John Donne Journal
Vol. 11, Nos. 1 & 2 (1992)

Misogyny and Libertinism: Donne's Marriage Sermons

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Despite recent attention to Donne's marriage sermons and their relation to the doctrines and practices of their times, the significance of the institution of marriage for Donne remains unresolved. The relation of the sermons to Donne's earlier love poetry has also been seen as problematic.[1] This essay takes into account Donne's three published marriage sermons, as well as his pervasive treatment of marriage and related topics throughout the sermons and devotional prose to suggest a developing consistency of principles in Donne.[2]

An examination of Donne's marriage sermons in their historical context reveals basic principles of Donne's thought which also illuminate his earlier poetry. While there are obvious differences between the sermons of Donne's maturity and his earlier works—indeed one might expect the sharpest of contrasts between them—yet the sermons do not simply repudiate or ignore the topics and arguments of Donne's earlier poetry. Donne's mature prose develops the arguments of the earlier love poems, at times directly echoing their language and imagery. This paper, then, seeks to advance recent studies which challenge the common view of discontinuity or reversals in Donne's career and which argue for a consistency of principles in Donne's works.[3]

The marriage sermons were first printed as a group of three at the head of *Fifty Sermons* (1649), although the last was placed first, probably advertising the aristocratic families involved.[4] Together they constitute the most comprehensive outline of Donne's treatment of the subject. The first marriage sermon was preached on Genesis 2.18 ("And the Lord God said, it is not good, that the man should be alone; I will make him a helpe, meet for him") at Sir Francis Nethersole's marriage to Lucy Goodyere, shortly before February 12, 1619/20 (2: 335-47). Nethersole was Doncaster's secretary, Donne the chaplain to the failed Doncaster embassy to the Continent seeking to avert war over Bohemia. Lucy was the daughter of Donne's old and

intimate friend Henry Goodyere and the goddaughter of the Countess of Bedford, who had given her her name and provided a dowry. These people, as Donne notes in the text of this and the subsequent sermons, were Donne's friends.[5]

The second sermon, on Hosea 2.19, "I will marry thee to myself forever," was delivered at the marriage of Robert Sandys and Margaret Washington, May 30, 1621 (3: 241-55). Donne observes that he is delivering this sermon before many of the same people he had addressed in the first sermon. He thus refers the marriage in Hosea back to the marriage in Genesis, as well as to a future spiritual marriage in heaven. Donne is again apparently connected to the couple through Doncaster since Margaret Washington was one of Lady Doncaster's "fine" women (3: 20; 241). The last sermon, on Matthew 27.30: "For, in the resurrection, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven," was delivered several years later, early in the reign of Charles, at the marriage of Mary, daughter of the Earl of Bridgewater, to the eldest son of Lord Herbert of Castle Island, in London, November 19, 1627 (8: 94-109). The groom was the grandson of Donne's old friend Magdalen Herbert, Lady Danvers, whose death in early June of that year Donne had commemmorated, and the son of his literary friend Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. The bride Mary was the granddaughter of Donne's former employer Thomas Egerton (the elder sister of the Lady in Milton's *A Masque*) (8: 3-10). Donne weaves these personal associations into the fabric of the sermons, as each subsequent sermon refers to the preceding. In a discreetly recapitulating and self-revising sequence the sermons progress from a key text in Genesis, through the prophecy of Hosea, to an apocalyptic text in Matthew: respectively from Creation to Eternity and the Resurrection of the Body at the end of time. But the Resurrection of the body and the spiritual implications of eternity are already present in the first sermon, and these doctrines are turned back at every point of these sermons to the specific actions of married life, chiefly mutual help and mutual love. The sermons suggest a developing continuity of conception and purpose. They move towards what appears to be otherworldly spirituality only to give a spiritual direction to the actions of this life.

Mary Beth Rose finds in Donne's marriage sermons "unmitigated misogyny" and "intense and persistent negativity about marriage."[6] Yet this reading of the sermons misrepresents their basic principles and their relation to Donne's love poems. Donne's sermons do not, as these phrases imply, repudiate his earlier poetry of mutual love in the name of an ascetic or mystical ideal, or alternatively support the misogynous and libertine interpre-

tation of the poems. Clearly, the acerbity, asceticism, and misogyny, especially in Donne's first marriage sermon, have offended twentieth-century readers, and I do not mean to mitigate their force or their offensiveness. But, in justice, these traits should be placed in their historical context of perceived dangers of libertine self-indulgence, perceptions heightened by public outrage over sensational scandals in the second decade of the century and ensuing savage attacks on women.[7] Letters by John Chamberlain dated within two weeks of Donne's first marriage sermon record that the Bishop of London had given to all the clergy the "express commaundment" from the King "to will them to inveigh vehemently and bitterly in theyre sermons against the insolencie of our women" and their vanity of dress in wearing male fashions. Two weeks later he records that the order was very generally carried out. "Our pulpits ring continually of the insolence and impudence of women: and to helpe the matter forward the players have likewise taken them to taske, and so to the ballades and ballad singers, so that they come no where but theyre eares tingle."[8] Contemporary documents attest to a wave of popular misogyny. Marriage was emphatically a site of contestation in these decades, where the worth of women and of marriage itself was strongly disputed.[9] If Donne's sermons are placed in this context of conflict and instability—not to say social and institutional collapse—their basic principles and strategies appear in a different light.[10] Donne's later sermons in any case are more measured. Yet in all the marriage sermons, with whatever varying emphases, Donne engages the same adversaries.

In the sermons Donne engages and resists both libertine naturalism and ascetic mysticism as contrary extremes which meet in denying the human responsibility to fulfill a vocation in the world. Donne the love poet had charted a similar course for love between the extreme of libertine naturalism (mere body) and the extreme of Petrarchan Neoplatonism (mere soul) by celebrating a love which is personal, mutual, and equal and joins the lovers in body and soul—like the companionate ideal of Christian marriage. Donne's love poems are thus neither the romantic fantasies Dame Helen Gardner sees nor the expressions of a sceptical, neurotic egotism John Carey has discerned.[11] These influential interpretations of Donne's work represent the two principal extremes (disembodied mysticism and libertinism) which Donne directly engages and resists throughout his works.

