

THE EARLY LIFE OF JOHN DONNE,  
1572 - 1602.

[ A Study of the Biographical  
Determinants of His Writings ]

Only a part of an author's imagery comes  
from his reading. It comes from the whole  
Baird W. Whitlock, BA.  
of his sensitive life since early childhood.

T. S. Eliot

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## PREFACE

This thesis came about as a result of a search for a life of Donne to be used as background material for a study of the use of ellisions in his poetry. It was with considerable surprise that I discovered the lack of any real biography of the poet since Sir Edmund Gosse's two volume attempt at the end of the last century. Since then there have been only a part of an author's imagery comes from his reading. It comes from the whole of Donne's work on the of his sensitive life since early childhood. To which no references of any kind have been made in this thesis, was a poor restatement of Gosse's overly-romantic treatment of the poet without Gosse's fortunately firm framework of 17th Century Christian orthodoxy.

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Once determined on the subject, I had one great advantage that is often missing in modern scholarship, especially American scholarship. Much as I enjoyed and admired Donne's work, I had no special beliefs about either his life or work. There are many points made in this thesis which I did not at first believe but was forced to accept as I went along. Even while writing on such events as the Arundel and Donne's reaction to it, I found my first thoughts to be incorrect. At no time did any prejudices have so much force as to keep me from changing. Indeed there are some arguments which are still very plain in my mind, but I have

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not put down any of these thoughts without finding sufficient proof. For example, I think it very likely that Donne wrote not only his Satyres between his two Essex voyages, but nearly all the Elegies as well, perhaps beginning with a translation of Ovid or Horace on the trip back from Cadiz. I have attempted to keep away from the romancing of Gosse, however, and have not recorded these thoughts unless there has been sufficient evidence.

Whenever industry or interest flagged, there were always new articles or criticisms to awaken anger sufficient to carry on. The lack of full biographical treatment of Donne has led to a good deal of utter rot being printed about the man. Marius Bewley's last article in The Kenyon Review is a good example. His "psychological" criticisms seem to me to be ridiculous, but he is welcome to them. His completely wrong biographical data, however, merely angers me. If this thesis did nothing but show that Donne was not trained by Jesuits, it would be valuable. BBC broadcasts have shown a similar lack of knowledge about Donne. The Schools' broadcast for May 18, 1952, used material from Walton's biography of Donne which has been shown to be inaccurate. John Dowland's "Sweet, Stay awhile" has been announced as by Donne. And a program on the reading of Donne on the Third Programme has claimed that to read Donne correctly, one must be like him and feel

with him--this spoken by a voice which continued to mis-pronounce his name. It seems strange that after so much has been written on the subject and after Donne himself made the point so clear that the "official" pronunciation of his name should be so obviously wrong. ]  
Then there are the other problems of Donne scholarship which have led to so much error, particularly in the uncritical acceptance of the letters from the Burley MS. I have given as much attention to these problems as possible, but I have attempted to subordinate them to the main purpose of the thesis: to give as complete and as detailed a description of Donne's first thirty years as is possible from printed and manuscript material now available. As the Bibliography indicates, I have attempted to draw upon all sources for a study of Donne's entire life, for his later actions help to illuminate the young man.

I would like to thank Prof. Renwick for his assistance and advice throughout the preparing of this thesis, and for his valuable suggestions. I would also like to acknowledge the help of Miss Meynard and Mr. Butter for their reading of sections of the thesis and their suggestions. The list of those who have given me aid in finding manuscripts in London would be too great to include in its entirety, but special thanks are due to Miss Veronica Stokes,

Ass't-Archivist of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Mr. Jones and Mr. Chandler of the City Records Office, Mr. Wright, Librarian of Dulwich College, Mr. Fairchild, Under-Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn, and the staffs of the British Museum, Public Records Office, London County Council Library, and the Royal College of Physicians. I would also like to thank Rev. Douglas Reed for his help on the Church of England. Special thanks go to my wife for her aid in checking and rechecking the entire work.

## Chapter 1. Heredity and Childhood.

As the Prophets, and the other Secretaries of the holy Ghost in penning the books of Scriptures, do for the most part retain, and express in their writings some impressions, and some air of their former professions; those that had been bred in Courts and Cities, those that had been Shepherds and Herdsmen, those that had been Fishers, and so of the rest; ever inserting into their writings some phrases, some metaphors, some allusions, taken from that profession which they had exercised before; so that soul, that hath been transported upon any particular worldly pleasure, when it is entirely turn'd upon God, and the contemplation of his all-sufficiency and abundance, doth find in God fit subject, and just occasion to exercise the same affection piously, and religiously, which had before so sinfully transported, and possesst it.<sup>1</sup>

If such biographical influence was true of the "Secretaries of the holy Ghost," how much more so was it true of the speaker as he stood before Queen Anne at Denmark House in December, 1617! His first metaphor alone carries the reader back sixteen years to his position as Secretary of the Lord Chancellor of England. But for all of the "impressions" and "former professions" that expressed themselves in John Donne's poetry and prose, we must go back a great deal further than sixteen years.

The life of John Donne properly begins almost a century before his birth. About 1475, in Coventry, his great-grandfather, John Rastell, was born; three years later, on February 7, 1478,<sup>2</sup> Rastell's future brother-in-law, Sir Thomas More appeared on the scene. Over the



following century the families of these two men grew in size, but in that growth they never separated. Instead, they became a coherent group whose story illuminates nearly every phase of sixteenth-century English life. Two died martyr's deaths, two were leading printers, three were playwrights, one was a Judge of the Queen's Bench, one was a king's physician, and two were high-ranking Jesuits. It is not my purpose here to write the story of these three generations; that has been done extremely well by Dr. A. W. Reed, in his Early Tudor Drama. [ Anyone interested in sixteenth century life or literature, or in the life of John Donne, should read that account. ] What I shall attempt here is only a partial listing of family attitudes, positions, and accomplishments which most certainly influenced the young Donne. [ It would be nearly impossible to overplay the intricate connections of these families, as the genealogical chart shows. But even such a chart does not begin to show the full story. John Rastell<sup>3</sup> and William Rastell printed the works of Sir Thomas More and John Heywood, and William published the legal records of the More, Rastell, Roper, and Stubbes families. William Roper and Richard Rastell shared a chamber at Lincoln's Inn. The various family wills show an even

closer connection.<sup>4</sup> Joan Staverton appointed John Heywood her executor and left William Rastell her best bed; Richard Heywood made bequests to his brothers and to the Donnes and Mrs. Marven; William Rastell made Ellis Heywood his heir and left bequests to Dr. and Mrs. Clement and three of their children, to Bartholomew More, to his brother John, and to John Heywood and his three daughters. We will have cause to notice the last will again.<sup>5</sup>

Under such conditions the building up of family traditions would be almost inevitable. The biographer of Donne is tempted to lay all of the poet's actions at the feet of heredity, if such an action were not contrary to current psychological tenets. But Donne's "heredity" was also environmental. Wherefore, seeing he was compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, it would be well to see how almost every step in his life was foreshadowed by something in the lives of his immediate ancestors, the incidents of whose lives would have been known to him from early youth.

Like the tutoring of Sir Thomas More's family, which seems to have had early connections with the Heywoods and Rastells, by Dr. Clement, the young Donne underwent tutoring at home. Like More, John Heywood (probably), Dr. Clement, William Rastell, and Ellis and Jasper Heywood, Donne went to Oxford; and like the elder Heywood and William Rastell,

he took no degree. Donne went to Lincoln's Inn; so did Sir Thomas More, Richard Heywood, William Rastell, and Jasper Heywood (according to Reed). Donne served for two years in the wars against Spain under Essex; John Rastell served in the French Wars under Belknap from 1512 to 1514. From about the age of twenty-three to twenty-five Donne underwent a period of religious questioning, followed by active life at court; at the age of twenty-two, and for about four years, Sir Thomas More went through a strong religious struggle about the priesthood and then threw himself into secular life with renewed strength. As we shall see, Donne tried his hand at gaining some estates in Lincolnshire; nearly all of his family predecessors held considerable estates, in Essex, Kent, Hertfordshire, and Lincolnshire (More, John and William Rastell,<sup>6</sup> John, Richard, William, and Ellis Heywood). Donne was always interested in the colonizing of America and sought to be made Secretary in Virginia; John Rastell made an unsuccessful trip headed for the New Found Lands in 1517, and his son John travelled to Labrador in 1536. Donne spent most of his life at or connected with the court, as did More, John Heywood, and John Rastell. Donne spent some time in prison, but luckily not as long or for as serious reasons as More, John Rastell, and John, Thomas, and Jasper

Heywood. Donne was a member of Parliament; so were More and John Rastell. Donne went on ambassadorial trips to the continent, as did More. Donne's entering the priesthood was not new in the family of Thomas, Ellis, and Jasper Heywood. Even in his conversion to the Reformed position of the church he had the example of John Rastell<sup>7</sup> and of John Heywood's 1544 recantation.

Donne's writings also run in the same lines as his family's. Both More and John Rastell were religious controversialists. More, Clement, and John Heywood all wrote lyrical or satirical poems, and they all wrote a good many epigrams. Donne's early translations followed the similar work of More, John Rastell, Clement, and Jasper Heywood. And surely the dramatic element of Donne's poetry finds its roots in the dramatic compositions of John Rastell, John Heywood, and Jasper Heywood.

In a similar way the personal interests which are revealed in Donne's poetry are "family property." Seven men in the family were connected in one way or another with the legal practice. Six of the men in the More circle were prothonotaries.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Clement, the friend and fellow-officer of Donne's first step-father, was a President of the Royal College of Physicians. John Heywood was not only a fine singer but apparently closely associated with the boy singers of St. Paul's Cathedral

(another family tie). John and William Rastell were both artists and minor architects, and they both had a strong interest in maps and astronomy, decorating their ceilings as well as their rings with symbols from those studies. Sir Thomas More also had a strong interest in art, which his great-grandnephew perpetuated in his art collection at St. Paul's deanery.

All of the foregoing family influences have been skipped over by Donne biographers and sacrificed to the exclusive interest in the strong Catholic tradition of the family. Certainly it was a powerful tradition. Except for John Rastell everyone in the family had died a staunch member of the Roman Communion. Sir Thomas More and "Sir Thomas the Parson" Heywood were both executed for their beliefs. John Heywood and his son Jasper each narrowly missed execution, the one by public recantation, the other by exile. The entire Clement family, with the son-in-law William Rastell, John and Joan Heywood, and their sons, Ellis and Jasper, all died abroad, having left England and considerable prosperity for religious reasons. Besides the three priests in the family already mentioned, two of the Clement girls, Dorothy and Margaret, became nuns at Louvain, the latter not dying until 1612, three years before Donne entered the Anglican priesthood.

In the early months of 1572, when John Donne was born, the position of his mother's family was as follows. John Heywood (and his wife?) was in Louvain, having left England on July 20, 1564, leaving all his lands in the care of his new son-in-law, Master John Donne, a London ironmonger.<sup>9</sup> In 1573, by then a widower, Heywood was living in Malines. William Rastell had died at Louvain in 1565, being buried next to his wife, Winifred, who had died during the first exile of the family from England in the reign of the protestant Edward VI. Rastell had left England on January 3, 1563, with his parents-in-law, who went on to Malines to settle. Margaret Clement (nee Giggs) died on July 6, 1570, and Dr. Clement was to die in the summer of 1572, on July 1st. Richard and William Heywood had died in 1570 and 1568 respectively, both prosperous and apparently unaffected by religious disputes. Thomas was continuing his priestly duties, as yet untouched by the law. As for the new-born Donne's aunts and uncles, of Joan I can find nothing, and she was certainly dead by January, 1576, for she is not mentioned in Donne's father's will. Elizabeth Marven was about to go overseas or was already there, probably with her father. Ellis and Jasper were at Dillengen, in Bavaria, Jasper having become the professed father of the college there in 1570. Ellis had become a member of the Society in 1566 at Dillengen, and

on November 15, 1568, had willed all of his possessions to the Society.<sup>10</sup> Jasper had joined the Society in Rome, in 1562, having resigned a fellowship at All-Souls, Oxford, for religious reasons. Of Donne's mother, Elizabeth, we shall hear more later.

Unlike the records of his mother's family, which are full and show beneficial influences on Donne, the records of Donne's father's family are bare and show little or no good influence. All we really have to go on for genealogy is Walton's statement:

... yet Reader be pleased to know, that his Father was masculinely and lineally descended from a very ancient Family in Wales, where many of his name now live, that have and deserve great reputation in that Countrey.<sup>11</sup>

Certainly Donne either thought or pretended this was true, for he used the family coat of arms as Dean of St. Paul's, where they were placed near his tomb.<sup>12</sup> It would be pleasant to be able to trace him to the Devonshire Donnes and the family portrait hanging in Chatsworth, done by Hans Memling in the previous century, of John and Elizabeth Donne and their children,<sup>13</sup> but there is no evidence for doing so. Unfortunately, almost every Donne family in early England had at least two Johns in it, which makes genealogical search difficult. The Genealogical Society has made several attempts to trace Donne's father's family,

on June 14th of that year.<sup>17</sup> The will, dated 20 April, 1557, gives his lands and property to his wife and the belief that even if it could be decided which Donne family in London was the one we are interested in, once we got back to Wales, the state of the parish registers there would make any positive findings almost impossible. We are, therefore, forced to consider only Donne's father for family interests on the paternal side. This is unsatisfactory for two reasons: little is known of his life, and he only survived his elder son's birth by four years. Moreover, all that we do know gives us a picture of a rather unsavoury character, so much so that we are tempted to apply Donne's statement about outliving a father's bad name to his own family.

College. Many a son, many a good heire, findes an ill ayre from his Father; his Fathers life stinkes in the nostrils of all the world, and he heares every where exclamations upon his Fathers usury, and extortion, and oppression: yet it becomes him by a better life, and by all other means to rectifie and redeem his Fathers fame.<sup>14</sup>

According to Gosse, Master John Donne was probably born about 1530 and served his apprenticeship under James Harvey, Alderman of London.<sup>15</sup> In 1556 he was admitted to the freedom of the Ironmongers' Company,<sup>16</sup> three years later becoming the business manager of Mrs. Lewin, widow of Thomas Lewin, one of the most important Ironmongers of the period. Lewin died in 1557, his will being proved

on June 14th of that year.<sup>17</sup> The will, dated 20 April, 1555, gives his lands and property to his wife and the Ironmongers' Company. It provides for a mass priest at St. Nicholas Olave and even looks forward to the rebuilding of the monastery at Sawtry, indicating the strong Catholic position of Lewin and suggesting the same of Master Donne, who was close to Lewin's wife. Before he died, Lewin built five new tenements on Bread St. Hill. The best was to be for the mass priest, the other four for four poor and honest men of the company to live rent free and receive a quarterly stipend of twenty pence a piece. He also provided for two poor scholars each year to be sent to Oxford and Cambridge, besides leaving the reversion of his lands in Buckinghamshire to Eton College. Of special interest to us, however, is the fate of the tenements and the land given to his wife.

On October 26, 1562, Mrs. Lewin died, and Master Donne apparently became owner of a "great messuage with a garden attached" that Mrs. Lewin had left him in her will of January 1560.<sup>18</sup> What happened to this house is not clear, for by 1572 Master Donne appears to be sharing the tenements with two other families. All of the important family records were lost in the Great Fire of London, which levelled Bread St. to the ground, and the Ironmongers' records are not open to public inspection.

It would seem likely that Master Donne would have been married when Mrs. Lewin left him her large house, but such an hypothesis has its drawbacks. When William Rastell made out his will, on August 8, 1564, he gave his gold and sapphire ring to Elizabeth Donne, his niece.<sup>19</sup> We can trace the marriage back further than that, however. When John Heywood left England in July of that year, he left the control and care of his lands in the hands of his son-in-law, Master John Donne, who continued to collect the rents until 1571 and who bought at least one piece of land formerly belonging to Heywood.<sup>20</sup> It seems unlikely that he would put so much trust in too new a son-in-law. On the other hand, there are strong reasons for dating the marriage as late as possible. Elizabeth Heywood did not die until 1632. If she married at about 18, in 1564, she would have been eighty-six at death. It is probable that she was older than this, but it would be unintelligent to press her age too far. As her two brothers were born in 1530 and 1535, it might be wrong to put her birth too much after 1540, which would make her ninety-two at death. Another factor to consider, however, is the list of her own children. John was born, probably, in early 1572. That means that only his two elder sisters, Elizabeth and Anne, were born in the previous years of the marriage, not

counting possible deaths in the family. There is and nothing especially wrong in this except that Donne had one brother, two sisters, and a dead brother or sister born in the following four years, indicating that his parents did not consider "spacing" their children. If we compromise on the various figures we might arrive at a marriage date of 1562, with Elizabeth Heywood being slightly over twenty at the time.

As we have said, in 1564, John Heywood and his wife left for the continent, and Master John Donne took over the care of their property. In a letter from Heywood to Lord Burghley on April 8, 1575, we find that Master Donne was extremely remiss in sending rent money and other sums that he owed Heywood. This information does not endear the ironmonger to our hearts. On February 18, 1570, we find more information which raises our doubts about the man. St. Bartholomew's Hospital had a monopoly on the weighing of all iron bought or sold in London, and the Journal has entries concerning the punishment of offenders against the law. On the said Wednesday, Master Donne was called before the court for failing to weigh seven tons of coal "by him latly bought." Besides forfeiting all seven tons of coal,

the said M<sup>r</sup> Dyne shall pay for the weyinge of the same Irone w<sup>ch</sup> latly was forfeited as is accustomed

to be paid and so from hensforth to pay and contynew in the same vpon the payne lymyted in the statute.<sup>21.</sup>

At least this case of sixteenth-century black-marketeering did not go unpunished.

In 1571 Heywood apparently became tired of fighting with his son-in-law over rent money and had his widowed daughter, Elizabeth Marven, collect the money instead, or so the Hertfordshire Commissions investigating Heywood's property stated. This change may have occurred because of a controversy with William Parry, in which "John Heywoode" supposedly "imbecellid awaye" lands of Parry in Kent. The Privy Council ordered an investigation to be made by the "Justices of Peax."<sup>22.</sup>

In 1572 the citizens of London were assessed for the second payment of the subsidy granted Queen Elizabeth by the Parliament of 1566. The Booke of the Names, in the Guildhall Library, records, parish by parish, all of those men and women who paid and gives the amount collected in each case. Company lands were taxed as well as individuals: the Ironmongers paid £15 5s for their lands in Algate Ward. Most of the entries are single names, but sometimes a mother and son would be listed together, or two "Strangers". On folio 19v, however, under "Quene Hythe Warde, St. Nichas Coldabby € St Nichas Olyues paroches," appears the entry,

or odd an Robert East. Jhon Donne & Wm. Skydmore c<sup>li</sup>.

and religious tradition he was, but he also had an eye  
 Except for one other group of three in Tower Ward, this  
 on the main chance. To leave out either side of his  
 is the only entry of its kind in the entire city of  
 character would be to see less than the whole man.  
 London.<sup>23</sup> The most obvious explanation is that these  
 The date of his birth is still open to conjecture,  
 three men and their families, for all were married, were  
 although it was definitely before June 19, 1572, as the  
 occupying the same dwelling. "Great" as the "message"  
 of the Lewins might have been, it scarcely seems likely  
 time after January 23rd would fit the facts. The  
 that it would hold three families very comfortably.  
 household, aside from the hosts and skidmores, consisted  
 Another more plausible but less likeable situation  
 of his parents, two older daughters, Elizabeth and Anne,  
 suggests itself. The four tenements built by Thomas  
 and a cousin named Alice. There may have been other  
 Lewin some fifteen years before would be considered a  
 children who died within the next four years.  
 single "hospital" in all likelihood, and we are faced  
 Elizabeth appears to have been the oldest, being named  
 first in her father's orphans accounts, but she died at  
 Ironmongers taking over for their own use the new homes  
 some time soon after her father. Anne must have been  
 built for four "poor" members of the Company. Under  
 at least five years older than her new brother, for she  
 the circumstances it would not be surprising to find  
 was married in 1558, probably having reached the age of  
 them each collecting the yearly 6/8.

15. Besides the family there were three servants;  
 Into this somewhat crowded and questionable atmo-  
 John White, Agnes Cooper, and Agnes Dawson, the last  
 sphere came the infant John Donne, whose life was to  
 possibly being a distant relation, for there was a  
 consist almost of equal parts of the glory of his  
 family connection with the Dawsons of Oxford.  
 mother's family and the tawdriness of his father's.  
 anything that happened in the next few years that  
 His place in English literature was to be almost as  
 would have been to the King in such permanent records  
 original as his father's entry in the book of assess-  
 would have been of little importance to the infant John.  
 ments. Though he grew to be familiar with Kings and  
 he doubt he did not appreciate the arrival of Henry the  
 Lords, he never lost his taste for the extra pound note

or odd shilling. Inheritor of a grand legal, dramatic, and religious tradition he was, but he also had an eye on the main chance. To leave out either side of his character would be to see less than the whole man.

The date of his birth is still open to conjecture, although it was definitely before June 19, 1572, as the orphanage records of the City of London show.<sup>24</sup> Any time after January 23rd would fit the facts. The household, aside from the Easts and Skidmores, consisted of his parents, two older daughters, Elizabeth and Anne, and a cousin named Alice. There may have been other children who died within the next four years.

Elizabeth appears to have been the oldest, being named first in her father's orphans accounts, but she died at some time soon after her father. Anne must have been at least five years older than her new brother, for she was married in 1585, probably having reached the age of

18. Besides the family there were three servants: John White, Agnes Cooper, and Agnes Dawson, the last possibly being a distant relation, for there was a family connection with the Dawsons of Oxford.

Anything that happened in the next few years that would have been of the kind to reach permanent records would have been of little importance to the infant John. No doubt he did not appreciate the arrival of Henry the

next year, for with his sisters several years older, he must have had the main share of the family's attention during his first year. Mary and Katherine arrived the following two years, rendering John merely one of a large troop of noisy babies. Meanwhile his parents had the usual amount of business to attend to. About 1573 Donne's grandmother died, leaving her daughter a small piece of land worth £5 a year.<sup>25</sup> The "Elizabeth" in question may have been Mrs. Marven, considering the somewhat touchy state of Donne-Heywood affairs, however. In 1574 the second of the family martyrdoms occurred. Thomas Heywood, formerly a monk of St. Osyth's, was arrested on Palm Sunday for saying mass in Lady Brown's house in Cow Lane and was executed on June 14th. Palm Sunday that year was an active one for anti-recusant activities, as the passage from Stow shows:

The 11 of Aprill, being Palme Sunday, there was taken saying of masse in the Lord Morleis house, within Aldgate of London, one Albon Dolman Priest, and the Lady Morley with her children and diuers others, were also taken hearing of the said masse. There was also taken the same day and houre for saying masse at the Lady Gilfords in Trinitie lane, one Oliver Heywood Priest, & for hearing of the sayd masse the sayd Lady Gilfford, with diuers other gentlewomen. There was also taken at the same instant in the Lady Browns house in Cow lane for saying masse, one Thomas Heywood Priest, and one Iohn Cooper priest, with the Lady Brown: and diuers other were likewise taken, being hearers of the sayd masse. All which persons were for the same

house at St. Bartholomew's, which she had had since 1571, offences indicted, convicted, and had the law according to the statute in that case provided. There was also found in their seuerall chappels, diuers Latine bookes, beads images, palmes, chalices, crosses, vestments, pixes, paxes, and such like.<sup>26</sup>

hospital. There were two strings attached: she had to come back to England before July 24th, and she had to live in the house herself.

The area covered by these arrests, especially the one in Trinity Lane, reveals the strong Catholic population in which the Donnes had their place. It also indicates that Thomas was probably in contact with his niece, but John would be far too young to retain any memory of his grand-uncle. The martyrdom would be strongly felt within the family, however, at such close range.<sup>27</sup> Also in 1574 Donne's father was made Warden of the Ironmongers' Company and would have been made Master two years later, had he lived long enough. Robert East, one of the other men in the house, was doing well enough to be appointed one of the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, on August 28th, but for some reason or another, probably because he thought the money required too much for the honor involved, he turned the position down.<sup>28</sup>

The following year was a bothersome one for Master Donne, and the main trouble was with his in-laws.

Mrs. Marven was getting too old to go back and forth between England and her father in Malines. Besides, the nearly eighty-year-old Heywood was now near his son, Ellis, who had settled in Antwerp in 1573. She apparently wrote to Master Donne, asking him to keep her

house at St. Bartholomew's, which she had had since 1571, for her. Accordingly, on February 12, 1575, Master John Donne appeared at the Court of Governors of the Hospital to plead her suit for the house in the close at the hospital. There were two strings attached: she had to come back to England before July 24th, and she had to live in the house herself.

...order ys taken by this corte, that ffor as mvche as the sayd M<sup>rs</sup> marven ys now in the partes beyonde the sees, that yf so be the f<sup>ors</sup>sayd M<sup>rs</sup> marven doe personally come & dwell her selfe in her sayd house w<sup>t</sup>in the close of lytell St. Barth betwene this and St<sup>t</sup> James Ive next comyng, that then fforther order shalbe taken wherfor the enyong of the same...<sup>29</sup>.

If she did not return, Master Donne was to hand over the key and quiet possession of the house. Meanwhile he had to pay bond money of £10. Evidently Mrs. Marven returned, for the St. Bartholomew Ledger No. 2 shows that she paid her yearly 53s 4d rent from 1571 to 1576.

But more trouble was to follow for Master Donne in the spring. On April 18th John Heywood wrote from Malines to Lord Burghley, thanking him for his help concerning uncollected rents. He complained that

my wholle lyvyng [is] detayned from me, and the chieffest parte of it, whiche was a lease for yeares, in Romney Marshe, begged, and bought away utterlie from me; And neither of that, nor of the rest, not one pennye of it, paid, or sent hither unto me, for my maintenance for these twoo yeares, and a half: And

nowe it pleaseth you<sup>r</sup> good Lordshippe as I heare, to comaund my sonne Doonne, to send me over the arrerages, which hath bein deteyned from me...

Further on he indicts his son-in-law again,

And I beseech your good honor, and my good Ladie, to appoynte some one of the officers of the eschequer, or whom it pleaseth your honor, that maye help my dowghter Marvin that I may have my Arrerages that is dewe, since I was procleymed, quietlie and spedelie paid, and sent unto me. And also some order to enjoye the rest of my poore lyvyng, except my lease, that is begged and bought whollie frome me, whiche I dare not crave, whiche was the verie chefe of my lyvyng: and nowe I have no maner of benefit of it, whiche I thinke the quene's magestie never ment, when it was bought from me by Justice Manhoode and sold by him to my sonne Doonn, who never sent me one peny yet either of that lease or of anie of my lyvyng since the tyme he bought my lease, for he sayth he durst not.<sup>50</sup>

What happened to this property bought by Master Donne is not known, but he certainly did not include it in his will the following winter. This letter also casts some doubt on the findings of the Hertfordshire Commissions that Master Donne was relieved of the control of Heywood's lands in 1571. Certainly Mrs. Marven was not making any money in the process, for in 1576 she is described as a poor woman.

Lord Burghley came to the aid of his old friend and put the needed pressure on Master Donne, for on September 4, 1575, we find Heywood writing to him again, saying, in part,

Death's ...syth the said tyme of my said writting  
 to your honor I have here receyved fro my  
 wives, two sonn in Law John Doon ffiftie pounds that  
 being a part or parcell of the said  
 Bread Str. arrerage.<sup>31</sup> The various prisons in London

were to be given £1 apiece, and the four hospitals £5  
 Whatever Heywood's troubles were later to be, his son-  
 apiece. The poor of the parish of St. Nicholas Olaves  
 in-law, whose name, or the spelling of it, seems to have  
 received £3, and there were smaller sums to be  
 been shaky in his mind, was not the cause, nor was Master  
 distributed to his three servants. £18 more was used  
 Donne to have any further monetary problems. Although  
 for Death's head rings for four other friends, one  
 still a rather young man, he was apparently a sick one  
 being "my cousin, John Heywood." This surely must  
 and did not live through the following winter.  
 have been his father-in-law, and, if so, it gives

vide Just as Donne reached the age at which memory begins  
 its conscious hold on our lives, death became a present  
 reality in his life. In January, 1576, his father  
 realized his death was near, and calling in three  
 witnesses, he wrote out his will, on the 16th of that  
 month.<sup>32</sup> The will was drawn up, "according to the  
 laudable use and custom of the City of London," in three  
 parts, with his wife receiving a third and the children  
 a third. The remaining third was used for the paying  
 of debts and performing of legacies through his wife,  
 who was made sole executrix. Altogether the elder  
 Donne's fortune appears to have been somewhere between  
 £3000 and £4500.<sup>33</sup> How much Master Donne may have owed  
 is not indicated, but we are told what types of legacies  
 were made. £300 went directly to charity and the relief  
 of poor persons. £30 was to be used for the making of

Death's head rings for three close friends and their wives, two of these couples being those who shared the Bread Street tenements. The various prisons in London were to be given £1 apiece, and the four hospitals £5 apiece. The poor of the parish of St. Nicholas Olave received £3, and there were smaller sums to be distributed to his three servants. £16 more was used for Death's head rings for four other friends, one being "my cousin, John Heywood." This surely must have been his father-in-law, and, if so, it gives evidence that he was attempting to make the relationship with such a famous Catholic fugitive seem as slight as possible, perhaps for the safeguarding of his children's legacies. That also may have been his reason for not daring to send the rent money to Heywood. There were several legacies of velvet gowns, one being the only gift made to his now quite poor sister-in-law, Mrs. Marven. The only remaining money legacy was to the outside member of the household, Alice Donne, his "cousin" but more likely his niece, who was to receive £20 on reaching the age of 21. Certainly most of the money not actually given to his immediate family was bestowed upon acts of charity. Compared with the £20 his son was to leave to the poor of his four parishes, it was a considerable amount, especially as the then

Dean of St. Paul's was to leave a larger fortune. We must not judge the Dean too hastily, however, nor compare him unfavorably with his father. The latter left six children and a wife; his son left seven children and a mother. Perhaps the Dean felt that charity began at home or that his duty was to care for his own fatherless children and widowed mother first, which has the superior Biblical sanction.<sup>34</sup> He may have remembered his own feelings at receiving only a comparatively small fortune, which would have been minute had his brother and sisters lived. Some trace of his feelings may have made their way into an epigram on another's will: next year that she was not living in her house at St. Bartholomew's and that she was quite poor.

Thy father all from thee, by his last Will,  
Gave to the poore; Thou hast good title still.<sup>35</sup>

Actually, both of these may have been helping hands. Certainly he felt strongly about anyone leaving all his to care for the family of young children. charitable giving until his death and last will.

Soon after her husband's death Mrs. Donne was

probably That man dyes in an ill state, of whose faith we have had no evidence, till, after his death, his executors meet, and open his Will, and then publish some Legacies to pious uses: And we had no evidence before, if he had done no good before. For, shew me thy faith without thy works, sayes the Apostle; and he proposes it, as an impossible thing, impossible to shew it, impossible to have it. And therefore, as good works are our owne, so are they never so properly our owne, as when they are done with our owne hands; for this is the true shining of our light, the emanation from us, upon others.<sup>36</sup>

Towards the end of the month or the beginning of February (the will was proved on February 8th), the citizen and Ironmonger of London died, just too soon to have become Master of the Ironmongers Company. Elizabeth Donne, now between 35 and 40, found herself faced with the support and upbringing of six children as well as the birth of one more child whom she was now carrying. Since there is no record of another member of the family, it is safe to believe the baby was either born dead or died almost immediately. Her problems were not limited to herself or her own children, however. Her sister, Mrs. Marven, may have been staying with her, as we learn the next year that she was not living in her house at St. Bartholomew's and that she was quite poor. There was also the young girl, Alice, on Mrs. Donne's hands. Actually, both of these may have been helping to care for the family of young children. Soon after her husband's death Mrs. Donne was probably ordered by the Court of Aldermen to submit an inventory of her husband's estate to insure the terms of his will being carried out as regards the legacy money of the six orphans.<sup>37</sup> I have discussed fully the details of the orphanage records of the Donne family elsewhere, and it will not be necessary to repeat them here,<sup>38</sup> but Mrs. Donne must have been extremely busy

trying to care for her family and perform the duties of an executrix as well. On April 21st we find her paying William Sherrington of St. Bartholomew's the £5 her husband left that hospital.<sup>39</sup> All in all she seems to have been a very sturdy woman who had the strength to survive three husbands and all of her children. In spite of her sturdiness she soon found the prospect of widowhood unpleasant and accepted the proposal of Dr. John Syminges, a wealthy and influential London doctor, President of the Royal College of Physicians.<sup>40</sup>

There were good reasons for the marriage on both sides. Each had reached middle age or more. Elizabeth Donne had a sufficient income from her husband's will to care for herself and family, but she was not wealthy. Also, she seems entirely to have lacked a business head. Syminges could be not only a husband for herself but a father for the children. On the doctor's side, his wife, Ursula, had died in 1567, leaving him with two boys and two girls. One son had died in 1574 and the daughters had married in 1573 and 1575, leaving Syminges a rather lonely man of at least fifty with one remaining son who died five years later. In 1561 he had obtained two messuages and a garden, belonging to two monks from the monastery of Marten, in Surrey,<sup>41</sup> that were located on Trinity Lane, just two blocks from the Donne home in

Bread St. This large and comfortable home would be far more suitable for the Donne family than the tenement shared with the Easts and Skidmores. And there was one more very important detail for Mrs. Donne to consider: they were both strong Catholics, and having an influential husband whose profession seems to have put him above the fear of Pursuivants was a family safeguard not to be overlooked.

When the marriage took place is not known, for it probably was celebrated at St. Nicholas Olave, the records of which were burned; but we know it occurred between May 18th and July 17th, 1576. On the former date Elizabeth Donne paid £300 to the Chamberlain of the City towards the 2000 marks bond she had bound herself for on the 10th of the month. On July 17th, the court allowed Dr. Syminges to take over the responsibility for the orphanage payments, having "married Elizabeth the late wyfe and executrix of the testamentes of John Donne."<sup>42</sup> Thus, by the summer of 1576 young John and his family had moved into a large home in Little Trinity Lane, just up from the wharf and square of Queenhythe.

The effect of this early marriage on Donne must have been great indeed. If Hamlet at 30 was bothered by the funeral baked meats coldly furnishing forth the

marriage feast, what must the young and sensitive poet have been? There are several witnesses in Donne's later life that indicate how he took his mother's remarriage. The most important is his own action on the death of his wife. Walton's description indicates the emotion involved in his behaviour.

...his wife died; leaving him a man of narrow unsettled estate, and (having buried five) the careful father of seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance, never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother.<sup>43</sup>

How much he was "under the subjection" of a stepfather is not clear. He always gave his mother the full credit for his education, as he wrote to her, "those children...for whose education you were so carefully and so chargeably diligent."<sup>44</sup> Walton says that "a private Tutor had the care of him, until the tenth year of his age."<sup>45</sup> But in speaking of disciplining, Donne was more ambiguous. At one point he said, "My parents would not give me over to a servant's correction."<sup>46</sup> This not only tells us that he was not mistreated by the staff of the household, but that both parents seem to have taken a hand in the boy's correction, with the hand of the step-father being the heavier one, no doubt, in the boy's mind. At least one incident of his childhood whippings made its way into his sermons and

gives us some insight into the trials of the sensitive lad.

All our life is a continuall burden, yet we must not groane; A continuall squeasing, yet we must not pant; And as in the tendernesse of our childhood, we suffer, and yet are whipt if we cry, so we are complained of, if we complaine, and made delinquents if we call the times ill.<sup>47</sup>

be important ones for Donne. Beginning with the death

of There is another indication of Donne's feelings at the period of his living with his step-father.

Dr. Syminges was well on his way to old age, and at the time Donne left the family home, the doctor was excused from the meetings at the Royal College "Ingravescentis iam aetatis suae ratione habitâ."<sup>48</sup> Perhaps this helps to explain the strong feelings Donne shared with the earlier London poet, Chaucer, against old age. Although the early poems, especially the Elegies, have many statements against elderly men, the most obvious of his condemnations appears in the Paradox, "That Old men are more fantastike than Young." One section of this Paradox seems to fit the family situation particularly as the young student at Lincoln's Inn writes under the influence of his own past feelings:

To be Amorous is proper and natural in a young man, but in an old man most fantastick. And that ridling humour of Jealousie, which seeks and would not finde, which requires and repents

his knowledg, is in them most common, yet most fantastike. Yea, that which falls never in young men, is in them most fantastike and naturall, that is, Covetousnesse; even at their journeys end to make great provision.<sup>49</sup>

Whatever his feelings were at the time, the years from 1576 to 1584, in Dr. Syminges' household, were to be important ones for Donne. Beginning with the death of his father and including the deaths of his three sisters, an uncle, a grandfather, and a step-brother, this period of the poet's life brought him into direct contact with the leading doctors and medical practice of the city of London, including a year at the hospital of St. Bartholomew. It brought him an interest in medicine and surgery that was to enter into all his poetry and prose, acquainting him with medical practice of all sorts and acquainting him even more closely with death. This, as much as any psychological death-wish, explains a fascination and absorption in the subject that led to death, in one form or another, entering into 132 of the 198 poems credited to him<sup>50</sup> and reaching its fullest statement in Paradox V, "That all things kill themselves." There is much in his later prose work which indicates a morbid preoccupation with the subject, perhaps as a result of his own sickness, but in his earlier poems, death and medicine were used, as were

his law studies, as a source for poetic imagery and for that alone. His knowledge of surgery enters into the lyrics almost always in close connection with his emblematic descriptions of the heart,<sup>51</sup> as in The Damp,

ly took courses in Science upon entering Oxford after  
 When I am dead, and Doctors know not why,  
 leaving the close And my friends curiositie At  
 Will have me cut up to survay each part,  
 either one When they shall finde your Picture in my heart.<sup>52</sup>

Even "We murder to dissect" had not reached Wordsworth's philosophical condemnation, but was used for love's purposes:

images, we owe the best poetic treatment of the Central  
 Nervous System ever...If th'unborne  
 Must learne, by my being cut up, and torne:  
 Kill, and dissect me, Love; for this  
 Torture against thine owne end is, let fall  
 Rack't carcasses make ill Anatomies;<sup>53</sup>  
 Can tye those parts, and make mee one of all.<sup>57</sup>

As was surgeons' daily work:

his study of medical progress never closed his eyes to  
 the limits And such in searching wounds the Surgeon is,  
 As wee, when wee embrace, or touch, or kisse.<sup>54</sup>  
 however, as he says in the of the Progress of the Soule,

The poems are not alone in their use of medical imagery, however. All through the sermons Donne relies on medicines, surgery, and doctors for putting his arguments home.

...for every sin is an incision of the soule,  
 a Lancination, a Phlebotomy, a letting of the  
 soule blood, and then, a delight in sin, is  
 a going with open veines into a warme bath,  
 and bleeding to death.<sup>55</sup>

For, whether he cauterise or foment, whether he draw blood, or apply Cordials, he is the same Physitian, and seekes but one end, (our spirituall health) by divers wayes.<sup>56.</sup>

It is not surprising that the young Donne immediately took courses in Science upon entering Oxford after leaving the close of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. At either one or both of these places his interest in anatomy was whetted sufficiently for him to continue studying and buying books of medicine throughout his entire life. And to that interest, among many other images, we owe the best poetic treatment of the Central Nervous System ever written:

For if the sinewie thread my braine lets fall  
Through every part,  
Can tye those parts, and make mee one of all..<sup>57.</sup>

His study of medical progress never closed his eyes to the limitations of contemporary knowledge and practice, however, as he says in the of the Progresse of the Soule,

Have not all soules thought  
For many ages, that our body'is wrought  
Of Ayre, and Fire, and other Elements?  
And now they thinke of new ingredients,  
And one Soule thinkes one, and another way  
Another thinkes, and 'tis an even lay.  
Knowst thou but how the stone doth enter in  
The bladders cave, and never breake the skinne?  
Know'st thou how blood, which to the heart doth flow,  
Doth from one ventricle to th'other goe?  
And for the putrid stufte, which thou dost spit,  
Know'st thou how thy lungs have attracted it?

There are no passages, so that there is  
 (For ought thou know'st) piercing of substances.  
 And of those many opinions which men raise  
 Of Nailes and Haires, dost thou know which to praise?  
 What hope have wee to know our selves, when wee  
 Know not the least things, which for our use be?<sup>58</sup>

But death and surgery were not the only influences or interests of the young boy at this time. Strangely enough, Donne scholars seem never to have paid any attention to the physical environment of the child. Both the home of his birth and that of his youth were within a block and a half of the Thames. Many have written of his love of the sea and the importance it plays in his poetry and prose. Surely much of that interest and affection grew from his close association with the ships on the Thames which flowed past Darkhouse Lane and Queenhythe. Even the most diligent of tutors, inculcating in his pupil "a good command both of the French and Latine Tongues," at the age "when others can scarce speak their owne,"<sup>59</sup> could not keep an eager youth entirely from the spell of the nearby ships. Had he known the bustle of the loading wharves to make him ask,

Who e'r rigg'd faire ship to lie in harbors,  
 And not to seeke new lands, or not to deale withall?<sup>60</sup>

Or seen the results of unplanned lading?

Whilst thus to ballast love, I thought,  
 And so more steddily to have gone,

the play: With wares which would sinke admiration, span  
I saw, I had loves pinnace overfraught.<sup>61.</sup>  
of his opponents; and blow-point, a game no longer

Or thought of trips the ships were to make? ed with a

blow-gun. These two sports were used in Satyre III  
We see ships in the river; but all their use  
is gone, if they go not to sea.<sup>62.</sup>

It is not too much to presume that his love of travel  
finds its roots in these days of play and adventure nor  
to discover one of his reasons for accompanying the Earl  
of Essex in his Spanish journeys in 1596 and 97.

Besides the activity on the wharves, there were  
other ways of spending time at least as pleasantly as  
learning Latin, and probably a good deal more so if  
common experience is any judge. In the open square of  
Queenhythe there was room for stool-ball, that nearly  
ruleless game in which points were made in a free-for-all  
clash by kicking the ball against one of the two rod-  
goals. This game was later to be used in a Whitsunday  
Sermon as a comparison to the strife of kings, when  
Donne said,

Heires of the joy, and heires of the glory of  
heaven; where if thou look down, and see Kings  
fighting for Crownes, thou canst look off as  
easily, as from boyes at stool-ball for points  
here; and from Kings triumphing after victories,  
as easily, as a Philosopher from a Pageant of  
children here.<sup>63.</sup>

There were other games as well: span-counter, in which

the player attempted to throw his counter within a span of his opponent's; and blow-point, a game no longer played, but apparently resembling darts played with a blow-gun. These two sports were used in Satyre IIII in a blast against monopolies: 1577, but as is so often

true of the D.N.B. lives of the Heywoods, it is wrong.

Shortly boyes shall not play  
At span-counter, or blow-point, but they pay  
Toll to some Courtier.<sup>64</sup>

in 1575. His son, Ellis, had come to the college in

1573. In such ways the young boy spent his seven years in the house on Trinity Lane.<sup>65</sup> Of course, he must have studied hard under the tutors supplied by his mother for his training. It is perhaps at this stage that he gained the respect for teachers that he always held.

stances make it extremely unlikely that Donne ever

spent any more to any Benefactor, to my Father, to my Prince, then I do to them that have taught me; nor can there be a deeper ingratitude, then to turn thy face from that man, or from his children, that hath taught thee.<sup>66</sup>

Case says that in 1577 Howard's lands were

There is something more in this passage than first meets the eye, for Donne's own early teachers were certainly Catholics. Is there a hint here of friends he helped throughout his life or of the children of former teachers he may have benefitted? We can only make guesses to suit ourselves. Perhaps even in these early days Donne was made conscious of the difficulties of Catholic teachers in the homes of recusant families.

Meanwhile he must have had some knowledge of troubles in his mother's family. According to de la Bère, in his biography of Heywood, John Heywood was on the list of Catholic fugitives living at Louvain on January 29, 1576.<sup>67</sup> The D.N.B. calls this 1577, but as is so often true of the D.N.B. lives of the Heywoods, it is wrong. Heywood however entered the Jesuit college at Antwerp in 1576. His son, Ellis, had come to the college in 1573, perhaps after a visit to England, for the record reads "vient d'Angleterre," and at his instigation the old epigrammatist and faithful Catholic was admitted into the college, "ce digne vieillard, votre vénère père, avec logement et table séparés."<sup>68</sup> These circumstances make it extremely unlikely that Donne ever spent any time with his grandfather, or that the latter's daughter, Mrs. Marven, returned to stay with him, at least until some time late in 1578.

Gosse says that in 1577 Heywood's lands were "manipulated," indicating that he lost everything, but Gosse apparently was only referring to the 1577 commission investigation. "Manipulate" was ambiguous enough to cover any possibility of the commission's action. Some of the Heywood lands remained in the family hands at least until 1598, for another special commission in 1599 seems to have investigated Jasper's

share of the holdings.<sup>69</sup> course, close: he had two  
 unol But closer to home the Heywood family was having  
 its troubles. On March 9, 1577, Elizabeth Marven lost  
 her hold on the house in the close at St. Bartholomew's.  
 She had violated the terms of the lease by renting out  
 the house rather than living in it herself.<sup>70</sup> Actually  
 the move seems to have been political rather than legal,  
 for the man who took over, Robert Hyde, yeoman, was fast  
 making friends and gaining influence at the hospital,  
 becoming one of the collectors of the poor rate by the  
 time the Syminges moved in six years later. He was  
 allowed to rent to anyone he wished. Rather than being  
 charitably disposed towards Mrs. Marven "forasmuche as  
 [she] is a poore woman," the governors made a special  
 order on May 11th that she should not touch any fixed  
 part of the freehold, but deliver up the "key and quiett  
 possession of the howse" to Robert Hyde, as well as "the  
 some of xxs."<sup>71</sup> This is the last we hear of Mrs. Donne's  
 sister, and even conjecture becomes useless. forced back

to On June 15th of that summer, John Rastell, perhaps  
 a very distant cousin, also a Jesuit, died at Ingolstadt.  
 There is no way of knowing whether the Donnes knew him  
 or not, but it might be of interest to notice the  
 relations of the young Donne with the Jesuits, a society  
 he was to write about so viciously years later. The

family connection was, of course, close: he had two uncles who were members of the Society. But apart from his uncle Jasper, it is unlikely that as a child he had contact with any others. Father Fitzgibbon, S.J., in a detailed letter to me, has shown that there is "nowhere support for any supposed influence by Jesuits on John Donne's education, or for any notable personal knowledge of Jesuits. And surely for his credit, it were better so. A man of his intelligence and character would surely have written better stuff about Jesuits, if he had known anything about them from personal knowledge."

Whether he had any personal acquaintance with them or not, he certainly heard from his parents of the ill-treatment given the college at Antwerp in 1578, for his grandfather and uncle were very much involved. In April the college attempted to send John Heywood, among others, to Cologne for safety from mob violence, but they were stopped at the city gates and forced back to the college buildings. Shortly afterwards a mob attacked and pillaged the college, and the Fathers were made prisoners. They were sent by water to Malines, where there was a plot to kill them. This was frustrated by protection they received from Louvain, and they finally entered that city on May 26th. Heywood

apparently spent what was left of a long life at Malines. His son, Ellis, died on October 2, 1578, in Louvain, and it is not likely that his father survived him long.<sup>72</sup> The events of this period as much as any other influence led Donne to the statement in his Advertisement to the Reader in the Pseudo-Martyr,

..as I am a Christian I haue beene euer kept awake in a meditation of Martyrdome, by being deriued from such a stocke and race, as, I beleue, no family, (which is not of farre larger extent, and greater branches,) hath endured and suffered more in their persons and fortunes, for obeying the Teachers of Romane Doctrine, then it hath done.<sup>73</sup>

For three years, life at the Syminges' home appears to have gone normally, and then, in 1581, more excitement began. First was the arrival of Jaspas Heywood. It is interesting to hear a Jesuit's opinion on this controversial figure:

Jaspas Heywood, Donne's Uncle landed about July 15, 1581 [with William Holt, S.J.]; captured after 2 years and a half Dec. 1583 in a ship, driven back by bad weather from Dieppe; Clink Dec. 9; Tower 8 Feb., 1584 and banished Jan., 1585, and then posted by Aquaviva well out of the way to Naples, where he died 1598. He did some useful work, but was unadaptable, self-opinionated, possibly not mentally well-balanced in the physical and nervous strain. He seems to have lost his nerve and by summer '83 Allen and Aquaviva were putting their heads together about getting him out of England, and he was obeying their call, when captured. In the prevailing excitement

it seems to me unlikely that he had much direct contact with his sister's household, or that a small boy 9-10 was allowed to know much about him. Mrs. Donne was a widow with a family of small children dependent on her, and it would have been obvious to all concerned that it was folly to compromise the family or the uncle by open contacts. J. H. had a difficult temperament, was rather cantankerous, probably very cautious and not very enterprising. He pursued a groundless grievance against the far abler, more disinterested Persons, and caused some friction over fasting laws with other priests. He was reckoned on balance a failure doubtless owing to age and settled habits and temperament and no attempt was made to benefit by his experience and views.<sup>74</sup>

Whether Donne ever met his uncle or not, and it is very possible, as we shall see later, he must have heard a good deal of him. Rumors of his activities were rife, and whether they were true or not makes little difference when the effect is being considered. The secular priests charged that Heywood "vaunted and bragged in England as if he were legate of the Apostolic See, called a provincial council, abrogated vigils and fasts of our Lady, and prohibited the Acts of the English Martyrs, written by Cardinal Allen." Father Persons, whom Heywood replaced as vice-prefect or superior of the English Jesuit mission, denied the charges, but there is some reason to believe them.<sup>75</sup> It is not necessary to believe Thomas Bell's 1603 statement that Heywood "kept many horses and coaches and that his port and bearing

were more baron-like than priest-like" in order to accept his being a much-discussed man about whom his nephew would hear a good deal. ~~there, especially for~~

Meanwhile, in November, his step-father was giving up his six years presidency of the Royal College but not giving up his important position in that group. ~~but~~ The following year was to bring their activities even ~~lectures~~ closer to the boy. And along with everything else, ~~ent~~ death once again began to take its toll of the family. On July 2nd, Syminges' son, William, was buried at Holy Trinity the Less. In November even greater and closer sorrow struck. On the 25th Donne's two smaller sisters, Mary and Katharyn, were buried.<sup>76</sup> At some time before this, his oldest sister, Elizabeth, had also died, ~~only~~ probably not very long after her father. Since there is no record of her burial, it probably took place at St. Nicholas Olave, near her father. Such a desire on the part of an eldest daughter would not be surprising certainly. The household had diminished considerably in five years and was now down to the parents and four children, counting the still unmarried Alice.

In the summer of the following year the house in Trinity Lane took on more importance than ever. Four meetings of the officers of the Royal College took place at the Syminges' home. How much the ten year

old John was allowed to see or hear is, of course, impossible to estimate, but he may well have met the eminent physicians who gathered there, especially for the election meeting, "a prandio", on October 1, 1582. Similarly, he may well have heard about the July 6th and August 3rd meetings which discussed better buildings for the College and set up a permanent series of lectures on surgery.<sup>77</sup> It is even possible that the intelligent young boy, just two years away from University and already well-versed in Latin and French, was taken to one or more of Doctor Lumley's lectures. This would have been even more possible during holidays from Oxford. but he paid the poor rate required of all

Although these meetings seem to have been the only ones actually to take place at Syminges' house, the doctor was not losing his influence, and he continued to attend the meetings in the college buildings and elsewhere quite frequently during 1583 and 1584.

Meanwhile, Uncle Jasper continued in the headlines. On November 17, 1582, he was reported to have converted 228 people in three months in Staffordshire, in company with Father Holt and a seminary priest, Dr. Henshawe.<sup>78</sup>

The following two years were busy ones for the young Donne. The two girls in the family were quickly approaching the marriageable age, and the two boys were

on the verge of leaving home for Oxford. Donne's cousin, Alice, began the flight from the home nest by marrying James Russell, one of the young men of the parish, on July 9, 1583. Ten years later this unfortunate couple were to lose five children between September 7th and November 18th, undoubtedly from the plague.<sup>79</sup> This marriage cleared the way for Dr. Syminges to make a move that other ex-presidents of the Royal College had made, moving to the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less and spending his last days near the hospital there. Since his name does not occur in the Ledgers, it appears that he was a sub-tenant, but he paid the poor rate required of all inhabitants from the fourth quarter of 1583 until his death in July 1588. His position in the parish is indicated by the fact that his name appears immediately after that of the chief physician of the hospital in each year's list.<sup>80</sup> Although he was still a wealthy man, there was no need for his keeping the large house in Trinity parish, nor the number of servants such an establishment required. At his new house only two servants were necessary, a young girl, Innocent Robinson, and a man, John Blade.<sup>81</sup>

At the same time Jasper Heywood was beginning his last year in England, in jail. His attempt to sail to

France, having been recalled by his superiors, was frustrated by the channel winds, which blew his ship back to the Sussex coast. Here he was arrested and carried in chains to the Clink, in Southwark, where he remained until his trial with five other Catholics in Westminster Hall on February 5, 1584. For some reason, perhaps because of his boyhood service as a page to the young Elizabeth, he was separated from the others and removed to the Tower while they were executed. The D.N.B. says that there were concerted efforts to make him conform, including an offer of an Anglican bishopric. He remained firm in his faith, however. During the year "he was permitted to receive visits from his sister," and it is possible, as Gosse states, that his nephew accompanied his mother on such visits. It is also possible, however, that the sister involved was Mrs. Marven rather than Mrs. Syminges, whose husband might well have been averse to being drawn into recusant troubles at his advanced age.<sup>82</sup> Donne, in his Easter day sermon for 1627, describes as one of the necessary actions of a wife that she "not harbour in her house, a person dangerous to the Publike State, or to her husbands private state."<sup>83</sup>

It could be wrong to overestimate people's fear of being known-friends of Catholics. The Earl of Warwick

was not hesitant in offering his aid to Heywood, as Sir John Harington's epigram shows:

Young Haywoods answere to my Lord of Warwicke.  
 And in the One neere of kinne to Heywood by his birth,  
 And no lesse neere in name, and most in mirth,  
 practical Was once for his Religions sake committed  
 Whose case a Noble Peere so greatly pittied:  
 what seeme He sent to know what things with him were scant,  
 againe as an And offered frankely to supply his want.  
 Thankes to that Lord, said he, that wills me good,  
 For I want all things sauing hay and wood.<sup>84</sup>

On January 21, 1585, Heywood was taken by ship from the Tower stairs with 21 other Catholics and deposited on the coast of France under a penalty of death if he returned. After a short stay in Burgundy, he was sent to Naples, where he lived until 1598, making a visit by his nephew during the latter's European travels quite possible.

Donne's last year of childhood must have been an interesting one for him. If, before, he had seen death at work in his own family, here he saw it working whole-sale at the hospital. If he had seen doctors at meetings and fireside conversations, here he saw them at their daily tasks.

Gods first intention even when he destroyes  
 the child is to preserve, as a Physitians first intention,  
 in the most distastfull physick, is health;  
 And even Gods demolitions are super-edifications,  
 his Anatomies, his dissections are so many  
 in a burse re-compactings, so many resurrections.<sup>85</sup>

But there were not only the sickness and "Spittles of

diseases,"<sup>86</sup> there were the new playmates of the neighborhood, perhaps, but only perhaps, including the family of John Lyly which lived in this parish. And in the summer of 1584 there was Bartholomew Fair, practically in his own back yard. One incident from that seems to have carried over to his poetry, once again as an image for a poem about love:

But, from late faire  
His highnesse sitting in a golden Chaire,  
Is not lesse cared for after three dayes  
By children, then the thing which lovers so  
Blindly admire, and with such worship wooe.<sup>87</sup>

Ben Jonson was later to describe these gingerbread figures in his famous treatment of the fair,<sup>88</sup> and we can imagine the young Donne's feelings as he wandered about

Smithfield, or the field of Smiths, the Groue of Hobbi-horses and trinkets, the wares are the wares of diuels. And the whole Fayre is the shop of Satan! They are hooks and baites, very baites, that are hung out on euery side, to catch you, and to hold you as it were, by the gills.<sup>89</sup>

If it was Satan's territory, Donne must have been of the Devil's party as he saw the wares and plays that delighted the children, and grown-ups, of London.

And so the period of Donne's boyhood comes to a close in a burst of color, darkened by his stepfather's increasing age and debility and by his uncle's imprisonment

in the Tower. This mixture of dark and light both in his life and writings seems to be their predominant characteristic. But behind him lay the days of games and play. In October he left London with his young brother for Hart Hall, Oxford, and began in earnest the education which was to fit him for service at court, in Parliament, and in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's.

2. For Sir Thomas Moore's ancestry, see *L.L.S.*, Friday, 3. Unless stated, "Dr. Rastell" will always refer to the following information is taken from *L.L.S.*
3. *L.L.S.*, unless otherwise stated.
4. *L.L.S.*, unless otherwise stated.
5. For William Rastell and his lands at Canterbury, see *The Times*, No. 52,464, Saturday, 2 November 1958.
6. Dr. Wood cleared up any doubt on this score with his evidence of the Rastell-Croswell relationship.
7. See R. J. Snowck, "William Rastell and the Prothonotaries", *N. & Q.*, 15 September 1952, for a fuller account of the legal side of the family.
8. Every time the poet's father is mentioned by name, he will arbitrarily be called "Master" in order to avoid confusion with his son.
9. W. Bang, "Acta Anglo-Lovaniana," *Englische Studien*, Vol. 38, (1907), pp. 841-2. This article contains many of the documents showing the activities of the Herwoods and Rastells at this period.
10. Walton, *Life and Death of Dr. Donne, late Deane of St Pauls London*, (1640). The pages are not numbered, being prefixed to the volume of *LXXXI Sermons*. Even Walton's biography is prefigured in Donne's ancestry by Harpsfield's *The Life and death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometime Lord high Chancellor of England*, written during the reign of Mary. See the edition of the Early English Text Society, O.S. 186, (1932, ed. R. V. Hitchcock and R. W. Chambers).
11. For a reproduction of the coat of arms, see William Dugdale, *The History of St Pauls Cathedral in London* (1657), p. 34.
12. Georgius Huisman, *Merling* (1904), p. 21.
13. Donne, *90 Sermons*, XVI, p. 133.
14. Gosse, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
15. This date and the date of his becoming a member of the Company were given to me in a letter from the Secretary of the Ironmongers' Company, Mr. John. I have permission to examine the records for any further information about the silver loan, and, having a gap of considerable interest in Donne's biography.

1. L. P. Smith, Donne's Sermons (1950), p. 24.
2. For Sir Thomas More's ancestry, see T.L.S., Friday, September 12, 1952, article by Margaret Hastings.
3. Unless stated, "John Rastell" will always refer to the husband of Elizabeth More rather than to their son.
4. All of the following information is taken from A. W. Reed, Early Tudor Drama, pp. 1-93, 184-240; or from the D.N.B., unless otherwise stated. Gosse (The Life and Letters of John Donne, London, 1899) is so hopelessly inaccurate on Donne's genealogy that he merely obscures the family influence.
5. It is tempting to imagine a further relationship between the Joan Symonds who acted almost as a parent to John Rastell and the Dr. Symonds or Syminges who married Donne's mother. Joan Symonds was Joan Rastell's godmother.
6. For William Rastell and his lands at Canterbury, see The Times, No. 52,464, Saturday, 8 November 1952.
7. Dr. Wood cleared up any doubt on this score with his evidence of the Rastell-Cromwell relationship.
8. See R. J. Shoeck, "William Rastell and the Prothonotaries", N. & Q., 13 September 1952, for a fuller account of the legal side of the family.
9. Every time the poet's father is mentioned by name, he will arbitrarily be called "Master" in order to avoid confusion with his son.
10. W. Bang, "Acta Anglo-Lovaniensia," Englische Studien, Vol. 38, (1907), pp. 241-2. This article contains many of the documents showing the activities of the Heywoods and Rastells at this period.
11. Walton, Life and Death of Dr Donne, late Deane of St Pauls London, (1640). The pages are not numbered, being prefixed to the volume of LXXX Sermons. Even Walton's biography is prefigured in Donne's ancestry by Harpsfield's The Life and death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometymes Lord high Chancellor of England, written during the reign of Mary. See the edition of the Early English Text Society, O.S. 186, (1932, ed. E. V. Hitchcock and R. W. Chambers).
12. For a reproduction of the coat of arms, see William Dugdale, The History of St Pauls Cathedral in London (1657), p. 62.
13. Georges Huisman, Memline (1934), p. 21.
14. Donne, 80 Sermons, XVI, p. 158.
15. Gosse, op. cit., p. 9.
16. This date and the date of his becoming a Warden of the Company were given to me in a letter from the Clerk of the Ironmongers' Company, Mr. Beck. However, permission to examine the records for any further information about the elder Donne was refused, leaving a gap of considerable interest in Donne's biography.

17. Calendar of Wills, Court of Hustings, London, Part II (1890), pp. 662-4.
18. Gosse, pp. 10, 11.
19. W. Bang, op. cit., p. 238.
20. Report of the special Hertfordshire Commissions of 1572, 74, 77. See Reed.
21. St. Bartholomew's Hospital Journal 1567-1586, No. 2, fo. 23.
22. Acts of the Privy Council, Vol. VIII, 1571-1575 (1894), "6 March 1571," p. 16.
23. fo. 21.
24. See Appendix I. For discussions of his possible date of birth, see I. A. Shapiro, "Donne's Birthdate", N. & Q., 19 July, 1952; W. Milgate, "The Date of Donne's Birth", N. & Q., Vol. 191. 16 November, 1946; H. W. Garrod, "Donne and Mrs. Herbert", R.E.S., Vol. 21, No. 83, July 1945.
25. The Proverbs of John Heywood (1874, ed. Julian Sharman). Any evidence taken from this volume is extremely shaky, even though quoted in the D.N.B.
26. John Stow, Annals (1631), p. 678.
27. According to a letter from the Privy Council, on August 26th of this same year, a request was made for the delivery of "the Popishe Pristes that said Masse in Lent last, viz. Hayward, Haywood, and Dolman." (APC N.S., Vol. VIII, 1571-75, p. 287). This either indicates a misdating or an overlooking of a previous execution.
28. St. Bart. Journal No. 2, fo. 72v.
29. Ibid., fo. 77v.
30. Reed, pp. 35-6.
31. Ibid., p. 237.
32. Gosse, II, 357. See emendations by F. B. Wilson in R.E.S., July, 1929.
33. The lower figure may explain Walton's use of it as the amount Donne was to receive.
34. I Tim. 5:8; James I:27.
35. Herbert J. C. Grierson, The Poems of John Donne (1951), Vol. I, 77.
36. 80 Sermons, VIII, Candlemas, p. 81.
37. See Appendix I for a discussion of this entry.
38. See Appendix I.
39. St. Bartholomew's Ledger No. 2 1562-1588.
40. For an account of his life, see Appendix II.
41. Patent Rolls Elizabeth, Vol. II, 1560-1563, p. 199; Part 13, m.1.
42. Rep. 19, fos. 75, 78, 99.
43. Izaak Walton, The Lives of John Donne, etc., (World's Classics, 1950), p. 51. In the 1640 ed. he adds parenthetically after "promise", "being then but forty two years of age." Actually he was 45.
44. Gosse, II, 89.

45. Walton, Lives (1640 ed), p. 23, says "nine years of age."
46. Gosse, I, 14.
47. 80 Sermons, p. 664. Italics mine.
48. Liber Annalium Collegij Medicorum Lond, Vol. II, fo. 38v.
49. John Donne, Paradoxes (1652), pp. 20-22.
50. Using R. E. Bennett's 1949 ed. of Donne's poems. Combs & Sullens record 108 uses of the word "death" in the poems, 19 other uses of words containing "death", and 10 uses of "dying".
51. For more on the subject of Donne and Emblems see Josef Lederer, "John Donne and the Emblematic Practice", R.E.S., Vol. 22, no. 87, July 1946. Mr. Lederer claims much too much, but he indicates a familiarity which was of great value in Donne's use of imagery.
52. Grierson, I, 63; ll. 1-4.
53. Ibid., p. 35, Love's Exchange; ll. 38-42.
54. Ibid., p. 92, Elegie VIII; ll. 51-52.
55. 80 Sermons, XIII, p. 132.
56. 80 Sermons, XXVI, p. 263.
57. Ibid., p. 58, The Funeral; ll. 9-11. The Second Anniversary contains a gloss for these lines:  
 As doth the pith, which, lest our bodies slacke,  
 Strings fast the little bones of necke, and backe.  
 (p. 257, ll. 211-2). For more of Donne's use of medical knowledge in the poems, see W. A. Murray, "Donne and Paracelsus", R.E.S., Vol. 25, no. 98, April 1949.
58. Grierson, I, p. 259; ll. 263-280.
59. Walton, 1640.
60. Grierson, I, 36, Confined Love; ll. 15-16.
61. Ibid., p. 22, Air and Angels; ll. 15-18.
62. 26 Sermons, XIX, p. 279, in Evelyn Simpson, The Prose Works of John Donne (1948, 2nd ed.), p. 285.
63. 80 Sermons, p. 340.
64. Grierson, I, 162; ll. 105-107.
65. Gosse suggests that Donne may have spent some time with his grandfather in Louvain or Malines, but such an idea does not pay any attention either to the very touchy relations with the elder Heywood during Donne's father's life, or to the circumstances of Heywood's life on the continent.
66. 80 Sermons, XXIX, p. 289.
67. R. de la Bère, John Heywood, Entertainer (1937), p. 44. The list is among the Egerton Papers. Ellis is reported making a journey to the Papal Nuncio at Brussels on April 18, 1577, to report on Heretics, but he seems to have had nothing to say. State Papers Foreign-Elizabeth, 1575-1577, 1394, 1395.
68. Bang, op. cit., p. 236.
69. Gosse, I, 12; Reed, pp. 68-9.
70. St. Bartholomew Journal 2, fos. 109, 109v.
71. Ibid., fo. 113..

72. Bang, op. cit., pp. 236-37. Gosse gives c 1580 for the death of John Heywood but with no evidence.
73. Simpson, Prose Works, pp. 183-4.
74. Letter from Father Fitzgibbon, S.J.
75. D.N.B.
76. Register of Holy Trinity the Less No. 1, 1547-1663.
77. Annals, II, fos. 14v, 15, 15v, 16.
78. S.P.D. Elizabeth, 1581-1590, Vol. II, p. 75; vol. clv, 96.
79. Little Trinity Register I.
80. Churchwardens' Accounts, Vol. I, 1575-1614, fos. 21, 25, 28, 30, 32.
81. St. Bartholomew Journal 3, fo. 287v.
82. Gosse (I, 13-15) becomes hopelessly entangled in dates during this period, having Heywood exiled some months before he is released from prison to live with Mrs. Donne. Father Fitzgibbon is probably correct in minimizing the contacts of these two.
83. 80 Sermons, XX, p. 219.
84. Norman McClure, The Epigrams of Sir John Harington (1926), p. 135.
85. 80 Sermons, XIII, p. 129.
86. Grierson, I, 112, Elegie XVI; l. 34.
87. Ibid., p. 70, Farewell to love; ll. 11-15.
88. Bartholomew Fair, III, vi. Grierson incorrectly refers to III, i. in his notes.
89. Ibid., III, ii; Ben Jonson, (1938, ed. Herford & Simpson), Vol. VI.

well-meaning aunt and uncle, Edward and Grace Dawson, who received legacies from Master Donne and were to be supported for the last few years of the Dean of Paul's life as "aged persons."<sup>2</sup> It would be difficult to understand Donne's care for this brother and sister had he not become very close to them while at Oxford, for they were not even blood relations. Many Dawsons appear in the volumes of the Oxford Historical Society, and an Edward Dawson led the list of Mr. Donne's scholars on October 15, 1623,<sup>3</sup> an entry which would indicate Catholic leanings; but the man most probably Donne's uncle is the Edward Dawson who, on March 11, 1610, was



## Chapter 2

## University

On Friday, October 23, 1584, John Donne and his brother Henry matriculated from Hart Hall, Oxford, at the ages of 12 and 11.<sup>1</sup> The record itself says they were 11 and 10, but that was probably due to the boys being Catholics and wanting to get in as much education as possible before they would be faced with the oath requiring conformity in religion. Here began the associations and friendships which were to be as great an influence as any on the poetic production of Donne. Meanwhile, however, he was still a very young boy who would no doubt be somewhat looked after, perhaps to his chagrin, by a well-meaning aunt and uncle, Edward and Grace Dawson, who received legacies from Master Donne and were to be supported for the last few years of the Dean of Paul's life as "aged persons."<sup>2</sup> It would be difficult to understand Donne's care for this brother and sister had he not become very close to them while at Oxford, for they were not even blood relations. Many Dawsons appear in the volumes of the Oxford Historical Society, and an Edward Dawson led the list of Mr. Case's scholars on October 18, 1583,<sup>3</sup> an entry which would indicate Catholic leanings; but the man most probably Donne's uncle is the Edward Dawson who, on March 12, 1610, was



admitted to a license to sell ale. This license was often granted to bedells and college servants to make up for their low wages.<sup>4</sup>

But as close as the Dawsons may have been to Donne, it is not their influence that interests us here. At Oxford he was to make friends who were close to him throughout his life and to whose influence we may well credit much of Donne's verse. Entering Hart Hall the same day as the Donnes was Richard Baker, a sixteen-year-old boy from Kent, who was to leave us a short but valuable word picture of Donne to which we will later refer. He is also important as a connecting link between Donne and his friend Henry Wotton. Wotton had come up to Oxford from his family home of Bocton Malherbe, in Kent, on June 5th of this year, aged sixteen,<sup>5</sup> and had matriculated from New College. He soon moved to Hart Hall, however, and roomed with Richard Baker.<sup>6</sup> Considering the doubt cast on the close friendship of Wotton and Donne and the importance of the connection in 1596-97, it would be best to examine the evidence.<sup>7</sup>

At the beginning of the life of Donne prefixed to the 1640 edition of the LXXX Sermons, Walton states that the original author was to have been Wotton:

If that great Master of Language and Art, Sir Henry Wootton, Provost of Eaton Colledge, (lately deceased) had lived to see the publication of

these Sermons, he had presented the world with the Authors life exactly written. It was a Work worthy his undertaking, and he fit to undertake it; betwixt whom and our Author, there was such a friendship contracted in their youths, that nothing but death could force the separation. And though their bodies were divided, that learned Knights love followed his friends fame beyond the forgetfull grave, which he testified by intreating me (whom he acquainted with his designe) to inquire of certaine particulars that concerned it: Not doubting but my knowledge of the Author, and love to his memory, would make my diligence usefull. I did prepare them in a readiness to be augmented, and rectified by his powerfull pen; but then death prevented his intentions.

