What Counts as Early Modern English Catholic Writing?

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I

In this paper I deal with both the scope of the word ‘Catholic’ when applied to the writings of early modern English authors and with the distinctiveness of the term when applied to particular texts – with relation to their subject matter, style, and cultural or ideological codes and modes of representation.


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4 For a discussion of Abbot’s poems, *Jesus Praefigured* (Antwerp 1623), and *The Sad Condition of a Distracted Kingdom* (1645), see A. Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 142-144, 166.
5 See Shell, pp. 160-162, who argues that he may be either Catholic or pro-Catholic.
6 For the work of some of these authors and others, see L. Guiney ed., *Recusant Poets: Saint Thomas More to Ben Jonson*, New York 1939. One should also include in this list the musical poetry of William Byrd, for example, *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs of Sadnes and Pietie* (1588).
George Wilkins, Elizabeth Cary, and James Shirley; Jesuit-influenced emblem literature such as Henry Hawkins’s *Parthenia Sacra* (1633); and poetic and prose romances by such authors as Thomas Lodge (*Rosalynd*, 1590), John Barclay (*Argenis*) and Robert Chambers (*Palestina*, 1600). In the early modern period, however, the literary institution was still in its formative stages and ‘literature’ was not sharply separated from other forms of writing. Texts that in a later era might have regarded as non-literary were, along with works in such genres as lyric poetry, the prose romance, and the drama, part of a large field of writing in which imaginative techniques and modes of representation crossed genre boundaries – a situation to which we are returning in our own era of canon-dissolution and literary hybridizing or experimentation. For the purpose of this discussion, I think it useful to define writing broadly to include many different kinds of texts within the scope of the inquiry, especially those that contain narrative material, emotionally charged modes of religious perception and experience, as well as the language of metaphor and vivid imagining. Scholars have long recognized, for example, that history writing was seen in the early modern period as an artful rhetorical activity with many features that writers of drama and of fiction could easily appropriate.

This larger field of writing comprises many different genres and subgenres. It includes the Douai-Rheims translation of the Bible – a text that, in its deliberately Latinate clumsiness, was meant to reassert the authority of the Vulgate version even as it capitulated to the demand for vernacular translation. But there are many other kinds of Catholic texts that were important in the period. Most of those I shall mention

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8 Originally published on the Continent in Latin, this work was translated by J. Long and published in England in 1625 as *J. Barclay his Argenis*, with other editions following in 1629 and 1636.

9 See the discussion of this poem in Shell (above, note 4), pp. 137-140.
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were printed, but many circulated in manuscript in the dispersed Catholic community:

1. Prayer books, meditation manuals and devotional works: not only the *Jesus Psalter* and the *Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, both of which went through many editions, but also less known works such as John Fisher’s *Spiritual Consolation* (ca. 1578), Walter Montagu’s *Miscellanea Spiritualia: or Devout Essayes* (1648), and Anne Douglas, the Countess of Morton’s *Daily Exercise or a Book of Praisers and Rules* (1666), the last of which ran through seventeen seventeenth-century editions. Another work, Robert Persons’s *The First Book of Christian Exercise, Appertaining to Resolution* (1582) was popular in its lightly expurgated Protestant version by Edmund Bunny (1585), and thus was a text that had an enormous influence on both Catholic and Protestant readers. Persons’s book is a good illustration of how, despite the often sharply defined doctrinal differences emphasized in aggressively polemical works on both sides of the confessional divide, there was a common Christian language of devotion that could, to a great extent, be shared.

2. Mystical and other devotional works: these include Elizabeth Grymeston’s *Miscellanea* (1604), *The Rule of Perfection* (1609) by Benet Canfield (William Fitch), the Benedictine Augustine Baker’s manuscript and printed devotional and mystical prose, and Dame

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10 A second part, also dedicated to the exiled Catholic Queen Henrietta Maria, was published in 1653.
11 See the note about this book in the Intermuralia section of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* 56 (1993), p. 421.