1

Donne's account in his first marriage sermon of the institution of marriage at the time of general creation carefully modulates the functions of

the natural and the spiritual. Throughout a long opening passage Donne repeats that all creatures were given the general command and "natural desire" to increase and multiply. This repetition, echoing the phrasing of Melancthon, underlines the original and continuing goodness of this natural desire for sexual union.[12] In this Reformation tradition, Donne firmly guards the goodness of the natural against a predominant pessimism and asceticism. But Donne simultaneously guards against libertine and merely naturalist interpretations of this doctrine by insisting that from the beginning human beings were given more than this natural desire to propagate. This natural desire is a blessing given to human beings as well as to all other creatures, but to human beings is given a further and more particular blessing "in contracting, and limiting that naturall desire" to a single spouse in matrimony (2: 335). The introduction of monogamy is the usual Christian interpretation of Genesis in the light of Matthew 19. 4-10 and 5. 31-2; but Donne's phrasing glances at the Renaissance controversy over the sexual ethics of the state of innocence, a controversy in which he had also engaged as a love poet.

Classical and Renaissance libertines interpreted the age of innocence as one of promiscuity or "plurality of loves,"[13] and Donne acknowledges and then overturns this view, just as he had used it ironically in some of his love poems (see "The Relique," l. 30: "nature, injur'd by late law, sets free"; "Confined Love"; "Communitie"; "The Indifferent," l. 11). Donne acknowledges libertine interpretations of the purpose of propagation when he remarks (self-evidently) that there is no particular need of marriage for that; there could be generation of children without marriage (3: 245). In the same vein, but moving in the contrary direction, Donne qualifies the potential for naturalism in propagation by insisting in the first sermon that not everyone must, or even should marry. And yet God's purposes and glory require human society and so families, marriage, and propagation as a social and spiritual good, for only a reasonable service renders glory to God and only human beings can be glorified by God (2: 336-343). Donne's characterization of the original institution of marriage thus refutes both libertine naturalism[14] and also spiritualizing asceticism. Yet more explicitly than he refuses naturalism, he counters, even while echoing, the persistent ascetic doctrine that the general command to marry and generate children had been superseded in its general application by the advent of the spiritual bridegroom, Christ, and by the overpopulous and decadent state of the world.[15] Donne's refusal of mystical asceticism here is a consistent development of his distaste for Petrarchan Neoplatonism in his love poems. The implications of the

institution of marriage in Paradise repudiate these dualistic tendencies (3: 242-3; 2: 335-6).

Donne's account establishes the essential goodness and usefulness of the natural order together with its insufficiency without God's grace. The natural and spiritual are at best inseparable; even in the state of innocence nature required the blessing of divine grace for its proper human function. This explicit contention in Donne's sermons parallels the argument of those love poems which argue that human love at its best requires the participation of body, soul, and spirit. Their separation is a tempting and dangerous simplification of human experience into dualism. The argument of Donne's "The Extasie" parallels the argument of these sermons. The human lovers in that poem experience a union of souls, but their united souls are further perfected and spiritualized through love:

> A single violet transplant,
> The strength, the colour, and the size,
> (All which before was poore, and scant,)
> Redoubles still, and multiplies.
> When love, with one another so
> Interinanimates two soules,
> That abler soule, which thence doth flow,
> Defects of lonelinesse controules. (ll. 37-44)

Spiritual union, which grows out of mutual love, perfects the lovers in soul and body both. The poem strikingly parallels the effort in Donne's sermons to counteract dualism in these terms.[16]

2

As the first marriage sermon had asserted the divine ordinance of marriage, the second defends the validity of marriage for all not barred by consanguinity.[17] Donne sharply rejects contrary extremes in the evaluation of marriage and women to establish a moderate centre (see also 10: 150; 8: 101-104). The swift movement from the normative force of the original institution in Paradise to the perverse contemporary situation characterizes all Donne's work. God brought men and women together in Paradise; to wall them apart in monasteries and cloisters advances the doctrine of devils (3: 242). The contrary extremes of licentiousness and asceticism are aligned and joined, but asceticism is again exposed as the greater perversity, a human

invention which aids the devil. Donne's development of a moderate centre in the evaluation of women and of marriage is a careful statement of a fundamental principle operating ironically throughout his satirical verse and positively throughout his works. A very carefully phrased passage echoes exactly the language and arguments of Donne's satiric and ironic poems (particularly "Communitie" but also "The Indifferent"), thus confirming the satiric intention of those parodies of libertinism.[18]

> Between the heresie of the Nicolaitans, that induced a community of women, any might take any; and the heresie of the Tatians that forbad all, none might take any, was a fair latitude. Between the opinion of the *Manichaean* hereticks, that thought women to be made by the Devil, and the *Colliridian* hereticks that sacrificed to a woman, as to God, there is a fair distance. Between the denying of them souls, which S. *Ambrose* is charged to have done, and giving them such souls, as that they may be Priests, as the *Peputian* hereticks did, is a faire way for a moderate man to walk in. (3: 242)

Between the extremes of laxness and rigor, worship and contempt, a moderate way can be found. Donne's characterization of a moderate centre, "a fair distance," "a fair way," is trenchant: "To make them [women] Gods is ungodly, and to make them Devils is devillish; To make them Mistresses is unmanly, and to make them servants is unnoble; To make them as God made them, wives, is godly and manly too" (3: 242). The passage moves down from untenable absolute opposites (Gods, Devils; "all," "none") to the fashionable adulteries of courtly convention ("mistresses," "servants") and concludes with a characteristic reversal which relates the human and divine through marriage. By placing the fashionable language of adultery ("mistresses," "servants") within the pattern of these pointed antitheses, Donne exposes irregular liaisons as irrational and dehumanizing to men ("unmanly," "unnoble") as well as to women. The original institution of marriage in Paradise and the history of doctrinal aberrations are brought to bear on the rational and religious duty of men to marry and to care for their wives in the present. These assertions by Donne, in the tradition of Reformation teaching, overturn a world of mystical asceticism and misogyny along with a competing and apparently contrary libertinism.[19]

It might still be remarked that the extreme views represented by the heresies Donne catalogues had immediate topical application. Some Antinomian sects held women in common.[20] Roman asceticism prohibited

marriage to religious and priests. Contemporary satirists and libertines denied women souls.[21] Some sects made them priests. Neo-Ovidian poets reduced women to bodies; Petrarchists idealized them to the divine. Popular moralists called them devils. Donne reflects and responds to all of this in his poetry, but the poems should be reconsidered in the light of his consistent view in the sermons that marriage is not, as the ascetics taught, merely a concession to human weakness but rather God's divinely appointed ordinance for the relations of men and women, biologically, socially, and spiritually. Donne's poems which dramatize these attitudes should be appraised in this light.

