered at St. James's Church [Piccadilly] in 1877*, ed. and intro. John Edward Kempe (New York: Dutton, 1877), pp. 2-3. Lightfoot (1828-89) was widely influential as a theologian (*DNB*).

<sup>43</sup>Lewis Gilbertson, *St. Paul's Cathedral: The Authorized Guide* (London: Chiswick, 1902); Donne is no. 32 on the plan, which was drafted by "F. Chatterton A.R.I.B.A."

<sup>44</sup>Gosse, *Life and Letters*, II, 286; Keynes, ed., *Deaths Duell*, p. 43. Adam White notes briefly that although the effigy survived the fire, "the rest of the monument was severely damaged"; thus "the whole work has been

Lightfoot's testimony that the canopy and tablet are new seems to confirm Keynes's suspicion, although his statement that they were restored "from an ancient engraving" is puzzling given the deviations from Hollar. The swags and armorial shield surrounding the tablet, gracefully baroque in Hollar's engraved view, now assume the proportions and effect (attractive enough in their way) of mid-Victorian style. Certainly the Latin inscription is arranged differently, and even worded differently, in the present tablet as opposed to Hollar's engraved tablet (Fig. 19). The Hollar text, which exactly reproduces that of Sedgwick's tablet in both wording and layout, is arranged symmetrically on a vertical axis within the rectangular frame, assuming roughly the shape of an urn:

JOHANNI DONNE.  
 SAC: THEOL: PROFESS:  
 POST VARIA STVDIA QVIBVS  
 AB ANNIS TENERIBVS FIDELI=  
 TER, NEC INFOELICITER INCVBVUIT  
 INSTINCTV ET IMPVLSV SPIR:SCTI:  
 MONITV ET HORTATV REGIS IACOBI  
 ORDINES SACROS AMPLEXVS  
 ANNO SVI IESV 1614 ET SVAE AETAT: 42.  
 DECANATVS HVIVS ECCLES: INDVTVS  
 27° NOVEMB: 1621.  
 EXVTVS MORTE VLTIMO DIE  
 MARTII A° 1631.  
 HIC IACET IN OCCIDVO CINERE  
 ASPICIT EVM  
 CVIVS NOMEN EST ORIENS.

("John Donne. Professor [Teacher] of Sacred Theology. After various studies to which from his early years he applied himself faithfully, and not unsuccessfully, by the power and inspiration of the holy spirit and on the advice and persuasion of King James he embraced holy orders in the year 1614 and in the 42<sup>nd</sup> year of his life. He was invested with

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reconstructed and set up again" ("London Tomb Sculptors," pp. 131-32, n. 136).

the deanship of this church 27 November 1621. He was divested of it by death on the last day of March August 1631. He lies here in fallen dust. He looks toward Him whose name is the Rising.”)<sup>45</sup>

By contrast, the text of the existing tablet (Fig. 20) forms a horizontal rectangular block with larger spacings between words and frequent word-breaks at the beginning and end of lines—features not duplicated as a group in any of the surviving transcriptions before or since 1873. Numerous differences from Hollar’s original wording are shared by a variety of versions. The history of the epitaph is thus more complicated than has been recognized.<sup>46</sup> Holland’s transcription (1633), the earliest, varies from Hollar in arranging the words in a horizontal block of ten lines, introducing a variant (“infaeliciter”), and substituting the odd “hic licet” (“here it is permitted”) for the original, and more logical, “hic iacet” (“he lies here”).<sup>47</sup> Stow’s *Survey* of 1633 retains Hollar’s urn-shaped form and gives the variant “infaeliciter,” and the phrase “hic licet” while introducing the corrections “tenerrimis” (for “teneribus”) and “decanatu” (for “decanatus”); but it leaves out the eighth line, “ordines sacros amplexus” (p. 776). Walton’s transcriptions from 1640 through 1675 use a block shape, gradually rearranged, with Holland’s “hic licet” and Stow’s corrected phrases.

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<sup>45</sup>My translation is modified from that of K. W. Gransden (*John Donne*, rev. edn. [London: Longmans, 1969; repr., Archon, 1969], p. 3), and from the much freer versions of Payne Fisher, *Tombes* (1684), p. 56, and Archdeacon Francis Wrangham (1769-1842). Wrangham’s translation, which was quoted by Gosse in 1899 (II, 282; see *Var VIII*, 438-39), seems first to have appeared in John Major’s edition of Walton’s *Lives* (London, 1825), p. 467.

<sup>46</sup>The editors of *Var VIII* (not aware of Keynes’s discussion in his edition of *Deaths Duell*) take the existing tablet as original and copytext, and treat Dugdale’s text and other versions of the inscription as derived from it; moreover, they assume Dugdale’s version of the inscription is prior to Hollar’s (pp. 192-95, 438-45).

<sup>47</sup>Holland, *Ecclesia* (1633), sigs. E2v-E3 (not in *Var VIII*). The verb “licet” (“it is permitted,” or “one may”) can have a concessive sense of “although” when the subjunctive follows, but that is not the case here. I am grateful for the advice of a classicist, my colleague Thomas Suits.

Even Dugdale's own version, quoted in his 1658 text, unaccountably does not follow Hollar but gives a block form like Holland's (with "hic licet") and like Stow omits "ordines sacros amplexus." Fisher in 1684 makes further changes, including the substitution of Roman numerals throughout, a feature later echoed by Zouch, Pickering, Nicol, Tomlins, Gosse, Grierson, and Bald. Among recent versions, Bald's wording seems to have been concocted from Walton and the current tablet, while that of Keynes in his *Deaths Duell* edition looks as if it was adapted from Walton's 1670 or 1675 editions.<sup>48</sup> Commenting that the present inscription has little punctuation, erroneous line breaks dividing Latin words, and capitals throughout, Wesley Milgate has enterprisingly provided his own urn-shaped version, with the words arranged differently from those in Hollar's engraving, which he has "adjust[ed] to contemporary, and where possible to Donne's practice" and entitled "Epitaph for Himself."<sup>49</sup>

Donne's restoration was noted briefly in some subsequent guides, such as Baedeker's *Guide* of 1878 and Augustus Hare's *Walks in London* (also 1878), the latter remarking that "one figure from the old St. Paul's has lately been given a place in the new church. In the Dean's Aisle now stands erect the strange figure from the monument of *Dr. Donne The Poet-Dean*." Henry Wheatley notes the move in his *London Past and Present* (1891), confirming a date of 1873: "The monument of Dr. Donne, saved from the old cathedral . . . has been (1873) removed from the crypt and placed in an alcove in the south-east aisle."<sup>50</sup> In the

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<sup>48</sup>Zouch, ed., *Lives*, 1796, facing p. 97; Major, ed., *Lives*, 1825, p. 73; Pickering, pub. *Devotions*, 1840, p. lxxix; W. Nicol, ed., *Lives* (London, 1845), pp. 79-80, n. 1; [T. E. Tomlins see below, n. 51], ed., *Life*, 1852, p. 143; Gosse II, 282; and H. J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Poems of John Donne*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1912), II, 248 (apparently adapted from Walton 1658 and 1670); Bald, p. 534; Keynes, ed., *Deaths Duell*, pp. 40-41. I have not seen the version of the epitaph by Bp. White Kennett (1660-1728) in British Library Lansdowne Ms. 984, fols. 102-03 [156-57].