It would be of great interest to students of both Wotton's letter to Walton concerning this enterprise may be read in L. P. Smith's, Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton. On November 17, 1664, Henry King, then Bishop of Chichester, wrote to Walton about the latter's biographies of Donne, Wotton, and Hooker. The letter contains the following section.<sup>30</sup> It is also possible that some of the

letters in the Burley MS, copies of which are in Mrs. Simpson's Donne, you undertook the like office for our Friend Sir Henry Wotton: betwixt which two there was a Friendship begun in Oxford, continued in their various Travels, and more confirmed in the religious Friendship of Age: and doubtless this excellent Person had writ the Life of Dr. Donne, if Death had not prevented him.<sup>31</sup>

have occasion to examine these letters in some detail. In his life of Wotton, Walton is even more explicit about the relationship.

of letters between the two men. In 1607 [Walton] to his regard From which place, before I shall invite the Reader to follow him into a Foreign Nation, though I must omit to mention divers Persons that

were then in Oxford, of memorable note for Learning, and Friends to Sir Henry Wotton; yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. Donne (sometimes Dean of St. Pauls) a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say any thing, because he who is of this Nation, and pretends to Learning or Ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented: And as it was begun in their Youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent Inclinations and Studies, so it lasted till Age and Death forced a Separation.<sup>9</sup>

It would be of great interest to students of both Donne and Wotton if the many letters which must have passed between them could be found, but on that score we are faced with disappointment. There is just one certain prose letter of Donne to Wotton extant, written from Chelsea, on July 12, 1625, to Wotton, then Provost of Eton College.<sup>10</sup> It is also possible that some of the letters in the Burley MS, copies of which are in Mrs. Simpson's Study of the Prose Works of John Donne, are letters of Donne to Wotton, but there is considerable doubt as to the validity of these letters being addressed to Wotton and more as to their being by Donne. We will have occasion to examine these letters in some detail later on. But there is no question about the passage of letters between the two men. In 1607 and 1608, Donne, to his regular Tuesday correspondent, Henry Goodyer, mentions receiving letters from Wotton.<sup>11</sup> In 1612 Wotton

wrote from Amiens to Donne, who was at Paris, on about March 10th.<sup>12</sup> It also seems sure that they met in Frankfurt sometime after Easter that year.<sup>13</sup> In 1623, Wotton, in a letter to Sir Albertus Morton, from Venice, asked Morton to give Donne a copy of "a larger cipher" to facilitate their correspondence.<sup>14</sup> Earlier there had been an exchange of verse letters, four of which by Donne are included in Grierson's collection of Donne's poems, dating from 1598 to 1604.<sup>15</sup> Aside from these definite proofs of their friendship, we have indications from other sources, such as the common friendship with Father Paolo Servita of Venice,<sup>16</sup> but we need not labor the point any more. Donne was in contact with Wotton right up to the very end, as is shown by his including Wotton among those who received seal rings from him not long before his death. It is to Wotton that Walton credits the famous description of Donne's statue, "it seems to breath faintly; and Posterity shall look upon it as a kind of artificial Miracle."<sup>17</sup>

Let us return to Oxford in 1584. If Donne and Wotton did not know each other when they first met at university, they must soon have found family ties. We have already seen that William Rastell supplied most of his relatives with rings when he made out his will in August, 1564. Four men outside of the family were also

given rings, one of them being Sir Thomas Wotton, "Anglo." He received a gold ring with the inscription "Lex est arma Regum."<sup>18</sup> Sir Thomas was Henry's father, a man known for his disinterest in court circles and his strong

Protestantism. What his connection with Rastell was is unknown, although they may have been neighboring land-holders. At any rate, they appear to have been close friends, and there is always the chance that there existed a family friendship which had brought the two boys under discussion together before they reached university, although this is unlikely.

The friendship with Wotton was an important one for Donne. Henry, four years older than John, must have had considerable influence on his young friend, and Henry's main interest appears to have been in languages. He was an accomplished student in Italian. This emphasis on language is an important item in any study of Donne, and the main contribution of Oxford to Donne seems to have been his knowledge of and interest in Spanish.

Walton's description of Donne's entering and working at Oxford does not give us much detail on which to work.

He had his first breeding in his Father's house, where a private Tutor had the care of him, until the tenth year of his age; and, in his eleventh<sup>19</sup> year, was sent to the University of Oxford; having at that time a good command both of the French and Latine Tongue. This and some other of his remark-

able Abilities, made one then give this censure of him; That this age had brought forth another Picus Mirandula; of whom Story says, That he was rather born, than made wise by study?<sup>20.</sup>

There he remained for some years in Hart-Hall, having for the advancement of his studies Tutors of several Sciences to attend and instruct him..<sup>21.</sup>

His knowledge of Latin and French would have given him a strong foundation for language study, but what the "several Sciences" might have been is open to conjecture. We have already surmised that his interest in anatomy and medicine had been awakened, and it was probably here that he began the study of logic which was to influence his method of poetic construction. It must be confessed that he seemed to be more interested in how to appear logical while being fallacious than in following the rules strictly, but there were obvious reasons, as we shall see. Besides, that is certainly the usual undergraduate approach, at least among the "wits," even to-day. His interest in logic as a method of inquiry continued throughout his life and is revealed in such passages from the sermons as:

Now when these pieces meet, when these atomes make up a body, a body of Error, that it come to an Opinion, a halfe-assurance, and that in some thing contrary to foundations, and that it be held stiffely, publicquely persisted in, then enters this reproofe; but yet even then reproofe is but Syllogismus, it is but an argument, it is but convincing, it is not destroying; it is not an Inquisition, a prison, a sword, an axe, a halter, a fire; It is a syllogisme, not a syllogisme, whose major is this, Others, your Ancestors beleaved it, and the minor this, We

that are your Superiours beleeeve it, Ergo you must, or else be banisht or burnt. With such syllogismes the Arians abounded, where they prevailed in the Primitive Church, and this is the Logique of the Inquisition of Rome. But our syllogisme must be a syllogisme within our Authors definition, when out of some things which are agreed on all sides, other things that are controverted, are made evident and manifest.<sup>22</sup>.

We shall see that Donne was often very illogical, even when being extremely serious, a point which does considerable damage to his thought. At this point, however, we are only concerned with his studies at university.

His interest in Mathematics may have started at Oxford, although images from this branch of science do not appear in the poems until quite late. Argument for dating on the basis of imagery is, of course, open to question, and yet it is certainly an indication. Donne's "mathematical" images usually are drawn from Geometry, including, possibly the famous figure of the compasses from A Valediction:  
forbidding mourning:

If they be two, they are two so  
As stiffe twin compasses are two,  
Thy soule the fixt foot, makes no show  
To move, but doth, if the 'other doe.

And though it in the center sit,  
Yet when the other far doth rome,  
It leanes, and hearkens after it,  
And growes erect, as that comes home.

Such wilt thou be to mee, who must  
Like th'other foot, obliquely runne;  
Thy firmnes makes my circle just,  
And makes me end, where I begunne.<sup>23</sup>.

A more explicit image derived from this study occurs in Of the Progresse of the Soule,

And as, though all doe know, that quantities  
Are made of lines, and lines from Points arise,  
None can these lines or quantities unjoynt,  
And say this is a line, or this a point,  
So though the Elements and Humors were  
In her, one could not say, this governes there.  
Whose even constitution might have wonne  
Any disease to venter on the Sunne,  
Rather then her: and make a spirit feare,  
That hee to disuniting subject were.  
To whose proportions if we would compare  
Cubes, th'are unstable; Circles, Angular.<sup>24</sup>

If such images do not occur in the early poems, certainly those of Astronomy do, and in exceedingly great number. There is no proof of any of these poems being written before the late 1590's, but some may be earlier. We are not discussing here Donne's use of the "New Philosophy" which was calling all things in doubt. That is a later study and result of reading Kepler, Copernicus, Bruno, and others. The images in the Songs and Sonets are of the more non-controversial kind and merely indicate an interest in and knowledge of the subject.

These burning fits but meteors bee,  
Whose matter in thee is soone spent.  
Thy beauty, 'and all parts, which are thee,  
Are unchangeable firmament.<sup>25</sup>

And yet no greater, but more eminent,  
Love by the spring is growne;  
As, in the firmament,  
Starres by the Sunne are not inlarg'd, but showne.<sup>26</sup>

The content of the images, as in the use of medical terms and practices, is not developed for its own sake; it merely supplies a comparison or illustrates a quality. Donne even draws upon lunar attraction for his purpose and achieves one of his most beautiful pieces of poetry,

O more than Moone,  
 Draw not up seas to drowne me in thy spheare,  
 Weepe me not dead in thine armes, but forbeare  
 To teach the sea, what it may doe too soone.<sup>27</sup>

He uses the Ptolmaic conception of the universe without hesitation, just as he was to continue to do, off and on, for the rest of his life, in spite of his knowledge of Copernicus' work. For example, the following is from the afore-quoted Valediction: forbidding mourning, which was probably not written until 1611,

Moving of th'earth brings harmes and feares,  
 Men reckon what it did and meant,  
 But trepidation of the spheares,  
 Though greater farre, is innocent.<sup>28</sup>

The term "Science" as a course of study could certainly have included the study of languages as well, and in Donne's case undoubtedly did, for by the age of 18, Donne was using a passage from Montemayor's Diana as a motto for his portrait.

Oxford was the centre of interest in Spanish in England. Miss Mary Ramsay put it,

Dans les années qui suivirent le mariage de Catherine d'Aragon avec Henri VIII, il se produisait déjà dans ce pays une certaine curiosité à l'égard de la pensée espagnole. Ce mouvement, à Oxford surtout, était stimulé par Jean Louis Vivès, le savant espagnol, qui y enseigna à partir de 1523. Une partie des œuvres de ce philosophe et théologien fut écrite à cette université, et un de ses traités fut dédié à sa protectrice, la reine Catherine.<sup>29.</sup>

Hart Hall seems to have had its share of interest in Spanish, for while Donne was there, James Mabbe, who was later to do a good deal of Spanish translation, was a fellow-student.<sup>30.</sup> Miss Ramsay goes on,

Ce fut pourtant le mysticisme espagnol qui eut la plus grande influence en Angleterre. Lorsque Donne vint à Oxford, la belle période de l'efflorescence mystique en Espagne touchait à sa fin. Sainte Thérèse mourut en 1582, Louis de Grenade en 1588, et St. Jean de la Croix en 1591. Déjà ces mystiques commençaient à être connus en Angleterre, et Francis Meres venait de publier en traduction anglaise le Guide des Pécheurs de Grenade.

Que ces livres soient tombés alors entre les mains du jeune Donne, il n'y a rien d'improbable. Donne était curieux de tout savoir. Mais on ne peut pas trop appuyer sur leur influence possible à cette époque de la carrière de Donne. La tendance mystique et piétiste qui chez Donne devient de plus en plus marquée, et dont nous aurons à marquer un peu le progrès, ne paraît pas être à ce moment très prononcée. Il est possible qu'il ait lu alors les écrits de Grenade et des autres mystiques, mais avec un intérêt plutôt intellectuel. Ce n'est que plus tard qu'il exposera des idées qui s'accordent avec celles du mysticisme espagnol, lorsque les tendances dont nous venons de parler auront plus de prise sur lui.<sup>31.</sup>

Thomas E. Terrill, in a thesis for Harvard University, in

1928, has shown Donne's connection with the Spanish mystics through Father Bannes, St. Theresa's confessor, but he has also shown that Donne's early interests were with poems more comprehensible to a young boy, like the love songs of the Diana and the bawdy stories of the Spanish Chaucer, Juan Ruiz.<sup>32</sup> If some of these early Spanish poems did make up a good part of his reading, he was receiving a rather heavy dose of sex for his age. Sir Herbert Grierson and Mr. Leishman have shown the strong influence of Ovid's un-Victorian poetry on Donne, and this combination of influences should be considered in studying Donne's early poetry and prose. His knowledge of sex came early and in an unidealized form. Even the more ideal love of the Diana remains unspoiled only because the heroine dies. Moreover, this experience with sex, coming at or near puberty, was a strictly intellectual adventure. These points are extremely important to remember when we come to a study of the Elegies and Satyres.

That it is important to stress the early importance of Spanish on Donne's life and literary taste seems too obvious to argue. To glance at the Spanish authors quoted in the Sermons and controversial works or to notice parts of the Anniversaries which read as free translations of Montemayor's "Canto de Orpheo" is enough

to make the point.<sup>33</sup> But the main indication of Donne's feelings about Spanish literature remains his own statement to the Duke of Buckingham in 1623.

Most Honoured Lord,--I can thus far make myself believe that I am where your Lordship is, in Spain, that, in my poor library, where indeed I am, I can turn mine eye towards no shelf, in any profession from the mistress of my youth, Poetry, to the wife of mine age, Divinity, but that I meet more authors of that nation than of any other.<sup>34</sup>

Whatever studies Donne may have found himself engaged in, we may surmise that he worked hard and earnestly. Perhaps with some slight bitterness at his own lack of success after many years of study at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, he once described the fruits of study in a Candlemas Sermon,

Let no man say, I could not misse a fortune, for I have studied all my youth; How many men have studied more nights, then he hath done hours, and studied themselves blinde, and mad in the Mathematiques, & yet withers in beggery in a corner? Let him never adde, But I studied in a usefull and gainfull profession; How many have done so too, and yet never compassed the favour of a Judge?...Come not therefore to say, I studied more then my fellows, and therefore am richer than my fellows, but say, God that gave me my contemplations at first, gave me my practice after, and hath given me his blessing now. How many men have worn their braines upon other studies, and spent their time and themselves therein? how many men have studied more in thine own profession, and yet, for diffidence in themselves, or some disfavour from others, have not had thy practice? How many men have been equall to thee, in study, in practice, and in getting too, and yet upon a

wanton confidence, that that world would alwayes last, or upon the burden of many children, and an expensive breeding of them, or for other reasons, which God hath found in his wayes, are left upon the sand at last, in low fortune?<sup>35</sup>.

But, along with his studies, we may suppose that he spent a good amount of time reading poetry, and perhaps trying his own youthful hand. Soon after he began his studies at Lincoln's Inn in 1592, he wrote a verse letter of advice to Samuel, the brother of his best friend, Christopher Brooke.<sup>36</sup> We may suppose that his advice to the young man newly-entered at Cambridge is based on his own experience.

O Thou which to search out the secret parts  
Of the India, or rather Paradise  
Of knowledge, hast with courage and advise  
Lately launch'd into the vast Sea of Arts,  
Disdaine not in thy constant travailing  
To doe as other Voyagers, and make  
Some turnes into lesse Creekes, and wisely take  
Fresh water at the Heliconian spring;  
I sing not, Siren like, to tempt; for I  
Am harsh; nor as those Scismatiques with you,  
Which draw all wits of good hope to their crew;  
But seeing in you bright sparkes of Poetry,  
I, though I brought no fuell, had desire  
With these Articulate blasts to blow the fire.<sup>37</sup>.

It would help a good deal to know whether the remarks about Brooke's associates were those of an Oxford man about the rival Cambridge or of a young Catholic about a Protestant friend. I favor the former. Grierson and other editors have gone by these "hard words, or sense", but they may contain the seed of a good deal of biographical material.

It appears certain that it was at Oxford that Donne became acquainted with many of the young poets and wits with whom he associated until at least the time of his ordination. I do not think the student of Donne should underestimate the importance of Donne's relations with the group of men who were writing poetry as a pastime and as an intellectual game. That it was a game does not mean that it was not a serious endeavor. Anyone who has played bridge or chess with an expert knows how seriously a game can be taken. We shall have reason to examine this question again, for it is an important one; meanwhile we can only notice the number of "wits", later to be known of Donne's circle, who were at Oxford at the same time as he. John Hoskins of Hereford, later Serjeant-at-law, entered New College on March 5, 1585, at the age of nineteen.<sup>38</sup> He became a great master of Latin, Greek, Divinity, and Law, according to John Aubrey, and was a close friend of Ben Jonson, Sir Walter Raleigh, Donne, Richard Martin, Benjamin Ruddyer, and Henry Wotton. Especially interesting for us is the fact that he was expelled from New College for his bitter satires. Here, then, is one apparent influence on Donne's earliest poetry. Aubrey's description of Hoskins gives us another.

He had a very readie witt, and would make verses on the roade, where he was the best company in the world. In Sir H. Wotton's Remaynes are verses made on the roade by him and Sir Henry.<sup>39</sup>

It seems that Hoskins started a fad of composing poetry on the road and of writing verse dialogues. In 1613 Donne wrote a poem to Henry Goodyer while he was riding west on Good Friday to visit Sir Edward Herbert.<sup>40</sup> He also wrote a verse dialogue with Goodyer<sup>41</sup> and was credited with one apparently written by the Earl of Pembroke and Benjamin Ruddyer.<sup>42</sup> In the 1635-39 editions of Donne's poems, this is given as written by Donne and Wotton. Notice how entangled the associations of this group were. Donne has also been given credit for what is probably Hoskins' "Absence heare my protestation."<sup>43</sup> The practice of composing on the road seems to have been a common one for Donne, as he wrote to Goodyer in 1606 or 7,

To make my debt greater (for such is the desire of all, who cannot or mean not to pay) I pray read these two problems: for such light flashes as these have been my hawkings in my Surrey journeys.<sup>44</sup>

The influence of Hoskins on Donne has not been sufficiently noticed. Perhaps too much has been said of Donne's unique poetic treatment of the new astronomy. We should remember that Hoskins inscribed on the wall of his house, by the porch, the following verses:

Stat coelum, fateor, Copernice, terra movetur;  
Et mutant dominos tecta rotata suos.<sup>45</sup>

On July 2, 1585, another future poet probably came up

to Oxford (Magdalen College) from Wales, John Davies,<sup>46</sup> and on December 10th, Richard Martin, aged 15, who was made Recorder of London just before his death in 1618, matriculated from Broadgates Hall.<sup>47</sup> Two other members of the group of friends that were to remain close for some years were at Oxford at the same time as Donne. Thomas Bastard, who in 1598 was to take part in the poetic battle of city-versus-country, entered New College at the age of twenty on December 16, 1586,<sup>48</sup> while Hugh Holland, another Welshman, then twenty-four years old, had entered Balliol on March 1, 1583.<sup>49</sup> I have included the ages of these men to show that Donne was very young in comparison. His precociousness would have won him a part in any group of wits, but his place would undoubtedly have been as a follower rather than a leader, and if these young poets all began writing somewhat similar verse and engaged in new forms of literary gymnastics, we should hesitate before claiming that Donne was the instigator. That he was far more successful than his friends is undoubtedly true, but that is a different matter altogether.

Of his non-intellectual activities, we know nothing.

His later references to universities, tempered no doubt by the years, indicate a rather serious appreciation of the days spent there. He described the

university as "a Paradise, Rivers of knowledge are there, arts and sciences flow from thence;"<sup>50</sup>. and he often compared the Church to a university.

This place then where we take our degrees in this knowledge of God, our Academy, our University for that, is the Church; for, though, as there may be some few examples given, of men that have growne learned, who never studied at University; so there may be some examples of men enlightned by God, and yet not within that covenant which constitutes the Church; yet the ordinary place for Degrees is the University, and the ordinary place for Illumination in the knowledge of God, is the Church.<sup>51</sup>.

Certainly being associated with older boys whose cast of mind was at least as serious as his own, if not more so, and having the partial care of his year-younger brother on his mind, it is not likely that his life resembled that of his uncles Ellis or Jasper in their years at Oxford, and Dr. Syminges would have been spared the worry that John Heywood had, according to Sir John Harington.

Of old Haywoods sonnes  
 Old Haywoods sons did wax so wild and youthfull,  
 It made their aged father sad and ruthfull.  
 A friend one day, the elder did admonish  
 With threats, as did his courage halfe astonish,  
 How that except he would begin to thriue,  
 His Sire of all his goods would him deprive.  
 For whom, quoth he? Eu'n for your younger brother.  
 Nay then, said he, no feare, if't be none other.  
 My brother's worse then I, and till he mends,  
 I know, my father no such wrong intends,  
 Sith both are bad, to shew so partiall wrath,  
 To giue his yonger vnthrift that hee hath.

At the time of Donne's beginning at Oxford, Jasper Heywood was still making jokes to stir Harington's pen, but he was in no laughing position. His nephew probably was told of his enforced exile to France in January, 1585, but once again, we cannot guess how much the young Donne knew of his uncle. Certainly other family news must have reached him, such as his step-father's partial retirement from the activities of the Royal College of Physicians the month after Donne left for Oxford, because of ill health and advancing age.<sup>53</sup>

In the summer or early autumn of 1585 the composition of the family at St. Bartholomew's changed again, when Donne's older sister, Anne, decided to marry. Her choice was Avarey Copley, a young barrister of Lincoln's Inn. How Anne met this man is not known, unfortunately, for he represents a possible link between Donne and several later friends. Probably the connection was religious, however, for the Copleys were a strong Catholic family in York. Avarey was the second son of Avarey Copley of Batley, co. York, who owned at least one manor in Sutton besides his own estate and was active in the affairs of the city of York. The Sutton manor brought Anne into court against her father-in-law in 1591, and it is from that legal dispute that we learn some interesting facts about the Donne family. The elder Avarey was a rather

important businessman of Yorkshire, and in 1596 he was one of the five leading men of York addressed by the Privy Council, excusing that city from payment of ship money.<sup>54</sup> Also in 1596 Copley was one of those who certified the musters from the West Riding of York.<sup>55</sup> Apparently, the younger Avary did not possess his father's business head, for on December 3, 1584, a young Catholic, William Hopwood, mentions that he has been trying to get back some money owed him by Avarey Copley of Lincoln's Inn.<sup>56</sup> And when he died in 1591, leaving his wife and one child, Avarey was in great debt. This is especially noteworthy considering the terms of his marriage contract. Anne said later that she had with her at marriage £500.<sup>57</sup> This probably represents her portion of her father's will (see App. I), but it may include something from her step-father as well. To this £500, her mother added a £600 loan. Avarey, on his side, procured an annuity or yearly rent of £30 from Frances Bosseville of Gunthwaite, co. York, for his wife's life time, but also promised Mrs. Syminges to purchase a further advancement from his father of an annuity of 40 marks for both himself and his wife from the land in Sutton, already mentioned. In six years he managed to run through all of this money and a good deal besides.

The marriage must have taken place before November 12, 1585, for on that day the Alderman's court received

testimony that three of the Donne children had died before their twenty-first birthday; clearing the way for Anne's portion to be collected.<sup>58</sup> On November 18th, Anne and Avarey collected the money due them and signed the accounts as being satisfied.<sup>59</sup>

On July 18, 1586, Dr. Syminges attended his last meeting at the Royal College of Physicians and retired into silence at St. Bartholomew's.<sup>60</sup> With this entry, the evidence on Donne's life comes to a halt for two years, and the student of his life finds himself faced with the problem of discovering not what his activities were, but which of several possibilities is the most plausible. We leave him at Oxford, surrounded by an identifiable group of friends; when we pick him up again, he is in London, studying law, surrounded by a somewhat different group of associates. All we can do is find certain links between the two and hope they shed some light on his movements.

As usual, we shall begin with Walton's statement.

There he remained in Hart Hall, (having for the advancement of his studies, Tutors in severall Sciences to instruct him) till time made him capable, and his learning exprest in many publique Exercises, declared him fit to receive his first Degree in the Schooles, which he forbore by advise from his friends, who being of the Romish perswasion, were conscionably averse to some parts of the Oath, alwayes tendred and taken at those times.

About the fourteenth yeare of his age, he

was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge, where (that he might receive nourishment from both soiles) he staid till his seventeenth yeare. All which time he was a most laborious Student, often changing his studies, but endeavouring to take no Degree for the reasons formerly mentioned.<sup>61.</sup>

Such a change of academic scene would not have been strange under the circumstances and was a quite frequent occurrence at this period, but certainly there should be some evidence of as outstanding a young man as Donne being at Cambridge for three or four years. Gosse said he had proof of Donne's being at Cambridge and cited the entry in the Oxford registers of his incorporation as M.A. of Cambridge, with John Pory, to an ad eundem M.A. at Oxford on April 18, 1610.<sup>62.</sup> This has been shown to be an inaccurate reading, however,<sup>63.</sup> and the fact remains that we have no evidence of Donne's having gone to Cambridge.<sup>64.</sup> Walton must have had some reason to think that Donne went to Cambridge, but what it was we do not know unless it is shown up by his calling Samuel Brooke Donne's "Compupill in Cambridge." Gosse falls easily into this trap and writes,

It was at Cambridge, doubtless, that Donne formed the acquaintance of a family of the city of York named Brooke, several members of which, but particularly Christopher and Samuel, were afterwards closely identified with him.<sup>65.</sup>

This is nicely vague and misleading. We have already seen that Samuel did not enter Cambridge until after Donne had

entered Lincoln's Inn. As for Christopher, he acted as one of the manucaptors for Donne when the latter entered Lincoln's Inn. That they could not have been friends at Cambridge is perfectly clear when it is seen that Christopher entered Lincoln's Inn on March 15, 1587,<sup>66</sup> only two and a half years after Donne entered Oxford.

Besides, it is unnecessary to look for a Cambridge connection. There is no reason why there might not be a link between the two in the person of Avarey Copley, who also was a Lincoln's Inn man. But there is an even more plausible connection. We have noticed Donne's poetical friends at Oxford, but there are other connections we have not mentioned. On December 16, 1586, the same day Thomas Bastard matriculated from New College, John Brooke entered University College from York. This may have been Christopher's younger brother, for even considering his future in the ministry, this John would fit the records of the city of York concerning Christopher's brother.<sup>67</sup> Even if the family link was not so close, though, it might very well have been close enough to fit our situation. It is certainly as plausible a connection as the doubtful Cambridge bond.

This still does not invalidate Walton's statement, however, and we had better examine it from another angle. In the 1640 edition, Walton had Donne entering Oxford at

the age of nine and moving at fourteen to Cambridge, then going to London at seventeen. Donne entered Oxford in 1584 and in 1591, seven years later, entered Thavies Inn. This could almost fit, with Donne staying at Oxford until 1588 or 89. Using the 1675 wording, Donne would enter at 11, move at 14, and go to London at 17. This does not cover the period, but it would describe a situation in which Donne would enter Cambridge about 1587. Walton says he was ready for a degree, which usually took four years, but did not take one for religious reasons. This sounds all right at first, but the fact remains that a good many Catholics were taking degrees, even though it was against the law.

The Chancellor [Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester], in the Year 1584, by a letter sent at the Queen's Instance to the University, commanded that no Person should be admitted to any Degree, without performing the statutable Exercise for the same, upon a Report made to her Majesty, that Degrees were taken here by the Method of Dispensations, without any Regard had to Learning or Merit; wherefore he commanded them, both in his own and the Queen's Name, to see that all Persons whosoever, did their Exercise for the same, and that they staid their proper Time, before they presum'd to take any Batchelor's Degree in Divinity, Law or Phÿsick, or any other Faculty whatsoever, or sue for any Doctor's Degree, without reading their Cursory Lectures; except the Sons of Kings and Noblemen, having a Voice in the Upper House of Parliament; nor shou'd any Dispensations be granted for the Doing of Exercise after the taking of such Degree; which by giving of Bonds, and then forfeiting the Conditions thereof, have suffer'd such infamous Blockheads to pass their Degrees, as cou'd never have other-

John Donne wise been conceiv'd to have had the least Part of an University Education. Hinc illae lachrymae, etc. ...who [Leicester] coming to Oxford about the middle of August, 1588, gave way to Fate soon after at Cornbury in Oxfordshire, and was succeeded in the office of Chancellor of this University by Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord High Chancellor of England. Yet notwithstanding what has been said of the Earl's Conduct and Government of this celebrated Mart or Staple of Learning, it must be acknowledg'd, that some Dissensions and Immoralities were rather owing to the Chancellor's Tyranny and Indiscretion in Point of Government, than to the License of the Times.

1589 Whatsoever the Earl of Leicester had been defective in, about reforming the University, was this Year in some measure accomplished by his Successor, who took care, that all Persons to be admitted to any Degree, should first give an account of their Faith, which thing had been hitherto much neglected by his Predecessor, and was complain'd of by the Bishop of Hereford, finding many Heterodox Divines living in his Diocess. He not only detected many Romanists lurking in the neighbourhood of Oxford, and seducing the younger Students to go to foreign Universities, but also restrain'd the Scholars Excess in Apparel, chastising all other Vices in them.<sup>68</sup>

The change in Chancellors took place just as Donne would be preparing for his disputations, and any hopes of his for evading the law would be frustrated by Hatton's reforms. This change in Administration may well have sent him off to Cambridge for three years, but it would not have done so until the end of 1588.

Another suggestion that has been made frequently is that during the years between Oxford and Lincoln's Inn Donne travelled on the continent. Mr. Sparrow has discussed this whole question admirably in A Garland for

John Donne, and I think his decision against the travels being at this time is a considered one, although perhaps Professor Bald's unpublished material may alter the evidence somewhat when he decides to make it public.<sup>69</sup> One very strong argument against his travelling at this time is that in July, 1588, his step-father, Dr. Syminges, died, leaving his Mother quite alone. For financial and emotional reasons such a trip would be more or less out of the question at this time. There is yet another possibility which has not been sufficiently settled: why did John Donne have his portrait taken (and that is the correct use of the word) at the age of 18 (1590) in a soldier's uniform? Even a cursory reading of Donne's early poetry and prose will show that he had a sensitiveness for the meaning and symbolism of clothes that we certainly do not feel to-day. It is hard to believe that he would just be acting "fashionably" in dressing up for the picture. Besides, there is the matter of the quotation from Montemayor that has already been mentioned as appearing on the portrait, "Antes Mverto Que Mvdado," which has been mistranslated by most Donne scholars, following Walton's

How much shall I be chang'd,  
Before I am chang'd.<sup>70</sup>

As Mr. Terrill points out, the literal meaning is "Rather

Dead than Changed."<sup>71</sup> Is this just boyish bravado, accentuated by the wearing of soldier's clothes, or is it a rather fitting motto for a man already a soldier? In the 1652 edition of the Paradoxes and Problems appeared a group of epigrams purported to be translated from the original Latin of Donne by Jasper Mayne, a somewhat perverted wit of a divine. Ever since E. K. Chambers' edition of Donne's poems and Gosse's Life, these poems have been considered spurious, and for several good reasons,<sup>72</sup> the chief of which are that one epigram on the "plate-fleet" appears to have been written about 1628, and the siege of "Duke's Wood" described in several epigrams is more like the 1628 battle at that town than the 1587 one. Gosse's argument on this point may be dismissed at once as dishonest. He puts the battle in 1585 and says Donne was only twelve.<sup>73</sup> Chambers gives the details of the diversionary engagement of Prince Maurice against Bois-le-Duc on July 13, 1587. This was the summer that the Earl of Leicester went to the Low Countries to help at the siege of Sluys and was unsuccessful. Chambers shrugs off the epigrams with:

It goes without saying that Donne did not write these Epigrams, many of which are not particularly refined, in 1628; and if, therefore, some of them are clearly of that date, the whole must be rejected as unauthentic.<sup>74</sup>

In any course of logic, this fallacious statement would be labelled unwarranted distribution. On the same basis almost every collection of Donne's poetry would have to be eliminated, for they all contain spurious poems. It would be best to re-examine the epigrams to see what the possibilities are of applying them to this period of Donne's youth.

That Donne wrote Latin epigrams is unquestioned. In November, 1611, he wrote a letter in Latin to Henry Goodyer, just before he left on his continental trip with Sir Robert Drury. He asks for several things,

Inter quas, si epigrammata mea Latina, et  
 catalogus librorum satiricus non sunt, non sunt.<sup>75</sup>

Mrs. Simpson has edited the Catalogus Librorum for us, but it has been taken for granted that the epigrams are lost. Gosse noted the suppression of Donne's Juvenilia in 1632, but says that "Mayne's spurious epigrams" may have been the reason. If this is so, someone did a hurried job of putting epigrams from 1628 into the Donne poems. The fact is that a good deal of Donne's early work was of the type to be suppressed by censors of public morals. Besides, no one has yet given a reason for Mayne's attempting to foist spurious epigrams on to his friend, Dr. Donne. Mayne's poem in praise of Donne seems to show an honest regard for the Dean of Paul's.<sup>76</sup>

The epigrams under discussion, fifty-nine in number, divide up roughly into five groups: on bawds, on an old, scolding wife, on tobacco, on the engagement at "Duke's Wood", and on a piece of stage business "In Comaedam celeberrima Cinthiam." The first two sections are purposely "outrageous," Epigram 4 being typical:

Thy dowbak'd Lusts, and Tail which vainly wags,  
And recompenc'd by thy still teeming bags.<sup>77</sup>

no one who has read the Elegies with any care would doubt that Donne was more than capable of writing these lines.<sup>78</sup>

We must remember that Donne had been reading Ovid, Martial, Ruiz, and even his grandfather's work (from which the figure of the old woman could easily derive). The section on tobacco seems to denote a trial of something quite new:

Outlandish Weed! whilst I thy vertues tell,  
Assist me Bedlam, Muses come from Hell.  
No. 20 (p. 92)

An Hearb thou art, but useless; for made fire,  
From hot mouths puft, thou dost in fumes expire.  
No. 21

Lothings, stincks, thirst, rhumes, ache, and catarrh,  
Base weed, thy vertues, that's thy poysons are.  
No. 24 (p. 93)

I love thee not, nor thou me having tri'd  
How thy scorcht Takers are but Takers fry'd.  
No. 25

In reading these it is well to compare Camden's 1585 entry on the bringing of Tobacco into England for the first time.

And these men [Lane and the Virginia settlers] which were brought backe, were the first that I know of, which brought into England that Indian plant, which they call Tobacco, and Nicotia, and use it against crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly from that time, it began to be in great request, and to be sold at an high rate, whilst very many every where, some for wantonnesse, some for health, sucke in with insatiable greedinesse the stinking smoke thereof, thorow an earthen pipe, and presently snuffe it out at their nostrils; Insomuch as Tobacco shops are kept in Townes every where, no lesse than taphouses and tavernes. So as the Englishmens bodies (as one said wittily) which are so delighted with this plant, may seeme to be degenerate into the nature of Barbarians, seeing they are delighted, and thinke they may bee cured with the same things which the Barbarians use.<sup>79</sup>

The epigrams cited have the sound of a new discovery rather than of an experience which by the late 1620's was anything but extraordinary.

As I have said, the "Duke's Wood" epigrams can more or less be taken as descriptions of occurrences in 1628, which eliminates Donne as their author. None of them is particularly outstanding, No. 41 being more or less typical:

Dukes-wood where once thick bushes did appear,  
Like a new Iland now stands in a meer; (p. 95)

or No. 47:

I fighting die: How much more blest then they,  
Whom a blind shot doth, standing idle, slay. (p. 96)

The latter is certainly in Donne's epigrammatic style, as any reading of those definitely attributed to him will show.

But I am not here arguing for the inclusion of the "Duke's Wood" epigrams among Donne's poems, even though I am not convinced that all are not his. Another point must be considered. Donne's son and editor, John Donne, has been charged with many faults and sins, but no one has ever shown that he ever attempted to foist upon the public, as his father's, anything that was really not by the subject of this biography. He may have altered letter headings, or misread manuscripts, or taken illegal possession of documents, but he never misrepresented his father's work nor sought to hurt his reputation. How then does he describe these epigrams? In his dedication to Francis, Lord Newport, he describes the contents of the volume as epigram "Fall of a wall" was considered as dating from the 1695 Gadsis journey, and so it may be things of the least and greatest weight that ever although fell from my father's pen... They are the essays of two ages, where you may see the quickness of the first and the firmness of the latter.

The epigrams, then, were among the "least weight" productions of Donne, and the reader agrees heartily. That they would not add to Donne's reputation and might hurt it was surely obvious to his son, and yet he printed them as genuine. Supposing Gosse to be right, that these are mere forgeries of Mayne, why was young Donne taken in? Any reader, no matter how dull (and the son of the Dean of Paul's was anything but), would be struck by the over-

whelming mass of epigrams on "Duke's Wood" -- 32 out of the 59. Now the stupidity or crass dishonesty that would allow a man to print as genuine so many poems supposedly by a man who was never in an army in the Lowlands is not part of the young Donne's character. I submit that the son knew that his father fought on the continent during his youth and was therefore misled into accepting these poems as genuine. This does not prove that Donne was at "Duke's Wood," but it may give some evidence of Donne's activities after Oxford and may supply the reason for the Will Marshall engraving of Donne in soldier garb in 1590.

One more piece of evidence should be included here. For years the epigram "Fall of a wall" was considered as dating from the 1596 Cadiz journey,<sup>80</sup> and so it may be, although no such incident has been recorded in the history of that trip. But in 1937 R. C. Bald showed that the incident described took place during the Spanish expedition under Norris and Drake in 1589.<sup>81</sup> Stow described it in his Annales:

...then was fire giuen to the trayne, which blew up halfe the Tower, vnder which the powder was planted: the resolute assaylants appointed for that place, with speede, and courage, gaue a fierce assault, and were entred the top of the new made breach, but on the sudden the other halfe of the Tower fel vpon them breaking their limbes, beating their weapons out of their hands, and ouerwhelmed many in the heap of stones, at

which strange accident, the souldiers all amazed, forsooke their leaders in their most distresse. Amongst others that perished in the ruines of the mine, was Captaine Sydenham, hauing foure or fiue great stones lying on his lower parts, could neither stirre himselfe, nor bee rescued by any reasonable meanes, and beeing the next day seene alieue, there perished twelue persons attempting to releuee him.<sup>82</sup>

Donne's epigram reads

Vnder an undermin'd and shot-bruis'd wall  
A too-bold Captaine perish'd by the fall,  
Whose brave misfortune, happiest men envi'd,  
That had a towne for tombe, his bones to hide.

There is no proof that Donne was either in the Lowlands or in Spain at this period, but it would be well to consider the possibility seriously. If the portrait in uniform is merely a young man's fancy, then Donne was even a more supercilious and whimsical youth than his worst detractors would have us believe.

I have dwelt on the possibilities of Donne's activities at this period at some length for several reasons. First, we do not know and must, therefore, be honest in our conjectures. Secondly, the period was an important one in that Donne must have been beginning in earnest to express himself in literary forms. His family life was also in somewhat of a turmoil as well, as we shall see. But perhaps the most important reason is that I feel students of Donne have been robbed of much potentially

important material by editorial suppression of the 1652 epigrams. The fact remains that a good half of them may be by Donne and may represent his earliest literary endeavors. Neither their form nor bawdy content is surprising when considered against his own family tradition of epigrammatic expression and his unusually early and precocious reading of highly-sexed literature. My feelings are strong on this because of the prim, [Victorian] handling of much of Donne's poetry by editors of the 19th and 20th centuries. This is best illustrated by a note on line 37 of Elegie XVI by Grierson:

there can, I think, be no doubt that the original reading is preserved by AlS, N, S, TCD, and W.

Will quickly knowe thee, and knowe thee,  
and, alas!

The sudden, brutal change in the sense of the word 'knowe' is quite in Donne's manner. The reasons for omitting or softening it are obvious, and may excuse my not restoring it. The whole of these central lines reveal that strange bad taste, some radical want of delicacy, which mars not only Donne's poems and lighter prose but even at times the sermons.<sup>83</sup>

Are we to make a poet come to us dressed in the trappings of our own morality and social laws, or are we to go to him as he is and either accept or reject him? This is a study of a man who was neither worse nor perhaps much better than the rest of us. The difference is that he

was franker, more intelligent, and a good deal more talented. To underestimate the blatant sexual imagery and statements of the poems and sermons is to see not the man but a figure in the mist, a mist of our own making. Donne was no prig or prude; he may even have been crude to his own contemporaries, but I doubt it. To have any clear picture of him as a creative artist we must see his growth in thought and form, and we must remember his own early contacts with literary expression that was not "pleasant" or "idealistic". It is small wonder that he was to reject the courtly love poetry of his time as unreal and false.

To return to history, however, we find Donne, at sixteen or seventeen, leaving Oxford and spending a few years either in the army or at Cambridge, or possibly just travelling. He may have done all three. He had apparently begun his own writing of poetry as well as trying his hand at prose paradoxes, the delight of the young academic mind trained for the taking of a University degree through the method of disputations on any side of a subject. His mind was filled with images from Medicine, Spanish and Latin literature, Science, and Religion. The last was to play an ever-increasing role in his mind. And perhaps most important for our study of him as a poet, he was approaching poetic creativity as a social being

rather than a lone spirit. His poetry was communal in a sense that a man who "publishes" for those he does not see can never appreciate. In modern terms he was almost cliqueish. In many ways he wrote more for others and for outside approval than a popular novelist of to-day does, for his poems could only be known as they were circulated in manuscript form. If his poetry is daring, highly witty, and sometimes obscure, it is not to be wondered at. The opposite would give us pause.

1. Register of the University of Oxford, Vol II, Part II, (1887, ed. Andrew Clark, Oxford Historical Society), p. 138.
2. Gosse, II, 358, 361.
3. Oxford Reg., II, ii, 46.
4. Oxford Reg., II, ii, 327. The other Dawson entries are of men either too young or old, or too well-off to fit our knowledge of Donne's uncle.
5. Ibid., p. 135.
6. Logan Pearsall Smith, Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton, Vol I (1907), p. 5. See also Baker's statement in Sir Richard Baker, A Chronicle of the Kings of England (1665), p. 450.
7. Gosse (I, 18,19) continually minimizes the relationship and in order to bias the evidence indulges in such unfair tactics as stating Wotton's age in terms of "had passed his seventeenth year" rather than saying he was sixteen, this in an attempt to widen the difference in age.
8. Izaak Walton, The Lives of John Donne, etc., The World's Classics series (1950), p. 15.
9. Ibid., p. 106.
10. A. J. Kempe, ed., The Loseley Manuscripts (1836), pp. 345-6. There is also a copy of this letter in Hayward's Nonesuch Donne (1949, 2nd ed.), pp. 485-6.
11. Gosse, I, 170, 199.
12. Ibid., p. 301.
13. Ibid., p. 306.
14. Smith, Wotton, II, 265.
15. Grierson, I, 180-2, 187-8, 188-9, 214-6. There is a copy of one of Wotton's poems to Donne in Vol. II, p. 141.
16. Edward Brown, ed., The Letters of the Renowned Father Paul (1693), pp. ix-x. See letters 46 and 48, and passim for references to Wotton.
17. Walton, Lives, p. 83. Posterity does not look at it at all without permission of the Chief Verger at St. Paul's, for it is in the apse, behind locked gates.
18. Bang, op. cit., p. 239.
19. "Nine yeares of age" in 1640 ed. Walton later decided on 1573 as Donne's birth year and thus must have concluded he was 11 when he entered Oxford in 1584. He should have changed the other age references while he was at it.
20. This comparison to Mirandola was not included in the 1640 ed. and is open to suspicion as mere verbal embroidery. It is interesting to remember that one of Sir Thomas More's works was the life of Mirandola. If someone did say this about Donne, it might well have been a member of the family, like Jasper Heywood during his stay in England.
21. Walton, Lives, pp. 23-4.

22. 80 Sermons, XXXVI, p. 355. From Rainsford Documents.
23. Gr. I, pp. 50-51; ll. 25-36. N. & Q. 15 May 1850.
24. Gr. I, p. 255; ll. 131-142.
25. Gr. I, p. 21; A Feaver, ll. 21-24.
26. Gr. I, pp. 33-4; Loves growth, ll. 15-18.
27. Gr. I, p. 39; A Valediction: of weeping, ll. 19-22.
28. Gr. I, p. 50; ll. 9-12.
29. Mary Ramsay, Les Doctrines Médiévales chez Donne (1917), pp. 42-3.
30. Gosse, I, 17.
31. Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 43-4.
32. Thomas E. Terrill, The Spanish Influence on John Donne, Harvard, May 1928, Chaps. I and IV. Donne's outstanding
33. Terrill, Spanish Influence, pp. 20-21. It with Gosse's
34. Gosse, II, 176. was before Gosse published his book and
35. 80 Sermons, IX, p. 95.
36. Venns' Alumni Cantabrigienses says that Samuel Brooke matriculated from Trinity c. 1592. R. E. Bennett (p. 139) dates the poem "ca 1596" but gives no reason. Apparently he was using the faulty D.N.B. account of Brooke.
37. Grierson, I, 211.
38. Oxford Reg., II, ii, 141.
39. John Aubrey, Brief Lives, Vol. I (1898, ed. Andrew Clarke), p. 419.
40. Grierson, I, 336-7.
41. Ibid., pp. 433-4.
42. Ibid., pp. 430-32.
43. Ibid., pp. 428-9.
44. Gosse, I, 171. The term "hawkings" is sufficiently ambiguous here to give an indication of how little he thought of the problems. If the figure is drawn from medicine rather than falconry, it is a thoroughly unpleasant though forceful one.
45. Aubrey, Lives, I, 419.
46. Oxford Reg., II, ii, 144. The entry is from Monmouth rather than Hereford, but both the age of 19 and the college are right. Davies' poems contain several reminiscences of Magdalen College.
47. Ibid., p. 148.
48. Ibid., p. 156.
49. Ibid., p. 125.
50. 80 Sermons, XVII, p. 165.
51. 80 Sermons, XXIII, p. 228.
52. The Epigrams of Sir John Harington (1926, ed. N. E. McClure), p. 135.
53. Annals, II, fo. 38v.
54. Acts of the Privy Council, 1595-1596, N. S. 25, p. 325.
55. SPD-Eliz., 1595-1597, p. 166, Vol. CCLVI, 27, viii.
56. SPD-Add., 1580-1625, p. 131, Vol. XXVIII, 104.

57. Alfred Ransford, "Abstracts from Ransford Documents in the Public Record Office", N. & Q. 15 May 1926.
58. Repertory 21, fo. 237v.
59. For details, see App. I.
60. Annals, II, fo. 52v.
61. Walton, Donne (1640).
62. Gosse, I, 19.
63. John Sparrow, "The Date of Donne's Travels", A Garland for John Donne (1931).
64. C. M. Neale, An Honours Register of the University of Cambridge from the year 1246 (1900), and Venns' The Book of Matriculations and Degrees...University of Cambridge.. 1544-1659 (1913), show no record of Donne's attending Cambridge. Clark's Oxford Register dealt with Gosse's "scoop" twelve years before Gosse published his book and discredited the entry.
65. Gosse, I, 19.
66. Black Book 5, fo. 410.
67. The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917. Surtees Soc. 129, (1918).
68. John Ayliffe, The Antient and Present State of the University of Oxford, Vol. I (1714), pp. 196-8.
69. See note 4, p. 16, of Miss Simpson's Prose Works (1948, 2nd ed.).
70. Walton, Lives, p. 79.
71. Terrill, op. cit., p. 8.
72. E. K. Chambers, ed. Poems of John Donne, Vol. II, Muses Library, pp. 308-311.
73. Gosse, I, 16-17.
74. Chambers, op. cit., p. 310.
75. Henry Alford, Works of John Donne, Vol. VI, p. 441.
76. Gr. I, 382-4.
77. page 89.
78. See Elegie XVIII, ll. 91-96 (Gr. I, 119), or Elegie II, ll. 35-50 (Gr. I, 81, 82), for examples.
79. William Camden, Annals, Translated by R. N. Gent (1635, 3rd ed.), p. 286.
80. Grierson, I, 76; II, 59.
81. R. C. Bald, "Three Metaphysical Epigrams," Philological Quarterly, Vol. XVI, No. 4, October 1937.
82. Stow, Annals, p. 753.
83. Grierson, II, 87. More praise, therefore, to Mr. R. E. Bennett, who has restored the correct meaning, here and elsewhere, in his 1949 edition of the poems. A companion passage in the Sermons to this use of "know" is in a candlemas sermon: "and we hate them in our bed-chambers, where they make children Idolaters, and perchance make the children themselves." (80 Sermons, X, p. 99).

Chapter 3  
 of all able-bodied persons in the city who would be ready  
 to give aid in the Family Affairs. Among the records of  
 St. Bartholomew's Hospital is the "Armada List" --

What we lack in evidence concerning Donne's activities  
 in the years 1588 to 1591 is only partially made up by  
 records concerning his family. Although these, too, lead  
 into some blind alleys, they all contain items of consider-  
 able interest for students of Donne.

During the late winter of 1588 England began to muster  
 its forces against the expected Spanish invasion planned  
 for the summer.

Cities, Counties, Townes, and villages, the  
 Cinque Ports, and all other hauens of England very  
 manifested as great forwardnesse in their zealous  
 loue and dutie, as either subjects could performe,  
 or Prince expect: To single out the admirable  
 dexterity, and bounty of any one particular place,  
 or people, were apparant wrong to all, yet for a  
 tast of trueth in all, thus much may bee sayd for  
 London: After the Councell had demaunded what  
 the Citty would doe in their Prince, and the  
 Countryes right, the Lord Maior, and Aldermen,  
 humbly besought their Honours, to set downe what  
 their wisdomes held requisite in such a case:  
 the Lords demanded fiue thousand men, and fifteene  
 ships, the Citie craued 2. dayes respite for  
 answeare, which was graunted, and then entreated  
 their Lordships, in signe of their perfect loue,  
 and loyaltie to their Prince and Country, kindly  
 to accept tenne thousand men, and thirtie shippes,  
 amply furnished: And euen as London, London-like  
 gaue president, the whole kingdome kept true  
 ranke and equipage.<sup>1</sup>

Among the other activities of preparation engaged in by the  
 Mayor and Aldermen of London was the census and assessment

of all able-bodied persons in the city who would be ready to give aid in the time of defense. Among the records of St. Bartholomew's Hospital is the "Armada List"--

The names of the Inhabitauntes taken within the Precincte of little Sct Bartholomewes in Weste Smythfeilde as well howseholders as servauntes for the provision of men and Armore for Her Ma<sup>tes</sup> service Rated and sett downe by the right worshipfull Sir Rowland Hayward Knight, Mr Newman, Tresorer. Mr Rowe Mr Cogan. This xxviith Daye of Marche 1588 as followeth.

The second entry under "Howshoulders" is "150<sup>li</sup> Mr Dr Syminge (iiii Cor, i Musc, ii Caly). His "servauntes," and their possible use, were "Innocent Robinson years 20--Cor" and "John Blade in years 30--Caly." This entry, very kindly sent me by Miss Veronica Stokes, Assistant Archivist of the Hospital, is treated in detail in Appendix II. Here I need only remark that it shows that Donne's family, like the rest of England, was very much concerned with the threat to the country. Being sincere Catholics, they must have had mixed feelings about an invading force which was strongly backed by the Church of Rome, and the young Donne must have shared those feelings. National resentment against the Recusants was naturally running high, but it was not untempered.

In this troublesome season, when some beat many times into the Queenes eares, that the Spaniards abroad were not so much to be feared, as the Papists at home, for that the Spaniards would not attempt any hostility against England, but

upon confidence of ayde from them; and that therefore for the more security, the Papists heads were for some cause or other to be cut off; alledging the example of King Henry the 8. when the Emperour and the French King, by the instigation of the Pope, were ready to invade England. For as soone as he had put to death the Marquesse of Excester, the Baron of Mountacute, Edward Nevill, and others, whom he suspected would favour their enterprise, their expedition presently was dashed. But the Queene disliking this as cruell councill, thought it sufficient to commit some of the Papists, and those not of the chiefe, to custodie at Wisbeach in the Fennes.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, the Catholic Church was not making the position of English Catholics any easier.

About this time went Dale by the Queenes commandement to the Prince of Parma, and mildly expostulated with him about a booke lately set forth by Cardinall Allen an Englishman, wherein he exhorted the Nobility and people of England and Ireland, to ioyne with the Spanish forces under the leading of the Duke of Parma, to execute the sentence of Sixtus quintus, Bishop of Rome, published already by Bull against the Queene of England: wherein she was declared an heretike, illegitimate, cruell against Mary Queene of Scots, etc. and her subiects commanded to ayd the Prince of Parma, against her. (And indeed there was a great number of these Bulls and Bookes printed at Antwerpe, to bee dispersed all over England.)<sup>3</sup>

That these had little effect upon the loyalty of English Catholics to their queen is quite obvious, however, and the government did all in its power to unite the country.

The Queene and Councill, for two yeares space, caused the Ministers to manifest vnto their Congregations, the furious purpose of the Spanish

but it is King, Dukes of Parma, and Guyse, with the dangerous dissimulation of the French King, by whose rather than paines, and industry, the whole Communitie became of one heart, and mind, and began to retaine a stronger opinion touching the Spaniards settled resolution for the inuasion of England, then either Christmas are new ev Queene or Councill. The English nation were so morning to Art liuely to expresse the Sympathy of loue between the subjects and the Soueraigne.<sup>4</sup>

And during the time of extremest difficulty,

yea, such was the integrity of the English, as the defeat and Recusants offered their seruice, and were desirous to take their fortune with the common souldiers.<sup>5</sup>

Gunpowder Plot:

But the interest of the household in the parish of Little St. Bartholomew's, and, to a lesser degree, of the two Donne boys at Oxford, must have been divided, for Doctor Syminges was very close to death. Wood gives the date of his death as July 7, 1588, although this seems unlikely, as the burial took place on July 15th, as shown by the church register. Six days later the English and Spanish fleets met, and England won its glorious victory. This victory against overwhelming odds was never to hold the position of importance in Donne's mind that it did in those of other poets and writers. As Camden reports, "The learned both at home and abroad, congratulating the victory with hearts leaping for joy, wrote triumphall poems in all Languages."<sup>6</sup> Donne frequently refers to it in the sermons as a time of peril through which England passed unharmed by God's grace,

merely to set a time limit to a courtier's harping

but it is almost always linked with the Gunpowder Plot, rather than treated on its own merits. He ends his 1627 Christmas sermon with the statement that "and as his mercies are new every morning, his miracles shall bee new every morning too; and all that he did in eighty eight, in the last Centutry [sic], he shall doe (if we need it) in twenty eight, in this Century."<sup>7</sup> A year later he refers to it again, making no bones as to the real reason for the Spanish defeat and linking the event, as was his wont, with the Gunpowder Plot:

An invincible navy hath beene sent against us, and defeated, and we sacrifice to a casuall storme for that; wee say the winds delivered us. A powder treason hath been plotted, and discovered, and we sacrifice to a casuall letter for that; we say, the letter delivered us.<sup>8</sup>

And again, in a Candlemas sermon:

If God have delivered us from destruction in the bowels of the Sea, in an Invasion, and from destruction in the bowels of the earth, in the Powder-treason, and we grow faint in the publication of our thanks for this deliverance, our punishment is but aggravated, for we shall be destroyed both for those old sins which induced those attempts of those destructions, and for this later and greater sin, of forgetting those deliverances.<sup>9</sup>

But the surprising fact is that mention of this victory is entirely missing in the poems. The Armada is never mentioned by name, and the only mention of the event is merely to set a time limit to a courtier's babbling:

Although Donne was quite willing to make a speech  
 about the Spanish gold, he had first discovered  
 he had first discovered  
 Yet  
 He thrusts on more; And as if he'd undertooke  
 To say Gallo-Belgicus without booke  
 Speakes of all States, and deeds, that have been  
 The Spaniards came, to the losse of Amyens.<sup>10</sup> since

I think there are three possible reasons for this strange lack of interest shown in the poems. First, like other Catholics, he was at war with himself over the issues involved in the conflict. This struggle may have been accentuated by the great number of Recusant executions following the victory. Second, as I have mentioned, the death of his step-father may have divided his attention and lessened his interest in the battle. Third, and most important, he had no personal part in the war, apparently, and he was probably very much concerned at the time with his own academic problems and the taking or giving up of a degree at Oxford. This last must be considered only if he was still at the University. We may also remark that if he was fighting with an army in the Lowlands, his interest in the Armada would be less. The lack of knowledge or interest in other sections of a war by a man who is himself engaged in a military operation is certainly a well-known fact, as may be appreciated by anyone who has served in the past two wars.

I think that the first reason, the bewilderment of Catholic Recusants, may have another reason joined to it.

Although Donne was quite willing to make nasty remarks about the Spanish king and to denounce the influence of Spanish gold, he had an undeniable affection for the country he had first discovered through its literature, a discovery which took place at about the same time that the preparation of the Armada was going on. Perhaps we need look no further for the cause of his silence on the subject.

Meanwhile his "home" was shifting again. Mrs. Syminges was now, after the death of her husband, completely on her own, although she was reasonably well off. Her first reaction, naturally enough, was to move to a neighborhood which was congenial to her, and this she found in the parish of St. Saviour's, in Southwark. The Close of St. Saviour's was a Catholic refuge, known familiarly as "Little Rome", and here Mrs. Syminges thought to find companionship and assistance. It is commonly believed that she married again almost immediately, but this is not true, for over a year later, she was still known as the widow of Dr. Syminges. All this makes it rather difficult for us to trace her whereabouts, for she was obviously living with someone else. The Token Books of St. Saviours, an extremely valuable collection of early material on church-going and church discipline, as noted in the Genealogist magazine of 1884, unfortunately do not give us many hints. A "richard Symounes" had a house in "M<sup>rs</sup> newtens rents" while a

"Nicholas Symondes" lived in "Garlandes rentes." One "Wm Clement" was in "Huntes Rentes" and a "wydow Clement" lived in "Crowne Allye." An entry in Russell's Rents of a Mrs. Symounes has been crossed out, but the fact that seven tokens were issued to her, removes her from the list of probable persons, even if the entry had not been made void. There is also an entry for a "Richard Doune" "<un>der the bricke <>brige by M<sup>r</sup> Cures." All of these names suggest possible relations, but none are by any means certain.

Fortunately, the Token Books contain more than the mere entries of communion tokens issued to householders in the parish. Additional notes, usually found on the end leaves, contain information about church attendance and punishments for Recusants.<sup>11</sup> One such note, in the Token Book for 1593, reveals the large Catholic population of the Parish:

the 19 of Avgust 1594 the [re] whas 223 howsolders of the lybert [y] of the Clyncke and of the Paryshe garden that hathe not reseed the comynyon as by the token bovke a peyrth.

The power of judgement held by the church officers also appears in these notes. For instance, among "Thes parsones ...warned to be here this xiiij Octobr [15]89," were "gabrile Northe, Jeames worlingtonne, w<sup>th</sup> Dyvers others," charged with "Drinkinge at sarvis tyme. (e)vsed hard speches."<sup>12</sup> On the next to the last leaf of the Token Bookes ffor the

Bankesyde wrytten the xiiij Day of March An<sup>o</sup> 1588 appears the following entry:<sup>13.</sup>

Presentments 1589 the 28 of September mystres Symones M<sup>r</sup> doctor Symones wyfe lait dессessed for not komyndg to service [? chirche?] to receive the comvnyon in the [?] service [? chirche?]

robart browne for the lycke/

We do not know what the outcome of this "presenting" was. There was probably a small fine and the naturally resultant public shaming, but the latter would scarcely be great in a community so largely Catholic. The entry on Robert Browne gives us little help. His name appears in the Token Books under Rose Alley, showing he received but one token, indicating that he was a bachelor. In 1593 he received three tokens (and they were all used at Communion), while living in "horshow courte."

Whatever form the punishment took for the widow Syminges, her son must have been well aware of it, and his feelings made their way into his early poems where, although he appears to be leaving the Catholic Church intellectually, yet his sympathy for mistreated Recusants is clear enough. One section from Satyre II seems to be a recalling of the period we have just been discussing, from the Armada on:

Though Poëtry indeed be such a sinne  
As I thinke that brings dearths, and Spaniards in,  
Though like the Pestilence and old fashion'd love,  
Ridlingly it catch men; and doth remove

Never, till it be sterv'd out; yet their state  
 Is poore, disarm'd, like Papists, not worth hate.<sup>14</sup>

The irony here seems shot through with understandable tenderness. I shall discuss other passages about Recusants later on, but for the present this will do. The presenting of his mother must have made a strong impression on the young Donne, for it was certainly not brought about by any untoward action by her. It was a case, like so many others, of a quiet, peaceful person being mistreated only for her beliefs. This cannot be said of the later imprisonment of his brother, Henry, at least not to the same degree. What John's real feelings at the time were, however, we can only surmise.

At this point the Donne scholar is confronted by one of those unexplained hiatuses in records caused by a malevolent fate. The valuable Token Books for the years 1589 to 1592 of this area are gone, for no seeming reason. This is particularly maddening because of the number of events that took place during that period. Both Donne's mother and sister married men living in Southwark at this time, but there is no trace of either of these events or of their dwelling places. The Register of St. Saviour's is of no more help, probably because, the women being Catholics, they would be married by priests of that church. Perhaps some day a more fortunate student will uncover the

lost records. Meanwhile, we must be content to fill in as best we can.

At some time before February 7, 1591, Mrs. Syminges once again married, this time a Richard Rainsford who lived in Southwark. On that date these two petitioned the Queen, in a letter before the Court of Inquests, that a widow named Jane Allington be called before the court to give evidence about a sum of £400 received from Dr. Syminges. It appears that just before his death, Syminges gave the said sum to Mrs. Allington for certain lands and tenements for the use of himself and his wife; however, he died before any conveyance or assurance could be made. Now the money was lost to Mrs. Rainsford, who was the administratrix of Syminges' will. Mrs. Allington's reply gets as far as stating that Syminges purchased the fee simple of the manors of Portscuett, Harpton, and Sudbrook, all in Monmouthshire, then, reports Alfred Ransford, who discovered the entry, "The remainder of the answer [is] stained, mutilated and undecipherable." There are several reasons for believing that the case ended in favor of Mrs. Allington, for the Rainsfords seemed destined to ill fortune on money matters. Many years later, on the death of his sister, Donne was to write to his mother,

The happiness which God afforded to your first young time, which was the love and care of my most dear and provident father, whose soul, I

lent-eviden hope, hath long since enjoyed the sight of our  
ordination miseris in the world, God removed from you  
quickly, and hath since taken from you all the  
The b comfort that that marriage produced. All those  
about his children (for whose maintenance his industry  
provided, and for whose education you were so  
carefully and so chargeably diligent) He hath now  
taken from you. All that wealth which he left,  
God hath suffered to be gone from us all; so  
that God hath seemed to repent, that He allowed  
any part of your life any earthly happiness;  
that He might keep your soul in continual exercise,  
and longing, and assurance of coming immediately  
to Him.<sup>16</sup>

This letter, written perhaps in 1616, but by no means  
definitely, contains a considerable number of interesting  
remarks dealing with the period of Donne's life that we have  
been viewing. He goes on,

For whatsoever I shall be able to do I acknowledge  
to be a debt to you from whom I had that education  
which must make my fortune. This I speak not as  
though I feared my father Rainsford's care of you,  
or his means to provide for you; for he hath been  
with me, and as I perceive in him a loving and  
industrious care to give you contentment, so, I  
see in his business a happy and considerable for-  
wardness.<sup>17</sup>

It would seem that Donne's relationship with his second step-  
father was not antagonistic, but it certainly lacked warmth  
in a positive way. The first sentence is slightly ambiguous  
out of context. It would seem to give his mother credit  
for his present occupation through her gift of his education,  
but it only refers to his inability to give her financial  
assistance until some future time. Whether this is suffic-

ient evidence to claim a date for the letter after his ordination seems highly questionable to me.

The beginning of this letter reveals Donne's feelings about his mother's life most clearly.

When I consider so much of your life as can fall within my memory and observation, I find it to have been a sea, under a continual tempest, where one wave hath ever overtaken another. Our most wise and blessed Saviour chooseth what way it pleaseth Him to conduct those which He loves to His haven and eternal rest. The way which He hath chosen for you is strait, stormy, obscure, and full of sad apparitions of death and wants, and sundry discomforts; and it hath pleased Him, that one discomfort should still succeed and touch another, that He might leave you no leisure, by any pleasure or abundance, to stay or step out of that way, or almost to take breath in that way, by which He hath determined to bring you home, which is His glorious kingdom.<sup>18</sup>

The reader feels that Donne was writing as much autobiography in that passage as biography, for he had, in his way, shared most of his mother's fortunes. We must not forget, of course, that this was a letter of condolence and that Donne was perhaps overly-capable of registering the appropriate feeling. This statement is not meant as a denunciation but a warning, and it is appropriate at this point, while we are discussing his mother's remarriage. I have already tried to show what he may have felt when his mother married Dr. Syminges. A second remarriage would be sure to accentuate those feelings. On Easter day, 1627, at a time when his mother seems to have made her permanent

home with him, Mr. Rainsford having died, Donne preached a sermon on the text, "Women received their dead raised to life againe: And others were tortured, not accepting a deliverance, that they might obtaine a better Resurrection."19. In that sermon he left no doubt as to his feelings about remarrying. I shall quote the passage at length, for it reveals an attitude that obviously influenced his own actions and may explain part of his feelings towards his son-in-law, Edward Alleyn.

And for the matter it selfe, that is, second or oftner-iterated Mariages, the dis-approving of them, entred very soone into some Hereticks, in the Primitive Church. For the eighth Canon of that great Councell of Nice, (which is one of the indubitable Canons) forbids, by name, Gatharos, The Puritanes of those Times, to be received by the Church, except they would be content to receive the Sacrament with persons that had been twice married; which, before they would not doe. It entred soone into some Hereticks, and it entred soone, and went far, in some holy and reverent Men, and some Assemblies, that had, and had justly, the name, and forme of Councils. For, in the Councell of Neo-Caesarea, which was before the Nicen Councell, in the seventh Canon, there are somewhat shrewd aspersions laid upon second Mariages. And certainly, the Roman Church cannot be denied, to come too neere this dis-approving of second Mariages. For though they will not speak plaine, (they love not that, because they get more by keeping things in suspence) yet plainly they forbid the Benediction at second Mariages. Valeat quantum valere potest; Let them doe as well as they can, with their second Marriage, Let them marrie De bene esse, At all adventures; but they will affoord no Blessing to a second, as to a first Marriage. And though they will not shut the Church doores against all such, yet they will shut up all Church functions

against all such. No such Person as hath married twice, or married once, one that hath married twice, can be received to the dignity of Orders in their Church.

And though some of the Fathers pared somewhat too neare the quick in this point, yet it was not as in the Romane Church, to lay snares, and spread nets for gain, and profit, and to forbid only therefore, that they might have market for their Dispensations; neither was it to fixe, and appropriate sanctity, only in Ecclesiasticall persons, who only must not marry twice, but out of a tender sense, and earnest love to Continency, and out of a holy indignation, that men tumbled and wallowed so licentiously, so promiscuously, so indifferently, so inconsiderately in all wayes of incontinency, those blessed Fathers admitted in themselves a super-zealous, an over-vehement animosity in this point. But yet S. Ierome himselfe, though he remember with a holy scorn, that when he was at Rome in the assistance of Pope Damasus (as his word is, Cum Juvarem) he saw a man that had buried twenty wives, marry a wife, that buried twenty two husbands, yet for the matter, and in seriousness, he sayes plainly enough, Non damno Bigamos, imo nec Trigamos, nec si dici potest octogamos, I condemne no man for marrying two, or three, or if he have a minde to it, eight wives. And so also in his former Epistle, Abjicimus de Ecclesia Digamos? absit; God forbid we should deny any Church assistance to any, for twice marrying; but yet, sayes that blessed Father, Monogamos ad continentiam provocamus; Let me have leave to perswade them who have been married, and are at liberty, to continency, now at last.