3

Donne develops with particular intensity the commonplace that marriage is a centre of human society. Donne's texts here echo the formulations of such favoured authorities as Augustine and Chrysostom. Chrysostom argues that the institution of marriage in Paradise shows marriage to be the closest and best relation known to human beings.[22] For Augustine the creation of Eve from Adam's side signifies the divine recommendation of the great value that the union of husband and wife should have;[23] this mode of creation shows the force of the union which should exist between spouses, besides foreshadowing the union of Christ and the church by his death on the cross.[24] God created all humanity from Adam to emphasize the social bond joining all humans, but they have violated nature, and from the most social race, become the most contentious.[25] Chrysostom elaborates this social bond more fully and imaginatively.[26] Like these writers, Donne gives the greatest social importance to the institution of marriage: ". . . both of *Civill* and of *Spirituall* societies, the first roote is a *family*; and of families, the first roote is *Mariage*" (2: 336). Marriage is the foundation of societies, both civil and spiritual, which in turn inhere in each other. Donne gives a spiritual extension to the marriage relation. Again like Augustine and Chrysostom, Donne attributes the cause both of human existence and the human obligation of social involvement to the sociability of God. But Donne goes beyond Augustine and modifies his doctrine by insisting on a continuing, sacred and natural, social obligation to marry. This development of Donne's bears the marks of humanist and Reformation thought.

For Donne human sociableness is not only natural; it is an image of God's. Against manifestations of social disintegration in the third decade of the seventeenth century, perhaps with particular reference to sectarian divisions, Donne elaborately develops the value of human society. "From the beginning God intimated a detestation . . .of *singularity*; of beeing *Alone*"

(6: 81). God is a plural God, and created creatures in the plural. "God seemes to have been eternally delighted, with this eternal generation" (5: 113; see also 2: 279; 6: 150-67; 8: 155). In the *Devotions* (1624) Donne avers that the greatest misery of sickness, itself the greatest misery, is solitude. It is abhorred by God and nature. God may serve as a figure for society, since there are a plurality of persons in one God; "all his external actions testifie a love of *Societie*, and *communion*." God will allow "no *Phenix*; nothing singular, nothing alone."[27] In a sermon developing the relation between the priest and his congregation as a marriage analogue Donne focuses on this social theme in terms of creation and marriage.

> *Male, and Female created hee them*; And when he came to make *him*, for whose sake (next to his own glory) he made the whole world, *Adam*, he left not *Adam alone*, but joyned an *Eve* to him; Now, when they were *maried*, we know, but wee know not when they were *divorced*; we heare when *Eve* was made, but not when shee *dyed*; The husbands death is recorded at last, the wives is not at all. So much detestation hath God himselfe, and so little memory would hee have kept of any singularity, of being alone. The union of Christ to the whole Church is not expressed by any metaphore, by any figure, so oft in the Scripture, as by this of *Mariage* . . .(6: 81-2, on Deut 25.5)

The context of this passage is the relation of priest and congregation as a marriage, but human marriage is what Donne is praising here. Human marriage forms part of God's regenerative plan for human beings; it participates in and contributes to this process.

In these terms Donne praises the social and spiritual function of marriage but avoids the uncritical celebration of marriage in some humanist and Reformed texts. Donne guards against the danger of self-indulgence and laxness in too personal a view of marriage. It was not good for man to be alone, according to Donne, not so much because man is but half a man without woman, as Calvin explains,[28] but rather because human beings do not participate in God's creative activity unless they join in human society, engage in the process of regenerating the world for God. Human beings must for Donne cooperate more fully with God than Calvinism allows. Calvin's emphasis on meet company, which many Reformers developed, would seem capable of self-indulgent applications, and Donne guards against that possibility with the assistance of patristic asceticism.[29]

Donne the preacher had similarly repudiated divorce on the grounds of the character of the marriage bond and its restored typology of representing the relation of the soul to Christ, or of Christ to the church. To divorce a husband or wife is a violation of the divine pattern. "Hee hath *Married* us, hee will not *Divorse*..." (7:92). At its best human marriage lasts until death. In a sermon from the middle of his preaching career, Donne impatiently rejoins against the opinion of Reformers and humanists that marriage could be dissolved because of adultery, desertion, and similar causes: "never ask wrangling Controverters, that make *Gypsie-knots* of Mariages; ask thy Conscience, and that will tell thee that thou wast maried *till death should depart you.* If thy mariage were made by the *Devill* (upon dishonest Conditions) the Devill may break it *by sin*; if it were made by God, Gods way of breaking of Mariages, is onely *by death*" (5: 119). This emphatic statement by Donne the preacher corresponds to the love poet's personal commitment until death in a number of now famous and characteristically well-wrought poems, such as "The Anniversarie," "The Good Morrow," "Sweetest love I do not goe," and "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning."

4

In expounding the purposes of marriage according to the Prayer Book preamble, propagation, remedy, and mutual help, Donne gives equal doctrinal weight to progeny (though by the second marriage sermon he has firmly extended its primary sense to the duty of religious education: 3: 245) and to mutual help; in practice he gives far more weight to mutual help.

Donne repeatedly praises the mutual love and mutual submission of spouses. In strikingly plain and simple language Donne assumes the voice of the biblical author: Moses thought he "said all" about the happiness of a married couple when he said that "*they loved one another.*" "*Moses* extends himselfe no farther, in expressing all the happinesses, that *Isaak* and *Rebecca* enjoyed in one another, but this, *shee became his wife, and he loved her*"(6:94).