3. Doctrinal and polemical works: for example, Thomas Harding’s polemical prose associated with his ongoing dispute with Bishop John Jewel,14 English translations of the *Controversies* (1586 ff.) of the Jesuit theologian, Robert Bellarmine; the religio-political pamphlets and treatises of that nemesis of English Protestantism, Robert Persons; and many other texts such as those discussed in Peter Milward’s volumes on religious controversies of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Age15 and those reproduced in the 374 volumes of D. M. Rogers’s series, *English Recusant Literature: 1558-1640*.16 Perhaps the most important of these texts, and one that never really received a polemical answer, was Nicholas Sander’s *De Progressu Schismatis Anglicanae* (Cologne, 1585), written in Latin, like a number of other works by English Catholic apologists, for a wider European learned readership.17

4. Translations of foreign texts for English readers. These include popular devotional works, most of which were translated from other European languages: for example, Luis de Granada’s *A Memorial of a Christian Life* (secretly printed in England in 1586), Gaspar Loarte’s *Meditations* (1597 or 1598, also secretly printed), Francois de Lacroix’s *The Little Garden of Our B. Lady* (1626), Henry More’s translation of *Vita et Doctrina Christi Domini* (*The Life and Doctrine of Our Saviour Jesus Christ*, 1656), and many other works by St. Bonaventure, St. Bernard, Thomas à Kempis, St. Francis de Sales and others. A wide variety of Catholic devotional and other writing in such languages as Spanish, Italian, German, and Latin found its way into English. Thomas Clancy notes that ‘44 spiritual writers were translated by Catholics

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15 See Milward (above, note 14), as well as his *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age: A Survey of Printed Sources*, London 1978.
17 There is a translation of this work by D. Lewis as *The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, London 1877.
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from 1579 to 1640'. For example, Henry Garnet translated and secretly printed in England Francisco Arias’s *Del buen uso de los Sacramentos* (1588) as *The Little Memorial concerning the Good and Faithful Use of the Sacraments* (1602). Saints’ lives were an especially popular genre, especially given the Protestant attack on the cult of saints and on saintly intercession. These included works such as Cesare Baronio’s *The Life of S. Thomas, Archbishope of Canterbury* (1639) – a work published in the Laudian/Caroline period to reassert the Englishness of the veneration of saints – but also lives of saints of the Counter-Reformation church such as Aloysius Gonzaga and Saint Francis Xavier. Doctrinally and polemically charged NeoLatin drama written by such English Jesuits as Edmund Campion and Joseph Simon should also be noted.

5. Consolation literature: works such as Thomas More’s *Dialogue of Comfort* (1553), John Fisher’s *A Spiritual Consolation, Written as Hee was Prisoner in the Tower of London* (1535), and Robert Southwell’s *Epistle of Comfort*.

6. Martyrdom accounts: in the wake of Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, this important genre was re-appropriated by Catholic writers from the late Elizabethan period on forward. It includes not only such works as William Allen’s *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of XII. Reverend Priests* (Rheims, 1582), Thomas Worthington’s, Cesare

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21 A 1573 edition was published in Antwerp. The work was also included in the 1557 edition of More’s works.

22 This edition has a false Paris imprint and no date. Written originally for the Countess of Arundel, it was printed secretly at Arundel House in London. See Allison and Rogers (above, note 16), vol. 2, #714. The work also probably circulated in manuscript in the English Catholic subculture.
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Baronio’s, and Robert Persons’s *A Relation of Sixteene Martyrs* (Douai, 1601) and John Wilson’s *The English Martyrologe* (St. Omer, 1608), but also narratives focusing on individual martyrs or small groups of martyrs, such as Thomas Alfield’s *A True Report of the Death & Martyrdome of M. Campion Jesuite and Prieste, & M. Sherwin, & M. Bryan Preistes* (1582), John Mush’s account of the life and death of Margaret Clitherow (only printed in abridged form in its own time), 23 *The Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Genninges* (1616), and the accounts of the trial and execution of the five Jesuits unjustly condemned during the Titus Oates Popish Plot furor. 24 A large number of individual martyrdom accounts circulated in manuscript in the Catholic community. 25

7. Biographies and autobiographies: these include such works such as William Roper’s *The Life of Sir Thomas More*, George Cavendish’s *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, 26 and the life of Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland written by her daughter, 27 as well as autobiographical accounts by William Weston and John Gerard. 28

8. Historical chronicles and chorography: these include the work of Richard Stanyhurst 29 and Edmund Campion on Ireland, 30 as well as the work of such Catholic or Catholic-sympathizing antiquaries as