Those Fathers departed not from the Apostles Nubat in Domino, Let them marry in the Lord; but they would fain bring the Lord to the making of every marriage, and not only the world, and worldly respects. For the Lord himself, who honoured marriage, even with the first fruits of his miracles, yet perswades continency, He that is able to receive it, let him receive it. The fault which those Fathers did, and we may reprehend, is, that men do not try whether they be able to receive it or no; In all Treaties of marriage, in all Contracts for Portion, and Joynture, who ever ask their children, who ever aske themselves, whether they can live continent-

ly or no?<sup>20</sup>. Or what triall, what experiment can have been made of this, in Cradle-marriages? Marriage was given for a remedy; but not before any apparance of a danger. And given for Physick, but not before any apparance of a disease. And do any Parents lay up a medicine against the falling sicknesse, for their new-born children, because those children may have the falling sicknesse? The peace of neighbouring States, the uniting of great Families for good ends, may present just occasions of departing from severe rules. I only intend, as I take most of those Fathers to have done, to leave all persons to their Christian liberty, as the Lord hath done; and yet, as the Lord hath done too, to perswade them to consider themselves, and those who are theirs, how far they need the use of that Liberty, and not to exceed that. And thus much Aquinas Expositors, who would needs understand the Women in this Text, to be Wives, have occasioned us to say in this point. In our order proposed, we passe now to the other consideration, who these women were whom the Apostle makes his Examples, for they are but two, and may soon be considered.

The first is the Widow of Zarephtha, in whose house Elias the Prophet sojourned. She was a Widow, and a poore Widow, and might need the labour, or the providence of a husband in that respect: Yet she solicites not, nor Elias endeavours not the raising of her dead husband to life againe. A Widow, that is, A Widow indeed, (as the Apostle speaks) may have in that state of such a Widowhood, more assistances towards the next world, then she should have for this, by taking another husband. For, for that Widow, Quae in tumulo mariti, sepeliit voluptates, Who hath buried all her affections towards this world, in her husbands grave, the Apostle in that place, ordaines honour, Honour Widows, that are Widows indeed. And when he sayes Honour, and speaks of poore Widows, he speaks not of such honour as such poore soules are incapable of, but of that Honour, which that word signifies ordinarily in the Scriptures, Qui non tam in salutationibus, quam in elecrosynis, sayes S. Chrysostome, which rather consists in Almes, and Reliefe, then in Salutations, and Reverences, or such respects. For so (as S. Ierome notes in particular) when we are commanded to honour our Parents, it is intended wee should relieve and maintain our Parents, if they

There are be decayed. And such honour the Apostle perswades to be given, and such honour God will provide, that is, Peace in the possession of their estate, if they have any estate; and reliefe from others, if they have none, for Widows, that are Widows indeed.  
 In which qualification of theirs, that they be Widows indeed, we may well take in that addition which the Apostle makes, That she have been the wife of one man. For though we make not that an only, or an essentiall Character of a Widow indeed, to have had but one husband, yet we note, as Calvin doth, that the Church received Widows, in yeares, therefore, Quia timendum erat, ne ad novas nuptias aspirarent, because the Church feared that they would marry again. And certainly, if the Church feared they would, the Church had rather they would not. It is (as Calvin adds there) Pignus continentiae, & pudoris (though Calvin were no man to be suspected, to countenance the perversnesse of the Romane Church, in defaming, or undervaluing marriage, yet he sayes so) it is a good Pawne, and Evidence of Continency, to have rested in one husband.<sup>21</sup>

As usual, Donne builds his argument on quoted authority, but it is authority with which he obviously agrees. It would be dangerous for us to read this section as a lecture to his mother, especially as she would probably not have been present if she had retained her strong religious stand, but the admonishment would certainly seem to be deserved in Mrs. Donne-Syminges-Rainsford's case.

But to return to Southwark, just exactly where Richard Rainsford and his wife lived is still a mystery. Nowhere in the Token Books does his name appear, although in an undated but early Token Book of the Clink liberty the name Edward Rainsford does, on receipt and use of two tokens.

There are no Rainsfords in the Register of the parish, nor in that of St. Thomas, which does not begin until 1614. We have, therefore, no idea of his age, the date of his wedding, nor even the year of his death. He appears to have no connection with the Rainsfords of Warwick or Oxford, but he may have been a member of the Rainsford family that moved from Worcester to Westminster. This too is unlikely as his name does not appear in the St. Margaret's Register with the rest of the family. Until some evidence is found, Rainsford must remain an unknown factor in the life of Donne.

There is one extremely small, and perhaps unfair, possibility, made plausible only because of Donne's somewhat condescending remark about his step-father, and the fact that together Rainsford and his wife went through a sizeable fortune without any apparent cause. The internal evidence is against the following entry, for it is doubtful that Donne's mother would be called a "Sussex woman" unless someone got his facts mixed, a common occurrence in any age. In the Domestic State Papers for February, 1596, is the statement that a fellow named Rainsforth is said not likely to be employed by the Catholics: "he could never get a pension, being thought a lying prating fellow; his wife is a Sussex woman."<sup>22</sup> The man involved may have been Hercules Rainsford of Little Tew, co. Oxford.

Other changes in the family of the young poet were on their way, giving an indication that none of the family knew how to make a good economic match. Anne, now the mother of a small infant, lost her husband, Avarey Copley, Jr., in Hilary term of 1591. Naturally enough, she was worried about supporting her child, and her situation was desperate. We have already seen that her husband managed to spend all of her £1100 dowry and more, dying in great debt. Anne seems to have gone across the river to Southwark almost immediately, to live with her mother and step-father, and the three began to complain to Anne's father-in-law that he owed Anne an annuity of 40 marks payable on the manor of Sutton, in Yorkshire. The elder Copley, on October 26, 1591, asked that Anne and Richard be called into court to explain, as he said that they had no right to the money. On November 22nd, the two appeared in Chancery, and Anne stated her case. Once again the legal battle went against the family, and their final statement is almost pathetic as they retreated before the impersonality of property laws: "Both defendants deny that they are in possession of any other deeds or writings or grant of any rent charge whatsoever then as aforesaid and humbly pray to be dismissed with their costs." In two legal disputes within a year Donne's mother gave evidence that she had lost at least £1000 of her fortune, an extremely

or future scholars.

large amount in those days. Moreover, she now had to help her husband to support a widowed daughter and fatherless grandchild. It is small wonder that within the next three years Anne remarried, this time a William Lyly.

There is no difficulty in discovering how Anne met her second husband. Southwark was swarming with Lylys. There was a John Lylley, a neighbor of Richard Symons in Mrs. Newton's Rents. There was a Jasper Lilley in Normans Alley, probably a Catholic as he did not use his tokens and had his name checked in 1588. He had moved to "the hether end of the bank" by 1593. There was a Bryan Lyly in Wrenches Rents, who died "a poore man" in 1612, and a Thomas Lilley in the north side of Maid Lane. In 1593 "Wiltm Lellye", in "Swanne Allye Streatsyde" received three tokens and used them. This may or may not be the man we are looking for. If it is, who was the third token for? Only those over sixteen received a token. Besides, if this is the family we are discussing, does it mean that Anne was leaving the Catholic faith or compromising her beliefs? It is a dangerous assumption to make without more proof. The church register gives us no help at all, for there is no record of the wedding, nor of the death of Anne, which must have occurred before the death of Donne's wife, in 1617.<sup>23</sup> As we had to do with the Rainsfords, we must leave the Lylys to silence or future scholars.

1. By the end of 1591 we can be reasonably sure of the location of Donne's whole family. His mother and his sister were living together with his second step-father across the river in Southwark, close to the playhouses he was to frequent for the next ten years. John was entered in Thavies Inn, preparing for his studies at Lincoln's Inn. Henry was probably with him still.

Henry remains the large question mark in all this period of Donne's life. Did they remain together all the time or did Henry go out on his own after Oxford? Perhaps we shall never know. We do know that he maintained his strong Catholic beliefs, while John may have been weakening at this same time, although it was not for several years that he was to break from the religion of his family and ally himself openly with the established church.

16. Gosse, II, 23.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
19. Hebrews 11:27.
20. We can only hope that Donne's conscience pricked him as he wrote and spoke this passage, for he had played the father-watcher on the basis of a "suitable" marriage himself, unsuccessfully. On October 18, 1629, he wrote to Mary Wroth:

"Tell both your daughters a piece of a story of my Con., which may accuse them to endure disappointments in this world; An honorable person (whose name I give you in a schedule to burn, lest this letter should be mislaid) had an intention to give her one of my sons, and had told it me; and would have been content to accept what I, by my friends, could have brought her; but he intended that son to my profession, and had provided him already £300 a year of the revenue in church livings, and both estates £200 a year of

1. Stow, Annals, p. 744.
2. Camden, Annals, p. 362.
3. Ibid., p. 364.
4. Stow, p. 743.
5. Ibid., p. 747.
6. Camden, pp. 372-3. It has been noticed, however, that there is not a very large body of poetry about the Armada among the leading poets of the day. For example, Spenser does mention it in his Dedicatory Sonnet to Lord Charles Howard, but makes no allusion to it in The Fairie Queene.
7. 80 Sermons, V, p. 52.
8. Ibid., VI, Christmas 1628, pp. 58-9.
9. Ibid., IX, p. 88.
10. Grierson, Vol. I, 163; Satyre IIII, ll. 110-114.
11. While I was working on the present piece of research, Dr. A. C. Southern was preparing a good deal of Recusant material for Biographical Studies from the Token Books which should reveal much valuable information. Together we attempted to make as correct a transcription of the Mrs. Syminges entry as was possible from an extremely bad script.
12. 1588 Token Book.
13. This entry, incorrectly transcribed, appeared in "Sacramental Token Books at St. Saviour's, Southwark", Genealogist, New Series, Vol. I, 1884, p. 18.
14. Gr. I, 150; ll. 5-10.
15. All of the following information comes from Alfred Ransford, "Abstracts from Rainsford Documents in the Public Record Office", N & Q, 15 May 1926; the article contains extracts from two legal proceedings involving Richard Rainsforth, his wife, and stepdaughter.
16. Gosse, II, 89.
17. Ibid., p. 90.
18. Ibid., p. 88.
19. Hebrews 11:35.
20. We can only hope that Donne's conscience pricked him as he wrote and spoke this passage, for he had played the father-match-maker on the basis of a "suitable" marriage himself, unsuccessfully. On October 18, 1622, he wrote to Henry Goodyer,
 

"Tell both your daughters a piece of a story of my Con., which may accustom them to endure disappointments in this world: An honourable person (whose name I give you in a schedule to burn, lest this letter should be mislaid) had an intention to give her one of his sons, and had told it me, and would have been content to accept what I, by my friends, could have begged for her; but he intended that son to my profession, and had provided him already £300 a year of his own gift in church livings, and hath estated £300 more of

inheritance for their children; and now the youth (who yet knows nothing of his father's intention nor mine) flies from his resolutions for that calling, and importunes his father to let him travel. The girl knows not her loss, for I never told her of it; but, truly, it is a great disappointment to me." Gosse, II, 171.

21. 80 Sermons, XXII, pp. 216-218.

22. SPD-Eliz., 1595-1597, CCLVI, 69, p. 179.

23. One "Anne Lyly" was buried during the period 1571-1625, but she was not the one under consideration. On April 30, 1609, "Anne Lillye a childe" was buried at St. Saviour's. On Dec. 27, 1621, Anne Lyly, daughter of John the Counter keeper, was christened.

records in order to find out as much as possible of the nature of the man. As we do so, several extremely important facts must be kept in mind. First, Donne had been trained, and seemed to bring a natural bent to the training, in the use of paradox. This neither was new, nor is it now antiquated, in English University life. The presence and popularity of debating societies in which any subject, no matter how ridiculous, is fit object for mock-serious argument evidences the continuance of the undergraduate thought and play in which Donne flourished. His own somewhat ambiguous religious position only strengthened his use of paradox in poetry and prose. Besides, even though it does not have to be forced to Chastertonian lengths, Christianity itself supplies ample exercise in the use of paradox. Therefore, in treating Donne's writings, even when they appear most serious, we must be careful to remember constantly that he may be pulling our legs. Undoubtedly his associates would be pulling his

## Chapter 4

## Lincoln's Inn and Years of Travel

If up to this point in Donne's life we have suffered from a lack of material, we come now to a period of four years in which there is perhaps too much to work with. We must begin to fit the poems and prose works into the somewhat dull chronological outline provided by the written records in order to find out as much as possible of the nature of the man. As we do so, several extremely important facts must be kept in mind. First, Donne had been trained, and seemed to bring a natural bent to the training, in the use of paradox. This neither was new, nor is it now antiquated, in English University life. The presence and popularity of debating societies in which any subject, no matter how ridiculous, is fit object for mock-serious argument evidences the continuance of the undergraduate thought and play in which Donne flourished. His own somewhat ambiguous religious position only strengthened his use of paradox in poetry and prose. Besides, even though it does not have to be forced to Chestertonian lengths, Christianity itself supplies ample exercise in the use of paradox. Therefore, in treating Donne's writings, even when they appear most serious, we must be careful to remember constantly that he may be pulling our legs. Undoubtedly his associates would be better able

to discover what was sincere and what insincere than we can at this distance in time, but we can only do our best. Second, in spite of all that has been written, good and bad, about Donne's break with poetic conventions, we must keep in mind that much of his writing was grounded very firmly on earlier conventions or modes of expression.

The Elegies and Satyres can be traced quite definitely to the Latin poets, as has been shown by Sir Herbert Grierson and others, but perhaps most fully by Mr. Leishman, in his recent study, The Monarch of Wit; Miss Gardner has indicated the possibilities of the Holy Sonnets following the scheme of medieval meditations, and so on. Although Donne certainly transformed all of these poetic types into something quite uniquely his own, his debt to others and his limited conventionality should be kept in mind.

This point is important for another reason as well. Donne's quoting and following of authority in his sermons was not something that suddenly came about. His early Catholic training had instilled a respect for authority in him. If he broke with anyone in his poetry, it was not from the authority of the past, but from the contemporary "schools". One might even say that his breaking from poetic conventions was mostly backwards rather than forwards. Realizing that any simple comparison with modern situations is nearly as false as it is true, we

might say that he was breaking with what Peter Viereck calls the "New Philistinism."

But we should not allow his apparent splitting from his contemporaries too much weight either, which introduces the third point. I have already urged that we consider Donne's poetry, at least the early poetry if not all, as primarily a game. This naturally ties up with his use of paradox, but it goes further. His earliest extant poems appear to be verse letters, although some of the Songs and Sonets may be included as well. These letters are not "serious" poetry by any means. The Elegies and Satyres, although more serious efforts, still can be classified as poetry meant as show pieces for friends. It must be remembered that it is not until the turn of the century that Donne's poems began to be quoted in manuscript collections, diaries, and "pocket books". That he did not intend to be "known" for his poetry appears obvious from his later writings. This point is perhaps the most necessary to stress at the present time, for scholars and critics are turning Donne into a poet I am positive he did not intend to be. Like all of his friends, he was expected, as a gentleman, to be able to express himself in poetry as the occasion demanded or as his somewhat light-hearted Muse urged.

The fourth point is the one most closely connected

with this study. In March, 1625, Donne's friend, Sir Robert Ker, asked him to write an elegy on the occasion of the death of the Marquess of Hamilton. In reply, Donne agreed but said, "you know my uttermost when it was best, and even then I did best when I had least truth for my subjects."<sup>1</sup> Donne's keen dramatic sense gave him the power to instil into even the most academic of his poems the appearance of autobiographical intensity. Because of this, Donne biographers are hard put to it to decide what is true autobiography and what is clever invention. I shall try to maintain a sane reserve in this matter. Most of the verse letters can understandably be treated as honest statements of facts (omitting, of course, the more eulogistic ones to various Ladies of rank), but otherwise, it would be foolhardy to draw any definite conclusions of events or thoughts from the songs, elegies, and satires without further corroboration.

As usual, we shall begin our study of this portion of Donne's life from Walton's Biography.

About his seventeenth yeare he was removed to London, and entred into Lincolnes Inne, with an intent to study the Law, where he gave great testimonies of wit, learning, and improvement in that profession, which never served him for any use, but onely for ornament.<sup>2</sup>

His Father died before his admission into that Society and (being a Merchant) left him his Portion in money (which was 3000.li.) His Mother, and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to

that end appointed him there also Tutors in severall Sciences, as the Mathematicks and others, to attend and instruct him. But with these Arts they were advised to instill certaine particular principles of the Romish Church, of which those Tutors (though secretly) profest themselves to be members.

I think They had almost obliged him to their faith, having for their advantage, besides their opportunity, the example of his most deare and pious Parents, which was a powerfull perswasion, and did work upon him, as he professeth in his PREFACE to his Pseudo-Martyr.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps we should add here what Walton has to say about another possibility facing Donne at this time. In his Elegie upon Dr Donne, Walton states, in question form,

Spake he all Languages? knew he all Lawes?  
The grounds and use of Physicke; but because  
'Twas mercenary wav'd it?<sup>4</sup>

We have already noticed Donne's interest in medicine sufficiently, but we might note that there is good reason to believe that the chances of going on in the study of medicine were more than possible at the time for the young Donne. It is doubtful that Walton's reason for the choice of law was the correct one, however. Miss Ramsay treats the two studies together in her study of Donne:

Quelle était, en somme, la situation des études de droit et de médecine à la fin du XVIIe siècle, c'est à dire à l'époque où Donne s'est inscrit au collège de droit à Londres? Elles ne se faisaient pas à la façon spécialisée de nos jours. L'étude du droit surtout comportait toujours une certaine connaissance de l'antiquité et de la philosophie, le droit roman formant la

to aid in base de toute étude. La médecine demandait également que l'étudiant lût sinon dans le grec, du moins dans un texte latin, Hippocrate et Galien qui faisaient autorité encore à cette époque.<sup>5</sup>

I think we must eliminate Walton's statements about the tutors supplied for Donne, if for no other reason than that his mother's financial situation had suffered a good deal. It is possible that such tutoring had occurred during the unknown years after Oxford, but the whole passage suffers from inaccuracy. If we take Walton to mean that Donne was supplied with Tutors upon his father's death, then all of the passage might be correct-- if it were placed before his Oxford years. I think that it is fair to assume that Donne, even at his entering into law studies, was shifting his religious stand. His companions were mainly Protestant, and none of his verse letters indicate even the smallest religious controversies. In an age of strong feelings and bitterness, this would seem to indicate that Donne was already finding the middle of the road the most pleasant for travelling.

Whatever his mental attitude may have been, some time before May 6, 1591, Donne entered Thavies Inn to begin his study of the law. Mr. I. A. Shapiro has deduced this date from a study of the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn.<sup>6</sup> What his actual studies may have been, we can only surmise, and it has been suggested that he concentrated on Canon Law

to aid in the cause of English Recusants. Once again, no definite evidence on either side can be advanced, but I have already put forward the position that Donne was no longer a strong advocate for the religion of his parents. Donne's own statement, although made much later, is worth reporting here. In a letter to Henry Goodyer, from Paris, on April 14, 1612, Donne writes,

For my purpose of proceeding in the profession of the law, so far as to a title, you may be pleased to correct that imagination where you find it. I ever thought the study of it my best entertainment and pastime, but I have no ambition nor design upon the style.<sup>7</sup>

This may or may not have been his attitude at the actual time during which he was studying in London, but certainly he left Lincoln's Inn without any qualms, and the evidence is overwhelming that he studied other subjects as avidly, or more so, while in attendance there. I think we may take his claim at face value.

Even to quote representative passages concerning the law from the poems and prose writings seems a waste of time and space, for anyone who has merely dipped into Donne must have run across many such examples. Satyre II is entirely about a lawyer and Satyre V is nearly the same. Biathanatos is a study of civil and church law on the subject of suicide. There are sixty different uses of some form of "law" in the poems alone. However, to follow the general outline

of this thesis, a few examples may be quoted. I shall deal with the Satyres in the next chapter, for I believe them to be of a later date of composition than is generally held. In Love's Exchange Donne employs one of his favorite legal Latin tags:

I aske no dispensation now  
To falsifie a teare, or sigh, or vow,  
I do not sue from thee to draw  
A non obstante on natures law,  
These are prerogatives, they inhere  
In thee and thine; none should forswear  
Except that hee Loves minion were.<sup>8</sup>

Holy Sonnet XVI uses as its master image the legal handling of a will.

Father, part of his double interest  
Unto thy kingdome, thy Sonne gives to mee,  
His joynture in the knottie Trinitie  
Hee keeps, and gives to me his deaths conquest.  
This Lambe, whose death, with life the world hath  
blest,  
Was from the worlds beginning slaine, and he  
Hath made two Wills, which with the Legacie  
Of his and thy kingdome, doe thy Sonnes invest.  
Yet such are thy laws, that men argue yet  
Whether a man whose statutes can fulfill;  
None doth; but all-healing grace and spirit  
Revive againe what law and letter kill.  
Thy lawes abridgement, and thy last command  
Is all but love; Oh let this last Will stand!<sup>9</sup>

A passage in the Essays in Divinity describes the action of Canon law.

And as a man delated juridically, or by fame,  
or by private information of any Crime, must,  
when Canonically purgation is required at his hands,

not only swear his own innocency himself, but produce others of his neighbourhood and friendship, to swear that they think he swears true; and if they concurr'd not with him, this would have the nature of a halfproof, and justifie a further proceeding to his condemnation.<sup>10</sup>

And a later one uses the Common Law as a description of nature.

By Nature is the Common law by which God governs us, and Miracle is his Prerogative. For Miracles are but so many Non-obstantes upon Nature. And Miracle is not like prerogative in any thing more than in this, that no body can tell what it is.<sup>11</sup>

In a Trinity sermon given at Lincoln's Inn, Donne could call up images that were close to the hearts of his hearers:

When there is a long time to the Assises, there may be some hope of taking off, or of smothering Evidence, or working upon the Judge, or preparing for a pardon.<sup>12</sup>

On February 20, 1617, in a sermon at Whitehall, the legal image was carried to its highest application:

They knew Gods ordinary proceeding. They knew his Common Law, and they knew his Chancery. They knew his Chief Justice Moses, that denounced his Judgements upon transgressors of the Law; and they knew his Chancellor Christ Jesus, into whose hands he had put all Judgements, to mitigate the rigor and condemnation of the Law. They knew Gods law, and his Chancery: but for Gods prerogative, what he could do of his absolute power, they knew Gods pleasure, Nolumus disputari.<sup>13</sup>

Besides the study of law, Donne undoubtedly found his time full. I have already mentioned the picture of him

painted in the year 1591. The engraving, found first in the 1635 edition of the poems, was by William Marshall, but it has been claimed that the original may have been by Nicholas Hilliard, the famous miniaturist. A fool if he come into a Princes Court, and see and so painted in many colours that he is hardly discerned from one of the Pictures in the room hanging, a hand, or eye By Hilliard drawne, is worth an history, By a worse painter made.<sup>14</sup>

Donne's interest in art seems to have been stirred from at least this date. Miss Helen Gardner, in her recent edition of the Divine Poems, has said about Donne, "In his almost total blindness to the beauty of the natural world he reveals a lack of receptivity, that capacity for disinterested joy which is one of the marks of the spiritual man."<sup>15</sup> Although this statement certainly contains a certain amount of truth, it can be misleading. We shall have reason to question it in the light of several of the poems, but here I will only notice that Donne certainly did not lack "receptivity" where art was concerned. Mr. W. Milgate has made a study of Donne's art collection, three paintings of which were gifts from Christopher Brooke.<sup>16</sup> The writings are sufficient, however, as a guide to Donne's appreciation of art. He reflects the Renaissance interest in the mathematical rules of art:

And then by Durers rules survey the state  
Of his each limbe, and with strings the odds trye  
Of his neck to his legge, and wast to thighe.<sup>17</sup>

He could also recall a tapestry figure to make his satiric portrait the clearer.

Speaking of the fool, he says:  
 A fool if he come into a Princes Court, and see  
 a gay man leaning at the wall, so glistering,  
 and so painted in many colours that he is hardly  
 discerned from one of the Pictures in the Arras  
 hanging, his body like an Ironbound chest, girt  
 in and thick ribb'd with broad gold laces, may  
 (and commonly doth) envy him.<sup>18</sup>

Usually, and I believe this to be Miss Gardner's intended point, Donne is more concerned with the painter than he is with the result:

like Painters that do take  
 Delight, not in made worke, but whiles they make.<sup>19</sup>

He apparently either painted himself or was close to some painters, for his description of their technique has the touch of familiarity:

But when the holy Ghost takes a man into his  
 schoole, he deales not with him, as a Painter,  
 which makes an eye, and an eare, and a lip, and  
 passes his pencill an hundred times over every  
 muscle, and every haire, and so in many sittings  
 makes up one man, but he deales as a Printer,  
 that in one straine delivers a whole story.<sup>20</sup>

If "Emblems" may be admitted as artistic works, the importance of Donne's interest in art forms becomes even greater, for many of his most famous images are apparently based on emblems, such as the various pictures of the heart

and the wreath of hair on the arm, as well as the compass image. Donne often refers to the emblematic practice.

Speaking of the foot, he says,

It is the Emblem that hath figured  
Firmness; 'tis the first part that comes to bed;<sup>21.</sup>

and of New Year's,

This twilight of two yeares, not past nor next,  
Some embleme is of mee, or I of this.<sup>22.</sup>

Perhaps Donne's favorite emblem was the circle.<sup>23.</sup>

Donne always considered sight the most important of the senses.

She sees him man, so like God made in this,  
That of them both a circle embleme is,  
Whose first and last concur.<sup>24.</sup>

World.

He employed the circle emblem extensively in the Sermons.

One of the most convenient Hieroglyphicks of God, is a Circle; and a Circle is endlesse; whom God loves, hee loves to the end: and not onely to their own end, to their death, but to his end, and his end is, that he might love them still. His hailestones, and his thunderbolts, and his showers of bloud (emblemes and instruments of his Judgements) fall downe in a direct line, and affect and strike some one person, or place: His Sun, and Moone, and Starres, (Emblemes and Instruments of his Blessings) move circularly, and communicate themselves to all. His Church is his chariot; in that, he moves more gloriously, then in the Sun; as much more, as his begotten Son exceeds his created Sun, and his Son of glory, and of his right hand, the Sun of the firmament; and this Church, his chariot, moves in that communicable motion, circularly; It began in the East, it came to us, and is passing now, shining out now, in the farthest West.<sup>25.</sup>

Sometimes he made a little too much of a good thing,  
 although his display of wit must have amazed his congregation:

Their death was a birth to them into another life,  
 into the glory of God; It ended one Circle, and  
 created another; for immortality, and eternity  
 is a Circle too; not a Circle where two points  
 meet, but a Circle made at once; This life is  
 a Circle, made with a Compasse, that passes from  
 point to point; That life is a Circle stamped  
 with a print, an endlesse, and perfect Circle,  
 as soone as it begins. Of this Circle, the  
 Mathematician is our great and good God; The  
 other Circle we make up our selves; we bring  
 the Cradle, and Grave together by a course of  
 nature.<sup>26</sup>

Donne always considered sight the most important of the  
 senses. This he states quite clearly in An Anatomie of the  
 World.

Sight is the noblest sense of any one,  
 Yet sight hath only colour to feed on,  
 And colour is decay'd.<sup>27</sup>

He expounds upon this on Easter day, 1628,

The sight is so much the Noblest of all the  
 senses, as that it is all the senses. As the  
 reasonable soul of man, when it enters, becomes  
 all the soul of man, and he hath no longer a  
 vegetative, and a sensitive soul, but all is that  
 one reasonable soul; so, sayes S. Aug. (and he  
 exemplifies it, by severall pregnant places of  
 Scripture) Visus per omnes sensus recurrit, All  
 the senses are called Seeing; as there is videre  
 & audire, S. Iohn turned to see the sound; and  
 there is Gustate, & videre, Taste, and see, how  
sweet the Lord is; And so of the rest of the  
 senses, all is sight. Employ then this noblest  
 sense upon the noblest object, see God; see God  
 in every thing, and then thou needst not take

is there off thine eye from Beauty, from Riches, from Honour, from any thing. S. Paul speakes here Here, of of a diverse seeing of God. Of seeing God in a glasse, and seeing God face to face; but of not seeing God at all, the Apostle speakes not at all.<sup>28</sup>

With this interest in the importance of seeing (he calls pictures "the lay-mans book")<sup>29</sup> went a fascination for the place of colour in the world. Following the passage in An Anatomie quoted above comes;

summers robe growes  
Duskie, and like an oft dyed garment showes.  
Our blushing red, which us'd in cheekes to spread,  
Is inward sunke, and only our soules are red.  
Perchance the world might have recovered,  
If she whom we lament had not beene dead:  
But shee, in whom all white, and red, and blew  
(Beauties ingredients) voluntary grew,  
As in an unvext Paradise; from whom  
Did all things verdure, and their lustre come,  
Whose composition was miraculous,  
Being all colour, all Diaphanous.<sup>30</sup>

A year later he wrote,

Why grasse is greene, or why our blood is red,  
Are mysteries which none have reach'd unto.<sup>31</sup>

Green particularly fascinated him, although not as much as it was later to fascinate Marvell. In Communitie he speaks of its prevalence in nature.

If they were good it would be seene,  
Good is as visible as greene,  
And to all eyes it selfe betrayes.<sup>32</sup>

He even devoted an entire Problem to the question "Why

is there more Variety of Greene, than of any other Colour?"

Here, of course, the treatment has its lighter side:

It is because it is the figure of Youth  
wherin nature would provide as many green, as  
youth hath affections; and so present a Sea-  
green for profuse waters in voyages.<sup>33</sup>

and to the Countess of Bedford:

In spite of his apparent love of colour, Donne is more  
at home playing with light and shadow, black and white.

Combs and Sullens' Concordance of Donne's poems here supplies  
the material for an interesting comparison. The mere

number of uses of various colours in the poems shows, per-  
haps, the order of importance in Donne's mind: blue-4,

yellow-1, green-4, red-19, black-13, white-26, dark-17,

light-55 (eliminating those meaning "not heavy"). Except

for the large number of "reds", explained by the theologi-  
cal significance of that colour, the contrast is great.

Donne treated every subtle change of light and shade from

the open use of the sun's shadow, in A Lecture upon the

Shadow, to the lightless fire of Hell, in the Ecclogve on

the marriage of the Earl of Somerset.

The play of sun and cloud supplied him with good materi-  
al, as in the fragmentary poem to the Countess of Huntingdon,

But (madame) I now thinke on you; and here  
Where we are at our hights, you but appeare,  
We are but clouds you rise from, our noone-ray  
But a foule shadow, not your breake of day.  
You are at first hand all that's faire and right,  
And others good reflects but backe your light.

You are a perfectnesse, so curious hit,  
 That youngest flatteries doe scandall it.  
 For, what is more doth what you are restraine,  
 And though beyond, is downe the hill againe.  
 We'have no next way to you, we crosse to it:  
 You are the straight line, thing prais'd, attribute;  
 Each good in you's a light; so many a shade  
 You make, and in them are your motions made;<sup>34</sup>.

and to the Countess of Bedford,

Should I say I liv'd darker then were true,  
 Your radiation can all clouds subdue;  
 But one, 'tis best light to contemplate you.<sup>35</sup>

The Sun is used even more effectively in the religious poems, as might be indicated by the slight hat-tipping to the divinity in the last line above. Donne felt the element of light strongly in religious matters, as his references to candles in the Sermons show. In A Hymn to Christ he wrote, "Churches are best for Prayer, that have least light."<sup>36</sup> In Resurrection the pun on Sun is used effectively.

Sleep sleep old Sun, thou canst not have repast  
 As yet, the wound thou took'st on friday last;  
 Sleepe then, and rest; The world may beare thy stay,  
 A better Sun rose before thee to day,  
 Who, not content to'enlighten all that dwell  
 On the earths face, as thou, enlightned hell,  
 And made the darke fires languish in that vale,  
 As, at thy presence here, our fires grow pale.<sup>37</sup>

In the Sermons the word "light" is used more times than it is worth tracing. In one paragraph of a Trinity sermon it is used 24 times.<sup>38</sup> On Easter, 1628, Donne treated the various kinds of lights.

of the Soule. The light of glory is such a light, as that our School-men dare not say confidently, That every beam of it, is not all of it. When some of them say, That some soules see some things in God, and others, others, because all have not the same measure of the light of glory, the rest cry down that opinion, and say, that as the Essence of God is indivisible, and he that sees any of it, sees all of it, so is the light of glory communicated intirely to every blessed soul. God made light first, and three dayes after, that light became a Sun, a more glorious Light; God gave me the light of Nature, when I quickned in my mothers wombe by receiving a reasonable soule; and God gave me the light of faith, when I quickned in my second mothers womb, the Church, by receiving my baptisme; but in my third day, when my mortality shall put on immortality, he shall give me the light of glory, by which I shall see himself. To this light of glory, the light of honour is but a glow-worm; and majesty it self but a twilight; The Cherubims and Seraphims are but Candles; and that Gospel it self, which the Apostle calls the glorious Gospel, but a Star of the least magnitude. And if I cannot tell, what to call this light, by which I shall see it, what shall I call that which I shall see by it, the Essence of God himself?<sup>39</sup>.

In the poems the kind of light most effectively used is candlelight, for here the play of light and shadow is most varied and interesting. It had some of the fascination for Donne that it had for his "giddy fly":

so, the tapers beemie eye  
Amorously twinkling, beckens the giddie flie,  
Yet burnes his wings.<sup>40</sup>.

The introduction of a candle into a darkened room gave him an opportunity to point up the contrast of dark and light most acutely, and he used it twice in his Of the Progresse

of the Soule. use of lanthornes; and in one place  
feathers and dust, to day and yesterday,

Thinke then, my soule, that death is but a Groome,  
Which brings a Taper to the outward roome,  
Whence thou spiest first a little glimmering light,  
And after brings it nearer to thy sight.<sup>41</sup>

Heaven is as neare, and present to her face,  
As colours are, and objects, in a roome  
Where darknesse was before, when Tapers come.<sup>42</sup>

all was so quiet.<sup>43</sup>

I have emphasized the importance of visual images so much for two reasons. The contrast of light and shadow seems to me to be nearly the dominant characteristic of Donne's writings. Undoubtedly it is part of his paradoxical technique, but it is also something more. It is almost an outward sign of inner questioning. It helped him see the importance of shades both of meaning and behaviour. On the physical side, it may have been a result of some form of visual defect, for there is some reason to believe that Donne's eyesight was not perfect and suffered through extensive and intensive reading. The other reason for dwelling on Donne's sense of light, colour, and visual habits is to attempt to counteract much ill-formed criticism of his work, namely that it lacks visual power and is almost entirely mental. It may be well to cite a few examples against such an attitude before going on. Ben Jonson's favorite passage is certainly a case in point:

The fighting place now seamens ragges supply;  
And all the tackling is a frippery.

No use of lanthornes; and in one place lay  
Feathers and dust, to day and yesterday.<sup>43</sup>

Jonson's remark is famous:

He [Jonson] esteemeth John Donne the first poet  
in the world in some things; his verses of the  
Lost Chaine he hath by Heart and that passage of  
the calme, that dust and fethers do not stir,  
all was so quiet.<sup>44</sup>

In The Storme there is another famous passage:

and all our tacklings  
Snapping, like too-high-stretched treble strings.  
And from our totterd sailes, ragges drop downe so,  
As from one hang'd in chaines, a yeare agoe.<sup>45</sup>

Here the description is built up by comparisons, but the comparisons are striking enough to supply a more definite picture than many more words of sheer description would. Donne used this method quite often, and some of his best descriptive passages owe their power to the use of definite and striking comparisons. The comparison itself often reveals a keen visual power, as in a letter to Thomas Woodward:

As in our streets sly beggers narrowly  
Watch motions of the givers hand and eye,  
And evermore conceive some hope thereby;<sup>46</sup>

or, in Elegie VI, in the brilliant description of a stream:

So, carelesse flowers strow'd on the waters face,  
The curled whirlepooles suck, smack, and embrace,  
Yet drowne them;  
.....  
When I behold a streame, which, from the spring,

He did not Doth with doubtfull melodious murmuring,  
 Or in a speechlesse slumber, calmely ride  
 microcosm. Her wedded channels bosome, and then chide  
 And bend her browes, and swell if any bough  
 to other p Do but stoop downe, or kisse her upmost brow;  
 Yet, if her often gnawing kisses winne  
 must, of n The traiterous banke to gape, and let her in,  
 Donne went She rusheth violently, and doth divorce  
 Her from her native, and her long-kept course,  
 And rores, and braves it, and in gallant scorne,  
 poetry com In flattering eddies promising retorne,  
 She flouts the channell, who thenceforth is drie.<sup>47</sup>  
 the "metaphysicals", but where the correspondences

Donne was struck by the effect of a flooding stream, an event which he may have seen many times in the miserable summer of 1594, and we find it not only in the poems, but in the Sermons as well:

1591. On May 6, 1592, he entered Lincoln  
 thirty-one will finde out all the channels, or lower parts  
 Inne."<sup>49</sup> of the bank, and enter there, but after a while  
 coming from it covers, and overflows the whole field, and all  
 The extra naturally channels of concupiscencies, (for there  
 of fees, a sin begins, and as water runs naturally in the  
 of thirty veines and bowels of the earth, so run concuspi-  
 taken in h scencies naturally in our bowels) yet, when every  
 for our parts, as when a River swells, at first it  
 will finde out all the channels, or lower parts  
 of the bank, and enter there, but after a while  
 it covers, and overflows the whole field, and all  
 is water without distinction; so, though we be  
 naturally channels of concupiscencies, (for there  
 sin begins, and as water runs naturally in the  
 veines and bowels of the earth, so run concuspi-  
 scencies naturally in our bowels) yet, when every  
imagination of the thoughts of our heart, is  
onely evill continually; Then, (as it did there)  
 it induces a flood, a deluge, our concupiscence  
 swells above all channels, and actually over-  
 flows all.<sup>48</sup>

Edward Loftus.

If Donne does not revel in description for its own sake, we should not attribute the lack to any deficiency in descriptive power nor an absence of interest in either nature or beauty. The real reason seems to be that Donne's vision was always imaginative; he constantly saw (not necessarily sought) correspondences in all parts of God's creation.

He did not need Paracelsus to tell him that man was a microcosm. All parts of nature contained similar qualities to other parts. In this situation his descriptive powers must, of necessity, have been primarily analogical. Where Donne went out of his way to seek correspondences, his poetry comes under the censure of Dr. Johnson concerning the "metaphysicals", but where the correspondences suggested themselves, he was "receptive" in the highest degree, and his poetry gains power accordingly.

We left Donne ensconced in Thavies Inn during the year 1591. On May 6, 1592, he entered Lincoln's Inn, paying thirty-one shillings, "quia sint de hospicio de Thavis Inne."<sup>49</sup> As Mr. Shapiro has noted, the fee for those coming from Thavies Inn or Furnivals Inn was £1 13s 4d. The extra 2/4 could be accounted for in separate payment of fees, although the Black Books register only the payment of thirty shillings.<sup>50</sup> Donne was to be looked after, or taken in hand (manuceptores), by Christopher Brooke and Edward Loftus. There is no way of knowing how well Donne knew these two men, but at least Brooke very quickly became one of his best friends and remained so for the rest of his life. One of the chief reasons for Donne's continued closeness to the affairs of Lincoln's Inn seems to have been his friendship with Brooke, for the latter was to remain one of the most important members of the Society,

being personally in charge of the building of the Chapel during the reign of James I. Donne laid the first stone of the building and preached the consecration sermon.<sup>51</sup> Brooke had entered Lincoln's Inn on March 15, 1587,<sup>52</sup> from Yorkshire, son of Robert Brooke, a rich merchant, alderman, and twice Lord Mayor of the city of York. He later inherited his father's fortune and settled down in his own house in Drury Lane, having married a Mary Jacob in St. Martins-in-the-Fields, on December 18, 1619. Besides his regular law practice, he served in seven Parliaments, joining Donne at Westminster in 1614.<sup>53</sup> On his death in 1628, he left Donne three of his paintings. These two men shared most of their pleasures, outlooks, and tastes, and Brooke acted as bond for Donne in all of the latter's "First Fruits" payments except for the Deanery of St. Paul's. If we could only find the letters which must have passed between these two during their lifetimes much that remains a mystery about Donne would surely be cleared up.

The identity of Edward Loftus is considerably less clear and certainly less important. Loftus had entered Lincoln's Inn on November 24, 1584, from Furnival's Inn. His home county was Yorkshire, but aside from this we know nothing. He may have been related to the more famous Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, but there is no reason for believing this. We may perhaps assume that he was closely related to William Loftus, also of Yorkshire, who

entered Oriel College, Oxford, in 1594. What we should really like to know is whether he had a brother named John or James, for one of Donne's closest friends during his Lincoln's Inn days had the initials "I.L."

Just as we noted the importance of friendships formed by Donne at Oxford, we should notice the number of important relationships established at Lincoln's Inn. On October 22, 1586, a Robert Raynsford, of Essex, entered the Inn,<sup>54</sup> but there is no way of knowing whether he was a relative of Donne's second step-father. Far more important for Donne's future was the entry, on January 17, 1588, of Thomas Egerton,<sup>55</sup> son of the Solicitor General who, as Lord Chancellor, was to be Donne's employer from 1598 to 1601. Donne seems to have been quite close to all of the younger members of that family, and it was his friendship with Thomas that led to Donne's employment by Lord Ellesmere. Thomas was not the only member of the Egerton family to be associated with Lincoln's Inn at this time. A near relation, Philip Egerton, entered on June 30, 1592,<sup>56</sup> just a month after Donne, at the request of the elder Thomas Egerton; and on March 6, 1595, probably soon after Donne had left the Inn on his travels, John Egerton, the brother of Thomas and son of the Solicitor General, entered.

In the same month of May that Donne entered the Inn, John Brooke, of Suffolk, also of Thavies Inn, joined him, on the 11th.<sup>57</sup> Although their friendship is less important

from our point of view, it nevertheless was one that continued for many years, as shown by a passage from the 1612 Paris letter already quoted concerning his law studies.

On February 24, 1592, Thomas Lucy entered Lincoln's Inn.<sup>53</sup>

I know not yet whether Sir John Brooke's purpose of being very shortly here, be not a just reason to make me forbear writing to him. I am sure that I would fainest do that in writing or abstaining which should be most acceptable to him.<sup>58</sup>

Another Yorkshire family was represented at the Inn who appear to have maintained their connections with Donne through the years. On October 29, 1586, a Richard Washington entered by a special admission,<sup>59</sup> and four years later his brother Philip entered from Furnival's Inn, on January 22, 1590.<sup>60</sup> In the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral there is a manuscript volume containing four sermons by Donne copied out by a man named Knightley Chetwode in the year 1625.<sup>61</sup> Following a sermon by "Josvah Hal" is a sermon of Donne's "Preached at St Clements at Mr Washingtons Mariage."

It is dated 1626, which disagrees with all the other dates and may be a mistake. Furthermore there is no record of anyone named Washington being married at St. Clement-Danes at this period.<sup>62</sup> However, in Joseph Foster's Marriage Records of the city of London, the marriage of Richard Washington and Frances Browne at St. Martin-in-Fields on April 14, 1627, is noted. I think we may surmise that this marriage sermon was given by Donne either for one of

the brothers whom he knew at Lincoln's Inn or for one of their children. ~~for dead. On February 2, 1608, his~~  
~~broth~~Two other important friendships date from this period. On February 24, 1592, Thomas Lucy entered Lincoln's Inn.<sup>63</sup> This son of the man who is maligned in every biography of the young Shakespeare, was a frequent correspondent with Donne for many years, although we do not now have as many letters as the Dean's son attempted to show in his edition of his father's letters.<sup>64</sup> The 1612 letter quoted above brings most of Donne's early friends together, and there, too, is the statement, "Sir Thomas Lucy's business, and perchance sadness, forbid me writing now."<sup>65</sup>

The last of the group to be mentioned entered on January 21, 1591: Rowland Woodward, of London, gentleman.<sup>66</sup> It is of him that Gosse says, "There is none of Donne's friends of whom we would more gladly know more than of Rowland Woodward."<sup>67</sup> Had he known more, Gosse would certainly not have dated the verse letters to the Woodwards as late as 1612. [Although we do not know too much about the man yet, we do know something.] He was born in the parish of Mary le Bowe and christened on August 23, 1573, the first of eight children. His brother, Thomas, to whom Donne sent four verse letters, was born three years later, in July of 1576.<sup>68</sup> Rowland was with Henry Wotton in Venice in 1605 and was sent from there to Milan as a spy, afterwards being imprisoned by the Inquisition. In 1607,

bringing home despatches, he was attacked by robbers in France and left for dead. On February 2, 1608, his brother Thomas was paid £60 for Rowland's "surgeons and diets." Two months later Wotton wrote that Woodward had been placed with the Bishop of London. In 1620 Woodward was trying to go to Vienna with Wotton, but he had become a little bitter about the latter, "he is so inconstant, that I dare not presume." His letters to Francis Windebank at this time about Windebank's "sweet sister, Nel" reveal a lover with as smooth a tongue as any age has produced. After gaining a pension in 1625, with the aid of the Duke of Buckingham, he married Ellinor Grimsditch, then 32, in the Chapel of Bridewell, thus consummating his long courtship. He helped Windebank in the Signet Office from 1628 till 1630 and then was appointed deputy Master of Ceremonies to Sir John Finnet in July of that year, at a salary of 6s 8d a day. He died before April, 1636. He and Donne exchanged several verse letters; we have five of Donne's extant. But more important, I think we may be reasonably sure that the early love poems and elegies of Donne came from the conversations and "bull sessions" of Donne, Rowland Hayward, and Christopher Brooke. Judging from Woodward's later suavity, it may have been he who acquainted Donne with love-making, Elizabethan style.

of There is one idea, commonly held, that should be, if

not exploded, at least questioned. Walton says of Christopher Brooke that he was "sometime Mr. Donnes Chamber-fellow in Lincolns-Inn."69. It is a small point and yet an interesting one. It would suit our story very well if it were true, but it seems questionable. Brooke surely had as much room trouble as any man in Lincoln's Inn! On February 11, 1594, the Council ordered that Brooke be admitted to the next pensioner's chamber that became empty, without any charge "for that he hath paid allreddie to the use of the Howse liij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup> for his admittance into the garrett over M<sup>r</sup> Ayloffes Chamber wherof he is by order of the counsell avoided for that the same was abenchers chamber."70. The situation was a complicated one, for Aylofffe was moving into a Thomas Thornton's room so that Thornton and John Temple could move in above Mr. Wheeler. However, Brooke seems to have settled down somewhere, and on November 26th, he was paid 5 marks for the improvements he had made on the chamber now occupied by Thornton and Temple. Nowhere in this discussion does Donne's name appear, which means that for a good part of the time in which he was a member of Lincoln's Inn, he was not living with Brooke. Either they roomed together for a while immediately after Donne arrived, or Walton made an exaggerated claim. It is probably the latter, but the mistake is an excusable one considering the closeness of the friends.

In considering Donne's Lincoln's Inn days, we find three problems paramount. Just how much of a rake was Donne? When did he write his early poems and which were the ones written during these years? What were his religious convictions at this time? I will not be able to answer any of these questions completely, but I think the answers are more definite than they have been judged in the past. First we must examine two seventeenth century records. Sir Richard Baker, Donne's Oxford friend, wrote,

And here I desire the Reader leave to remember two of my own old acquaintance, the one was Mr John Dunne, who leaving Oxford, lived at the Innes of Court, not dissolute, but very neat; a great Visiter of Ladies, a great frequenter of Playes, a great writer of conceited Verses; untill such time as King James taking notice of the pregnancy of his Wit, was a means that he betook him to the study of Divinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctor, was made Dean of Pauls; and became so rare a Preacher, that he was not only commended, but even admired by all that heard him.<sup>72</sup>

In 1675, Edward Phillips, the elder nephew of Milton, wrote, in Theatrum Poetarum,

John Donne, a Student in his younger days in Lincoln's Inne, whither he betook himself from the University of Oxford; but instead of poring upon tedious Reports, Judgments and Statute Books, he accomplisht himself with the politer kind of Learning, moderately enjoy'd the pleasures of the Town, and frequented good Company, to which the sharpness of his Wit, and gayety of Fancy, render'd him not a little grateful; in

not needed which state of life he compos'd his more brisk  
 and Youthful Poems, which are rather commended  
 at the full for the height of Fancy and acuteness of conceit,  
 then for the smoothness of the Verse. ordinary. At last by King James his command, or rather  
 earnest persuasion, setting himself to the immoral." study of Theology, and entring into Holy Orders,  
 he says Don afterwards advanc't to be Dean of Pauls: and  
 Town, and Eminent Preacher, so he rather improved then  
 relinquisht his Poetical Fancy; only convert-  
 ing it from human and worldly to Divine and  
 Heavenly subjects.<sup>73</sup>

mostly modern, who argue solely on the basis of the poems,  
 a dan Both of these statements say that Donne went to London  
 directly from Oxford, which is of interest as Walton's  
 biography, giving a different story, was already well-known.  
 Both refer to his wit and conceited verse, and both refer  
 to the continuity of his writings, a fact which was unfor-  
 tunately not enough realized in early studies of Donne in  
 this century. But here we are interested more particularly  
 in their agreement on another point, the moderateness of  
 Donne's social behaviour. Baker calls him "a great Visiter  
 of Ladies," but this he was his entire life, and Baker  
 seems to intimate as much in the structure of the sentence.  
 If he always treated ladies as he treated them in the years  
 1601-1615, Donne's earlier poems must indeed be sheer <sup>76</sup>  
 invention. Baker also uses the phrase "not dissolute,  
 but very neat." There has been an attempt to show that  
 this refers only to Donne's standard of dress.<sup>74</sup> The "neat"  
 undoubtedly does, but not the "dissolute", although the  
 word can have that application. The double emphasis is

not needed, nor is it in Baker's style, as a short glance at the full passage would show. What he says is quite ordinary, "Although he dressed like a dude, he was not immoral." Phillips makes the point more obviously when he says Donne "moderately enjoy'd the pleasures of the Town, and frequented good Company."<sup>75</sup>

Opposed to this outlook are a group of writers, mostly modern, who argue solely on the basis of the poems, a dangerous policy. Edmund Gosse and those who followed him reached a low point in biographical study, using the Elegies and Songs as a literal, play-by-play account of a love affair with a married woman. This has been exploded fully and may be treated as "merely corroborative detail intended to give artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative." This Pooch-bah attitude is rather out of place with a man like Donne, however. At the other extreme is Mr. Leishman, with some others, who apparently white-washes Donne completely. In between, but not treading the middle path, is Mr. J. E. V. Crofts, who thinks that all Donne's love poetry is the story of a defeated coxcomb who went and fell in love.<sup>76</sup> This, I feel is the most misleading of all.

For all of its exaggeration, Virginia Woolf's picture of Elizabethan England gives a rather good description of the times for at least one segment of the population.

The man who The age was the Elizabethan; their morals were not ours; nor their poets; nor their experience climate; nor their vegetables even. Everything was different. The weather itself, the heat and cold of summer and winter was, we may believe, of another temper altogether. The brilliant armorous day was divided as sheerly from the night as land from water. Sunsets were redder and more intense; dawns were whiter and more auroral. Of our crepuscular half-lights and lingering twilights they knew nothing. The rain fell vehemently, or not at all. The sun blazed or there was darkness. Translating this to the spiritual regions as their wont is, the poets sang beautifully how roses fade and petals fall. The moment is brief they sang; the moment is over; one long night is then to be slept by all. As for using the artifices of the greenhouse or conservatory to prolong or preserve these fresh pinks and roses, that was not their way. The withered intricacies and ambiguities of our more gradual and doubtful age were unknown to them. Violence was all. The flowers bloomed and faded. The sun rose and sank. The lover loved and went. And what the poets said in rhyme, the young translated into practice. Girls were roses, and their seasons were short as the flowers'. Plucked they must be before nightfall; for the day was brief and the day was all.<sup>77</sup>

Even the "love" affairs of the respectable Henry Wotton were shocking by modern standards. Further, we should remember Dr. Johnson's admonition that one affair should not label a man a whoremonger. Actually, it would be extremely difficult to argue either that Donne had many affairs or that he had none. That he had at least one "sun of his heart" is fact. How far the relationship went, we are unable to judge. But to argue that all his portrayals of love-making came from a reading of Latin poetry, or Spanish, would be nothing short of ridiculous.

The man who wrote these passages had more than literary experience: Valour.

There in a Creek where chosen pearls do swell,  
The Remora, her cleaving tongue doth dwell.<sup>78</sup>

The pearl-teeth may be conventional, but calling the tongue a Remora, the sucking-fish believed to have the power to hold on to and stop any ship, is not merely a clever twist; it indicates a certain amount of osculatory knowledge, a knowledge somewhat more impassioned than Ben Jonson's "our tongues perplexed lie." Elegie XIX is an even better example of a poem based, surely, on some experience.

Licence my roaving hands, and let them go,  
Before, behind, between, above, below.  
O my America! my new-found-land.<sup>79</sup>

There is not only experience shown in these poems, but a sort of disappointment or disillusionment as well: based on Ovid's writings. There is, as I have said, a

curious ambivalence. Ah cannot wee,  
As well as Cocks and Lyons, jocund be,  
After such pleasures, unlesse wise  
Nature decreed (since each such Act, they say,  
Diminisheth the length of life a day)  
This; as she would man should despise  
The sport,  
Because that other curse of being short  
And only for a minute made to be  
Eager, desires to raise posterity.<sup>80</sup>

In a good deal of Donne's love poetry, but not in Elegie XIX, there is a jarring note. It may be merely a quality of wit we no longer quite appreciate, and thus label

"insincere". The Donne warns about wit in love poetry in his Essay on Valour. Her love being more acceptable to Philaenis than a man's is one of cleanliness as much as anything, (as he is extant) would allow it as good a diversity, that gifts should be sent as gratuities, not as bribes; Wit getteth rather promise than Love, Wit is not to be seen, and no woman takes advice of any in her loving, but of her own eyes, and her waiting womans; Nay which is worse, Wit is not to be felt, and so no good fellow; Wit apply'd to a woman makes her dissolve (or disclose) her simpering, and discover her teeth with laughter, and this is surely a purge for love; for the beginning of love is a kind of foolish melancholy.<sup>81</sup>

Here again, of course, he is being witty about wit, and we must not fall into his trap. Nevertheless, there is probably a good deal of experience behind his statements, especially considering 16th century dental habits. That he should quote Ovid on the subject is of interest as we feel sure that much of the word play of the Elegies is based on Ovid's writings. There is, as I have said, a curious ambivalence to sex shown up in the poems, however. Perhaps it is the result of his early Catholic training, as suggested by Mr. Crofts; perhaps a psychological quirk. It would be too easy to say that the poem Sapho to Philaenis indicates a perverse strain in Donne. Against such a statement is the fact that only one other complete and one incomplete poem are worded from the woman's point of view. What is more important about the Sapho poem is that except for the overt mentions of Lesbianism, it reads

like any of the other love poems, and perhaps more sincerely. "Sapho's" reason for her love being more acceptable to Philaenis than a man's is one of cleanliness as much as anything, which may or may not indicate another facet of Donne's attitude towards sex. I think that we may only say, in fairness, that there is some indication in the love poems that Donne had a rather strong latent homosexuality in his makeup--this being considered only on the same psychological basis which claims a latent homosexuality of some sort in all people.

As for his overt moral life, I think we are bound to agree with Baker and Phillips that it was restrained and indeed quite seemly for the period. His knowledge of courting and innocent-enough flirtation was great. He knew the "language of the eye and hand" and "alphabet of flowers":

Natures lay Ideot, I taught thee to love,  
 And in that sophistrie, Oh, thou dost prove  
 Too subtle: Foole, thou didst not understand  
 The mystique language of the eye nor hand:  
 Nor couldst thou judge the difference of the aire  
 Of sighes, and say, this lies, this sounds despaire:  
 Nor by the'eyes water call a maladie  
 Desperately hot, or changing feaverously.  
 I had not taught thee then, the Alphabet  
 Of flowers, how they devisefully being set  
 And bound up, might with speechlesse secrecie  
 Deliver arrands mutely, and mutually,<sup>83</sup>

He may have played "footsie" with a favorite:

Stoln (more to sweeten them) our many blisses  
 Of meetings, conference, embracements, kisses?

Shadow'd with negligence our most respects?  
 Varied our language through all dialects,  
 Of becks, winks, looks, and often under-boards  
 Spok dialogues with our feet far from our words?<sup>84.</sup>

He knew how to make an impression by the correct sending  
 of letters and books, scratching of names on windows,  
 exchanging of pictures, and all the rest, but he seemed  
 to value highest a relationship which he and we incorrectly  
 call Platonic Love:

If, as I have, you also doe  
 Vertue'attir'd in woman see,  
 And dare love that, and say so too,  
 And forget the Hee and Shee.<sup>85.</sup>

First, we lov'd well and faithfully,  
 Yet knew not what wee lov'd, nor why,  
 Difference of sex no more wee knew,  
 Then our Guardian Angells doe;  
                   Comming and going, wee  
 Perchance might kisse, but not between those meales;  
                   Our hands ne'r toucht the seales,  
 Which nature, injur'd by late law, sets free:  
 These miracles wee did.<sup>86.</sup>

Though Donne was not dissolute, he was very neat.

We do not need Baker's description to realize Donne's attitude toward dress. Although he verbally chastised the Elizabethan courtiers for their finery, he does not appear to have been conservative in his own habit. That he knew what was expected, not only on different occasions but in different moods, appears in Paradox VII. Speaking of old men, he says,

Yea, they are more idly busied in conceited

apparel than we; for we, when we are melancholy wear black; when lusty, green; when forsaken, tawney; pleasing our own inward affections, leaving them to others indifferent; but they prescribe laws and constrain the Noble, the Scholler, the Merchant, and all Estates to a certain habit.<sup>87</sup>

There are several guides to our study. Ben Jonson told us that Donne wrote "all his best pieces ere he was 20 years old." In his elegy on Donne, asks, "Did his youth scatter Poetrie, wherein But sooner may a cheape whore, who hath beene Worne by as many severall men in sinne, As are black feathers, or musk-colour hose..

.....  
 He heares not mee, but, on the other side  
 A many-coloured Peacock having spide,  
 Leaves him and mee; I for my lost sheep stay;  
 He followes, overtakes, goes on the way,  
 Saying, him whom I last left, all repute  
 For his device, in hansoming a sute,  
 To judge of lace, pinke, panes, print, cut and  
 Of all the Court, to have the best conceit.<sup>88</sup>

But sarcastic as he may have been about the overdressed, his real scorn, almost snobbish, was reserved for the worn-out and shabby.

Like one who 'in her third widowhood doth professe  
 Her selfe a Nunne, tyed to retirednesse,  
 His cloths were strange, though coarse; and black,  
 Sleevelesse his jerkin was, and it had beene  
 Velvet, but 'twas now (so much ground was seene)  
 Become Tufftaffatie; and our children shall  
 See it plaine Rashe awhile, then nought at all.

.....  
 Would not Heraclitus laugh to see Macrine,  
 From hat to shooe, himselfe at doore refine,  
 As if the Presence were a Moschite, and lift  
 His skirts and hose, and call his clothes to shrift,  
 Making them confesse not only mortall

it was not Great staines and holes in them; but veniall  
Feathers and dust, wherewith they fornicate.<sup>89</sup>

Satyres. He had even learned by heart all of Allegie II

and The quotations used in the last few pages lead us  
inevitably into the question of when the poems were written.

There are several guides to our study. Ben Jonson told  
Drummond that Donne wrote "all his best pieces ere he was  
25 years old." Walton, in his elegy on Donne, asks,

Did his youth scatter Poetrie, wherein  
Was all Philosophie? Was every sinne,  
Character'd in his Satyres? made so foule  
That some have fear'd their shapes, and kept  
Sonets and all of the Elegies their soule  
Freer by reading verse? Did he give dayes  
Epigrams, Past marble monuments, to those, whose praise  
He would perpetuate? Did hee (I feare  
The dull will doubt:) these at his twentieth  
yeare?<sup>90</sup>

The answer is, obviously, "no", but we must examine his  
claim anyway. Lastly, we have Donne's statement to Rowland  
Woodward, written, probably, during his service with Egerton,  
but perhaps several years after.

Like one who'in her third widdowhood doth professe  
Her selfe a Nunne, tyed to retirednesse,  
So'affects my muse now, a chast fallownesse;

Since shee to few, yet to too many'hath showne  
How love-song weeds, and Satyrique thornes are  
growne  
Where seeds of better Arts, were early sown.<sup>91</sup>

That Jonson and Walton were talking about the Elegies and  
Satyres is without any real question. When Jonson sent the  
Countess of Bedford some of Donne's poems in later years,

it was not a group of the Songs; it was a set of the Satyres. He had even learned by heart all of Elegie XI and sent his own epigrams to Donne for criticism. In an epigram to Donne, he refers again to the early poems:

Donne, the delight of Phoebus, and each Muse,  
 Who to thy one, all other braines refuse;  
 Whose every work, of thy most early wit,  
 Came forth example, and remains so, yet.<sup>92</sup>

We should expect, then, the early poems to be characterized mainly by their wit. Certain of the Songs and Sonets and all of the Elegies and Satyres, along with the Epigrams, suggest themselves. These, we may argue, must have been written before 1597 or 98, the latter date being preferred, as Donne's contemporaries seem to have believed that he was born in 1573. According to Walton, Donne's best work would have been done by 1592 or 3. This is obviously wrong, but it seems to intimate that Walton believed they were all written while Donne was at Lincoln's Inn. He, also, is describing the Satyres and Elegies. Donne, however, says seeds of better art were sown before he wrote those groups of poems. Were these "seeds" some of the Songs and Sonets? It seems likely. There were also the verse letters and there was an Epithalamium. I would suggest also that many of the Paradoxes were written at this time. We know that a good many of the Problemes were being composed in the years following his marriage,

but these have a definitely more mature tone and style than the Paradoxes. There is no real reason for questioning that the Paradoxes were done at an early period. Their similarity to the ideas shown in the early poems supports the contention. That Donne may have sent a group of them to Wotton or one of his acquaintances during his years with Egerton does not in any way mean that they were written at a later time. To believe that the Paradoxes and Problemes were written at the same time requires a greater exercise of the imagination. A mere list of some of the titles of the Paradoxes reveals their youthful nature: A Defence of Womens Inconstancy, That Women ought to Paint, That Good is more common than Euill, That it is possible to find some vertue in some Women, That Old men are more fantastike than Young, That Nature is our worst Guide, and That Virginitie is a Vertue. I have already quoted from several of these selections, and they need little discussion to show their nature. It is perhaps only necessary to repeat one that he was later to condemn.

## VI

That it is possible to find some vertue in some Women

I am not of that seard Impudence that I dare defend Women, or pronounce them good; yet we see Physitians allow some vertue in every poyson. Alas! why should we except Women? since certainly, they are good for Physicke at least, so as some wine is good for a feaver. And though they be the Occasioners of many sins, they are also the Punishers and Reuengers of the same sins: For I have seldom seen one which consumes his substance and body upon them, escape diseases,

or beggery; and this is their Justice. And if suum cuique dare, be the fulfilling of all Civil Justice, they are most just; for they deny that which is theirs to no man.

Tanquam non liceat nulla puella negat. And who may doubt of great wisdom in them, that doth but observe with how much labour and cunning our Justicers and other dispensers of the Laws studie to imbrace them: and how zealously our Preachers dehorte men from them, only by urging their subtillties and policies, and wisdom, which are in them? Or who can deny them a good measure of Fortitude, if he consider how valiant men they have overthrown, and being themselves overthrown, how much and how patiently they bear? And though they be most intemperate, I care not, for I undertook to furnish them with some vertue, not with all. Necessity, which makes even bad things good, prevails also for them, for we must say of them, as of some sharp pinching Laws: If men were free from infirmities, they were needless. These or none must serve for reasons, and it is my great happiness that Examples prove not Rules, for to confirm this Opinion, the World yields not one Example.<sup>93</sup>.

On Easter day, 1630, he chastised himself, consciously or no.

For, howsoever some men out of a petulancy and wantonnesse of wit, and out of the extravagancy of Paradoxes, and such singularities, have called the faculties, and abilities of women in question, even in the roote thereof, in the reasonable and immortall soul...<sup>94</sup>.

He did not limit the title Paradox to his prose works.

Probably during the Lincoln's Inn period he wrote the poem with that name, which is typical of his method.

No Lover saith, I love, nor any other  
 Can judge a perfect Lover;  
 Hee thinkes that else none can, nor will agree  
 That any loves but hee:  
 I cannot say I lov'd, for who can say  
 Hee was kill'd yesterday?  
 Love with excesse of heat, more yong then old,  
 Death kills with too much cold;

Wee dye but once, and who lov'd last did die,  
 Hee that saith twice, doth lye:  
 For though hee seeme to move, and stirre a while,  
 It doth the sense beguile.  
 Such life is like the light which bideth yet  
 When the lights life is set,  
 Or like the heat, which fire in solid matter  
 Leaves behinde, two houres after.  
 Once I lov'd and dy'd; and am now become  
 Mine Epitaph and Tombe.  
 Here dead men speake their last, and so do I;  
 Love-slaine, loe, here I lye.<sup>95</sup>

Donne was never to give up his sense of paradox, but it grew more serious and more searching, as well as more humane.

In a Whitsunday sermon, he preached:

In the last sense, the world signifies the Saints, the Elect, the good men of the world, beleeving and persevering men. Of those Christ sayes, The world shall know that I love the Father; And, That the world may beleeve that thou hast sent me. And this world, that is, the godliest of this world, have many reproofes, many corrections upon them. That outwardly they are the prey of the wicked, and inwardly have that Stimulum carnis, which is the devils Solicitor, and round about them they see nothing but profanation of his word, mis-employment of his works, his creatures, mis-constructions of his actions, his judgements, blasphemy of his name, negligence and under-valuation of his Sacraments, violation of his Sabbaths, and holy convocations. O what a bitter reproofe, what a manifest evidence of the infirmity, nay of the malignity of man, is this, (if it be put home, and throughly considered) That even the goodnesse of man gets to no higher a degree, but to have been the occasion of the greatest ill, the greatest cruelty that ever was done, the crucifying of the Lord of life! The better a man is, the more he concurred towards being the cause of Christs death; which is a strange, but a true and a pious consideration. Dilexit mundum, He loved the world, and he came to save the world; That is, most especially, and effectually, those that should beleeve in him,

in the world, and live according to that belief, and die according to that life. If there had been no such, Christ had not died, never been crucified. So that impenitent men, mis-believing men have not put Christ to death, but it is we, we whom he loves, we that love him, that have crucified him.<sup>96</sup>

It is scarcely possible to deal with the lyric poems in anything but the most general way. Moreover, we must put aside in this study any real poetic criticism except as it reveals more about Donne's life. One poem of extreme importance is The Flea. In the 1635 and 1639 editions of the poems it is placed first, although not in the 1633. It appears that it was changed to first place because of its popularity. The Dutch poet Huyghens, who translated some of Donne's poems, was overwhelmed by its wit; Coleridge mentioned it in a poem. And it remains to-day the poem that catches the attention and admiration of young and old alike.<sup>97</sup> It is this poem which we should look at first to see what Donne and his friends considered his true gift. Modern scholarship has, on the whole, so obscured the situation that Donne is regarded primarily as a bookworm or mystic. The fact remains that he was, and, I suggest, still is, above all a wit; a man to be enjoyed for the display, not of learning, but of mental gymnastics, a player with possibilities, sometimes wild, sometimes very real. But always his sense of drama gave these tricks, these games, life. The Flea is a good example because it is so obvious. We might do well to see a little of this poem

in all the others. It would at least help us to maintain our critical balance. Here are the devices of the other poems laid bare: purposely fallacious reasoning by analogy, Biblical doctrine robbed of its sanctity but not of its force; building up of conceits, toying with death, undervaluing women, playing with concepts of virtue. Only a small twist could turn the poem into a serious love poem, and then modern scholars would admire it and find roots for it in the Latin love poetry or the medieval mystics.

This is not to argue that the "serious" poems are not serious; I, for one, consider The Extasie one of the great love poems of our language. But it is a plea for recognizing technique and manners for what they are. We must not be surprised to find a certain shallowness in many of the poems. It is almost inherent in the method. Like the girl of his poem, The Blossom, Donne loved to be subtle to plague himself. As I have said many times, this is also a reason for being very chary of putting autobiographical factors into the poems.

Extreme wit, then, appears to be one of the qualities of the early poems. There may be a way of dividing out the later poems from this group, but I advance the criteria very hesitantly. Some of the poems can be shown to have been written at a later date, even after King James' accession, by identifiable references or outside evidence.

One is The Sun Rising, with the first line "Busie old foole, unruly Sunne"; another, probably, is The Canonization: "For Godsake hold your tongue, and let me love"; Loves exchange seems to be from 1597 or later, beginning "Love, any devill else but you." It would appear that Donne cultivated the startling opening, an extremely effective device, as he went on. It may be a means of approximate dating.

