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Sir Thomas More in the Year of Donne's Birth

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In 1572, the year of his birth, John Donne entered the world of proscribed Catholicism. During the reign of Elizabeth I, observant Catholics faced a host of potential punishments, including fines, imprisonment, and even death. How did English Catholics—including the Donne and Heywood families—respond to this crisis of faith? Many Catholics continued to believe, continued to worship, and continued to practice their faith in spite of these very real dangers. The increasingly isolated Catholic community desperately needed, however, outside assistance both in the years prior to the Jesuit missions of 1580 and in the decades which followed. The community needed books and spiritual guides; they needed examples and edification. In 1573, the year after Donne's birth, John Fowler, an English Catholic and expatriate residing in Antwerp, published Thomas More's tower-work *A Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation*. Fowler included an image of Thomas More—an icon of the famous martyr—in his text [see figure 1].[1] More's *Dialogue of Comfort*, along with Fowler's preface, provides a striking glimpse of the marginalized, illegal status of Elizabethan Catholicism—the very Catholicism inherited by the young Donne. The image of More, the first true-to-life likeness of the late Lord Chancellor to appear in England, not only provided a model for besieged recusants, it also granted, *ipso facto*, saintly status to More while allowing Catholics to see, once again, the divine through the material.

This veneration, an exercise in meditation and contemplation, may contribute to a fuller understanding of Donne's poetic practice and his religious impulses. Yet, at first glance, any direct connection between

Donne and More may seem faint, spanning as it does across decades. Yet important similarities exist between the two, similarities which help to illustrate, among other things, the production of a literary culture in the English Renaissance. For example, although Donne published a fair number of sermons and tracts during his lifetime, his considerable reputation as a poet resulted from a large number of manuscripts in circulation. As many scholars note, widespread manuscript publication of Donne's poetry existed for decades prior to the 1633 printing of his poetry. Recent work by Harold Love, H. R. Woudhuysen, and Peter Beal demonstrates the continued importance of manuscript publication throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[2] The circulation of Donne's poetry clearly suggests that the printing press did not render manuscript transmission obsolete.[3]

Thomas More also achieved considerable fame during his lifetime and also published numerous books and polemical tracts; the preservation of More's memory as a martyr began immediately after his death in June 1535. Yet after his death, publishers did not print new editions of More's works until the reign of Mary I. More's admirers, like Donne's, resorted to a manuscript culture to secure his reputation for holiness and to promulgate his writings. In fact, the printing history of More's works, especially those works printed in England or written in English and printed on the continent, reveals an interesting pattern.[4] In short, no titles were printed in England during a forty-year period from 1557-1597. If More's texts circulated at this time, they circulated in manuscript. Only one publication, Fowler's 1573 edition of the *Dialogue of Comfort*, stands in contrast to this pattern.[5] Published on the Continent and written in English for an English audience, the octavo text appeared at a time when More's works were not readily available in England. Fowler's presentation of More as paragon, More as martyr, More, in effect, as saint, provided a new context for young John Donne, a distant relative of Thomas More through his mother Elizabeth Heywood, to understand the possible consequences of fidelity to his Catholic faith.

More's reputation needed a manuscript culture to tell the story. In fact, all the early biographies of More, those written by William Roper