25 See my discussion of these in *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, pp. 66-94.

26 See the modern edition of these by R. S. Sylvester and D. P. Harding, New Haven 1962.


30 This was included in Raphael Holinshed’s *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (1578).
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John Stow,31 Henry Machyn,32 Edmund Bolton,33 and Thomas Blount.34

9. Conversion narratives and defenses of change of religion: including such polemically charged accounts as those written by William Alabaster and Sir Toby Matthew35 (both circulating in manuscript) and that of Francis Walsingham, the kinsman of Elizabeth’s former Secretary of State (A Search Made into Matters of Religion, 1609).36

10. Reports of debates and ‘conferences’: these include not only the Catholic versions of the famous staged Tower conferences of Edmund Campion and his Protestant adversaries,37 but also the theological disputations between John Percy (alias ‘Fisher the Jesuit’) and several Protestant antagonists, including King James himself, debates that were supposedly arranged to rescue the Countess of Buckingham from Catholicism, then published in an authorized, edited version for a wider Protestant and Catholic audience.38

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33 Bolton wrote Elements of Armories (1610) and The Cities Advocate (1629), the latter of which, as Mihoko Suzuki, Subordinate Subjects: Gender, the Political Nation, and Literary Form in England, 1588-1688, Aldershot, U.K. and Burlington, Vermont 2003, p. 66, points out, has great praise for Sir Thomas More. See also T. Bongaerts ed., The Correspondence of Thomas Blount (1618-1679), A Recusant Antiquary, Amsterdam 1978.
35 Alabaster’s narrative has been edited by D. F. Sutton in Unpublished Works by William Alabaster (1568-1640), Salzburg 1977. For Matthew’s, see A. H. Mathew ed., The True Historical Relation of the Conversion of Sir Tobie Matthew to the Holy Catholic Faith, London 1904.
36 See my discussion of conversion accounts in Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy (above, note 24), pp. 95-130.
38 See the Catholic account found in A. C., True Relations of Sundry Conferences ... betweene Certaine Protestant Doctours and a Jesuite Called M. Fisher, St. Omer, 1626. See also T. H. Wadkins, ‘The Percy-Fisher Controversies and the Ecclesiastical Politics of Jacobean Anti-Catholicism, 1622-1625’, Church History
11. Travel writing: for example William Atkins’s ‘relation of the journey from St. Omer’s to Seville’\(^{39}\) and Sir Charles Somerset’s travel diary.\(^{40}\)

12. Personal letters. This is an enormously important body of work. It includes the great letter collections of Robert Persons, Henry Garnet, Richard Verstegan, and William Allen.\(^{41}\) As is the case with other early modern letters, the form is a hybrid one containing a number of features, for example, narrative, dialogue, rhetorical persuasion, and instruction. The annual letters written from England in Latin to the Jesuit General in Rome by Jesuit superiors such as Henry Garnet contain interesting (and rhetorically strategic) accounts of the English Catholic mission and of the sufferings of Catholic Englishmen, lay and clerical.

13. Intramural Catholic controversy and polemic: especially that associated with such Jesuit-Secular struggles as the ‘Archpriest Controversy’\(^{42}\) and the dispute over the appointment of Richard Smith

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\(^{40}\) See M. Brennan ed., The Travel Diary (1611-1612) of an English Catholic, Sir Charles Somerset, Leeds 1993.


as Bishop of Chalcedon. Works by such anti-Jesuit secular clergymen as William Watson, John Mush, and Anthony Copley were allowed English publication by the government to discredit Catholic hardliners. The Chalcedon controversy produced some bitter manuscript and printed work on both sides. In the late sixteenth century, French Gallican anti-Jesuit propaganda was translated for English publication, just as in the later seventeenth-century Pascal’s anti-Jesuit Provincial Letters were also published in English – significantly in 1679, at the height of Titus Oates’s ‘Popish Plot’.

The field of Catholic writing, then, is broad, including work in both the vernacular and in Latin, texts circulated in manuscript or print or both.

II

We might, at this point, ask ‘Who counts as a Catholic author?’ To answer this, we need to classify writers in four categories:

1. Self-consciously Roman Catholic authors, such as Robert Southwell, Henry Constable, Thomas Lodge, Elizabeth Cary, Sir Toby Matthew, Richard Crashaw, and Walter Montague, who either as lifelong Catholics or Catholic converts wrote in ways that advertise their religious identity.

