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John Donne and the Thirty Years' War

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English involvement in both the Dutch war of independence from Spain and the wars of religion on the Continent, known collectively as the Thirty Years' War, extended over a period of more than sixty years. Beginning in the sixteenth century, early in Elizabeth's reign, and continuing through the English Civil War in the mid-seventeenth century, these events drew the attention of the English court and public. Queen Elizabeth declared that the Protestant Dutch were just and right in their rebellion against their Catholic Spanish oppressors and made war on Spain. The English people enthusiastically supported their Queen's actions and crossed the English Channel in large numbers to fight for the cause of freedom. It is no exaggeration to say that the wars against Spain during this period and in support of the true Protestant religion characterized Renaissance England, and, as Sir Clements R. Markham wrote over a century ago, "there was scarcely a man in England who had not either served himself, or known a relation or neighbor who had been in the wars."[1]

While scholars long have been interested in Donne's relationship to issues of national power and politics,[2] Paul Sellin is one of the few scholars to have paid significant attention to Donne's concern for these international affairs involving the Netherlands, Germany, and Spain that dominated Elizabethan and Jacobean England.[3] This essay similarly will attempt to expand our understanding of Donne's national and international interests by focusing on a cluster of Donne's writings from the early 1620's: his Holy Sonnet, "Show me deare Christ," his translation of the Biblical "Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part after Tremellius," and relevant sermons and letters of the period. In

brief, I will argue that when read collectively, these particular works present Donne's concern for and emotional responses to the destruction of Protestantism in the Palatinate and Bohemia as a consequence of the Thirty Years' War, a war of religion, economics, and politics that devastated Europe from 1619 to 1648.[4] As we shall see, Donne responded to these traumatic events in several different modes of expression: personal letters, public sermons, and private poems. These modes reflect not conflicting responses to the heart-wrenching events unfolding on the continent, as some might conjecture, but rather are a unitary response reflecting different genres, audiences, and purposes.

Donne's interest in foreign affairs can be traced back to before his ordination, at least to as early as 1597 and his serving as a soldier, under the Earl of Essex's command, in the English attack on Cadiz and the Azores. These forays off the coast of Catholic Spain, usually referred to as the Island Voyages, led Donne to reflect on his experience in the poems, "The Storme" and "The Calm."[5] In addition, "around 1600-1601, [Donne's] letters show him closely following the siege of Ostend, and evidently he seriously considered joining in still another Anglo-Dutch raid against the Spanish about this very time."[6] Donne's concrete connection to the Palatinate, the heart of the territory affected by the Thirty Years' War, reached back to April 1612 when he traveled with Sir Robert Drury to Amiens to work out the details of the prospective marriage between Elizabeth, daughter of King James, and Frederick, the Elector Palatine, with the Duc de Bouillon, "the leading Protestant nobleman in France." During the course of this 1612 continental journey, Donne also traveled with Drury to Frankfurt and Heidelberg in order to "visit the land that was to be [Princess Elizabeth's] home."[7] In 1613, after his return to England, Donne marks the happy occasion of the marriage of Elizabeth to Frederick with an Epithalamion.[8] This marriage formed a dynastic link between these two protestant countries, England and the Palatinate, a bond that spoke to Donne, as we shall see, for many years to come. As Herbert J.C. Grierson noted long ago, Donne and Princess Elizabeth were linked through Donne's longtime friend and patroness, Lucy Harrington Russell, Countess of Bedford.[9] Indeed, Lucy's parents, John and Anne Harrington, were the

guardians of Princess Elizabeth, and following her marriage to Frederick they "accompanied her on her progress through the Netherlands and up the Rhine to Heidelberg in 1613."[10] When she and Frederick were ousted from power only six years later at the start of the Thirty Years' War, Lady Harrington, the Countess of Bedford's mother, accompanied the now exiled Elizabeth to the Netherlands, where Lady Harrington remained as the guardian and companion of the Queen of Hearts.

Four years after his ordination in 1615, Donne was sent once more to the Palatinate, this time as diplomat-divine, chaplain in the mission of James Hay, Viscount Doncaster. Donne was a major player in Doncaster's critical mission where he served "third in rank, preceded only by the ambassador himself and Secretary Nethersole." Since Nethersole was absent from most of the mission, Donne served as the *de facto* secretary or as acting secretary to Doncaster. This mission attempted to mediate between the claims of the Catholic Ferdinand of Styria and the Protestant dissidents led by the Protestant Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who had deprived Ferdinand of the crown of Bohemia. It was the first effort in James' seven-year attempt to maintain peace—and hence, balance—between Europe's Protestant and Catholic powers. After failing in this mediation, Doncaster and his entourage, including Donne, "withdrew to Spa at the end of August, as King James' son-in-law, Frederick, the Count Palatine," against James' wishes, was favorably inclined to accept election by the Protestant rebels as the new king of Bohemia. At the same time, Ferdinand of Styria, who had been deposed in Bohemia, accepted the scepter of the Holy Roman Empire. "Since these steps meant war, Doncaster received instructions to congratulate the new emperor, renew offers of mediation, and return to England."[11] Donne's letters of 1619 derive primarily from his role in Doncaster's mission and thus reflect an official tone. For example, Donne wrote from Maestricht on August 31, 1619 to Sir Dudley Carleton, then in the Hague as King James' Ambassador to the States of the United Provinces, thusly:

> [Lord Doncaster] commanded me also to let your Lordship know, that the Count Palatine, after his having been elected