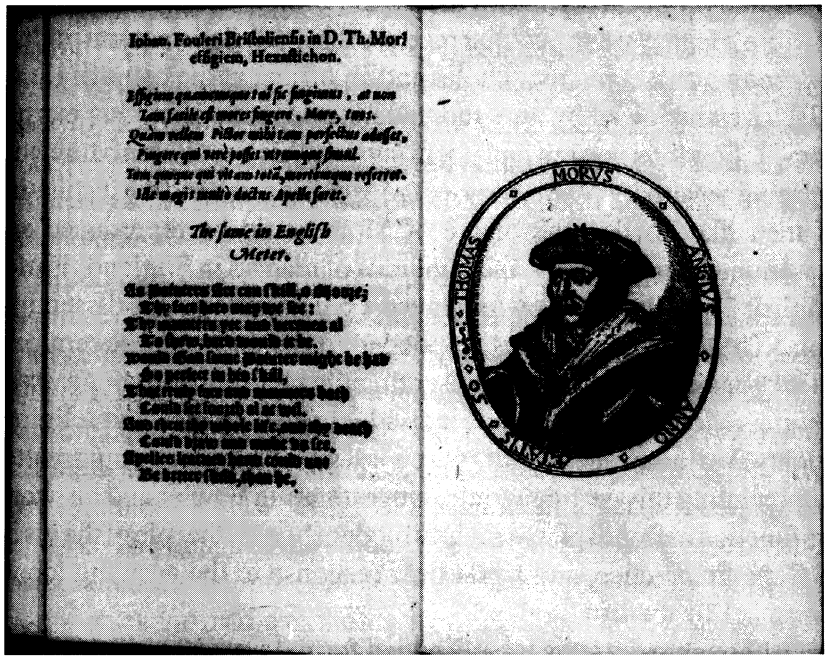

Figure 1
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(More's son in law), Nicholas Harpsfield (Archdeacon of Canterbury), and Thomas Stapleton, were written and circulated in manuscript for years before printed editions appeared. According to John Guy, the early biographers "had their sights set on More's recognition as a martyr and saint."[6] Clearly the illegal status of Catholicism contributed to this phenomenon, as the Elizabethan government made a concerted effort to destroy Catholic books of all types. Private religious practices also tended toward manuscript publication, as many small faith communities continued to use personal, individual manuscripts for devotional purposes.[7] Manuscript publication of More's texts, as with Donne's poetry, created an additional demand and hence more manuscripts. In order to sustain the memory of Thomas More, a memory deprived of public expression or outward manifestation, his friends and family needed the secrecy and privacy of manuscript circulation. Donne's extended family understood this.

Dennis Flynn notes that for the Donne family, their "enduring sense of More's legacy was a peculiar mixture that included a natural pride in his renown as a humanist scholar and an officer at the court of Henry VIII, overshadowed by awe and understated irony about his martyrdom."[8] Fowler's portrait and poem capture this peculiar mixture with amazing sensitivity. With the aid of the printing press and the inspiration of men like Fowler, the image of More could be reproduced and disseminated to hundreds and hundreds of readers in England. Exiled English Catholics like Fowler played a crucial role in this dissemination. The 1573 edition thus responded to the incessant government attacks against Catholics by presenting the recusant community with Thomas More as *the* model of individual perseverance and religious fidelity. Yet the appearance of More's image is far from a simple matter. Appreciating this gesture requires investigating Fowler and his work, the function of frontispieces in early modern books, the role of the visual in Catholic practice, and a plausible response to the growing iconoclasm in Elizabethan England.

Although strict laws largely ended formal Catholic instruction or devotion through catechism and the Mass, recusants like John Fowler strove to supply the growing demand for Catholic books and information. While many of his books served a specific religious function, the *Dialogue of Comfort* also filled a related but distinct purpose. Above and beyond edification of the faithful, Fowler's aim in printing the *Dialogue of Comfort* took on another dimension: to honor the memory of the great martyr. Fowler needed to present More's legacy to another generation of English Catholics, a generation largely deprived of practicing their faith. In 1573, Fowler thus attempted to produce a book capable of serving a variety of needs for an audience far away. The illustration of More played an integral role in that production.