2. Authors, such as Ben Jonson, William Alabaster, William Davenant, and John Dryden whose writing careers included a limited period of commitment to Catholicism.

3. Authors who were educated and acculturated as Catholics, such as

In 1625 Richard Smith, who had earlier represented the ‘Appellants’ against the Jesuits in the Archpriest Controversy, was appointed Vicar Apostolic and Bishop of Chalcedon, with responsibility for English Catholics. The Jesuits opposed his appointment and battled with the seculars for control of the English Mission as they had earlier.

See, for example, William Watson’s A Decacordon of Ten Quodlibetical Questions Concerning Religion and State (1602); John Mush’s A Dialogue betwixt a Secular Priest and a Lay Gentleman (1601); and Anthony Copley’s An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuited Gentleman (1601).


The title used for this is The Mystery of Jesuitism: Discovered in Certain Letters.

See M. Edmond, Rare Sir William Davenant, Manchester 1987.
John Donne and William Shakespeare, whose writings were either explicitly anti-Catholic or religiously ambiguous.

4. Authors, such as Anthony Munday\textsuperscript{48} and Sir John Harington,\footnote{See D. Hamilton, \textit{Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560-1633}, Aldershot, U.K. 2005.} whose Catholicism had a significant impact on their writing, but who either hid or decided not to foreground their Catholicism.

I am obviously omitting from consideration a substantial body of work by anonymous authors, from lyric poems and ballads, to unascribable narratives and expository works. Sometimes, in the case of the first group of writers, their Catholic commitment determined the subject matter of their work or even caused them to switch from one kind of writing to another: Southwell’s manifesto declaring the superiority of sacred to secular verse,\footnote{See “The Author to his loving Cosen”, in: J. H. McDonald and N. P. Brown eds., \textit{The Poems of Robert Southwell, S. J.}, Oxford 1967, pp. 1-2.} Henry Constable’s switch from love sonnets to religious poetry, Thomas Lodge’s publishing his religious \textit{Prosopopeia} in the year he announced his conversion to Catholicism,\textsuperscript{51} and Richard Crashaw’s proselytizing ‘To the Countess of Denbigh’ are all illustrations of this phenomenon.

Writers of the first and fourth sorts are easily categorized. Writers of the second and third sorts present problems. While a temporary Catholic such as William Alabaster, who had earlier written a Latin anti-Catholic narrative poem, \textit{Eliseis}, could express his conversion to Catholicism in sonnets that signal his new religious identity,\footnote{See my discussion of Alabaster in \textit{Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy} (above, note 24), pp. 98-109.} Ben Jonson, whose work in the theater put limits on the expression of any religious identity other than that of nationalistic Protestantism, did not directly represent his Catholicism in his work – though being accused by the crypto-Catholic Earl of Northampton of ‘popery and treason’ is often mentioned in his plays.

\textsuperscript{49} For an illuminating account of Harington’s Catholicism, see the new study by G. Kilroy, \textit{Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription}, Aldershot, U.K. 2005.
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for his part in the stage version of *Sejanus* might necessitate some qualification of the assertion. Several plays, including *Volpone* and *Epicoene*, belong to Jonson’s Catholic period (1598-1610) and there may well be Catholic religious signals in them and in his contemporary masques. In *Volpone*, for example, Jonson has Sir Politick Would-Be saying that he is in Italy for reasons other than ‘shifting a religion’ (2.1.5), a goal Sir Tony Matthew and others had in mind for their Italian sojourn. Ian Donaldson suggests Jonson’s Catholicism forced him into a stance of duplicity and equivocation in this period.

Writers in the third category are the trickiest to discuss. I have argued elsewhere that Shakespeare’s residual Catholic sensibility affected the ways he portrayed men and women in religious orders and the experience of the miraculous and wondrous. Though he sometimes used a nationalistic anti-Catholic vocabulary (in dramatizing, for example, Joan of Arc and King John), he also rendered King Henry VIII’s first Queen, Catherine of Aragon, with surprising sympathy. The case of John Donne is more complicated. Though he certainly articulated strong anti-Catholic attitudes in his polemical works and in his sermons, he retained what might be regarded as some features of a Catholic sensibility and had deep-seated irenic and ecumenical impulses that might be a sign of his wish to maintain some sense of continuity in his religious identity.