<sup>49</sup>Milgate, ed., *John Donne, The Epithalamions* . . . , pp. 80 and n., 218. Milgate refers to Keynes's account of the monument in his *Deaths Duell* edition without registering his point about the tablet.

<sup>50</sup>Hare, *Walks in London*, 2 vols. (London, 1878), I, 146; Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 3 vols. (London, 1891), III, 48. Gosse in 1899 would provide

very year of the restoration, Grosart included in his new two-volume edition of the poems (1872-73) a meager version of Hollar's engraving of the effigy in its niche without urn, tablet or swags, together with the Droeshout as softened by Zouch's engraver Skelton (Fig. 21); this tribute, however, was apparently a mere coincidence rather than a recognition of the reappearance of the monument.<sup>51</sup> Unlike another, more highly publicized event of this time, the burial of the painter Landseer in St. Paul's on 18 October 1873—an event marked by a huge public procession through London to the cathedral, filling the transepts and descending to a burial spot in the crypt near the place so long occupied by Donne—Donne's much-delayed move in the opposite direction was apparently a quiet one.<sup>52</sup>

In the first of a number of misunderstandings about the restored monument, Hare complains that the effigy no longer faces east: "The present position of the statue unfortunately renders abortive the concluding lines of the Latin epitaph, which refer to the eastward position of the figure." His objection, based on unwarranted inferences from the inscription "hic licet [or, iacet] in occiduo cinere aspicit eum/ cuius nomen est oriens" and on Walton's account of Donne posing on the urn facing east, overlooks the fact that in the old cathedral the monument almost certainly originally faced south

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photos of the monument in place (*Life and Letters*, II, facing 280), and Louis Weirter a drawing in W. M. Sinclair, *Memorials of St. Paul's Cathedral* (Philadelphia: George Jacobs, [1909]), p. 98 ("Monument of Dean Donne [Saved from the Fire]"), though Sinclair's text lists the monument with those surviving in the crypt (p. 97).

<sup>51</sup>Alexander B. Grosart, ed. *The Complete Poems of John Donne . . .*, 2 vols. (London: privately printed, 1872-73), II [1873], facing p.[ix]. Grosart's introductory "Essay" on Donne's life and writings does not mention the monument or the preparations for it. The images here of the disproportioned effigy and the retouched Skelton deathbed portrait seem to be derived from illustrations in the 1852 edition of Walton's *Life with notes by "An Antiquary"* (London: Henry Kent Causton, 1852), pp. 142, 149; Keynes identifies the editor as T. E. Tomlins but overlooks the illustrations (*BJD*, pp. 240, 242, no. 194).

<sup>52</sup>Landseer's funeral is described in *The Illustrated London News*, 18 Oct. 1873, pp. 373-74, with a large view of the area of the gravesite. I have been unable to find Donne's move chronicled in contemporary newspapers or journals.

(although Donne may indeed have been buried facing east, as Gosse believed).<sup>53</sup> Confusion about the state of the monument also persisted, as is evident in Augustus Jessopp's entry on Donne for the *DNB*, which first appeared in 1888: "[the monument] may be seen in the crypt of St. Paul's, and has been reverently set up again after having been allowed to remain for two centuries neglected and in fragments."<sup>54</sup> As for Jesse's book on London which had lamented in 1850 the statue's neglect in the crypt, it was still making that lament as late as 1902, in the latest of several unrevised editions.

Even into the early twentieth century the general state of knowledge about the history of Donne's statue remained vague enough to allow such paradoxical accounts as that of Virginia Woolf, who in her *London Scene* (1926) manages to find twisted torment in the effigy's peaceful features while at the same time completely underestimating what it has been through: "the contorted and agonized figure of John Donne . . . looks as if it had left the stonemason's yard but yesterday. Yet it has stood here in its agony for three hundred years." In a later essay (1932) she compounds the confusion, noting that "the famous preparations that he made, lying in his shroud, being carved for the tomb, when he felt death approach are

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<sup>53</sup>*Life and Letters* II, 281. Bald is also confused on this point, asserting that the monument originally "faced east" (534). For similar claims see Nigel Foxell, *A Sermon in Stone: John Donne and His Monument in St. Paul's Cathedral* (London: Menard, 1978), pp. 5-6, 9-10; and Robert H. Ray, *A John Donne Companion* (New York and London: Garland, 1990), p. 22. Lightfoot, too, thought that "In old St. Paul's [the monument] stood against a pier so as to face Eastward, the aspect being adapted to the words [of the inscription]; but this position was impossible in the present Cathedral, unless the monument had been placed in some other part of the building" ("Donne the Poet-Preacher," p. 2 n.).

<sup>54</sup>*DNB*, V, 1136. In his later book on Donne (1897), Jessopp deleted the mention of the crypt but misrepresented the date: "[the monument] has within the last few years been set up again in the south aisle of the choir" (*John Donne Sometime Dean of St. Paul's*, reprinted [New York: Haskell House, 1972], p. 206n.). In his *Chapters in the History of Old St Paul's* (London, 1881), W. Sparrow Simpson described Donne's as "the only perfect effigy now remaining" in a group of "ruined . . . memorials" of Colet, Bacon, Hatton, and others, thus giving the impression Donne's effigy was still in the crypt (pp. 93-94).

poles asunder from the falling asleep of the tired and content. He must still cut a figure and stand erect"—an observation that suggests that the dying Donne posed ("lying" while simultaneously "stand[ing] erect") not for a painter but for a "carve[r]" or sculptor.<sup>55</sup> Woolf's mistake has been further refracted by later critics and writers, who variously suggest that "Charcoal fires kept [Donne] warm as the sculptor, Nicholas Stone, worked" (1974); that "[Donne] sat . . . in a shroud to Nicholas Stone" (1977, 1981, 1992); and that Donne posed "warmed by charcoal fires while sculptor Nicholas Stone worked" (1995, 1998).<sup>56</sup>

Meanwhile a new frontispiece engraved by R. Ferris for Norton's 1895 edition of the *Poems* perhaps made Donne's shrouded figure on its urn more palatable to some by reducing it to a sweet item in a cluttered Victorian collection of Donne memorabilia (Fig. 22).<sup>57</sup> At the

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<sup>55</sup>*London Scene* (London: Hogarth Press, 1926), p. 32: "Donne After Three Centuries," *The Second Common Reader* (London: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1932 [reprt. 1960], pp. 30-31.

<sup>56</sup>Quoted respectively from Felix Barker and Peter Jackson, *London: 2,000 Years of a City and Its People* (New York: Macmillan, 1974), p. 106; Dorothy Eagle and Hilary Carnell, *Oxford Literary Guide to Great Britain* (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977), p. 180, repeated in their *Oxford Illustrated Literary Guide to Great Britain and Ireland* [1981], 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., rev. Dorothy Eagle and Meic Stephens (1992), p. 144; and Michael Kerrigan, *Who Lies Where: A Guide to Famous Graves* (London: Fourth Estate, 1995 [pb., 1998]), p. 240. Such embellishments of Walton's already strange story seem irresistible. Thus a recent Michelin guide to *London* (n.d.) suggests that the shrouded Donne is shown "standing on an urn in the up-ended coffin (which he kept in his house)" (p. 222); and Helen Hanff in *The Duchess of Bloomsbury Street* (Philadelphia and New York: Lippincott, 1973), sequel to her popular *84, Charing Cross Road*, declares that "When Anne [Donne] died, [Donne] had a stone shroud made for himself, and he slept with that shroud in bed with him for twenty years" (p. 108). Visiting St. Paul's in 1971, Hanff reports, "There in front of me, hanging on the wall . . . was John Donne's shroud" (p. 109).