Understanding the image of More printed in Fowler's edition requires additional context, including the various uses of the frontispiece in sixteenth-century books.[9] Most commonly considered the image opposite the title page, frontispieces serve an important function in books of many types. In early modern England, frontispieces became conventional for books of verse, prefacing poetic works of

Gascoigne (1587), Chaucer (1598), Daniel (1609), Jonson (1616), Drayton (1619), Shakespeare (1623), Donne (1635), and Cartwright (1651).[10] Arthur Marotti, in fact, calls the image of the author a "normal feature of posthumous editions."[11] But while the portraits often serve as decoration and adornment, generally accompanied with some commendatory verse, they also "help link contemporary texts more solidly to their author."[12]

Books of poetry were not alone, of course, in employing authorial images. Books on science also included images of famous mathematicians and scientists. George Sarton cites more than two dozen frontispieces of famous men of science from Renaissance Europe in the sixteenth century, including Ramus, Copernicus, Paracelsus, Fuchs, and Platin. According to Sarton, "the importance of portraits can hardly be exaggerated."[13] The portrait of the author grants a tacit authority to the work. The image of the author, overlooking, as it were, his written words, sanctions the entire publication in an immediate way. The image also endorses and mediates the text it precedes, granting a credibility, an oracle-like truth, to the written word and establishing it as a direct utterance of the individual. By including an illustration of the deceased author, the printer/publisher/editor also makes a statement about motivation, intention, and emphasis. Additionally, the images of authors can then be read as an important step in the "evolution of authorial prominence."[14] Not so much an advertisement as an effort to establish credibility, the illustrations foreground the presence and persona of the author prior to the text.

In this sense, the portrait of More is and is not a frontispiece at all.[15] The illustration, coming immediately after the prefatory material and before the text proper, functions, however, in many of the same ways. The small illustration, measuring only 6.6 cm x 6.1 cm, carries the caption THOMAS MORUS ANGLUS ANNO AETATIS 50, linking the illustration with Holbein's famous portrait of 1527, More's fiftieth year.[16] Fowler's likeness reproduced many details found in the Holbein, including the dignified profile, the linked SS gold chain, the hanging Tudor rose, and, less clearly, the broken portcullis (all inverted from the original as is the likeness of More himself).[17] The presence of

the chain recalls the words of Roper in describing his father-in-law, "wearing as he commonly did a chain of gold about his neck."[18] The gold chain was not, as generally assumed and graphically depicted in the film version of *A Man for All Seasons*, the chain of the Lord Chancellor's office.

As with many woodcuts from the period, prints of the block could be sold separately, an image removed from the text, thus serving as an icon rather than textual adornment. This iconographical aspect of the image differs from the merely ornamental. In Fowler's text, the illustration operates as more than mere ornament, infusing the entire work with More's persona, granting the faithful an icon of More while they contemplate his written words. The presence of the illustration in the text literally foregrounds More—his words, his deeds, his life, his death—and becomes the point of reference for the reader. In fact, "when publishers chose to display the author's portrait in the introductory material to their books, they asked their audience to read the work not only through the rubric of a singular writer, but also according to a specified visual, often emblematic, and embodied perception of that writer."[19] So while frontispieces can be seen as the emergence of authorial prominence, they also exist in an emblematic or iconographic fashion. In More's case, if not an icon *per se*, his image would be treated reverentially while serving a religious function.

The existence of icons generated considerable debate in England throughout much of the sixteenth century. According to Margaret Aston, the iconoclastic movement in England during this period "destroyed more objects in more places than any previous iconoclasm, including the Byzantine movement eight centuries earlier."[20] Patrick Collinson notes the paucity of book illustrations in the 1580s and 1590s and postulates an emerging iconophobia directed toward all images and art forms in late Elizabethan England.[21] The objects of the iconoclasts' rage, most often the trappings and outward manifestations of the Catholic religion, came to include anything tangentially related to Rome or Catholicism. Given this wholesale destruction, images of the saints and religious pictures of all types met with the same end.