III

The issue of a Catholic baroque or Counter-Reformation aesthetic, or


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a Catholic mindset is a vexed one. On the one hand, it is useful to connect some Catholic writers, such as Robert Southwell, Richard Crashaw, and Toby Matthew, with Continental Catholic artistic and devotional modes and themes, for example, the literature of tears,57 the cult of the Magdalen, and sensualized or sexualized religiosity. Anthony Raspa’s study of the impact of Jesuit spirituality and ‘poetics’ on several English poets, building on Louis Martz’s ground-breaking Poetry of Meditation,58 registers the impact of baroque Catholic devotion.59 On the other hand, it is difficult to distinguish what is essentially Catholic, especially in a sixteenth century context, in which the residual features of the ‘old religion’ mark the general culture as hybridized,60 and genres, such as the romance, with its fascination with signs, wonders, and the miraculous, connect particular works with a Catholic mindset. Take the case of that slow-motion convert Thomas Lodge, who seems to have announced his change of religion in 1596 with Prosopopeia Containing the Teares of the holy, blessed, and sanctified Marie, the Mother of GOD, a Mariolatrous work clearly within a Catholic aesthetic. Can we regard his earlier romance, Rosalynd, as Catholic in orientation or see what Arthur Kinney suggests is an ‘emerging Catholic poetics’ in his Euphues Shadow?61 And can we regard Shakespeare’s As You Like It, which uses Rosalynd as a source, in a similar manner? Can we see as aesthetically ‘Catholic’ Shakespeare’s late romances such as The Winter’s Tale and Pericles, the latter perhaps co-authored with the Catholic George Wilkins? Velma Richmond’s recent book, Shakespeare, Catholicism, and Romance,62 argues that the romance mode is strongly marked with Catholic features. Shakespeare’s romances, as Michael O’Connell has suggested, extend into the Jacobean

57 Shell (above, note 4), pp. 56-104.
58 New Haven 1954.
61 Kinney (above, note 51), p. 413.
era the old Catholic fondness for the visionary and the miraculous found in Medieval drama.\(^{63}\)

But then, what of the Jacobean and Caroline court masque? Did this form succeed in naturalizing certain Continental baroque features so that, like Laudian Anglicanism, they could be perceived as both English and Protestant? Given the influence on the aesthetic components of the masque of the lifelong Catholic Inigo Jones, who worked initially with Ben Jonson during the latter’s Catholic period, it easy to detect, as Erika Veevers does, the utilization of Continental baroque Catholic features in that form, especially in the work of Jones and others for the Catholic Henrietta Maria, whose Marian devotionalism was manifested imagistically in the masques composed for her.\(^{64}\) But, if we consider, for example, as Thomas Healy has reminded us,\(^{65}\) that most of the poetry of Richard Crashaw was written before he was a Catholic and that the Cambridge Laudian milieu in which he flourished had a taste for what we might think of as a Continental Catholic or Counter-Reformation style, it is difficult to maintain the distinctively Catholic character in England of such an aesthetic.

Of course, we might think of one clear marker of a Catholic mindset and of Catholic practice: devotion to the Virgin Mary. Catholic writers from Southwell, Constable, and Alabaster, to Crashaw signal their religious identity with their Marian poems. But there is the troubling example of ‘The Passion of the Discontented Minde’, a poem associated with the Earl of Essex that was supposedly written the night before his execution – probably composed, however, by his secretary Henry Cuffe. In one of the stanzas, significantly omitted from the printed version of the poem, we read (l. 25-30):

\begin{quote}
And thou faire Queene of mercy and of pitty,
          Whose wombe did once the World’s Creator carry,
          Bee thou attentive to my painefull dittye,
          Further my Sutes deare gracious blessed Mary;
\end{quote}


If thou begin the Quire of holy Saints
Will all be helping to preferre my plaints.66