> King of Bohemia, despatched the Baron Donah into England, from whom in his passing by Cologne his Lordship received a letter, and with yet another from the Count Palatine himself, from the resultance of which, and of other advices, my Lord doth not think that he abuses himself in believing that the Count Palatine hath a disposition to accept of that crown. Before Baron Donah's passing, my Lord (who understood otherwise of the election) hath sent his secretary, Mr. Nethersole, into England to present more effectually than letters could do, and more clearly than yet was apprehended, the state of the affairs here, and now is come to Maestricht, where he proposes to attend his secretary's [Nethersole's] return . . . . It is such a general business that even so low and poor a man as I have a part in it, and an office to do for it, which is to promote it with the same prayers as I present for mine own soul to the ears of Almighty God.[12]

The Baron Donah, to whom Donne refers in this letter, is Baron Christopher von Dohna, ambassador from Frederick, the Elector Palatine, King James' son-in-law, the newly elected King of Bohemia. Donne's letter to Carleton excerpted above, in which Donne acts as secretary to Doncaster in Nethersole's absence, praises Doncaster for divining Frederick's intention to accept the crown of Bohemia, an act that both Doncaster and Donne realized would lead to war.

John Chamberlain, who has been described as the most interesting and astute letter writer of his day, in a September 11, 1619 letter to Carleton only two weeks later, confirms Donne's report of Doncaster's belief that Frederick would accept the crown and anticipates the bloody consequences:

> We heare the Palsgrave [Frederick, Elector Palatine] is crowned king of Bohemia, so that there is now no place left / for deliberation, nor for mediation of peace till one side be utterly ruined. God send him goode successe, but surely yt was a venterous part and like to set all Christendome by the eares. The world thincks yt was a plot of the Prince of Orenge and the Duke of Bouillon to draw in our king [James] *volens nolens*, but how

> he is every way provided for such a busines you know or may easilie guesse . . . .[13]

James' lack of support for Frederick caused frustration for Donne and his fellow Englishmen who identified strongly with the new King and Queen of Bohemia. Chamberlain writes of the King's reticence:

> We talke as though the King had geven but cold comfort to the baron of Donaw when he dismissed him at Wansted: as that he did not allow of the Palatines election, but esteemed yt rather a faction, which he wold in no wise favor nor further, and that his subjects were as deere to him as his children, and therfore wold not embarke them in an unjust and needlesse quarrell.[14]

James' calculated refusal to offer support to his daughter and the Protestants in the Palatinate and Bohemia surprised his subjects. Donne, however, never lost interest in, and concern for, the suffering in Bohemia that resulted from James' inaction. On the contrary, Donne shared his countrymen's concern over the fate of the Protestant Palatinate and their alarm at England's failure to come to the aid of their brethren.

Donne, shortly after his return from the Palatinate and the Netherlands with Doncaster, explicitly reveals through his letters of the early 1620s that he continued to follow events in Bohemia closely. From 1619 onward, Chamberlain's letters to Carleton, as well as the Venetian Ambassador's letters to Venice, describe England's deep interest in the Palatinate as well as the tragic exile of the King and Queen of Bohemia. The English people viewed this disaster as a consequence of the indifference shown by England's own King. This indifference by James was reported throughout Europe. The letters of Noel de Caron, the Dutch ambassador to London during these years, reports the concern that the English had for the situation in the Palatinate.[15] As the historian Geoffrey Parker points out, "There were many both at court and in Parliament who accepted the Palatine argument that on the success of Frederick's cause hung the fate of Protestantism." Parker calls attention to a declaration voted by the House of Commons in June

1621 "supporting whatever military action would be necessary to defend 'the true professors of the same Christian religion professed by the Church of England in foreign parts . . . being touched with a true sense and fellow feeling of their distresses as members of the same body'."[16]

Donne's letters from these years demonstrate that he, too, shared a deep concern, a concern made stronger not only because of Donne's personal connection to Princess Elizabeth but also from his sense of brotherhood with his fellow Protestants in Europe. Donne's concern is demonstrated in his letters on both domestic and foreign affairs to friends at home and abroad who shared similar concerns about the Bohemian crisis. In an August 30, 1621 letter to his old friend, Sir Henry Goodere, Donne writes:

> Hither came lately Letters with goodspeed from Vienna, in which / there is no mention of any such defeat, as in rumour C[ount] *Mansfeld* hath been said to have given to the D[uke] of *Bavyer [Bavaria]* but their forces were then within such distance, as may have procured something before this time. Those which watched advantages in the Court of the Emperour, have made that use of C[ount] *Mansfelds* proceedings, as that my Lord *Digby* complains, that thereby the forwardnesse in which his negotiation was, is somewhat retarded. He proceeds from thence into *Spain*. The D. of *Bavyer* hath presented the Emperour an account of 1200ml [L1,200,000] sterling in that warre, to be reimbursed: and finding the Palatinate to be in treaty, hath required a great part of *Austria* for his security, and they say, it is so transacted; which is a good signe of a possibility in the restitution of the Palatinate . . . . We here *Spinola* is passed over at *Rhenebery [Rheinsberg]*; if it be so, they are no longer distracted, whether he would bend upon Juliers, or the Palatinate . . . ."[17]

Furthermore, in this letter to Goodere, Donne outlines the events of the summer of 1621 carefully, filling Goodere in on details that he has heard on the war, either as truth or rumor, that might have bearing on the outcome of the conflict.[18]

Donne's close attention to events in the Palatinate continues throughout 1621 and 1622. In another letter, of October 5, 1621, Donne refers to Sir Horace Vere, the commander of English forces in Bohemia, and Vere's surprise at the strength of the Hapsburg forces. Sir Horace Vere was the younger brother of the well-known Sir Francis Vere, arguably the most prominent English general during the late Elizabethan period. The two were known as "the fighting Veres," for they commanded the English forces in the Netherlands throughout the Dutch wars of independence against Spain. Sir Horace Vere had left the Netherlands for the Palatinate in 1620 at the head of a regiment of English volunteers shortly after the arrival in the Hague of Frederick and Elizabeth, the recently exiled King and Queen of Bohemia.[19] Donne writes to Sr T.H. [Sir Thomas Lucy?]:

> . . . In the Low Countries the Armies stirre not. In the Palatinate Sir *H. Vere* attempting the regaining of *Stenie* Castle, was surprised with the Enemy in so much strength, that they write it over for a Master-piece, that he was able to make a retreat to *Manheme [Mannheim]*: so that now the Enemy is got on that side the River which *Heydelberg* is on, and I know nothing that can stand in his way. My L. *Digby* comes from Vienna, before he goes into Spain, by Count *Mansfield*, by the Palatinate, by *Paris*; and therefore upon his coming, I shall be able to say something to you."[20]

Donne's September 1622 letter to Goodere records Donne's reaction to the fall of Heidelberg, a reaction that is poignant in its directness and understatement:

> Whosoever serves you with relations from this Town, I am sure prevents me of all I can say. The Palatinate is absolutely lost; for before this Letter come to you, we make account that *Heydelberg* and *Frankindale* is lost, and *Manheme [Mannheim]* distressed, *Mansfield* came to *Breda*, and *Gonzales* to *Brussels*, with great losses on both sides, but equall. The P[rince] of *Orange* is but now come to *Breda*, and with him, all that he is able to make, even out of the garrisons of their Towns. The ways of victuall

> to *Spinolaes* Army, are almost all precluded by him, and he likely to put upon the raising of *Spinola*, between whom and the Town [Bergen-op-Zoom], there are hotter disputes, then ever our times saw. The Secretary of the States [Constantijn Huygens] here shewed me a Letter yesternight, that the Town spends 6000 pound of powder a day, and hath spent since the siege 250m pounds. *Argits* Regiment and my L. *Vaux*, are so diminished by commings away, as that both (I think) make not now in Muster above 600. Mr. Gave is returning to *Rome*, but of this Negotiation I dare say nothing by a Letter of adventure.[21]

In this "letter of adventure," Donne describes an important point in the conflict while things were still fluid. In actual fact, Heidelberg was stormed on September 19, 1622 by Hapsburg troops under the command of Count Tilly, Maximillian's general fighting for the Hapsburgs, and Mannheim surrendered on November 2, 1622. Frankenthal [Frankindale, in Donne's letter] did not in fact "fall" during the winter of 1622. Rather, as Parker explains, "in March 1623, James I ordered its predominantly English garrison to hand the city over to officers of the [Catholic] Archduchess Isabella, who were to retain it until the peace conference reassembled."[22] Although Donne doesn't get all the details right, he nevertheless is correct in the general effect of what is happening and what will happen in the near future. Frankenthal, Mannheim, and Heidelberg were "the three major fortresses on which the retention of the Palatinate depended,"[23] and their loss, as Donne reports, resulted in the failure of the Protestant cause in Bohemia. Donne's reference to "Breda," a town east of Bergen-op-Zoom, refers to the arrival of Mansfeld and the Prince of Orange, who have moved into position to besiege the besiegers of Bergen-op-Zoom, a town in Brabant that had been under siege by Ambrosio Spinola, the faithful general of the Archduchess Isabella, and the Army of Flanders. Spinola subsequently was forced to raise his siege of Bergen-op-Zoom on October 4, 1622, in part because Count Mansfeld, who had joined the Dutch army after Frederick's exile from Bohemia, had brought his troops there. If Bergen-op-Zoom had fallen to Spinola's army, then the Netherlands, too, would have been overrun by the Catholic forces.[24]

Indeed, by pinning down the Dutch army at Bergen-op-Zoom, the Hapsburgs prevented the Dutch from supporting Frederick's forces in the Palatinate. The result, as we have seen, was the fall of Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankenthal. Finally, we see that Constantijn Huygens, the young Dutch secretary to the Dutch embassy in England who would later translate Donne's poetry into Dutch, provided Donne detailed information on events unfolding in the Thirty Years' War at the most important moment for Dutch independence.

This letter is followed shortly thereafter by Donne's September 24, 1622 letter to Goodere, which presumably was sent together with the previous letter, and which again reveals Donne's careful attention to events in the Palatinate and the reaction to them in England. Since the writing of his previous letter, Heidelberg had indeed fallen, and this news reached England.

> This is a second Letter: the enclosed was written before. Now we are sure that *Heidelberge* is taken, and entred with extreme cruelties. Almost all the defendors forsook their stations; only Sir *Ger[ald] Herbert* maintained his nobly, to the repulsing of the enemy three times, but having east in the other parts, 800 new fresh men were put upon his quarter, and after he had broke 4 Pikes, and done very well, he was shot dead in the place. *Man[n]heim* was soon after besieged, and is still. *Heydelth [Heidelberg]* was lost the 6 of this moneth; the K[ing] upon news of this, sent to the Spanish Ambassa[d]our, that the people were like to resent it, and therefore, if he doubted ought, he should have a Guard: but I do not see, that he seems to need it, in his own opinion neither in truth does he; the people are flat: or trust in God, and the Kings ways. Sir *Hor[atio] Vere* hath written to his wife, (as I am told) a Letter in the nature of a will, for the disposing of his estate and children, as though he did not account to see her any more, but yet *Man[n]heim* cannot be lost, but by storming.[25]

Donne writes this letter between hearing news of the fall of Heidelberg, which, as we have already seen, fell to Hapsburg armies on September 19, 1622, and the loss of Mannheim on November 2, 1622. While King