<sup>57</sup>*The Poems of John Donne*, ed. Charles Eliot Norton, 2 vols. (New York, 1895), II, frontispiece. Norton ignores the monument or preparations for it. Stephen James Ferris (b. 1835) was an American who taught painting and engraving abroad (E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire Critique et Documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs*, ed. Jacques Büsse [Paris: Grund, 1999]).

other extreme, almost a half-century later in America, the Droeshout deathbed portrait found a bleak reinterpretation in Marsden Hartley's ambiguously titled painting "The Last Look of John Donne" (1940), now in the Brooklyn Museum (Fig. 23), which was anticipated by Hartley's witty poem of 1936 on the same Droeshout image, "John Donne in His Shroud."<sup>58</sup>

There remains one more up and down—or rather, down and up—in the life of the monument. In 1939 Donne's statue was again removed to the crypt and protected by sandbags during the bombing of World War II—a fortunate precaution, since the choir was one of the few portions of the cathedral that suffered serious damage, sustaining a direct hit to the roof. Of this interlude we have the account of W. R. Matthews, then Dean of St. Paul's, who writes movingly of experiencing air raids in Donne's company: "It happened that I slept in the Crypt almost on the sandbags which covered the effigy of my great predecessor, Dr. John Donne, the poet and orator, who characteristically had himself represented in his life-time dressed in his shroud. There have been moments when this juxtaposition seemed only too appropriate and when I felt that only Donne could have done justice to my feelings."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>On the painting (cat. no. 71.201, measuring 28 1/8 x 22"), see Barbara Haskell, *Marsden Hartley* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, for New York Univ. Press, 1980), p. 118, fig. 104, noting its derivation from "an etching [Droeshout]"; and Townsend Ludington, *Marsden Hartley* (Boston: Little Brown, 1992), p. 271. The poem, which first appeared in *Selected Poems* (1936), is reprinted in *The Collected Poems of Marsden Hartley 1904-1943*, ed. Gail R. Scott (Santa Rosa, Calif.: Black Sparrow, 1987), p. 195. See Judith Scherer Herz, "Under the Sign of Donne," *Criticism* 43.1 (Winter 2001): 51-54, who also discusses the painting, together with another by Stanley Spencer, "John Donne Arriving in Heaven" (1911), in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (see further Frances Spalding, "'Working for an Imaginary Temple': Stanley Spencer, Eric Gill, Jacques and Gwen Raverat," *Burlington Magazine* 143.1178 [May 2001]: 290-95).

<sup>59</sup>*Saint Paul's Cathedral in Wartime, 1939-1945* (Watford: Hutchinson, 1946), p. 25. Just before the Blitz, James Pope-Hennessy included Donne's still standing monument in his *London Fabric* (London: Batsford, [September] 1939), with a reproach that suggests the uneasiness the monument inspires: "The effigy . . . is the least peaceful of all the cathedral monuments. There is



The monument, whose motto by now might well be “been down so long it looks like up to me”—to borrow a poignant book title from the 1960s—was restored to the choir after the war. Its presence “in the south choir aisle” is reported in Muirhead’s *Guide* to London of 1947. Though we find John Sparrow in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 26 March 1949 still claiming that the effigy is “now in the crypt,” confirmation of its return comes in Atkins’s authoritative 1951 guide to St. Paul’s.<sup>60</sup> Once again risen from the depths of the cathedral, Donne’s image continues to cast its somewhat disturbing spell and to raise a number of unanswered questions (Fig. 24). One of the most interesting of these questions, as mentioned earlier, will be the subject of the second essay in this study, which will consider the place of Donne’s monument in the history of funerary art, delving beyond Gardner’s observations to establish more fully both its unsettling originality and its intimate connection with Donne’s thought and writings.<sup>61</sup>

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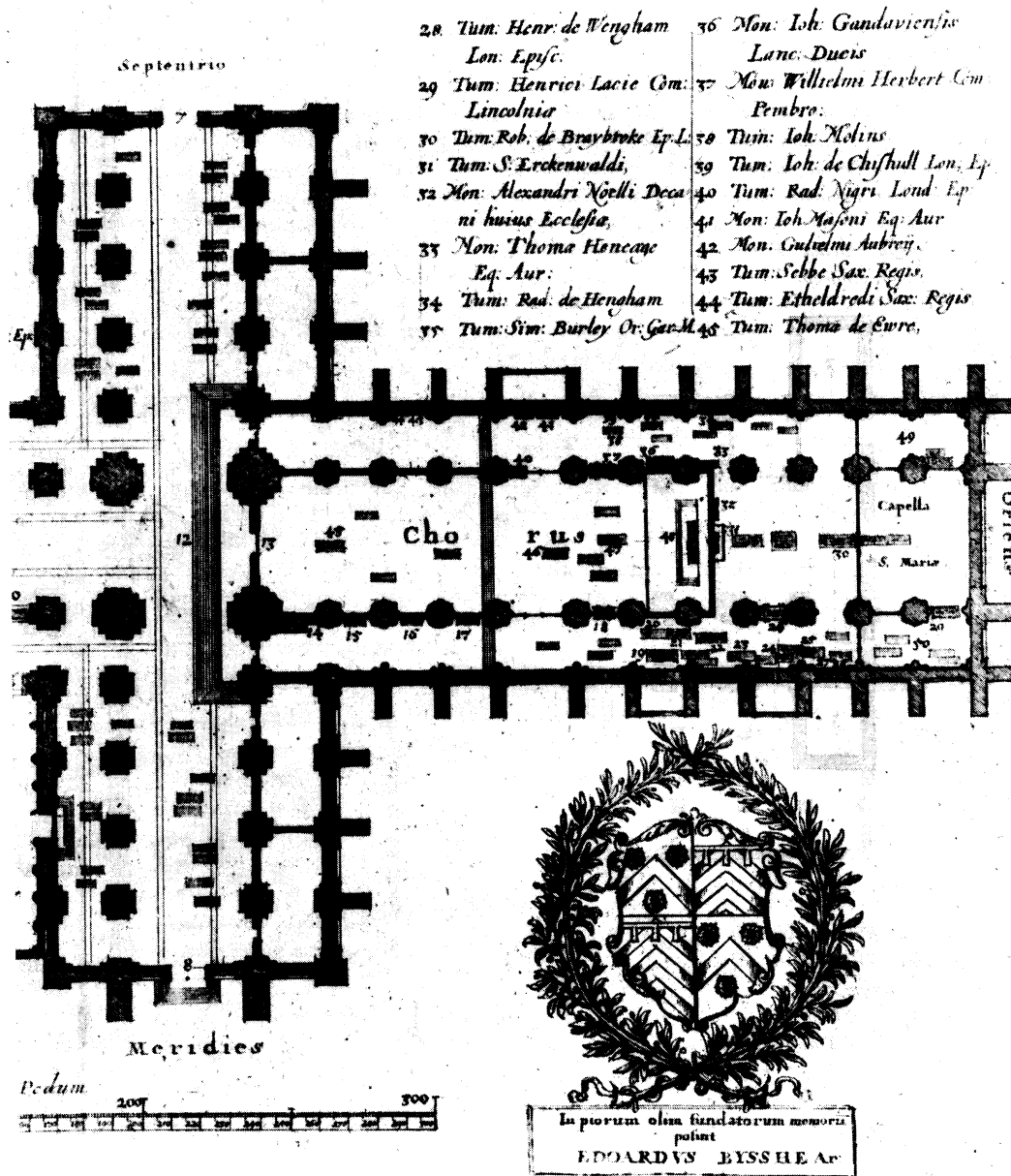
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no resignation in the weary face, and the muffled outline of the folded hands” (p. 13).