Donne handles the purpose of mutual help to develop primarily the husband's love. In a personal address to husbands, Donne exhorts: we must love our wives because they are ours and because they are ourselves. We must love them because they are wives, and we have accepted the duty and obligation to love them until death (5: 118-9). Donne directly denounces the bromide that love and marriage are incompatible, a view perhaps best known as repeated by Montaigne.[30] (Though it was already an old courtly gibe in Andreas Capellanus, Donne calls it "barbarous inhumanity" [5: 118].)

An elaborately crafted passage in Donne's second marriage sermon focuses the original institution of marriage and society upon the human responsibility to *act* in *a body* in cooperation with the divine plan. "Every body needs the help of others; and every good body does give some kinde of help to others" (3: 246). God establishes human responsibility from the beginning. Donne's love poems similarly insist on bodily awareness. "To'our bodies turne wee then" constitutes the final emphatic movement of "The Extasie" (l. 60) The return to the body—so much discussed nowadays—is not cynicism but a recognition of the reality of the body as evidence for the existence of others and therefore responsibility for others. A pervasive strategy in Donne's devotional prose is to extend the meaning of the body into social and spiritual applications. This is not an evasion of the body or mysticism but an effort to establish a community and spiritual dimension to human action.[31] An analogous strategy is functioning in "The Extasie."

God's acts require human response, and Donne develops with particular emphasis the mutual help that spouses owe to each other. "The husband . . . in the nature of a foundation, to sustain and uphold all; The wife in the nature of the roof, to cover imperfections and weaknesses: The husband in the nature of the head from whence all the sinews flow; The wife in the nature of the hands into which those sinews flow, and enable them to doe their offices. The husband helps as legges to her, she moves by his motion; The wife helps as a staffe to him, he moves the better by her assistance . . . " (3: 247). The metaphors from building and then from the integration of the living and moving body are based upon the wife's subordination as well as upon mutual support, but the weight falls upon mutual support through responsive action. They are biblical metaphors, but the almost clinical elaboration is that of the poet: the double emphasis on "sinews"—"all the sinews"; "those sinews"—which "flow" from the head into "the hands" and "enable them to doe their offices." The imagery in the sermon draws marked attention not to the "head" but to the "sinews" which organically link head and hands in a responsible human act. The awkward syntax allows a momentary ambiguity whether the "sinews" flowing from the head into the hands enable the hands "to do their offices," or indeed the "hands" enable the "sinews" to do theirs. Either way, emphasis falls on the "flowing sinews" which enable the human act, as the indispensable linking term. In "The Funerall" Donne similarly, but with more arresting precision and concreteness, had used this image of sinews—"the sinewie thread"—which in itself has the power to make an organic and active unity out of distinct bodily parts: ". . . the sinewie thread my braine lets fall/ Through every part/ Can tye those parts, and make mee one of all . . ."(ll. 9-

11). As in the sermon attention focuses on active and organic unity through a middle term.

In "The Extasie" Donne wrote with greater precision of imagery and emotional resonance but to the same purpose of integration and incarnation through responsive action:

> As our blood labours to beget
> Spirits, as like soules as it can,
> Because such fingers need to knit
> That subtle knot which makes us man:
> So must pure lovers soules descend
> T'affections, and to faculties,
> Which sense may reach and apprehend,
> Else a great Prince in prison lies. (ll. 61-8)

As in the sermon, the poem's much disputed imagery stresses active linking through a middle term, the double motion of sense and spirit in relation. The "pure" souls of the lovers must descend to the active "fingers" which knit the human composite, to the soul's "affections" and "faculties"—the middle ground—which can be grasped by "sense" and so enable the "great Prince" (the united spirit of the lovers) to act, to perform its "offices" in time. In the sermon the unromantic and comic (indeed misogynous) image of legs and staff for mutually related motion similarly recalls the equally hard and perhaps comic image of moving compass legs in "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning," blending comedy with seriousness to give realistic force to the implications of mutual support and active relation.[32] Love is a duty enjoined by God between husbands and wives (6: 94 citing Eph. 5. 25; Col. 3. 19). The nature of the affection Donne defines in the sermons is the obverse of the inconstant and variable passion of the ironic *Songs and Sonets* and *Elegies*, but is a consistent development of the love in the poems of mutual love. The labour which is part of marriage is love, that is, an active engagement of all human faculties and affections (6: 94).

5

This study of Donne's prose supports the identification of a radical consistency of principles in Donne's treatment of love. The sermons support the discrimination of three fundamental and apparently inconsistent motives operating in the various expression and dramatic situations of Donne's love poems but also an underlying consistency of principles.[33] One motive is a

predominantly sensual and naturalist drive, reducing love to sexual appetite and longing. The contrary tendency is a refining spiritual love, in some poems taking the form of Petrarchan devotion (as in "Elegie IX: The Autumnall," "The Relique," "The Blossome," perhaps "The Funerall"), in others rising above merely human capacities (as in "The Undertaking" and "Negative Love"). In these spiritualizing poems a true human relationship, less complete than marriage, is implied behind the ironic Petrarchan imagery. The extremes here—from brutal cynicism to superhuman mysticism—are ironic. They are versions of extremes of naturalism and spiritualizing that Donne resists everywhere in his work. The speakers in the ironic love poems are representations of the votaries of the churches in "Satire III," by turns (or simultaneously) libertine or indifferent, sensual or cynically contemptuous of women. They are all motivated by a perverse self-will.

A third fundamental motive is Donne's characteristic blending of body and soul in love. Since all human faculties are engaged, this love is drawn into a fully joyous or suffering experience. These poems develop the theme of true love against the world and suggest Christian marriage. This good love is always in time and yet has a point of reference outside of time. The separation of the lovers from the world suggests spiritualizing, yet the poems on parting (the "Valedictions") all express the need for the lovers to go into the world and accept mutability and change, however "small". This duality supports the experiential realism of these poems, despite their wit and hyperbole.