Another method of approximate dating is the study of figures of speech, also to be used with extreme care. It seems as though Donne did not begin using real battle images until after the Cadiz trip, and the same applies to sea voyage images, although both war and ships made their way into earlier poems. More doubtful, but still probable, alchemy appears to have made its way into the poems first while Donne was at court, between 1596 and 1601, which may give us a period for poems like Loves Alchymie. The question of religious images is more difficult, and I will take it up later. Images of the court seem to be divided according to the knowledge and closeness they imply. The definitely later ones show a real perception of and distaste for the court and all it stood for, even though Donne obviously wanted to spend his life in close proximity to it.

Such a method of judgment would give something like the following list of lyric poems written during the

Lincoln's Inn period: The good-morrow, Womans constancy, Lovers infiniteness, Song (Sweetest Love), A Valediction: of my name, in the window, Loves growth, Confined Love, The Dreame, The Flea, The Curse, The Message, Witchcraft by a picture, The Blossome, A Teat Ring sent, Negative love, The Computation, The Paradox, Farewell to love, Sonnet. The Token, and Self Love. Borderline cases are Breake of Day, The Legacie, and Loves Deitie. I would not fight too hard for many of these, but I think they give a good indication of the sort of poem Donne was writing, besides the more obvious Elegies. The important point is that they include both serious and playful poems. It is ridiculous to think that Donne never wrote a serious love poem until he met Anne More. He was very much in love while in Lincoln's Inn, and there is no reason why he should not have written serious love poetry at the time.

Donne's main poetic activity during his years at Lincoln's Inn, probably towards the end of that period, seems to have been with the Elegies, although certainly not all of them (possibly, most of them date from the winter of 1596-97, with the Satyres). The rules I have indicated for the lyrics also hold here, but there are others to be considered too: contemporary events and Latin (and other) sources or influences. The latter have been fully discussed by Mr. Leishman and need not be repeated here.<sup>98</sup>. Sir Herbert Grierson mentions most of the events named or

referred to in the Elegies, but he often fails to take them far enough to a conclusion.

There are four elegies with dramatized situations that misled Gosse and others, but they are so obviously trumped up and connected, as well as having almost certain roots in Ovid, that I think they may be taken as tours de force, and excellent ones. Elegies I, VII, and XII describe an affair with a married woman; in Elegie IV a tyrannic father takes the husband's place. Only Elegie XII could represent anything but a purposely dramatized event. Here the emotion seems quite real and sincere. Mr. Leishman's criticism is worth quoting.

It is, as I have said, impossible to decide whether the situation was real or imaginary: why should not Donne, just for the sake of variety, have attempted now and then what one might call a more Shakespearean, a less Ovidian, dramatization of himself? Outrageousness, no doubt, was excellent fun, but too much of it was apt to become tedious. Donne, after all, was never a one-note man: there was much music, excellent voice, in that little organ.<sup>99</sup>

In the others the "villain" is, if anything, overdrawn: "swolne, and pamper'd with great fare,/Sits downe, and snorts, cag'd in his basket chaire"(I); "thy Hydroptique father" and "grim eight-foot-high iron-bound serving-man"(IV). With Elegie VII must be included the Elegy that E. K. Chambers discovered in the Holgate MS, in 1931.<sup>100</sup> Both Elegies VI and VII appear to have been made up

partially from this single, discarded poem. This presents us with certain very definite problems, for Elegie VI does not seem to have been written at an early period. The last six lines draw their subject from the problems of Catholic Recusants:

Though hope bred faith and love; thus taught,  
I shall  
 As nations do from Rome, from thy love fall.  
 My hate shall outgrow thine, and utterly  
 I will renounce thy dalliance: and when I  
 Am the Recusant, in that resolute state,  
 What hurts it mee to be 'excommunicate?101.

The important factor in these lines is their complete lack of feeling for the simile image. It seems very unlikely that Donne at this period would treat such a subject so lightly. His brother died in the summer of 1593, indirectly for his Catholic sympathies. We may, of course, simply take it that Elegie VI was not written for several years, and that he wrote it after looking back over his older poems, especially one that he had, for all intents and purposes, discarded after drawing part of the material for another poem.

Elegie I has one passage that may have come from his experiences with his family across the river in Southwark:

There we will scorne his houshold policies,  
 His seely plots, and pensionary spies,  
 As the inhabitants of Thames right side  
 Do Londons Major; or Germans, the Popes pride.102.

Elegie IV contains the interesting and suggestive couplet

By thee, the greatest staine to mans estate  
Falls on us, to be call'd effeminate.<sup>103.</sup>

This reference to perfume may suggest a mental state we have discussed in connection with the Sapho poem. One is tempted to wonder whether Donne ever had the charge of effeminacy hurled at him. The reference to the "language of the eye" in Elegie VII we have previously noted. The last couplet contains two figures that he used many times, both in his poems and sermons, that are drawn from two of his most-engaged-in occupations, letter writing and horse-back riding. "Must I," he asks,

Chafe wax for others seales? breake a colts force  
And leave him then, beeing made a ready horse?<sup>104.</sup>

Elegie XII gives more trouble than that caused by its seeming sincerity. One section could very easily have been written about the fall of Essex, which Donne, in the Lord Chancellor's household, witnessed at first hand.

So blinded Justice doth, when Favorites fall,  
Strike them, their house, their friends, their  
followers all.<sup>105.</sup>

If this is about Essex, and not just a general statement on the fall of favorites, it could mean either that the poem was written in 1600 or later, or that this section was

added. The whole poem gives the impression of a mixed approach, half in the spirit of the other three we have been discussing, half in a deeply sincere spirit. It may well have been begun early and then worked over by Donne at a later period. I think, though, that at least part of it was written at about the same time as the first three.

Besides these four Elegies there are others which give indication of early composition, especially the second, The Anagram. Mr. Leishman has claimed that Donne must have taken the poem from Tasso's Sopra La Bellezza, to which Drummond of Hawthornden compared it. Flavia has a nearer ancestress, however, in my opinion, and that is from the pen of Donne's grandfather. Only a few lines from one of John Heywood's proverbs are necessary to show the resemblance and possible source of Flavia.

When all candles bee out all cattles be gray

.....

Foule water as sone as fayre will quench fire.

And though her mouth be foule, shee hath a faire  
taile;

I conster this text, as is most my availe.

In want of white teeth and yellow hayres to behold,  
She flourisheth in white silver and yellow gold.<sup>106</sup>

If this is the source or suggestion for Elegie II, there is reason to believe it may be the first of Donne's work in that mood. His grandfather's work may easily have set him off on his group of satiric poems. Surely he would have

been aware of his grandfather's work and of its power, for Heywood was still considered the greatest epigrammatist in the English language, at least until Donne's friend John Davies tried for the title about this time. Davies wrote

Haywood, that did in Epigrams excell,  
Is now put downe since my light Muse arose,  
As buckets are put downe into a well  
Or as a schoole-boy putteth downe his hose.

In 1598, Thomas Bastard published Chrestoleros, of which we shall hear more, and in Epigram 15 of Book II, he wrote,

Heywood goes downe saith Daue, sikerly,  
And downe he goes, I can it not deny.  
But were I happy, did not fortune frowne  
Were I in heart, I would sing Daue downe.<sup>107</sup>

It is not difficult to suppose the Elegies growing out of a friendly debate between Donne and Davies over the merits of the former's grandparent.

Elegie X may have been one of the early ones, but there is no distinguishing feature one way or the other. It does contain one of his relatively few remarks about his own poetic activities:

After a such fruition, I shall wake,  
And but the waking, nothing shall repent;  
And shall to love more thankfull Sonnets make,  
Then if more honour, teares, and paines were  
spent.<sup>108</sup>

Although Elegie XI appears to have been written after Donne's travels, his reference to "Spanish Stamps" having made "Scotland, which knew no State, proud in one day" comes from the events of January, 1593. As Dr. T. G. Law put it:

Monday, the 1st of January 1593, opened in the annals of Scotland what Sir James Balfour well describes as 'a most observable year.' It marks indeed an epoch in the history of James VI. On the morning of that day the city of Edinburgh was thrown into a state of excitement and alarm by the news that a fresh Popish plot had just been discovered, and that one George Kerr, brother of Lord Newbattle, and a chief conspirator, had been on the preceding night lodged in the Tolbooth, and that upon him had been found letters by Jesuits and others of a treasonable character, with certain mysterious blank papers signed by the Roman Catholic leaders, George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, Francis Hay, Earl of Errol, William Douglas, Earl of Angus, and Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun. The affair of these so-called 'Spanish Blanks,' with the complications to which it gave rise, agitated all Scotland for several years to come.<sup>109.</sup>

Sir Herbert Grierson noted the meaning of the Spanish Stamps, but he misdated them, putting the activity between 1582 and 1586. His statement, based on the reference in the lines before,

have sllily made  
Gorgeous France, ruin'd, ragged, and decay'd,<sup>110.</sup>

that the poem was written after 1593 is undoubtedly correct.

Elegies XIII and XIV both are of a much later date, the latter dating from 1609 or 10, and there is even a

strong possibility that neither is by Donne.<sup>111</sup> Elegie XV is another "set piece." It is a poem to a girl who has been a little too talkative:

treat it as such. The remaining Elegies all seem part

of Donne's But O that treacherous breast to whom weake you  
Did trust our Counsell, and wee both may rue,  
Having his falshood found too late, 'twas hee  
That made me cast you guilty, and you me,  
Whilst he, black wretch, betray'd each simple word  
his law st Wee spake, unto the cunning of a third.<sup>112</sup>

believe, all belong to the period following his European  
But now he wishes to regain their old position of love and  
journey, as do the Epigrams, as I shall attempt to prove,  
affection. There are at least two reasons for questioning  
As for the verse letters, I shall discuss them within the  
any autobiographical elements in the poem. First, the  
context of the events of Lincoln's Inn. It is perhaps  
girl he loved at Lincoln's Inn was not the one who betrayed  
necessary to recall that the letters to Thomas and Ann  
their alliance to a third party. Donne did that, to a  
worded all appear to have been written after Donne's  
third, fourth, and fifth, if not more. Second, the poem  
European travels.  
may well date from the days of his marriage, which makes it  
There is one poem whose composition during the  
almost certainly a purely mental invention. Lines 51 and  
Lincoln's Inn period is certain, an Epithalamium so labelled.  
52 read.

It is quite conventional with its refrain "To day put on

perfection And let his carrion coarse be a longer feast  
To the Kings dogges, then any other beast.<sup>113</sup>

This seems to be a reference to King James' famous pack of  
dogs that came from Scotland to London with their master.

I would not press this claim for late composition too strongly,  
for the King involved may not have been English, but we  
must keep the possibility in mind.

star Elegie XVI, with its opening line that inspired Edna  
St. Vincent Millay's brilliant sonnet sequence, is so powerful

that I am nearly forced into agreement that it contains a factual basis. As such it seems clearly to fit as the finishing item to his Lincoln's Inn days, and I shall treat it as such. The remaining Elegies all seem part of Donne's later experience.

The other large body of poems generally assigned to his law study years is the set of Satyres. These, I believe, all belong to the period following his European journey, as do the Epigrams, as I shall attempt to prove. As for the verse letters, I shall discuss them within the context of the events at Lincoln's Inn. It is perhaps necessary to remark that the letters to Thomas and Rowland Woodward all appear to have been written after Donne's European travels.

There is one poem whose composition during the Lincoln's Inn period is certain, an Epithalamium so labelled. It is quite conventional with its refrain "To day put on perfection, and a womans name." Donne even uses such phrases as "as gay as Flora" and gives the marriage a Roman setting. But by the fourth stanza the church has become a "hunger-starved wombe", and in the fifth we find "the Sun still in our halfe Spheare sweates." Even in his earliest verse Donne found it impossible or at least undesirable to use the regular forms for any more than a starting place for his own expression. For our study the poem's main interest lies in the description of the bride-

groom's friends, including Donne.

Yee of those fellowships whereof hee's one,  
Of study and play made strange Hermaphrodits,  
Here shine.<sup>114</sup>

Donne's law studies appear to have rested lightly enough on his shoulders, as the volume of his poetic output shows. Yet there is little doubt that he followed the routine of the other students reasonably closely,

and, as the rest,  
Here toughly chew, and sturdily digest  
Th'immense vast volumes of our common law.<sup>115</sup>

The summer of 1592 saw the beginning of another year or more of bad plague, but from September 15th to October 6th, Donne conscientiously observed the regular Michaelmas Learning Vac of the Inn.<sup>116</sup> The Term which followed was held in Hertford, and there we may assume Donne spent the autumn and early winter. At some time during this year he probably wrote the verse letter to Samuel Brooke which we noted earlier. There is another verse letter of this approximate period which gives more trouble. It is to a "B.B."<sup>117</sup> Grosart, in his edition of Donne, said that this was Basil Brooke, later knighted. E. K. Chambers then complicated the situation by apparently agreeing and giving a reference to the Basil Brooke who attended Magdalen College, Oxford, and was knighted in 1604. Grierson followed suit but admitted it to be only a

conjectural identification. John Hayward baldly used the identification and did not bother to footnote his action.<sup>118</sup> The main difficulty is, of course, that the man Donne is addressing is strictly a Cambridge man, and the only Basil Brooke who attended Cambridge matriculated from Jesus College in Easter term, 1576, being admitted to the Inner Temple in 1578. Donne could scarcely have urged him,

Then weane thy selfe at last, and thee withdraw  
From Cambridge thy old nurse.<sup>119</sup>

Yet, we know something about B.B. He was a zealous student of science and was still quite a young man. Moreover he was a poet, or had, at least, begun the writing of poetry. Finally, he appeared to be planning the study of law upon finishing at Cambridge. Knowing this much about him aids a good deal in discovering his true identity, and the result is rather gratifying. The initials "B.B." were not very common in the 16th century, and the search through the Cambridge records is thus made very easily. In the Venns' Alumni Cantabrigiensis we find that only one person with those initials suits the description we can draw from Donne's poem, and he is Bacqueville Bacon, third son of Sir Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave, Suffolk, grandson of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Seal, and nephew to Anthony and Francis Bacon. The web of friendships is

even closer, for he was the younger brother of Edmund Bacon, Henry Wotton's closest friend. The records show that Bacqueville matriculated from St. John's College, Cambridge, c 1594. Since the date is not definite, we can surmise that it actually was a year or two earlier, although it is not necessary to do so. The identification is not foolproof, for the Cambridge records for these years are extremely faulty; besides, there are other possibilities,<sup>120</sup> but none quite as exact as this. If the B.B. involved is young Bacon, we have just another connection between Donne and the group around Essex.

Although I think there can be little doubt about the poem being addressed to Bacon, its main interest for us is the revelation of the writer's attitude. That the poem was written at Lincoln's Inn seems conclusive with its reference to Donne's study of the Common Law. But why does he say about that study,

that that which I should have begun  
In my youthes morning, now late must be done?<sup>121</sup>

Beginning the study of law at nineteen does not appear to be very late, and yet it is obvious that he spent several years between Oxford and his law study, which he may have considered a definite halt in his education. Some of the students at the Inn were so young that they had special permission to live with their fathers, as was the case with Heyward Townshend, the reporter of the last four

Parliaments of Elizabeth.<sup>122</sup> The fact that he refers to Cambridge as "thy old nurse" and not "our" may also be an indication that he had not attended that University himself. The other difficult point in the poem is the section:

Donne left for parts unknown, and the attendance record reads: "My Muse, (for I had one,) because I'am cold, Divorc'd her selfe: the cause being in me, That I can take no new in Bigamy, Not my will only but power doth withhold."<sup>123</sup>

We are forced to decide either that at some time during these few years he stopped writing poetry for a while or that he is here just being "witty." The latter seems to be the easiest explanation.

Christmas, 1592, probably found Donne at home with his mother and sister, in Southwark, for the plague had forced the cancelling of the Christmas reading vac. As Henry must have been there too, it looks as though the last family reunion was taking place, for the year was to be a dark one for the Donnes. Henry was now a student at Thavies Inn, which shows that somewhere along the line he had fallen behind his brother in their studies.

With the arrival of Hilary Term, Donne found himself back at study at Lincoln's Inn. On February 6, 1593, the council of the Inn met, several months late, to make the appointments for the year, among them

M<sup>r</sup> Powton and M<sup>r</sup> Dun M<sup>r</sup> of the Revelles.<sup>124</sup>

This seems to have been a purely nominal task, for the duty ran from November 1592 to November 1593, with the Masters of the Revels being appointed for the Christmas season already past. When the Easter vac arrived, Donne left for parts unknown, and the attendance record reads: "Infra barr non custod Donn."<sup>125</sup>. It may very well be that it was at this time that Donne sent a short verse letter to his friend Christopher Brooke.<sup>126</sup> The letter appears to have been written in either the spring or autumn: he says he is "going to where sterne winter eye doth wonne," which hardly would suggest itself in mid-summer. Behind, in London, he is leaving, besides Brooke, "the Saint of his affections." This object of his love is also "earths thrice-fairer Sunne." It is useless to conjecture who the lady might be. She seems to have been an almost secret love, known but to a few friends. If this letter has anything to do with the two to "I. L.", and I think it does, the latter was in on the secret as well, and I rather feel that Donne may have been going to visit I. L. on the visit mentioned to Brooke.

I. L. is a character whose identity simply evades search. He lived above the Trent, probably in Yorkshire, and was a successful farmer. That he and Donne were close is obvious, for Donne writes to him,

Of that short Roll of friends writ in my heart  
Which with thy name begins.<sup>127</sup>

He was married happily, owned a herd of cattle and grazed sheep, farmed a good bit of ground, and was an ardent horseman. Except for his friendship with I. L., Donne seems to have had little contact with country life until forced into the country after his marriage. It is a testimony to their friendship that so many farming images appear in the poems, such as

By Who hath a plow-land, casts all his seed corne  
 height. And yet allowes his ground more corne should  
 beare; 128.  
 Saint Georges Field.

or

Wee are but farmers of our selves, yet may,  
 If we can stocke our selves, and thrive, uplay  
 Much, much deare treasure for the great rent day.  
 Manure thy selfe then, to thy selfe be' approv'd,  
 And with vaine outward things be no more mov'd,  
 But to know, that I love thee' and would be lov'd; 129.

or, in the Sermons,

Let me wither in a spittle under sharpe, and  
 foule, and infamous diseases, and so recompence  
 the wantonnesse of my youth, with that loath-  
 somnesse in mine age; yet, if God withdraw not  
 his spirituall blessings, his Grace, his Patience,  
 If I can call my suffering his Doing, my passion  
 his Action, All this that is temporall, is but a  
 caterpillar got into one corner of my garden, but  
 a mill-dew fallen upon one acre of my Corne. 130.

The descriptions of I. L.'s farm are short but full.

View your fat Beasts, stretch'd Barnes, and  
 labour'd fields,

ende in the Eate, play, ryde, take all joyes which all  
day yeelds..

plenty to .....his mind, though.

So may thy pastures with their flowery feasts,  
In May As suddenly as Lard, fat thy leane beasts;  
So may thywoods oft poll'd, yet ever weare  
in 1584. ha A greene, and when thee list, a golden haire;  
So may all thy sheepe bring forth Twins; and so  
to give up In chace and race may thy horse all out goe.<sup>131.</sup>

Henry Donne's harboring of  
It may also be from these experiences that Donne drew  
Seminaries or Jesuits was a serious offence,  
his many references to birds, flowers, trees, insects, etc.  
especially since the proclamation of 1591.

By the summer of 1593 the plague had reached its full  
height. On July 19th, the Court of Assizes was held in  
Saint Georges Field.

This assise was ended the same day, which was  
thought would haue beene three dayes worke,  
for the Justices (all duties being paid) made  
hast away, for feare of being infected with  
the pestilence.<sup>132.</sup>

There was good reason for the Justices to be afraid, as  
the record shows:

The whole number deceasing this yeere in the  
City, and suburbs adioyning, from the nine &  
twentieth of December, in the yeere 1592. vntill  
According the 20. of December, 1593. was within the walles  
of all diseases 8598. whereof of the plague,  
close to was 5390. without the walles, and in the liber-  
ties, 9295. of the plague 5385. so that within  
him as su the Citie, and liberties of all diseases died,  
17893. whereof the plague was 10675.<sup>133.</sup>

At some time during the summer, for an unknown reason,  
Even St. Bartholomew's Fair was cancelled. On May 27th,  
the council of Lincoln's Inn had decided against holding  
a summer reading vac, and so Donne found himself at loose

ends in the middle of a plague-ridden city. He had plenty to occupy his mind, though.

In May, William Harington, a Seminary Priest who, in 1584, had attempted to become a Jesuit but had had to give up because of ill health,<sup>134</sup> was discovered in Henry Donne's rooms at Thavies Inn. The harboring of Seminaries or Jesuits was a serious offence at this time, especially since the proclamation of 1591.

And whereas English Priests at this time secretly crept into England daily, in greater number than before, from the Seminaries of Rome, France, and Spaine (for the Spaniard had lately founded a Seminary for the English at Valledolid) who laboured to disswade the Subjects from their obedience to the Queene, and to entice them to the Spaniards party; it was commanded by Proclamation in the moneth of October, that no man should harbour any man whatsoever, unlesse inquiry were first made who he was, whether he came to prayers in the Church, upon what meanes he lived, where he lived the last yeere before, and other such like things: that they which could not readily answer, should be sent unto Commissioners in every shire, lest the Common-wealth should receive any damage.<sup>135</sup>

Accordingly, Henry was thrown into the Clink prison, close to the home of his mother, who, no doubt, visited him as much as was possible, along with her other son. At some time during the summer, for an unknown reason,<sup>136</sup> Henry was moved to Newgate prison and soon died of the plague that was rampant in that area. The date of his death may have been August 16th.<sup>137</sup> Donne biographers

have been quick to respond sympathetically to Henry's death, but he was extremely fortunate in comparison with the man whom he had sheltered.

The 18. of February, Harington a Seminary Priest, was drawne from Newgate to Tyborne, and there hanged, cut downe aliue, struggled with the hang-man, but was bowelled, and quartered.<sup>138.</sup>

Meanwhile there was another important reason for Donne may well have witnessed this gruesome scene, and if so it may have been the source for his simile in his 1624 Easter sermon

But the wicked begin this feare, when the Trumpet sounds to the Resurrection, and then shall never end it; but, as a man condemned to be halfe hang'd, and then quartered, hath a fearfull addition in his quartering after, and yet had no ease in his hanging before: so they that have done ill, when they have had their hanging, when they have suffered in soule, the torments of Hell, from the day of their death, to the day of Judgement, shall come to that day with feare, as to an addition to that, which yet, was infinite before.<sup>139.</sup>

We simply do not know what John's reactions to his brother's death were. He never mentions Henry, not even in the letter to his mother that I quoted at length in the last chapter. He may have been unmoved; he may have thought his brother deserved it. He may also never have thought of the death as any sort of martyrdom, but merely another unfortunate result of the plague. After all, if the two prisoners were wanted for questioning,

it would be easier for them both to be in one prison rather than separated by the Thames. The whole situation, though, may also have started him off into a serious examination of the varying arguments between the Catholic and Anglican positions in order to see in which direction Truth lay.

Meanwhile there was another important reason for his remaining in London during the plague summer: he had reached the age of legal manhood and came into the possession of his legacy.<sup>140</sup> On June 19th, he signed the City Council's records on receipt of part of his legacy, and a week later did the same for the rest. No longer dependent on his family for support, he had a small but comfortable fortune on which to live. Yet he seems to have gone through it with a certain amount of speed; Walton says his "Portion was the greatest part spent in many and chargeable travels, the rest disbursed in some few Books, and deare bought experience."<sup>141</sup> But the receipt of a large sum of money did not help much to liven the summer in London.

Up on the hill, in Highgate, lived a friend of Donne, a student at Gray's Inn, named Everard Gilpin. By 1598 he was involved in a war of satires with Hall and Marston and had broken with Donne, or, more likely, had been cast off by Donne. In 1593, however, they were still friends, and Donne wrote of his feelings

that summer. *only contemporary literary references:*

Even as lame things thirst their perfection, so  
 The slimy rimes bred in our vale below,  
 Bearing with them much of my love and hart,  
 Fly unto that Parnassus, where thou art.  
 There thou oreseest London: Here I have beene,  
 By staying in London, too much overseene.  
 Now pleasures dearth our City doth posses,  
 Our Theaters are fill'd with emptines;  
 As lancke and thin is every street and way  
 As a woman deliver'd yesterday.  
 Nothing whereat to laugh my spleen espyes  
 But bearbaitings or Law exercise.  
 Therefore I'le leave it, and in the Country  
 Pleasure, now fled from London, to <sup>strive</sup> retrieve.  
 Do thou so too: and fill not like a Bee  
 Thy thighs with hony, but as plenteously  
 As Russian Marchants, thy selves whole vessell  
 And then at Winter retaile it here abroad. <sup>load,</sup>  
 Blesse us with Suffolks sweets; and as it is  
 Thy garden, make thy hive and warehouse this.<sup>142.</sup>

Where Donne intended to go is not known, but he may well have gone north to Yorkshire, the home of Brooke, Loftus, the Washingtons, and I. L.

Of his complaints against London that summer, the emptiness of the theaters must have been the bitterest. All Donne's contemporaries noted his attachment to play-going, and his poetry shows his attachment to dramatic technique. Besides, his mother's house could not have been far from The Rose and The Swan on the Bankside. It may have been here or across the river, near his great-grandfather's theater site on Finsbury Field that he saw Marlowe's Tamburlaine, which supplied him with

almost his only contemporary literary reference:

Like Bajazet encag'd, the shepherds scoffe,  
Or like slacke sinew'd Sampson, his haire off,  
Languish our ships.<sup>143</sup>

Another possible stage reference is found in Problem XVII:

As Asinius Gallus had almost deceived this man  
by believing him, and the Major and Aldermen  
of London in Richard the Third.<sup>144</sup>

Once again, it is not necessary to depend on outside witness to discover Donne's love of the theater. His writings give ample proof.

I could renew those times, when first I saw  
Love in your eyes, that gave my tongue the law  
To like what you lik'd; and at maskes and playes  
Commend the selfe same Actors, the same wayes.<sup>145</sup>

The new plays were the most important news to Donne.

To fit my sullenness,  
He to another key, his stile doth addresse,  
And askes, what newes? I tell him of new playes.<sup>146</sup>

One of his most beautiful couplets draws upon the theater for its imagery:

And all our beauty, and our trimme, decays,  
Like courts removing, or like ended playes.<sup>147</sup>

The court and theater were linked very closely in Donne's mind, as is shown in two letters to Henry Wotton.

And Courts are Theaters, where some men play  
Princes, some slaves, all to one end, and of  
pretend to speake to God, but like one clay.<sup>148.</sup>

Beleeve mee Sir, in my youths giddiest dayes,  
When to be like the Court, was a playes praise,  
Playes were not so like Courts, as Courts'are

If Donne went into the country in the like playes.<sup>149.</sup>

1593, he probably stayed until the second week in October,  
Later on, in the Sermons especially, the world became a  
for it seems that no Michaelmas vac was held, at least  
theater.

no vacation list was made up. The Term itself was held

at St. Alb. The whole frame of the world is the Theatre,  
and every creature the stage, the medium, the  
and no vacation was held. The glasse in which we may see God.<sup>150.</sup>

Christmas celebrations at the Wainford home in Southwark  
Even Christ appeared as an actor.

must have been mixed. Henry was dead and the priest he

had tried But did not Christ die then? Shall we joyne  
with any of those Heretiques, which brought  
But, on the Christ upon the stage to play a part, and say  
own financ he was born, or lived, or dyed, In phantasmate,  
In apparence only, and representation; God forbid.<sup>151.</sup>

lived in the same neighborhood as her mother. In the  
Anne had applied for their shares of Henry's money and  
must have been waiting for the money with a good deal of  
Although Donne sometimes used the theater as a symbol of  
lax living and immorality, as in one of his Trinity Sunday  
sermons,

expectancy. Donne was listed as present during the

Easter vac Because I am weary of solitarinesse, I will  
good reason seeke company, and my company shall be, to make  
me, Anne, my body the body of a harlot: Because I am  
their parts of Henry's share of the legacy. drousie, I will be kept awake, with the obsceni-  
ties and scurrilities of a Comedy, or the drums  
and ejulations of a Tragedy,<sup>152.</sup>

he never gave up using even small stage devices to put  
across his points forcefully:

old youth with a yearning for travel. Nor is it those transitory and interlocutory

reasons for prayers, which out of custome and fashion we  
 of the law pretend to speake to God, but like Comedians  
 yet set. upon a stage, turne over our shoulder, and  
 whisper to the Devill.<sup>153</sup>

and the summer of 1594 found her visiting him. The  
 If Donne went into the country in the late summer of  
 weather of the spring and early summer of that year had  
 1593, he probably stayed until the second week in October,  
 been miserable. In March there had been violent winds,  
 for it seems that no Michaelmas vac was held, at least  
 in April heavy rains. May, June, and July were scarcely  
 no vacation list was made up. The Term itself was held  
 at St. Albans, for the plague was still extremely bad,  
 and no vacation list appears for the Christmas vac. The  
 Christmas celebrations at the Rainsford home in Southwark  
 must have been mixed. Henry was dead and the priest he  
 had tried to hide was awaiting his death in February.  
 But, on the other hand, John was now more or less on his  
 own financially, and Anne had married again and must have  
 lived in the same neighborhood as her mother. John and  
 Anne had applied for their shares of Henry's legacy and  
 must have been waiting for the money with a good deal of  
 expectancy. Donne was listed as present during the  
 Easter vac, from March 24th to April 14th,<sup>154</sup> and he had  
 good reason to remain in London, for, on April 11, 1594,  
 he, Anne, and William Lyly signed as satisfied with  
 their parts of Henry's share of the legacy money. Donne  
 now had the tidy fortune of something under £750, and  
 it must have burned the pockets of the twenty-two year  
 old youth with a yearning for travel. There were

reasons for his staying in England other than his love of the law, however. The sun of his affections had not yet set. She seems to have been a close friend of I. L., and the summer of 1594 found her visiting him. The weather of the spring and early summer of that year had been miserable. In March there had been violent winds, in April heavy rains. May, June, and July were scarcely better: known Wotton, who was nearing the end of several years of continental travel.

This yere in the moneth of May fell many great showres of raine: but in the moneths of June and July, much more; for it commonly rained euery day or night, till Saint James day, and two dayes after together most extremely: all which, notwithstanding in the moneth of August, there followed a faire haruest.<sup>155.</sup>

Your Trent is Lethes; that past, us you forget.<sup>158.</sup>

I believe that the second letter to I. L. was written during August, 1594, for the situation fits better than for any other year.

One possible identification of I. L. is found in Thomas Fuller's Worthies. Under "York City" is an entry about one John Lepton, servant to King James, who "undertook

for a way  
London, . . .  
out from  
and reason  
dark."<sup>159.</sup>

Blest are your North parts, for all this long time  
My Sun is with you, cold and darke'is our Clime;  
Heavens Sun, which staid so long from us this yeare,  
Staid in your North (I thinke) for she was there,  
And hether by kinde nature drawne from thence,  
Here rages, chafes, and threatens pestilence;  
Yet I, as long as shee from hence doth staie,  
Thinke this no South, no Sommer, nor no day.<sup>156.</sup>

Donne ends his poem with a wish for secrecy that is not sufficiently explained: so that it would scarcely be

wise to argue that this is the man. But there may be

something . . .  
But maist thou wish great things, and them attaine,  
As thou telst her, and none but her, my paine.<sup>157.</sup>

We do not know whether this is the same girl as the one mentioned to Brooke, but the language is nearly identical, and we would not be far off in connecting the two.

The first letter to I. L. seems to have been written at an earlier date. I have been attempting to find a Lincoln's Inn connection for the initials, but it may just as well have been an old Oxford friend, for he seems to have known Wotton, who was nearing the end of several years of continental travel.

Of that short Roll of friends writ in my heart  
 Which with thy name begins, since their depart,  
 Whether in the English Provinces they be,  
 Or drinke of Po, Sequan, or Danubie,  
 There's none that sometimes greets us not, and yet  
 Your Trent is Lethe; that past, us you forget.<sup>158</sup>

One possible identification of I. L. is found in Thomas Fuller's Worthies. Under "York City" is an entry about one John Lepton, servant to King James, who "undertook for a wager to ride six days together betwixt York and London,...and performed it accordingly....He first set out from Aldersgate May 20. being Monday, Anno Domini 1606. and accomplished his journey every day before it was dark."159. The only point of connection between Lepton and Donne's friend, besides his home, is, of course, his horseracing enthusiasm, so that it would scarcely be wise to argue that this is the man. But there may be something in it.

Michaelmas vac found Donne still hard at work at Lincoln's Inn,<sup>160</sup> but other plans must have been germinating in his mind. On November 26th, the council ruled:

Itm that M<sup>r</sup> Donne shalbe Stewarde for Christmas<sup>161</sup>.

That same day they dealt with Brooke's room troubles again, but Donne must not have paid much attention to his friend's worries. In less than a month he had apparently left Lincoln's Inn, for his name does not appear in the vacation list. This must mean, as well, that he shirked his duties as Steward, but I cannot find any entry of a fine being awarded him, as Mr. Shapiro says there is.<sup>162</sup>

This finishes the record of Donne's days at Lincoln's Inn, but one question has remained untouched, that of Donne's religious convictions and searchings during the period. Once again we must go to Walton, this time to both the 1640 and 1675 versions.

He was now entred into the nineteenth yeare of his age, and being unresolved in his Religion, (though his youth and strength promised him a long life) yet he thought it necessary to rectifie all scruples which concerned that: And therefore waving the Law, and betrothing himselfe to no art or profession, that might justly denominate him, he began to survey the body of Divinity, controverted between the Reformed and Roman Church. And as Gods blessed Spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him, (they be his owne words) So he calls the same Spirit to

might mean witness to his Protestation, that in that search and disquisition he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself, by the safest way of frequent Prayers, and indifferent affection to both parties. And indeed, Truth had too much light about her, to be hid from so sharp an Inquirer; and he had too much ingenuity, not to acknowledge he had seen her.

Being to undertake this search, he beleaved then, for the learned Cardinal Bellarmino to be the best defender of the Roman cause: and therefore Lycens. undertook the examination of his reasons. The cause was waughty, and wilfull delaies had been inexcusable towards God and his own conscience; he therfore proceeded with all moderate haste; And before he entred into the twentieth yeare of his age, did shew the Deane of Gloucester all the Cardinalls Works marked with many waughty Observations under his own hand, which Works were bequeathed by him at his death as a Legacy to a most deare friend.<sup>163.</sup>

In 1675 this section was preceded by a short paragraph:

He was now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and at that time had betrothed himself to no Religion that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And Reason, and Piety had both perswaded him, that there could be no such sin as Schism, if an adherence to some visible Church were not necessary.<sup>164.</sup>

Now there are several obvious errors here, such as showing Dr. Morton, Dean of Gloucester (in 1607), the manuscript at this time, but we may get a general picture with which to work. Two years after he entered Lincoln's Inn, says Walton, Donne stopped studying law and spent his whole time studying divinity, especially the works of Cardinal Bellarmine. If we took this literally, it

might mean that in 1594 he stopped studying and worked on Bellarmine. Certainly this could explain the year and a half silence from Christmas 1594, and we must always accept that as a possibility. Certainly Donne could not have started reading Bellarmine much before then, for his works were not published before 1593, in Lyons. There is no evidence whatever that Donne was at court rather than a young, playgoing law student. I think there are two phases in Donne's study of the Roman-  
 Anglican argument and that Walton has joined the two and then misplaced them both. The set study of the "body of divinity" seems to have taken place during the period

Donne himself writes of the experience,

They who haue descended so lowe, as to take knowledge of me, and to admit me into their consideration, know well that I vsed no inordinate hast, nor precipitation in binding my conscience to any locall Religion. I had a longer worke to doe then many other men: for I was first to blot out, certaine impressions of the Romane religion, and to wrastle both against the examples and against the reasons, by which some hold was taken; and some anticipations early layde vpon my conscience, both by Persons who by nature had a power and superiority ouer my will, and others who by their learning and good life, seem'd to me iustly to claime an interest for the guiding, and rectifying of mine vnderstanding in these matters. And although I apprehended well enough, that this irresolution, not onely retarded my fortune, but also bred some scandall, and endangered my spirituall reputation, by laying me open to many mis-interpretations; yet all these respects did not transport me to any violent and sudden determination, till I had, to the measure of my poore wit and iudgement, suruayed and digested the whole body of Diuinity, controuerted betweene ours and the Romane Church. In which search

and disquisition, that God, which awakened me then, and hath neuer forsaken me in that industry, as he is the Authour of that purpose, so is he a witnes of this protestation; that I behaued my selfe, and proceeded therin with humility, and diffidence in my selfe; and by that, which by his grace, I tooke to be the ordinary meanes, which is frequent praier, and equall and indifferent affections.<sup>165</sup>

The situation here described fits a man seeking preferment at court rather than a young, playgoing law student. I think there are two phases in Donne's study of the Roman-Anglican argument and that Walton has joined the two and then misplaced them both. The set study of the "body of divinity" seems to have taken place during the period after Donne's marriage, when he and his wife were living with Francis Woolley in Pyrford. Donne's own statement fits this situation perfectly. Then there is obviously an earlier period of investigation of the problem in a less thorough way, probably following his continental travels, perhaps even before the Essex voyages but also continuing afterwards.

There are other reasons for believing this to have been the course of events. The religious references, other than strictly Bible quotations, do not appear to have made their entry into the poems until about 1596, at least in any great numbers or depth of feeling.

Next, although Donne's family was strongly Catholic and most of his close friends strongly Protestant, no real

conflict with either group is apparent. He seems to have carried his religious beliefs lightly, and what we know of his student days backs up this contention. Most important, though, are the apparent reasons for Donne's separating from the Catholic Church. They were, at first if not later, predominantly political. Also, they were based somewhat on the split within the Catholic Church itself. As we shall see, these reasons make more sense when considered at a later period than the Lincoln's Inn days. When Donne left the Inn, in December, 1594, I think we can still consider him a Catholic, but, at best, a non-practising one.

What happened in the next year and a half is lost in silence. Yet it seems reasonable to believe that at least part of the time was spent on the continent. Elegie XVI may be his valedictory poem to the girl he left behind. At any rate, it gives us a sort of itinerary: France, and Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. It would not be politic to mention a proposed trip to Spain in the year 1594-5. You would sooner land in the Clink than Madrid.

Men of France, changeable Camelions,  
 Spittles of diseases, shops of fashions,  
 Loves fuellers, and the rightest company  
 Of Players, which upon the worlds stage be,  
 Will quickly know thee, and know thee, and alas!  
 Th'indifferent Italian, as we passe  
 His warme land, well content to thinke thee Page,  
 Will hunt thee with such lust, and hideous rage,

As Lots faire guests were vext. But none of these  
 Nor spungy hydroptique Dutch shall thee displease,  
 If thou stay here. O stay here, for, for thee  
 England is onely a worthy Gallerie,  
 To walke in expectation, till from thence  
 Our greatest King call thee to his presence.  
 When I am gone, dreame me some happinesse,  
 Nor let thy lookes our long hid love confesse,  
 Nor praise, nor dispraise me, nor blesse nor curse  
 Openly loves force, nor in bed fright thy Nurse  
 With midnights startings, crying out, oh, oh  
 Nurse, ô my love is slaine, I saw him goe  
 O'r the white Alpes alone; I saw him I,  
 Assail'd, fight, taken, stabb'd, bleed, fall,  
 and die.  
 Augure me better chance, except dread Love  
 Thinke it enough for me to'have had thy love. 166.

Walton, although ascribing it to a later date, describes the trip as follows:

But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years first in Italy, and then in Spain, where he made many useful observations of those Countreys, their Laws and manner of Government, and returned perfect in their Languages.

The time that he spent in Spain was at his first going into Italy designed for travelling to the Holy Land, and for viewing Jerusalem and the Sepulchre of our Saviour. But at his being in the furthest parts of Italy, the disappointment of Company, or of a safe Convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of Money into those remote parts denied him that happiness: which he did often occasionally mention with a deploration. 167.

For such a trip his language training had prepared him admirably. In a negative way it is difficult to believe that a passage from a Whitsunday sermon does not apply to his own youthful travels.

This is not the use of having learnt divers tongues, to be able to talke of the wars with Dutch Captains, or of trade with a French Merchant, or of State with a Spanish Agent, or of pleasure with an Italian Epicure; It is not to entertaine discourse with strangers, but to bring strangers to a better knowledge of God, in that way, wherein we, by his Ordinance, do worship and serve him.<sup>168.</sup>

Walton's description of a proposed pilgrimage is also interesting when compared with the Easter day sermon for 1630.

In In detestation of this locall and stationary salvation of these meritorious pilgrimages to certaine places, some of the blessed Fathers spoke much, long before they were come to that enormous abuse, in which the later times exceeded. S. Hierom had occasion to say much of it, by a sollicitation from Polinus, and he saies this, Quanti hodie portant funera sua? How many men carry Sepulchres to the Sepulchre, when they carry themselves to Jerusalem? Non Hierosolymis vixisse, saies he, To have lived well at Jerusalem is praiseworthy, but not to have lived there. Non audeo concludere, I dare not shut up that God, whom the Heavens cannot containe, in a corner of the earth; and Jerusalem is but so. Et de Britannia, & de Hierosolymis aequaliter patet aula coelestis, Heaven is as neare England, (saies S. Hierom) as it is to Jerusalem. And Christ, (saies he) was then in Jerusalem, in that holy place, when he said, Abeamus hinc, Let us go from hence; as holy as the place was, he made haste out of it; for, (as the Father adds it) it is a place full of mutinous Souldiers, of licentious prostitutes, of Players and Jesters; and these are the elements of the holinesse of that place.<sup>169.</sup>

In describing Wotton's journeys, Donne may well have described his own.

But, Sir, I advise not you, I rather doe  
 Say o'er those lessons, which I learn'd of you:  
 Whom, free from German schismes, and lightnesse  
 Of France, and faire Italies faithlesnesse,  
 Having from these suck'd all they had of worth,  
 And brought home that faith, which you carried  
 I throughly love. But if my selfe, I've wonne  
 To know my rules, I have, and you have

DONNE. 170.

It is possible that conversations with his friend Wotton on the latter's return, late in 1594, had set Donne afire to make a similar trip.

In a letter to the Countess of Bedford, he recalled two of the main points of interest on his trip:

As all which goe to Rome, doe not thereby  
 Esteeme religions, and hold fast the best,  
 But serve discourse, and curiosity,  
 With that which doth religion but invest,  
 And shunne th'entangling laborinths of Schooles,  
 And make it wit, to thinke the wiser fooles:

So in this pilgrimage I would behold  
 You as you're vertues temple, not as shee,  
 What walls of tender christall her enfold,  
 What eyes, hands, bosome, her pure Altars bee;  
 And after this survay, oppose to all  
 Bablers of Chappels, you th'Escuriall. 171.

The Escurial, reasonably enough, made a strong impression on Donne, as it was later to do with Gerard Manley Hopkins, who called it the "Eighth wonder of the earth, in size, in story and art and beauty"; and he usually equated it with the most magnificent of buildings.

'Tis lost, to trust a Tombe with such a guest,

Or to confine her in a marble chest.  
 Alas, what's Marble, Jeat, or Porphyrie,  
 Priz'd with the Chrysolite of either eye,  
 Or with those Pearles, and Rubies, which she was?  
 Joyne the two Indies in one Tombe, 'tis glasse;  
 And so is all to her materials,  
 Though every inch were ten Escurials.<sup>172.</sup>

It was here, in Philip II's "palace and a royal tomb",  
 that Donne witnessed a scene that helps to date his  
 journey for us.

I have known the greatest Christian Prince,  
 (in Style and Title) even at the Audience of  
 an Ambassador, at the sound of a Bell, kneele  
 down in our presence and pray; and God forbid,  
 he should be blamed for doing so.<sup>173.</sup>

L. P. Smith has footnoted this in his edition as referring  
 to the French king.<sup>174.</sup> Aside from the fact that the des-  
 cription hardly pictures the actions of Henry IV, there  
 is little doubt to whom Donne was referring as "the  
 greatest Christian Prince." In his Third Prebend sermon,  
 in 1626, Donne said,

But he that feels Christ, in the receiving of  
 the Sacrament, and will not bend his knee,  
 would scarce bend his knee, if he saw him.  
 The first of that royall Family, which thinks  
 it selfe the greatest in Christendome at this  
 day, The House of Austrich, had the first  
 marks of their Greatnesse, The Empire, brought  
 into that House, for a particular reverence  
 done to the holy and blessed Sacrament.<sup>175.</sup>

Since Philip II died in the autumn of 1598 and had no  
 audiences with ambassadors for his last two years, Donne

must have made his continental trip before the Essex voyage in the summer of 1596.<sup>176</sup>

While on his travels, Donne must certainly have had his religious questioning stimulated. He may have visited his uncle Jasper in Naples and been urged to take an active part in reconverting England, and this pressure may have been exerted in Spain as well. But Donne was having experiences that increased his doubt as well. He may have seen what baseless charges were made against England:

As I have heard them, in some obscure places abroad, Preach, that here in England, we have not onely no true Church, no true Priesthood, no true Sacraments, but that we have no materiall Churches, no holy Convocations, no observing of Sundayes, or Holy dayes, no places to serve God in; so I have heard them Preach, that we doe not onely not advance, but that we cry downe, and discredit, and disswade, and discountenance the doctrine of good works.<sup>177</sup>

Such charges could only arouse his patriotic wrath or disdain. If he visited monasteries of different orders or met monks of opposing orders, the split within the Catholic Church would have impressed him, and it was this split that he constantly referred to in the Sermons. There was the even bigger split between the Jesuits and the regular orders. Early in 1596 the English college at Rome was bitterly divided between the rector and the

"correspondant" in Venice, give us news

scholars, the scholars being against the Jesuits. One of the chief of the scholars was the brother of Sir Griffin Markham, who may have known Donne.<sup>178</sup> In October of the same year the English college at Douay was broken up over a similar split, although the reason given was the imminence of the plague.<sup>179</sup> This battle may have been shown up most clearly in meeting Father Paolo Servita, "Counsellor of State to the most serene Republick of Venice." Father Paul's letters, edited in 1693 by Edward Brown, Rector of Sundridge, Kent, reveal a strong anti-Jesuit bias. But his "heretical" flavor is even stronger. In letter CXXIII, written in 1609, he discusses the position of church and state and decides in favor of the king. Donne and Wotton were both friends of Father Paul, and a meeting with an Italian Catholic of this mind must have influenced the young poet very strongly. Indeed, it seems probable that Donne's consuming hatred of the Council of Trent is based on Father Paul's history of that meeting. He was to return to England to find an outspoken Catholic with nearly the same attitude among his group of friends. Whatever Father Paul's impression on Donne may have been, Venice left her mark, and he remembered her "vast lake" for many years.<sup>180</sup>

The letters of Dr. Hawkins, the Earl of Essex's "correspondent" in Venice, give us news of English

visitors that opens up a new set of possible connections for Donne. Walton said that one of the reasons for to Donne's failing to go on to Jerusalem was "the disappointment of company." On January 12, 1596, Dr. Hawkins wrote to Anthony Bacon from Venice "that there were at that time in Venice the lord Willoughby of Eresby and lord Grey, and Mr. Thomas Sackville come out of Germany, with divers other English gentleman."<sup>181</sup> We later learn the identity of at least two of the other gentlemen, one being the Earl of Rutland<sup>182</sup> and the other Edmund Bacon.<sup>183</sup> Another may have been Sir Griffin Markham.<sup>184</sup> The extreme sickness contracted by Lord Willoughby seems to have changed the party's plans rather abruptly, and by February 27th, most of them were headed back north again. Of this group at least Thomas Sackville and Edmund Bacon were later close friends of Donne and at this point they were all of Essex's party, with whom Donne was allied already through Henry Wotton and, perhaps, Thomas Egerton. The "disappointment" of this company may have kept Donne from his Jerusalem journey and brought him back to England earlier than he had planned.

And so Donne returned to England, after an indeterminate period, his lust for travel only partially satisfied, with two problems facing him, what to do for a living, and what church to follow. The two problems were never solved separately, but in the end solved one another.

Meanwhile his experience had broadened and his satiric nature had sharpened. He would need both qualities to ride the storm of the Elizabethan court.

4. Gr. I, 377; ll. 45-47.
5. Ramsay, Doctrina, p. 47.
6. I. A. Shapiro, "John Donne and Lincoln's Inn, 1591-1594", T L S, 23 October, 1930. This valuable article, with the preceding one of the same title the week before, are invaluable for the study of Donne's Lincoln's Inn days. I shall use no more references to it, however, for the Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn has been extremely co-operative in allowing me access to the original Black Books and Admission Books.
7. Gosse, I, 302.
8. Gr. I, 34; ll. 6-14.
9. Gr. I, 329.
10. Donne, Essays in Divinity, Simpson ed., p. 56.
11. Ibid., p. 81.
12. 80 Sermons, XXXIX, p. 390.
13. 80 Sermons, I, p. 4, in Smith, Donne's Sermons, p. 129.
14. Gr. I, 175; The Storme, ll. 3-5: for note on the Marshall engraving see Vol. II, 134.
15. Helen Gardner, ed., The Divine Poems (1952), p. xvii.
16. W. Milgate, "Dr. Donne's Art Gallery", N & Q, CXCIV, 23 July 1949.
17. Gr. I, 166; Satyre LIII, ll. 204-206.
18. Hayward, ed., Donne, p. 344; Paradox, "That a Wise Man Is Known by Much Laughing."
19. Gr. I, 110; Elegie XV, ll. 57-8.
20. 80 Sermons, XXXIII, p. 322.
21. Gr. I, 119; Elegie XVIII, ll. 79-80.
22. Gr. I, 198; To the Countesse of Bedford, ll. 1-2.
23. Well as Donne used this figure, he never equaled the intensity of Vaughan's  
     I saw Eternity the other night  
     Like a great Ring of pure and endless Light  
     all calm as it was bright.
24. Gr. I, 304; The Annuntiation and Passion, ll. 2-7
25. 80 Sermons, II, Christmas evening, 1684, p. 13
26. Ibid., XVII, p. 268.
27. Gr. I, 242; ll. 353-55.
28. 80 Sermons, XVIII, p. 225.
29. Ibid., XXIX, p. 290.
30. Gr. I, 242; ll. 355-64.
31. Ibid., p. 252; Of the Progress of the
32. Ibid., p. 32; ll. 13-15.
33. Paradoxes (1852), IV, p. 46.

1. Gosse, II, 215; Donne once defined poetry as "a counterfait Creation, and makes things that are not, as though they were." 80 Sermons, XXVI, p. 266.
2. 1675 adds "and Self-satisfaction".
3. 1640 ed.
4. Gr. I, 377; ll. 45-47.
5. Ramsay, Doctrines, p. 47.
6. I. A. Shapiro, "John Donne and Lincoln's Inn, 1591-1594", T L S, 23 October, 1930. This valuable article, with the preceding one of the same title the week before, are invaluable for the study of Donne's Lincoln's Inn days. I shall use no more references to it, however, for the Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn has been extremely co-operative in allowing me access to the original Black Books and Admission Books.
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8. Gr. I, 34; ll. 8-14.
9. Gr. I, 329.
10. Donne, Essays in Divinity, Simpson ed., p. 56.
11. Ibid., p. 81.
12. 80 Sermons, XXXIX, p. 390.
13. 26 Sermons, I, p. 4, in Smith, Donne's Sermons, p. 129.
14. Gr. I, 175; The Storme, ll. 3-5: for note on the Marshall engraving see Vol. II, 134.
15. Helen Gardner, ed., The Divine Poems (1952), p. xvii.
16. W. Milgate, "Dr. Donne's Art Galary", N & Q, CXCIV, 23 July 1949.
17. Gr. I, 166; Satyre IIII, ll. 204-206.
18. Hayward, ed., Donne, p. 344; Paradox, "That a Wise Man is Known by Much Laughing."
19. Gr. I, 110; Elegie XV, ll. 57-8.
20. 80 Sermons, XXXIII, p. 322.
21. Gr. I, 119; Elegie XVIII, ll. 79-80.
22. Gr. I, 198; To the Countesse of Bedford, ll. 1-2.
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I saw Eternity the other night  
Ibid. Like a great Ring of pure and endless Light  
Ibid. All calm as it was bright.
24. Gr. I, 334; The Annuntiation and Passion, ll. 3-5.
25. 80 Sermons, II, Christmas evening, 1624, p. 13.
26. Ibid., XXVII, p. 268.
27. Gr. I, 242; ll. 353-55.
28. 80 Sermons, XXIII, p. 225.
29. Ibid., XXIX, p. 290.
30. Gr. I, 242; ll. 355-64.
31. Ibid., p. 259; Of the Progresse of the Soule, ll. 288-9.
32. Ibid., p. 32; ll. 13-15.
33. Paradoxes (1652), IV, p. 45.

34. Gr. I, 420; ll. 77-90.
35. Ibid., p. 218; ll. 19-21.
36. Ibid., p. 353; l. 29.
37. Ibid., pp. 333-4; ll. 1-8.
38. 80 Sermons, XXXIX, p. 385.
39. Ibid., XXIII, p. 231.
40. Gr. I, 88; Elegie VI, ll. 17-19.
41. Ibid., p. 253; ll. 85-88.
42. Ibid., p. 257; ll. 216-18.
43. Ibid., p. 178; The Calme, ll. 15-18.
44. From Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden, in H. W. Garrod's ed. of Donne, p. xlv.
45. Gr. I, 177; ll. 55-58.
46. Ibid., p. 206; ll. 4-6. Was this passage at the back of Browning's mind when he wrote the section of Fra Lippo Lippi:  
 But, mind you, when a boy starves in the streets  
 Eight years together, as my fortune was,  
 Watching folk's faces to know who will fling  
 The bit of half-stripped grape-bunch he desires,  
 And who will curse or kick him for his pains...?
47. Ibid., p. 88; ll. 15-17, 21-33.
48. 80 Sermons, I, p. 2.
49. Admission Book 1589-1602, fo. 24v.
50. Black Book 5, fo. 479, under "Admissiones". The admission entry is also recorded on fo. 475 of this Black Book.
51. E. Beresford Chancellor, in his book, The Romance of Lincoln's Inn Fields, writes, "The bell in the south-west turret was brought, it is said, from Cadiz when that city was taken by Lords Effingham and Essex, in 1596. As Dr. Donne, closely connected with Lincoln's Inn, was one of those who accompanied this expedition, it is supposed that he was responsible for the bell being placed here." (p. 262) Unlikely as the story is, it is a pleasant idea.
52. Ibid., fo. 410; Admission Book, fo. 158.
53. D N B: Many of the details of this short biography, especially the dating of events common to Donne and Brooke are almost frighteningly incorrect.
54. Admission Book, fo. 152.
55. Ibid., fo. 165; Black Book 5, fo. 423.
56. Ibid. Book 5, fo. 475.
57. Ibid.
58. Gosse, I, 302.
59. Admission Book, fo. 152v.
60. Ibid., fo. 2v.
61. St. Paul's Library, catalogue no. 52. D. 14.
62. Mrs. Simpson notes the entry of this sermon, printed

- in Six Sermons and I Sermons (number 3) but does not say anything else: Prose Works, p. 352.
63. Admission Book, fo. 21.
64. For John Donne's faking of addressees of his father's letters, especially dealing with Sir Thomas Lucy letters, see I. A. Shapiro, "The Text of Donne's Letters to Severall Persons", R E S, Vol. 7, no. 27, July 1931, and R. E. Bennett, "Donne's Letters to Severall Persons of Honour", P M L A, Vol. 56, March 1941.
65. Gosse, I, 301.
66. Admission Book, fo. 126.
67. Gosse, I, 318.
68. The information on Woodward, which does not include the information from Lincoln's Inn, is taken mainly from M. C. Deas, "A Note on Rowland Woodward, the Friend of Donne", R E S, Vol. 7, no. 28, October 1931. This includes most of the material from Smith, Wotton, II, 481, and Gr. II, 146-7.
69. Walton, Lives, p. 29. I can find no reason nor substantiation for Grierson's claim: "It was written therefore before 1601, probably, like several of these letters, while Donne was Egerton's secretary, and living in chambers with Christopher Brooke." (II, 170) This is completely mixed up.
70. Black Book 5, fo. 488v.
71. Ibid., fo. 510v.
72. Baker, A Chronicle of the Kings of England (1665), p. 450.
73. Phillips, Theatrum Poetarum (1675), pp. 106-7.
74. "Memorabilist," N & Q, Vol. 188, 16 June 1945.
75. Allen R. Benham has summed up many of the arguments on this point, rather inconclusively, in "The Myth of John Donne the Rake", P. Q., Vol. 20, no. 3, July 1941. Actually, he only shows that it is possible that Donne was not a rake, which every one knows.
76. J. E. V. Crofts, "John Donne", Essays and Studies, Vol. 22, 1937.
77. Virginia Woolf, Orlando (Penguin ed.), p. 10.
78. Gr. I, 118; Elegie XVIII, ll. 57-8.
79. Ibid., p. 120; ll. 25-27.
80. Donne, Poems (1635), p. 64. Grierson did not understand what Donne was getting at here, and his reading for the stanza is ammost unintelligible.
81. Donne, Paradoxes, etc. (1652), p. 77.
82. Breake of day (Gr. I, 23) and Self Love (I, 73).
83. Gr. I, 89; Elegie VII, ll. 1-12.
84. Ibid., p. 102; Elegie XII, ll. 47-52.
85. Ibid., p. 10; The undertaking: Platonique Love, ll. 17-20.
86. Ibid., p. 63, The Relique, ll. 23-33.
87. Paradoxes, p. 21.

88. Gr. I, pp. 147, 148; Satyre I, ll. 53-55, 91-98.
89. Ibid., pp. 159-60, 166; Satyre IIII, ll. 30-34, 197-203.
90. Ibid., p. 376; ll. 25-32.
91. Ibid., p. 185; ll. 1-6.
92. Ibid., p. 5; ll. 1-4.
93. Hayward, ed., Donne, pp. 340-41.
94. 80 Sermons, XXV, p. 242.
95. Gr. I, pp. 69-70.
96. 80 Sermons, XXXVI, p. 359.
97. I have found both in lecturing and discussing poetry with non-university or, at least, non-Arts individuals, that The Flea makes the greatest immediate impact of any of the lyric poems.
98. Mr. Leishman's only fault is his overemphasis. He does not leave sufficient room for personal experience by Donne. He also fails rather remarkably to show that Elegies XVIII, XIX, and XX are Ovidian.
99. J. B. Leishman, Monarch of Wit (1951), p. 64.
100. E. K. Chambers, "An Elegy by John Donne", R E S, Vol. 7, no. 25, January 1931.
101. Gr. I, 89; ll. 41-46.
102. Ibid., p. 80; ll. 31-34.
103. Ibid., p. 86; ll. 61-2.
104. Ibid., p. 90; ll. 29-30.
105. Ibid., p. 101; ll. 33-34.
106. Julian Sharman, ed., The Proverbs of John Heywood, 1546 (1874, London), pp. 22-3.
107. These two are contained in N. E. McClure's edition of The Epigrams of Sir John Harington.
108. Gr. I, 95; ll. 17-20.
109. T. G. Law, Collected Essays (1904), p. 244.
110. Gr. I, 97; ll. 39-40. See note Vol. II, 61.
111. George Williamson, letter, T L S, 18 August 1932; Bennett, Donne, p. xxvi.
112. Gr. I, 109; ll. 33-38.
113. Ibid., p. 110.
114. Ibid., p. 142; ll. 29-31.
115. Ibid., p. 212; To Mr B. B., ll. 6-8.
116. Black Book 5, "Infra barr Custod Doon", fo. 504v.
117. Gr. I, 212-3.
118. Once again, R. E. Bennett has honestly returned the title of the poem to the plain initials, thus admitting he had no idea of the identity of the addressee.
119. Gr. I, 212; ll. 5-6.
120. Benjamin Basnage, admitted a Sizar at Emmanuel, March 10, 1593, matriculated c 1593, B.A. 1596-7. Brian Bridger, matriculated from St. John's, Michaelmas 1588. Bartholomew Britan, admitted Sizar from Trinity, Easter 1588, B.A. 1593. Benjamin Browne, pensioner from Christ's, 1590-1, ordained priest Octover 13, 1595, age 24.

121. Ibid., ll. 10-11.
122. Black Book 5, fo. 485. "York City", p. 231. This  
by Prof. Benwick.
123. Gr. I, 213; ll. 19-22.
124. Black Book 5, fo. 475v.
125. Ibid., fo. 505.
126. Gr. I, 208.
127. Ibid., 212; ll. 1-2.
128. Ibid., p. 83; ll. 17-18.
129. Ibid., p. 186; ll. 31-36.
130. 80 Sermons, LXVI, p. 665.
131. Gr. I, 212, 214; ll. 9-10, 13-18.
132. Stow, p. 766.
133. Ibid.
134. Letter from Father Fitzgibbon.
135. Camden, p. 406.
136. The charge levelled by Gillow, in his set of biographies of English Catholics, that this was done to take away Henry's legacy is patently false, as the money was received jointly by Henry's brother and sister.
137. There is no known reason for Donne labelling his Progress of the Soul, or Metempsychosis, "Infinitati Sacrum, 16 Augusti 1601." H. W. Garrod has argued it for Donne's birthday, but the point is stretched (letter, T L S, 30 December 1944). Henry's death would certainly have been sufficient to make the date outstanding in Donne's mind.
138. Stow, p. 766.
139. 80 Sermons, XX, p. 200.
140. For a full discussion of the legacy, see Appendix I.
141. 1640.
142. Gr. I, 208-9; To Mr. E. G. For the full discussion of this poem see R. E. Bennett, "John Donne and Everard Gilpin", R E S, Vol. 15, no. 57, January 1939. Although Mr. Bennett still queries his identification in his edition of the poems, his evidence convinces me.
143. Ibid., p. 179; The Calme, ll. 33-35.
144. Paradoxes, etc., p. 62.
145. Gr. I, 110; Elegie XV, ll. 59-62.
146. Ibid., 162; Satyre IV, ll. 91-93.
147. Ibid., 178; The Calme, ll. 13-14.
148. Ibid., p. 181; ll. 23-4.
149. Ibid., p. 188; ll. 19-21.
150. 80 Sermons, XXIII, p. 226.
151. Ibid., XXVII, p. 272.
152. Ibid., XXXVIII, 383.
153. Ibid., LIX, 596.
154. Black Book 5, fo. 505v.
155. Stow, p. 769.
156. Gr. I, 213-4; ll. 1-8.
157. Ibid., ll. 21-2.

158. Ibid., p. 212; ll. 1-6.
159. Fuller, Worthies (1662), "York City", p. 231. This entry was suggested to me by Prof. Renwick.
160. Black Book 5, fo. 506.
161. Ibid., fo. 510.
162. This is not to say there is none; but a second and third search of the entries under 37 Elizabeth revealed nothing about Donne. The next November another John Done entered the society (fo. 23), but that does not help the problem any. They are of more
163. 1640.
164. Walton, Lives, p. 25.
165. Preface, Pseudo-Martyr, in Simpson, Prose Works, pp. 187-188.
166. Gr. I, 112-13; ll. 33-56.
167. Walton, Lives, p. 26.
168. 80 Sermons, XXXIII, p. 329.
169. Ibid., XXV, p. 252.
170. Gr. I, 182; To Sr. Henry Wotton, ll. 63-70.
171. Ibid., p. 192; ll. 37-48.
172. Ibid., p. 245; Funeral Elegie, ll. 1-8.
173. 80 Sermons, LIX, p. 596.
174. Smith, Sermons, p. 253.
175. 80 Sermons, LXVIII, p. 693.
176. T. E. Terrill first made this argument in his Harvard thesis in 1928, pp. 29-30.
177. 80 Sermons, VIII, p. 82.
178. Birch II, 22.
179. Ibid., II, 181.
180. Gr. I, p. 172; Vpon Mr. Thomas Coryate Crudities, l. 3.
181. Birch I, 377.
182. Ibid., 428.
183. Ibid., 453.
184. Ibid.

Donne frequently referred to his life as a soldier and sailor. These trips eclipsed most of the impressions of his earlier continental travels, and they maintained their strength in being followed by a period of general disgust with the effeminacy and immorality of court life.

We simply do not know when he returned home from his continental travels: it may have been with Admiral Bacon in March, 1596, or later or earlier. We also do not know where he settled down on his return, but it seems probable that it

was near his friends Chapter 5 Inns of Court.

Years with Essex: Cadiz and the Islands Voyage

Leaving behind the clouded months following the last record of Donne at Lincoln's Inn, we must now examine two of the most exciting years of his life. They are of more than usual importance for the reader of Donne for two reasons. They seem to have been the period of his first real religious questioning, leading to the composition of the set of Satyres. They also supplied him with a store of metaphors and images that were among the most powerful he ever used. The two trips with Essex, in 1596 to Cadiz and in 1597 to the Azores, gave Donne a personal acquaintance with the sinking of fleets, sacking of cities, and weathering of storms that again and again appear in the poems and sermons. Although he did not wear out his correspondents with the recounting of his experiences, as Byron was to do with his swimming of the Hellespont, Donne frequently referred to his life as a soldier and sailor. These trips eclipsed most of the impressions of his earlier continental travels, and they maintained their strength in being followed by a period of general disgust with the effeminacy and immorality of court life.

We simply do not know when he returned home from his continental travels; it may have been with Edmund Bacon in March, 1596, or later or earlier. We also do not know where he settled down on his return, but it seems probable that it

was near his friends at the various Inns of Court. Wotton, who had become one of Essex's secretaries soon after his return from his travels, had entered the Middle Temple in 1595, probably more for the companionship than the study. Christopher Brooke and the rest of the Lincoln's Inn group were still at their old haunts. Many of the men he had known at Oxford, like Richard Martin, were also at the Inns of Court. And now Donne could do much as he liked for a while, with a small fortune of his own. There is no real proof that he was in service with any one for this period, although he may have joined in the band around Essex, for he was friendly with most of them.

We may surmise that he was in rooms of his own somewhere near the Inns of Court with one French servant:

as you see,  
I have but one Frenchman, looke, hee followes me.<sup>1</sup>

His activities seem to have been two-fold: the application of his satiric wit to more poetry (which seems to have taken place particularly in the winter of 1596-97) and the search of his soul into the Roman-Anglican controversy. The two activities seem to have been carried on side by side, which is not surprising when the subject matter and treatment of the Satyres is examined, but if Donne returned to England very much before the late spring of 1596, it would seem that he began reading various religious works

almost immediately. His reading is much what one would suspect under the circumstances: Beza (Wotton's very close friend and, possibly, an acquaintance of Donne);<sup>2</sup> Luther--

to have impressed him more than anything else was the  
dishonesty as in those first dayes  
When Luther was profest, He did desire  
Short Pater nosters, saying as a Fryer  
Each day his beads, but having left those lawes,  
Addes to Christs prayer, the Power and glory  
Hard words, or worse: or in Divinity clause--<sup>3</sup>.  
As controversers, in vouch'd Texts, leave out  
Shrewd words, which might against them cleare

who appears, for similar reasons, in his Catalogus Librorum,

Books M. Lutheris de abbreviatiōe orationis Dominicae;<sup>4</sup>

religious questions, which we have already seen the  
Lancelot Andrewes and Dr. Reynolds, the "two reverend men/  
possible [?] doubt encounte-  
Of our two Academies";<sup>5</sup> Paolo Giovio and Laurentius Surius,  
ed in his [?]  
whose works were under fire by the Protestant controversial-  
teachings [?]  
ists;<sup>6</sup> and then there were some Jesuits as well as histori-  
made the  
ans of religion, the latter telling of Catholic persecutions  
of Protestants, like the besieged Protestants of Sancerra.

Or like the skumme, which, by needs lawlesse law  
Enforc'd, Sanserra's starved men did draw  
From parboild shooes, and bootes...<sup>7</sup>.

This incident Donne treated more strongly in the Sermons:

When I consider what God did for Goshen in Egypt  
... How many Sancerraes he hath delivered from  
famines, how many Genevas from plots and machi-  
nations.<sup>8</sup>

The important attitude shown in all the poems of this period is Donne's almost complete neutrality on the religious

question, shown most clearly in Satyre III. He was not tempted to leave his Christian faith, but he, as yet, could not see Truth held completely by either side. What seems to have impressed him more than anything else was the dishonesty all around: with the Appellants, are shown there, and it is unnecessary to repeat them. Although Wright As sllily as any Commenter goes by Hard words, or sense; or in Divinity Dean of West- As controverters, in vouch'd Texts, leave out Shrewd words, which might against them cleare the doubt.<sup>9</sup> allowed visitors of all kinds, and Donne may well have been Books were not Donne's only source of information on religious questions, though. We have already seen the possible influences towards denominational doubt encountered in his travels. There was another man with disturbing teachings in his group at home. Father Fitzgibbon has made the following extremely interesting suggestion:

A man he might very well have known is the ex-Jesuit, Thomas Wright, the woolly-minded self-opinionated fellow traveller, who was quite convinced that if only he could talk to Hitler or Stalin, he could soon and easily smoothe out all lamentable misunderstandings and settle satisfactory lines of compromise. As Aquaviva sized him up very justly, he refused in any circumstances to send him to England, and Wright had to leave the Society to get his freedom to go thither. He arrived as a protegé of Anthony Bacon and Essex, and hung about the edge of cut-throat politics uneasily and ambiguously in a futile fashion until 1603, when he was banished. He soon returned. He had a good deal to do with Alabaster and got into trouble about him... Wright was also a friend of Ben Jonson, I think. As Donne like so many others among the young men, looked for fortune in the following of Essex, I think some contact with Wright quite possible.