<sup>60</sup>L. Russell Muirhead, *Short Guide to London*, 5th edn. (London: Benn, 1947), p. 115; John Sparrow, “Two Epitaphs by John Donne,” *TLS*, 26 March 1949, p. 208; and W. M. Atkins [Hon. Minor Canon of St. Paul’s], *St. Paul’s Cathedral: A Guide Compiled for the Dean and Chapter* [1951] (London: 1964), p. 11 (who, however, erroneously reports that Stone “was paid £160 for his work”).

<sup>61</sup>Earlier versions of this study were presented at the MLA Convention in Washington, DC, in December 2000 and at the Donne Society’s annual conference in Gulfport, Mississippi in February 2001. I am most grateful to Geoffrey Fisher, Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, to Jo Wisdom, Librarian of St. Paul’s Cathedral, and to Hilton Kelliher, Curator of Manuscripts, the British Library, for invaluable assistance; and to the staffs of the British Library’s Department of Rare Books; the Guildhall Library, London (John Fisher); the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge; the Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, CT (Peter Knapp and Jeffrey Kaimowitz); the Beinecke Library, Yale University (Stephen Parks); the Yale Center for British Art; the Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, CT; and the Homer Babbidge Library, University of Connecticut, Storrs.

## EDRALIS S. PAULI ICHNOGRAPHIA



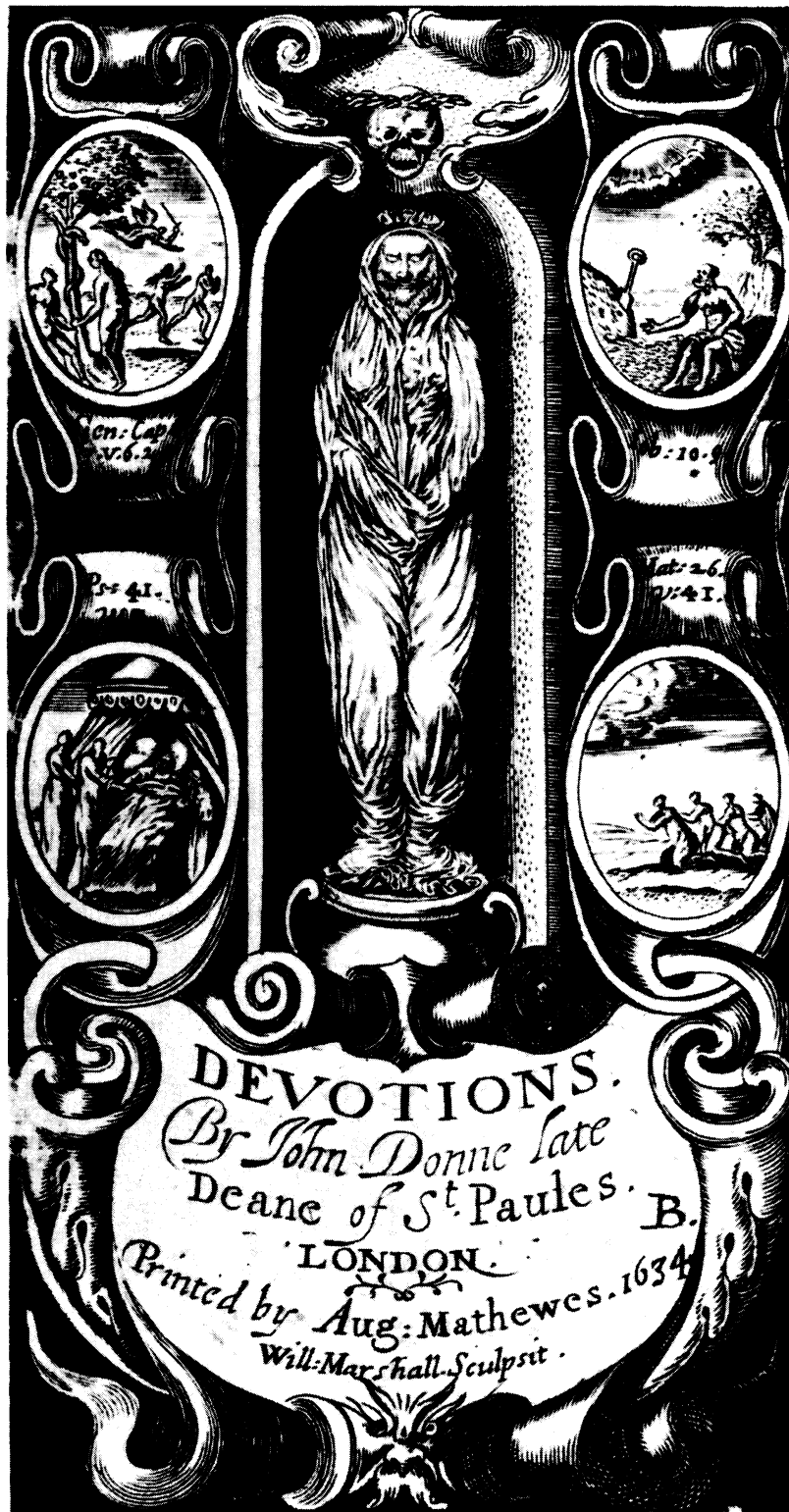
2. Wenceslaus Hollar, engraved plan of old St. Paul's, detail showing choir.  
From William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London,  
1658). Photo: Beinecke Library, Yale University.