James feared a riot against the Spanish Ambassador as the news of Heidelberg's fall reached London, Donne recorded that "the people are flat," something that surprises him, considering the apocalyptic sense of loss that had characterized popular opinion.[26]

Donne's concern for events in Bohemia and the Palatinate continued well into 1623, during which time Donne recognizes the important link between domestic and international affairs. In a July 1623 letter to Goodere, Donne ties together the Spanish Match—that is, the highly criticized attempt by King James to procure the Infanta as a Spanish bride for Prince Charles—and the Thirty Years' War. James' attempt to secure a Spanish—and thus, Catholic—bride for his son corresponded to his deafness to the cries for help on behalf of his recently deposed daughter and son-in-law in the Palatinate:

> . . . So that there is no treaty for the marriage begun yet: for I know you have heard Olivarez his free acknowledgement, that til the Prince came, there was no thought of it . . . . Amongst all the irregularities of this age, to me this is as strange as any, That this year there is no peace, and yet no sword drawn in the world; & it is a lost conjecture to think which way any of the Armies will bend. Here it is imagined, that Yukendorfe and Gabor (for, for any concurrence of love, it is but a dream) may so farre distresse Bohemia, as that Tilly must be recalled thither; and if he be, Brunswikes way is open into Baviere, where he may recompense great losses, whilest Mansfield and Gonzales, and his Excellency and Spinola, keep the balance even in their parts, by looking upon another . . . .[27]

In this letter, Donne refers to the quiet before the August 6, 1623 battle at Stadtlohn, in which Tilly defeated Frederick's army led by Christian of Brunswick-Wolfenbuettel. The "dream," as Donne calls it, is for Yukendorfe, (the Silesian Johan Georg, Margrave of Jaegerndorf), and Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania to tie up Tilly's armies and open the way for Brunswick into Bavaria. Meanwhile, Mansfeld successfully tied up Spinola's army. As we have seen, however, Tilly's army managed to defeat Brunswick. Subsequently, Mansfeld will be defeated and

Frederick, with no military options left, agreed to accept James' mediation.[28]

During this period, King James aggressively was pursuing a Spanish Match for his son Charles. The so-called Spanish Match was an attempt by King James to maintain a balance of power in Europe and prevent religious war. First, as we have seen, he married his daughter Elizabeth to the Protestant Frederick, Elector Palatine. Then he attempts to marry his son Charles to the Infanta of Spain, a member of the Catholic Hapsburgs. At this point, however, the possibility of the Spanish Match complicated England's response to the request for mediation. In the eyes both of Prince Charles and, consequently, King James, the completion of a Spanish match no longer was an attempt at maintaining a balance between Catholics and Protestant in Europe. Rather, it became a means of leveraging the return of the Palatinate to Frederick and Elizabeth. England's new position, linking the completion of the Spanish Match to a request for the return of the Palatinate quickly became known throughout Europe. For example, on May 22, 1623, the Venetian Ambassador wrote from London, "A Gentleman has reached here in twelve days from Spain, sent expressly by the Prince of Wales with a letter to his sister, assuring her that he will on no account consent to the marriage before he has obtained the restitution of what belongs to her, and brought her the rest and peace which he desires for her." In detailing the various changes that occurred in English policy toward the events in the Palatinate, the Dutch Ambassador Caron remarks on how the Spanish Match has become contingent upon the restoration of the Palatinate to its newly elected and now exiled King and Queen. His letter of July 30, 1622, for example, relates not only that the Infanta has agreed upon the conditions of the marriage, but, more importantly, that the King will support this marriage *only* if the Palatinate is restored. Indeed, as Caron reports on December 22, 1623, after Charles has returned to England without the Infanta, although Spain refuses to return the Palatinate until after the match, the King insists that this restoration must take place *before* the wedding. Chamberlain, in his January 4, 1622 letter to Carleton, also makes the connection clear: "We had newes this morning out of Spaine that the

mariage is concluded and the Palatinat to be restored out of hand, or in case the emperor make any difficultie, the Spanish forces there shall turne against him: this bruit is enough to breake of the parlement, which I make no question will be dissolved."[29]

Donne's letters throughout the early 1620s reveal, as demonstrated, that he followed with interest and in detail the events in the Palatinate, the most important international crisis of his day, recognizing throughout the strong connection between international and domestic affairs. Indeed, as is often the case, the international had become intermixed with the domestic, for Elizabeth is not simply the exiled Queen of Bohemia, and, as the wife of the Elector Palatine, the symbol of Protestantism on the continent. She is also the Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of England's own King James. The fate of James' living children, Elizabeth and Charles, became intertwined through a linking of the Spanish Match, the loss of Heidelberg, and the exile of the King and Queen of Bohemia. James received great criticism for initiating the Spanish Match, what his countrymen perceived as a pro-Catholic policy, particularly at a time when European Protestantism was in such grave danger. After the fall of Heidelberg, in the eyes of Prince Charles the completion of a Spanish Match became contingent on the return of the Palatinate to his sister. Meanwhile, the romantic Queen of Hearts (Elizabeth), who after 1620 ruled hearts and not lands, remained in exile in the Dutch Republic until her death in 1661.