The effect of Donne's cynical poems can be illustrated by "Loves Diet." The speaker in this poem reduces love to a material sexual appetite with a rigorous and sardonic logic sceptically stripping away all romantic and courtly conventions by insisting progressively on the falseness, inconstancy, and lustfulness of all women. Love thus tamed becomes a fit servant to the lover, a tame hawk for which women are the game.

> Thus I reclaim'd my buzard love, to flye
> At what, and when, and how, and where I chuse;
> Now negligent of sport I lye,
> And now as other Fawkners use,
> I spring a mistresse, sweare, write, sigh and weepe:
> And the game kill'd, or lost, goe talke, and sleepe. (ll.25-30)

The attack in this poem is directed at the falseness and illusions of romantic pretensions, but the instrument for the attack is a speaker who has slimmed

down his "vast love", not by ascetic discipline, but by cynical contempt for women. That is, he has reduced love to lust. This attitude of indifference is created with masterly conviction, but it is an attitude Donne has exposed ironically in such poems as "The Indifferent," "Communitie," "Goe and Catch a Falling Starre," "Love's Usury," and throughout his "Satires."[34] What is most fundamentally and yet most subtly exposed is the perversity of the speaker who imagines women as mere instruments of sexual gratification, as the objects of a brutal sexual appetite. "Love's Usury" pursues a similar argument and tone. The greatest evil the speaker can imagine is an emotional commitment in a mutual love. In exchange for a life of emotionally free sex the speaker will agree to submit to Love in age: "Spare mee till then, I'll beare it, though she bee/ One that loves mee" (ll. 23-4). (This is a surprising variation on Augustine's prayer for chastity: God make me chaste but not yet.) The exasperation and hyperbole here are comic; in "Loves Diet" they are darker. These ironic inversions of asceticism dramatise naturalism. Like Donne's sermons, they attack romantic pretensions and idealizations in the name of natural feeling and passion. But again like the sermons, they ironically expose the reductive insufficiency of a mere naturalism through the limitations of their speakers. The body is essential; but Donne is not content to rest with the body.[35]

Donne's poems of true love reproduce in their imagery and arguments the pattern of his doctrine of marriage. They repudiate dualistic extremes and dramatise the responsive act of mutual relation, mutual love, and mutual support that Donne urges in his marriage sermons. "The Extasie"—still occasionally regarded as cynical because it gives the human body a significant place in love—is a key poem for affirming the profound human obligation to act in a body. In his sermons Donne affirms that the "true nature of a good love . . . is a constant union" (1: 200). In "The Extasie" the lovers attest to a spiritual love free from change, for "th' Atomies of which we grow/ Are soules, whom no change can invade" (ll. 47-48). In "The Anniversarie," all things draw to their destruction: "Onely 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"(ll. 6-10). And in the "Good-Morrow": "If our two loves be one, or thou and I/ Love so alike, that none doe slacken, none can die"(ll. 20-21). A good love is constant, though in time. So a "Valediction: Of My Name in the Window" exposes beneath the strained ingenuity of its inventions (of glass and lines) for consolation the keeping of "our firme substantiall love" (l. 62). "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning"

rises painfully to the consolation of the attained constancy of the lovers, in their spiritual love for each other.

> But we by a love, so much refin'd
> That our selves know not what it is,
> Inter-assured of the mind,
> Care lesse, eyes, lips, and hands to misse. (ll. 17-20)

Yet these loves are all deeply in time, in a body, though they keep a constant reference point outside of time.

In his sermons Donne remarks that only good love "always grows, always proceeds" (1: 199). Human lovers cannot come to that perfection in their loves; yet they are enjoined by divine command and example to strive for it. Donne's poems of true love celebrate a love which is constant or growing. In "Lovers Infiniteness" the speaker finds "my love doth every day admit/ New growth" (ll. 25-6). In "Love's Growth" the lover avers that "No winter shall abate the springs encrease" (l. 28). In "A Lecture Upon the Shadow" the speaker shows that "Love is a growing, or full constant light" (l. 25). Even though in time love can draw near to the ideal in these poems.

Donne's poems of true love celebrate a love which is constant in its intensity, and mutual, joining the lovers in body and soul. The Valedictions, in their metaphors of parting as death, all assume the spiritual union of the lovers. Since they are joined in spirit, if their bodies part their souls are "drawn out" from their bodies, and so parting is death. These strong affirmations of spiritual love all accept mutability and the threat of death, and affirm the continuation of love despite such crosses. These poems are consistent with the affirmation in Donne's sermons of the permanence of the bond of marriage as a spiritual commitment, the profound obligation to love and mutual support through the vicissitudes of time, in imitation of a divine pattern and a divine injunction.

My examination of Donne's marriage sermons in relation to his love poems does not support the general perception of discontinuity in Donne's career, or reversals in his fundamental convictions and modes of expression. Both forms of expression support a human ideal of love as a union of equals, mutual, personal, permanent, in body, soul, and spirit—a marriage—as Donne's sermons make explicit.

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Notes

[1] See for example Arthur Marotti, *John Donne: Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), p. 138: "Both late in his marriage and after Ann's death Donne found it hard to speak positively about the sustaining love of husband and wife." He describes Donne's first marriage sermon as "a chilly performance." An important study by Mary Beth Rose trenchantly attacks "the intense and persistent negativity about marriage" in all three sermons, as discussed further below. (*The Expense of Spirit: Love and Sexuality in English Renaissance Drama* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990], p. 99, note.) Heather Dubrow has qualified these conclusions in *A Happier Eden: The Politics of Marriage in the Stuart Epithalamion* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), by acknowledging more fully than usual the great diversity in attitudes towards women and marriage in the period, even in the same writers. Dubrow finds that "Donne's sermons repeatedly contradict themselves on the relative worth of marriage and celibacy" (p. 22) and (notably contradicting Rose's reading) that he "celebrates wedlock" in the last marriage sermon "with intense though not unqualified enthusiasm" (p. 23; contrast Rose's characterization of this sermon as developing "a compelling case against marriage as a lesser evil" p. 103). Dubrow traces these contradictions to deep ambivalences in the writers and in their culture. These illuminating studies fully treat the controversies of the age but do not consider sufficiently the extent of Donne's engagement with these controversies.