Father Fitzgibbon refers to the recent biography of Wright in Biographical Studies (Vol. 1, no. 3, 1952), the new and valuable series of Catholic biographies, by Theodore A. Stoud. All of the important details of Wright's ideas, with his associations with the Appellants, are shown there, and it is unnecessary to repeat them. Although Wright spent most of these years in a chamber of the Dean of Westminster, the victim of the Cecil-Essex rivalry, he was allowed visitors of all kinds, and Donne may well have been one of them. Being a member of the Essex group as he was, and being interested in religious controversies, it would be more surprising if he had not talked with Wright. The latter, may it be said, never deviated from nor cloaked his Catholic beliefs, but he felt that there was no reason for a man's being unpatriotic to his Queen and country while remaining a Catholic. He states his position quite clearly to Henry Garnet, one of the leading Jesuits in England at the time, who had written him, asking whether the report was true, as rumoured, "that you do commonly report the cause of your departure from our society to have been grievous disorders, which you saw therein."<sup>10</sup> I shall quote the entire passage in Birch which contains his answer, for, in spite of his protestations, Wright was definitely taking a position which was against Church policy and one with which Donne would agree. Whether or not it is a false one, I will leave to the reader. Donne recog-

nized, however, that, at the time, such a position, if not leading to Protestantism, at least pointed to a severing of close ties with Rome. It is tempting to believe that Wright's words were, to a large degree, the feelings of Donne in these middle years.

Mr. Wright return'd from Westminster a long answer to this letter, declaring that whenever his quitting that society was mentioned, the reason, which he always did and should allege was, that he left it, not for that it did not deserve him, but because he did not deserve so holy a company, not having that health, which such continual and heavenly exercises required. He assured Mr. Garnet, that he had delivered to some of the principal of the kingdom, that they should not any more be afraid of jesuits or seminaries, as of persons pretending to persuade or help an invasion from Spain, but that they were as much opposite to it as either protestants or puritans: For, as for the jesuits, they had made a decree in the last general congregation sub poena peccati mortalis, not to deal in any matters concerning the state; which decree was as urgent to them as death, and more too; and he knew them to be extremely averse to the Spanish invasion; and the seminaries did not come into the kingdom with any design against it. He therefore urg'd Mr. Garnet to persuade them to this temper and conduct, since the queen, who on that account, favour'd divers catholics in England, would deal much more mercifully, if she should perceive the same disposition in all priests and jesuits. That he did not write this to Mr. Garnet, as thinking him in any wise inclin'd to the contrary, having known his upright dealing to be religion, and not civil or unnatural policy; and therefore presum'd to persuade him to persuade others to the same, which, says he, I think you have done heretofore. "Another thing, adds he, is, that I hear, and it is too common now in England, that all jesuits and seminaries are sworn enemies to her majesty,

intending, persuading, and procuring her death; the which is against all prudence, wisdom, and charity: for I can assure you, if such plotting and practising had never been invented, the poor catholics in England had enjoyed more peace and tranquility. For, as for my part, because her majesty understandeth, that I pretended nothing in England but religion, I have found that favour, which perhaps none hath obtained hitherto; which is, that none shall trouble me for my conscience; and so I think many more should obtain, if they proceeded in the same manner. Good Sir, resist as much as you can any such Machiavelian treasons, and let her majesty understand, that all ambition, covetousness, or any other pretence, is far from us, whose vocation is religion, and not suppressing of princes. For otherwise I am afraid, lest all our priests be rather put to death for matters of state than religion. I can assure you now, and in verbo sacerdotis I swear, that I have heard divers learned men among the jesuits affirm, that now her majesty hath almost legitimam causam occidendi seminarios propter suspicionem prodendi regni, et occidendi reginam. And so doubtless they shall be no martyrs. I desire you, good Sir, to procure, that my words be confirmed true; I mean, that jesuits deal not with matters of state, and that you will write into Flanders and Spain concerning this matter. For I hear, that since the decree was made, some have been too busy (and I could name you them, and in what manner, but for just respects I will conceal them) lest the world say (as I have heard some protestants so persuaded) that the decree was rather a cover of craft and policy than a sincere rule and law." He concluded with hoping, that Mr. Garnet would shew himself a loyal subject, zealous in religion, and loyal in obedience; "and God send us a merry meeting, as we had sometimes at Rome."<sup>11</sup>

But Donne's interests were not exclusively religious, nor were his desires for travel and adventure completely filled. In the next year Essex was to make two important

raids on Spanish possessions, and Donne was to go along. Although we have but two or three letters of Donne from this period, we may discover what his almost daily activities were through the many detailed accounts of the voyages as well as the wealth of letters and communications to and from the fleet and court. Walton says,

As a result of the unfortunate chain of events, the land now resolved to travel; And the Earle of Essex going to Cales, and after the Iland voyages, he began to took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his Lordship, and saw the expeditions of those happy and unhappy imployments.<sup>12</sup>

There is good reason to believe that Walton meant by "waited upon his Lordship" that Donne was in attendance on Essex himself,<sup>13</sup> along with his friends Thomas Egerton and Henry Wotton. It is, therefore, likely that by following Essex during these two trips, we shall be following Donne.

At any event the occurrences of the spring of 1596 were enough to stir a young man with a longing for travel into joining the campaign. The voyage of Drake and Hawkins had ended in the deaths of two of England's great sea heroes. In April Calais had fallen with Essex sitting helpless at Dover with the relief forces, levied in London on Easter day, waiting for the Queen to make up her mind; which she finally did, too late, apparently forced by "that terrible battery that methinks sounds for relief at Essex in supervising the arrival and

my hands."<sup>14</sup>. At this historical distance the irony of that message is somewhat lessened by the fact that it was written from the Due Repulse,<sup>15</sup> which was to be Essex's ship of victory at Cadiz. For our narrative, its interest is that of Donne's probable home for two months that summer and even longer in 1597.

As a result of the unfortunate chain of events, England now faced real danger from Spanish fleets, and Essex began to make plans for an offensive. Accompanied by the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, he sailed from Dover around to Plymouth with the English fleet. On April 24th, as joint commanders, they issued a warning to all neutral ships to leave Spanish harbors. Then began a little over a month of preparation, during which time Donne and his friends joined the fleet. Perhaps they accompanied Essex as he rode down from London, arriving on April 28th. It seems likely that Thomas Egerton would have stayed in London to see his father take office as Lord Keeper on May 11th, and Donne may have stayed with him if he already, as is possible, had his eye on a position as secretary to that gentleman. We can only hope that they were not numbered among the "300 green headed youths covered with feathers, gold and silver lace" reported by Anthony Standen, another passenger on the Repulse.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps they aided Essex in supervising the arrival and placing of the food

from twenty-four counties that arrived for the fleet. £50,301 8s 4½d was charged to the Privy Council,<sup>17</sup> but Essex was spending a good part of his own fortune in salaries and other necessaries. The soldiers to accompany the expedition were also arriving, eight regiments of 750 men each.<sup>18</sup> May quickly passed during these operations, and on the 21st, Raleigh arrived, completing the command staff. The Queen, having nearly ruined the expedition twice, now appeared willing to let it go. With most of the work behind, the fleet waited for wind and indulged in a little pageantry. During May military discipline had been maintained and daily prayer observed.<sup>19</sup> Two soldiers had been put to death on the 8th or 9th, one for starting a mutiny, the other for desertion. They were "executed a little without the towne, in a very fayre plesant greene, called the Ho."<sup>20</sup> A soldier who had murdered one of the Dutch regiment was tied to the corpse and thrown into the sea.<sup>21</sup> But on the 22nd a third of the army put on a parade. Sir Anthony Standen (who was a Catholic but a supporter of the Queen and another member of the Bacon-Essex group) was impressed: "The army is very fair, as by a third thereof yesterday in battle I saw to my content, as well for the armour as the countenance and promptness of the men."<sup>22</sup> That night Donne may have been present at the

ment in *Satyre V*, employing a rather stretched pun:

party when Arthur Throckmorton, Raleigh's young brother-in-law and the brother of Donne's friend Nicholas, "a hot-headed youth"<sup>23</sup> and friend of Wotton, lost his temper with the Lord Marshall, Sir Francis Vere, and said sufficient to be ordered from the table by Essex and Howard and made a prisoner. He was released in time for the voyage and was one of those knighted at Cadiz by Essex, but at the moment his action only heightened an already tense situation among the expedition's leaders.

The next night Donne, as well as Standen, must have seen the show of the young men accompanying the trip: "the rich apparel...was beyond all the sights, which he had ever seen, for at least five hundred gentlemen were covered over with silver and gold lace."<sup>24</sup> It is possible that Donne was one of those being watched, of course. The fact that he satirized courtiers is not very good evidence that he did not act the part himself at times. He committed far more grievous sins that came under his own denunciation. On the 24th the Queen's final orders arrived, accompanied by a prayer of her own composition for the success of the trip. Last minute operations were hurried to prepare for the scheduled sailing. On the 28th a lieutenant named Hammond was drummed out of town for playing Falstaff with his impressed soldiers.<sup>25</sup> This incident may have presented Donne with a moralizing statement in Satyre V, employing a rather stretched pun:

Sell that, and by that thou much more shalt loose,  
Then Hammond, when he sold his Antiquities.<sup>26</sup>

On the 30th the troops began to embark, five regiments being aboard by night.<sup>27</sup> And the next night all of the commanders, with their aids, worked to get the fleet riding at Catwater.<sup>28</sup>

On the morning of the first of June, Donne would have seen the fleet of some 150 ships, eighteen of which were Her Majesty's own, sail from Plymouth at the firing of a cannon on the Lord Admiral's ship, the Ark Royal, white pendants five yards long flying from their mizzen yards.<sup>29</sup> The fleet was divided into five squadrons, under the Lord Admiral, Essex, Lord Thomas Howard, and Raleigh, in that order. The fifth was made up of the Dutch ships under Jan van Duyvenvoord, the Admiral of the Hollanders.<sup>30</sup> The wind held from the north-northwest until the fleet reached Dodman Head during the night; then they were forced back into Plymouth. On the 3rd they again set out, this time with a good wind all the way to Spain.

And so began Donne's first real taste of life at sea, about which he was later to say,

To mew me in a Ship, is to intrall  
Mee in a prison, that weare like to fall;  
Or in a Cloyster; save that there men dwell  
In a calme heaven, here in a swaggering hell,<sup>31</sup>

although this particular passage may have dealt with the

Islands Voyage of the next year. The life of the fleet must have been an interesting change for the twenty-four year old Donne. There were Common Prayers twice a day, but any other discussions of religion were forbidden upon pain of open punishment and banishment from the army. This must have been a rather tiresome restriction for a man who had just begun a study of religious controversy. No swearing or dicing were allowed, and the order was probably kept while any officers were around. The ships were washed down daily to prevent disease, perhaps with some inconvenience to the dandies who wandered about the decks in their finery. The most dreaded ship-board disease was the Calenture, the victim of which was seized by a delirium and was said to fancy the sea to be green fields and to want to jump in. That it also had a different meaning is evidenced by the report from the army in France in the summer of 1595, when the Calenture was widespread among the soldiers.<sup>32</sup>

Onely the Calenture together drawes  
Deare friends, which meet dead in great fishes  
jaws.<sup>33</sup>

(except such of them as being all born to sail in the same ship as we, and to suffer with us, have so sublimed their wits with a contempt of ours, that they steal from us in a Calenture; or so stupified themselves, that they forsake their partnership in our labours and dangers, in a lazy Scurvie)<sup>34</sup>.

Donne also treats it as meaning an hallucinatory fever:

letters of All that is fill'd, and all that which doth fill,  
 All the round world, to man is but a pill,  
 by tempests In all it workes not, but it is in all  
 contents Poysonous, or purgative, or cordiall,  
 For, knowledge kindles Calentures in some,  
 And is to others icy Opium.<sup>35</sup>

In the evenings the fleet, which had separated during the day in order to cover a wider area for intercepting merchant ships, drew together, each ship in a squadron drawing close enough to the commander to call across for instructions, "which they terme by the name of Hayling: a ceremonie done solemnly, and in verie good order, with sound of Trumpets, and noyse of cheerefull voyces."<sup>36</sup> At eight o'clock each night the watch was set with the blowing of trumpets or rolling of drums, followed by the singing of the Lord's Prayer and some Psalms.<sup>37</sup> We would expect that such an impressive scene of worship would have made its way into at least the sermons, but we must be disappointed.

Nearing the North Cape on June 9th, the Lords General decided on a select council meeting, and Lord Thomas Howard, Raleigh, Francis Vere, George Carew, Coniers Clifford, and Anthony Ashley, the somewhat untrustworthy secretary, came aboard, having been summoned by the firing of a cannon and the hanging out of the flag of the Arms of England. Hakluyt says that it was from this council that the sealed orders were handed out with the instructions: "Open not these

letters on pain of liues unles we chance to be scattered by tempest, and in that case open them, and execute the contents thereof: but if by mishap you fall into your enemies hand, then in any case cast them into the sea, sealed as they are."<sup>38</sup>. These sealed instructions made their way into the Whitsunday Sermon in 1628: *vols.* On

The Holy Ghost is no longer Omniscent, to know all at once, as in S. Pauls time, when the Spirit of God searched all things, yea the deep things of God, but as a Sea-Captaine receives a Ticket, to be opened when he comes to such a height, and thereby to direct his future course, so the Holy Ghost is appointed to aske the Popes Nuntio, his Legate, what he shall declare to be truth.<sup>39</sup>.

If Donne had not already been told the secret of their destination by his master, he must have shared the general suspense, for as yet only the commanders knew the goal was Cadiz.

On the 10th of June the capture of ships began. Hakluyt mentions a French barke and a Fleming.<sup>40</sup>. Monson, captain of the Repulse, says three Hamburg flyboats were picked up by two of the three advance scout ships.<sup>41</sup>. On the 11th another select council was held to consider the reports, as well as a general council to determine the fleet's position.<sup>42</sup>. The Germans had been in Cadiz fourteen days before and no news had been heard of English intentions. The next day the fleet had some cause to worry as a small Flemish flyboat escaped from the London ship Swan

and headed for land to report the fleet. Next day, however, the John and Francis, another Londoner, caught her; a very lucky event, for it kept the Spanish in the dark as to the existence of the fleet, much less the actual plans.<sup>43</sup> The next few days were busy with the capture and questioning of various small caravels. On the 15th the red cross flag of St. George appeared on the Lord Admiral's yard arm, and all the captains and masters of the fleet joined for a general council. Here plans for landing were made.<sup>44</sup> On the 18th an Irish vessel, straight from Cadiz, was intercepted, and the good news was heard that the city was completely unaware of danger and very poorly defended. The fleet headed in for land and the same day came in sight of Cape St. Vincent. The Spanish saw them and estimated a fleet of 180 sails.<sup>45</sup> The news reached Cadiz too late to do any good, however, for on Sunday morning, June 20th, the English came in sight of that city. A council was called, and it was decided, at the Lord Admiral's demand, to take the town before the fleet. Long boats were lowered and sent to the shore, but the high sea kept them from their goal and overturned one of the boats, drowning eighty men, nearly four-fifths of the total casualties of the expedition.<sup>46</sup> Raleigh then arrived with his inshore squadron and convinced the Lord Admiral, at Essex's request, to go in with the fleet.

Rowing past the Repulse on his way back to his own ship, the Warspite, he shouted up to Essex, "Entramos," at which welcome news Essex tossed his hat into the sea, the type of boyish enthusiasm that won his followers' hearts.

The next morning, Monday, the battle began. The four Spanish Apostles, formidable men of war, took the brunt of the attack, allowing the richly-laden Gallies to escape back up the bay to St. Mary-Port. Some twelve made their way around the back side of the island on which Cadiz stands, under the Suazo bridge, and escaped. Although the bay was large, the deeper channels were few, hampering the free movements of the ships:

As the heavy fighting continued Essex could not restrain himself, fight. English, crews of fire. Sir Walter Raleigh had the Van given him, which the Lord Thomas Howard hearing challenged it, in Right of his Place of Vice-Admiral, and it was granted him; But Sir Walter, having Order over Night to ply in, came first to an Anchor; But at that Distance from the Spaniards, that he could not annoy him; And he himself returned on Board the Lord General Essex, to excuse his coming to an Anchor so far off, for Want of Water to go higher; Which was thought strange, that the Spaniards, which drew much more Water, and had no more Advantage than he of Tide, could pass where his Ship could not. Sir Francis Vere, in the Rainbow, who was appointed to second him, passing by Sir Walter Raleigh's Ship, he weighed the second Time, and went higher. The Lord General Essex, who promised to keep in the Midst of the Fleet, was told by Sir William Monson, that the greatest Service would depend upon three or four Ships, and he put him in Mind of his Honour, for that many Eyes beheld him. This made him forgetfull of his Promise, and to use all Means he could to be foremost in the Fight, The Lord Thomas Howard, who could not go up in his own Ship, the Mary Honora, betook him-

this scene. Some were right there on the Repulse, and the

self to the Non-pareil, and in Respect the Rainbow, the Repulse, and Warspight had taken up the best Part of the Channel, by their first Coming to an Anchor, to his Grief, he could not get higher. Here did every Ship strive to be the headmost; But such was the Narrowness of the Channel, as neither the Lord High Admiral, nor any other Ship of the Queen's could pass one by another.<sup>47</sup>

Perhaps Donne remembered this situation.

Every man must know how much water his own vessell draws, and not to think to saile over, wheresoever he hath seen another (he knows not with how much labour) shove over.<sup>48</sup>

As has been said, Raleigh led the attack in the Warspite with Francis Vere joining him at the front in the Rainbow. As the heavy fighting continued, Essex could not restrain himself, and the Repulse moved right into the thick of the fight. Two of the four Apostles "were forced to preach English,"<sup>49</sup> the St. Andrew and the St. Matthew, but the crews of the St. Philip and St. Thomas set their ships on fire. Raleigh described it as "very lamentable,"

for many drowned themselves; many, half burnt, leapt into the water; very many hanging by the ropes' ends by the ships' side, under the water even to the lips; many swimming with grievous wounds, stricken under water, and put out of their pain; and withal so huge a fire, and such tearing of the ordnance in the great Philip, and the rest, when the fire came to them, as if any man had a desire to see Hell itself, it was there most lively figured.<sup>50</sup>

But we do not need to turn to Raleigh for a description of this scene. Donne was right there on the Repulse, and the

scene was vivid to him too. *by that meanes so tiresome  
and painfull as might be.*<sup>54</sup>

Some four  
to 1000 f  
but were soon  
Out of a fired ship, which, by no way  
But drowning, could be rescued from the flame,  
Some men leap'd forth, and ever as they came  
Neere the foes ships, did by their shot decay;  
So all were lost, which in the ship were found,  
They in the sea being burnt, they in the burnt  
ship drown'd.<sup>51</sup>

*the gates before the English.*<sup>55</sup> Essex went right up on  
If any prize were to be given for vividness, Raleigh would certainly win the day. Donne is once again, or still, being witty, and this epigram was much appreciated and quoted. But the fact remains that the wit is more important than the event pictured, clear as that may be. That the event impressed him really goes without question, and it may be this incident which later gave him the idea of his own possible future on another expedition:

My body'a sack of bones, broken within,  
And powders blew staines scatter'd on my skinne.<sup>52</sup>

The sea battle came to a close during the afternoon, and Essex, after two o'clock, landed nearly 3000<sup>53</sup> troops on the island. Half were sent under the command of Christopher Blunt, Coniers Clifford, and Thomas Gerard to take the Suazo bridge. The other half, probably including Donne,

*and Loya*  
*city:*  
with all expedition possible marched on foote toward the towne of Cadiz, which was about three English miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint, and the way was all of dry deepe slyding sand in a manner, and beside that,

very uneven, and by that meanes so tiresome  
and painfull as might be.<sup>54</sup>

Some four or five hundred horsemen as well as anywhere up  
to 1000 foot soldiers came out of the city to meet them,  
but were soon put to flight, just barely getting back to  
the gates before the English.<sup>55</sup> Essex went right up on  
the wall and started to get his men to enter the city that  
way, but Francis Vere managed to batter down the gate, an  
event which would have been impressive to Donne and seems  
to have been the source for his repeated use of that image,  
especially in Holy Sonnet XIV.

Batter my heart, three person'd God; for, you  
As yet but knocke, breathe, shine, and seeke to  
mend;  
That I may rise, and stand, o'erthrow mee, 'and  
bend  
Your force, to breake, blowe, burn and make me new.  
I, like an usurpt towne, to 'another due,  
Labour to 'admit you, but Oh, to no end,  
Reason your viceroy in mee, mee should defend,  
But is captiv'd, and proves weake or untrue.  
Yet dearly 'I love you, 'and would be loved faine,  
But am betroth'd unto your enemye:  
Divorce mee, 'untie, or breake that knot againe,  
Take mee to you, imprison mee, for I  
Except you 'enthral mee, never shall be free,  
Nor ever chaste, except you ravish mee.<sup>56</sup>

Number 7 of the La Corona sonnets puns upon the word "ram":

O strong Ramme, which hast batter'd heaven for mee,  
Mild Lambe, which with thy blood, hast mark'd the  
path;<sup>57</sup>

and Love's Exchange draws upon the image of the conquered  
city:

1589, but it is possible that it refers to an important event at  
 of Donne's their form victory. If thou give nothing, yet thou'art just,  
 Because I would not thy first motions trust;  
 Small townes which stand stiffe, till great shot  
 Enforce them, by warres law condition not.  
 Such in loves warfare is my case,  
 I may not article for grace,  
 Having put Love at last to shew this face.<sup>58</sup>

Once in the city the English forces, swelled by the arrival of the Lord Admiral and his men, put down resistance quickly. The houses surrounding the market place were the most stubborn, and taking them caused the one major English death. William Monson described the scene:

In that Conflict, I was shot with a Musket-ball thro' my Scarf and Breeches; And the Handle and Pommel of my Sword shot from my Side, without any further Hurt. As I stooped for my Handle and Pummel of my Sword, Sir John Wingfield was next to me on Horseback, who had received a Hurt in his Thigh, a little before; And as he was asking me how I did, (fearing I was sorely wounded, by my Stooping) he was shot with a Bullet in the Head, and suddenly fell down dead, and these were the last Words he ever spoke.<sup>59</sup>

At some time soon after, probably either on the voyage home or in the following month or so, Donne wrote his epigram on Wingfield:

Beyond th'old Pillers many have travailed  
 Towards the Suns cradle, and his throne, and bed:  
 A fitter Piller our Earle did bestow  
 In that late Island; for he well did know  
 Farther then Wingfield no man dares to goe.<sup>60</sup>

This day supplied Donne with three or four epigrams. We have discussed "Fall of a Wall" as dealing with an event in

1589, but it is possible that it refers to an unrecorded event at Cadiz. Still more likely, it may be the result of Donne's hearing some of Essex's old soldiers discussing their former campaigns while relaxing at Cadiz after the victory.

The epigram Cales and Guyana is not quite as easy to place as it first appears.

If you from spoyle of th'old worlds farthest end  
To the new world your kindled valors bend,  
What brave examples then do prove it trew  
That one things end doth still beginne a new.<sup>61</sup>

Gosse thought it referred to Raleigh, but he painted the composition scene too glowingly to allow his argument to stand.<sup>62</sup> Grierson thinks it refers to Essex, on the grounds that Donne was one of Essex's followers.<sup>63</sup> This is supported in part by the obvious nod to Essex in the epigram on Wingfield. But Raleigh was the hero of the day in the eyes of everyone. Standen reported even Essex as saying that "you can lay no honour upon him, that he hath not deserved."<sup>64</sup> The date of the composition of the epigram would probably decide which hero the verses were directed to. If it was written during the expedition, Essex is probably the man, and the "spoyle of the new world" would mean the homecoming Spanish fleet which Essex wanted to attack and which the English missed by only two days. If it was written, as I think more likely, upon Donne's

return to England, Raleigh would seem to be indicated, especially with the name "Guyana" in the title, for Raleigh sent a small pinnace, the Watte, from Lime house to Guiana on October 14, 1596. It did not clear Weymouth until December 27th and returned on June 29, 1597.<sup>65</sup> Raleigh's interest in Guiana was certainly well-known by everyone interested in the court. No final answer on the identification of the person being addressed can be obtained, and the individual reader must decide for himself. There is also the chance that it was made purposely ambiguous in order to make the most of any possible favoritism.

By eight o'clock the city was well-secured except for minor incidents through the night, at which times both Howard and Essex sallied forth in "their shirts, hose, and dublets, & those too altogether in a manner untied."<sup>66</sup> Organized resistance had narrowed to the refugees in the Castle, who had been ordered to surrender by morning. As the day dawned, a white flag was seen hanging from one of the casements. From that time on the inhabitants of the town were treated with almost unbelievable politeness. Women were allowed to leave the city wearing several sets of clothing and pieces of jewelry. All priests and church officials were given safe conduct from the city. Hostages were, of course, kept for ransom, which led to some abuse.

One case, Anthony Ashley's remarks on being able to get several good ransoms, caused a considerable stir when the fleet returned to England. Sir Gilly Merrick, who brought charges against Ashley, mentioned Henry Wotton as a witness.<sup>67</sup> Looting by the soldiers and sailors continued during the fortnight occupation of the city. The main streets were apparently littered with almonds, olives, raisins, etc., mixed with wine and oil, all trampled underfoot.<sup>68</sup> Donne never entertained too high an opinion of soldiers, "willing" them, as the thing they cared least for, modesty: "My modesty I give to souldiers bare."<sup>69</sup> Yet he knew the qualities of a good soldier, as his treatment of the centurion Cornelius shows:

But yet, Audite omnes, qui in Militia estis, & Regibus assistitis, All that serve in Wars, or Courts, may finde something to imitate in this Centurion: He was a devout man; A Souldier, and yet devout; God forbid they were so incompatible, as that courage, and devotion might not consist: A man that feared God; A Souldiers profession is fearlesnesse; And only he that feares God, feares nothing else: He and all his house; A Souldier, yet kept a house, and did not alwayes wander; He kept his house in good order, and with good meanes: He gave much almes; Though Armes be an expensive profession for outward splendor, yet he reserved for almes, much almes: And he prayed to God alwayes; Though Armes require much time for the duties thereof, yet he could pray at those times; In his Trenches, at the Assault, or at the defence of a Breach, he could pray.<sup>70</sup>

On the command level affairs were not going too well.

The Lord Admiral had held up accepting the ransom of the fleet of Galleys loaded for the Indies which had sailed across the bay to Port Royal. It was a costly delay for both sides, for during the day, Tuesday the 22nd, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the unlucky commander of the '88 Armada, ordered the fleet to be fired. The flames were visible at St. Lucar, up the coast. Donne must have shared the general feeling of helplessness as they watched about eleven million ducats' worth of ships and supplies go up in smoke. The incident may have increased his wonder at the wealth of the Indies and their importance, facts that he seemed to appreciate in almost romantic intensity. He used the East- and West-Indian trade more than fifteen times in the poems, as in The Sunne Rising,

had been to Cadis on his earlier travels. If so, his feelings must have been as follows:  
 If her eyes have not blinded thine,  
 Looke, and to morrow late, tell mee,  
 Whether both the 'India's of spice and Myne  
 and later Be where thou leftst them, or lie here with mee,<sup>71</sup>.

watch the destruction of continental cities in the last war.  
 or in An Anatomie of the World,

On Saturday the 26th she whose rich eyes, and brest  
 to the be Guilt the West Indies, and perfum'd the East;  
 many was Whose having breath'd in this world, did bestow  
 leading to And that rich Indie which doth gold interre,  
 quite Is but as single money, coyn'd from her.<sup>72</sup>.

During the next three days the Lords General sat in almost continual council, setting ransoms and making sure

four had been knighted for service, a party

that their merciful policies were being carried out. The subordinate officers were having trouble with the soldiers' looting such places as the customs house, the contents of which were meant for the Queen's treasures.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile many of the gentlemen, Donne no doubt among them, took the opportunity of wandering around the beautiful city. He would certainly have been interested in the beautiful Cathedral, for which Haydn later wrote his choral work "The Seven Words", and the Abbey and Nunnery. There is a good chance he would have examined the library of the College of Jesuits as well. Like Richard Hakluyt he may have had a chance to speak with the Bishop of Cusco, who was so well treated by the English troops. We can only wonder whether or not he had been to Cadiz on his earlier travels. If so, his feelings must have been mixed as he watched the looting and later destruction going on, much as we have had to watch the destruction of continental cities in the last war.

On Saturday the 26th Sir John Wingfield was buried, to the booming of the ordnance of the fleet. The ceremony was impressive and apparently stuck in Donne's mind, leading to the epigram already quoted. Sunday was quiet with Master Hopkins, one of Essex's chaplains, giving a learned sermon in the Abbey. Afterwards sixty-four men were knighted for service, a very large number

considering the shortness of the operation. But Essex never needed much reason for making great numbers of knights, as he later showed in Ireland. Indeed this propensity of the Earl seems to have fastened Donne's attention on generals who knighted their whole armies.

As we have read of some Generals, in secular story, that in great Services have knighted their whole Army, So the Holy Ghost Sanctifies, and Canonizes whole Congregations.<sup>74</sup>

Unfortunately for us, Donne's name is not among the sixty-four knighted. Much as we would like to, there is no real reason for us to consider him a brave and valiant soldier.

Monday saw the fort of St. Philip being dismantled of its ordnance. On the night of Wednesday, June 30th, Essex "made a rode into the Isle, and burned, rased, and spoyled all that mought serue the enemie to any strength or reliefe."<sup>75</sup> On July 1st the tower was battered down, and by the 3rd all business was completed, according to the Lord Admiral.<sup>76</sup> On Sunday the 4th the whole town, except for the churches, was set ablaze, not the usual method of celebrating the Sabbath. And on the next morning the fleet set sail, taking away an unknown amount of booty, 100 brass cannon, and two 1200-ton Men of War, besides leaving behind over twenty million ducats' worth of damage to the Spanish crown.

All but one of Essex's plans were now spoiled. The Council of War had turned down his plan to remain at Cadiz; they had refused to wait for or go after the Indian fleet, which they missed by but two days. Had they taken that fleet, Elizabeth's financial worries would have been cured. Essex finally persuaded the group to go to Faro, when they found it was unguarded. Sailing up the bay from Cadiz on the 5th, they had taken aboard thirty-nine English prisoners of war whom the Duke of Medina Sidonia had agreed to send. They also entertained the Captain and others of the Spaniards, first on board the Ark Royal and then on the Repulse. A day or so later they had worked their way along the coast to Faro. A search party, including the now Sir William Monson, found the inhabitants had fled, taking food and water with them. Essex and his men debarked and marched into Faro that night. The next day a picked group of 800 took to the countryside for cows, oxen, and swine. Those who straggled were later found mutilated in some way. On the third day they took away the one prize of the town, the library of the Bishop of Ossorius, which Essex gave to Thomas Bodley for his new library at Oxford, and headed for Capt St. Vincent. Once again Essex tried to get permission to take part of the fleet to the Azores, but again he was overruled. Instead, they steered for the North Cape and sent spy ships into

the Groin and Ferrol, on August 1st.<sup>77</sup> Finding these empty of Spanish ships, the fleet sailed for Plymouth, the Lord Admiral arriving with the main group on August 8th. Donne, aboard the Repulse, would not have arrived until the 10th, for Essex had to lag behind to look after the captured St. Andrew which he was bringing back with him. The Repulse cannot have been a very joyful place for those around Essex. He had some idea of the mixed reception he was to receive and already had drawn up an answer to the accusations he expected. Still, the knowledge of a well-spent two months must have made the heart of his young follower, Donne, light.

The trip seems to have put new poetic energy into Donne. We have already noticed the supply of images it supplied him in both the poems and sermons. One example may be added, from the 1622 Christmas Sermon:

There was then a warre before, and a heavy warre; for, the Lord of hosts was our enemy; and what can all our musters come to, if the Lord of Hosts, of all Hosts have raised his forces against us? There was a heavy war denounced in the Inimicitias ponam, when God raised a warre betweene the Devill, and us. For, if we could consider God to stand neutrall in that warre, and meddle with neither side, yet we were in a desperate case, to be put to fight against Powers and Principalities, against the Devill. How much more, when God, the Lord of Hosts, is the Lord even of that Host too? when God presses the Devill, and makes the Devill his Soldier, to fight his battles, and directs his arrowes, and his bullets, and makes

his approaches, and his attempts effectual upon us...It is a strange warre, where there are not two sides; and yet that is our case; for, God uses the Devill against us, and the Devill uses us against one another; nay, he uses every one of us, against ourselves; so that God, and the Devill, and we, are all in one Army, and all for our destruction; we have a warre, and yet there is but one Army, and we onely are the Countrey that is fed upon, and wasted; From God to the Devill we have not one friend, and yet, as though we lacked enemies, we fight with one another in inhumane Duels; Vbi morimur homicidae, (as St. Bernard expresses it powerfully and elegantly) that in those Duels and Combats, he that is murdered dyes a murderer, because he would have beene one; Occisor laethaliter peccat, occisus aeternaliter perit; He that comes alive out of the field comes a dead man, because he comes a deadly sinner, and he that remains dead in the field, is gone into an everlasting death. So that by this inhumane effusion of one anothers blood, we maintaine a warre against God himselfe, and we provoke him to that which he expresses in Essay, My sword shall be bathed in heaven; Inebriabitur sanguine, The sword of the Lord shall be made drunk with blood; Their land shall be soaked with blood, and their dust made fat with fatnesse. The same quarrell, which God hath against particular men, and particular Nations, for particular sinnes, God hath against all Mankinde, for Adams sin. And there is the warre. But what is the peace, and how are we included in that? That is our second and next disquisition, That peace might be made.

A man must not presently think himselfe included in this peace, because he feeles no effects of this warre. If God draw none of his swords of warre, or famine, or pestilence, upon thee, (no outward warre,) If God raise not a rebellion in thy selfe, nor fight against thee with thine owne affections, in colluctations betweene the flesh, and the spirit; The warre may last, for all this. Induciarum tempore, bellum manet, licet pugna cesset; Though there be no blow striken, the warre remains in the time of Truce. But thy case is not so good; here is no Truce, no cessation, but a continuall preparation to a fiercer warre. All this while that thou enjoyest this imaginary security,

the Enemy digges insensibly under ground, all this while he undermines thee, and will blow thee up at last more irrecoverably, then if he had battered thee with outward calamities all that time.<sup>78</sup>

The following summer a long sea expedition with Essex was to increase his store of powerful imagery with figures of the sea and storms. What happened during the intervening winter is less easily discovered, but it appears that he remained close to the Essex group at court, perhaps even remaining in Essex's service. But one thing we are reasonably sure of: he started into a new period of poetic composition, his satiric nature stirred by the characters both of the court and the Inns of Court. Perhaps of equal importance, he appears to have renewed many old Oxford associations, and they were all busily engaged in writing poetry for each other's benefit.

It is not surprising that the first products of Donne's pen were epigrams, for they were the most concise form for the display of wit:

as it is easie to be witty, easie to extend  
an Epigram to a Satyre, and a Satyre to an  
Invective, in declaiming against this world.<sup>79</sup>

Also, the events of the Cadiz journey lent themselves to such treatment. We have already discussed several of the Epigrams. The "late island" in the epigram on Wing-

field indicates a date of composition either on the voyage home or on return to England.<sup>80</sup> The other epigrams give little indication of a date, although that on Matthew Rader could not have been written before 1602.<sup>81</sup>

The Lier may date from after the Cadiz expedition as Grierson and Gosse claim;<sup>82</sup> if it does, then Elegie XX may have described the same food situation:

And Midas joyes our Spanish journeys give,  
We touch all gold, but find no food to live.<sup>83</sup>

Due to what appears to be a misprint, Grierson's note on Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus is extremely misleading.<sup>84</sup> As the title of that journal indicates, the first issue appeared in 1594, and it continued into the seventeenth century. The fact that after the first year the name was altered to Mercurii-Gallobelgici does not seem to have influenced Donne, as his reference in Vpon Mr. Thomas Coryats Crudities (1611), indicates.<sup>85</sup> However, I do not think it would be misleading to date the epigram from about 1597, the date of Satyre IIII, which also makes use of this journal.

One epigram, Phryne, was frequently recited by Jonson:

Thy flattering picture, Phryne, is like thee,  
Onely in this, that you both painted be.<sup>86</sup>

Since the poems of Donne which Jonson liked best all seem to date from this period, it seems natural to surmise

that the two men made each other's acquaintance at the time or very soon after at least. There were many reasons for the friendship which grew up between the two. The number of their mutual friends was great, they both had a strong interest in classical literature, both possessed a keen sense of satire. Moreover, Donne's love of the theatre would have given him an admiration for Jonson, and Donne's position as a clever young poet among those in Essex's train would have excited Jonson's curiosity. How long the two remained close friends it is difficult to judge, but it may have been for Donne's life time. They certainly were drinking partners at the Mermaid Tavern until Donne's ordination. They had their fallings-out, as an undated letter from Jonson shows:

Sir,  
 You cannot but believe, how dear and reverend your friendship is to me, (though all testimony on my part, hath been too short to expresse me) and therefore would I meet it with all obedience. My mind is not yet so deafned by injuries, but it hath an ear for counsell. Yet, in this point, that you presently disswade, I wonder how I am misunderstood; or that you should call that an imaginarie right, which is the proper justice, that every clear man owes to his innocency. Exasperations I intend none, for Truth cannot be sharp but to ill natures, or such weak ones, whom the ill spirit's suspicion or credulity still possesse. My Lady may believe whisperings, receive tales, suspect and condemn my honestie; and I may not answer, on the pain of losing her; as if she, who had this prejudice of me, were not already lost. O no,

she will do me no hurt, she will think and speak well of any faculties. She cannot there judge me; or if she could, I would exchange all glory, (if I had all mens abilities) which could come that way for honest simplicitie. But, there is a greater penaltie threatned, the losse of you my true friend; for others I reckon not, who were never had, You have so suscribed your self. Alas, how easie is a man accused, that is forsaken of defence! Well, my modesty shall sit down, and (let the world call it guilt, or what it will) I will yet thank you, that counsell me to a silence in these oppressures, when confidence in my right, and friends may abandon me. And, lest your self may undergo some hazard, for my questioned reputation, and draw jealousies or hatred upon you, I desire to be left to mine own innocence, which shall acquit me, or Heaven shall be guilty.

Your ever true lover, 87.

This letter does not deal with the period under discussion, but it does show the friendship which had grown up between the two. In this letter as in many others sent to Donne from various people, we discover qualities in the man which make us wonder at his protestations of friendship, his "second religion", and question exactly how strong the bonds were with several of his close intimates.

Not enough attention has been paid to the various letters and poems sent to Donne by others. The verse letters reveal the low level of "poetry" attained by most of his correspondents. Jonson is the only one of Donne's close friends (not including his later association with the much younger George Herbert) that was a first-class poet. Donne rises above his own circle only in being

better at what they all tried, not in being greatly original. This leads us directly into a consideration of the set of five Satyres. In March 1597 Joseph Hall entered his Virgidemiarum at Stationers' Hall, claiming that they were the first real English satires. Gosse showed that Thomas Lodge preceded him by two years and went on to show how very original Donne was in writing his in 1593.<sup>88</sup> However, there is good reason to give Hall credit for most of his claim, certainly where Donne was concerned.

The dating of the Satyres seems to be as follows: Satyre I, 1596-7; Satyre II, 1596 or 97, probably the summer or winter of 1597; Satyre III, winter of 1597-8; Satyre IIII, between March and September 1597; Satyre V, either 1597 or 1598. Grierson argues for a much earlier period for the first three, but his evidence is either incomplete or misleading, as in the references to the horse belonging to Banks and the false identification of the John Davies who wrote epigrams.<sup>89</sup>

Satyre I reveals its date of composition in its reference to that extremely famous horse, "Morocco", owned by a man named Banks:

But to a grave man, he doth move no more  
Then the wise politique horse would heretofore,  
Or thou O Elephant or Ape wilt doe,  
When any names the King of Spaine to you.<sup>90</sup>

Mr. Sidney Atkins first pointed out the evidence showing that such a remark would not have been meaningful until Banks and his horse were on tour in 1596 and 1597 (they were in Edinburgh in April, 1596).<sup>91</sup> This satire is interesting for several reasons. It shows Donne's debt not only to the Latin satirists, especially Horace and Persius (Donne was often called the latter by his contemporaries), but to John Davies, whose slightly earlier treatment of "Morocco" and other performing animals was almost identical.<sup>92</sup> Donne's satire was, in turn, obviously borrowed from by his friend Everard Gilpin in Skialetheia, in 1598. The satire itself deals with a courtier who drags Donne out for a walk through the city, during which they discuss current events and various courtiers. The statement

Sooner may one guesse, who shall beare away  
The Infanta of London, Heire to an India,<sup>93</sup>

seems to draw for a secondary meaning upon a proposed book by Father Persons on The Declaration of the King of Spain's Intention, which was part of the Spanish plans of invasion in 1597.<sup>94</sup>

We learn some things about the author of the Satyre besides his distaste for the courtier, and it is here that our interest lies. Donne's knowledge and love of

music had already begun, although it was to be some years before his own poems were given musical settings. here Donne says,

And as fiddlers stop lowest, at highest sound,  
So to the most brave, stoops hee nigh't the ground.<sup>95</sup>

He also evidences a distaste for tobacco:

Hee droopt, wee went, till one (which did excell  
Th'Indians, in drinking his Tobacco well)  
Met us; they talk'd; I whispered, let'us goe,  
'T may be you smell him not, truely I doe.<sup>96</sup>

But the most important section is the opening, where he describes his chambers, gradually becoming cluttered with books.

Away thou fondling motley humorist,  
Leave mee, and in this standing wooden chest,  
Consorted with these few bookes, let me lye  
In prison, and here be coffin'd, when I dye;  
Here are Gods conduits, grave Divines; and here  
Natures Secretary, the Philosopher;  
And jolly Statesmen, which teach how to tie  
The sinewes of a cities mistique bodie;  
Here gathering Chroniclers, and by them stand  
Giddie fantastique Poëts of each land.<sup>97</sup>

Satyre IIII is easily dated and seems to be a second try at a favorite subject, for it too describes a courtier, but at twice the length. The courtier at one point goes into a windy discourse of current events from the Armada "to the losse of Amyens," which fell to the Spaniards on

March 11, 1597, and was recovered in September of that year. The poem can almost certainly be dated from March to June of that year, therefore, for Donne was engaged in the Azores trip from June until October. He may have written the Satyre at some time during the trip, perhaps at Plymouth, but the poem seems to have the touch of personal attendance at court at the time of composition.

There are several other references to contemporary events that help to set the time as well as show Donne's interest in the daily news. Lines 25-6,

And without helpe dies,  
When next the Prentises 'gainst Strangers, rise,

have two possibilities. Grierson properly quotes Strype's Annals for the difficulties in 1593, but he includes it as one of the "more recent references."<sup>98</sup> In the Domestic State Papers for the winter of 1596-7 we find a good many documents concerning a planned uprising at Enslow Hill in Oxfordshire. Most of them indicate that the rebels intended to march on London and raise the apprentices there.<sup>99</sup> On January 7, 1597, we find:

after they had risen, if they found themselves weak, they should go towards London, as he thought the apprentices there would take their part; was induced to think so by the late intended insurrection in London, when certain apprentices were hanged.<sup>100</sup>

Other references, such as the one about "great officers" sharing with Pirates and "Dunkirkers"<sup>101</sup> are too general to fix exactly, although references in the State Papers of 1597 have a good deal to say about the intended raids on English lands by "Dunkirkers",<sup>102</sup> and a note from the Acts of the Privy Council on 26 July 1596 tells of Dunkirker successes against small English ships of Norfolk and Suffolk.<sup>103</sup> Lines 119-20,

Donne's  
 He like a priviledg'd spie, whom nothing can  
 Discredit, Libells now'gainst each great man,  
 no sense unless we take loose to satirize himself

could well apply to many of the correspondents, ambassadors, and spies who constantly informed the Queen and men like Essex and Cecil about affairs in Britain and on the continent. A 17th Century gloss by Giles Oldisworth describes this couplet as "Embassador",<sup>104</sup> in which case it may well refer to Sir Anthony Mildmay, who was persona non grata to Henry IV.<sup>105</sup>

This Satyre is more interesting for the information it gives us of Donne's religious convictions, We have already noticed the reading of religious works he reveals near the beginning:

yet I must be content  
 With his tongue, in his tongue, call'd complement:  
 In which he can win widdowes, and pay scores,  
 Make men speake treason, cosen subtlest whores,  
 Out-flatter favorites, or outlie either  
 Jovius, or Surius, or both together.

It would be interesting to know what

of his fr He names mee, and comes to mee; I whisper, God!  
 scripts, How have I sinn'd, that thy wraths furious rod,  
 the miser This fellow chuseth me? He saith, Sir,  
 Protestan I love your judgement; Whom doe you prefer,  
 For the best linguist? And I seelily  
 Said, that I thought Calepines Dictionarie;  
 Nay, but of men, most sweet Sir; Beza then,  
 Some Jesuites, and two reverend men  
 Of our two Academies, I named; There  
 He stopt mee, and said; Nay, your Apostles were  
 Good pretty linguists, and so Panurge was;  
 Yet a poore gentleman, all these may passe  
 By travaile.<sup>106</sup>

Grierson attempted valiantly to make the passage show  
 Donne's Catholic bias, but such an interpretation makes  
 no sense unless we take Donne to satirize himself rather  
 than the courtier. Donne was certainly not averse to  
 Calepine or other polyglot dictionaries. In 1617 he  
 was one of the subscribers to John Minshen's Guide Unto  
the Tongues.<sup>107</sup> Beza he quotes very favorably in  
Biathanatos, the first sentence of which begins, "Beza,  
 a man as eminent and illustrious, in the full glory and  
 Noone of Learning, as others were in the dawning, and  
 morning, when any, the least sparkle was notorious."<sup>108</sup>  
 Indeed, if anything, Donne here reveals himself as having  
 more Protestant than Catholic leanings. He can almost  
 laugh at the fine laid upon those attending mass:

But as Glaze which did goe  
 To'a Masse in jest, catch'd, was faine to disburse  
 The hundred markes, which is the Statutes curse;  
 Sr. G. B. Before he scapt.<sup>109</sup>

It would be interesting to know whether "Glaze" was one

of his friends. Even the lines which, in some manuscripts, obviously satirize the Pursuivant activity of the miserable Topcliffe are not necessarily anti-Protestant: Tempore Latin.<sup>114</sup>

The chief object of scorn in the Satyre is "Coscus",  
 with such nicetie  
 As a young Preacher at his first time goes  
 To preach, he enters, and a Lady which owes  
 Him not so much as good will, he arrests,  
 And unto her protests protests protests,  
 So much as at Rome would serve to have throwne  
 Ten Cardinalls into the Inquisition;  
 And whisperd by Jesu, so often, that A  
 Pursevant would have ravish'd him away  
 For saying of our Ladies psalter.<sup>110</sup>

Topcliffe and his activities were despised by decent men on both sides of the religious fence. Francis Davison wrote from Lucca, on November 6, 1596 (N S), concerning some Englishmen who were sworn to kill the Queen, and remarked, "as I shall have no need either to informare or Topclifizare, being an office, to which I have no great stomach."<sup>111</sup>

Satyre II, against lawyers, seems to have been written after July, 1597, probably in the winter of that year. The key passage is

words, words, which would teare  
 The tender labyrinth of a soft maids eare,<sup>112</sup>  
 More, more, then ten Sclavonians scolding,

Mr. G. B. Harrison has pointed out<sup>113</sup> that this seems to refer to the unexpected blast delivered to Queen Elizabeth

by the Polish Ambassador, Paul Dzialine, on July 23, 1597. The event was first rate news all over Britain for some time, mainly because of Elizabeth's brilliant answer in ex tempore Latin.<sup>114</sup>

The chief object of scorn in the Satyre is "Coscus", a verse-writing lawyer.

But these punish themselves; the insolence  
Of Coscus onely breeds my just offence,  
Whom time (which rots all, and makes botches  
And plodding on, must make a calfe an oxe)  
Hath made a Lawyer, which was (alas) of late  
But a scarce Poët; jollier of this state,  
Then are new benefic'd ministers, he throwes  
Like nets, or lime-twigs, wheresoever he goes,  
His title of Barrister, on every wench,  
And wooes in language of the Pleas, and Bench:  
A motion, Lady; Speake Coscus; I have beene  
In love, ever since tricesimo of the Queene,  
Continuall claimes I have made, injunctions got  
To stay my rivals suit, that hee should not  
Proceed; spare mee; In Hillary terme I went,  
You said, If I return'd next size in Lent,  
I should be in remitter of your grace;  
In th'interim my letters should take place  
Of affidavits: words, words, which would teare  
The tender labyrinth of a soft maids eare,  
More, more, then ten Slavonians scolding, more  
Then when winds in our ruin'd Abbeyes rore.<sup>115</sup>

Gosse suggested that this was Sir John Davies, author of Orchestra and a set of "Gullinge Sonnets" but said that the dates did not fit. Grierson, in turn, suggested that the man satirized was the unknown author of Zepheria, a group of sonnets which commit all the lapses of taste suggested by Donne. But Gosse's guess may well be right, for Davies' actions at this time could easily have led

Donne to his description. Number 6 of the "Gullinge Sonnets" runs:

III. Into the midle Temple of my harte  
 the wanton Cupid did himselfe admitt  
 and gaue for pledge yo<sup>r</sup> Eagle-sighted witt  
 Y<sup>t</sup> he wold play noe rude vncivill parte:  
 Longe tyme he cloak'te his nature w<sup>th</sup> his arte  
 and sadd and graue and sober he did sitt  
 but at the last he gan to reuell it,  
 to breake good rules and orders to peruerte:  
 Then loue and his younge pledge were both  
 before sadd Reason, that old Bencher graue,  
 who this sadd sentence vnto him presented  
 by dilligence, y<sup>t</sup> slye and secreate knaue  
 That loue and witt, for euer shold departe  
 out of the midle Temple of my harte.<sup>116</sup>

This is not one of the two sonnets that Grierson stated were the only ones "couched in legal terminology,"<sup>117</sup> but it certainly fits Donne's description in part. Moreover, Donne had good reason to satirize Davies. In 1596 the latter had written a not very good poem called Orchestra and dedicated it to Donne's friend, Richard Martin. Martin then railed the poem in his own verse, driving Davies to the rather ungentlemanly action of breaking a cudgel over Martin's head. For this action he was temporarily disbarred in the winter of 1597. His action naturally made him the object of a good deal of ridicule, and Donne seems to have joined in.

I have already quoted from this Satyre earlier the sections dealing with Luther and "disarm'd Papists, not worth hate." In their context they show little except

Donne's following of a middle course in religious matters, a position most vividly pointed up in Satyre III. That and Satyre V, however, seem to date from Donne's early service with the Lord Keeper, and I shall treat them in that context.

One poem which seems definitely to have been written soon after Donne returned from Cadiz is the Elegie on the L. C.<sup>118</sup>. Grierson assigns the poem to an early period, and it was found among the love elegies in four manuscripts. It is also contained in the Drummond collection, made before 1610. Giles Oldisworth, who, in his annotation of Donne's poems was quite accurate, assigns it to "L. Carey," Henry Carey, 1st Baron Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain,<sup>119</sup> who died July 23, 1596, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on August 12th. This is the first of Donne's efforts at a form which he developed to great lengths and power in later life. It is of interest mainly for the relationship it reveals of Donne with such an important family, for Hunsdon was the Queen's own cousin. His opening couplet seems to show that Donne was at least welcome at their home:

Sorrow, who to this house scarce knew the way:  
Is, Oh, heire of it, our All is his prey.<sup>120</sup>

The image of a voyage is certainly suitable for the newly-returned Donne:

What we would though no familie  
 Ere rigg'd a soule for heavens discoverie  
 With whom more Venturers more boldly dare  
 Venture their states, with him in joy to share.<sup>121</sup>

The picture of Hunsdon given by Donne certainly does not agree with the more famous one by Sir Robert Naunton:

My Lord of Hunsdon was of the Queen's  
 nearest kindred; and on the decease of Sussex,  
 both he and his son took the place of lord  
 chamberlain. He was a fast man to his Prince,  
 and firm in his friends and servants; and  
 though he might speak big, and therein would  
 be borne out, yet was he not the more dreadful,  
 but less harmful, and far from the practice  
 of my Lord of Leicester's instructions, for he  
 was down right; and I have heard those, that  
 both knew him well, and had interest in him,  
 say merrily of him, that his Latin and his  
 dissimulation were both alike; and that his  
 custom of swearing, and obscenity in speaking,  
 made him seem a worse Christian than he was,  
 and a better knight of the carpet than he  
 should be; as he lived in a ruffling time,  
 so he loved sword and buckler men, and such  
 as our fathers were wont to call men of their  
 hands; of which sort he had many brave gentle-  
 men that followed him; yet not taken for a  
 popular and dangerous person; and that is one  
 that stood amongst the Togati, of an honest  
 stout heart, and such a one as, upon occasion,  
 would have fought for his prince and his  
 country; for he had the charge of the Queen's  
 person, both in the court, and in the camp at  
 Tilbury.<sup>122</sup>

We do not really know how well Donne knew the Baron, but the number of his high-ranking friends from the time of the Cadiz journey on was extremely large, making his lack of success at court after his marriage even more of a mystery than it might be.

What we would like to know and simply do not is what Donne was doing during the winter between the two trips with Essex. I have suggested that he may have remained in service with the Earl or at least stayed with the circle of men who surrounded him. There is even some evidence, as we shall see, that he began courting favor with his future employer, Sir Thomas Egerton. But evidence of his closeness to Essex is extremely tentative and unreliable. Elegie XI, describing a lost chain of gold pieces, recalls Essex's habit of handing out such chains to those in his service.<sup>123</sup> Several of the Elegies we have discussed could have been suggested by the rumours of Essex's lovemaking with an unidentified married woman during the winter.<sup>124</sup> In April he overexerted himself at a game of "ballon" or tennis so much that he had to keep his bed for three days. This exertion seems to have been for the benefit of a Mistress Bridges, who had gone through the privy galleries to watch the game, thereby being banished from the court temporarily by the Queen. Lines 175-9 of Satyre IIII, written at this time, may be more satirical than we have thought:

and 'Tis ten a clock and past; All whom the Mues,  
Baloune, Tennis, Dyet, or the stewes,  
Had all the morning held, now the second  
Time made ready, that day, in flocks, are found  
In the Presence, and I, (God pardon mee.)<sup>125</sup>

There is another piece of evidence which is even less trustworthy but possible. Number 9 of the Burley Letters printed by Mrs. Simpson<sup>126</sup> may be by Donne. If it is, it almost certainly belongs to the spring of 1597, for the long discussion of the Divine Comedy by "Dant the Italian a man pert enough to bee beloved & to much to bee beeleeued" shows it to be a first reading. It would, therefore, precede the Satyre IIII statement,

"I do therefore  
 Like his, who dreamt he saw hell, did advance  
 It selfe on mee.

Another reason for this dating is the somewhat obvious, although unnoted by scholars, borrowing from Bacon's Of Studies:

I am no great voyager in other mens works:  
 no swallower nor devourer of volumes...To  
 know how to liue by the booke is a pedantry,  
 & to do it is a bondage.

The relevant passages in Bacon, perhaps too well-known to make quotation appropriate, are

Some bookes are to bee tasted, others to be  
 swallowed, and some few to bee chewed and  
 digested...

and

To spend too much time in them is slouth, to  
 vse them too much for ornament is affectation:

and travel to make iudgement wholly by their rules, is the humour of a Scholler.<sup>127</sup>

addressed to Wotton, of course, there is no reason to  
 The Essays were dedicated to Anthony Bacon on January 30, 1597, and by February 8th, the latter sent a copy to Essex with his compliments. Any one in the group around Essex would have been sure to read the Essays almost immediately, Donne included. But the letter causes us a good deal of trouble. Although the sentence "I do therefore more willingly blow & keep awake y<sup>t</sup> smale coole w<sup>ch</sup> god hath pleased to kindle in mee" is certainly Donneish and actually used in the sermons, it was not Donne's practice to borrow so obviously as this letter does from Bacon without noting it, especially under the circumstances. Moreover, it seems hard to believe that he would quibble with Dante rather than see that that poet argued for the supremacy of the state over the Pope, or at least their separation, when this argument was so close to his heart. Moreover, if Donne had analyzed Dante's argument so closely, why did he not refer to him in any later works, poetic or prose? It is even harder to believe that the letter was sent to Wotton. Who would have been so insulting as to identify Dante to a man so accomplished in Italian letters? Besides, the whole letter is written in a style which would make the addressee seem intellectually inferior to the writer, a situation highly intolerable to as educated

and travelled a man as Wotton. If the letter was not addressed to Wotton, of course, there is no reason to attribute it to Donne. With these reservations in mind, we may find that the letter may describe Donne's main activity of the winter: "yet I read something. but indeed not so much to avoyd as to enioy idlenes."

Meanwhile, the winter passed, with alarms of a Spanish fleet building up. Luckily their early winter attack had been broken up by a storm off Finisterre, and they had returned to the Groyne minus twenty-four ships.<sup>128</sup> This accident did not deter the King, however, and all winter news of fleet preparation came from the South. The English were not inactive. By January 11th Cecil had drawn up plans for a five month voyage of the Lord Admiral and Essex.<sup>129</sup> That month also saw the English under Sir Francis Vere successful at Turnhout.<sup>130</sup> The men under Baskerville and the King of France were costing England dearly, and the records for the spring of 1597 show a continual pouring of money across the channel. Paymasters to the forces in the low countries were changing almost as quickly as American Ambassadors to Russia. Neither was life at Elizabeth's court too smooth. The King of France wanted Sir Anthony Mildmay recalled. The Earls of Northumberland and Southampton had to be stopped from duelling by the Queen and Lords. In February Essex

was out of favor with the Queen again and planning to go to Wales.<sup>131</sup> He rode the see-saw of royal favor for a month or so. Then, on the 11th of March, Amiens was surprised and taken by the old cart-of-hay trick.<sup>132</sup>

By the middle of April the tide began to turn and Essex was making definite plans for the voyage.<sup>133</sup> On the 20th Raleigh was put in charge of levying the forces for the army.<sup>134</sup> But exactly one month later the Queen cancelled the whole idea; two days later, all was forgiven, and Essex was named to command the expedition.<sup>135</sup>

Before we follow Donne on this trip, we must examine at least two more poems which seem to have been written soon before he left, Elegies V and XX. Elegies III, VI, VIII, and XI may date from this winter for reasons suggested at various times in this study, such as treatment of religious subjects. This is especially true if Donne had met the Earl of Northumberland and his friends, who were particularly interested in Alchemy. But numbers V and XX can, I believe, safely be assigned to the spring of 1597, although XX may have been written soon after the Islands Voyage if Donne did not go immediately into service with Egerton but acted as a courier for Cecil to the forces in France. In looking at these two Elegies we must again keep in mind that they may not have been and probably were not written to any particular woman but were displays of wit. Elegie V gives a good picture of

a man expecting to go southward by ship to a war, a picture drawn by a man who had seen what war and ocean voyages could do.

composition

Here take my Picture; though I bid farewell,  
Thine, in my heart, where my soule dwels, shall dwell.

'Tis like me now, but I dead, 'twill be more  
When wee are shadowes both, then'twas before.  
When weather-beaten I come backe; my hand,  
Perhaps with rude cares torne, or Sun beams  
tam'd,  
My face and brest of hairecloth, and my head  
With cares rash sodaine stormes, being o'rspread,  
My body'a sack of bones, broken within,  
And powders blew staines scatter'd on my skinne.<sup>136</sup>

The Islands Voyage was to present no such dangers, but we must remember that Donne, like the other followers of Essex, would have had no clear idea of what the expedition was to attempt.

Elegie XX, "Loves Warre", is more general and more witty in the sense of intellectual playing with an idea. Once again there is a possible source in Ovid, as Grierson points out and Leishman expands.<sup>137</sup> What interests us here, however, is not its similarity to Ovid but its differences, its references to contemporary events and experiences. Grierson thinks that it was written before the Cadiz journey because there are no explicit references to that trip, but the images Donne uses are very close to his own experiences at that place. There was no need to treat it as an event separate from his own

feelings. One section reads more like a description of the Islands Voyage than of that to Cadiz, it is true, and it may mean the poem is of a slightly later date of composition:

And I should be in the hott parching clyme,  
 To dust and ashes turn'd before my time.  
 To mew me in a Ship, is to inthrall  
 Mee in a prison, that weare like to fall;  
 Or in a Cloyster; save that there men dwell  
 In a calme heaven, here in a swaggering hell.  
 Long voyages are long consumptions,  
 And ships are carts for executions. 138.

The next section can almost be considered an extended metaphor of the fall of Cadiz.

Here let mee warr; in these armes let mee lye;  
 Here lett mee parlee, batter, bleede, and dye.  
 Thyne armes imprison me, and myne armes thee;  
 Thy hart thy ransome is; take myne for mee.  
 Other men war that they their rest may gayne;  
 But wee will rest that wee may fight agayne.  
 Those warrs the ignorant, these th'experienc'd  
 love,  
 There wee are alwayes under, here above.  
 There Engins farr off breed a just true feare,  
 Neere thrusts, pikes, stabs, yea bullets hurt  
 not here. 139.

One couplet seems to indicate a pre-Azores date, considering the bad luck of that trip:

And Midas joyes our Spanish journeys give,  
 We touch all gold, but find no food to live. 140.

This may deal with the food on the Cadiz trip, but more likely it describes the English voyages to Guinea.

Grierson states that this "refers most probably to Raleigh's expedition in 1595 to discover the fabulous wealth of Manoa."<sup>141</sup> I must admit that I cannot find any reason for agreeing, as the expedition did not apparently have any food troubles and certainly it did not find gold. Everything they touched turned to Marcasite.<sup>142</sup> However, Keymis's voyage, beginning in January, 1596, and not ending until after Essex and Raleigh had sailed for Cadiz, was far more successful and found grains of gold in the rivers and rich ore in "the Mountains of white Stone."<sup>143</sup> This seems to supply the needed reference.

The earlier references in the poem are unfortunately capable of a wide range of application:

In Flanders, who can tell  
Whether the Master presse; or men rebell?  
Only we know, that which all Ideots say,  
They beare most blows which come to part the  
fray.<sup>144</sup>

This could refer to any number of events over a very long period, but it seems a particularly apt description of the English forces in the Low Countries during this winter, for they appear to have taken the brunt of the fighting. It might even refer to the forces under Baskerville, who, on the 6th of March, bitterly denounced the French King and his army for their stupidity in battle.<sup>145</sup> The next few lines give us at least a latter

limit of the beginning of 1598, when France and Spain came to an agreement on a peace treaty:

France in her lunatique giddines did hate  
 Ever our men, yea and our God of late;  
 Yet she relyes upon our Angels well,  
 Which nere returne; no more then they which  
 fell.<sup>146.</sup>

On the 6th six councillors were named to attend Essex:  
 It could be true of any time between the King's conversion in 1593 and the later date, but certainly the Angels were flying to France during this winter in more than ordinary swiftness and numbers, as were the soldiers. As for the reference to Ireland,

Sick Ireland is with a strange warr possest  
 Like to an Ague; now raging, now at rest,<sup>147.</sup>

it would hold true at almost any given point in English history. Regardless of the exact date, this Elegie gives a fine example of Donne's use of his personal experience for the images of his poetry.

We left our narrative on May 22, 1597, with Essex back in royal favor and in charge of the summer expedition. The day before, a Captain Watson had written from the North Cape that there was a Spanish fleet of eighty sails preparing at Ferrol.<sup>148.</sup> By the 30th the number was ninety and growing fast. Their proposed destination was Ireland.<sup>149</sup> The English forces were not far behind: in May Essex drew up the list of 5000 troops for his expedition, including 1000 from the Low Countries. On June 1st he went to

Chatham to forward the fleet preparations, perhaps with Donne in tow. Back in London Raleigh was being reconciled with the Queen, an event which took place with Essex's approval, but which may also have helped lead to the bitterness of their rivalry during the voyage. On the 6th six councillors were named to attend Essex: Lord Thomas Howard, Vice Admiral; Lord Montjoy; Sir Walter Raleigh, Rear Admiral; Sir Francis Vere, Marshall; Sir George Carew, master of the ordnance; and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, Serjeant-major.<sup>150</sup> On June 11th, John Chamberlain, in a letter to Dudley Carlton at Paris, told of the fleet and the large number of gentleman adventurers, including the lords Southampton and Rich<sup>151</sup>. who were going along. Essex was to leave court the next day.<sup>152</sup> About the middle or later part of the month, Vere arrived with the Low Country forces and joined Essex at Sandwich, the fleet being anchored at the Downs. Vere was none too happy about Lord Montjoy's being given a superior position, but Essex calmed him by explaining that the decision had been made over his head.<sup>153</sup> On Saturday, the 15th, the Queen sent her instructions concerning the aims of the expedition to Essex.<sup>154</sup> But the intended day of departure<sup>155</sup> passed with the fleet still anchored. On the 26th Sir Christopher Blunt wrote from Weymouth that the troops had been training daily since their arrival some time before and that they were in good

shape. Food supplies in the neighborhood had nearly been exhausted, however, and he hoped they would be able to move into the ships very soon.<sup>156.</sup>

On the last day of June Essex headed the fleet for Plymouth against very strong headwinds. On July 2nd they reached Beachy Head, but were forced into Dungeness for the night for fear of breaking their topmasts.<sup>157.</sup>

The omens were against the trip, but Essex went on. By the 6th he had reached Portland and his ship, the Mere Honour, had a leak, but he thought it was not a bad one.<sup>158.</sup> At Weymouth he discovered that the crews that had been impressed were extremely bad, "some of whom did not know a rope, and were never out to sea."<sup>159.</sup>

On Friday, the 8th, the whole fleet was in Plymouth Sound, having encountered a very bad storm the night before. Sir George Carew, in the ill-fated St. Matthew, ran on a rock but managed to get off in three hours without damage.<sup>160.</sup> Later on, Carew had another encounter with a rock at full sea and just managed to keep off it.

Donne seems to have been impressed by these events:

Life is a voyage, and in our lifes wayes  
Countries, Courts, Towns are Rockes, or Remoraes;  
They breake or stop all ships, yet our state's  
such,  
That though then pitch they staine worse, wee  
must touch;<sup>161.</sup>

and the figure appears often in the Sermons:

And how many that have had all that, have struck upon a Rock, even at full Sea, and perished there?<sup>162</sup>

But that when the whole City is in a combustion and commotion, or when the Ship that he is in, strikes desperately and irrecoverably upon a rock, hee is otherwise affected toward God then, then when every day, in a quietnesse and calme of holy affections, he heares a Sermon.<sup>163</sup>

Sir Arthur Gorges, our main source for the details of the trip, said the weather in the harbor continued so bad that ships ran into each other, Lord Montjoy's having "her Beake head stricken cleane off."<sup>164</sup> Loading and repairing continued the next day, along with considerable desertion, according to the Earl of Southampton.<sup>165</sup> On Sunday, the 10th, the wind blew fair for the voyage, and Essex wrote Cecil that the anchors were up and sails set.<sup>166</sup>

As the sailes of a ship when they are spread and swolne, and the way that the ship makes, shewes me the winde, where it is, though the winde it selfe be an invisible thing...<sup>167</sup>

Camden reported that the various Knights and gentlemen came aboard "with their Feathers wauing, and glittering in their gay clothes."<sup>168</sup> Their gaiety did not last long.

After two days of steady sailing the instructions for the fleet were passed out to the ships. The first goal was Ferrol; failing that, all were to head for the Azores. Meeting places were also named in case ships became separated from the fleet, a circumstance which

was to become a commonplace on this trip. Essex wrote, on Tuesday the 12th, from the mouth of the Sleeve, opposite Ushant, that after leaving Plymouth Sunday night there had been a storm and high seas all day Monday, but the fleet had kept together well. If Donne was in close personal attendance on Essex, we learn something about his actions during these two days:

person's  
on Donne's  
to riding

The wind is now likely to be very fair, but the foul has saved me a day's victuals, for of a dozen that were wont to eat with me, I have had but very few.<sup>169</sup>

Donne was not one of the two mentioned. Then, some leagues on the way, the wind changed abruptly. For four days a storm of hurricane strength beat upon the fleet, spreading the ships all over the channel. Essex described the situation aboard the Mere Honour.