There was much criticism of James from the pulpit between the Elector Palatine's 1620 defeat at White Mountain outside of Prague and the1622 fall of Heidelberg, which resulted in James' issuing the *Directions for Preachers* in September 1622. The *Directions for Preachers* expressly forbid preachers to touch on controversial matters of theology and politics in their sermons.[30] As a preacher, Donne demonstrated obedience to the king by making few explicit references in his sermons of these years either to events in Bohemia or to James' pro-Catholic policies. Still, several of Donne's sermons preached during these years, as did his letters, nevertheless reveal a keen awareness of contemporary events, both foreign and domestic, as well as subtle criticism of the King. Or, to put it another way, "although the

commentators disagree in the measure of Donne's involvement, they all agree that Donne could and would manipulate the power invested in him as a preacher to awaken in his audience an awareness of both their religious duties and their political responsibilities."[31]

George Potter and Evelyn Simpson, the modern editors of Donne's sermons, have claimed that Donne's two sermons preached at Lincoln's Inn on Matthew 18.7, "Woe unto the world, because of offences," probably were "preached in the winter of 1620 . . . when the first news of the defeat of the Elector Palatine reached London." As they rightly indicate, "there was great agitation in the city, and soon there arose a demand that King James should intervene in support of the Protestant cause on the Continent."[32] When Donne wrote to Goodyer in the summer of 1621 regarding Spinola's crossing at Rheinsberg, the purpose to attack the Palatinate was clear. At the same time, the Spanish Match was interfering in efforts to defend the Palatinate, and by January 21, 1622, as we have seen, people were in despair over the situation. But rather than fan the already smoldering fires, passages in these sermons "indicate that Donne was inculcating in his hearers a policy of patience in avoiding rash criticism of the King and his ministers."[33] In his first sermon on Matthew 18.7, for example, Donne reminds his listeners of Jesus, "when hee had his glorious and beloved City Jerusalem in his sight, and wept over that City." Following this image of Christ weeping over the fate of his beloved city—an implicit reminder to his audience of the fate of God's present cities—, Donne both reminds his listeners of the need to show obedience to the king and urges them to pray that circumstances might be different:

> to / bee too inquisitive into the proceedings of the State, and the Church, out of a jealousie and suspicion that any such alterations, or tolerations in Religion are intended or prepared, is a seditious disaffection to the government, and a disloyall aspersion upon the persons of our Superiours, to suspect without cause, so, not to be sensible that the Catterpillars of the Roman Church, doe eat up our tender fruit, that the Jesuites, and other enginiers of that Church, doe seduce our forwardest and best spirits, not to be watchfull in our own families, that our wives

> and children and servants be not corrupted by them, for the *Pastor* to slacken in his duty, (not to be earnest in the Pulpit) for the Magistrate to slacken in his, (not to be vigilant in the execution of those Laws as are left in his power) *vae mundo, vae immuni*, woe until him that is unsensible of offences. Jealously, suspiciously to mis-interpret the actions of our Superiours, is inexcusable, but so is it also not to feel how the adversary gains upon us, and not to wish that it were, and not to pray that it may be otherwise.[34]

In this sermon, Donne warns his listeners against too harsh criticism of the King, urging them to be loyal to their "Superiours." Donne's urging comes at a time when criticism of James from other pulpits was high, criticism that derived primarily from James' failure to act on behalf of England's Protestant brethren in the Bohemian conflict. Yet even while Donne warns his congregation against "disloyall aspersion upon the persons of our Superiours" regarding religion, at the same time he warns them to continue to be vigilant against the "Caterpillars of the Roman Church" (and in particular the Jesuits), urging trust in the King but not quiet acceptance of all his policies. On the contrary, his listeners are to "feel how the adversary gains upon us" and "pray that it may be otherwise." This is anything but quiet acceptance of the *status quo*.

Indeed, the "fall of Heidelberg to Spinola's army, the imminent loss of the [P]alatinate, the continuing negotiations for the Spanish [M]atch despite the transparent posturing of the enemy, and the increasing demand in England for active intervention had generated such unrest by mid-1622 that the sovereign was moved once again to try and quell dissent, commanding ministers to eschew such disputed points of religion as predestination, election, and reprobation; not to meddle with matters of state or differences between prince and people; and not to rail against either papists or puritans."[35] On September 15, 1622, shortly after writing Goodyer with news of the fall of Heidelberg, Donne preached at Paul's Cross and at James' behest defending the *Directions for Preachers*, a sermon that shows Donne's obedience to King James but at the same time, as John Chamberlain reveals, suggests Donne's

underlying questioning of James' pro-Catholic policies. In this sermon, preached on the heels of much criticism of the King's handling of events in the Palatinate and his apparent insistence on pursuing the Spanish Match,[36] Donne cautions his audience not to criticize the King for his handling of the recent events in the Palatinate, in a manner which illustrates Donne's sensitivity to the delicate political environment in which he preached.

Donne implicitly refers to the suffering of Protestants on the continent and the doubt the defeat of the Protestants is causing English believers. "But I speake of this subject," Donne says to his congregation,

> especially to establish and settle them, that suspect Gods power, or Gods purpose, to succour those, who in forraine parts, grone under heavie pressures in matter of Religion, or to restore those, who in forraine parts, are devested of their lawfull possessions, and inheritance; and because God hath not done these great workes yet, nor yet raised up meanes, in apparance, and in their apprehension, likely to effect it. That therefore God likes not the cause; and therefore they begin to bee shaked in their owne Religion at home, since they thinke that God neglects it abroad. But, beloved, since God made all this world of nothing, cannot hee recover any one peece thereof, or restore any one peece, with a little?[37]

Urging his listeners to have hope and faith in God's power, Donne intones that the apparent abandonment of God's church in foreign lands—i.e., the loss of Protestant lands to Catholic Hapsburg forces—is not beyond God's power to correct. This is the response of a man of faith in the face of a present affliction that he cannot control. Thus, while Donne's references to those "who in forraine parts, grone under heavie pressures in matter of Religion" might well be interpreted as an implicit criticism of James and his apparent pro-Spanish, pro-Catholic policies, nevertheless, Donne is careful to speak not so much as James' critic, but rather as a pastor giving his listeners the reassurance and

comforts of religion, however abstract. Chamberlain, a contemporary witness to Donne's performance, thusly described the sermon in a September 25, 1622 letter to Dudley Carleton:

> On the 15th of this present, the Dean of Paules preached at the Crosse to certifie the Kinges goode intention in the late orders concerning preachers and preaching, and of his constancie in the true reformed religion, which the people (as shold seeme) began to suspect; his text as the 20th verse of the 5th chapter of the booke of Judges [They fought from Heaven; The stars in their courses fought against Sisera], somewhat a straunge text for such a busines, and how he made yt hold together I know not, but he gave no great satisfaction, or as some say, spake as yf himself were not so well satisfied.[38]

Chamberlain's comments highlight the doubt festering amongst the English regarding James' true support for Protestantism, doubt that placed Donne in a delicate position as a defender of the King. Donne's subtlety in his criticism of James and his focus instead on his pastoral mission must have satisfied James sufficiently, for he agreed to have this sermon printed. At the same time, this pastoral focus allowed Donne to defend the King while at the same time remaining true to his own concern for Protestantism at home and abroad. While the sermon may have got Donne off the hook with his sovereign, it did so in part because "Donne's defence of the King's directions scarcely touche[d] the real issues."[39]

Soon after Donne's sermon in defense of the *Directions for Preachers*, he preached on November 5, 1622 on the seventeenth anniversary of the discovery of the Gunpowder's Day Plot, the attempt by Catholic traitors to blow up Parliament. The timely discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, like the sinking of the Spanish Armada in 1588, was seen by the English as an example of God's grace for His true believers and the true church, for it represented nothing short of God's deliverance of his faithful from the treachery of Papist conspirators. Donne took as his text for this sermon a passage from Lamentations 4:20: "The Breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits." In the opening

of this sermon, Donne directs his listeners to make historical application of his text—that is, to make a connection between the Biblical experience and their present historical moment.

> The Booke is certainly the *Prophet Jeremies*, and certainly a *distinct booke*; But whether the Book be a *history*, or a *Prophecy*, whether *Jeremy* lament that which hee had *seen*, or that which he *foresees*, calamities past, or future calamities, things done, or things to be done, is a question which hath exercised, and busied divers Expositors. But, as we say of the *Parable of Dives*, and *Lazarus*, that it is a *Historicall parable*, and a *Parabolicall history*, some such persons there were, and some such things were really done, but some / other things were figuratively, symbolically, parabolically added: So wee say of *Jeremies Lamentation*, It is a *Propheticall history*, and a *Historicall prophecy*; Some of the sad occasions of these Lamentations were past, when he writ, and some were to come after . . . . Or, if we take the exposition of the others, That the whole Booke was written after their transportation into *Babylon*, and to be, in all parts, Historicall, yet it is Propheticall still; for the Prophet laments a greater Desolation then that, in the utter ruine, and devastation of the City, and Nation, which was to fall upon them, after the death of *Christ Jesus*. Neither is any peece of this Booke, the lesse fit to be our Text, this day, because it is both Historicall, and Propheticall, for, they, from whom, God, in his mercy, gave us a Deliverance, this day, are our *Historicall Enemies*, and our *Propheticall Enemies*; historically wee know, they *have* attempted our ruine heretofore, and prophetically wee may bee sure, they *will doe so againe*, whensoever any new occasion provokes them, or sufficient power enables them.[40]

This language is important for it provides in Donne's own words a typological methodology, one that will allow us to interpret Donne's translation of the "Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part after Tremellius," typologically. Koos Daly has demonstrated persuasively the link between this sermon and Donne's translation of the "Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part after Tremellius," reading Donne's

translation as a personal response to events about which he was prohibited from speaking publicly. She does this, in part, by considering Donne's translation in the context of Huygens' translation of the same text.[41] She has also argued that Donne had the "Lamentations of Jeremiah" in mind when he—and the rest of his countrymen—learned of the fall of Heidelberg in September 1622. As Jeanne Shami has noted, Donne regularly "drew links to the England of his day, choosing texts and explications of texts which will enable him to propose analogies, even identification, between actual literal situations and responses of Biblical examples and those he expects from his audience."[42]

Donne ends his sermon with a call to preserve the King and his son, Prince Charles, in the true religion:

> But lastly, and expecially, let us preserve him, by preserving God amongst us, in the true, and sincere profession of our Religion. Let not a mis-grounded, and disloyall imagination of coolness in him, cool you, in your own families . . . . Doe not say, I will hold All, my self, but let my wife, or my son, or one of my sones, goe the other way, as though *Protestant*, and Papist were two severall callings; and, as you would make one son a Lawyer, another a Merchant, you will make one son a Papist, another a Protestant . . . . Cities are built of families, and so are Churches too; Every man keeps his owne family, and then every Pastor shall keep his flock, and so the Church shall be free from schisme, and the State from sedition, and our *Josiah* preserved, Prophetically for ever, as he was Historically this day, from them, in whose pits, the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken.[43]

Donne's warning to King James and Prince Charles against the dangers of Catholicism, whether past, present, or future, couldn't be more clear, particularly in its implicit reference to the Spanish Match, James' efforts to procure a Catholic bride for his son, Charles. Like many of his countrymen, Donne also recognized that James' "principle of peace" in fact led to war. Thus, it should be no surprise that, unlike Donne's

sermon in defense of James' *Directions for Preachers* which James approved for publication, the king, after consideration, decided not to have this Gunpowder Day sermon published. As Donne remarked to Sir Thomas Roe, then British ambassador in Constantinople, in a letter dated December 1, 1622,