Two of the clearest marks of Protestantism are the demotion of Mary from the position of chief mediatrix to a lower level in the heavenly citizenry and the discrediting of the saintly mediatory function itself. Why, in a poem such as this, would the Protestant Essex use this markedly Catholic language? Perhaps as a political swipe at the Queen who had converted Mariolatry into the cult of Elizabeth and, more generally, replaced some ecclesiastical decoration with symbols of monarchical and state authority. Or perhaps because this feature of the ‘old religion’ had not yet, despite the religious and cultural changes of Protestant England, disappeared. When Jonson, early in his Catholic period, wrote an epitaph on the death of his six-month-old daughter Mary, the poem was, in David Riggs’s words, ‘an exercise in Mariolatry’.67

To take another example, the ex-Catholic poet John Donne, in a religious lyric written two years before his ordination as a Protestant minister, ‘Goodfriday, 1613, Riding Westward,’ portrayed Mary not only as a mediatrix, but as a co-redemptrix. In his visual imagining of the Crucifixion, he says (l. 29-32):

If on these things I durst not looke, durst I
Upon his miserable mother cast mine eye,
Who was Gods partner here, and furnish’d thus
Halfe of that Sacrifice, which ransom’d us.68

Late in his secular career, well after he had served the English Protestant and Jacobean cause by composing polemical works such as Pseudo-Martyr and Ignatius his Conclave, Donne seems to reproduce a Catholic devotional mode from his youth. In several sermons, however, starting in 1617, Donne followed the orthodox Protestant line, criticizing

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66 I cite the text of this poem from S. W. May, The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and Their Contexts, Columbia, Missouri 1991, p. 255.
69 See G. Klawitter, ‘John Donne’s Attitude Toward the Virgin Mary: The Public
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those who would attribute too much importance to Mary: ‘the Virgin Mary had not the same interest in our salvation, as Eve had in our destruction’, 70 he remarked in one. In another he remarked sarcastically:

What a spiritual dominion, in the prayers, and worship of the people, what a temporal dominion in the possessions of the world had the Virgin Mary, Queen of heaven, and Queen of earth too? She was made joint purchaser of the Church with her Sonne, and had as much of the worship thereof as he, though she paid her fine in milke, and he in bloud. 71

And yet Donne, till the time of his death, kept a picture of the Virgin in the Deanery at St. Paul’s: was it a matter of his residual Catholic sensibility, a concession to his Catholic mother, who lived with him in the last years of her life, or a sign of the reintroduction of Catholic aesthetic forms in Caroline, Laudian England? Were ‘milky’ Mary and the teary Magdalen what Richard Rambuss would define as some of the ‘queer’ Catholic presences in Protestant England? 72

IV

After considering the topic of what counts as Catholic writing, we might ask ‘Does Catholic writing count?’ This is an implicit or explicit question in recent work of such scholars as Alison Shell, Frances Dolan, Raymond Tumbleson and others. 73 We are quite aware, now, of the exclusion from or subordination in the English literary canon of Catholic authors and Catholic writing. There are many factors in play, of course, including the marking of some Catholic writers, most notably

71 Sermons of John Donne, 9:53.
Richard Crashaw, as somehow aesthetically unEnglish. In the dominant Whiggish account of English literary history, in which the radically Protestant and politically radical stance of John Milton, if not also of Edmund Spenser, is seen as a direct path to modern liberalism and democracy, writers like Southwell and Crashaw don’t fit the narrative – associated as they are with Medieval superstition and an authoritarian Church whose sensuous baroque sensibility is intellectually and aesthetically unpalatable. Apart from the work of culturally deracinated Catholics, only, perhaps, in the court masque or, as Marco Mincoff long ago suggested, in the elaborate frontispieces of some books do we find an English baroque. The ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688 is narrativized as a kind of final expulsion of things Catholic from English identity, thereafter pushed to the margins as Jacobite activism and Irish agitation. And, by the time we get to the Catholic, Jacobite Alexander Pope, Catholic writers are speaking a rationalistic, nationalistic language shared with Protestant, deistic, or atheistic contemporaries, so, for example, Pope’s ‘Catholicism’, unlike Crashaw’s, might seem about as relevant to the reception or perception of his work as his shoe size. Perhaps only the mid-nineteenth-century Oxford Movement and Cardinal Newman were strong enough to put Catholic writing back on the English cultural map, and then as an anomaly.

74 Shell, pp. 56-58, argues against the tradition of depicting Crashaw this way. She wants to take seriously the idea of an English baroque.

75 The Baroque in English Literature, Sofia 1947.