In this context the unique, life-like illustration of Thomas More appears even more striking. The appearance of More in 1573, just after a period of pronounced iconoclasm and prior to an emerging iconophobia, not only served the needs of the faithful, but also registered a dissenting opinion. Without saying anything, the illustration made a simple point about images to English readers: certain communities will continue to value icons and honor the memory of the faithful departed. Visually a small wave amidst the deluge of reform, Fowler's gesture stands as a manifest effort to answer the years of destruction of once-sacred images. It certainly demonstrates both a fidelity to the memory of More and a commitment to the recusants still living in England.

Moreover, the small image reiterates the essential role of the visual in some forms of devotion. Recently, scholars have reconsidered the importance of memory in early modern England.[22] This memory can take many forms, but the visual/iconographic aspect remains central. Catholic devotion includes the meditative and the imaginative; visual aspects continue to serve an important function for many believers. Yet how can the collective memory, so essential for community building and religious traditions, survive in such an iconoclastic culture? Fowler's edition appears to answer the question: It cannot. The disembodied recollection of More may survive a generation or two, but the visual is the *sine qua non* of both immortality and veneration. Thus the previously discussed link between the text and author established by the illustration evolves to include the audience as well.

The words placed next to the image also play a crucial role in the iconographic experience. The verses accompanying the picture of More, a convention often used in conjunction with such illustrations, serve a complex function. The captions became a convention because readers needed some explanation when the relationship between the frontispiece and text was not *prima facie* obvious.[23] The words, consequently, are not superfluous. The Latin poem with an English translation, placed immediately before the portrait of More, helps provide the rationale for the illustration. The English poem, simply entitled "the same in English meter" (actually a sextain in fourteener

couplets, but printed in the common ballad meter of eight and six) reads as follows:

> As Painters Art can skill, o Moore;
> Thy face here may we see:
> Thy manners yet and vertues al
> To shew, hard would it be.
> Would God some Painter might be had
> So perfect in his skill,
> That truly face and manners both
> Could set foorth al at wil.
> And then thy whole life, and thy death
> Could draw and make us see.
> Appelles learned hand could not
> Be better skild, than he.[24]

While conventional, the poem also significantly departs from convention. Consider, for example, the famous frontispiece of Shakespeare and the accompanying poem.

The poem opposite Shakespeare's portrait in the First Folio of 1623 expresses a similar, yet quite different sentiment:

> This Figure, that thou here seest put,
> It was for Gentle Shakespeare cut;
> Wherein the Graver had a strife
> With Nature, to out-doo the life:
> O, could he but have drawne his wit
> As well in brasse, as he hath hit
> His face, the Print would then surpasse
> All, that was ever writ in brasse.
> But, since he cannot, Reader, looke
> Not on his Picture, but on his Booke.[25]

The editors of the folio, Shakespeare's friends John Heminge and Henry Condell, ask the reader to "looke / Not on his picture, but on his booke."[26] The picture of Shakespeare does not, in fact, could not, capture the most appealing quality of the poet: his wit. The picture

merely adorns the folio. Readers of the folio should focus on the printed *words* of Shakespeare, the physical manifestation of his wit, and not his image, his manners, or his virtue.[27]

William Marshall's frontispiece engraving of a young John Donne included in the 1635 edition of Donne's *Poems* (*STC* 7046) further highlights the move away from iconography [see figure 2]. The now-lost miniature, dated 1591, depicts a confident eighteen-year old Donne brandishing a sword and sporting an earing. Flynn explores both the martial and the foppish character of the portrait in some detail.[28] The curious verse written by Izaak Walton and placed under the illustration, far from lionizing the poet, actually apologizes for Donne's youthful behavior and, by extension, his early amorous poetry. Catherine Creswell calls the verse a "fictional imposition" intended to present a narrative of conversion.[29] The couplets, according to Creswell, help establish the Jake Donne/Dr. Donne mythology:

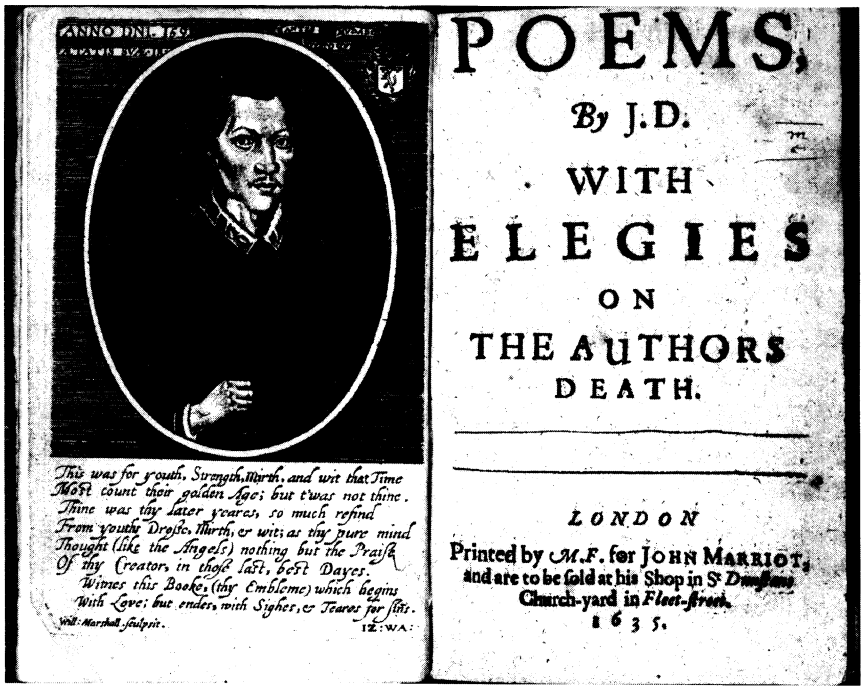

Figure 2
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> This was for youth, Strength, Mirth, and wit that Time
> Most count their golden Age; but t'was not thine.
> Thine was thy later yeares, so much refined
> From youths Drosse, Mirth, & wit; as thy pure mind
> Thought (like the Angels) nothing but the Praise
> Of thy Creator, in those last, best Dayes.
> Witnes this Booke, (thy Embleme) which begins
> With Love; but endes, with Sighes, & Teares for Sins.

The caption under the illustrations serves as a warning: avoid youthful folly and pursue, with a pure mind, thoughts and praise of the Creator. Significantly, the poem does not ask the reader, as Fowler does, to look upon the illustration as a model of heroic virtue or exemplary manners. It fact, the verse suggests just the opposite.

The pose struck in the First Folio and Donne's *Poems* throws the meaning of Fowler's verse into high relief. While each poem asserts that the various artists did not capture the essence of the respective men, only one poem longs for a true image. Significantly, the other poems deny the value of an image at all. In fact, the Latin original of Fowler's poem keenly establishes the iconographic aspect of the illustration in profound ways. Fowler's clever pun "mores fingere, More" is more than attempted humor or simple alliteration. "Mores" (mos, moris) is often translated as "custom, usage, or fashion" as in Cicero's famous phrase "O Tempora! O Mores!" Other definitions of "mores" include highly individual traits such as conduct, character, behavior, manners, and morals. The richly descriptive verb "fingere" also supports a variety of meanings, including to shape or form, to model, to represent, especially an image or a sketch. The words "mores fingere More," coupled with the illustration, not only underscore his character and behavior, they signal an ardent desire to be transformed by the image itself and a belief that such transformation is possible. The image of More represents, in fact, becomes, the very essence of admirable character and conduct. In short, More begins to emerge saint-like. The words allow for the iconographic aspects of the illustration to appear with full force, asking the reader to look upon the image of More for guidance and edification.