*Corporis hæc Animæ sit Syndon. Syndon Jesu.  
Amen.*

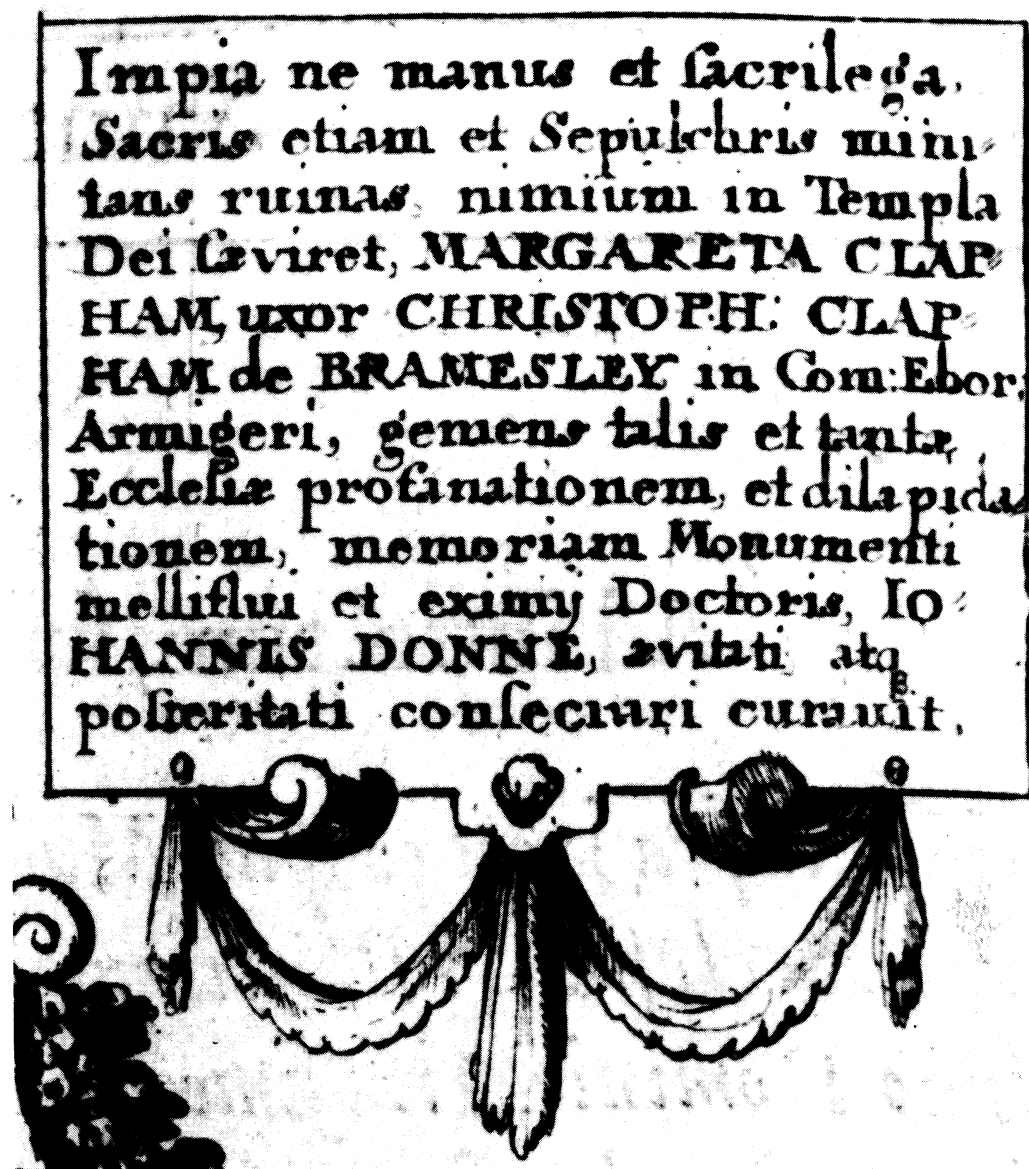
*Martin Droeshout And are to be sould by R R and Ben. ffisher*

3. Martin Droeshout, engraved frontispiece to Donne's *Deaths Duell* (London, 1632). Photo: Beinecke Library, Yale University.



4. William Marshall, engraved frontispiece to Donne's *Devotions* . . . (London, 1634). Photo: Pembroke College Library, Cambridge University.



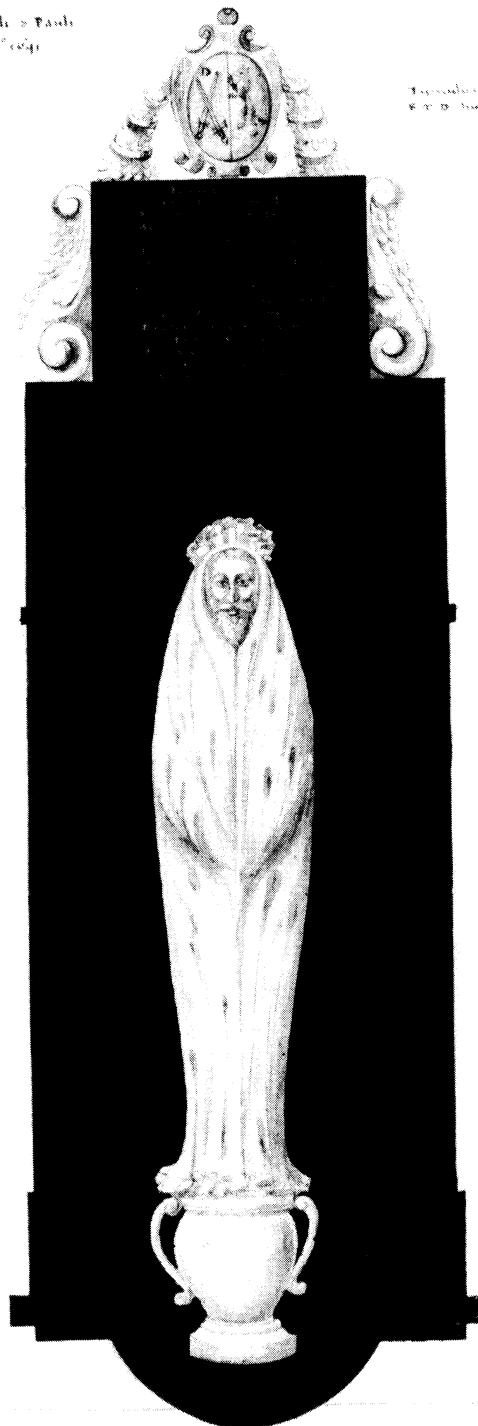


6. Wenceslaus Hollar, detail showing Clapham inscription. Photo: Beinecke Library, Yale University.

In Ecclesia cathedrali de Pauli  
Londoniensi Episcopi

Johannes Clayton et  
Alanus Audoletus

Thomae Clayton et  
Alani Audoleti



7. William Sedgwick, drawing of Donne's monument (1641), from British Library Add. Ms. 71474, fol. 164. Photo: British Library.



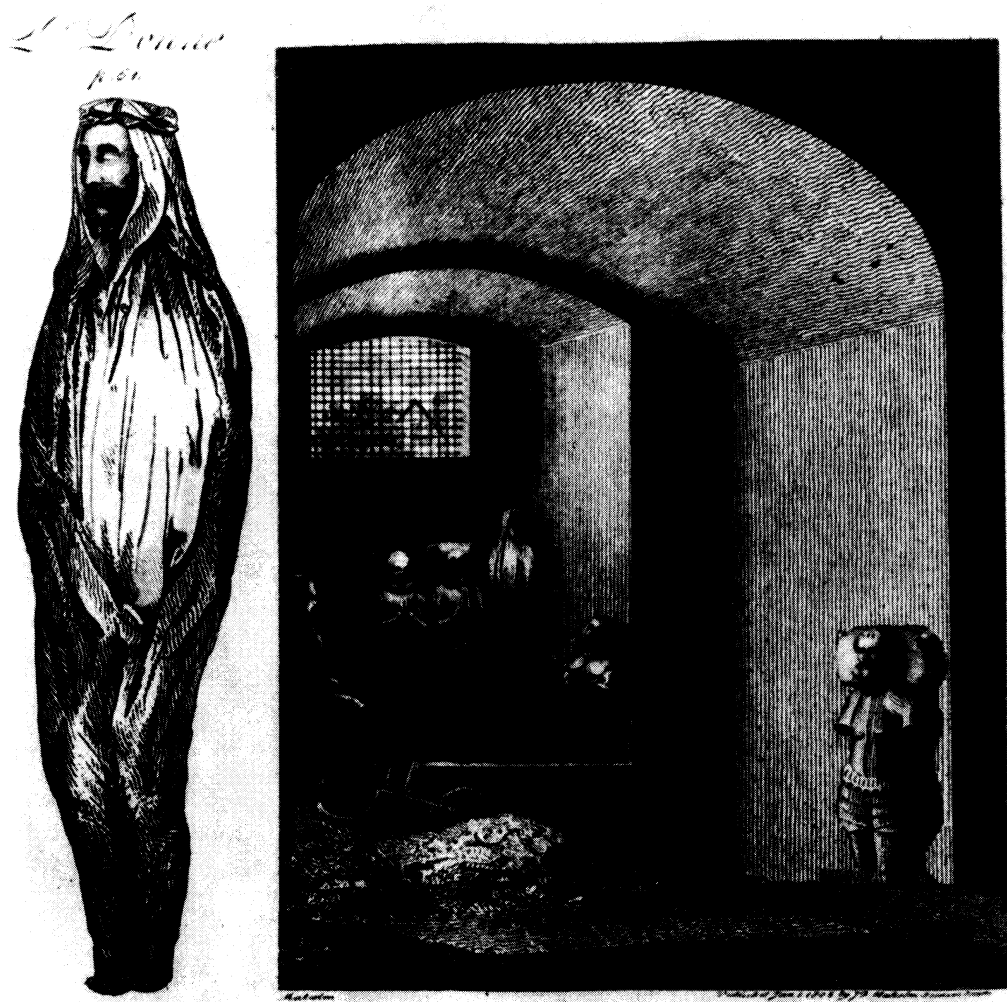
W. Skelton Sculp.