But the  
Sir  
Fore

,.when most extreame stormes and contrary windes met with vs, we beate it vp till all our Fleete was scattered, and many of our ships in desper-ate case. And because I the Generall thought my too soone giuing ouer would not onely depriue the Fleete of our principall ship, but absolute-ly defeate the iourney; I forced my company first to abide the continuall increasing of a most dangerous leake, which I made light of, because I saw that with labour of men I could free the ship as fast as the leake did grow. Secondly, I made them endure the craking of both my maine and foremast, the one in two places, the other in three; so as we still looked when they should be carried by the boord; which was not enough to make me beare vp, because I knew whensoever I should loose them both, I could with iurie masts, by Gods fauour, carry the ship home. And I continued so long,

that my ships Okam came all out, her seames  
 opened, her deckes and vpper workes gaue way,  
 her very timbers and maine beames with her  
 labouring did teare like lathes; so as we  
 looked hourelly when the Orlope would fall,  
 and the Ordnance sinke downe to the keele:  
 then did those few, whom before I had wonne  
 to stand with mee, all protest against me,  
 that if I did not within a minute of an houre  
 beare vp the helme, I did wilfully cast away  
 the ship and whole company.<sup>170.</sup>

I have quoted this passage at length to give another  
 person's reaction to an experience which impressed itself  
 on Donne's entire creative life. For those who are used  
 to riding out a storm in a salon of a Cunard Liner, the  
 result may seem too large for the cause. Gorges' account  
 may set this right.

And many of our Gentlemen and Knights, with  
 this boysterous and bitter entertainment on  
 the Seas, returned extreame weake and lay  
 dangerously sicke long after: Insomuch that  
 some of them dyed thereof at Plimouth, and  
 were there honourably buried by the Generall.<sup>171.</sup>

But the adventurers were not the only ones so affected.  
 Sir Ferdinand Gorges, Sir Carew Reignalls, captain of the  
Foresight, and the Treasurer, Sir Hugh Biston, were all  
 left incapable of further action on this trip.<sup>172.</sup>

Now let us hear Donne on the storm:

England to whom we'owe, what we be, and have,  
 Sad that her sonnes did seeke a forraine grave  
 (For, Fates, or Fortunes drifts none can soothsay,  
 Honour and misery have one face and way.)  
 From out her pregnant intrailles sigh'd a winde  
 Which at th'ayres middle marble roome did finde

Such strong resistance, that it selfe it threw  
Downward againe; and so when it did view  
How in the port, our fleet deare time did leese,  
Withering like prisoners, which lye but for fees,  
Mildly it kist our sailes, and fresh and sweet,  
As to a stomack sterv'd, whose insides meete,  
Meate comes, it came; and swole our sailes,

The experience

when wee

spiritual

So joyd, as Sara'her swelling joy'd to see.  
But 'twas but so kinde, as our countrimen,  
Which bring friends one dayes way, and leave them  
then.

growth;

land, spee

is no per

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was a per

experience

Then like two mighty Kings, which dwelling farre  
Asunder, meet against a third to warre,  
The South and West winds joyn'd, and, as they blew,  
Waves like a rowling trench before them threw.  
Sooner then you read this line, did the gale,  
Like shot, not fear'd till felt, our sailes assaile;  
And what at first was call'd a gust, the same  
Hath now a stormes, anon a tempests name.  
Ionas, I pittie thee, and curse those men,  
Who when the storm rag'd most, did wake thee then;  
Sleepe is paines easiest salve, and doth fullfill  
All offices of death, except to kill.  
But when I wakt, I saw, that I saw not;  
I, and the Sunne, which should teach mee'had forgot  
East, West, Day, Night, and I could onely say,  
If'the world had lasted, now it had beene day.  
Thousands our noyses were, yet wee'mongst all  
Could none by his right name, but thunder call:  
Lightning was all our light, and it rain'd more  
Then if the Sunne had drunke the sea before.  
Some coffin'd in their cabbins lye,'equally  
Griev'd that they are not dead, and yet must dye;  
And as sin-burd'ned soules from graves will creepe,  
At the last day, some forth their cabbins peepe:  
And tremblingly'aske what newes, and doe heare so,  
Like jealous husbands, what they would not know.  
Some sitting on the hatches, would seeme there,  
With hideous gazing to feare away feare.  
Then note they the ships sicknesses, the Mast  
Shak'd with this ague, and the Hold and Wast  
With a salt dropsie clog'd, and all our tacklings  
Snapping, like too-high-stretched treble strings.  
And from our totterd sailes, ragges drop downe so,  
As from one hang'd in chaines, a yeare agoe.  
Even our Ordinance plac'd for our defence,  
Strive to breake loose, and scape away from thence.  
Pumping hath tir'd our men, and what's the gaine?  
Seas into seas throwne, we suck in againe;

In the last Hearing hath deaf'd our saylers; and if they  
 Knew how to heare, there's none knowes what to  
 Donne speaks of the Church and State say.  
 continued Compar'd to these stormes, death is but a qualme,  
 Hell somewhat lightsome, and the 'Bermuda calme.<sup>173.</sup>

The experience had struck the young man hard, and its  
 spiritual significance was to grow with his own spiritual  
 growth: "God will make a storme at Sea, or a fire by  
 land, speake to me, and tell mee his minde, that there  
 is no perpetuity, no possession but in him."<sup>174.</sup>

One of Donne's favorite images was the Ark, for there  
 was a perfect microcosm and he could bring his own intense  
 experience into play as well:

When the Holy Ghost hath brought us into the  
 Ark from whence we may see all the world without,  
 sprawling and gasping in the flood, (the flood  
 of sinfull courses in the world, and of the anger  
 of God) when we can see this violent flood, (the  
 anger of God) break in at windowes, and there  
 devoure the licentious man in his sinfull embrace-  
 ments, and make his bed of wantonnesse his death-  
 bed; when we can see this flood (the anger of  
 God) swell as fast as the ambitious man swells,  
 and pursue him through all his titles, and and  
 [sic.] at last suddenly, and violently wash him  
 away in his owne blood, not alwayes in a vulgar,  
 but sometimes in an ignominious death; when we  
 shall this flood (the flood of the anger of God)  
 over-flow the valley of the voluptuous mans  
 gardens, and orchards, and follow him into his  
 Arbours, and Mounts, and Terasses, and carry  
 him from thence into a bottomlesse Sea, which  
 no Plummet can sound, (no heavy sadnesse relieve  
 him) no anchor take hold of, (no repentance stay  
 his tempest and weather-beaten conscience)  
 when wee finde ourselves in this Ark, where we  
 have first taken in the fresh water of Baptisme,  
 and then the Bread, and Wine, and Flesh, of the  
 Body and Blood of Christ Jesus...<sup>175.</sup>

In the last of the 50 Sermons, preached at St. Dunstan's, Donne spoke of the Church and State as Arks and then continued,

It was only Christ Jesus himself that could say to the Tempest, Tace, obmutesce, peace, be still, not a blast, not a sob more; onely he could becalm a Tempest at once. It is well with us, if we can ride out a storm at anchour; that is. lie still and expect, and surrender our selves to God, and anchor in that confidence, till the storm blow over. It is well for us if we can beat out a storm at sea, with boarding to and again; that is, maintain and preserve our present condition in Church, and State, though we encrease not, that though we gain no way, yet wee lose no way whilst the storm lasts. It is well for us, if, though we be put to take in our sayls, and to take down our masts, yet we can hull it out; that is, if in storms of contradiction, or persecution, the Church, or State, though they be put to accept worse conditions then before, and to depart with some of their outward spendor, be yet able to subsist and swimme above water, and reserve it selfe for Gods farther glory, after the storme is past; onely Christ could becalm the storme; He is a good Christian that can ride out, or board out, or hull out a storme, that by industry, as long as he can, and by patience, when he can do no more, over-lives a storm, and does not forsake his ship for it, that is not scandalized with that State, nor that Church, of which he is a member, for those abuses that are in it. The Arke is peace, peace is good dispositions to one another, good intepretations of one another; for, if our impatience put us from our peace, and so out of the Arke, all without the Arke is sea; The bottomlesse and boundlesse Sea of Rome, will hope to swallow us, if we dis-unite our selves, in uncharitable mis-interpretations of one another.<sup>176.</sup>

The reader of Donne meets this sort of treatment of the storm throughout his writings, and the repeated "Lightning

was all our light" from The Storme. Once again, these few examples must serve to indicate Donne's wide use of the experience.<sup>177</sup>

On Saturday the 16th, the storm abated, and the ships limped into ports all along the souther coast of England. Raleigh reached Plymouth on the 18th,<sup>178</sup> while Essex made it to Falmouth on the 19th.<sup>179</sup> Lord Thomas Howard, in the Due Repulse, and several other ships and men of importance, such as Southampton and Montjoy, had weathered the storm and were still heading for the Groin, not to return to Plymouth until the 31st, after waiting at the North Cape for some time. In Plymouth bad luck plagued the navy. Nearly all of the ships needed major repairs of some sort. The Mere Honour was so badly damaged that Essex had to leave her behind and change to the Repulse when Howard returned with it. Meanwhile he was Raleigh's guest in the Warspite. Everyone was writing Cecil about the bad condition of the fleet.<sup>180</sup> William Stallenge reported the food problem: "As there was no expectation that the fleet would make any stay at Plymouth, the country is altogether unprovided, especially with bread."<sup>181</sup> On Sunday the 24th, the Queen wrote, telling Essex not to try to take Lisbon and saying she expected the early departure of the fleet.<sup>182</sup> By the 26th Sir George Carew was expecting to leave in the morning, even though they were still missing the

fleet with Lord Thomas. The same day Cecil wrote a long letter to Essex describing the Queen's ex tempore Latin blast against the Polish Ambassador,<sup>183</sup> an event I have discussed in reference to Satyre II. Everyone was impressed and delighted with Her Majesty's performance, and Essex quickly sent congratulations upon receiving Cecil's letter.<sup>184</sup> But still the fleet did not move. An official report from the fleet commanders on the 29th stated that all the ships except the Mere Honour, were back in service and that an abbreviated fleet, "dispestered from our worst sailors," would leave the following morning to try to find Howard and go on to the Groin. Several hundred soldiers had been discharged or put on coastal duty under Sir Ferdinand Gorges. But now the wind refused to blow at all or to blow in the wrong direction.

That so, riding at that Anchor, and in that calme, whether God enlarge thy voyage, by enlarging thy life, or put thee into the harbour, by the breath, by the breathlesnesse of Death, either, way, East or West, thou maist depart in peace, according to his word.<sup>186</sup>

On Sunday, Howard returned, and the next day Essex and Raleigh posted to court to tell the Queen why departure had been delayed and to ask for new plans.<sup>187</sup>

Life at Plymouth was none too enjoyable. Sir Arthur Gorges reported the extremely bad condition of the food supplies, the food damaged by salt water, the beer almost

undrinkable due to the "great abuse of the Victuallers and London Brewers," Some of the rats were leaving the ship too:

The Calme This violent and dangerous tempest had so cooled and battered the courages of a great many of our young Gentlemen (who seeing that the boysterous winds and mercilesse Seas, had neither affinitie with London delicacie, nor Court brauery) as that discharging their high Plumes, and imbroydered Cassockes, they secretly retired themselues home, forgetting either to bid their friends farewell, or to take leaue of their Generall.<sup>188</sup>

He had only praise for the local hospitality, however.

The Storme During all the time of our abode in Plimouth, (which was some six or seuen weekes) we neither found eyther want or dearth of any matter of victualls, either in the Towne, where our Mariners were daily resident, or in the Countrey, where the Land Army was quartered; nor yet that extreame manner of inhausing the prices of all things vsed in London, and in other places of the Realme, vpon the extraordinary assembling of any such great troupes.<sup>189</sup>

We do not know what Donne was doing during this period at Plymouth, although we would probably be safe in dating the verse letter already quoted, The Storme, to Christopher Brooke from this time.<sup>190</sup> Its companion piece, The Calme, seems to have been sent to Brooke also, and this presents certain problems. The Storme is definitely a verse letter, as its opening indicates:

Thou which art I, ('tis nothing to be soe)  
Thou which art still thy selfe, by these shalt  
know



Stormes chafe, and soone weare out themselves,  
 or us;  
 In calmes, Heaven laughs to see us languish thus.  
 As steady'as I can wish, that my thoughts were,  
 Smooth as thy mistresse glasse, or what shines  
 there,  
 The sea is now. And, as the Iles which wee  
 Seeke, when wee can move, our ships rooted bee.  
 As water did in stormes, now pitch runs out:  
 As lead, when a fir'd Church becomes one spout.  
 And all our beauty, and our trimme, decayes,  
 Like courts removing, or like ended playes.  
 The fighting place now seamens ragges supply;  
 And all the tackling is a frippery.  
 No use of lanthornes; and in one place lay  
 Feathers and dust, to day and yesterday.  
 Earths hollownesses, which the worlds lungs are,  
 Have no more winde then the upper valt of aire.  
 We can nor lost friends, nor sought foes recover,  
 But meteorlike, save that wee move not, hover.  
 Onely the Calenture together drawes  
 Deare friends, which meet dead in great fishes  
 jawes:  
 And on the hatches as on Altars lyes  
 Each one, his owne Priest, and owne Sacrifice.  
 Who live, that miracle do multiply  
 Where walkers in hot Ovens, doe not dye.  
 If in despite of these, wee swimme, that hath  
 No more refreshing, then our brimstone Bath,  
 But from the sea, into the ship we turne,  
 Like parboyl'd wretches, on the coales to burne.  
 Like Bajazet encag'd, the shepherds scoffe,  
 Or like slacke sinew'd Sampson, his haire off,  
 Languish our ships. Now, as a Miriade  
 Of Ants, durst th'Emperours lov'd snake invade,  
 The crawling Gallies, Sea-goales, finny chips,  
 Might brave our Pinnaces, now bed-ridde ships. 193.

The two lines that tempt interpretation are "the Iles  
 which wee/Seeke, when we can move" and "We can nor lost  
 friends, nor sought foes recover." Actually these would  
 both be true at Plymouth, with Howard's fleet being the  
 lost friends. It would also be true at any time after  
 August 27th until the fleet reached the Azores, with

Raleigh being the lost one. Raleigh's becalmed fleet, however, was in sight of the islands, which eliminates that situation. And then there are the passages about the melting pitch and sailors with Calenture: the first occurred during the storm, but there is no indication that any of the ships had any such trouble in calm weather, and there is no record of sailors jumping overboard. The whole poem, unlike The Storme, seems compounded of imagined elements. That it should be more successful as a poem than its companion piece only bears out Donne's remark of doing best when he had least truth for his subjects.

Considering the amount of mock situation contained in the poem, I think we are forced to consider his list of reasons for making the voyage more as possibilities than actualities. Taken together they sound like the combined reasons for most of the people on the trip:

Whether a rotten state, and hope of gaine,  
Or to disuse mee from the queasie paine  
Of being belov'd, and loving, or the thirst  
Of honour, or faire death, out pusht mee first,  
I lose my end.<sup>194</sup>

In later years he was to return to this subject in a way which may reveal his attitude more accurately.

Though all men that go to the war, goe not  
upon those just reasons deliberated before  
in themselves, which are, the defence of a  
just cause, the obedience to a lawfull Com-

Fleet was mandment, yet of those that do goe without  
 those conscientie deliberations, none goes  
 therefore, because he may have roome in an  
 Hospitall, or reliefe by a pension, when he  
 comes home lame, but because he may get some-  
 thing, by going into a fat country, and against  
 a rich enemy; Though honour may seeme to feed  
 upon blowes, and dangers, men goe cheerefully  
 against an enemy, from whom something is to be  
 got; for, profit is a good salve to knocks,  
 a good Cere-cloth to bruises, and a good  
 Balsamum to wounds.<sup>195.</sup>

If the reasons mentioned above were true, their proper  
 place would have been in The Storme, an event which would  
 have raised doubts in Donne as we have seen it did in so  
 many others. Gosse, of course, used them as another  
 argument for Donne's love affairs at court, and there is  
 always that rather far-fetched possibility. Incidentally,  
 Gosse at this point made one of his most brilliant slips.  
 He had Donne seeing Tenerife by moonlight, leading to  
 the beautiful lines from An Anatomie of the World,

Doth not a Tenarif, or higher Hill  
 Rise so high like a Rocke, that one might thinke  
 The floating Moone would shipwracke there, and  
 sinke?<sup>196.</sup>

As Grierson noted, Gosse was only a little over 500 miles  
 off course, I think we must agree with Grierson that  
 Donne probably never saw the Canary Islands.<sup>197.</sup>

About the 8th or 9th of August (he was en route on  
 the 6th),<sup>198.</sup> Essex returned to the fleet. On August 10th  
 news began to pour in from all sides that the Spanish

fleet was on the move. On the 13th Raleigh wrote a short note telling Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, that he had better prepare.<sup>199</sup> The same day Essex wrote to his secretary, Reynoldes, and explained that they were still waiting for a favorable wind.<sup>200</sup> On the 14th they got that and moved out of the harbor, Essex sending a message to the Privy Council, informing them of his leaving and of his discharging the entire army except for the 1000 troops from the Low Countries.<sup>201</sup> Now the wind disappeared completely, and it was not until the late evening of Wednesday the 17th that they finally began to move. Even then they had to use rowboats in order to pull the ships into the open water.<sup>202</sup> It seems likely to me that it was during these three days or during one of the few calms in the next few days<sup>203</sup> that Donne decided to write The Calme. That Donne engaged in a good deal of literary activity during the boring weeks of this voyage seems almost positive, as indicated in a letter by Donne from Mitcham in 1608.

I send you here a translation; but it is not only to believe me, it is a great invention to have understood any piece of this book, whether the gravity of the matter or the poetical form give it his inclination and principium motus; you are his centre or his sphere, and to you as to his proper place he addresses himself. Besides that all my things, not only by obligation, but by custom, know that that is the way they should go. I spoke of this to my

that an at [Lady] of Bedford, thinking then I had had  
 a copy which I made long since at sea, but  
 should at because I find it not I have done that again:  
 and attack when you find it not unseasonable, let her see  
 it.<sup>205</sup>

We now lose Essex for nearly two weeks. Raleigh,  
 The fleet came into the bay of Alchazar on the 23rd  
 after sending his main yard, headed for the pre-arranged  
 and sailed close in to the shore. Security regulations,  
 meeting-place at the Rock, learning from an English bark  
 which had done so much to effect the success of the Cadiz  
 there that the Adriantado was at the Ascres. This was  
 expedition, were completely dropped during the second  
 untrue, but Raleigh, unconscious of the fact, sent word  
 trip. The next night another violent storm hit the  
 to Essex and headed for the Islands immediately. He  
 fleet and put both the St. Matthew and St. Andrew out  
 learned that Essex had passed Terceira on September 8th,  
 of service for the rest of the voyage. The rest of the  
 two days before Raleigh's group. Later, on the 8th,  
 fleet continued on down the coast and arrived at the land  
 "before Saint Georges." Raleigh and all those with him  
 near Cape Ortingall at about 10 o'clock Thursday morning,  
 the 25th. They continued near the coast the next day.  
 the weather extremely hot, inasmuch as the  
 And then, on the 27th, another bad storm hit the fleet.  
 masts, but set sails to hold in the sea, to  
 Raleigh, with a broken mast, and twenty or thirty other  
 used such great violence the masts to weave  
 ships were separated from the main fleet, this circum-  
 stance making an attack on the Groin an impossibility,  
 On the 10th the wind was the same and began to  
 especially as Raleigh was to have led that raid, by the  
 more. As the wind was the same it was pointed  
 Queen's command. Essex's ship went through another  
 appeared which was the same as the one which had been  
 very rough night; a large leak opened in the Repulse,  
 and recorded. The leak was the same as the one which  
 was joined at the same place as the one which had been  
 including large pieces of beef.<sup>206</sup> The carpenter took  
 Raleigh had the same ship as the one which had been  
 this rather unfortunate time to die, but the ship managed  
 his own expedition, and the same as the one which had been  
 to continue, and on the next day, Sunday the 28th,  
 reconquered. The vessel at the same place as the one which  
 Finisterre came in view. A hastily-held council agreed  
 over, and were the same as the one which had been

that an attack was out of the question, but that they should attempt to find the fleet of the Adelantado<sup>207</sup> and attack that.

We now lose Essex for nearly two weeks. Raleigh, after mending his main yard, headed for the pre-arranged meeting-place at the Rock, learning from an English Barke there that the Adelantado was at the Azores. This was untrue, but Raleigh, unconscious of the fact, sent word to Essex and headed for the Islands immediately. He learned that Essex had passed Tercera on September 6th, two days before Raleigh's group. Later, on the 8th, "before Saint Georges," Raleigh and all those with him

were very much becalmed for a day or two, and the weather extreemely hot, insomuch as the winde could not beare the sailes from the mastes, but were faine to hull in the Sea, to our great discontentment, that before had used such great diligence and haste to meete with our Admiral, and the rest of the Fleete.

On the 10th the wind came up and the ships began to move. At the same time a beautiful moon rainbow appeared which we can only wish Donne might have seen and recorded. Finally, on the 14th, the entire fleet was joined at Flores. Rumours had been rampant that Raleigh had purposely abandoned Essex and meant to start his own expedition, but the two leaders were quickly reconciled. The seeds of distrust had been sown, however, and were to grow to fruition at Fayall. Since

leaving the Groin, Essex had done nothing but wander about the ocean, looking for the Adelantado. He had arrived at the Islands just three days before the late arrivals. During the stay at Flores the gentlemen had wandered around the pleasant island.

Divers men may walke by the Sea side, and the same beames of the Sunne giving light to them all, one gathereth by the benefit of that light pebles, or speckled shells, for curious vanitie, and another gathers precious Pearle, or medicinall Ambar, by the same light.<sup>208</sup>

Here as elsewhere during the trip, Donne had plenty of time to write poetry or work on translation.

Late on the 16th, before Raleigh had a chance to get any fresh water on board, Essex sent word that he was on his way to Fayall and that Raleigh should follow with all possible speed; which he did, arriving the next day, only to find that Essex was not there. The Earl was off on a fruitless chase after reported Spanish ships. Raleigh wanted to land immediately and take the principal town, but under counsel from the others he decided to wait a day or so for Essex.<sup>209</sup> After four days of waiting, the Repulse still not appearing, Raleigh went ahead with the landing and took the main town by a circuitous route. As luck would have it, Essex arrived at daybreak the next morning, the 22nd, and Sir Gilly Merrick immediately convinced him that Raleigh had gone

ahead to reap personal honor. The situation was tense, with threatened execution awaiting Raleigh when he arrived aboard the Repulse. Luckily, tempers quieted down, but harmonious feelings were destroyed for the rest of the trip. Wotton says of Essex's action,

On the other side, we have many of his Lenity, and one of his Facility, when he did connive at the bold Trespass of Sir Walter Raleigh, who before his own arrival at Fayall, had landed there against his precise Commandment; at which time he let fall a Noble word, being pressed by one, (whose name I need not remember) that at the least he would put him upon a Martial Court: That I would do (said he) if he were my friend.<sup>210.</sup>

The bad feeling seems to have been as dangerous as war as far as Donne was concerned:

Dar'st thou ayd mutinous Dutch, and dar'st thou lay  
Thee in ships wooden Sepulchers, a prey  
To leaders rage, to stormes, to shot, to dearth?<sup>211</sup>

I have a feeling Donne may have been referring rather more to another event, however, certainly as dangerous as war:

In the Earl we have two examples of his severity, the one in the Island Voyage, where he threw a Souldier with his own hand out of a Ship.<sup>212.</sup>

When the local fort was found abandoned the next morning with a dead Englishman and Fleming inside, the bitterness had a common outlet. And the next day the

entire town was set on fire. On Monday the 26th the whole fleet sailed for Gratiiosa, whose inhabitants submitted themselves to Essex as had those of Flores. On the night of the 27th the fleet moved on to St. Michaels at the urging of one Grove, the master of the Repulse, whose name was anathema for the rest of the trip; for two hours after sailing, the Spanish fleet from America came in sight.<sup>213</sup> Sir William Monson shot off a cannon to inform the rest of the English fleet, but it was too late. He even got into a rowboat and tried to anger the Spanish enough to chase him, but once they heard that there were English ships around, they headed for the harbor at Tercera at full speed.<sup>214</sup> The rest of the English fleet came back in time to snare three of the slower Spaniards, Essex claiming the largest of the three for her "lading, which was Cochynella", a cargo we met in Satyre IIII,

and attack the city from the rear, but the Spaniards

without an As Pirats, which doe know  
That there came weak ships fraught with Cutchanel,  
The men board them.<sup>215</sup>

Carrack pulled into the harbor, but did not

The cargo was apparently quite large, for on February 4, 1598, Elizabeth ordered all cochineal imports to be stopped at London for two years, until the prizes had been sold.<sup>216</sup> On Saturday, October 1st, Essex and the rest of the fleet arrived near the well-protected fort on Tercera, just six hours behind the main Spanish fleet.

The engagement with the three small ships had caused the English to forfeit a much larger prize. The wind held against their making the Point of Brazil, which forms the harbor, and stayed that way all of Sunday. On Monday the fleet made the Point, but the council decided against what appeared to be a suicidal attack. Instead, they returned to the island of St. Michael, which Essex had reached the previous Wednesday (Michaelmas Day).

As a reconnaissance of the landing possibilities near Punta Delgada proved discouraging, a new plan was arranged. While Raleigh and most of the fleet stayed in the harbor, holding the enemy's attention, Essex, with a small army, rowed down the coast to the little town of Villa Franca, to be followed shortly after by about half of the fleet, Raleigh maintaining watch over the town.<sup>217</sup> Essex was supposed to march back overland and attack the city from the rear, but the days passed without any signs of warlike activity. A large Spanish Carrack put into the harbor, but discovering the fleet to be an enemy (a Hollander fired just a little too soon), she ran aground, and her crew set her afire, leaving her to burn for three days. Again Donne seems to have missed all of the more startling sights of the trip, for he was probably down at Villa Franca. A few days later Raleigh received word to join the rest, whom

he found consuming food and putting aboard water, but not much else.

Then, on Saturday, October 9th, the fleet sailed for England, many ships needing water and many men being quite sick. But the gods were not yet through with the travellers. Heading for the southern coast of England was the Adelantado with his Spanish fleet. After three or four days of good weather for the English, another furious storm broke, just as they were nearing the Scilly Islands. The Spanish were nearby, in council. Both sides were caught napping by the weather, and their fleets dispersed, not more than twenty English boats arriving home together.<sup>218</sup> The Spanish suffered heavily. They had left Ferrol on the 9th with 120 ships and 9000 soldiers. All but fourteen managed to return, but the Spanish invasion plans were destroyed.<sup>219</sup> Essex nearly ran on to the Scilly shoals but finally managed to get into Plymouth safely on the 28th,<sup>220</sup> his reputation both in England and Spain at a very low ebb.<sup>221</sup> With the end of the trip, Donne apparently left Essex's service and soldiering, although the latter may be doubtful. Instead he chose for his employer a rather safer leader, Sir Thomas Egerton, and settled down to life at the Elizabethan court.

I have given such a detailed account of these two years with Essex for two reasons. First, Donne scholars



1. Gr. I, 161; Satyre IIII, ll. 83-4.
2. Ibid., p. 160; l. 55.
3. Ibid., p. 153; Satyre II, ll. 92-96.
4. Donne, Catalogus Librorum, Simpson, ed., "No. 13," p. 33.
5. Gr. I, 160; Satyre IIII, ll. 56-7.
6. Ibid., l. 48; II, 120.
7. Ibid., p. 91; Elegie VIII, ll. 9-11. In spite of such obvious non-Catholic remarks, Grierson refused to see Donne's religious neutrality in the Satyres and thus misread many passages, such as the remarks on Beza and the gentlemen of the Academies.
8. Gr. II, 74.
9. Gr. I, 153; Satyre II, ll. 99-102. This passage should be kept in front of all editors and critics of Donne as they work on their subject.
10. Thomas Birch, Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (1754), Vol. I, p. 358.
11. Ibid., pp. 359-60.
12. 1640 ed.
13. See Appendix III.
14. Domestic State Papers-Elizabeth, 1595-1597, p. 205, vol. cclvii, 32.
15. Not, as Smith states, the Ark Royal (Wotton, I, 31).
16. Birch, II, 15.
17. DSP-Eliz., p. 222, cclvii, 106.
18. Ibid., p. 107.
19. Hakluyt, p. 607.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Birch, II, 10.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p. 11.
25. Hakluyt, p. 607.
26. Gr. I, 171; ll. 86-7. Grierson, against great evidence, chose the 1633 "Haman", which was obviously wrong. For a further discussion see Chapter 6.
27. Birch, II, 14.
28. Thomas Lediard, The Naval History of England, Vol. I (1735), p. 329.
29. Stow, p. 772.
30. Hakluyt, p. 609.
31. Gr. I, 122; Elegie XX, ll. 21-24.
32. Birch I, 254.
33. Gr. I, 178; The Calme, ll. 23-4.
34. Essays in Divinity, p. 70.
35. Gr. I, 195; To Sr Edward Herbert at Iulyers, ll. 39-44.
36. Hakluyt, p. 609.
37. All of the above rules are found in "Instructions to the Captains of Ships"; Lediard, pp. 324-27.

38. Hakluyt, p. 609.
39. 80 Sermons, XXIX, p. 292.
40. Hakluyt, p. 609.
41. Lediard, p. 330.
42. G. B. Harrison, The Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (1937), p. 110.
43. Lediard, p. 330.
44. Harrison, Essex, p. 111.
45. Birch, II, 87.
46. Hakluyt, p. 610.
47. Monson's account in Lediard, p. 333.
48. 80 Sermons, XVI, p. 155.
49. Pvrchas, His Pilgrimes (1625), p. 1930.
50. Edward Thompson, Sir Walter Raleigh (1935), p. 115.
51. Gr. I, 75, A burnt ship.
52. Ibid., p. 87; Elegie V, ll. 9-10.
53. Hakluyt (p. 612), Camden (p. 462), and Lediard (p. 332) say 800; Stow says 8000; and Birch (p. 53) says 3000.
54. Ibid.
55. This part of the battle may have suggested the image in the 1623 Easter Sermon. "The implicite beleever stands in an open field, and the enemy will ride over him easily; the understanding beleever, is a fenced town, and he hath out-works to lose, before the town be pressed." 80 Sermons, XVII, p. 178.
56. Gr. I, 328.
57. Ibid., p. 321; ll. 9-10.
58. Ibid., p. 35; ll. 22-28.
59. Lediard, p. 340.
60. Gr. I, 76; Sir Iohn Wingefield.
61. Ibid.
62. Gosse, I, 46.
63. Gr. II, 59.
64. Birch, II, 49.
65. Lediard, p. 348.
66. Hakluyt, p. 615.
67. DSP-Eliz., p. 283, cclx, 28.5.
68. Hakluyt, p. 615.
69. Gr. I, 57; The Will, l. 23.
70. 80 Sermons, XXXIII, p. 326.
71. Gr. I, p. 11; ll. 15-18.
72. Ibid., p. 238; ll. 229-234.
73. DSP-Eliz., p. 276, cclx, 2.
74. 80 Sermons, XXXIII, Whitsunday, p. 330. A similar passage, referring to only one General, appears in an Easter Monday sermon, 1622, 26 Sermons, XXV, p. 390, in Smith Sermons.
75. Stow, p. 776.
76. Birch, II, 55.
77. Stow, p. 777.

78. 80 Sermons, I, pp. 5-6.
79. Ibid., XVI, p. 161.
80. Grierson (II, 59) gives the word "late" a rather more far-fetched meaning.
81. The date of publication of his edition of Martial. Gr. II, 60.
82. Ibid.
83. Gr. I, 122; ll. 17-18.
84. Ibid., II, 60.
85. Ibid., I, 172; l. 23.
86. Ibid., p. 77.
87. Tobie Mathews, A Collection of Letters (1660), p. 328.
88. Gosse, I, 30-36.
89. Gr. II, 100-105.
90. Ibid., I, 148; ll. 79-82.
91. Atkins, letter, T L S, 22 May 1937. The earliest possible date for a reference to Banks' "Morocco" is May 15, 1595. See G. B. Harrison, A Second Elizabethan Journal (1931), p. 24.
92. See Gr. II, 101.
93. Gr. I, 147; ll. 57-8.
94. Birch II, 308. The Infanta was to become Queen of England.
95. Gr. I, 148; ll. 77-8.
96. Ibid., ll. 87-90. See discussion of possible early epigrams in Chap. 2.
97. Ibid., p. 145; ll. 1-10.
98. Ibid., II, 119.
99. SPD-Eliz., p. 316. vol. cclxi, 10, I; p. 323, cclxi, 27, etc.
100. Ibid., p. 343, cclxii, 5, 6, 7.
101. Gr. I, 163; l. 126.
102. SPD-Eliz., p. 563, cclxv, 108.
103. Harrison, Eliz. Journal, p. 113.
104. John Sampson, "A Contemporary Light upon John Donne, Essays and Studies Vol. 7, 1921.
105. See message from the French King through M. de Sancy to Essex. 5 Feb. 1597. Birch, II, 270-2.
106. Gr. I, 160-1; ll. 43-61.
107. John Sparrow, letter, T L S, 30 March 1946.
108. Donne, Biathanatos (1648), p. 17.
109. Gr. I, 159; ll. 8-11.
110. Ibid., p. 166; ll. 208-217.
111. Birch, II, 186.
112. Gr. I, 152; ll. 57-59.
113. In a letter in T L S, 29 May 1937.
114. See Birch, II, 186.
115. Gr. I, 151-2; ll. 39-60.
116. Grosart, ed., The Dr. Farmer Chetham MS., Vol. I (1873), pp. 79-80.
117. Gr. II, 102.

118. Ibid., I, 287.
119. See Sampson, "A Contemporary Light--", Essays and Studies, 1921.
120. Gr. I, 287; 11. 1-2.
121. Ibid., 11. 13-16.
122. Memoirs of Robert Cary (1808), pp. 255-6.
123. See Birch I, 105 and 169.
124. Ibid., II, 218-9.
125. Gr. I, 165.
126. Simpson, Prose Works (2nd Ed.), pp. 313-14.
127. Francis Bacon, Essays (World Classics), appendix, p. 251.
128. SPD-Eliz., p. 342, vol. cclxii, 3. The number varies up to 45, see p. 360, cclxii, 37.
129. Ibid., p. 347, cclxii, 9.
130. Birch, II, 251, ff.
131. Ibid., pp. 281, 289, et al.
132. Ibid., p. 306.
133. SPD-Eliz., p. 390, cclxii, 124.
134. Ibid., p. 391.
135. Harrison, Essex, p. 140.
136. Gr. I, 86-7; 11. 1-10.
137. Ibid., II, 90; Leishman, Monarch of Wit, pp. 71-3.
138. Gr. I, 122-3; 11. 19-26.
139. Ibid., 11. 29-38.
140. Ibid., 11. 17-18.
141. Ibid., II, 61.
142. Lediard, p. 315.
143. Ibid., p. 347.
144. Gr. I, 122; 11. 5-8.
145. Birch, II, 322-3.
146. Gr. I, 122; 11. 9-12.
147. Ibid., 11. 13-14.
148. SPD-Eliz., p. 417; vol. cclxiii, 48.
149. Ibid., p. 426, cclxiii, 68.
150. Ibid., p. 434, cclxiii, 89.
151. Camden names "the Earles of Rutland and Southampton, the Lords, Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, with many Knights, and many others of speciall note and quality." (p. 471).
152. SPD-Eliz., pp. 437-8, cclxiii, 99. This letter also gives some indication of the reason many gentlemen went on the voyages: "Michael Dormer, whom I cannot dissuade, and Hugh Burton, who hopes to be treasurer, though he will have so little receipt that a well-saddled rat might carry all his accounts; his true errand is to get knighted before or as soon as Sir Peter Evers."
153. Birch, II, 345-6.
154. SPD-Eliz., pp. 439-441, cclxiii, 102.
155. Chamberlain had said Essex meant to sail by June 22nd.
156. Birch, II, 348.
157. SPD-Eliz., p. 449, cclxiv, 7.
158. Ibid., pp. 450-1, cclxiv, 8. Essex's ship if found under various titles, Mere Honour, Mary Honora, Mer Honneur, and Honneur de la Mer. Lediard suggests

158. quite plausibly that the last was the original name.
159. Ibid., pp. 451-2, cclxiv, 12.
160. Ibid., cclxiv, 13.1.
161. Gr. I, 180; To Sr Henry Wotton, ll. 7-10. For a similar use of Rocks and Remoras see 80 Sermons, V, p. 43.
162. 80 Sermons, IX, p. 95.
163. Ibid., XXXIX, p. 386.
164. Pvrchas, p. 1940.
165. SPD-Eliz., p. 456, cclxiv, 20.
166. Ibid., p. 457, cclxiv, 21. Both Camden and Gorges say the 9th, but the letters from Southampton and Essex show this to be wrong. I can find no reason at all for the official report of the fleet's commanders saying they left "the third of Iune." (Pvrchas, p. 1935).
167. 80 Sermons, IV, 33.
168. Camden, p. 471.
169. Ibid., p. 458, cclxiv, 25.
170. Pvrchas, p. 1935.
171. Ibid., p. 1941.
172. Here we have the ending of the short story begun in footnote 152. Let Gorges finish it: "And amongst others in the beginning of this bitter storme, our Treasurer Sir Hugh Biston was also so extreemely afflicted with Sea sicknesse, and in so great hazard of life, as that out of the Wastspite (wherein he was shipped) he was imbarcked into a Caruell of our traine to returne for England, seeing his weake body vnable to vndergoe the resolution of his mind. And I thinke this losing of our Treasurer in the beginning, was an ominous presage of the losse of the infinite Treasures, which afterward so vnluckily past by and escaped vs." Pvrchas, p. 1941.
173. Gr. I, 176-7; The Storme, ll. 9-66.
174. 50 Sermons, XXXIX, p. 360; in Smith, Sermons, p. 143.
175. 80 Sermons, XXXVII, pp. 365-6.
176. In Smith, Sermons, pp. 62-3. See also Essays in Divinity, p. 13.
177. For a few of the many uses in the poetry, see Gr. I, 117, 155, 190, 235, 251, 339, 352-3.
178. SPD-Eliz., p. 463, cclxiv, 32.
179. Ibid., p. 464, cclxiv, 34.
180. Ibid., pp. 467-8.
181. Ibid., cclxiv, 45.
182. Ibid., pp. 471-2, cclxiv, 54.1.
183. Ibid., pp. 473-4, cclxiv, 57.1.
184. Ibid., p. 476, cclxiv, 58.
185. Ibid., pp. 477-8, cclxiv, 60. Included was a list of 775 soldiers discharged.

186. 80 Sermons, IV, p. 39.
187. Birch, II, 353.
188. Pvrchas, p. 1941.
189. Ibid., p. 1943 (marked 1643).
190. For the Burley letter supposedly written by Donne from Plymouth, see Whitlock, "Donne's 'First Letter'", T L S, 22 August 1952, and Appendix 3.
191. Gr. I, 175; ll. 1-8.
192. Ibid., p. 176; ll. 1-4.
193. Ibid., p. 178-9; ll. 1-38.
194. Ibid., ll. 39-43.
195. 80 Sermons, X, 101.
196. Gr. I, 240; ll. 286-8.
197. Ibid., II, 191.
198. SPD-Eliz., p. 486, cclxiv, 74.
199. Ibid., p. 489, cclxiv, 81.
200. Birch, II, 357.
201. Harrison, Essex, pp. 149-50.
202. Pvrchas, p. 1943.
203. Harrison, Essex, p. 151.
204. The description of leaving England found in The Storme is much closer to the second sailing than the one in July. Both poems may well be "emotion recollected in tranquility."
205. Gosse, I, 189. R. E. Bennett, in his study of Donne's letters (P M L A, Vol. 56, March 1941), argues that the letter is to Henry Goodyer.
206. All details of the trip, unless otherwise noted, are from Sir Arthur Gorges' account and Essex's relation of the trip, both found in Pvrchas, pp. 1935-1969.
207. The Adelantado was Martin de Padilla, Governor of Castile, in charge of the fleet in the harbor of Ferrol.
208. 50 Sermons, XXXVI, in Smith, Sermons, p. 100.
209. At Flores the various islands had been assigned as follows: Fayall-Essex; Gratiiosa-Howard and Vere; Rio-Raleigh (Lediard, 355). Raleigh was, therefore, despite Gorges' defence, trespassing on Essex's rightful target.
210. Henry Wotton, Reliquiae Wottoniae (1672), p. 180.
211. Gr. I, 155; Satyre III, ll. 17-19.
212. Wotton, Reliquiae, p. 179.
213. Camden, p. 474.
214. Lediard, pp. 358-9. Aboard the Due Repulse the night of leaving Fayall a secondary drama was taking place. Edward Squier, an agent of the Spaniards, admitted, on October 23, 1598, that he rubbed a self-compounded poison on the chair in which Essex sat all that evening. Had it worked, we can be sure we would have had another reference in Donne's poems to this trip. For the details of Squier's work, including his similarly abortive attempt on the Queen, see SPD-Eliz., 1598-1601,

- cclxviii, 83, 86, 89, and 91, pp. 107ff.  
 215. Gr. I, 165; 11. 188-90.  
 216. SPD-Eliz., 1598-1601, p. 18, cclxvi, 43.  
 217. Lediard, p. 360.  
 218. Ibid., p. 361.  
 219. SPD-Eliz., 1595-1597, pp. 540-1, cclxv, 261.  
 220. Harrison, Essex, p. 168.  
 221. For the Spanish opinion of his failure to take the fleet at Tercera, see SPD-Eliz., cclxv, 60. p. 550.

al travels in the winter of 1598-99. Two possibilities present themselves: either he acted as a messenger for Cecil for several months or he went into service with Sir Thomas Egerton almost immediately. Evidence for the former was presented by E. K. Chambers in 1910. According to the entries which Chambers discovered, a John Donne was engaged as a messenger for Queen Elizabeth between London and France. The entries are for February 4, February 19, March 19, and May 25, 1598. This Donne was obviously employed by Robert Cecil, as the warrants are issued by "M<sup>r</sup> Secretary." The arguments in favor of applying these entries are few but telling. The name, of course, is the most important; but it must be remembered that there were at least thirty different traceable John Donnes in London at this period. Apparently every (poor) family in the city had at least two "Johns" or so, father and son, as any glance at church records shows. There is the fact that although it would seem extremely unlikely that one of Essex's followers would have been in service with Cecil, yet this actually happened. The Secretary on his trip to France in February of that year.

As a matter of fact, Chapter 6  
 his stomach.<sup>2</sup> Life at Court and Marriage argument, in

that Wotton was only going as an associate, already  
 Donne's activities on his return in October 1597 from  
 the Azores are as obscure as those following his continent-  
 al travels in the winter of 1595-96. Two possibilities  
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 family in the city had at least two "Johns" in it, father  
 and son, as any glance at church records shows. Next,  
 there is the fact that although it would seem extremely  
 unlikely that one of Essex's followers would go into  
 service with Cecil, Wotton actually accompanied the Queen's  
 Secretary on his trip to France in February of this year.

As a matter of fact, the rough channel was too much for his stomach.<sup>2</sup> This is not a very strong argument, in that Wotton was only going as an associate, already beginning his ambassadorial career, while the "John Donne" of the records was a hired messenger. The third argument deals with the date of Donne's possible entry into Egerton's service. On May 31, 1598, John Chamberlain wrote to his friend Carleton, "One Carey [George Carew], secretary to the Lord Keeper, is going into Poland on some errand."<sup>3</sup> This gives a possible reason for Egerton's hiring of Donne. Once again the argument is not at all conclusive, for the Lord Keeper engaged more than one secretary.

The arguments against Donne's being employed by Cecil at this time are stronger, although the final conclusion must always admit that Donne may have been the man referred to in these entries. From internal evidence all four entries seem definitely to refer to the same man, who, on May 25th, is referred to as "Capten John Donne." It seems nearly impossible for Donne to have been a Captain without our having some record of it either in his correspondence or in a poetic reference. The verse letters written at this time also witness against Donne's being a messenger. At some time before April, 1598, when Donne's and Wotton's Oxford friend, Thomas Bastard, published his Chrestoleros, including an epigram to Wotton on the current literary

débat over town and country, Donne must have written his verse letter to Wotton, "Sir, more than kisses, letters mingle Soules."<sup>4</sup> This long and carefully conceived work makes it doubtful that Donne wrote it while moving back and forth from France to the English court with a certain amount of speed.<sup>5</sup> On July 20th Donne wrote another letter to Wotton, beginning,

Here's no more newes, then vertue, 'I may as well  
 Tell you Cales, or St Michaels tale for newes,  
 That vice doth here habitually dwell.<sup>6</sup> as tell

That Donne had nothing to mention since the two trips he and Wotton took together with Essex makes it seem unlikely that they were together with Cecil at the unsuccessful negotiations with the French King.

The last argument in this discussion is of a more detailed nature and leads us back into a discussion of the two remaining Satyres. Satyre V was obviously written to Sir Thomas Egerton:

You Sir, whose righteousnes she loves, whom I  
 By having leave to serve, am most richly  
 For service paid, authoriz'd, now beginne.<sup>7</sup>  
 To know and weed out this enormous sinne.

It also seems that it was written soon after Donne had entered into Egerton's service. That he should have done so is not at all surprising. We have already noted his friendship with the Lord Keeper's son. His legal training

would have been a great help as Secretary to a man in Egerton's position of Lord Chancellor, and it is likely that Egerton would have hired a young man from his own Inn of Court, Lincoln's Inn. Donne was the logical choice for two more reasons, though. Egerton and Essex were on very close terms: it was in a great measure due to Essex's support that Egerton had received his high position.<sup>8</sup> So were many of Essex's followers, especially Anthony Bacon, who was, during this period, giving the Lord Keeper almost as much news as he was his master, Essex.<sup>9</sup> Bacon, in a letter to Dr. Hawkins in Venice, on June 5, 1596, reveals what may have been the chief reason for Egerton's hiring Donne:

But forasmuch...as neither his lordship understands Italian, nor I myself have leisure to translate in time the gazette, I am most heartily to intreat you, that you would enlarge and enrich your letters in English with the chiefest points of occurrences therein contained.<sup>10</sup>

The Lord Keeper obviously needed the help of a secretary with a knowledge of languages, and Donne more than met this requirement.

If we could date Satyre V with any real certainty, we could be reasonably sure of knowing when Donne began his work as Secretary to Egerton. Grierson notes that the poem refers to Egerton's reforms of the Clerkship of the Star Chamber, showing that he began this reform activity in

1597.<sup>11</sup> Granting this, it is difficult to see why Donne would write, "now beginne/ To know and weed out this enormous sinne" as late as May 1598, or, indeed, as late as 1598 itself. The powerful section against Pursuivants cannot be placed definitely at any one date:

Would it not anger  
 A Stoicke, a coward, yea a Martyr,  
 To see a Pursivant come in, and call  
 All his cloathes, Copes; Bookes, Primers; and all  
 His Plate, Challices; and mistake them away,  
 And aske a fee for comming?<sup>12</sup>.

During the winter of 1596-97 these abuses had come to such a head that reform was obviously needed. Donne felt so strongly about these men and their misdealings, at least in his youth, that the complete section from Camden from this year is worth quoting.

Amongst these warre-like proceedings, a mischieuous kinde of men, taking upon them the authority and Badges of the Queenes Pursuivants, wandred up and downe England with counterfeit warrants and subscriptions of the Queenes Counsellors and Commissioners in causes Ecclesiasticall, searching the houses of Widdowes and Papists, and taking away by extortion, Plate, Iewels, and whatsoever bare the Image of Christ or the Saints, as things unlawfull. The travelling charges due to Pursuivants they roughly exacted, and cheated many fearefull people of their money, that they might not appeare before the Magistrates. Of these men some were taken and compelled to restore their stolen goods, lost their eares in the Pillary, and were branded in the fore-head as counterfeits and cozoners. Neuerthesse, this severity could not repress the pilfring dishonesty of such men, untill Proclamation was made, that the Queenes Pursuivants should not exact their travelling fees before such time as the persons summoned did

for Dec appeare, and that they should come together with the parties summoned, to the Magistrates: this if they refused, the persons summoned should not appeare. If many were summoned by one and the same warrant, against one and the same day, that the Pursuivants also should be present. that if the person summoned, conceived any suspition against the Pursuivant, he might cause him to be brought before the next Iustice of Peace to be examined, that the man might be knowne: That the persons sommoned should not upon paine of imprisonment corrupt the Pursuivants with money, that they might not appeare. Also that the Pursuivants should not receive any money with that condition, unlesse they would loose their places, be imprisoned, and most grievously punished.<sup>13</sup>.

The wording of Proclamation touches on both of the evils Donne mentions. It is difficult not to feel that the poem dates from the same period. Many years later Donne was to treat the same subject in a much more conservative fashion.

If a Pursevant, if a Serjeant come to thee from the King, in any Court of Justice, though hee come to put thee in trouble, to call thee to an account, yet thou receivest him, thou entertainest him, thou paieest him fees.<sup>14</sup>.

There are two more references to be checked, "the great Carricks Pepper" and Hammond's "Antiquities". Grierson showed what the great Carrack was, but he did not explain how it made its way into a Satyre some five or six years later.<sup>15</sup> Donne would have needed a rather long memory for small events to include such a reference, unless there was something to keep it in the public mind. Stow's Annals supplies the following "triviall houshold trash"<sup>16</sup>.

for December 1597:

This yeere against Christmas, Pepper was solde at London for eight shillings the pounce, a matter then much noted, considering that not many yeeres since, a great Carricke richly laden with diuers Marchandises, was taken at Sea, brought to our coastes, the goods thereof in smaller vessells conuayed to London, and layd vp in the Leaden hall, where the Pepper by Merchants of the Citie, was valued to be worth one hundred thousand pounds, appoynted there to be solde, which was done, with restraint that no Pepper (by way of Marchandise) should bee brought into this Realme, before sale of the former.<sup>17</sup>

This piece of information would favor a late 1597 or 1598 date at first sight; however, it may merely mean that Londoners were kept in mind of the great Carrack every time they bought pepper.

The final reference presents even more difficulties: extremely abstruse meaning as the two stones used for

Thou had'st much, and lawes Urim and Thummim trie  
 Thou wouldst for more; and for all hast paper  
 Enough to cloath all the great Carricks Pepper.  
 Sell that, and by that thou much more shalt leese,  
 Then Haman, when he sold his Antiquities.<sup>18</sup>

"Haman" is meaningless if the Biblical figure is meant.

This reading is more than likely a hangover from a Urim-Purim assonantal perseverance from line 83. The correct reading, as shown by all the early editions except 1633, and all the manuscripts, is "Hammon" or "Hammond".

Grierson attempts to link him with John Hammond, the civilist, but can give no reason.<sup>19</sup> It is extremely

tempting to make him the subject of the epigram "Antiquary" on the basis of one manuscript reading,<sup>20</sup> but there is another extremely possible reference, as has already been mentioned under the Cadiz journey. Certainly the meaning of the lines is kept by this reference, as is shown by Stow's account:

There was also a Lieutenant that had taken  
 His name <sup>was</sup> Ham- <sup>sixtie</sup> pounds to discharge men that were pressed  
 mon. in Wales, hee was disarmed by Proclamation, and  
 adiudged to repay the money, and banished the  
 Army.<sup>21</sup>

Donne was certainly not above a pun on the word "ancient" in reference to soldiers, especially as he had, in line 83 made a pun that no one but Donne would ever have thought of. There he used Urim and Thummim in their extremely abstruse meaning as the two stones used for taking lots (as in the story of Saul and Jonathan). What the line means is that the man satirized had much but would throw dice for more. Until someone can discover an antiquarian named Hammond who sold everything he had in 1597 or 1598, I think this explanation will stand.

If the reasoning in the foregoing paragraphs is correct, the date of this Satyre is narrowed down considerably. It would tend to indicate a strong possibility of Donne's entering Egerton's service during the

winter between the two Essex trips, for the reference to Hammond is not one likely to remain in Donne's mind for a very long period. If this was not the case, it was certainly written either late in 1597 or early in 1598, making a period of service with Cecil very unlikely. As I have said earlier, although the weight of evidence certainly favors Donne's service with Egerton beginning almost immediately after his return to England in October 1597, or earlier, there is always the possibility of his working for Cecil during the spring of 1598. Yet, when Donne wrote to Egerton on March 1, 1602, seeking reëmployment after his marriage scandal, I think we can take quite literally his claim, "I was four years your Lordship's secretary, not dishonest nor greedy."<sup>22</sup>

Satyre V, although a keen satire, is in marked contrast to those we have considered before. As Donne wrote in opening,

Thou shalt not laugh in this leafe, Muse, nor they  
Whom any pittie warmes; He which did lay  
Rules to make Courtiers, (hee being understood  
May make good Courtiers, but who Courtiers good?)  
Frees from the sting of jests all who in extreme  
Are wreched or wicked: of these two a theame  
Charity and liberty give me.<sup>23</sup>

This Satyre does not fall under his later condemnation as much as the others.

No man is a good Counsellor, for all his wisdome,  
and for all his liberty of speech, except he love

the person whom he counsels: If he do not wish him well, as well as tell him his faults, he is rather a Satyrist, and a Calumniator, and seeks to vent his own wisdom, and to exercise his authority, then a good Counsellor.<sup>24.</sup>

Even his images are a foretaste of the familiar dust and worms which appear in the religious poetry and sermons.

Life is a voyage, and in our lifes wayes  
 All men are dust;  
 How much worse are Suiters, who to mens lust  
 Are made preyes? O worse then dust, or wormes  
 For they do eate you now, whose selves wormes  
 If in the Furnace of the even liue, shall eate.<sup>25.</sup>

The wit is far from absent but the spirit is changing subtly. A Secretary to so great a man as the Lord Keeper must needs adopt a more serious rôle than the self-sufficient hanger-on in court circles. Even a more serious statement on religious principles seemed called for, and Satyre III seems to come from the same period and is conceived in the same mood. Here,

Kinde pittie chokes my spleene; brave scorn forbids  
 Those teares to issue which swell my eye-lids;  
 I must not laugh, nor weepe sinnes, and be wise,  
 Can railing then cure these worne maladies?<sup>26.</sup>

The late date of composition for this Satyre seems almost positive, for the section I have quoted before almost demands a post-Azores date of composition:

Dar'st thou ayd mutinous Dutch, and dar'st thou  
 Thee in ships wooden Sepulchers, a prey

To leaders rage, to stormes, to shot, to dearth?  
 Dar'st thou dive seas, and dungeons of the earth?  
 Hast thou couragious fire to thaw the ice  
 Of frozen North discoueries?<sup>27</sup>

The whole passage seems of nearly identical date with  
 the "country-town" letter to Wotton:

Life is a voyage, and in our lifes wayes  
 Countries, Courts, Towns are Rockes, or Remoraes;  
 They breake or stop all ships, yet our state's  
 Tender to him, beinge tender, as wards such,  
 That though then pitch they staine worse, wee  
 must touch.  
 If in the furnace of the even line,  
 Or under th'adverse icy poles thou pine,  
 Thou know'st two temperate Regions girded in,  
 Dwell there: But Oh, what refuge canst thou winne  
 Parch'd in the Court, and in the country frozen?<sup>28</sup>

As I have said, Donne had surely left the Catholic Com-  
 munion insofar as he saw it no longer as the true church.  
 But he had far from allied himself with any other group.

All denominations and sects were suspect:

Know thy foes: The foule Devill (whom thou  
 Strivest to please,) for hate, not love, would  
 allow  
 Thee faine, his whole Realme to be quit; and as  
 The worlds all parts wither away and passe,  
 So the worlds selfe, thy other lov'd foe, is  
 In her decrepit wayne, and thou loving this,  
 Dost love a withered and worne strumpet; last,  
 Flesh (it selfes death) and joyes which flesh  
 can taste,  
 Thou lovest; and thy faire goodly soule, which  
 doth  
 Give this flesh power to taste joy, thou dost  
 loath.  
 Seeke true religion. O where? Mirreus  
 Thinking her unhous'd here, and fled from us,  
 Seekes her at Rome; there, because hee doth know

That shee was there a thousand yeares agoe,  
 He loves her ragges so, as wee here obey  
 The statecloth where the Prince sate yesterday.  
 Crantz to such brave Loves will not be intrall'd,  
 But loves her onely, who at Geneva is call'd  
 Religion, plaine, simple, sullen, yong,  
 Contemptuous, yet unhansome; As among  
 Lecherous humors, there is one that judges  
 No wenches wholesome, but course country drudges.  
 Graius staves till at home here, and because  
 Some Preachers, vile ambitious bauds, and lawes  
 Still new like fashions, bid him thinke that shee  
 Which dwels with us, is onely perfect, hee  
 Imbraceth her, whom his Godfathers will  
 Tender to him, being tender, as Wards still  
 Take such wives as their Guardians offer, or  
 Pay valewes. Carelesse Phrygius doth abhorre  
 All, because all cannot be good, as one  
 Knowing some women whores, dares marry none.  
 Graccus loves all as one, and thinkes that so  
 As women do in divers countries goe  
 In divers habits, yet are still one kinde,  
 So doth, so is Religion; and this blind-  
 nesse too much light breeds.<sup>29</sup>

And yet, although he still did not see which group held  
 the Truth, he knew that a choice had to be made.

but unmoved thou  
 Of force must one, and forc'd but one allow;  
 And the right; aske thy father which is shee,  
 Let him aske his; though truth and falshood bee  
 Neare twins, yet truth a little elder is;  
 Be busie to seeke her, beleewe mee this,  
 Hee's not of none, nor worst, that seekes the best.  
 To adore, or scorne an image, or protest,  
 May all be bad; doubt wisely; in a strange way  
 To stand inquiring right, is not to stray;  
 To sleepe, or runne wrong, is.<sup>30</sup>

As a preacher he once again used this line of argument,

In the other case, of going out of the way, a  
 man may stand upon the way, and inquire, and  
 then proceed in the way, if he be right, or to  
 the way, if he be wrong; But when he is fallen





and untruths, I here most humbly and with all my heart, first of all axe the king's majesty forgiveness, and secondarily all the world.<sup>35</sup>

We must keep in mind that Heyward later returned in new strength to the Catholic Church, and Donne might well have, had not events moved him on his way towards Protestantism.<sup>36</sup> Except for his mother, and possibly his sister, Donne's family ties to the Catholic Church were gone at the beginning of this year, for, on January 9, 1598, his uncle Jasper died in Naples.

Aside from the fact that Donne wrote a good many poems during his four years with Egerton, we have little indication of what his work entailed under the Lord Keeper. Walton gives us little help except to show Donne's rather comfortable position.

Not long after his returne, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wisdom, the Lord Elsmore, Lord Keeper of the great Seale, and after Chancellor of England, taking notice of his Learning, Languages, and other abilities, and much affecting both his person and condition, received him to be his chiefe Secretarie, supposing it might be an Introduction to some more waighty employment in the State, for which his Lordship often protested he thought him very fit.

Nor did his Lordship account him so much to be his servant, as to forget hee had beene his friend; and to testifie it, hee used him alwayes with much curtesie, appointing him a place at his owne Table, unto which he esteemed his company and discourse a great ornament.<sup>37</sup>

The work was probably that of any secretary to a highly-

placed member of the court, but we may surmise that it dealt largely with foreign correspondence as well as legal work. Among other duties, he may have helped Egerton when the latter served on commissions dealing with Recusants' lands. This was to have rather important results for him in 1601, as we shall see. But for our study one of the most important results of his position was that he came to know the Elizabethan Court, which has been described as a men's club with one woman added, intimately. What he saw disgusted him. Here we must hesitate, however. Donne says it disgusted him, but did it? He tried his best to remain at court and receive preferment there. He apparently even turned down several opportunities for foreign service in order to remain in London. That there must have been much to disgust him, on moral grounds alone, is unquestioned. It was not Donne who wrote, "Maids of the Court go scarce 20 weeks with child after they are married, and every man has liberty of conscience to play the knave."<sup>38</sup> The Courtiers around the aging Queen were the target of deserved abuse from all sides. Donne, with the others, joined in the attack.

Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland  
 as the "My constancie I to the planets give;  
 My truth to them, who at the Court doe live."<sup>39</sup>

Northumberland  
 to be the "Are there not some Courts (and then, no things bee  
 So like as Courts) which, in this let us see,  
 That wits and tongues of Libellers are weake,  
 Because they do more ill, then these can speake?"<sup>40</sup>

Of the court he wrote, "Or are the most Atheists in that place, because it is the foole that said in his heart, There is no God."<sup>41</sup>. We shall notice more such remarks in the letters of this period. But the court was not always attacked; indeed, in the Sermons it is often praised: a King's Chaplain could hardly do otherwise. Like all other experiences, Donne used this for images in his poetry:

The most  
 And then wee shall be throughly blest,  
 But wee no more, then all the rest;  
 Here upon earth, we'are Kings, and none but wee  
 Can be such Kings, nor of such subjects bee.  
 Who is so safe as wee? where none can doe  
 Treason to us, except one of us two.  
 True and false feares let us refraine,  
 Let us love nobly, and live, and adde againe  
 Yeares and yeares, unto yeares, till we attaine  
 To write threescore: this is the second of our  
 raigne.<sup>42</sup>

Here Statesmen, (or of them, they which can reade,)  
 May of their occupation finde the grounds.<sup>43</sup>

She'is all States, and all Princes, I,  
 Nothing else is.  
 Princes doe but play us; compar'd to this  
 All honor's mimique; All wealth alchimie.<sup>44</sup>

The last passage introduces another important activity of this period, although it may well have begun during the winter of 1596-97. One of Essex's brothers-in-law was Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, better known as the "Wizard Earl" because of his interest in Alchemy. Northumberland was friendly enough with Donne by 1601 to be the bearer of the marriage tidings to Donne's

father-in-law. Not only did Donne gain his great interest in Alchemy from the Earl, he may also have learned much of the "New Philosophy" and astronomy from him. Be that as it may, Donne's poetry of this period and later is filled with figures from Alchemical studies.

It were but madnes now t'impart  
The skill of specular stone,  
When he which can have learn'd the art  
To cut it, can finde none.<sup>45</sup>

The most famous example is Loves Alchymie:

I have drawn upon the Songs and Sonnets for these lines:  
Some that have deeper digg'd loves Myne then I,  
Say, where his centrique happinesse doth lie:  
I have lov'd, and got, and told,  
But should I love, get, tell, till I were old,  
I should not finde that hidden mysterie;  
Oh, 'tis imposture all:  
And as no chymique yet th'Elixar got,  
But glorifies his pregnant pot,  
If by the way to him befall  
Some odoriferous thing, or medicinall,  
So, lovers dreame a rich and long delight,  
But get a winter-seeming summers night.  
Our ease, our thrift, our honor, and our day,  
Shall we, for this vaine Bubles shadow pay?  
Ends love in this, that my man,  
Can be as happy'as I can; If he can  
Endure the short scorne of a Bridegroomes play?  
That loving wretch that sweares,  
'Tis not the bodies marry, but the mindes,  
Which he in her Angelique findes,  
Would sweare as justly, that he heares,  
In that dayes rude hoarse minstralsey, the speares.  
Hope not for minde in women; at their best  
Sweetnesse and wit, they'are but Mummy, possest.<sup>46</sup>

Donne. On December 13, 1633, there was a meeting  
Another poem, of considerably later composition, draws  
an argument "that women's love is not a true  
heavily on the same subject:

credit" was treated as a certain of

Study me then, you who shall lovers bee  
 At the next world, that is, at the next Spring:  
 For I am every dead thing,  
 In whom love wrought new Alchimie.  
 For his art did expresse  
 A quintessence even from nothingnesse,  
 From dull privations, and leane emptinesse:  
 He ruin'd mee, and I am re-begot  
 Of absence, darknesse, death; things which are  
 not.  
 All others, from all things, draw all that's  
 good,  
 Life, soule, forme, spirit, whence they beeing  
 have;  
 I, by loves limbecke, am the grave  
 Of all, that's nothing.<sup>47</sup>

I have drawn upon the Songs and Sonets for these illus-  
 trations instead of going to the obviously later poems  
 to indicate the type of poems Donne seems to have concen-  
 trated on during his free moments in the years with  
 Egerton. Many of them treat women in anything but com-  
 plimentary terms, as in Communitie:

But they are ours as fruits are ours,  
 He that but tasts, he that devours,  
 And he that leaves all, doth as well:  
 Chang'd loves are but chang'd sorts of meat,  
 And when hee hath the kernell eate,  
 Who doth not fling away the shell?<sup>48</sup>

I have already suggested that many ladies of the court  
 deserved treatment of the sort. But some of this general  
 feeling was held seriously by more highly-placed men than  
 Donne. On December 28, 1598, there was a trial in which  
 an argument "that women are base creatures and of no  
 credit" was treated as a serious objection against testi-

mony.<sup>49</sup> Donne's statements are not to be taken too seriously. However, we may perhaps toy with the idea that Donne's acquaintance with the court brought with it a slight revulsion against the opposite sex that was overcome by the chaste virtues of Anne More, with whom he came in contact at his employer's house.

We now must try to place the various verse letters from these years in their proper place and examine the "Donne letters" of the Burley Manuscript. In order to do either one, we must trace Henry Wotton's movements. Except for his short journey with Cecil early in 1598, Wotton seems to have kept in close attendance upon Essex through that year and gone to Ireland late in March 1599 with the Earl's doomed expedition, returning at the end of September. He seems to have gone into the country while Essex was held in confinement at York House under Egerton's care, but we do not know for certain exactly where he was. By the end of November 1600, he had left England altogether and gone to Italy, not to return until the Spring of 1604, when his friend, James I, was on the throne.<sup>50</sup> That he had reason to give England a wide berth during this difficult period is quite understandable, for he might well have suffered the fate of Essex for his part in the Irish treaties.

We have already noted the poetic contest which took place early in 1598, to which Donne contributed a verse

letter. Once again we notice that by comparison with the other poems written in this débat, Donne's is masterly. Into it he pours his experiences at sea and at court, mixes in the theater, medicine and religion. All this is tied together by a logical examination of the issues and drawn to a conclusion. Excluding sections already quoted, the argument runs:

his wrath Shall cities, built of both extremes, be chosen?  
 Can dung and garlike be'a perfume? or can  
 A Scorpion and Torpedo cure a man?  
 Cities are worst of all three; of all three  
 (O knottie riddle) each is worst equally.  
 Cities are Sepulchers; they who dwell there  
 Are carcasses, as if no such there were.  
 And Courts are Theaters, where some men play  
 Princes, some slaves, all to one end, and of one  
 clay.

The Country is a desert, where no good,  
 Gain'd (as habits, not borne,) is understood.  
 There men become beasts, and prone to more evils;  
 In cities blockes, and in a lewd court, devills.  
 As in the first Chaos confusedly  
 Each elements qualities were in the'other three;  
 So pride, lust, covetize, being severall  
 To these three places, yet all are in all,  
 And mingled thus, their issue incestuous.  
 Falshood is denizon'd. Virtue is barbarous.  
 Where Not Let no man say there, Virtues flintie wall  
 Shall locke vice in mee, I'll do none, but know all.  
 and the Men are sponges, which to poure out, receive,  
 Who know false play, rather then lose, deceive.  
 in each For in best understandings, sinne beganne,  
 one of Angels sinn'd first, then Devills, and then man.  
 by Donne. Onely perchance beasts sinne not; wretched wee  
 Are beasts in all, but white integritie.  
 from the I thinke if men, which in these places live  
 Simpson. Durst looke for themselves, and themselves retriue,  
 They would like strangers greet themselves, seeing  
 than  
 Simpson. Utopian youth, growne old Italian.  
 of his Be thou thine owne home, and in thy selfe dwell;  
 Inne any where, continuance maketh hell.

And seeing the snaile, which every where doth  
 Carrying his owne house still, still is at home,  
 Follow (for he is easie pac'd) this snaile,  
 Bee thine owne Palace, or the world's thy gaile.  
 And in the worlds sea, do not like corke sleepe  
 Upon the waters face; nor in the deepe  
 Sinke like a lead without a line: but as  
 Fishes glide, leaving no print where they passe,  
 Nor making sound; so closely thy course goe,  
 Let men dispute, whether thou breathe, or no.<sup>51</sup>

On July 20th, he again wrote to Wotton, this time venting  
 his wrath on the court in which he found himself.

For here no one is from the 'extremitie  
 Of vice, by any other reason free,  
 But that the next to 'him, still, is worse then hee.

In this worlds warfare, they whom rugged Fate,  
 (Gods Commissary,) doth so thoroughly hate,  
 As in 'the Courts Squadron to marshall their state:

If they stand arm'd with seely honesty,  
 With wishing prayers, and neat integritie,  
 Like Indians 'gainst Spanish hosts they bee.