[2] Donne's poems are cited from *The Poems*, ed H.J.C. Grierson, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1912). References in the text and notes by volume and page number are to *The Sermons*, ed. G.R. Potter and E.M. Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-62). References to Donne's other works are to *Essays in Divinity*, ed. E.M. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952); *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal, London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1975); *Pseudo-Martyr* (London, 1610); *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (London, 1651). This paper forms part of an extended study of marriage and its analogues in Donne's works. A shorter version was delivered to the John Donne Society Annual Conference, Gulfpark, Mississippi, February 11-13, 1993.

[3] A number of recent studies have argued against this common view of Donne. The most comprehensive recent study is Terry G. Sherwood's *Fulfilling the Circle: A Study of John Donne's Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984): "A long view of his writings reveals consistent principles that reach fruition in the mature religious prose" (p. 3 and see throughout). A.E. Barker, "The Seventeenth-Century: Revised Version," *JEGP* 62 (1963): 617-28, remarked that "we still somehow fail of perception as to Donne's satiric, hortatory, homiletic purposes and techniques" (p. 624) and invited reconsideration of Donne's poetry and prose as a

"disciplined effort to induce a response of active and intelligent right-willing in terms of only too immediately present dangers" (p. 626).

[4] *Sermons*, 10: 415; 3: 20. The first two of Donne's marriage sermons are included among the few extant in manuscript. The Merton manuscript contains the first two sermons as numbers 14 and 15 of its collection of sixteen sermons. The second sermon exists also as the fourth of five in the St. Paul's Cathedral Library. It was first printed as number 3 in *Six Sermons* (1634). See 1: 33-45. Jeanne Shami has reported discovering another manuscript version of the two first marriage sermons, "New Manuscripts of Sermons," John Donne Society Annual Conference, Gulfpark, Mississippi, February 11-13, 1993.

[5] 2: 43-4. For the background of this voyage of several months and its significance for Donne see R.C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 338-365, supplemented by the exhaustive but speculative *'So Doth, So Is Religion': John Donne and Diplomatic Contexts in the Reformed Netherlands, 1619-20* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988) by Paul Sellin. This fascinating study must be used with caution, although it documents the critical diplomatic and political moment in which the sermon and Donne are implicated. See especially the sermon's abrupt concluding reference to "*Spirituall fitnesse*, in the unanimity of Religion," of which (since there is no question of it lacking in the present couple) Donne does not regret "if either the houre, or the present occasion call me from speaking any thing at all, because it is a subject too mis-interpretable and unseasonable to admit an enlarging in at this time" (2: 347). The King continued to pursue the unpopular (and futile) hope of a Spanish match for Prince Charles, rather than support effectively the Protestant cause on the Continent, to which Nethersole and Doncaster now bent their efforts without success. For a comprehensive challenge to Sellin's interpretation of Donne's religious views and the meaning (and by implication probable dating) of Donne's "Satire III", see Richard Strier, "Radical Donne: 'Satire III'," *ELH* 60.2 (1993): 283-322.

[6] Mary Beth Rose, *The Expense of Spirit: Love and Sexuality in English Renaissance Drama* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 101 and 99n.

[7] Wright, p. 481. The principal scandal was the divorce and remarriage of Frances Howard (Countess of Essex), to Robert Ker (Earl of Somerset)—the King's ruling favourite—in 1613. The trial, conviction, and imprisonment of these aristocrats in 1616 as accessories in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower (where he had been imprisoned for stubbornly opposing the marriage) completed the shock to public opinion. They remained imprisoned in the Tower for several years, Somerset until 1621. The King's interventions in the case—even leading to certainly unfounded suspicions of complicity—compounded the disgrace. Donne had replaced Overbury as Ker's secretary during the period of the divorce and marriage, and had offered to write a defense of the divorce. He found himself obliged to write an epithalamion for the wedding instead. Donne had sought and obtained Ker's support for secular employment, but to no avail. The revelation of this story in the first years of his ministry would not be forgotten. For

an outline of the Somerset scandal, see S.R. Gardiner, *History of England... 1603-1642*, 10 vols. (London, 1883-4), volume 1: 166-215. For Donne's involvement, see Bald, 271-4; 289-295; 313-315. The judicious John Chamberlain wrote in a letter referring to the case and other crimes by women in July 6, 1616: these are "yll signes of a very depraved age and that judgments hang over us" (*The Letters*, ed. Norman E. McLure, 2 vols. [Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939], 2: 15). Bald speculates that Donne must have responded to the revelation of these events with "horror" and "shocked disbelief" (p. 314). The most extreme attack on women in these years, Joseph Swetnam's *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women*, was published in 1615 and became notorious.

[8] Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, January 25 1619/20 and February 12, 1619/20, respectively (2: 286-7 and 289; also quoted by Wright, pp. 492-3). Donne's editors note the first passage, but dismiss it; they do not refer to the second passage which provides evidence more difficult to dismiss of the force of the King's command (2: 44 note). Mary Beth Rose quotes and discusses these passages but not in relation to Donne's sermon.

[9] This background of conflict has been studied, but Donne's relation to it remains problematic. Heather Dubrow has recently underlined conflict in the materials relating to marriage and women. The materials and recent studies are extensive, but the controversies are usefully surveyed by Louis B. Wright (*Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935], pp. 201-227; 465-507), Ruth Kelso (*Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956], esp. pp. 5-56; 78-113; 136-207; 264-276; 307-322) and Linda Woodbridge (*Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind*, 1540-1620 [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984]). The terms of the conflicts are ancient, but the conflicts are intensified in the early decades of the seventeenth century. A lucid and cautious historical account which briefly seeks to place Donne among others in relation to the controversies is Katherine Usher Henderson and Barbara F. McManus, *Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts of the Controversy about Women in England, 1540-1640* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985). While noticing that Donne expresses the age's ambivalence about women, the authors discuss Donne's most cynical and misogynous lyric, "Communitie," as an engagement in the controversy about women which directs its ironies against the stereotypes and controversies themselves, not against women and, by implication, marriage. "Donne is poking fun at the controversy through the casually exploitative attitude of the speaker" (p. 107). They suggest that the targets of the irony are both misogynists and feminists. See also L.A. Mann, "Radical Consistency: A Reading of Donne's 'Communitie'," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 50 (1981): 284-299.