JOHANNES DONNE.

Non otinus Moriar.

8. William Skelton, engraving after Droeshout for Thomas Zouch's edition of Walton's *Lives* (London, 1796). Photo: Beinecke Library, Yale University.





9. James Peller Malcolm, engraving dated 1805 for his *Londinium Redivivum*, 4 vols.? (London, 1802-07), III, facing p. 61. Photo: Yale Center for British Art, Department of Prints and Drawings.



10. Samuel Paterson, sketch accompanying a letter of 15 October 1808, *The Gentleman's Magazine* 78 (1808): 1073-74, pl. II, no. 7.





12. Malcolm, engraving for *Londinium Redivivum* as reprinted in *The Gentleman's Magazine* 90 (1820), foldout facing p. 113.



13. G. F. Sargent, watercolor (c. 1843). Photo: Guildhall Library, Department of Prints and Maps.



14. Anonymous engraving after G. F. Sargent. From Robert Chambers, ed., *Cyclopaedia of British Literature* (Edinburgh, 1843), I, 110.

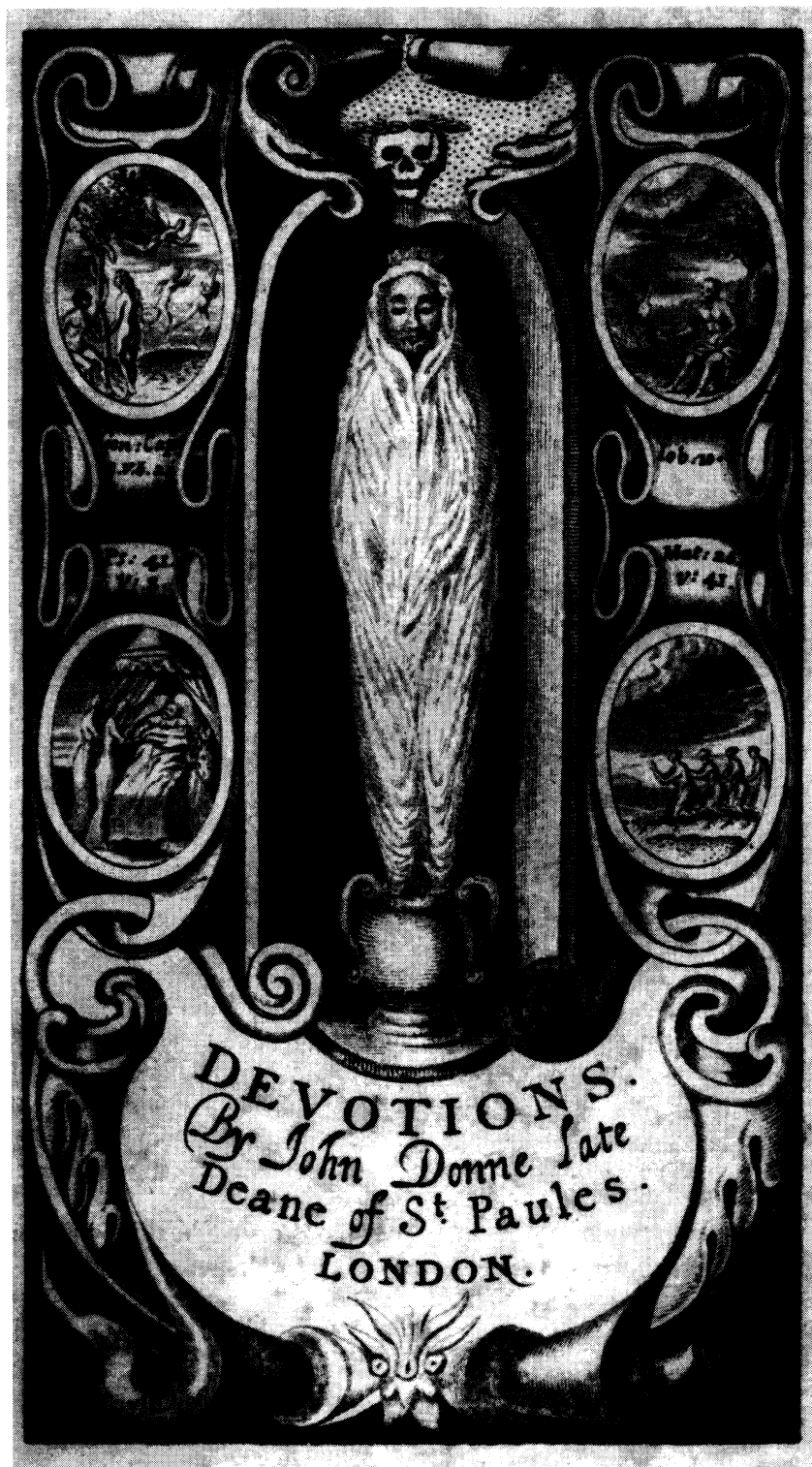


15. John Wykeham Archer, engraving for his *Vestiges of Old London* (London, 1851), pl. xxii. Photo: Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, CT.