Suspitious boldnesse to this place belongs,  
 And to 'have as many eares as all have tongues:  
 Tender to know, tough to acknowledge wrongs.<sup>52</sup>

Where Wotton was we do not know: the break between Essex  
 and the Queen did not occur until after this time. But  
 it seems that this would have been the correct time for  
 one of the letters in the Burley MS which is definitely  
 by Donne. Like the other two it is at some distance  
 from the bulk of the letters attributed to him by Mrs.  
 Simpson. In it we discover something of Donne's opinion  
 of his earlier writings:

to be false S<sup>r</sup>. Only in obedience I send y<sup>o</sup> some of my  
 the almost paradoxes; I loue y<sup>o</sup> & myself & them to well  
 a lesson to send them willingly for they carry w<sup>th</sup> them  
 He says, & my shame. but indeed they were made rather  
 to deceaue tyme then her daught<sup>r</sup> truth:  
 although they haue beene written in an age  
 when any thing is strong enough to overthrow  
 her: if they make y<sup>o</sup> to find better reasons  
 against them they do there office: for they  
 are but swaggerers: quiet enough if y<sup>o</sup> resist  
 them. if perchaunce they be pretyly guilt, y<sup>t</sup>  
 is there best for they are not hatcht: they  
 are rather alarums to truth to arme her then  
 enemies: & they have only this advantag to  
 scape from being caled ill things y<sup>t</sup> they are  
 nothings: therefore take heed of allowing any  
 of them least y<sup>o</sup> make another. yet S<sup>r</sup> though  
 I know there low price except I receue by y<sup>r</sup>  
 next lett<sup>r</sup> an assurance vpon the religion of  
 y<sup>r</sup> frendship y<sup>t</sup> no cobby shalbee taken for  
 any respect of these or any other my compo-  
 sitions sent to y<sup>o</sup>, I shall sinn against my  
 conscience if I send y<sup>o</sup> any more. I speake  
 y<sup>t</sup> in playnes w<sup>ch</sup> becomes (methinks) o<sup>r</sup>  
 honestyes; & therefore call not this a dis-  
 trustfull but a free spirit: I meane to  
 acquaint y<sup>o</sup> w<sup>th</sup> all myne: and to my satyrs  
 in Satyre there belongs some feare & to some elegies &  
 these perhaps shame. against both w<sup>ch</sup> affect-  
 The letter ions although I be tough enough yet I haue a  
 friends, a ridling disposition to bee ashamed of feare &  
 in the case afrayd of shame. therefore I am desirous to  
 hyde them w<sup>th</sup> out any over reconing of them or  
 there maker.<sup>53</sup>

Whatever the date of  
 The fact that this letter is followed by a group of  
 Donne's Paradoxes, against the warning of the writer,  
 assures the identity of the writer, but it really gives  
 no help at all with the receiver. "I meane to acquaint  
 you with all myne" certainly seems to show that Donne  
 had not been close enough to his correspondent for many  
 years, if ever, to show him his work, and we know that

to be false as regards Wotton. Moreover, we again face the almost insurmountable obstacle of having Donne giving a lesson in Italian literature to the better-versed Wotton. He says,

I am sorry y<sup>o</sup> should (w<sup>th</sup> any great earnestnes) desyre any thing of P Aretius not y<sup>t</sup> he could infect; but y<sup>t</sup> it seemes y<sup>o</sup> are already infected w<sup>th</sup> the common opinion of him: beleeeue me he is much lesse then his fame & was to well payd by y<sup>e</sup> Roman church in y<sup>t</sup> coyne w<sup>ch</sup> he coveted most where his bookes were by the counsell of Trent forbidden w<sup>ch</sup> if they had beene permitted to haue beene worne by all long ere this had beene worne out: his divinyty was but a sirrops to enwrapp his prophane bookes to get them passage yet in these bookes w<sup>ch</sup> haue devine titles there is least harme as in his letters most good his others haue no other singularyty in them but that they are forbidden.<sup>54.</sup>

That Donne was well-acquainted with Aretine is revealed in Satyre IIII: "Aretines pictures have made few chast." The letter may well have been written to one of Wotton's friends, the copy making its way into Wotton's hands, as is the case with several other letters in this collection. Whatever the date of the letter, it in no way indicates a late date for the enclosed Paradoxes. In fact, the letter seems to indicate that Donne is showing his correspondent all of his work, Paradoxes, Satyres, and Elegies, perhaps in order of composition.<sup>55.</sup>

The year 1598 seems to have been a busy year for Donne in the composition of verse letters, and Wotton was not the only recipient. Donne had kept up his

friendship with Rowland Woodward, and they appear to have carried on quite a full correspondence in verse. The letter apparently most easily dated may be deceptive:

All newes I thinke sooner reach thee then mee;  
 Havens are Heavens, and Ships wing'd Angels be,  
 The which both Gospell, and sterne threatnings  
 bring;  
 Guyanaes harvest is nip'd in the spring,  
 I feare; And with us (me thinkes) Fate deales so  
 As with the Jewes guide God did; he did show  
 Him the rich land, but bar'd his entry in:  
 Oh, slownes is our punishment and sinne.  
 Perchance, these Spanish businesse being done,  
 Which as the Earth betweene the Moone and Sun  
 Eclipse the light which Guyana would give,  
 Our discontinued hopes we shall retriue:  
 But if (as all th'All must) hopes smooke away,  
 Is not Almightye Vertue'an India?<sup>56</sup>

As Grierson indicated, the "Spanish businesse" seems to have been the move on the part of the Cecils to work for peace with Spain. Essex was all for war and an English invasion of settlers to Guiana. Sir John Gilbert was preparing a fleet of 13 ships for such a measure.<sup>57</sup>

Donne had shown an interest in the new found lands for some time, ~~and had considered taking a position either in the West or in some other foreign land before and during his service with Egerton.~~ By 1609 he was seeking to be made Secretary of Virginia. The difficulty with the 1598 dating for the letter is in the location of Woodward. We simply do not know of his whereabouts until he turned up in Venice with Wotton. The letter seems to be addressed to someone outside of London, in

some seaport town where good news (Gospell) and warnings arrived quickly. That it is not Venice, thus indicating a much later date, is shown earlier.

So thy retyrings I love, yea envie,  
 Bred in thee by a wise melancholy,  
 That I rejoyce, that unto where thou art,  
 Though I stay here, I can thus send my heart.<sup>58</sup>

No one was in a "retired" position in that busy place. The "heaven-haven" appears to have been some one of the small ports on the English coast, close enough to London to guarantee a reasonably easy and frequent correspondence.

At least two other letters to Woodward seem to date from approximately this time, although they may be earlier, in the winter of 1596-97. One I have already quoted in part, dealing with Donne's change in poetic style. But religion plays the master role here, combining with his new mood of endangered virtue. The themes are similar to those in the verses to Wotton, but couched in different terms and style.

Since shee to few, yet to too many'hath showne  
 How love-song weeds, and Satyrique thornes are  
 growne

Where seeds of better Arts, were early sown.

Though to use, and love Poëtrie, to mee,  
 Betroth'd to no'one Art, be no'adulterie;  
 Omissions of good, ill, as ill deeds bee.

For though to us it seeme,'and be light and thinne,  
 Yet in those faithfull scales, where God throwes in  
 Mens workes, vanity weighs as much as sinne.

If our Soules have stain'd their first white,<sup>write</sup>  
 yet wee  
 May cloth them with faith, and deare honestie,  
 Which God imputes, as native puritie.

There is no Vertue, but Religion:  
 Wise, valiant, sober, just, are names, which none  
 Want, which want not Vice-covering discretion.

Seeke wee then our selves in our selves; for as  
 Men force the Sunne with much more force to passe  
 Surely th By gathering his beames with a christall glasse;<sup>59.</sup>

So wee, If wee into our selves will turne,  
 out of wh Blowing our sparkes of vertue, may outburne  
 he was wi The straw, which doth about our hearts sojourne.

You know, Physitians, when they would infuse  
 affective Into any'oyle, the Soules of Simples, use  
 Places, where they may lie still warme, to chuse.

So workes retirednesse in us; To rome  
 Giddily, and be every where, but at home,<sup>60.</sup>  
 Such freedome doth a banishment become.

From most of the letters of this year the reader gets the  
 feeling that Donne had had enough of travelling for a  
 while. In the first letter to Woodward, he had ended  
 up with his favorite microcosm:

The  
 from the  
 he is at the  
 If men be worlds, there is in every one  
 Some thing to answere in some proportion  
 All the worlds riches: And in good men, this,  
 Vertue, our formes forme and soules soule, is.<sup>61.</sup>

In the third he began with it:

The last  
 Kindly I envy thy songs perfection  
 Built of all th'elements as our bodyes are:  
 That Little of earth that is in it, is a faire  
 Delicious garden where all sweetes are sowne.  
 In it is cherishing fyre which dryes in mee  
 Griefe which did drowne me: and halfe quench'd  
 by it

However, the Are satirique fyres which urg'd me to have writt  
 In skorne of all: for now I admyre thee.  
 And as Ayre doth fullfill the hollownes  
 Of rotten walls; so it myne emptines;  
 Where tost and mov'd it did beget this sound  
 Which as a lame Eccho of thyne doth rebound.  
 Oh, I was dead; but since thy song new Life  
 did give,  
 I recreated, even by thy creature, live.<sup>62.</sup>

and led ultimately to Essex's untimely death. Donne  
 Surely this echo is the most tortured of Donne's images,  
 and Wotton kept up their correspondence, mainly in  
 out of which he just barely manages to escape. By 1624  
 prose, but communication lines proved faulty, and Donne  
 he was willing to treat an Echo more simply and more  
 complained of neglect:  
 effectively.

Went you to conquer? and have so much lost  
 The Scriptures are Gods Voyce; The Church is  
 his Eccho; a redoubling, a repeating of some  
 particular syllables, and accents of the same  
 voice. And as we harken with some earnest-  
 nesse, and some admiration at an Eccho, when  
 perchance we doe not understand the voice that  
 occasioned that Eccho; so doe the obedient  
 children of God apply themselves to the Eccho  
 of his Church, when perchance otherwise, they  
 would lesse understand the voice of God, in  
 his Scriptures, if that voice were not so re-  
 doubled unto them.<sup>63.</sup>

Lett not your soule let first with graces fill'd,  
 And since, and thorough crooked lymbecks, still'd  
 The remaining two letters to Woodward may also date  
 from the Egerton period, for they seem to be to him while  
 he is at the same small port:  
 or a weare art  
 Nor such as from the brayne come, but the hart.<sup>64.</sup>

Or art thou parted from the world and mee,  
 In a good skorn of the worlds vanitee?<sup>64.</sup>

possible his having written number 2 of the Serles letters:  
 The last is obviously in answer to one from Woodward:

In y<sup>e</sup> whole fortune you have not adventured  
 Myse not that by thy mind thy body is led:  
 For by thy mind, my mind's distempered.<sup>65.</sup>  
 There can bee done found we may then say self;

However, they may date from 1603, when Donne seems to have written several letters to Rowland's brother Thomas.

At the end of March 1599, Essex left for Ireland with Wotton and a great number of the Nobility. Begun with glory, the expedition ended in miserable failure and led ultimately to Essex's untimely death. Donne and Wotton kept up their correspondence, mainly in prose, but communication lines proved faulty, and Donne complained of neglect:

Went you to conquer? and have so much lost  
 Yourself, that what in you was best and most,  
 Respective friendship, should so quickly dye?  
 In publique gaine my share 'is not such that I  
 Would lose your love for Ireland: better cheap  
 I pardon death (who though he do not reap  
 Yet gleanes hee many of our frends away)  
 Then that your waking mind should bee a prey  
 To lethargies. Lett shott, and boggs, and  
 skeines  
 With bodies deale, as fate bids and restreyne;  
 Ere sicknesses attack, yong death is best,  
 Who payes before his death doth scape arrest.  
 Lett not your soule (at first with graces fill'd,  
 And since, and thorough crooked lymbecks, still'd  
 In many schools and courts, which quicken it,)  
 It self unto the Irish negligence submit.  
 I aske not labored letters which should weare  
 Long papers out: nor letters which should feare  
 Dishonest carriage: or a seers art:  
 Nor such as from the brayne come, but the hart.<sup>66</sup>.

It is Donne's careful use of the word "glean" that makes possible his having written number 2 of the Burley letters:

Sr. In y<sup>r</sup> whole fortune you haue not adventured  
 so much, nor throwne y<sup>r</sup> self into so great  
 daungers as by descending into my frendship:  
 there can bee none found weaker then my self;

the letter yet I haue alwayes beene either so strong or  
 stubborne against any assault of fortune,  
 friends, that shee hath rather pickt quarrells w<sup>th</sup> my  
 frends then w<sup>th</sup> my self & so in y<sup>t</sup> Irel: &  
 at this Eng: & in other corners of y<sup>e</sup> world:  
 shee hath gleaned lately many of my deerest  
 immediate frends as though it were fault enough to loue  
 me: but S<sup>r</sup> my frendship cannot bee accessary  
 York House to any such misfortune in you.<sup>67</sup>

leader a prisoner, no matter how long  
 The recipient of the letter is someone that Wotton had  
 been odd. It gave him an opportunity  
 introduced to the writer either in person or by letter.  
 not soon forget.

I dare not doubt but that at y<sup>r</sup> retorne y<sup>o</sup>  
 wilbe content y<sup>t</sup> I see you & to giue me some  
 knowledg thereof if y<sup>o</sup> come into o<sup>r</sup> parts y<sup>t</sup>  
 I may (if in no other worthines) yet in shew-  
 ing my loue to y<sup>o</sup> iustify y<sup>t</sup> conceit w<sup>ch</sup>  
 through m<sup>r</sup> W. you disdain not to embrace of  
 me. w<sup>ch</sup> I would faine y<sup>t</sup> I could tell y<sup>o</sup> here  
 in Eng: for in Ir: tis against y<sup>r</sup> discretions  
 to beleue any thinge. S<sup>r</sup> amongst all y<sup>r</sup>  
 There are oldest frends you haue none more gladder y<sup>r</sup>  
 loue then I & this youth of my frendship hath  
 date from such strenght y<sup>t</sup> I hope it shall grow to haue  
 3 and 6<sup>71</sup>. experience w<sup>th</sup> yours & so full of a thankfull  
 desire to see you I rest.<sup>68</sup>

writer of Number 2  
 It must be remembered, however, that the acceptance of  
 that was Wotton,  
 this letter as Donne's hinges almost completely on the  
 upon Essex's return  
 rather common word "glean", for we have no evidence of  
 has not seen the  
 Donne's having lost "many of my deerest frends" in  
 have discovered  
 "other corners of y<sup>e</sup> world." He had lost his very good  
 stances number  
 friend, young Thomas Egerton, in Ireland. It would be  
 is no in-formal  
 pleasant to suppose this letter to be the first written  
 the return of  
 to Henry Goodyer, who was knighted, along with many  
 vation which  
 others during the short stay in Ireland, but such con-  
 Number 2 gives  
 jecture borders on romance. Like most of the rest,

the letter may very well be by another of Wotton's friends.

At the end of September Essex was back and almost immediately found himself in enforced retirement at York House. Donne's feelings about seeing his former leader a prisoner, no matter how unfettered, must have been odd. It gave him an object lesson that he did not soon forget.

Upon what man wilt thou rely? upon great persons in favour with Princes? Have we not seen often, that the bed-chambers of Kings have back-doors into prisons, and that the end of that greatnesse hath beene, but to have a greater Jury to condemne them?<sup>69</sup>.

There are three of the Burley letters which apparently date from this period of Essex's confinement.<sup>70</sup> Numbers 3 and 6<sup>71</sup> cancel each other out quite effectively. The writer of Number 6 has seen his correspondent, and if that was Wotton, Donne would have seen him immediately upon Essex's return. The writer of Number 3 obviously has not seen his correspondent, for they would already have discussed missing letters. Under these circumstances Number 3 is certainly not to Wotton, and there is no internal evidence to credit it to Donne, except the remark on "the corruption of these tymes", an observation which is certainly no one man's property.

Number 6 gives more indication of being by Donne.

The opening, with its Rabelaisian reference and denunciation of the court is very like Donne:

If the w  
proof, he  
change is

Sr That loue w<sup>ch</sup> went w<sup>th</sup> you followes & overtakes & meetes you. if words seald vp in letters be like words spoken in those frosty places where they are not heard till y<sup>e</sup> next thaw they haue yet this advantage y<sup>t</sup> where they are heard they are herd only by one or such as in his iudgment they are fitt for. I am no Courtier for w<sup>th</sup>out having liued there desirously I cannot haue sin'd enough to haue deserv'd that reprobate name: I may sometymes come thither & bee no courtier as well as they may sometymes go to chapell & yet are no christians. I am there now where because I must do some evill I envy y<sup>r</sup> being in y<sup>e</sup> country not that it is a vice will make any great shew here for they liue at a far greter rate & expence of wickednes. but because I will not be vtterly out of fashion & vnsociable. I gleane such vices as the greater men (whose barnes are full) scatter yet I learne that y<sup>e</sup> learnedst in vice suffer some misery for when they haue reaped flattery or any other fault long there comes some other new vice in request wherein they are vnpracticed. only y<sup>e</sup> women are free from this charg for they are sure they cannot bee worse nor more throwne downe they haue beene.<sup>72.</sup>

The let  
1589 or  
February  
being

The news of Essex certainly could have been written by one from York House, and the identity of Wotton as the recipient of the letter seems almost positive.

The Court is not great but full of iollyty & revells & playes and as merry as if it were not sick. her m<sup>tie</sup> is well disposd & very gracious in publique to my Lo:Mountioy my lo: of Essex & his trayne are no more mist here then the Aungells w<sup>ch</sup> were cast downe from heaven nor (for anything I see) likelier to retourne. he withers still in his sicknes & plods on to his end in the same pace where y<sup>o</sup> left vs. The worst accidents of his sicknes are y<sup>t</sup> he conspires w<sup>th</sup> it & y<sup>t</sup> it is not here

beleaved. that w<sup>ch</sup> was sayd of Cato y<sup>t</sup> his  
 age vnderstood him not I feare may be averted  
 of y<sup>r</sup> lo: that he vnderstood not his age:  
 for it is a naturall weaknes of innocency.  
 That such men want lockes for themselues &  
 keyse for others.<sup>73.</sup>

If the writer of the letter was Donne, and there is no  
 proof, he may well have been impressed with the spiritual  
 change in Essex:

Let us now leave the Earle of Essex in custody  
 with the Lord Keeper: who wholly fixing his  
 cogitations upon God and divine meditations,  
 seemed to neglect all the vanities of the  
 world, such religious letters hee wrote to  
 his friends, full of piety and contempt of  
 worldly matters.<sup>74.</sup>

The letter itself must have been written in December  
 1599 or January 1600, for Montjoy left for Ireland on  
 February 8, 1600.<sup>75.</sup> The Christmas season is obviously  
 being described at any rate.

Number 7 of the Burley letters has nothing to dis-  
 tinguish it. The opening discussion of letter writing  
 could be by Donne--or by any number of other writers:

S<sup>r</sup>. Methinks y<sup>r</sup> good discretion should not  
 call ill fortunes faults. nor threaten me  
 w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>r</sup> sylence because I wanted meanes to  
 answere y<sup>r</sup> last let<sup>r</sup>. it is not an age to  
 looke for faultlesnes in y<sup>r</sup> frend it is well  
 if wee err reasonably & excusably therefore  
 if y<sup>o</sup> coole not in frendship be not loath to  
 write for letters are frendships sacraments.<sup>76.</sup>

The condemnation of the court rings a false note, however, for Donne, much as he condemned the court and city, never made the slightest hint of preferring the country.

ed, he remained near the court, becoming a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. I cannot therefore honestly persuade you to abandon y<sup>e</sup> Country because if my fortunes fitted it I should persuade y<sup>o</sup> to stay there by my exsample.<sup>77</sup>

If the letter is by Donne, he was certainly out of character. If the letter is to Wotton, it was written before November 1600, for in that month Donne's old friend chose discretion as the better part of valour and left for Italy.

It is pleasant to come at last to a letter written by Donne without any doubt. It is unfortunate that the identity of the recipient is not as clear. R. E. Bennett argues that it is Goodyer, and well it may be.<sup>78</sup> Whoever it was had written from jail a sufficient number of letters for Donne to say, "I owe you a continual tribute of letters."<sup>79</sup> What Goodyer was doing in jail on December 12, 1600, is an open question. It is possible that his following of Essex had caused his imprisonment, but there is no external evidence to go on. It is interesting that two of Donne's early letters should be to Goodyer, for the main body of his letters to the latter does not begin until at least three years later, at Pyrford. How these two men met is another one of the mysteries of Donne's life, but the opportunities were many. By November 28,

1595, at least, Goodyer was residing in Cripplegate Ward as a gentleman "of the countie of Hartford."<sup>80</sup> After serving with Essex in Ireland, where he was knighted, he remained near the court, becoming a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber under James I and serving Lucy, Countess of Bedford.<sup>81</sup> Most of his life seems to have been spent in overspending and petitioning the Monarch for more money. It may even have been financial difficulties that forced him into jail in 1600.

By December 1600 Donne's main thoughts were certainly not with his jailed friend, though. His heart had been won by the young girl who, for some time, had been in charge of the household at York House and now had left. Anne More, born in 1584, had been more or less in the charge of her aunt, the second Lady Egerton. This lady was originally Elizabeth More, Sir George More's sister. Her first marriage was to Sir John Wooley of Pyrford, and the two of them were attached to Elizabeth's court. Their son was Francis Wooley, Donne's friend and benefactor. After the death of Sir John and Egerton's first wife, Elizabeth Ravenscroft, the widow and widower were married.<sup>82</sup> Anne More seems to have been in constant company with her aunt, and when, in January 1600, Lady Egerton died, the sixteen year old girl appears to have taken over as mistress of York House. The situation was an admirable one for John and Anne,

and they appear to have made the most of it:

So long since as her being at York House this  
had foundation, and so much then of promise  
and contract built upon it as, without violence  
to conscience, might not be shaken.<sup>83</sup>

We only wish we knew more of this girl who captured the  
satiric young poet's heart. The only contemporary  
description of her is by her brother-in-law, Sir John  
Oglander, who called her "the best of women."<sup>84</sup> This  
does not give us much help, but it bears out the feelings  
one has when tracing Donne's life, of a loving, dutiful,  
and very long-suffering wife.

Undoubtedly some of the Songs and Sonets in a more  
serious vein were addressed to his young love, but as  
Egerton's secretary, Donne would have had to be very  
careful of his actions, and passing poetry was a dangerous  
game. One poem seems to me to be certainly to his young  
love, written on the first anniversary of a moment dear  
to them both, the day they first met.

All Kings, and all their favorites,  
All glory of honors, beauties, wits,  
The Sun it selfe, which makes times, as they passe,  
Is elder by a yeare, now, then it was  
When thou and I first one another saw:  
All other things, to their destruction draw,  
Only our love hath no decay;  
This, no to morrow hath, nor yesterday,  
Running it never runs from us away,  
But truly keepes his first, last, everlasting day.

Two graves must hide thine and my coarse,  
If one might, death were no divorce.

was true. Alas, as well as other Princes, wee, Spencer,  
 (Who Prince enough in one another bee,)  
 widow of Must leave at last in death, these eyes, and eares,  
 Oft fed with true oathes, and with sweet salt  
 John, would marry Frances.<sup>84</sup> Anne's reason for remain teares;  
 But soules where nothing dwells but love  
 at York Be (All other thoughts being inmates) then shall prove  
 This, or a love increased there above,  
 at Loseley When bodies to their graves, soules from their  
 graves remove.  
 their love, however. Walton, in tracing the affair.

And then wee shall be throughly blest,  
 gives what But wee no more, then all the rest;  
 Here upon earth, we'are Kings, and none but wee  
 Donne's f Can be such Kings, nor of such subjects bee.  
 Who is so safe as wee? where none can doe  
 Treason to us, except one of us two.  
 True and false feares let us refraine,  
 Let us love nobly, and live, and adde againe  
 Yeares and yeares unto yeares, till we attaine  
 To write threescore: this is the second of our  
 a liking, as (with her approbation) the raigne.<sup>85</sup>  
 into a love with a young Gentleman that

Others, like The Sunne Rising and The Canonization, were  
 written at least two years after the marriage, but they  
 may indicate Donne's general feelings about Anne. Poems  
 like The Extasie, great as it is, are suspect as poems  
 addressed to Anne before the marriage. I have the feeling  
 that Donne would have left out the more forthright state-  
 ments of sex in his pre-nuptial poetry under the trying  
 circumstances. Any compromising poetry, once discovered,  
 would certainly have proved fatal to the alliance.

October 1600 saw an end of this idyllic relationship,  
 however. On the 21st Chamberlain wrote, "Some say the  
 Lord Keeper has married or will marry the Countess  
 Dowager of Derby, and his son is to marry the second  
 daughter, or the Lady Strange." The first alternative

was true. That day Egerton had married Alice Spencer, widow of the Earl of Derby, and announced that his son, John, would marry Frances.<sup>86</sup> Anne's reason for remaining at York House was now gone, and she returned to her father at Loseley. The physical separation in no way destroyed their love, however. Walton, in tracing the affair, gives what was undoubtedly the viewpoint of many of Donne's friends about this "remarkable error of his life."

He continued that employment for the space of five years, being daily useful, and not mercenary to his Friends. During which time he (I dare not say unhappily) fell into such a liking, as (with her approbation) increased into a love with a young Gentlewoman that lived in that Family, who was Niece to the Lady Elsemore, and Daughter to Sir George Moor, then Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower.

Sir George had some intimation of it, and knowing prevention to be a great part of wisdom, did therefore remove her with much haste from that to his own house at Lothesley, in the County of Surry; but too late, by reason of some faithful promises which were so interchangeably passed, as never to be violated by either party.

These promises were only known to themselves, and the friends of both parties used much diligence, and many arguments to kill or cool their affections to each other: but in vain; for love is a flattering mischief, that hath denied aged and wise men a foresight of those evils that too often prove to be the children of that blind father, a passion! that carries us to commit Errors with as much ease as whirlwinds remove feathers, and begets in us an unwearied industry to the attainment of what we desire.<sup>87</sup>

At this distance it is hard to regard Donne's actions in so negative a light, for it was only one of a series of

steps which led inevitably to the ministry. During the next year the two lovers managed somehow to keep in touch with one another; just how, we do not know, but it seems more than likely that Francis Wooley was the messenger. Meanwhile, Donne had his duties as Secretary to keep him busy. He probably also made plans for his future marriage with Anne. For one thing, he needed some sort of economic security, and his own small fortune had been dissipated in books, travel, and life in London. That he continued his frequent play-going is clear from a verse letter addressed to him by Sir William Cornwallis, another of those knighted by Essex in Ireland.

What time thou mean'st to offer Idleness,  
 Come to my den, for here she always stays:  
 If then for change of hours you seem careless,  
 Agree with me to lose them at the plays.  
 Farewell, dear friend, my love, not lines respect,  
 So shall you show my friendship you affect.

The salary of the Lord Keeper's Secretary would certainly be sufficient for a single man, but marriage would bring with it greater needs, especially some capital to fall back on. The best capital would be real estate, and Donne had none. The following information may not concern our man, but there is good reason to believe that it does.

The reason for believing the John Donne to be

In the Patent Roll for 1601 (43 Elizabeth) is an entry concerning certain lands in Lincolnshire which were granted to one John Donne, gentleman. An abstract of this grant is as follows:

Letters Patent to John Donne Gent. granting at a fine of 20<sup>d</sup> and with the advice of our faithful councellors

Thomas Baron of Buckhurst, Treasurer of England.

John Fortescue Knight, Chancellor and Vice Treasurer of England.

Edward Coke, Esq. Attorney General.

Two parts of a manor of capital messuage called Uphall and appurtenances in Little Carleton, Co. Lincoln and 2 messuages or tenements, 1 cottage and diverse lands in Skiebrooke, South Somercote and North Somercote, Co. Lincoln worth annually £60 of which the said 2 parts of the manor are worth annually £40.

These lands are part of the lands and possessions of John Heyward of the parish of St. Andrew in Holborne, Co. Middlesex, Gent., Recusant, but were taken into the Queen's hands by an Inquisition held at Lincoln on 3rd April last in the presence of Thomas Grantham Esq. of the said County.

Donne to hold these premises with all appurtenances except timber, underwoods, mines and quarries for 21 years at a rent of £40 per year payable at Michaelmas and the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the Exchequer in Westminster, in equal portions.

Donne to maintain the lands, houses, edifices, hedges, ditches, etc. in good repair.

Rent to be paid within 40 days of the feasts aforesaid, etc.

Donne not to grant any part of these lands or any rents therefrom or any profits therefrom to John Hayward or his assigns or any other person not taking communion in the Church as by the form of the Statute is provided, or this grant will be null and void.

Given at Westminster 22nd. July 43 Elizabeth. 89.

The reason for believing the John Donne involved to be

our man lies in the grant itself. This Donne must have been well enough known to the persons involved to need no other identification. In fact, to identify the man as the Secretary of the Lord Keeper would have been foolhardy, as the grant would have been politically suspect. Donne was in frequent contact with all the Councillors involved in many actions of just this type of transfer of land. In fact, the absence of the Lord Keeper's name from the entry may be another indication of care to keep any sign of favoritism from entering into the action. We have already noticed that Egerton usually was on the council that handled such transfers. Naturally, there is no real proof that it is our John Donne, and the fact that we have no other evidence of his having been a landholder argues against such an identification. There may be two reasons for this. Donne would, or should, certainly not have been proud of receiving Recusant land after his own religious background. To change one's religious beliefs is certainly no crime, although Donne satirized such a change rather harshly in his Paradox on old men. But to make personal profit from one's former fellow-believers was scarcely creditable. It is easier to believe Donne capable of such an action when we consider his actions in later life where money was concerned, as in his dealings with his son-in-law Edward Alleyn and his selling of pews in

St. Dunstan's for his own income. The other reason for our having no other record of this property transaction may be the usual result of his being imprisoned in the Fleet Prison the next winter. As William Empson has pointed out, prisoners in the Fleet quite often came out quite broken financially, for all their affairs were looked into closely.<sup>90</sup> If there was any evidence of Donne's helping his mother, for instance, the terms of the grant would have been broken; and under the circumstances Donne would have received no help from the Lord Keeper. There is, of course, the possibility that Donne kept these lands quietly in his possession, thus explaining his later preferment to parishes in the diocese of Lincoln. The income on the property involved would not have been very great and may have supplied some private spending money for Donne while he was accepting the generous hospitality of Francis Wooley for the years immediately following the marriage with Anne.

August 16, 1601 witnessed the beginning of Donne's first real attempt at being a "poet" in the larger sense. Up to this time he had written some love poetry and indulged in satiric stabs at his contemporaries, "in the Roman style." These, as well as the verse letters, were expected of him by his friends who were engaged in the same activity. Indeed, it would be difficult to show

that Donne had any great inner compulsion to write poetry. Even now, in 1601, he was nearly the only one of his group not to have attempted some large scale work or publication. Thomas Freeman's 1614 epigram might very well have been the feeling of Donne's friends in 1601:

The Storme describ'd, hath set thy name afloate,  
Thy Calme, a gale of famous winde hath got:  
Thy Satyres short, too soone we them o'relooke,  
I prethe Persius write a bigger booke.<sup>91</sup>

Whatever the reason, Donne set about in a workmanlike way, beginning with an "Epistle". The poem itself traces the progress of the evil spirit in the apple of the forbidden tree through various bodies to Themech, "Sister and wife to Caine, Caine that first did plow."<sup>92</sup> Here the poem breaks off. Ben Jonson told Drummond what Donne's original plan had been.

The conceit of Dones Transformation or *ΜΕΤΕΜΨΥΧΩΣΙΣ* was that he sought the soule of that aple which Eve pulled and thereafter made it the soule of a bitch, then of a shee wolf, and so of a woman; his generall purpose was to have brought in all the bodies of the Hereticks from the soule of Cain, and at last left in the bodie of Calvin. Of this he never wrotte but one sheet, and now, since he was made Doctor, repenteth highlie and seeketh to destroy all his poems.<sup>93</sup>

That Jonson's description of the plan was incorrect is obvious from stanzas VI and VII:

But if my dayes be long, and good enough,  
In vaine this sea shall enlarge, or enrough





resolv'd in his owne dung, especially that hath passed many transformations, from shape to shape, from sin to sin, (he hath beene a Salamander and lived in the fire, in the fire successively, in the fire of lust in his youth, and in his age in the fire of Ambition; and then he hath beene a Serpent, a Fish, and lived in the waters, in the water successively, in the troubled water of sedition in his youth, and in his age in the cold waters of indevotion) how shall we raise this Salamander and this Serpent, when this Serpent and this Salamander is all one person, and must have contrary musique to charme him, contary physick to cure him?<sup>97</sup>.

But there were other and more obvious reasons for failing to finish his work. For one thing, his clandestine marriage with Anne required a good deal of planning to escape detection, for his future father-in-law was not an easy man to deceive. On Tuesday, October 27th, the last of the Parliaments under Elizabeth met. It was during the next month that the arrangements for the wedding ceremony were completed, for Anne had come to town with her father while he took his usual seat in the Commons. Donne said,

At her lyeing in town this last Parliamt<sup>t</sup>, I  
found meanes to see her twice or thrice.<sup>98</sup>

There is evidence, as shown by Mr. I. A. Shapiro,<sup>99</sup> that Donne was also a member of this Parliament. In the Returns of Members of Parliament (Part I, p. 739), under Brackley, Northants., are the names of Edward Mountagu, esq., and John Dunn, esq. The date of the Return was October 1st.

Mr. Shapiro has shown that this Borough would have been at the Lord Keeper's disposal through his new step-daughter--daughter-in-law. Part of Mr. Shapiro's reasoning, however, has a certain weakness. He argues, quite logically, that Egerton would like to have one of his men in the Commons to follow the debates while he took over his duties in the House of Lords. But, according to Heyward Townshend, one of the reporters of that Parliament, there was a secretary of Egerton already there,

So, as they were naming Committees, Mr. Downold the Lord-Keeper's Secretary, stood up; and desired, That the Bill Mr. Hide called for, might be Read: and was saying somewhat more.

But Mr. Speaker interrupted him, and said: I pray you let us name Committees, and then you may Spake. And so they went to Naming of Committees. And Mr. Secretary Cecil, a little while after, spake something in Mr. Speaker's Ear. But so soon as time and place of Commitment was named, the Speaker rose without further Hearing of Mr. Downold, which he took in great disgrace, and told him, He would complain of him the next Sitting; to which the Speaker Answered not one word, but looked earnestly on him; and so the Press of People parted them.<sup>100.</sup>

In this same volume, in the lists of members, "Johannes Downe" is listed as "Armiger," but this proves nothing, as the compiler of the list obviously used the term lightly. More important evidence is the fact that Townshend was at Lincoln's Inn with Donne and used every opportunity in this record to point up the actions of Lincoln's Inn men

in Commons as well as to show his acquaintances. Donne appears nowhere, nor does he in the Commons Journal. The "Mr. Dunn" in Sir Simonds D'Ewes' account is obviously Dr. Daniel Dunn, not our man.<sup>101</sup> If Donne was a member of this Parliament, he certainly took no active part, making no speeches and serving on no committees. Nor did he ever refer to his membership, even when he later served in this capacity in 1614.

The 5th of December certainly did not find Donne in Westminster, for on that day he married Anne, where, we do not know.

We both knew the obligac'ons that lay upon us, and we adventurd equally, and about three weeks before Christmas we married. And as at the doinge, there were not usd above fyve persons, of w<sup>ch</sup> I protest to yo<sup>w</sup> by my salvation, there was not one that had any dependence or relation to yo<sup>w</sup>, so in all the passage of it did I forbear to use any suche person, who by furtheringe of yt might violate any trust or duty towards yo<sup>w</sup>.<sup>102</sup>

We know the identity of four of the five present. Besides John and Anne, there were the two Brooke brothers. Samuel, who had received his M. A. from Trinity College in 1598 and was ordained Deacon and Priest at Peterborough on December 23, 1599, performed the ceremony, and Christopher gave Anne away. Who the fifth person was will probably always remain unknown. It could have been Rowland Woodward or even Henry Goodyer, to whom Donne

wrote soon after his release from prison. Gosse's guess that it was Francis Wooley is specifically denied by Donne, and it seems very unlikely that it was Donne's mother, who would not have agreed with a Protestant ceremony.

On December 19th Parliament was dissolved, and Anne returned to Loseley with her father, who still knew nothing of what had happened. Walton described all of the events that followed, in somewhat inaccurate detail.

And such an Industry did, notwithstanding much watchfulness against it, bring them secretly together (I forbear to tell the manner how) and at last to a marriage too, without the allowance of those friends, whose approbation always was, and ever will be necessary, to make even a vertuous love become lawful.

And that the knowledge of their marriage might not fall, like an unexpected tempest, on those that were unwilling to have it so: and, that preapprehensions might make it the less enormous, when it was known: it was purposely whispered into the ears of many that it was so, yet by none that could affirm it. But, to put a period to the jealousies of Sir George (Doubt often begetting more restless thoughts than the certain knowledge of what we fear) the news was in favour to Mr. Donne, and with his allowance, made known to Sir George, by his honourable friend and neighbour Henry Earl of Northumberland: but it was to Sir George so immeasurably unwelcome, and, so transported him; that as though his passion of anger and inconsideration, might exceed theirs of love and error, he presently engaged his Sister the Lady Elsemore, to join with him to procure her Lord to discharge Mr. Donne of the place he held under his Lordship.--This request was followed with violence; and though Sir George were remembred, that Errors might be over-punished, and desired therefore to forbear till second considerations might clear scruples: yet,

he became restless until his suit was granted, and the punishment executed. And though the Lord Chancellor did not at Mr. Donnes dismissal, give him such a Commendation as the great Emperour Charles the fifth, did of his Secretary Eraso, when he presented him to his Son and Successor Philip the Second, saying, That in his Eraso, he gave to him a greater gift then all his Estate, and all the Kingdoms which he then resigned to him: yet the Lord Chancellor said, He parted with a Friend; and such a Secretary as was fitter to serve a King then a Subject.

Immediately after his dismissal from his service, he sent a sad Letter to his Wife, to acquaint her with it: and, after the subscription of his name, writ,

John Donne, Anne Donne, Vn-done,<sup>103.</sup>  
and God knows it proved too true.

For this bitter Physick of Mr. Donnes dismissal was not strong enough to purge out all Sir George's choler; for, he was not satisfied till Mr. Donne and his sometime Compupil in Cambridge that married him; namely, Samuel Brook (who was after Doctor in Divinity, and Master of Trinity Colledge) and his brother Mr. Christopher Brook, sometime Mr. Donnes Chamber-fellow in Lincolns-Inn, who gave Mr. Donne his Wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed, to three several prisons.<sup>104.</sup>

We can only surmise that Donne waited two months to announce the wedding to his father-in-law because he was looking for a proper go-between. Again Gosse is mistaken about the lack of appropriateness in using the Earl of Northumberland.<sup>105.</sup> As shown by several letters in the Loseley papers, Northumberland was quite friendly with More,<sup>106</sup> and he was certainly the highest-ranking of Donne's close friends. The letter which the Earl carried with him on February 2nd was as tactful as possible under the circumstances:

The reasons why I did not foreacquaint yo<sup>w</sup> w<sup>th</sup>

it (to deale w<sup>th</sup> the same plainnes that I have used) were these. I knew my p'sent estate lesse then fitt for her, I knew (yet I knew not why) that I stood not right in yo<sup>r</sup> opinion. I knew that to have given any intimac'on of yt had been to impossibilitate the whole matt<sup>r</sup>. And then having these honest purposes in o<sup>r</sup> harts, and those fetters in o<sup>r</sup> consciences, me thinks we should be pardoned, if o<sup>r</sup> fault be but this, that wee did not, by fore-revealinge of yt, consent to o<sup>r</sup> hindrance and torment. S<sup>r</sup>, I acknowledge my fault to be so great, as I dare scarce offer any other prayer to yo<sup>w</sup> in myne own behalf then this, to beleve this truthe, that I neyth<sup>r</sup> had dishonest end nor meanes. But for her whom I tender much more then my fortunes or lyfe (els I woould I might neyth<sup>r</sup> joy in this lyfe, nor enjoy the next), I humbly beg of yo<sup>w</sup> that she may not to her danger feele the terror of yo<sup>r</sup> sodaine anger. I know this letter shall find yo<sup>w</sup> full of passion; but I know no passion can alter yo<sup>r</sup> reason and wisdome, to w<sup>ch</sup> I adventure to com'end these particulers; that yt is irremediably donne; that if yo<sup>w</sup> incense my L. yo<sup>w</sup> destroy her and me; that yt is easye to give us happines, and that my endeavors and industrie, if it please yo<sup>w</sup> to prosper them, may soone make me somewhat worthyer of her. If any take the advantage of yo<sup>r</sup> displeasure against me, and fill yo<sup>w</sup> with ill thoughts of me, my comfort is, that yo<sup>w</sup> know that fayth and thanks are due to them onely, that speak when theyr informac'ons might do good; w<sup>ch</sup> now yt cannot work towards any party. For my excuse I can say nothing, except I knew what were sayd to yo<sup>w</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>, I have truly told yo<sup>w</sup> this matt<sup>r</sup>, and I humbly beseeche yo<sup>w</sup> so to deale in y<sup>t</sup> as the persuasions of Nature, Reason, Wisdome, and Christianity shall inform yo<sup>w</sup>; and to accept the voews of one whom yo<sup>w</sup> may now rayse or scatter, w<sup>ch</sup> are that as my love ys directed unchangeably upon her, so all my labors shall concur to her contentment, and to show my humble obedience to yo<sup>r</sup> self.<sup>107.</sup>

Sir George More's reaction was greater than even Donne had expected. Using his influence with the Lord Keeper, More had Donne removed from his position and, on the 10th,

sent to the Fleet Prison for breaking both Canon and Civil Law: Anne was under age and her father's permission had not been granted. Meanwhile the two Brookes were put in Marshalsea Prison for helping with the marriage. If Donne had been as perfect a secretary as Walton says he was, Egerton's somewhat ready agreement with More and his later unwillingness to rehire Donne seems a trifle strange. Francis Osborne, who was sufficiently involved in court circles to get inside information, puts a slightly different slant on the affair:

It is not safe for a Secretary to mend the Copy his Master hath set him, unless owned as from his former inspirations, lest he should grow jealous that you valued your conceptions before his; who measures his Sufficiency by the latitude of his Employment, not the depth of his natural Parts. This made the Lord Chancellor Egerton the willinger to exchange incomparable Doctor D. for the less sufficient, though in this more modest, Mr. J. B.<sup>108</sup>.

Osborne's testimony is certainly not conclusive, as has been shown many times, but it is indicative and believable in Donne's case. The J. B. who succeeded Donne was John Bond, one of Donne's associates in the gatherings at the Mermaid Tavern in later years.<sup>109</sup>

The day after he was imprisoned, Donne began his series of letters to his father-in-law and the Lord Keeper. He had contracted an illness upon his entering prison, one which heralded the many such illnesses which plagued as

well as shortened his life. For such an attack to strike an otherwise seemingly healthy and strong man with such force and to repeat itself periodically at moments of great emotional strain almost forces a student of Donne to recognize a certain amount of psychological foundation for Donne's sickness. In his letter to More on February 11th, Donne defends himself against possible attacks:

The inward accusacions in my conscience, that I have offended yo' beyond any ability of redeeming yt by me, and the feeling of my Lord's heavy displeasure followyng yt, forceth me to wright, though I know my fault make my l'rs very ungracious to yo<sup>w</sup>. Allmighty God, whom I call to witnesse that all my grieffe ys that I have in this manner offended yo<sup>w</sup> and him, direct yo<sup>w</sup> to beleeve that w<sup>ch</sup> owt of an humble and afflicted hart I now wright to yo<sup>w</sup>. And since we have no meanes to move God, when he wyll not hear o<sup>r</sup> prayers, to hear them, but by prayeng, I humbly bessech yo<sup>w</sup> to allow by his gracious example, my penitence so good entertainm't, as yt may have a beeliefe and a pittie. Of nothinge in this one fault that I hear sayd to me, can I disculpe myselfe, but of the contemptuous and despightfull purpose towards yo<sup>w</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> I hear ys surmised against me. But for my dutifull regard to my late lady, for my religion, and for my lyfe, I refer my selfe to them that may have observed them. I humbly beseech yo<sup>w</sup> to take of these waytes, and to put my fault into the balance alone, as yt was donne w<sup>th</sup> out the addicon of these yll reports, and though then yt wyll be to heavy for me, yett then yt wyll less grieve yo<sup>w</sup> to pardon yt. How litle and how short the comfort and pleasure of destroyeng ys, I know yo<sup>r</sup> wisdome and religion informs yo<sup>w</sup>. And though perchance yo<sup>w</sup> intend not utter destruction, yett the way through w<sup>ch</sup> I fall towards yt is so headlong, that beeing thus push'd, I shall soone be at bottome, for yt pleaseth God, from whom I

acknowledge the punishm't to be just, to accompany my other ylls with so much sicknes as I have no refuge but that of mercy, w<sup>ch</sup> I beg of him, my L., and yo<sup>w</sup>...<sup>110</sup>.

One would gather that there was some basis for the rumour that Donne did not get along too well with More's sister, the second Lady Egerton, for the other two rumours certainly did not lack foundation. We also learn something of Donne's reputation from the apparent eagerness of some parties to hurt his cause. Donne's satiric attacks on women as well as his mock dramatic experiences were common court property. Moreover, he had never made any definite move to show that he had left the Catholic Church permanently. Of the two, the second was the more dangerous argument in the Elizabethan court. What Donne says of his own moral life is, as I have indicated, probably quite true. Donne wrote of the effect of his marriage on his life in his Essays in Divinity:

Thou hast delivered me, O God, from the Egypt of confidence and presumption, by interrupting my fortunes, and intercepting my hopes; And from the Egypt of despair by contemplation of thine abundant treasures, and my portion therein; from the Egypt of lust, by confining my affections; and from the monstrous and unnaturall Egypt of painfull and wearisome idleness, by the necessities of domestick and familiar cares and duties.<sup>111</sup>.

But he does not necessarily mean that his lust of the flesh was one that was put in practice.

How many men sin over some sins but imaginarily (and yet damnably) a hundred times, which they never sinned actually at all.<sup>112</sup>

He put this idea more forcefully on March 3, 1619:

...yet when the records of all thoughts shall be laid open, and a retired and obscure man shall appeare to have been as ambitious in his Cloister, as a pretending man at the Court, and a retired woman in her chamber, appeare to be as licentious as a prostitute woman in the Stews, when the heart shall be laid open, and this laid open too, that some sins of the heart are the greatest sins of all (as Infidelity, the greatest sin of all, is rooted in the heart) and sin produced to action. is but a dilatation of that sin, and all dilatation is some degree of extenuation, (The body sometimes grows weary of acting some sin, but the heart never grows weary of contriving of sin.)<sup>113</sup>

The next day he tried to secure his favor with Egerton in much the same tone. That he was fighting for his life and future appears obvious, but Walton may have revealed more of Donne's nature than he meant to when he wrote of "his winning behaviour (which when it would intice, had a strange kind of elegant irresistibile art)."<sup>114</sup>

To excuse my offence, or so much to resist the just punishm<sup>t</sup> for ytt, as to move yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup> to w<sup>th</sup>draw y<sup>tt</sup>, I thoughte till now were to aggravate my fault. But since yt hath pleasd God to joyne w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>w</sup> in punishing thereof w<sup>th</sup> increasing my sicknes, and that he gives me now audience by prayer, yt emboldneth me also to address my humble request to yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup>, that yo<sup>w</sup> would admit into yo<sup>r</sup> favorable considerac'on how farr my intentions were from doing dishonor to yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>'ps</sup> house; and how unable I am to escape utter and

present destruction, if yo<sup>r</sup> L'p judge onely the effect and deede. My services never had so much worthe in them, as to deserve the favors, wherw<sup>th</sup> they were payd. But they had alwayes so much honesty, as that onely this hath staynd them. Yo<sup>r</sup> justice hath been mercifull in making me know my offence, and yt hath much profited me that I am dejected. Since then I ame so intirely yo<sup>rs</sup> that even yo<sup>r</sup> disfavors have wrought good upon me; I humbly beseeche yo<sup>w</sup> that all my good may proceed from yo<sup>r</sup> L'p. And that since Sir George More, whom I leave no humble way unsought to regaine, referrrs all to yo<sup>r</sup> L'p, yo<sup>w</sup> would be pleasd to lessen that correction w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> just wisdome hath destind for me, and so to pittty my sicknes and other misery, as shall best agree w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> honorable disposition. Almighty God accompany all yo<sup>r</sup> L'ps purposes, and bless yo<sup>w</sup> and y<sup>rs</sup> w<sup>th</sup> many good dayes. 115.

The letter worked, and Donne was released on the 13th.

His relief led him to overstatement which would not have been unpleasing to More:

From yo<sup>w</sup>, to whom next to God I shall owe my health, by enjoyeng by yo<sup>r</sup> mediac'on this mild change of imprisonm<sup>t</sup>, I desire to derive all my good fortune and content in this world; and therefore w<sup>th</sup> my most unfeyned thanks, p'sent to yo<sup>w</sup> my humble petic'on, that yo<sup>w</sup> would be pleasd to hope, that as that fault w<sup>ch</sup> was layd to me of having deceivd some gentlewomen before, and that of loving a corrupt religion, are vanishd and smoakd away (as I assure myself owt of theyr weaknes they are), and that as the devyll in the article of o<sup>r</sup> death takes the advantage of o<sup>r</sup> weaknes and fear, to aggravate o<sup>r</sup> sinns to o<sup>r</sup> conscience, so some uncharitable malice hath presented my debts doble at least. How many of the imputac'ons layd upon me would fall of, if I might shake and purge myself in y<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>sence. But if that were donne, of this offence committed to yo<sup>w</sup> I cannot acquit myself, of w<sup>ch</sup> yet I hope that God (to whom for that I hartily direct many prayers) wyll informe yo<sup>w</sup> to make that use, that as of evyll manners good lawes

growe, so owt of disobedience and boldnes yo<sup>w</sup> wyll take occasion to show mercy and tendernes. And when yt shall please God to soften yo<sup>r</sup> hart so much towards us, as to pardon us, I beseech yo<sup>w</sup> all so to undertake that charitable office of being my mediator to my L., whom as upon yo<sup>r</sup> just complaint yo<sup>w</sup> found full of justice, I doubt not but yo<sup>w</sup> shall also find full of mercy, for so ys the Almighty pattern of Justice and Mercy equally full of bothe. My conscience and such affection as in my conscience becomes an honest man, emboldneth me to make one request more, w<sup>ch</sup> ys, that by some kind and comfortable message yo<sup>w</sup> would be pleas'd to give some ease of the afflictions w<sup>ch</sup> I know yo<sup>r</sup> daughter in her mind suffers, and that (if yt be not against y<sup>r</sup> other purposes) I may with y<sup>r</sup> leave wright to her, for w<sup>th</sup>out yo<sup>r</sup> leave I wyll never attempt any thing concerning her. God so have mercy upon me, as I am unchangeably resolved to bend all my courses to make me fitt for her, w<sup>ch</sup> if God and my L: and yo<sup>w</sup> be pleased to strengthen, I hope neyther my debts w<sup>ch</sup> I can easily order nor any thing els shall interrupt. Almighty God keepe yo<sup>w</sup> in his favor, and restore me to his and yo<sup>r</sup>s.  
From my chamber, whether by yo<sup>r</sup> favor I ame come<sup>116</sup>.

That his feelings for his wife seem to follow his own needs may only be a result of the pressure of the moment.

That same day he wrote a short but eloquent letter to Egerton, not pressing too soon for reëmployment.<sup>117</sup> Although he was out of jail, he was only allowed the liberty of his own chamber, from which, on February 20th, he wrote to his good friend Robert Cotton, who had lent him some reading matter. He asked for "some of the French negotiations," apparently to keep himself abreast of the news in hopes of his return to his former position.<sup>118</sup> Probably in the following two days he wrote again to

Egerton, asking to be released and hinting at his hopes:

The honorable favor that yo'r L'p hath afforded me, in allowinge me the liberty of myne own chamber, hath given me leave so much to respect and love myself, that now I can desire to be well. And therefore for health, not pleasure (of w<sup>ch</sup> yo'r L'ps displeasure hath dull'd in me all tast and apprehension), I humbly beseeche yo'r L'p so much more to slacken my fetters, that as I ame by yo'r L'ps favor myne own keeper, and surety, so I may by myne owne phisician and apothecary, w<sup>ch</sup> yo'r L'p shall worke, yf yo<sup>w</sup> graunt me liberty to take the ayre about this towne. The whole world ys a streight imprisonm<sup>t</sup> to me, whilst I ame barr'd yo'r L'ps sight; but this favour may lengthen and better my lyfe, w<sup>ch</sup> I desire to p<sup>r</sup>serve, onely in hope to redeeme by my sorrowe and desire to do yo'r L'p service, my offence past. Allmighty God dwell ever in yo'r L'ps hart, and fill yt w<sup>th</sup> good desires, and graunt them. 119.

Again we find Egerton granting his wishes, for on the 23rd Donne wrote to Goodyer,

Of myself (who, if honesty were precious, were worth the talking of) let me say a little. The Commissioners by imprisoning the witnesses and excommunicating all us, have implicitly justified our marriage. Sir George will, as I hear, keep her till I send for her: and let her remain there yet, his good nature and her sorrow will work something. I have liberty to ride abroad, and feel not much of an imprisonment. For my return to my Lord, and Sir George's pacification, you know my means, and therefore my hopes. 120.

This letter is all the more interesting in that it prophesies the correspondence which forms so much of our later knowledge of Donne's life.

I send this letter to ask the way to Polesworth: if I hear it, find it, I shall cost you half-an-hour a week to read the rest.<sup>121.</sup>

Walton says,

Mr. Donne was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend in whom he might hope to have an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two imprisoned friends.<sup>122.</sup>

The facts do not bear this out. None of Donne's letters so much as mention either of his unfortunate friends by name. On February 25th, Christopher, a busy lawyer, wrote to Egerton, seeking his aid in gaining release,

ffor Sir George Moore (my Lord) I knew then neyther his person nor his estate, much lesse y<sup>t</sup> worthy favour in w<sup>ch</sup> (yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>'p</sup> wittnes) he standeth w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Honour. ffor, my Lord, if I had (as unwise as I am), I would have chosen rather to have undergone for Mr. Donne some other more apparent daunger. And pardon me a word for him, my Lord; were it not now best y<sup>t</sup> every one whome he any way concerns should become his favourer or his frind, whoe wants (my good Lord, but fortune's hands and tonge to reare him upp, and sett him out? ffor my part, my L. besides these other thinges, I am held from the sittinge at Yorke, already foure dayes since begunne, where (in my silly fortune, such as it is,) my profitablist practise lies. And I protest, my Lord, y<sup>t</sup> thereby I am indaungered to loose my mother's favoure, whome I seeme to forsake in her greatest businesses, whose favoure is the best part of my strenght and meanes of well doinge. Whereffore my humble request unto yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>'p</sup> is, y<sup>t</sup> youe would bee soe good unto me as to discharge me and suerties of y<sup>t</sup> recognisance of 1100<sup>li</sup>. That when it shall please his Grace and the rest to deliver me from

the Marshalsea, whereof I have hope I may noe longer, my L. bee staid from those businesses in the cuntry, whereof I have nowe more, then yet in all lyfe I ever had.<sup>123.</sup>

It was Brooke, not Donne, who appears to have laboured for his friend.

Under persuasion, More visited his son-in-law and was won over to forgiveness:

It is observed, and most truly, that silence and submission are charming qualities, and work most upon passionate men; and it proved so with Sir George; for these, and a general report of Mr. Donnes merits, together with his winning behaviour (which when it would intice, had a strange kind of elegant irresistible art) these, and time had so dispassionated Sir George, that as the world had approved his Daughters choice, so he also could not but see a more then ordinary merit in his new son: and this at last melted him into so much remorse (for Love and Anger are so like Agues, as to have hot and cold fits; and love in Parents, though it may be quenched, yet is easily rekindled, and expires not, till death denies mankind a natural heat) that he laboured his Sons restauration to his place.<sup>124.</sup>

But Anne still remained at Loseley and Donne remained unemployed. His letter to More, in March, now openly solicited further aid:

I should wrong you as much againe as I did, if I should think yo<sup>w</sup> sought to destroy me, but though I be not hedlongly destroyd, I languish and rust dangerously. From seeking p<sup>r</sup>ferments abrode, my love and conscience restrains me; from hoping for them here my Lord's disgracings cut me of. My emprisonm'ts, and theyrs whose love to me brought them to yt, hath already cost me 40£. And the love of my frinds, though yt

be not utterly grounded upon my fortunes, yet I know suffers somewhat in these long and uncertain disgraces of myne. I therefore humbly beseech yo<sup>w</sup> to have so charitable a pittie, of what I have, and do, and must suffer, as to take to yo<sup>r</sup> selfe the comfort of having saved from such destruction as yo<sup>r</sup> just anger might have layd upon him, a sorowfull and honest man. I was bold in my last letter to beg leave of yow that I might wright to yo<sup>r</sup> daughter. Though I understand therupon, that after the Thursday yo<sup>w</sup> were not displeased that I should, yet I have not, nor wyll not w<sup>th</sup>owt yo<sup>r</sup> knowledge do yt. But now I beseech yo<sup>w</sup> that I may, since I protest before God, yt is the greatest of my afflictions not to do yt.<sup>125.</sup>

On March 1st he had decided to press his case with Egerton.

That offence w<sup>ch</sup> was to God in this matter, his mercy hath assur'd my conscience is pardoned. The comission<sup>rs</sup> who minister his anger and mercy, incline also to remitt yt. Sr George More, of whose learninge and wisdome I have good knowledge, and therefore good hope of his moderac'on, hath sayd before his last goinge, y<sup>t</sup> he was so far from being any cawse or mover of my punishment or disgrace, that if yt fitted his reputac'on he would be a suter to yo<sup>r</sup> L'p for my restorynge. All these irons are knock'd of, yett I perish in as heavy fetters as ever, whilst I languish under yo<sup>r</sup> L'ps anger. How soone my history is dispatched! I was carefully and honestly bred; enjoyd an indifferent fortune; I had (and I had understandinge enough to valew yt) the sweetnes and security of a freedome and independency; w'thowt markinge owt to my hopes any place of profitt. I had a desire to yo<sup>r</sup> L'ps servant, by the favor w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> good sonn's love to be obtain'd. I was 4 years yo<sup>r</sup> L'ps secretary, not dishonest nor gredy. The sicknes of w<sup>ch</sup> I dyed ys, that I begonne in yo<sup>r</sup> L'ps house this love. Wher I shal be buried I know not. It ys late now for me (but y<sup>t</sup> necessity, as yt hath continually an autumnne and a wytheringe, so yt hath ever a springe, and must put forthe,) to beginne that course, w'ch some yeares past I purposd to travaile, though I could now do yt, not much disadvantageously. But I have some

bridle upon me now more, more than then, by my marriage of this gentlewoman; in providing for whom I can and will show myself very honest, though not so fortunate. To seek p<sup>r</sup>ferm<sup>t</sup> here w<sup>th</sup> any but yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>'p</sup> were a madnes. Every great man to whom I shall address any such suite, will silently dispute the case, and say, would my L. Keeper so disgracefully have imprisond him, and flung him away, if he had not donne some other great fault, of w<sup>ch</sup> we hear not. So that to the burden of my true weaknesses, I shall have this addic'on of a very p<sup>r</sup>judiciall suspic'on, that I ame worse then I hope yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>'p</sup> dothe think me, or would that the world should thinke. I have therefore no way before me; but must turn back to y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>'p</sup>, who knowes that redemption was no less worke than creation. I know my fault so well, and so well acknowledge yt, that I protest I have not so much as inwardly grudged or startled at the punishm't. I know yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>'ps</sup> disposic'on so well, as though in course of justice yt be of prooffe against clamors of offenders, yet yt ys not strong inough to resis yt selfe, and I know yt selfe naturally enclines yt to pittty. I know myne own necessity, owt of w<sup>ch</sup> I humbly beg that yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>'p</sup> will so much entender yo<sup>r</sup> hart towards me, as to give me leave to come into yo<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>sence. Affliction, misery, and destruction are not there; and every wher els wher I ame, they are.<sup>126.</sup>

The echoes of Romeo's banishment speech are in all the letters to Egerton, but the Lord Keeper was even less moved than Friar Laurence. When, according to Walton, More joined Donne in his request, Egerton replied,

That though he was unfeignedly sorry for what he had done, yet it was inconsistent with his place and credit, to discharge and readmit servants at the request of passionate petitioners.<sup>127.</sup>

This was certainly in his most formal style, sounding much like his statement in Chancery, "I allow not matters

reported by the masters of the Court (of Requests) upon such private petitions;"<sup>128</sup> but it was quite illogical, for he had already discharged Donne for much the same reason.

On April 27, Donne's legal worries at least were over. The Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which had been judging the case, confirmed the marriage, and Donne was free to take his bride (who plays a remarkably small part in the correspondence) to his own home. The difficulty lay in the fact that he had no home, nor did he have any money.

But however it was not long before Sir George appeared to be so far reconciled, as to wish their happiness; and not to deny them his paternal blessing, but yet, refused to contribute any means that might conduce to their livelihood.

Mr. Donnes estate was the greatest part spent in many and chargeable Travels, Books and dear-bought Experience: he out of all employment that might yield a support for himself and wife, who had been curiously and plentifully educated; both their natures generous, and accustomed to confer, and not to receive Courtesies: These and other considerations, but chiefly that his wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many sad thoughts, and some apparent apprehensions of want.

But his sorrows were lessened and his wants prevented by the seasonable courtesie of their noble kinsman Sir Francis Wooly of Pirford in Surry, who intreated them to a cohabitation with him; where they remained with much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him for some years.<sup>129</sup>

Francis Wooley's offer came at the needed moment, and the

young couple moved into retirement at Pyrford, Surrey. The events of the previous months had not been lost on Donne. As we would expect, the poems have their share of prisons,<sup>130</sup> as in Holy Sonnet IV,

Or like a thiefe, which till deaths doome be read,  
Wisheth himselfe delivered from prison;  
But damn'd and hal'd to execution,  
Wisheth that still he might be imprisoned;<sup>131</sup>.

as do the Sermons:

My body is my prison; and I would be so obedient to the Law, as not to break prison; I would not hasten my death by starving, or macerating this body: But if this prison be burnt down by continuall feavers, or blowen down with continuall vapours, would any man be so in love with that ground upon which that prison stood, as to desire rather to stay there, then to go home? Our prisons are fallen, our bodies are dead to many former uses; Our palate dead in a tastlesnesse; Our stomach dead in an indigestiblenesse; our feete dead in a lamenesse, and our invention in a dulnesse, and our memory in a forgetfulnesse; and yet, as a man that should love the gound, where his prison stood, we love this clay, that was a body in the dayes of our youth, and but our prison then, when it was at best.<sup>132</sup>

Let me wither and weare out mine age in a discomfortable, in an unwholesome, in a penurious prison, and so pay my debts with my bones, and recompence the wastfulnesse of my youth, with the beggery of mine age.<sup>133</sup>

The troubles that lay ahead were perhaps less obvious than his imprisonment, but they were just as real. His money was gone, or at least almost gone. He had to depend upon his wife's cousin for support, for his father-in-law

would do nothing. The following fifteen years were to bring the births of twelve children to his long-suffering wife, and near poverty as well as ill health were to plague him. For thirteen years he was to suffer disappointment in all his attempts at gaining a decent position, even failing in obtaining an overseas position which he apparently refused at this time. Already he was thirty years old, and now he found himself trying to start again. It is in a sense absolutely true that the life of the man we have been studying had come to an end. I do not mean that there was a split in his nature nor even in his poetic habits, but now he found himself pushing against life instead of riding the current; it was not he who changed direction, but the current. Luckily his training had given him the preparation for his ultimate success, but like St. Paul, he kicked against the pricks for a long time.

It would be false to say that we have been studying "Jack Donne", although Donne's own statement would give us support. There was no break in his manner. He was yet to write more satire and he was to toy with paradoxical problems. But these, like the poems, became more serious and pointed: the satire of his early poems became the invective of Ignatius. Nor did his character change very much, at least for many years. His marriage difficulties

seem to have been the deciding event for his acceptance of Protestantism. He had seen that on more than religious grounds was the choice to be made, and made quickly. Much as he was to attack the Catholic Church, he never departed in practice too far from his upbringing. As far as his poetry was concerned, he drew upon the same sources he had formerly used. It is for that reason that I have used as many of the later poems and Sermons as possible for my examples. Had he never been faced with the difficulties of these following years, however, it is very possible that he would be remembered now much as men like Joseph Hall are, as rather minor poets in a period of genius. The suffering, both mental and physical, matured him in a way that age alone could not. Death began to be more than a figure of speech in his work, and beyond that death rose the hope of immortality. Once again, I am not suggesting that Donne became a mystic or even a "serious poet" like Spencer or Milton; the game was to be played on a higher level than before. \*

To analyze Donne's character as a young man can not be attempted here. That requires a full psychological study in itself. I hope that much of his character has become apparent in the pages of this study. In the end we must admit that we simply do not know enough about the man to judge accurately. What seems clear at first

glance shifts and blurs on examination. Whites and blacks turn grey. If he is not the incipient saint of Walton's biography, neither is he the rake of Gosse's. He is far too normal a character to make exciting without falsifying the evidence or allowing romance too large a place in the record. His genius, for he certainly had a good deal, resulted from a fortuitous juxtaposition of classical, religious, and scientific training, a group of poetic friends, and a certain amount of freedom and security for the gaining of wide personal experience. Enough has been written of the first. It was the purpose of this study to give the last two their proper place in Donne's biography.

1. M L R, Vol. V, No. 4, October 1910, pp. 492-3.
2. SPD-Eliz., 1598-1601, p. 30, cclxvi, 71.
3. Ibid., p. 57, cclxvii, 36.
4. Gr. I, 180-2.
5. See Gr. II, 140-1 for more details of the débat. Grierson, after originally disagreeing with Chambers, finally gave his tentative agreement to the entries, I cannot help but think, wrongly.
6. Gr. I, 187; ll. 1-3.
7. Ibid., p. 169; ll. 31-34.
8. Birch I, 478.
9. See the early pages of Birch, Vol. II.
10. Ibid., p. 23.
11. Gr. II, 126.
12. Ibid., I, 170; ll. 63-68.
13. Camden, p. 467.
14. 80 Sermons, LII, 525.
15. Gr. II, 104-5. Grierson would extend the date of the Satyre still farther, to the winter of 1598-99.
16. Ibid., I, 162; Satyre IIII, l. 98.
17. Stow, p. 786 (marked 788).
18. Gr. I, 171; ll. 83-87.
19. Gr. II, 59-60.
20. Ibid., I, 77.
21. Stow, p. 772.
22. Gosse, I, 114.
23. Gr. I, 168; ll. 1-7.
24. 80 Sermons, IX, p. 93.
25. Gr. I, 168-9; ll. 19-32.
26. Ibid., p. 154; ll. 1-4.
27. Ibid., p. 155; ll. 17-22.
28. Ibid., p. 180; ll. 7-15.
29. Ibid., pp. 155-7; ll. 33-69.
30. Ibid., ll. 69-79. Mr. Jack Lindsay pointed out a possible influence of Phaedrus for these lines in a letter in T L S, 23 August 1934.
31. 80 Sermons, XIX, 186.
32. See letter by Harold Brooks in T L S, 16 August 1934.
33. Gr. I, 157; ll. 79-84.
34. Ibid., p. 158; ll. 95-110.
35. Julian Sharman, ed., The Proverbs of John Heywood, pp. xlii-xliii.
36. Possible criticism might be levelled at this word in connection with Donne's obviously high-church Anglicanism. But to the men of the 17th Century, the Church of England was definitely considered Protestant, and Donne so used the word.
37. 1640 ed.
38. 19 November 1598, SPD-Eliz., p. 121, cclxviii, 3.
39. Gr. I, 56; The Will, ll. 10-11.

40. Ibid., pp. 260-1; Of the Progresse of the Soule, ll. 331-4.
41. Paradoxes (1652), Problem XVI, p. 62.
42. Gr. I, 25; The Anniversarie, ll. 21-30.
43. Ibid., p. 31; A Valediction: of the booke, ll. 46-7.
44. Ibid., p. 11; The Sunne Rising, ll. 21-24.
45. Ibid., p. 10; The undertaking, ll. 5-9.
46. Ibid., pp. 39-40.
47. Ibid., p. 44; A nocturnall, ll. 10-22.
48. Ibid., p. 33; ll. 19-24.
49. SPD-Eliz., p. 137, cclxix, 22.
50. Ben Jonson told Drummond of an incident which occurred at Leith when Wotton visited the court of James during this absence from England which reveals rather strongly the sort of actions common among Donne's friends and makes us wonder whether the discussion of virtue in the various verse letters was much more than poetic small talk.  
"Sir Henry Wotton, befor his Majesties going to England, being disguised at Leith on Sunday, when all the rest were at church, being interrupted of his occupation by ane other wenche who came in at the door cryed out "Fox on thee, for thou hast hindered the procreation of a chyld", and betrayed himself." In Smith, Wotton, I, 42, n. 2.
51. Gr. I, 180-2; ll. 16-58.
52. Ibid., p. 187; ll. 7-18.
53. Simpson, Prose Works, (2nd ed.), No. 11, p. 316.
54. Ibid., pp. 316-17.
55. Number 8 may date from early 1598, as Mrs. Simpson suggests, but there is no particular reason to attribute it to Donne except that the writer is busy at Court and uses the image of a godfather, neither of which is a particularly convincing argument.
56. Gr. I, 210; ll. 15-28.
57. SPD-Eliz., p. 110, cclxviii, 87; p. 121, cclxviii, III.
58. Gr. I, 209; ll. 9-12.
59. Donne was apparently fascinated by the uses of glass lenses and mirrors, as were many of the people of his time. In June 1596 John Neper, Baron of Merchiston, drew up a paper on inventions for war, including a tank and a freely wandering canon ball. First on the list was "a burning mirror", which was to be used for setting enemy ships on fire. See Birch, II, 28-29.
60. Gr. I, 185-6; ll. 4-30.
61. Ibid., p. 210; ll. 29-32.
62. Ibid., pp. 210-11.
63. 80 Sermons, XVII, p. 163.
64. Gr. I, 207; ll. 7-8.