[10] For this familiar story, Gardiner's account can be supplemented by Perez Zagorin (*Rebels and Rulers, 1500-1660* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982]. 2 vols.) and such revisionist studies as *Faction and Parliament: Essays in*

Early Stuart History, ed. Kevin Sharp (1978; London and New York: Methuen, 1985). With varying emphases all agree that political and social disintegration took place against an ideal of harmonious cooperation between King and Parliament.

[11] See Dame Helen Gardner, ed., *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), Introduction, and John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind, and Art* (London: Faber, 1981).

[12] For example, in "De Conjugio Sacerdotium," *Opera Omnia*, Wittenberg, 1601, 1: 105-07.

[13] Harry Levin, "The Golden Age and the Renaissance," *Literary Views*, ed. Carroll Camden (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), esp. pp. 6-7; Hallet Smith, *Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 15-17.

[14] For the widespread Renaissance doctrine of "ferocious animality," see Hiram Hayden, *The Counter-Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950; rpt. 1960); Paul N. Siegel, *Shakespearean Tragedy and Elizabethan Compromise* (New York: New York University Press, 1957), esp. chs. 1-5; Theodore Spencer, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), pp. 21-50; L.C. Knights, "Shakespeare: 'King Lear' and the Great Tragedies," in *The Age of Shakespeare*, ed. Boris Ford (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1960), pp. 234-5.

[15] E. g. Augustine, *De bono coniugali*, 10. For John Colet in the early-sixteenth century, marriage is a concessio to human infirmity: "*infirmitas ab indulgenti Deo exigit nuptias.*" Marriage is tolerated, but no further step downward—a turn of phrase implying that marriage is just above adultery and fornication, and not a different kind of thing. C. S. Lewis remarks that these views represent "a return to earlier severity," but they seem rather continuous with an ascetic Neo-Augustinianism and mysticism which undermined such moderating attempts as Thomism (Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956], p. 158, citing Colet, *Enarratio in Ep. I ad Corinthios vii*). The same view is represented in the early-seventeenth century by the popular Jesuit exegete, Cornelius à Lapide, in *Comment. in* I Cor. 7. 9: *Commentari in Scripturam Sacram* (Paris, Lyons, 1865-66), 1: 78-79. Donne's repeated commendations of virginity and continence in marriage sermons have seemed odd to readers; the topic was disputed at the time, as Heather Dubrow has recently emphasized. Donne attempts to use this ancient doctrine with caution not to derogate from the value of marriage but to guard against libertine self-indulgence or a mere naturalism, even in marriage.

[16] L.A. Mann, "'The Extasie' and 'A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning': Body and Soul in Donne," in *Familiar Colloquy*, ed. Patricia Bruckmann (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1978), pp. 68-80.

[17] The last marriage sermon also defends the validity of marriage for all,

despite Donne's paradoxical choice of a text which had been used to derogate from the worth of marriage. (8: 94-109). See also below, note 18.

[18] See L.A. Mann, "Radical Consistency: A Reading of Donne's 'Communitie'," in note 9 above. The last marriage sermon echoes this passage with more force: "This fortification and rampart of the World, Mariage, hath the Devill battered with most artillery, opposed with most instruments: for, as an Army composed of many Nations, more sects of Heretiks have concurr'd in the condemning of Mariage, then in any one Heresie" (8: 101). The metaphor of warfare is telling. Yet Donne goes on to say that not even those heretics went so far as to justify "*Incontinency*, or *various lust*, or *Indifferency*, or *Community* in that kinde." Donne moves from the history of doctrine to the contemporary corruptions of Rome (and perhaps not only Rome), but the effort is to find a tolerable path between extremes of license and asceticism which the history of doctrine uneasily supports. The specific echo of the titles of Donne's libertine poems "The Indifferent" and "Communitie" as self-evident corruptions that not even the heretical extremes countenanced invites reconsideration of the intention of those poems. The passage supports explicitly the ironic and satiric reading of the poems.

The sermon argues through the interesting examples of Tertullian and Jerome for the need to examine texts critically against the particular circumstances of the times which might explain their intentions. The audience and the times must be considered. Donne's phrasing deserves close attention. He speaks of the "those blessed *Fathers* of the *Primitive Church*, who found some necessities in their times, to speak so very highly in praise of Continency and Chastity, as reflected somewhat upon mariage it selfe, and may seem to emply some under-valuation of that. Many such things were so said by *Tertullian*, many by S. *Hierome*, as being crudely, and nudely taken, not decocted and boyl'd up with the circumstances of those times, not invested with the knowledge of those persons, to whom they were written, might diminish and dishonor mariage" (8: 102-3). Surely this passage is elaborated well beyond the immediate needs of Donne's exposition, since both of the writers he discusses were notoriously intemperate on this topic. But is Donne not drawing attention to the need to "decoct" his own writings with a knowledge of the times and his audience? Is he not in fact suggesting how to read the acerbities in his first marriage sermon? The principle of context is a general one, particularly with "misinterpetable" and ironic writers.

Donne goes on at length to remind his auditors that Tertullian wrote to his wife, Jerome (for the most part) to the women in his following, "with one of which, he had so near a conversation, as that (as himself saies) the world was scandaliz'd with it; and that the world thought him fit to have been made *Pope*, but for that misconstruction which had been made of that his conversation with that Lady" (8: 103). Donne's account of this story, to which he recurs several times, suggests of course amusement and irony. But to this auditory—an aristocratic gathering including the Bridgewaters and the Herberts—a personal application might also