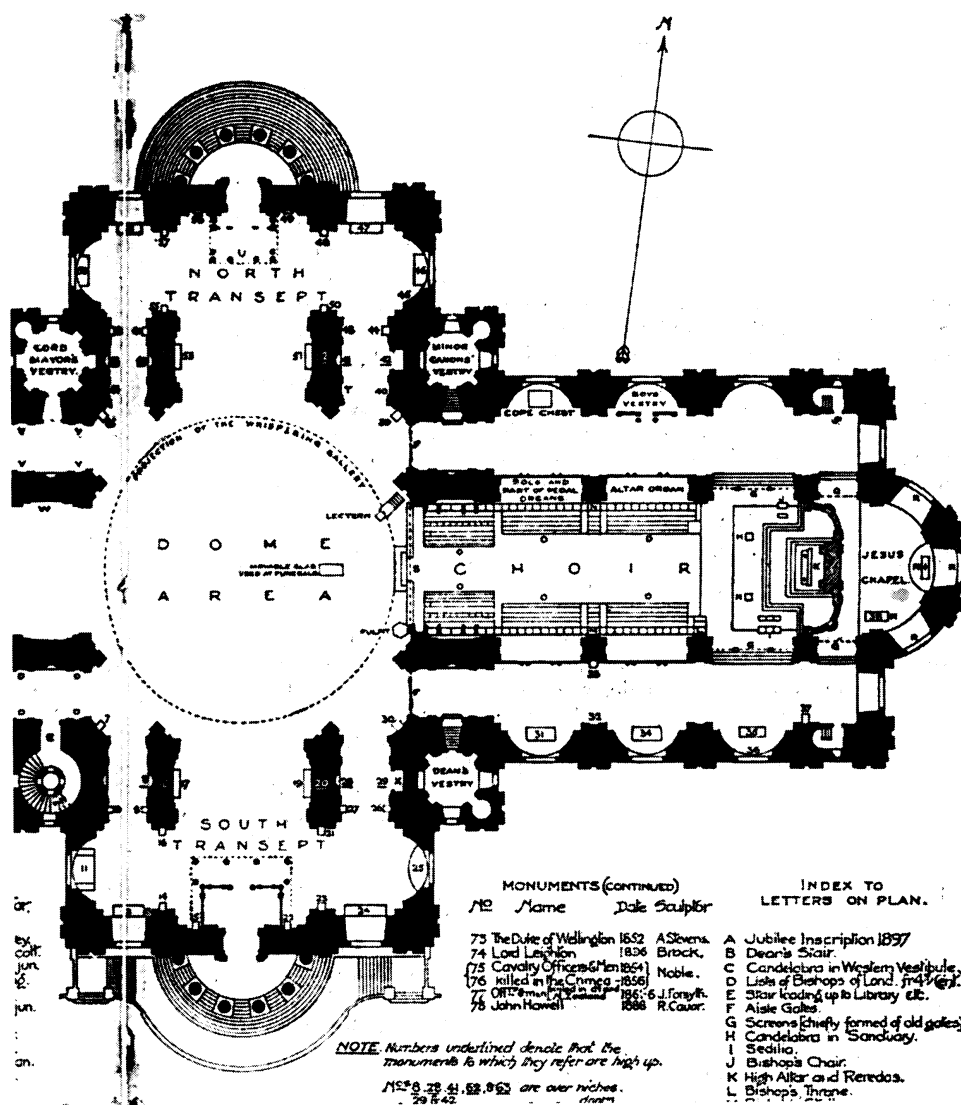


16. Archer, detail showing three central figures. Photo: Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, CT.

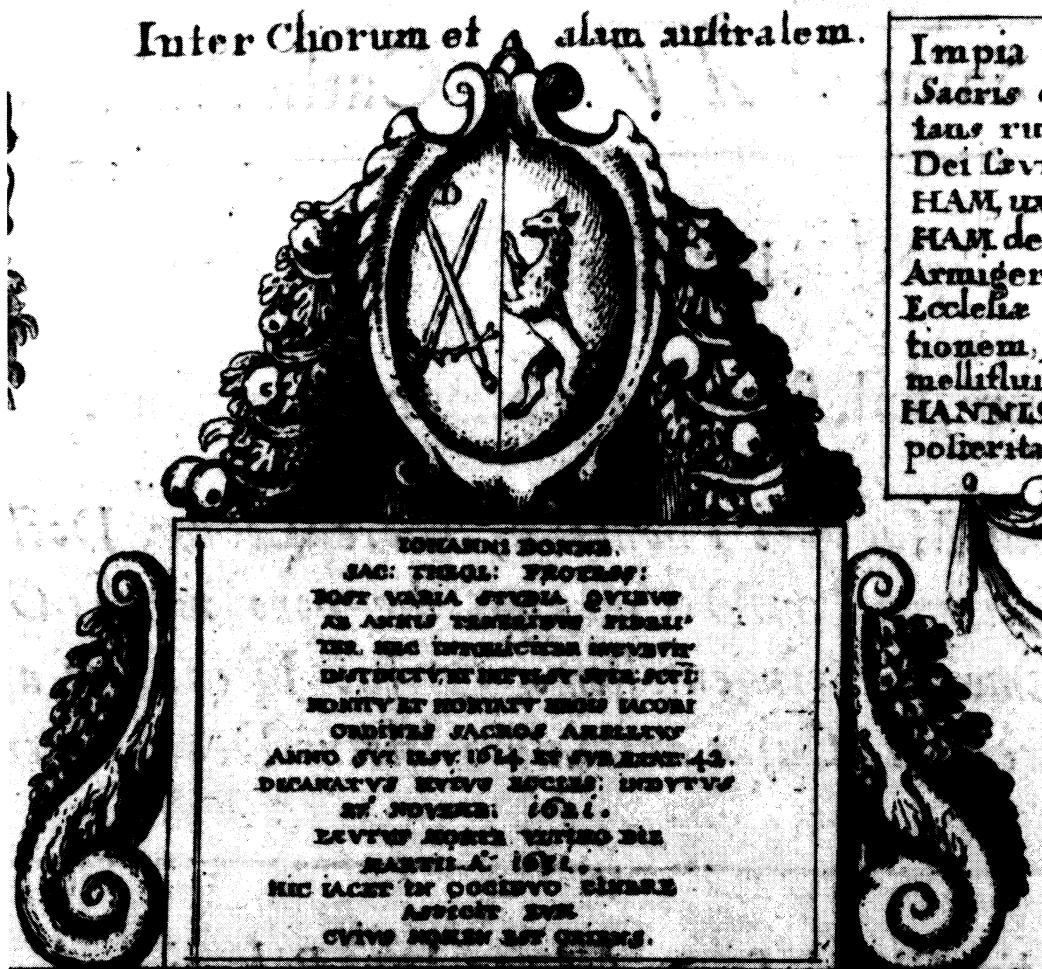




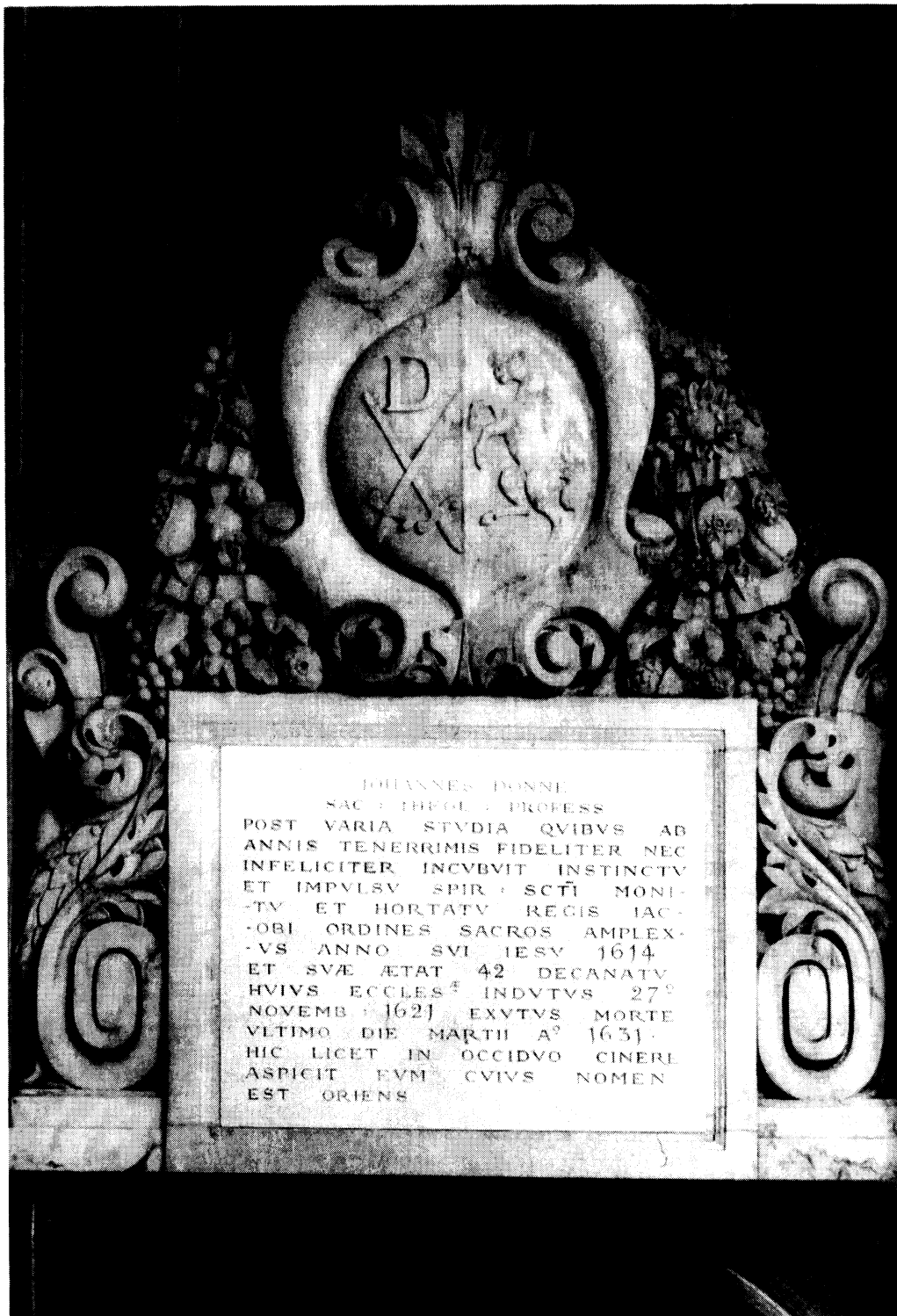
17. Anonymous engraving, frontispiece for Donne's *Devotions* . . . (London: William Pickering, 1840).



18. Plan of St. Paul's, detail showing choir. From Lewis Gilbertson, *St. Paul's Cathedral: The Authoritative Guide* (London: Chiswick Press, 1902).



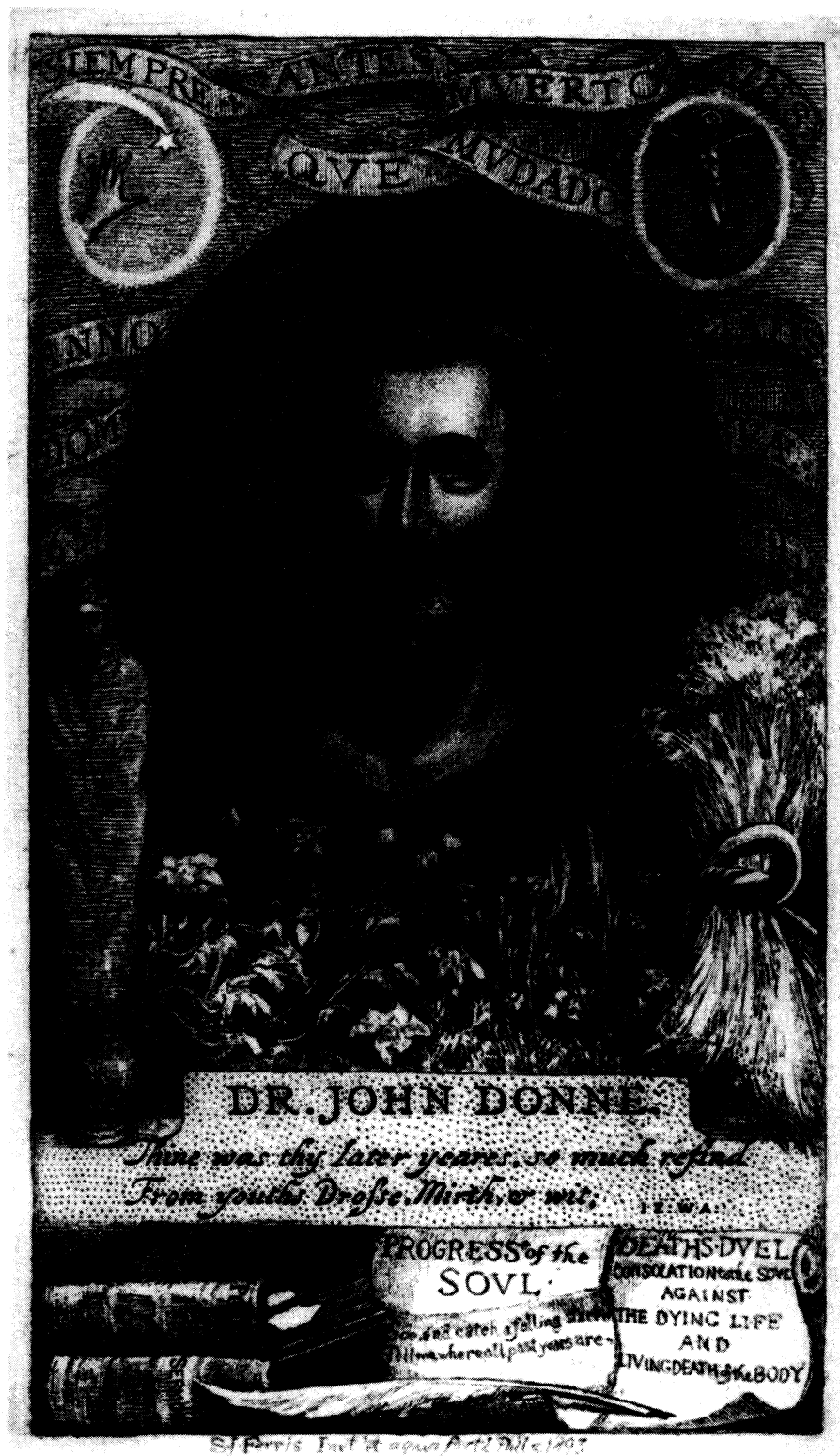
19. Inscription of Donne's epitaph, detail of Hollar's engraving for Dugdale's *History* (1658). Photo: Beinecke Library, Yale University.



20. Inscription of Donne's epitaph, on the present monument. Photo: Conway Library, Courtlund Institute of Art.



21. Anonymous engraving for Alexander Grosart, ed., *Complete Poems of John Donne*, II (London, 1873).



22. R. Ferris, engraved frontispiece of vol. II of *Poems of John Donne*, ed. Charles Eliot Norton (1895).



23. Marsden Hartley, painting after Droeshout (1940). Photo: Brooklyn Museum of Art.





24. Donne's monument, detail. Photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.