> One of these occurrences, gave the occasion to this sermon, which by commandment I preached, and which I send your Lordship. Some few weeks after that I preached another at the same place, upon the Gunpowder Day; therein I was left more to mine own liberty, and therefore I would I could also send your Lordship a Copy of that, but that one, which / also by commandment I did write after the preaching, is as yet in his Majesty's hand, and I know not whether he will in it, as he did in the other, after his reading thereof, command it to be printed.[44]

Donne's own words reveal that he himself felt that the Gunpowder Day sermon was more true to his convictions than his earlier sermon preached in support of James' *Directions for Preachers*. It seems that the King finally decided that "the call to his subjects to protect, honor, and preserve the King" in the sermon did not outweigh "the intimations of his own political and religious vacillations" implied therein.[45]

Donne's letters and sermons of the early 1620's clearly reveal that he shared in the English concern over the war of religion on the continent, the results of which, in the absence of any effort on the part of King James, resulted in the exile of the King and Queen of Bohemia from the Palatinate and the destruction of the Reformed church abroad. He also shared their concern for King James' concomitant pro-Spanish policies at home. Donne chronicles the events with detail and care in his letters, while he provides in his sermons a different, more measured public response. As we have seen above in one of Donne's September 1622 letters to Goodere, Donne, "whose sermons in 1622 often hammered home the theme of obedience, remarked 'the people are flat': they had at last learned to 'trust in God and the King's Way'." Thus, Donne defends James' "constancie in Religion," and, while always the moderate in public, nevertheless is moved like his countrymen by the

suffering of the European Protestants. Publicly, he does not advocate rebellion against James, but rather defends his monarch.[46] Consequently, the depth of Donne's passion becomes evident only upon reading his two private poetic responses to the Thirty Years' War.[47]

Helen Gardner long ago proposed the Thirty Years' War as the context for the holy sonnet, "Show me dear Christ,"[48] and for Donne's translation of the "Lamentations of Jeremy [Jeremiah], for the most part after Tremelius." For the most part, her commentary on "Show me dear Christ" has dominated—and continues, rightly, to dominate—critical readings of the poem. Gardner places the poem in the context of the Thirty Years' War primarily on the basis of Donne's image in lines 3 & 4—"or which rob'd and tore / Laments and mournes in Germany and here?"—with its explicit reference to suffering in the German Palatinate. As she suggests, Donne's sonnet reflects a parallel "between the captivity of Israel and the total collapse of the Protestants after the defeat of the Elector in the battle of the White Mountain, outside Prague, on October 29, 1620." Moreover, she avers, "If men so naturally thought of the Protestant Church in Germany as Zion, what would be more natural than for Donne to identify its disasters with the afflicted Zion of Lamenations." In short, she asserts, "the opening lines are an expression of distress at the spectacle Christendom presented at the beginning of the Thirty Years War."[49] The poem in Gardner's edition reads as follows:

> Show me deare Christ, thy spouse, so bright and cleare.
> What, is it she, which on the other shore
> Goes richly painted? or which rob'd and tore
> Laments and mournes in Germany and here?
> Sleepes she a thousand, then peepes up one yeare?
> Is she selfe truth and errs? now new, now'outwore?
> Doth she,'and did she, and shall she evermore
> On one, on seaven, or on no hill appeare?
> Dwells she with us, or like adventuring knights
> First travaile we to seeke and then make love?
> Betray kind husband thy spouse to our sights,
> And let myne amorous soule court thy mild Dove,

> Who is most trew, and pleasing to thee, then
> When she'is embrac'd and open to most men.

Whatever one's final interpretation of this sonnet, it seems difficult to argue against Gardner's placement of it in the context of the Thirty Years' War, particularly considering Donne's reference to the church, the "spouse" of Christ, both in terms of the Catholic church, "which on the other shore / Goes richly painted" (2-3) and the Protestant church, "which rob'd and tore / Laments and mournes in Germany and here" (3-4). At the outset of the 1620s, the Thirty Years' War produced just such lamentation both in Germany and in England. Donne's choice of the word "lament" to describe the reactions "in German and here" to the distraught state of the Protestant church, which has been "rob'd and tore," looks forward, as well, to his translation of the "Lamentations of Jeremiah" just a few years later, as I will argue. With Gardner, I agree that in this sonnet Donne creates a dramatic and emotionally moving poem—set against the backdrop of an international crisis of religion and politics—in which his speaker expresses doubt, like the audience to whom Donne preached, about the possibility of finding the true church on earth. In wondering whether the true church "sleepes . . . a thousand, then peepes up one year?" (5), Donne's speaker makes reference to the fate of Protestantism—which itself was a return to the practice and faith of the early church—whose promise is unfulfilled because of its present destruction abroad. Confused by the destruction of what was thought to be God's true church on earth, Donne's speaker longs for a new revelation in order to make sense of God's apparent abandonment of his children.