In the English version of the poem, the poet Fowler not only desires a copy of More's face, but also his "manners yet and vertues al." The publisher Fowler, however, must be content with the image alone. The emphasis upon an image, a representation, an icon, is needed in order to "make us see." The ability to see, in this case, also supports two distinct meanings: to see the image literally and to appreciate (i.e., both to understand and to be thankful for) the model of virtue provided by More. The transformative power of the visual, coupled with the words of veneration, allows for a more immediate, more powerful experience in the reader. The portrait thus functions as an icon which, in effect, becomes a model for behavior. It is this desire for a pattern that John Donne speaks of in "The Canonization," where perfect love actually leads to sainthood, leading "countries, towns, courts: [to] beg from above/ A pattern of your love."[30] Donne understood the need for edification and the value of such imagery. The icon of More provided the Donne family (and all English Catholics) the very pattern of fidelity and constantcy mentioned in the poem.

The Catholic tradition of veneration of saints and religious martyrs undoubtedly contributed to the iconographic attitude expressed in the poem.[31] Such a desire, to *see* the virtue and manner of life in the hopes of *emulating* such virtue and manner, represents the nature of iconography. While the most severe restrictions on worship and individual behavior during Elizabeth's reign were to come in the following decades, recusants in the 1570s found themselves increasingly isolated, increasingly harassed.[32] Donne witnessed the persecutions first-hand, with two uncles (Ellis and Jasper Heywood) and a brother (Henry) imprisoned, tortured, and/or exiled for their faith. With such a family history, Donne understood the terms of faith far more clearly than we can today. Fowler's text would stand as a vivid reminder.

Although the illustration of More dates from his time in power, Catholic readers in 1573 were not expressly looking for More the scholar, the lawyer, or statesman; Catholic readers would primarily see More in one capacity, religious martyr. In this context, the transformation of More the scholar/lawyer/statesman depicted by Holbein into the religious martyr presented by Fowler, the uniqueness of the illustration

can best be understood. Significantly, Fowler notes that Elizabethan Catholics could learn from More's virtue "and [his] death." More's life, in fact, could not be separated from his martyr's death. His life as a rising politician, gifted lawyer, or humanist scholar meant less to readers in 1573 than his religious fidelity and harrowing execution. The real lesson of More's life can be found in his suffering and death. As a result of the context and verse, the *same* image, presented to different communities under different circumstances, produced a different Thomas More—from *Sir* Thomas, Lord Chancellor, to *Saint* Thomas, faithful departed. Thus, the religious martyr, whose earthly example of fidelity helps the faithful grow in Christian virtue, becomes the very definition of saintly. While the image of More does not correspond to the ecstatic images of many other martyrs, a silent dignity emerges without upward rapture or anxiety. The presence of More gives the entire text a symbolic clue: the work is resituated to encompass the parallel lives of More and the recusants of the 1570s.

This specific nature of the illustration and its potential impact on English Catholics should not be underestimated. For the first time since More's death, English readers, many of whom were not alive in 1535 when More suffered and died, could see and experience More the man as he appeared to friends and family during his lifetime. These individuals had few other opportunities to honor the deceased. As Clark Hulse points out, Thomas More was allowed no tomb, no shrine for pilgrims to visit. As a result:

> The cult of Thomas More developed instead in the interior and exile spaces of Tudor culture. It flourished in the secret underground of a now-illegal English Roman Catholicism, and above all in the privacy of the recusant family. Deprived of a body, a public site, a shrine, and driven into hiding, the cult of Thomas More centered instead around substitute bodies, namely the portraits and written accounts of More that already existed or were soon produced.[33]

The image of the sophisticated, honorable, and faithful martyr must have stirred the readers of the *Dialogue of Comfort* just as Fowler

intended. Far from fashionable adornment or formulaic convention, the likeness of More gracing the prefatory material of the long text served a specific function: to energize and comfort the reader while casting More in a saintly light. The portrait and its text undoubtedly provided a model of deportment and forbearance for a group of people ostracized by their families, neighbors, and government. English Catholics would recognize in Fowler's 1573 edition the costly priced paid for individual belief.[34] In the coming years, Donne himself would experience, in a profound and painful fashion, this same struggle with fidelity.