be possible. Donne, the "great visiter of Ladies," had had much conversation with "Ladies," and perhaps also misunderstandings over his writings, as his letters on the reception of "The Anniversaries" attest. But it is clear that people talked about Donne, and still do, in ways that discredited him. He might have been fit for an ambassadorship but for "misconstructions" of his "conversation" with ladies. Of course there were the worldly consequences of his marriage: but for that he might have been the older Bridgewater's secretary and more. Donne continues with the story about "particular reasons" that Jerome and Tertullian might have had for this "vehement proceeding of theirs." Perhaps, Donne adds (not quite ingenuously?), they only meant to tell us how continent those persons they addressed really were when "they seem to perswade Continency to those persons" (8: 103). Donne recurs to the stories of Jerome's relations with women elsewhere. See 1: 200-201: "I know *St. Jerome* . . . despised all scandal, and all malicious mis-interpretations . . . But, I know not so well, that he did well in so doing"; 2: 343: Jerome "had so much conversation amongst women, that it did him harm.") There is certainly amused irony in these references. But Donne gives the impression of commenting ironically on his own situation through the stories he tells, and the historical figures he chooses to present. Donne seems to be continuously revising and justifying his own procedures against potential detractors and misinterpretation. He is certainly commenting on his times, perhaps suggesting (as he openly declares in polemics against Rome) that there is no great distance between an extreme ascetic like Jerome and a libertine.

[19] See C.L. Powell, *English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1917); William Haller and Malleville Haller, "The Puritan Art of Love," *HLQ* 5 (1941-42): 235-272. See also, for example, Mary Beth Rose, pp. 29-31.

[20] These charges were frequently leveled at various groups. While they cannot be proved and may well have been merely polemical, it is sufficient for my purposes here that they they were thought to be true. They form part of extensive discussion of the Platonic community of wives, which was also associated with the practice of the early Christians. See Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (London: Temple Smith, 1972), p. 254 and Leo Miller, *John Milton Among the Polygamophiles* (New York: Lowenthal Press, 1974), p. 42.

[21] Donne's carefully varied verbal clauses in the sermon passage draw attention to the awkward phrase "is charged to have done"—spelled consistently in the manuscripts "donne"—perhaps reminding his audience familiar with his satirical writing that not only Ambrose but also *Donne* "is charged to have" denied "women souls." See Donne's "Problem VI: Why Hath the Common Opinion Afforded Women Soules?," *Juvenilia*, ed. R.E. Bennet (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936). But the sermon confirms again the satirical and ironic intentions of these earlier expressions, as Donne had insisted to Henry Wotton writing of his paradoxes: "They are rather alarums to truth than enemies." "If they make you to find better reasons against them they do there office; for they are but swaggerers:

quiet enough if you resist them . . . " (John Hayward, ed. *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose* [London: Nonesuch, 1962; 1929], p. 448.). Yet they are misinterpretable, as the history of interpretation and Donne's continuing references throughout the sermons suggest. See also 9: 190, which returns emphatically to this story about Ambrose and has been called Donne's retraction. It is rather a confirmation of the ironic and satiric interpretation of his early writings.

[22] "Hom. in Epist. ad Eph.," 20; "Hom. in Col.," 12.

[23] "*quam chara mariti et uxoris debeat esse coniunctio*"; *De civ. Dei* XII, 27, n. 1.

[24] *De genesis contra manichaeos* II, 24, n. 37; 11, n. 12; *De genesis ad litteram* IX, 13, n. 23; 18, n. 33.

[25] *De civ. Dei* XII, 21, 22, 27; XIV, 16. *De bono coniugali*, 1.

[26] "Hom. in Io, 1. 31-2," 19.

[27] *Devotions* V, Mediation, pp. 24-5; also Expostulation and Prayer, pp. 26-7.

[28] *Serm.* 41 on Eph. 5. 28-30: *Corpus Reformatorum*, 79: 761-2; *Comment. in Gen.* 1. 27; Ibid., 51: 28; *Comment. in Gen.* 2. 21. Chrysostom has a similar observation ("Hom. in Col." 12: *A Select Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, 13: 318-9).

[29] Donne refers contemptuously to the alleged Papal suggestion that Henry VIII resolve his matrimonial difficulties through bigamy (8: 265). Donne is silent about the Reformers involvement in this question but he would probably know that Bucer, Luther and Melancthon made similar proposals to Henry and to the Landgrave Philip who carried them out. See James Mackinnon, *Luther and the Reformation*, 5 vols. (London and New York: Longman, Green & Co., 1925-30), 4: 265-72. In *Pseudo-Martyr* Donne had referred to the "enormous dispensations from Rome; which no . . . pretence can justifie," such as Gregory III's communication to his legate Boniface that if a wife is too sick for conjugal relations another may be taken (p. 49). Donne is again silent about similar recommendations by Reformers, although Roman polemic made much of them. In the sermons Donne reaches the same conclusions as Lancelot Andrewes on the question of divorce and remarriage (1601), though with diffidence. This highly controverted position was consistent with Roman canon law. See C.L. Powell, *English Domestic Relations 1487-1653* (New York: Columbia U. P., 1917); Roderick Phillips, *Putting Asunder: A History of Divorce in Western Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[30] See *Essayes*, tr. John Florio, Bk. III, ch. 5.

[31] For a recent discussion of Donne's extension of bodily awareness into a sense of community relations, see Terry Sherwood, pp. 63-101.

[32] See also 6: 83-4; 7: 142. Donne cannot resist the comic misogyny implicit in this image in the first sermon for Francis Nethersole and Lucy Goodyere when insisting on the woman's subordinate function as helper only: "Nobody values his staffe as he does his legges" (2: 345). But Donne blends comedy with the serious duty of mutual relation.

[33] That Donne's love poems fall into such groupings has been recognized since Grierson's indispensable commentary, which is marred by untenable biographical interpretations (*The Poems*, 2: 9-10). Of course I do not mean to blunt the astonishing variety of the poems and their overlapping attitudes but a consistency of principles can be observed in the light of Donne's marriage doctrine. See Henderson and McManus, pp. 105-111, who observe a similar grouping as a reflection of cultural ambivalences.

[34] See M. Thomas Hester, *Kinde Pitty and Brave Scorne* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1982), and W. Milgate, ed. *The Satires, Epigrams, and Verse Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

[35] For further argument about the satiric intention of the libertine poems see L. A. Mann, "Radical Consistency" and, for a discussion of criteria for reading the libertine poems, "Sacred and Profane Love in Donne," *Dalhousie Review* 65 (1985-86): 534-550.