65. Ibid., ll. 1-2.
66. Ibid., pp. 188-9.
67. Simpson, Prose Works, p. 306.
68. Ibid.
69. 80 Sermons, XXXVIII, p. 377.
70. I shall only discuss those letters acknowledged as perhaps being Donne's by Mr. Shapiro in T L S, 12 September 1952. Certainly they are the only ones that give any tenable evidence of being by Donne.
71. Simpson, pp. 307 and 310.
72. Ibid., p. 310.
73. Ibid.
74. Camden, p. 513.
75. SPD-Eliz., cclxxiv, 37.
76. Simpson, p. 311.
77. Ibid., p. 312.
78. "Donne's Letters--", PMLA, Vol. 56, March 1941.
79. Gosse, I, 93.
80. The names of all suche gentlemen of accompte as were residing within ye Citie of London, liberties and suburbes thereof, Guildhall Library M S A. 9.4.
81. For more details of Goodyer, see Frederick C. Cass, Monken Hadley (1880).
82. For family details of the Mores, etc., see Alfred John Kempe, ed., The Loseley Manuscripts (1836), and Gosse.
83. Gosse, I, 101.
84. Sir John Oglander, A Royalist's Notebook (1936), p. 168, n. 3.
85. Gr. I, 24-5.
86. See letter of I. A. Shapiro, T L S, 10 March 1932.
87. Walton, Lives (1950), pp. 27-8.
88. Gosse, I, 91.
89. Patent Roll 43 Elizabeth, sheet 37. C. 66/1566. In the Public Records Office. The entry was translated and transcribed for me by Mrs. Joan Ross.
90. William Empson, "The Interior of Falstaff", BBC Third Programme, 28 March 1953.
91. Freeman's Runne and a great Cast, Epigram 84, in W. Milgate, "The Early References to John Donne", N & Q, CXCIV, 27 May 1950.
92. Gr. I, 315; l. 510.
93. Ibid., II, 219.
94. Ibid., I, 297. There is a maddening discrepancy in the readings of manuscripts and editions of the "Epistle". The final resting place of the soul could be either "hee" or "shee". It is surprising that Grierson picks "hee" when he is so sure of his identification of Queen Elizabeth as the final person involved.
95. Garrod, Donne, p. 111.

96. Gr. I, 305; Stanza XXVI.
97. 80 Sermons, XVI, p. 154.
98. Kempe, Loseley MSS, p. 328. I shall use the copies of the letters found in this edition rather than using those in Gosse, for his copies and some readings are obviously faulty, leaving out words as well as changing punctuation where the meaning is seriously involved.
99. Letter in T L S, 10 March 1932.
100. Heywood Townshend, Historical Collections...the Four last Parliaments of Q. Elizabeth (1680), p. 224.
101. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, The Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (1682), p. 639.
102. Kempe, Loseley MSS, p. 328; Gosse I, 101.
103. Walton is obviously wrong about the date of this letter, as is shown by Donne's statement to More, but this tag line became famous almost immediately, and it may well have been of Donne's composition. In December 1602 John Manningham, a Barrister of the Middle Temple, wrote in his diary: "Dunne is undonne; he was lately secretary to the Lord Keeper, and cast of because he would match him selfe to a gentlewoman against his Lords pleasure." See Camden Society volume of 1868, p. 99.
104. Walton, Lives, pp. 28-29.
105. Gosse, I, 99-100.
106. Kempe, pp. 316-321.
107. Ibid., pp. 328-30; Gosse, I, 101-2.
108. The Works of Francis Osborn, Esq (7th ed., 1673), p. 84.
109. Thomas Coryat, Thomas Coriate Traueller for the English Wits (1616), p. 46.
110. Kempe, pp. 330-1; Gosse, I, 104.
111. Donne, Essays, p. 75.
112. 50 Sermons, p. 463, in Terrill, The Spanish Influence on John Donne, p. 13.
113. 80 Sermons, XIV, p. 140.
114. Walton, Lives, p. 30.
115. Kempe, pp. 332-3; Gosse, I, 105-6.
116. Ibid., pp. 334-5; Gosse, I, 106-7.
117. Kempe, p. 336; Gosse, I, 107-8.
118. Gosse, I, 109.
119. Kempe, pp. 343-4. For some unknown reason Gosse completely missed this letter in the manuscripts which had been printed in Kempe many years before.
120. Gosse, I, 109.
121. Ibid., p. 110. The next sentence may give some support for supposing that the earlier letter to a person in jail may have been to Goodyer: "I hear nothing of your warrant from Mr. Andrew Lee."
122. Walton, Lives, p. 29.

123. Kempe, pp. 337-8.  
 124. Walton, Lives, p. 30.  
 125. Kempe, pp. 339-40; Gosse, I, 113.  
 126. Ibid., pp. 341-3; Gosse, I, 114-5.  
 127. Walton, Lives, p. 30.  
 128. SPD-Eliz., 1598-1601, p. 367.  
 129. Walton, pp. 30-31.  
 130. There are 22 uses of the word in the poems.  
 131. Gr. I, 323; ll. 5-8.  
 132. 80 Sermons, IV, p. 38.  
 133. Ibid., LXVI, 665.

(Children in the Woods)

In the July 1957 issue of the Journal of English Studies, Prof. F. Wilson published an account of the Journal (I recall concerning John Donne's Journal), which has since been widely reported and has done much to bring to the attention of the general public the existence of the Journal. It is not surprising that a full description of the proceedings, such as account, however, without revealing little of Donne's life, serves to round out our knowledge of the social forces at work in his life, and for that reason is worthwhile. References will not be made to Prof. Wilson's valuable article, as the account is drawn directly from the manuscript in the possession of the Bodleian Library.

## Appendix I

You that executors be made,  
 And overseers eke,  
 Of children that be fatherless,  
 And infants mild and meek,  
 Take you example by this thing,  
 And yield to each his right,  
 Lest God with suchlike misery  
 Your wicked minds requite.  
 (Children in the Woods)

In the July 1927 issue of the Review of English Studies, Prof. F. P. Wilson first published the account of the Guildhall records concerning John Donne's legacy. Although Prof. Wilson accurately reported the main details of Donne's dealings with the Orphans Accounts of the City of London, he did not attempt anything like a full description of the proceedings. Such an account, however, although revealing little of Donne's life, serves to round out our knowledge of the social forces at work in his life, and for that reason is worthwhile. References will not be made to Prof. Wilson's valuable article, as all the material is drawn directly from the manuscript books of the City of London Records Office.

On the 16th of January, 1576,<sup>1</sup> John Donne, "citizen and ironmonger of London" made out his will in "three equal and indifferent parts and portions, according to the laudable use and custom of the City of London." This statement is somewhat misleading. The three equal shares were to go to his wife, his children, and

particular legacies and creditors, whereas actually his wife and children benefitted from all but a little over £500, which is what the various smaller legacies amounted to. There are no records of any debts of importance of the elder Donne, although that does not necessarily mean that there were none. As no real estate is mentioned in the will, probably because the Donnes only shared the former tenement of Mrs. Lewin with Robert East and William Skidmore and their families,<sup>2</sup> there is no inheritance other than money to be checked. Of the "third" to be given to the children, we have a rather complete account.

Not many days after the will was made, Donne died, leaving his wife, who was to be sole executrix, with six children and one not yet born baby. John was third in the family list: Elizabeth, Anne, John, Henry, Mary, and Katharine.<sup>3</sup> The baby Mrs. Donne was carrying evidently died at birth, for nothing more is heard of it. The will was proved on February 8th, and, according to Prof. Wilson, soon after, Mrs. Donne was bound by the Court of Aldermen to submit an inventory of her husband's goods within two months. A difficulty arises here, for in a search through all of the Orphanage records in the Corporation Records Office of the City of London, I was unable to find any such entry. Certainly Rep. 19, folio 66, Prof. Wilson's noted reference, is incorrect, for there is no

Donne entry on that page.<sup>4</sup> Both the Deputy Keeper of the Records, Mr. Jones, and his assistant, Mr. Chandler, helped me in my search. The latter has written to me,

I have made a thorough search for the relevant period in Rep. 19, and in Letter Book Y and the corresponding Journal, but I can not trace any entry of Elizabeth Donne being bound to exhibit an inventory. It is such a plausible reference that I am quite bewildered by its non-appearance. The only alternative is that Prof. Wilson gave a wrong reference (fo. 66 for fo. 75) and read into that first entry relating to the Donnes the idea that Elizabeth was bound to exhibit an inventory (which would have been quite a normal procedure) whereas she was, in fact, only bound to find sureties.<sup>5</sup>

During the next few weeks Mrs. Donne gave birth to her last child, who is never again mentioned. By April 21st, however, Mrs. Donne was fit enough to begin carrying out the terms of the will by giving £5 to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.<sup>6</sup>

Then, on the 10th of May, the City of London began its duties. Under the laws of the city, all legacies for orphans under the age of 21 were to be kept and invested by the Mayor and Court of Aldermen. A substantial interest of 5% was paid on the money, and most of the principal was put out to "Recognitors", who brought in the allotted sums as required, or were, at least, supposed to. Male children could claim their shares at the age of majority, while females could claim theirs either at 21 or upon

marrying, provided that their husbands were 21 or over.<sup>7</sup> All the transactions of orphanage money took place before 10 in the morning, allowing the businessmen who served as sureties and recognitors to get to their regular work as soon as possible.<sup>8</sup>

On the morning of May 10, 1576,<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Donne agreed to bring into the court sureties and/or sums of money equal to 2000 marks, which apparently represented somewhat more than a third of Donne's estate, as has already been noted. This £1333 6s 8d was a good-sized amount, but it was nothing like the fortune Walton intimates, according to whom the poet's share alone was £3000. It is more than likely that Walton confused the figure he had heard of the entire legacy and that which his friend received. These "good and suffycient svertyes" were to be brought in before "the feaste of St James thapostell next Insvinge," July 25th. Eight days later she brought to the City Chamberlain £300 as the first installment.<sup>10</sup>

Two months passed before the next entry, during which time Elizabeth had married Dr. John Syminges, who was apparently still president of the Royal College of Physicians, although the annals of that body are blank during the period. Syminges, a wealthy man, on July 17th<sup>11</sup> was allowed by the court, having lately married Mrs. Donne, to bring in sureties for the orphan money "or else so much monye as

belongethe, unto the same orphans" before the feast of St. Matthew, September 21st, and from then on took over full responsibility for the financial affairs. The next entry is on September 13th,<sup>12</sup> when Syminges was ordered to pay £300 more to the Chamberlain, who had been granted £1000 to be lent by the court. Syminges was allowed 5% interest yearly for the "fyndinge of the sayd orphans." This "fyndinge" included payment for food and clothing for the children. Moreover, the doctor was given "ffurderdaye" to bring in sufficient sureties to be bound for the "resydewe of thorphanage and legacye." Exactly one week later<sup>13</sup> Syminges paid the £300 and the binding of recognitors or sureties began.

That day John Bynde and Richard Mabbe, drapers, John Boothe, Clothworker, and William Conyers, Merchant, all citizens of London, acknowledged themselves bound for £150, £100 of which were "ad vsum orphañ Johis Donne Iremonger defunct."<sup>14</sup> The conditions were the usual ones, stipulating that the girls should receive their portions upon marriage. On all four of the original bonds, all six children are mentioned as living, indicating that the eldest daughter, Elizabeth, did not die until at least 1577.

One week later, on Thursday, Sept. 27th,<sup>15</sup> a more familiar group acknowledged their bond, two of them having shared the same building as the Donnes. William Skidmore, Robert East, John Eustace, and John Skidmore, all "Iren-

mongers Gives London," acknowledged their bond of £350, £300 of which were for the orphans. The first three of these and their wives had been left £5 Death's-head rings in the Donne will. Now they were accepting their responsibilities as friends by becoming sureties for the children's orphan money.

Nearly a month passed before the next court action, and the £200 involved at this time became more troublesome than all the rest of the money. On the morning of October 25th,<sup>16</sup> Robert Good, Christopher Edwards, and Thomas Langley, haberdashers and citizens, acknowledged "se debere" £250, £200 "ad vsum orphan..." Two months later, on December 11th,<sup>17</sup> this account began to become complicated when Thomas Prowse, a wealthy and apparently shrewd wine merchant,<sup>18</sup> joined the group as collateral surety. The same day<sup>19</sup> the group of four ironmonger friends of the family went into another bond for £301 14s 1½d orphan money.

Thus, by the end of the year of the elder Donne's death, £900 14s 1½d of the orphanage money had been put out to recognitors. If the original sum of 2000 marks to be received by the court had all been paid in, as apparently was the case when Dr. Syminges brought in his £300, the city Chamberlain must still have had in his possession a little over £400, which was never put out to recognizance. Such a large sum began to cause headaches two years later when, on September 4, 1578, "yt

was orderyd that Mr Chamberlyn of this Cytie shall paye forth fyndinge of the chyldren and orphans of John Donne yremonger, and John Draper brewer for somvche orphanage monye, belongynge to the sayd chyldren remaynethe in the Chamber of this Cytie."<sup>20</sup> If this was the first payment since the negotiations two years before, it would seem that Dr. Syminges and his family in the parish of Holy Trinity, Queenhythe, received the sum of £80 plus.

On Thursday morning November 11, 1578,<sup>21</sup> the £200 bond once again altered. John Pownte,<sup>22</sup> merchant, became collateral surety with Good, et al., in the place of Christopher Edwards. Thomas Langley has dropped completely out of the records, never to reappear. Edwards, it appears from later evidence,<sup>23</sup> died at this time. Anyone searching back into the records of this case finds some very difficult points to reconcile, however, and it would perhaps be best to trace the whole legal battle of this bond before going on with the general history of the orphanage money.

As has been stated, Letter Book Y contains the original bond with the names of Good, Edwards, and Langley. Two months later Thomas Prowse entered in. Then, two years later, John Pownt came in, replacing, according to the entry in the Repertory Book, Thomas Langley. On the 22nd of September, 1580, the court ordered Robert Good "to brynge into this corte twoe suffycyent suertyes to be

bownden in the place of suche as are wantynge."<sup>24</sup> This would seem to indicate that of the original four men, Edwards, Langley, and Prowse were either dead or had backed out. The bringing of suerties was to be done before the next court after "Allhallowehyde next comynge." One such suretye appears to have been Humfrey Dunkin,<sup>25</sup> a haberdasher.

On May 11, 1581,<sup>26</sup> Robert Good, who during the winter apparently changed his line from haberdashery to wine-selling and who was heading for bankruptcy and poverty, gave in £100 to the city Chamberlain. This was his portion of the bond, rather than the finding money that had accrued. Over a year passed before the records show another entry of this case, but much had happened, including legal proceedings by the court against Good and Pownt. On September 6, 1582,<sup>27</sup> a member of the court wrote a letter to Mr. Thomas Powell, the husband of the widow of Christopher Edwards, explaining that Robert Good, now a poor man, had said that Edwards had possession of most of the orphanage money in their care. The letter, signed by "your loving frende," and addressed to "the right worshipful my loving friend Mr Powell Esquire," informs his loving friend that he had better pay over the money quickly and write a letter post haste, so "that we be not by our duty inforced to seek other means."

The contents of this friendly letter are further

explained by the petition of Humfrey Dunkin on November 20th.<sup>28</sup> He explained that Good and Edwards took the original £200 bond, each taking care of £100. (No mention is made of Langley.) He went on to explain that he became collateral surety for Good, "who ys nowe decayed & in pryson." Dunkin "hathe brought into the Chamber of London one Cli wch was in thandes of Good."<sup>29</sup> He asked the court "that execucon for the other Cli that came to the thandes of Edwardes who left sufficyent to annswere the same and whos wydowe is maryed to Mr Thomas Powle Esquyer." The court agreed to make Powell answerable. Meanwhile proceedings against Good and Pownt were "to staye". This entry casts some doubt on the accuracy of the Remembrancia entry date.

On the 8th of January following, the court appointed two Aldermen, Mr. Martin and Mr. Rowe, to look into Good's complaint and "to make reporte vnto ys courte of theyre doinge thearein wth convenient speede."<sup>30</sup> It is to be hoped that their "convenient speede" was not typical of Elizabethan London court action, for the next entry concerning the case was nearly two years later, on December 8, 1584.<sup>31</sup> It would appear that the Aldermen had made up their minds what to do, for they ordered that the Donne orphan money "shalbe forw<sup>th</sup> extended vppon such of the landes & tenementes w<sup>th</sup> in this Cyttie as the sayd Edwardes

was seased of at the tyme of the acknowledginge of the sayd Recognizannce, towardes the payment of Lli wch this Court is infoarmed, was payd by the rest of the Recognitors to thuse of the sayd Christofer." This was to be executed unless Thomas Powell could show good and sufficient cause before the following Tuesday.

Apparently Powell was able to do just that, for one week later, Tuesday, December 15th,<sup>32</sup> the court added the names of Mr. Dype and Mr. Allot, Aldermen, Mr. Common Sergeant, and Messrs. Rygge and Sares, haberdashers, to those of Aldermen Martin and Rowe to discover the true facts of the case, "they or any three of them wheareof two be Aldermen to end the same yf they can Or els to make reports vnto this corte of theyre doeinges thearein w<sup>th</sup> all convenient speede." The speed shown this time was much greater; it only took slightly over a year for the first report of the committee to come in, on March 28, 1586.<sup>33</sup> Donne's sister, Anne, had already received her portion, but the finding money on Good's £100 was just being paid. The two attorneys, Richard Wilbraham, "Mr Common Sergeannt," and William Dalby, "Attorney in the Maiors Court", had been set to investigate the matter of the finding money on March 10th. We will discuss the inaccuracy of this account later; but they decided to pay finding money amounting to £20 10s. We may conjecture

that this sum found its way to Hart Hall, Oxford, into the pockets of John and Henry. The £100 was still in the Chamber, drawing 5% interest in July.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, on October 11, 1586, the report of the "accoppte Drawne out betwixt Christopher Edwardes Haberdasher and Roberte Good Haberdassher" was submitted by the two men appointed by the court "to consyder of the cause in questyon betwixte the Executrix of the last will and testament of Christofer Edwardes Habd deceased and Robte Good habd." Thomas Rygges and Thomas Sares, both haberdashers, were the accountants. Good originally owed Edwards £1865 10s 8d, of which he paid, during Edwards' lifetime, £1415 11s 10d. Rygges and Sares both saw this account. They also saw an account of a second payment of £258, but they did not allow that since it was paid after Edwards' death. Edwards also charged Good with two sums amounting to £121 17 8d, but the accountants found to their satisfaction that Good repaid this through Mr. William Bond, Alderman deceased. Putting all the accounts together, even though in the opinion of the accountants they should not be, Good paid £1795 9s 4d, which left £70 1s 4d due to Edwards. This account "was veary well lyked and allowed of" and so entered.<sup>35</sup> What happened to 10s 6d on the Good account does not appear, but perhaps they had a different method of adding in those days. It certainly made for easier subtraction.

This account broke the log jam of controversy, and the remaining money came flowing in with but little trouble. On the 19th of January, 1587,<sup>36</sup> Dunkin agreed to pay 100 marks and any other "somes due to the sayd orphans, remaynnyng in his handes, as thys Corte shall thynke meete and convenient." But he wasn't satisfied with this arrangement and went over the heads of the court to the Privy Council. Here he tried an entirely new approach. The tale he told the Archbishop and seven other council members on March 2, 1587, ran as follows, no doubt suffering slightly from the handling of the council. Edwards and Good, both dead for about eight years,<sup>37</sup> had acted as surety for £100 apiece, and Pownt, now deceased, had become surety in Edwards' place. Dunkin stands bound for Pownt's indemnity. Dunkin has already paid most of the £200 "out of his owne purse" (which may strike the reader with some surprise). The Court of Aldermen are about to exact the rest of the money from the executors of Pownt, "who receaved no peny e thereof" according to Dunkin. This would be unfair since Pownt's executors would then exact the bond that Dunkin had signed for Pownt. There seems to be only one way out of this circle: in cases of unsatisfied bonds, each recognitor is required and "compelled to beare his equall parte," which Edwards and his executors have not; therefore, let the executors

of Edwards pay their equal part, "or at least the fifty pounds their testator received."<sup>38</sup>. This sudden charitable suggestion on the part of the Privy Council seems strange until one reads that "Dunkyn, who hath allready satisfied a greate parte of the same, is indebted to her Majesty." This is what is known as making credits of one's liabilities. We also get a glance at the Elizabethan meaning of "equity". Dunkin is "like to paie the residue or els incurr a greater penalty, and thereby shall be less hable to satisfie his due unto her Majesty, the circumstances considered their Lordships wolde desire them to looke into the equitie of the cause."<sup>39</sup>.

It is interesting to see what the Aldermen did with the suggestion referred "wholy to their consideracions." Seven days after this letter was written, on Thursday,<sup>40</sup> March 9, 1587, the Court ordered the executors of John Pownt, Merchant, to pay the finding allowance for as many years as it had not been paid. "And albeyt that some of the Recognitors for A tyme dyd paye more then ordynarye alloweance by reason of some collaterall bondes, the same shall not be accompted as any satisfaccion for suche yeares as in alloweance hathe byn payd."<sup>41</sup>. Apparently Dunkin was trapped just as he feared he would be, for on March 30th,<sup>42</sup> he signed as surety with Anthony Stanlacket and Thomas Cressey, Mercers, and John Wyndett, Stationer, for £66 13s 4d

orphanage money for the Donnes, which was the 100 marks he agreed to in January. At least he had drawn in others to help in paying the amount. That finished the troublesome account as far as the court was concerned, but it still furnishes difficulty as to the legacy payments, as we shall see.

The rest of the money in sureties was subject to little trouble. From the 4 September 1578 entry concerning the money in the chamber until the 1585 entry we are about <sup>to</sup> discuss, the Good account is the only subject to reach the Court of Aldermen concerning the Donnes. Meanwhile the family had changed a good deal. When Elizabeth, the widowed mother, had married Dr. Syminges in 1576, the whole family, including a cousin, Alice, had moved to Little Trinity Lane. When the eldest daughter, Elizabeth, died is not known, but near the end of November, 1581,<sup>43</sup> Mary and Katharine were buried at Holy Trinity the Less. In the autumn of 1583 the family moved to the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less, Alice having married a young man named Russell that summer.<sup>44</sup> In October, 1584, John and Henry went to Oxford, cutting the family to three. Then, in the fall of 1585, Anne was married to Avarey Copley, Jr., of York, a barrister of Lincolns Inn, and claimed her share of the legacy as her dowry money. First the court had to find out how

many children were to share the legacy, and on November 12, 1585, Christopher Riley, Clerk, and Clement Holmes, parish clerk, swore on oath that Mary, Katherine, and Elizabeth were all "dead wthn thage of XXI yeares and vnmарyed."<sup>45</sup> This cleared the way for Anne and Avarey, who, on the 18th, signed all four bonds as being satisfied of their share and received the sum of £234 6s 8d from the hands of the Chamberlain. If they received one-third of all monies held in surety, it would have amounted to £300 4s 8½d, making a total of £534 11s 4½d.<sup>46</sup> This is substantiated by her later statement that she had with her at her marriage £500.<sup>47</sup> Since Good had paid in £100 of his bond in 1581, Anne could have received her full amount. It appears obvious, however, that the money was not collected in equal percentages from all the accounts. In 1593 John signed only three accounts, leaving out the Good bond. In 1594 Anne and her second husband and John signed only the first Ironmonger bond.

Recognitors continued to die, and their places were filled by other London citizens. On March 8, 1586, Roger Robethum, Clothworker, took the place of Booth in the bond with Bynde, Mabbe, and Conyers.<sup>48</sup> On April 14th, Reginald Hewes, fishmonger, took the place of John Skidmore in both Ironmonger bonds.<sup>49</sup> And finding money continued to be awarded. Already mentioned was the 17 March 1586 entry

in which Messrs. Wilbraham and Dalbye decided on £20 10s finding money on Good's £100. Their reasoning was that there were six orphans still living during the years 1581-3 and that the portions of them all amounted to £1049 13s 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d, which would mean approximately £349 18s apiece for the three survivors. Since the attorneys were wrong about the date of death of the three girls, it is possible that Wilson's conjecture that this sum is only the remainder following Anne's satisfaction may be correct. We know that Anne received at least £384 1s 8d from the hands of the Chamberlain in 1585 and 1594, while John received £382 11s 8d. This certainly does not add up to over £1000, but if these payments do not include money from the bonds, £1000 seems too small a total sum. According to the 13 September 1576 entry, however, that was the complete amount. It is well to keep in mind that the poet may have received nearer £500 than £750 as his complete legacy from his father. At any rate, finding money was definitely related to the number of orphans involved, for the remaining three were only allowed £4 4s for the two and a half years following the deaths of their sisters.<sup>50</sup>

Even that glimpse at orphan fund regulations appears faulty, however, for on July 5th of the same year, Dr. Syminges, "Or suche other persons as shall have the keepinge of the same Orphans," was again granted £5 on the

£100 in the Chamber in finding money,<sup>51</sup> by now for only two orphans. Once again we are led to the opinion that the sums of money handled for the Donnes was less than was thought.

There is just one more entry before John Donne received his portion, aside from the Good account already discussed. On April 30, 1588, Robert Mudge, Clothworker, and William Needeham, scissor merchant, replaced Mabbe and Conyers on the first bond.<sup>52</sup>

We now jump five years. In July, 1588, Dr. Syminges was buried at St. Bartholomew the Less, and by 1591 his widow had married for the third time, a Richard Rainsford of Southwark.<sup>53</sup> In the spring of 1591 Avarey Copley had died, and before the autumn Anne had married William Lyly, probably one of the Lyly family appearing in Southwark registers.<sup>54</sup> Then, on June 19, 1593, his age attested to by William Skidmore and Robert Chambers,<sup>55</sup> Donne signed as being satisfied of his portion. He received £232 16s 8d from Thomas Wilford, the Chamberlain, and signed the two Ironmonger bonds.<sup>56</sup> Here we have the first positive proof that he received separate sums from the recognitors and the Chamberlain, for it was not until June 26th that he signed receipt of the money due from the bond of Thomas Bynde, et al.<sup>57</sup> The whereabouts of the 100 marks held in bond by Humfrey Dunkin cannot be stated definitely, but

perhaps that sum was part of the money held for Henry, or part of the money given by the Chamberlain.

At some time during the summer Henry died in Newgate prison from the plague, according to the Catholic report noted by Prof. Wilson from the Stonyhurst MSS and included by Joseph Gillow in his Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics. He had expected a legacy of £500, which would indicate the upper figure we have considered of the Donne inheritance. By the time the necessary arrangements had been made to collect the final sums that Henry would have inherited, it was April 1594, and on the 11th of that month, John and Anne, with her second husband, signed the £300 bond of the Ironmongers and shared the £299 £299 10s "remayning in the chamber to thuse of ye said orphane"; the orphan was Henry, whose death "wthyn the age of XXI yeres" was sworn to by William Skidmore and James Russell, shipwright.<sup>58</sup> So ends the Donne orphan account.

How much, then, did Donne receive? The difficulties concerning the Good bond, as well as the often contradictory statements concerning the money in the Chamber of the city, make an exact accounting impossible. The highest possible figure, for the full legacy, including full value of the bonds and adding the amounts given by the Chamberlain, would be £1668 7s 5½d, which would agree closely with the

2000 marks of Mrs. Donne and Dr. Syminges' addition of £300, amounting to £1633 6s 8d. The difference of £35 could be accounted for by unpaid finding money. If these conditions were the actual ones, Donne would have received £834 3s 9d. Next best, the £1049 13s 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d mentioned on 17 March 1586 could have been John and Henry's combined share, in which case John would have received three-quarters or £787 5s 10d. Prof. Wilson calculates the sum to have been about £750,<sup>59</sup> but in order to arrive at this figure he deducts the £166 13s 4d paid into the Chamber on the Good account from the money held in bond and divides the remaining bond monies by two. But Anne either had money from that bond (as indicated by her signing the account), or she and John together lost approximately £34 from the £200 that had been put out to sureties. If the £166 13s 4d of the Good bond was disbursed among the £766 13s 4d of monies in the chamber, John and Anne shared £1468 7s 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d, or received £734 3s 9d apiece. It is also possible that the total account never exceeded the original 2000 marks required of Mrs. Donne. The dealings with Doctor Syminges all indicate that to be the situation, in which case Donne's portion would be as low as £666 13s 4d. Certainly the probable range is from £650 to £850 with a stronger probability on the lower half of that range. And there is always the possibility that the full sum for

both Anne and John never exceeded £1049. Whether Donne knew of the problems involved in his legacy account or not, they were a fitting beginning for the money problems which were to play so important a part in his life.

1. Letter from Mr. S. P. ... 18-January 1634.
2. St. ...
3. Letter from ...
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1. All year dates are new style.
2. Book of the Names of all ye Citizens..of London, 1572, fo. 19v.
3. Letter Book Y, fo. 100v inter alia.
4. At the writing of this thesis Prof. Wilson was unfortunately separated from his notes for his article by some 6000 miles and was unable to answer my questions about his reference.
5. Letter from Mr. M. J. Chandler, 14 January, 1953.
6. St. Bartholomew Ledger 2.
7. Letter Book X, fo. 230.
8. Ibid., fo. 291.
9. Repertory Book 19, fo. 75.
10. Ibid., fo. 78.
11. Ibid., fo. 99.
12. Ibid., fo. 116v.
13. Ibid., fo. 119.
14. Rep. 19, fo. 119v; Letter Book Y, fo. 100v.
15. Rep. 19, fo. 123; L.B. Y, fo. 101.
16. Rep. 19, fo. 133v; L.B. Y, fo. 111v.
17. Rep. 19, fo. 150v; L.B. Y, fo. 111v.
18. On 15 Nov. 1575, Thomas Prowse, Stephen Skidmore, William Griffin, George Dodd, et al., were given permission to buy up all the defective wines in London until 6 December. Rep. 19.
19. Rep. 19, fo. 151; L.B. Y, fo. 122.
20. Rep. 19, fo. 364v.
21. Rep. 19, fo. 391v; Letter Book Y, fo. 111v.
22. Or Pownt or Punt.
23. Calendar of Acts of the Privy Council, Vol. XIV, 356-7.
24. Rep. 20, fo. 112.
25. Dunken, Dunkyn, or Dunking.
26. Rep. 20, fo. 197.
27. City of London Remembrancia, I, 398.
28. Rep. 20, fos. 377v, 378.
29. This was the £100 of 11 May 1581.
30. Rep. 20, fo. 386v.
31. Rep. 21, fo. 119.
32. Rep. 21, fo. 122.
33. Rep. 21, fos. 276, 276v.
34. 5 July 1586, Rep. 21, fo. 313.
35. Rep. 21, fo. 342.
36. Ibid., fo. 375.
37. Good had been alive, if not kicking, and in jail the previous October.
38. What happened to the other £50 Dunkin originally claimed Edwards had received?
39. A.P.C., XIV, 356-7.
40. The cases concerning Donne's legacy always took place on Tuesday or Thursday except for Friday, 18 May 1576,

and Friday, 12 Nov. 1585. Of the **32** other entries in this case 20 are Thursdays.

41. Rep. 21, fo. 405.
42. Ibid., fo. 422.
43. Register #1, Holy Trinity the Less.
44. Ibid., 9 July XXV Elizabeth.
45. Rep. 21, fo. 237v.
46. Rep. 21, fo. 239v; L.B. Y, fos. 100v, 101, 111v, 122; Journal 22, fo. 3 on which Anne and Avarey Copley signed as having received only £200.
47. Alfred Ransford, "Abstracts from Ransford Documents in the Public Record Office", N & Q, 15 May 1926. Her statement was made 22 November 1591.
48. Rep. 21, fo. 272; L.B. Y, fo. 100v.
49. Rep. 21, fo. 285v; L.B. Y, fos. 101, 122.
50. Rep. 21, fo. 276.
51. Ibid., fo. 313.
52. Ibid., fo. 550v.
53. N & Q, loc. cit.
54. Ibid.
55. Rep. 23, fo. 72. Only Elizabeth and Mary are named as his dead sisters. This entry is printed incorrectly in Prof. Wilson's article as Rep. 21, fo. 72.
56. Journal of the Common Council 23, fo. 197v; L.B. Y, fos. 101, 122.
57. Letter Book Y, fo. 100v.
58. Journal 23, fo. 255; L.B. Y, fo. 101; Rep. 23, fos. 199v, 200, 200v.
59. £749 12s 1d is the total using his method of calculation.

Appendix II *Professors in London*

John Syminges,<sup>1</sup> Donne's first step-father, deserves fame as much for his own actions and record as for his marriage to Elizabeth Donne, yet even his entry in Munk's Roll of the Royal College of Physicians scarcely indicates his importance in that society, and Anthony à Wood could not even discover what college of Oxford he attended.<sup>2</sup> Rev. C. W. Boase, in his Register of the University of Oxford, was more successful in his research, however, and it is with his findings that this account begins.<sup>3</sup>

John Syminges, of Eton, Buckinghamshire, matriculated at New College, Oxford, on March 17, 1536, and proceeded B. A. four years later, on June 19, 1540, although he did not dispute his determination thesis until 1541. In 1544 he obtained his license for an M. A. on June 25th and received the degree itself on July 7th, under the Christian name "Thomas". There seems to be some disagreement as to what happened next. Boase says he was a fellow of New College continuously from 1536 to 1548 and that he studied fifteen years and practiced ten in Oxford and London. These figures of necessity overlap completely if they are correct. Munk says that he graduated from Bologna and was given an ad eundem degree at Oxford in 1544.<sup>4</sup> It seems possible that both may be partially correct, but evidence favors Boase's statement.

Certainly in 1553 Syminges was practising in London, against the law. Under the original Letters Patent granted to the Royal College, no one was permitted to practise within seven miles of London unless licensed by the President and the College.<sup>5</sup> "Praeter statuta regni," Syminges had been practising medicine and was accordingly fined by the College on April 2, 1553.<sup>6</sup> It is obvious that no stigma was attached to such action. Apparently he was told to get his degree and come back, for he soon returned to Oxford, submitting his supplication as an M. A. of the University for a B. Med. degree. On July 3 and 11, 1554, he stood his disputations and was admitted to the degree of B. Med. two days later on July 13th. At this time he was also officially admitted to practice. It may be presumed that he had learned his lesson concerning illegal practice in London and remained safely in Oxford for the following year, until, on July 29, 1555, he received his D. Med. Now he was prepared to return to London and the Royal College.

The Royal College had been set up by the authority of Henry VIII in 1518. The Letters Patent granted to John Chambre, Ferdinand de Victoria, Thomas Linacre, Nicholas Halsewell, John Francis, and Robert Yaxley the right to be incorporated as "one body and perpetual community or college." The first three of these men were

physicians to the King, and Thomas Linacre became the first president, holding that office till his death. They were permitted, among other things, to control all practice of medicine in London and within seven miles thereof, as previously stated. Four Censors were chosen yearly to guard this privilege as well as to examine all medicines and punish all offenders by fines and imprisonment, "or by other reasonable means." The Letters Patent were confirmed by statute in 14 Henry VIII, and a provision was made for eight Electors, who were to appoint a President yearly. In case of a vacancy in this group, another Elector was to be chosen within thirty or forty days. The control of the College was widened to include all of England, where none but graduates of Oxford or Cambridge could practise without previous approval by the President and three Electors.<sup>7</sup>

On October 18, 1555, Syminges was admitted a fellow of the College as a Doctor from Oxford.<sup>8</sup> Thus began a long and important association which was to last till his death in 1588. Munk's Roll gives a far from complete indication of his duties, offices, or importance, and the ms. index of the Annals is scarcely fuller. At any rate, he now settled in London and began his practice. Where he lived for the first six years is not known, but probably it was in the general neighborhood of Knightrider St., on

which the college, formerly the home of Thomas Linacre, was situated.

His first duty was as one of the Censors,<sup>9</sup> the duties of which office he had learned from the wrong end three years before. Another of the Censors at this time, having been an active member of the College off and on for many years, was John Clement, the father of Donne's great-aunt Winifred. Early marriages coupled with long lives made genealogies more important than they are today. Dr. Clement had left England for Louvain at the accession of Edward VI, he had returned on the accession of Mary, and was to leave for the last time when Elizabeth ascended the throne.<sup>10</sup> Like Clement, Syminges was a sincere Catholic, but for some reason his wealth or position never suffered from his religious beliefs. There is no reason to believe that he ever compromised his faith, for none of the records indicate any change. It is interesting to see that although Donne's ancestors on his mother's side suffered for their religion, his immediate parents were hardly touched.

Through the years Syminges rose in authority in the College. The entries in the Annals until the year of Donne's birth run as follows: 11 October 1557, 4th Censor;<sup>11</sup> 3 October 1558, 4th Censor, 20 November, Elector (in place of George Owen, deceased);<sup>12</sup> 22 December 1559, Elector and 3rd Censor;<sup>13</sup> 14 October 1560, Elector and 2nd Censor;<sup>14</sup>

17 October 1561, Elector and Senior Censor;<sup>15</sup> under the heading 1562 & 1563, 30 September, Elector and first Consiliarius;<sup>16</sup> 12 May 1564, Elector and Senior Censor, also made propresident when the president, John Caius, founder of the Cambridge College, "Regina à medicinis erat," resigned;<sup>17</sup> 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, Elector;<sup>18</sup> 22 December 1569, Elector and President;<sup>19</sup> 16 January 1571, Elector and first Consiliarius, also brought charges for misconduct against one Dr. Walker, another of the officers;<sup>20</sup> 1 October 1571, Elector;<sup>21</sup> 15 November 1572, Elector and President.<sup>22</sup> The rest of the first volume of the Annals is blank, leaving no record of the college until 1581, when a new system of keeping the records was initiated. It is well to pause here and look at what was happening in Syminges' life outside of the College.

Many of the details of Syminges' life indicate that he was a wealthy man. He seems to have had property in several parts of England, all of which was of no mean value. On February 1, 1561, Robert Grene of Oldebury, co. Warwick, alienated "the manor of Oldebury, lands [named with tenants' names] in Oldebury and all appurtenances of the manor in Oldebury and Mauncetour or elsewhere, co. Warwick, to John Symynges of London, M. D."<sup>23</sup> In May of the same year he gained a more interesting piece of property when, on the 17th, Robert Oxenbrigge,

knight, alienated to him a messuage in Trinity Lane, London, called Le Priors House, and an adjoining messuage, with two houses, plus a garden opposite. These were in the tenure of John Bowle, late prior of the monastery of Marten, co. Surrey, and George Blake, also of that monastery.<sup>24</sup> What happened to the two priests is not disclosed, nor is the reason given for the transfer from Catholic hands to other Catholic hands, but since Syminges maintained his Catholic connections, it is reasonable to presume that Bowle and Blake were taken care of. At any rate, Syminges moved in, apparently already married and with a family, for no christenings are entered in the parish register of Holy Trinity the Less, nor are there any Syminges entries before this date. Also with the family was a sister-in-law, Katharyn Simmynges, who, as a widow, married one George Ward of Fishstreet on November 26, 1565.<sup>25</sup> This entire neighborhood, just two blocks from Donne's home in Bread St., appears to have been filled with staunch and well-to-do Roman Catholics who were not touched by the Recusant hunts of the period.

Two years later, on June 19, 1567,<sup>26</sup> "Vrsula Symyngs the wyef of Mr John Symyngs was buried," leaving the doctor with four children, Thomas, Ellen, Anne, and William. This provided him with a family life even though his wife was gone. Both his reputation and religious beliefs are

intimated in the next extant record seven months later. On January 11, 1568, Sir Owen Hopton wrote to Sir William Cecil reporting the illness of Lady Catherine Grey, sister to the unfortunate Lady Jane, and wife of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, son of Protector Somerset.<sup>27</sup> She had been transferred to Cockfield Hall, Yoxford, Hopton's estate, upon the death of Sir John Wentworth, her former keeper, the previous October,<sup>28</sup> and had soon fallen sick, having been quite fragile throughout her life.<sup>29</sup> Apparently Syminges had been treating her before and now returned to her, but it was of little use: she died January 27th.<sup>30</sup> Lady Catherine had maintained her Catholic allegiance throughout her twenty-seven years, as evidenced by a Catholic priest having performed her wedding ceremony to Seymour,<sup>31</sup> and it is more than possible that this is the reason for her choosing the services of Syminges. Richard Davey, in his biography of Lady Catherine, refers to "Dr. Symonds" as "the Queen's physician." If this is true, Syminges' position was even more important than even the Royal College Annals indicate. At the very least his services appear to have been used by the court, and we may conjecture that he was consulted particularly by those members of the nobility still professing the Roman faith.

In 1572 the second payment of the subsidy granted Queen Elizabeth by the Parliament of 1566 was collected,

and John Syminges, of Trinity parish, paid £100. Some indication of his wealth is given when we notice that Robert East, John Donne, and William Skidmore, altogether only gave an equal sum.<sup>32</sup>

The next year his family began to leave him. On July 21, 1573,<sup>33</sup> his daughter Anne married a Richard Waller. Almost exactly a year later, 11 July 1574, Thomas was buried.<sup>34</sup> On September 5, 1575, Ellen married Henry Swynnerton,<sup>35</sup> leaving her father with only one son, William. It is not surprising, therefore, when we find him courting the newly-bereaved Elizabeth Donne in the late winter of 1576. Nor is it too surprising to find her accepting a comfortable home for her six fatherless children. There seems little doubt that it was a marriage of convenience. It would have been impossible for Syminges to be less than 50, and Elizabeth had already given birth to at least seven children. Certainly they had none in this new marriage. The poet's mother had a utilitarian outlook on marriage if anyone had, for she married another man soon after the death of Syminges.

Some time between May 18 and July 17, 1576, the Donne family moved to Trinity Lane, and as far as material comfort is concerned at least, it was a move for the better, from sharing the tenements of the Ironmongers with two other families to living in the comfortable home of Dr. Syminges with just one son, who was at least sixteen.

Except for the dealings with the Orphanage Account of the Donne children, which we have already seen,<sup>36</sup> our record of Syminges skips for five years, during which time he would have seen John grow to the age of nine. Apparently the eldest girl, Elizabeth, died soon after the family moved from Bread St., for she was not buried at Trinity, indicating that she might have been buried in the old parish of St. Nicholas Olave. Her two sisters died in November 1581, leaving just three Donne children in Syminges' care, with the added burden of their unmarried cousin, Alice. His own son, William, had been buried on July 2nd of that year. Apparently he had little to do with the upbringing of the children, for Donne gives all the credit for that to his mother,<sup>37</sup> but certainly his life and his associations would have influenced the quick-minded young boy greatly. We can notice some of the possible influences in the following two years.

The second volume of the Annals of the Royal College opens on the third of November, 1581, when the council decreed "in illis vna voce, et pleno consensu," that on Thursday of the following week, at two in the afternoon, Doctor Syminges, "nuperrimé praesidens," should account before the whole College for the money he had in his custody while he was president. All of the rest of those who had any of the College's money were to do likewise.<sup>38</sup>

Accordingly, on the following Thursday, November 9th, Syminges rendered a "plenam rationem computi sui, pro toto sexennio elapso, et finito." He turned in all his computations, his books, and £90 16s 8d he had with him. He deducted £31 18s 2d from the total for what he termed necessary expenses (not too high considering the length of the period), and confessed himself burdened with £108 18s 6d.<sup>39</sup> On the same day he turned over the common seal of the College to the new president, Doctor Giffard.<sup>40</sup>

It is not at all clear what happened during the nine silent years. When the record closes down, Syminges is president; when it opens, he still has almost all of the money belonging to this most important medical group in England. For the last six years at least he had been president, and it looks as though he had been for the other three as well. Whatever the situation was, Syminges did not lose control of the group. During the spring of 1582 he did not appear at any of the council meetings, but on June 25th he reappears as a new and more powerful force. Instead of being held at the college, "comitia sunt habita in aedibus D. Seminges," and here the eight officers met, with no president named. Nothing of importance was accomplished. The only business consisted of sending one Thomas Gyle to jail for illegal practice.<sup>41</sup>

The next two meetings, however, were far more important and rank high in historical interest. Both took place in Syminges' house. Nine men were present on July 6th, with Syminges heading the list, the others being Caldwell, Walker, Wootton, Barnsedale, Forster, Jonson, Gilbert, and Marbeck. They decided that the sums of money that they had in their keeping should be used "pro dignitate loci caepta [sic] est aedificatio, progrediatur, et ad maiorem perfectionem perducatur."<sup>42</sup> It is evident that they were thinking ahead to the greater stature of their organization and planning accordingly.

On August 3rd an even more important plan was set in motion by the same group.<sup>43</sup> A series of lectures in Surgery were founded, to be given by Doctors Lumley and Caldwell, the former living in the Queen's Palace. These lectures formed a part of the new view taken of the Royal College and its functions in forwarding medical knowledge. For his part in this action, Donne's stepfather no doubt deserves much credit.

The next meeting occurred early in the morning on October 1st, at Dr. Caldwell's house, when Syminges and Caldwell decided to keep the same officers for the following year. Apparently the College did pretty much what Syminges decided, even though he was no longer president. They retired to Syminges' house "a prandio" to arrange a

proper announcement of the decision to the rest of the College.<sup>44</sup> The "elections" took place at Caldwell's house on November 7th.<sup>45</sup> From this time on Syminges began to retire from the activities of the College, although he never withdrew completely, maintaining his position as an Elector until his death. The meetings now returned to their proper place, at the college, and the president's name appears at the head of those attending. Whenever Syminges was present, however, his name appears second only to the President. He missed the meeting on November 12th but was there on November 22nd and 27th.<sup>46</sup> Then followed a period of nearly a year in which he did not attend, for it is not until the election meeting on September 30, 1583, that his name reappears among the officers present.<sup>47</sup>

There was good reason for Dr. Syminges slowing down in his activity. He was at least 60 years old, a far more advanced age in the sixteenth century than in our own. Apparently his health had begun to fade as well. Along with everything else he had to put up with four young Donnes, although Alice was by now of a marriageable age and Anne was fast approaching it. On July 9, 1583, Alice was taken off his hands by one James Russell, who married her in the church of Holy Trinity the Less.<sup>48</sup> The time was coming for John and Henry to go off to

University if they were to get an education before they had to declare their religious position. With this prospect of a small family, the large house in which they lived must have appeared more of a burden than a blessing. Perhaps thinking of his own physical condition, the Doctor decided to move nearer to regular medical care. In the July 24, 1584 yearly poor rate account of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less, "Mr Doctor Simons" paid 7s 6d for three quarters of the yearly 10s rate.<sup>49</sup> This would indicate that Syminges had moved into the parish some time in the autumn of 1583. He must have been a subtenant, for his name does not appear in the Register of the Hospital. The year before, on October 2, 1582, a Robert Symons was buried in St. Bartholomew's,<sup>50</sup> but whether he was a relative of the doctor and left a house vacant for the Syminges or not is a moot question. At any rate, the Doctor continued to pay the ten shilling poor rate every year until his death.<sup>51</sup>

During the winter of 1583 and spring of 1584, Syminges once again forsook the meetings at the college. There were probably the necessary activities in setting up a new home, and the distance across to Knightrider St. from Smithfield was considerably greater than had been the few blocks from Trinity Lane. But in June of 1584 his name begins to reappear in the records. He was present at

two election meetings that month, one at the college on the 10th and one at Dr. Giffard's on the 25th.<sup>52</sup> On September 3rd he attended another meeting at the college.<sup>53</sup> If Gosse was correct in assuming that Jasper Heywood was released from the Tower and lived with his sister in the summer of 1584, then we might have an explanation of Syminges' renewed interest in escaping to the meetings.

On the 23rd of October the household once again grew smaller when John and Henry, aged 12 and 11, matriculated at Hart Hall, Oxford. This left the parents alone except for the eldest child Anne, and the Doctor felt more than ever like retiring. After a meeting at Baronsedale's house on Nov. 5th,<sup>54</sup> he submitted a "humilem petitionem" to be allowed to absent himself from meetings. On the 10th the committee granted him a dispensation to be free "vel adesse, vel abesse pro Arbitrio." The reasons given are the ones to be expected: "Ingravescentis iam aetatis suae ratione habitâ" and "pro Valetudinis ratione." The committee made it clear that it was not because of any desire of theirs that they should have to give up his valuable presence.<sup>55</sup>

The Doctor took quick advantage of the dispensation and retired to his home, missing the next nine meetings at the college. At the election meeting on September 30, 1585, his name appears first on the list of those

present.<sup>56</sup> After missing a meeting, he returned on October 23rd, for an important meeting to discuss the possibility of including "transmarinus" doctors into the college.<sup>57</sup> Up to the last his interest in the policies of the organization was clear. Then, after missing another eight meetings, he attended his last on July 18, 1586. It was not an important one: Christopher Miller of Norfolk was licensed to practise medicine "per vniuersam Angliam" and was made a fellow of the College.<sup>58</sup> An old man, Dr. Syminges retired to the quiet of his home with his wife and two servants.

In the summer or autumn of 1585 Anne had married Avarey Copley, son of one of the leading Catholic businessmen of York, receiving her share of her father's legacy, as we have seen, on November 18th. This left the parents alone except for visits by the two sons on holiday from Oxford. Luckily, Syminges lived just long enough for the affairs of war to bring us some final details of his life at St. Bartholomew's. In Journal 3 of St. Bartholomew's Hospital is a list of the names of the "howseholders" and "seruauntes" of the Precinct with their provision of men and armor for Her Majesty's service, otherwise known as the Armada List. Miss Veronica Stokes, the Assistant Archivist of the hospital, has generously transcribed the entry for my work on Syminges' life. On March 27,

1588, Sir Rowland Hayward, Knight, et al., collected the money required of all citizens as well as noting which servants were "fitt to serve." Second on the list was "Mr. Dr. Syminge", who gave the extremely large sum of £150, enough to furnish 4 Corolettes, 1 muskett, and 2 Caleivers, or rather the men so armed. He had two servants: Innocent Robinson, aged 20, "fitt for" a Corolette, and John Blade, aged 30, fit for a Caleiver.<sup>59</sup> Not only does this give us the name of his servants, it indicates also that his wealth had not suffered through the years. Syminges' assessment was the highest in the area. Two men had to pay £50 and two £15. All the rest were under £10 or "fitt to serve."

Before his death he also tried to make some arrangement for a steady source of income for his wife, when he purchased the fee simple of the manors of Portscuett, Harpton, and Sudbrook in the county of Monmouth for himself and wife. He died before any conveyance or assurance could be made, however, and £400 was lost to his wife.<sup>60</sup>

So the record of Dr. John Syminges' life draws to a close. According to Wood and those who have followed his lead, Syminges died in his house at St. Bartholomew's on July 7, 1588. This is probably several days too

soon, but that is unimportant. Certainly he was buried on the 15th in the church there.<sup>61</sup> He was nearing 70 if he had not yet reached his allotted span, and his life had been a full one. What his exact influence on Donne was we shall never know, but it must have been reasonably strong. The poet grew up in the company of doctors and patients, and this may very well account for his large knowledge of medicine. Apart from this, we must come to recognise Syminges himself as a physician of ability and foresight. During his life time he did perhaps as much as any member of the Royal College ever has for the establishment of that society as one of the leading medical organizations of the world.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 21.  
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 22. The College of the Ambrosiani seem to have been another name for the Ambrosian, general Cancellors of the College.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 24. The Electors of the College may have been the same as the Ambrosian.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 25. The Ambrosian College was founded in 1577.

1. In manuscript records his name appears as Syminges, Simynges, Symmings, Symynges, Simmynges, Simonges, Seminges, Semings, Symondes, Symonds, Simonds, Simond, Shymings, Symins, Simons, Symons, and Symone. In all of the most accurate or trustworthy records, however, it is Syminges or Symynges.
2. Fasti, I, 81. "In what Coll. or Hall educated, I know not. Sure I am that he was one of the Coll. of Physicians in London, where he was in great Practice; and dying in his House in Little St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, 7 July 1588, was buried in the Church in the Spittle there."
3. C. W. Boase, Register of the University of Oxford, Vol. I, Oxford Historical Society, Vol. I, 1885, Index and p. 197.
4. William Munk, The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London, Vol. I, London, 1878, p. 59.
5. Ibid., p. 9.
6. Liber Annalium Collegii Medicorum Lond. Primus ab anno 1518 ad annum 1572, fo. 7.
7. Munk, op. cit., pp. 8-10.
8. Annals, fo. 7v.
9. Ibid., fo. 14, October 2, 1556.
10. Munk, pp. 17-20.
11. Annals, fo. 16.
12. Ibid., fo. 17v.
13. Ibid., fo. 19v.
14. Ibid., fo. 20v.
15. Ibid., fo. 21v.
16. Ibid., fo. 22. The duties of the Consiliarii seem to have been exactly what the title implies, general Counsellors of the College.
17. Ibid., fo. 23.
18. Ibid., fos. 24, 25v, 27, 28v. Only the Electors are named for '65, '66, and '67, so Syminges may have remained president. There is a president named in 1568.
19. Ibid., fo. 30.
20. Ibid., fo. 31v.
21. Ibid., fo. 32v.
22. Ibid., fo. 34.
23. Patent Rolls Elizabeth, Vol. II, 1560-1563, p. 71; 3 Elizabeth Part IV, m. 24.
24. Ibid., p. 199; Part 13, m. 1.
25. Register of Holy Trinity the Less, No. 1, 1547-1663.
26. Ibid., the entry reads incorrectly "ixth yeere 1566."
27. SPD Elizabeth, 1547-1580; p. 304, vol xlvi, Jan.-June 1568, #1.
28. Ibid., p. 300, vol. xlv, 21.
29. Richard Davey, The Sisters of Lady Jane Grey, London, 1911, p. 97.

30. SPD, p. 305, vol. xlvi, 12.
31. Davey, op. cit., p. 177.
32. Book of the Names of all ye Citizens..of London, 1572, fo. 19v.
33. Trinity Register, incorrectly recorded "xv Elizabeth 1572."
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. See Appendix I.
37. "All those children (...for whose education you were so carefully and so chargeably diligent)", Gosse, II, 89.
38. Annals, Vol. II, fo. 1.
39. Ibid., fo. 4.
40. Ibid., fo. 4v.
41. Ibid., fo. 14v.
42. Ibid., fo. 15.
43. Ibid., fo. 15v; A Cambridge man, Doctor Smith, was in Jonson's place.
44. Ibid., fo. 16.
45. Ibid., fo. 16v.
46. Ibid., fos. 17 and 18.
47. Ibid., fo. 27v.
48. Trinity Register. In the plague year of 1593 nothing short of disaster almost destroyed this family. On Sept. 4, Joyce Russell was buried, on Oct. 22, Elizabeth, Oct. 27, Richard, Nov. 10, John, and Nov. 18, Joan.
49. St. Bartholomew Churchwardens' Accounts, Vol. I, 1575-1614, fo. 21. His name is second after Dr. Turner who, in 1580 had replaced Dr. Lopez as chief physician of the hospital.
50. Little St. Bartholomew Register 1547 to 1646.
51. Churchwardens' Accounts, Vol. I, fos. 25, 28, 30, 32. In 1587 his name appears second after Dr. Bright, who in 1586 became chief physician. In the 1588 list his name is first.
52. Annals, fos. 33v, 34.
53. Ibid., fo. 37v.
54. Ibid., fo. 38.
55. Ibid., fo. 38v.
56. Ibid., fo. 44v.
57. Ibid., fo. 45v.
58. Ibid., fo. 52v.
59. St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Journal 3, fo. 287v.
60. Alfred Ransford, "Abstracts from Ransford Documents in the Public Record Office", N & Q, 15 May 1926.
61. Little St. Bartholomew Register 1547 to 1646. The rules of the Royal College were not adhered to regarding the replacing of Syminges by a new elector. It was not until January 23, 1589, that Dr. Jeessopp was admitted as an Elector, "In locū D. Symins defuncti." Annals, fo. 71v.

## Appendix III

During the autumn and early winter of 1952 a correspondence took place in the columns of the Times Literary Supplement concerning the authorship of the first of the Burley letters contained in Mrs. Simpson's Study of the Prose Works of John Donne. The discussion was touched off by my article, "Donne's 'First Letter'", which was written to show that there was no reason to consider this letter Donne's and that the evidence was against it. Owing to the nature of the last letter of the series in the T L S and the fact that both my article and last letter were substantially cut by the editor, I should like to review the discussion shortly here, for it is one of considerable importance in Donne scholarship.

The main argument set forth in the article was that as far as the evidence shows, Donne was with Essex during the Islands Voyage and that the writer of the letter was with the part of the fleet under Howard. If this was true, there would be no question of the incorrectness of ascribing the letter to Donne, but several imposing opponents have argued against Donne's being with Essex. It will be my attempt here to weigh the arguments and see what has been shown.

Before the points are mentioned, one thing must be realized. Unless some future scholar finds a signed copy of the letter involved, no one can prove that Donne did or

did not write it. We can only work on the basis of probabilities and comparative weight of evidence. It must also be realized on which side the burden of proof lies. The only reasons for believing that it was written by Donne are that it concerns a trip Donne took part in and that it was in a group of letters that Logan Pearsall Smith and Mrs. Simpson thought were by Donne. The first would, of course, be a reason that would hold for its authorship by any reasonably clever man in the entire fleet. The second will not stand up under argument, as we shall see.

The matter of style has been carefully avoided by everyone taking part in the discussion, and with rather good reason, for arguments on that basis are always open to suspicion. During the interchange of letters in the T L S I mistakenly thought Mr. I. A. Shapiro agreed with me that any argument on style would be against Donne's having written the letter, but I still feel that such is surely the case. I know of no word-play by Donne, in either his letters or poems, of the type shown in the letter:

he that hath supt and hath 2 or 3<sup>s</sup> is a king;  
 for none hath a crowne...all are vtterly coynel-  
 les. in one bad bare word the want is so  
 generall that the lo: generall wants and till  
 this day wee wanted the lo: generall.<sup>1</sup>

This is clever, and for that reason as much as any it has

found its way into almost all collections of Donne's work since Mrs. Simpson first printed it. But it is not Donne's way of playing with words and thought. T. S. Eliot's observation is of value here: "With Donne it is not, as it is with the Elizabethans in their worst excesses, the word, the vocabulary that is tormented--it is the thought itself."<sup>2</sup> Even the extreme punning of Elegie XI does not approach the present example. What little evidence can be drawn from the style is certainly against attributing it to Donne.

The textual evidence is also against attributing the letter to Donne. As Mr. Shapiro pointed out in his first letter,<sup>3</sup> the only three letters which can confidently be assigned to Donne are those that are separated from the main body of "Donne letters" in the Burley MS. Of these thirty-two letters, Mr. Shapiro, who is certainly the man most qualified to know among Donne scholars, quotes only twelve that "it seems to me possible that Donne wrote." After this highly tentative acceptance ("I exclude them from the canon of Donne's authenticated letters, and relegate them to an appendix"), he says, "it would be unjustifiable and unsafe to use any one of them as biographical source-material." And yet over and over again, they have been, in books, articles, and theses. But this first letter is not even one of these so tentatively accepted!

The support for the letter that followed by Mr. Novarr and Prof. Bald of Cornell University in later issues of the T L S is, therefore, all the more surprising.

The criticism levelled at my article on historical grounds can be divided in two. The first, begun by Mr. Shapiro and continued by Mr. Novarr, is against taking Walton's account too seriously or too exactly. The second, presented by Prof. Bald, is that Donne may have been with Howard and then been with Raleigh when the latter was becalmed in the Azores. Prof. Bald also joins in the argument concerning Walton.

One phrase under discussion is Walton's "waited upon his Lordship" in reference to Donne's presence on the Islands Voyage. I have argued that Walton intended the reader to understand that Donne personally attended Essex. The others have maintained that it could just as easily have meant merely that he was on the trip led by Essex, Mr. Shapiro somewhat illogically arguing that Walton "cannot be supposed to mean more than this, unless it can be shown that he never used the phrase in this common sense."<sup>4</sup> The fact remains that the most common usage of the phrase, "wait upon", in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was that of personal attendance. For this there is the evidence of the OED, among others. The weight of evidence remains on the side of Donne being with Essex. Moreover, the best

reasons for Donne's being on the trip at all favour his being literally with Essex. There is, first of all, his friendship with Wotton, which surely cannot be seriously questioned by Mr. Novarr after considering the testimony of Walton, King, Baker, the verse letters, their meetings on the continent in later life, and the cipher they used in personal letters, as well as Donne's generosity with "livings" to the Provost of Eton. There is the insinuation of Donne's verse letter to Wotton of the events on the voyage being held in common between them.<sup>5</sup> And there is, of course, the extremely strong resemblance between the events of the storm experienced by Essex's ships and Donne's poem "The Storme". Mr. Shapiro argues that this could have been written by a man in Howard's fleet, but only if you take the descriptions as being purely imaginative, for these ships escaped physically unscathed, unlike the ones with Essex. Prof. Bald certainly cannot have it both ways. If he wants to show Donne's being with Raleigh by a somewhat too literal examination of "The Calme", he must do so with "The Storme" as well or show cause, and he will have great difficulty.

As a subsidiary point to this argument Mr. Shapiro adds that we do not know Wotton was on the trip, but here it is necessary to call Walton a downright liar and overlook the evidence in Wotton's life of Essex<sup>6</sup> to think him anywhere else. And if Wotton was on the trip, we should

remember Bishop Henry King's statement that the Donne-Wotton friendship was "continued in their Travels." King's testimony on this point may be noticed because of his close friendship with Donne and because he would probably have been told something about Wotton's friendship by Donne when the latter was discussing "livings" with the Provost of Eton. Such matter would be the natural small-talk of these highly-placed churchmen. Once again, however, we are faced with the fact that although it could have been otherwise, the weight of evidence is on the side of Donne being either aboard Essex's ship or in his fleet. For one more point, his opportunity to write poems and work at translations, which he apparently did from his own testimony,<sup>7</sup> would have been much greater if he had been with Essex, who often had a good deal of time to spare, rather than with Raleigh, who was usually trying to catch up with his leader. This is, again, not a conclusive argument, for Raleigh sat helpless before St. Michael's for several days.

For the more important argument of Prof. Bald concerning Donne's being with Raleigh during the main part of the voyage, we must again weigh the evidence. The only reason that Prof. Bald gives for this is that we know Raleigh and his ships were becalmed for a day and two nights after reaching the islands. That scarcely

seems sufficient evidence. On the other side, we know that the entire fleet encountered several half-day calms, which would have been sufficient inspiration for Donne to have written a companion piece to "The Storme". Unfortunately we do not know many details of the actions of Essex's ships during the early part of this trip, and it is more than possible that he also encountered calms as Raleigh did. There is even the possibility that the maddening calm that kept the fleet tied up at Plymouth before their second sailing gave Donne his inspiration.

I pointed out in my last letter<sup>8</sup> that Howard's fleet was with Essex at the time of the calm that stopped Raleigh. Prof. Bald challenged my evidence by saying that "At least one ship from Lord Thomas Howard's squadron, the Dreadnought, was with Raleigh, and there may have been others." There may have been. The contemporary witnesses, however, say that the ships that joined Raleigh were from Essex's squadron, not Howard's.<sup>9</sup> It can also be shown quite easily that the "Dreadnought" was not the ship the writer of the letter under discussion had joined, for that had been one of the smaller ships carrying soldiers.

In answering my other points, which I stated were not conclusive, Prof. Bald was not fair: "dishonest" is too strong a term. I pointed out that Donne's feelings towards Raleigh are known to have been antagonistic, which would probably have not been the case had he served under

Raleigh, for the criticism of that man had been unfair. Prof. Bald argued that Donne was not uniformly hostile. He pointed out that the epigram "Cales and Guiana" and the letter "To Mr. R. W." suggest considerable sympathy with Raleigh's projects in Guiana. The first was written the year before the Azores voyage, and it has not been proven that it refers to Raleigh; it could easily refer to Essex. The second, as Prof. Bald mentions, may also have been written before the Azores trip in 1597, and sympathy with a project does not necessarily or even ordinarily mean sympathy with its sponsor. Prof. Bald also seems to infer that Donne's "problem", "Why was Sir Walter Raleigh thought the fittest man to write the history of these times", is not as "bitter" as is commonly held; I side with the majority opinion, however. He also seems to believe that Donne's friendship with Raleigh's brother-in-law indicates a friendship with Raleigh. The common experience of mankind does not bear this out. And, finally, Raleigh, although under Essex, was a sufficiently important person for Walton to have mentioned Donne's serving under him rather than under Essex. Once again, it requires too many "perhaps" to make this argument a convincing one to attribute the "first letter" to Donne.

That Donne never used such figures as the flying fish and lunar rainbows, both so strikingly obvious to those in

Raleigh's fleet, is not a conclusive proof that Donne was not with them. But it is an indication. For Prof. Bald to limit my argument merely to the poem, "The Calme" is a debater's technique, not an answer.<sup>10</sup>

The last of these points has to do with the fact that if Donne's "Isles which wee seeke" is to be taken literally, he must have been on a ship widely separated from Raleigh's, and no combination of possibilities or scanning of large-scale maps eliminates the difficulties of using this as an argument for Donne's being with Raleigh, who was among the islands when the calm settled in. The mere fact that all of the ships with Raleigh realized the importance of getting to Essex as quickly as possible for an already delayed action would be sufficient reason for them to be sailing in as close proximity to one another as possible, perhaps as close as the entire fleet sailing to Cadiz the year before had done, when each ship had kept within hailing distance of its neighbors.

The fact remains that Donne may have been with the Raleigh squadron in the above-mentioned calm. If so, it does not mean that the letter under discussion was written by him. Prof. Bald would have to show a good number of switchings from ship to ship during the stay of the fleet at Plymouth after the storm, and this way leads to chaos. One possibility, certainly, is that Donne was aboard one

of the ships from Essex's squadron that was becalmed with Raleigh, but there is still no real reason for doubting that he ever was separated from Essex at any time.

Everything that we have in the way of more or less definite evidence indicates that Donne went on the Islands Voyage with Essex. The only argument against it is a letter that has no textual or stylistic evidence to support it. Surely it is doubtful scholarship to attempt to reinterpret all we know on such a shaky basis. It is even poorer scholarship to present the letter to Donne readers as definitely his, as has been done by every important editor of Donne prose since Mr. Smith's "discovery". There is no one who would more enjoy including this letter in the Donne canon than I, for it is thoroughly enjoyable and would give us a rather delightful picture of the young Donne in a playful mood. But such an attribution is a dangerous one, for it would show a facet of him we do not encounter anywhere else. Such an insight into his character should surely have better substantiation than an argument founded entirely on wishful thinking and forced reasoning.

1. Mrs. Simpson, p. 304.
2. Eliot, "Donne in Our Time", A Garland for John Donne, 1931, p. 12.
3. T L S, Sept. 12, 1952.
4. Ibid., Sept. 26, 1952.
5. Grierson, Vol. 1, p. 187.
6. Wotton's description of events on the Islands Voyage mentions incidents recorded nowhere else and indicates that the writer was around to see the occurrences.
7. Gosse, Vol. 1, p. 189.
8. T L S, Nov. 14, 1952.
9. See Lediard, Vol. 1, 355, for the summation of the various accounts.
10. This attitude unfortunately characterizes most of Prof. Bald's last letter. In the discussion of Walton's handling of Donne's ordination, Prof. Bald chose only to bring up facts well-known to any student of Donne from such valuable articles as Prof. Wilson's 1927 RES article on Donne's early life, as well as R. E. Bennett's article on the apparition scene in the Life of Walton. Perhaps he should also have credited Mr. Bennett for the clearing up of the letter of Donne that referred to having dinner with Bishop King at his house alongside of St. Paul's. (T L S, Aug. 29, 1936). I was undoubtedly to blame for substituting "Fulham Palace" for "infra Palatium suum Episcopale London" ("London" is not a contracted form in the entry, although so recorded by Prof. Bald) in the ordination entry of the ordination book of the Bishop of London. The fact remains, however, that Fulham was the Episcopal palace of the Bishop of London and had been from the 12th Cent. No matter which palace was referred to, the entry is as I described it and is a valuable record for an appreciation of Walton's description. This was passed by completely by Prof. Bald. Moreover, perhaps he did not realize that by comparing Walton's £3000 legacy which Donne was supposed to have received with the total sum left by his father, more problems are raised than solved. The children were to benefit from only one third of the entire estate as described by the will, not half, so that Donne would have received only £500 rather than £750, which is the sum that Prof. Wilson gives, probably rightly, but by no means certainly.

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