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Notes

1. I discuss this illustration in "The Making of a Saint: John Fowler and Sir Thomas More in 1573," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 99(October 2000): 492-512. Although I utilize some of that material, the argument of this essay explores the status of More's reputation at the time of Donne's birth.

2. Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

3. Donne demonstrates this fact more clearly than, say, George Herbert. Although both *Poems, by J.D* and *The Temple* were first printed in 1633, Donne's lyrics enjoyed wide circulation in manuscript while Herbert's did not. To understand the extent of manuscript circulation of Donne's verse, one need only consult the impressive *Donne Variorum: The Elegies*, ed. Gary Stringer, et al. (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2000). The editors note that "well over 5,000 separate transcriptions of individual poems" survive (xlix). See also, Arthur Marotti, *John Donne: Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

4. The qualification of "printed in England or written in English and printed on the Continent" is important: many of More's writings (including all early editions of *Utopia)* were printed in Latin for a Continental audience; those printed in England (in Latin or English) or in English (in England or abroad) were largely intended for an English audience.

5. At least three twentieth-century editions of the *Dialogue of Comfort* exist. The first, *Utopia: With the Dialogue of Comfort* (London: Dent), with an introduction by Judge John O'Hagan, appeared in 1941. The second, edited by Leland Miles (Bloomington: Indiana UP), was published in 1965. The edition of Frank Manley and Louis Martz (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976) is volume twelve of the magisterial *Complete Works of St. Thomas More.* All three editions are largely based upon the first edition of 1553; no edition includes the woodcut illustration of More from the 1573 text.

6. John Guy, *Thomas More* (London: Arnold, 2000), 7. Guy, like other modern-day More detractors, is hardly favorable in his assessment of More. He largely avoids, however, the psycho-sexual preoccupation of recent biographers, especially Richard Marius, *Thomas More: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1984).

7. Woudhuysen cites the Howard and Paget families as Catholics who produced and collected a large number of manuscripts, many with a concerted religious purpose, pp. 99-100; 264-265.

8. Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1995), 21.

9. For a comprehensive catalog of Tudor book illustrations, see Ruth Samson

Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536-1603*, 2 vols. (Tempe: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998).

10. According to Randall McLeod, the frontispiece of George Herbert prefacing the Huntington Library's copy of *The Temple* (1633) actually comes from a later edition, added by a collector some years after the initial publication. Herbert's poems, in contrast with prevailing convention, were not graced with his portrait (taken from Walton's *Life*) until 1674, the 11th edition of *The Temple*.

11. Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995), 240. Jonson's 1616 edition of his *Workes* was not, of course, a posthumous edition.

12. Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993), 83. See also Kevin Pask, *The Emergence of the English Author* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996).

13. George Sarton, *Six Wings: Men of Science in the Renaissance* (Bloomington Indiana UP, 1957), ix.

14. Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, 83. The terms "printer," "publisher," and "editor" need careful discrimination. Printers actually set the type but generally did not make editorial decisions, such as whether or not to include an illustration. Publishers covered the initial costs associated with the publication, including the cost of paper. Since Fowler served as the editor and publisher, he obviously selected both the text and the illustration. For a useful discussion of the differences, see Peter W. M. Blayney, "The Publication of Playbooks," *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia UP, 1997), 383-422.

15. The Emory University Library collection contains a sophisticated edition of the 1573 *Dialogue of Comfort* (obviously rebound in the eighteenth century) where the illustration of More has been removed from its original position, turned around, and placed opposite the title page, conforming, in effect, to the frontispiece convention which places the authorial image next to the title page.

16. For a useful survey of a wide variety of portraits of More, see Stanley Morrison, *The Likeness of Thomas More* (New York: Fordham UP, 1963). Morrison cites the illustration, calling it "authentic, if not elegant," but provides little context or analysis (48). For a brilliant look at the painting of the portrait miniature, see Roy Strong, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983).

17. Morison includes dozens of illustrations of More produced during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Many of the illustrations are engravings, not woodcuts, and appeared on the continent, not in England. Although a number of the portraits contain the fur-collared robe, the distinctive hat, and/or the gold chain, few bear any actual resemblance to More.

18. William Roper, *The Life of Sir Thomas More*, ed. Richard Sylvester and Davis Harding, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), 238. For a detailed analysis of the gold

chain and the linked SS design, see Morrison, 86-88.

19. Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, 83.

20. Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 5.

21. Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia* (Reading: The Stetson Lecture, 1986). See also the important work of Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992).

22. See, for example, David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) and William E. Engle, *Mapping Mortality: The Persistence of Memory and Melancholy in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

23. Margery Corbett and R. W. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-page in England, 1550-1660* (Boston: Kegan Paul, 1979), 46-47.

24. *Dialogue of Comfort*, sig. *7v. For another translation of the poem, see Majie Padberg Sullivan, *Moreana: Materials for the Study of Saint Thomas More* (Los Angeles: Loyola Marymount, 1977), 43.

25. *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare*, prepared by Charlton Hinmam (New York: Norton, 1968), sig. A1.

26. Heminge and Condell, who penned the famous preface entitled "To the great Variety of Readers," did not, most likely, compose the poem, which bears the initials "B.I."

27. The frontispiece adorning Richard Stocke's *The Churches Lamentation for the Losse of the Godly*, (*STC* 23274; 1614) makes for an even starker comparison. The poem underneath the picture of Lord Harington, Baron of Exton, begins with the following couplet: "In this dead picture, only doth appeare / A Lord & Lords soule heire to country deare." The "dead picture" of Lord Harington was not intended, apparently, to move the reader to virtue or contemplation.

28. Flynn, *Ancient Catholic Nobility*, explores the portrait at length, pp. 1-16.

29. Catherine J. Creswell, "Giving a Face to an Author: Reading Donne's Portraits and the 1635 Edition," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 37 (Spring 1995): 1-15.

30. Citation from *John Donne's Poetry*, ed. Arthur L. Clements, (New York: Norton, 1992), 8.

31. Many people, both in the sixteenth century and today, confuse the words "worship" and "veneration." Catholics do not "worship" the saints or icons. "Veneration" is the honor paid to saints who, by their example and intercession, help the faithful grow in Christian virtue. By definition, veneration of the saints does not detract from the glory given to God and hence is not contrary to the First Commandment which proscribes idols.

32. Consider, for example, the 1581 anti-Catholic "Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience" which was, according to Christopher

Haigh, *English Reformations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), "deliberately drawn to limit the impact of new priests" (263), and fined recusants twenty pounds a month (forty to fifty times an artisan's wage) for disobedience. In 1585, largely in response to the Jesuit missionary activities, the act was extended to charge ordained priests with treason if they came to England; the act also charged with treason any individual providing aid or shelter to a priest. Although some historians note that the law was not uniformly enforced, many families suffered as a result. Both Guilday and Holmes treat this issue in detail. For a comprehensive account of the various laws against recusants, see also Arnold Oskar Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church Under Queen Elizabeth*, trans. Rev. J. R. McKee (London: Kegan Paul, 1967) and Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979). Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), investigates the various (and often conflicting) roles of Catholic priests in Tudor England.

33. Clark Hulse, "Dead Man's Treasure: The Cult of Thomas More," in *The Production of English Renaissance Culture*, ed. David Lee Miller, Sharon O'Dair, and Harold Weber (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994), 208.

34. Catholic writers faced similar problems during the sixteenth century. These writers needed to understand and refashion new modes of thinking, making their texts palatable to Catholic sensibilities. For an analysis of this strategy, see Paul J. Voss, "The Catholic Presence in English Renaissance Literature," *Ben Jonson Journal* 7 (2000): 1-26.