While Gardner provides a full argument linking "Show me deare Christ" to Donne's reaction to Frederick the Elector Palatine's defeat at White Mountain outside of Prague in October 1620, she suggests only in passing that the Thirty Years' War might serve as the appropriate context for Donne's rarely discussed poem, his translation of the "Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part after Tremelius." In Gardner's words, "Although the poem cannot be dated exactly . . . . We may connect it with the poem on the Sidney's paraphrases (after 1621)

and possibly with the events of the years 1620-2, when the distress of the German Protestants turned men's minds to the captivity of Zion."[50] Donne's "Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part after Tremelius" has received relatively little critical attention, perhaps because it was considered merely a translation and thus not really Donne's poetry.[51] Still, as it is one of the few poems Donne wrote after he had sworn off poetry after his ordination on January 23, 1615,[52] it is worth our careful consideration. With the exception of Daly in her essay on Donne's "Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part after Tremelius," other commentators have attempted to disprove Gardner's suggestion of the Thirty Years' War as the context and, in the process, to move the dating earlier in Donne's life by linking the emotional state of the "Lamentations of Jeremiah" to personal tragedies that he may have suffered. Of the four modern commentators on the poem other than Gardner and Daly, Pollock primarily considers the question of the Biblical source for Donne's translation, while Roebuck, Klause, and Hunter are all interested in offering a date and biographical context earlier in Donne's life than that proposed by Gardner and supported by Daly. Rather than seeing the Protestant dimension in Donne's poem, Klause wrongly speculates that the poem emerges from Donne's Catholic youth. According to Klause,

> For John Donne, whose life began in the English recusant community and whose family and relations, Jesuit and otherwise, had bred in him a sense of exile in his native land, the book of Lamentations must have been, even from his early years, a document fraught with terrible connotations. In this context it makes sense that he would undertake to translate the work on one or another of the occasions already mentioned—either on a journey to or from a Counter-Reformation Europe whose claims upon him were still strong or on an expedition which led him, amid the duieties expressed in this third *Satyre*, against the Spanish bulwark of Tridentine Catholicism.[53]

But this argument ignores completely Donne's reference in his subtitle to the Protestant *par excellence,* Tremellius, a reference that would have

been senseless and extremely dangerous in the world of Catholic Counter-Reformation Europe. Gardner puts it succinctly: Tremellius (1510-80), "was by birth an Italian Jew. He became a Christian at the age of twenty, was a Calvinist and a famous Hebrew scholar. His translation of the Old Testament which he made with Francis Junius, was published at Frankfurt in 1575-9. It was printed in London in 1580, along with a translation of the New Testament, made by Tremellius alone, from the Syriac. In the following year, Tremellius's Old Testament with Beza's New Testament, translated from the Greek, were published together in one volume. This was the Latin Bible of Protestants."[54] If Donne were Catholic, or if the poem arose from Catholic sympathies or his Catholic youth, then it would be more than surprising that Donne would use the Tremellius text rather than the approved Vulgate. In post-Tridentine Europe, such an act by a Catholic poet would have been blatently dangerous, for according to the call of the Council of Trent, Donne would have been expected to refute Tremellius's translation, not use it as his model. Anything less would be to court damnation.[55]

I would like to extend Gardner's suggestion and argue, with Daly, that the "Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part after Tremelius" may well have been occasioned by the fall of Heidleberg in September, 1622, a moment, as we have seen, that is worthy of the kind of lamentation which the Biblical Jeremiah expresses. As Donne's Gunpowder's Day sermon on a passage from the Lamentations of Jeremiah demonstrates, the Biblical "Lamentations of Jeremiah" certainly were on Donne's mind at the end of 1622, when news of the fall of Heidelberg hit London. And, as Donne's letters illustrate, he, like his countrymen, was following carefully the events unfolding in the Thirty Years' War in Europe. It is certainly plausible to argue that Donne made the connection between the fall of Heidelberg, a city in the present, and the fall of Jerusalem, an historical Biblical city, in the same manner that his sermon on a passage from the "Lamentations of Jeremiah" preached less then two months later will urge his auditors to interpret Biblical events in both historical and prophetical ways. Daly's essay linking Donne's translation of the "Lamentations of Jeremiah" to those trans-

lated by Constantijn Huygens, the young Dutch secretary to the Dutch embassy in England,—and Sellin's essay before hers[56]—seems to clinch the point. Indeed, in his letter to Goodere quoted above, Donne reveals that he and Huygens have conversed about the dangerous siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. Certainly, it is clear that the "Lamentations of Jeremiah" lay heavy on Donne's mind in 1622 as a culmination of his concern for the Palatinate and Bohemia for nearly a decade.

Generally assumed to be written in Palestine after the fall of Jerusalem in 587, the "Lamentations of Jeremiah," opens, in Donne's translation, thusly:

> How sits this citie, late most populous,
> Thus solitary,' and like a widdow thus!
> Amplest of Nations, Queene of Provinces
> She was, who now thus tributary is! (1-4).[57]

Weeping in the deep of night, teares streaming "Downe by her cheekes" (6), none of "Her lovers comfort her" (7), her friends are now "enemie" (8). She is in "great bondage," full of "afflictions" (9), with "no place of rest" (11). The link between the experience of the Biblical city of Jerusalem about which Jeremiah laments and events in Germany in the early 1620's would have been natural for Donne and his countrymen, and it is a link that follows Donne's own urgings in his Gunpowder's Day sermon, as we have seen above, that Jeremiah's "Lamentations" be read typologically. Heidelberg—the symbol of Protestantism abroad, the one true church—is now alone, abandoned, solitary, weeping, in bondage, betrayed by her friends and left to her enemy. The speaker in the poem—Jeremiah or Donne—finding no comfort in God, weeps in despair. Yet, despite the heart-wrenching despair that dominates the poem, there is still a longing to be restored to God. The final lines of the "Lamentations" cry out:

> Why should'st thou forget us eternally?
> Or leave us thus long in this misery"
> Restore us Lord to thee, that so we may
> Returne, and as of old, renew our day.

> For oughtest thou, O Lord, depise us thus,
> And to be utterly enrag'd at us?

Jeremiah thus maintains some hope in a world of despair. Presumably Donne, too, as he has urged his listeners in his sermons, maintains hope, despite the suffering of his fellow Protestants in Europe. At the same time, even in grief, Donne finds in Jeremiah's final question to God fitting language that reminds us strongly of Donne's own Holy Sonnets written years earlier. Or, to put it another way, by translating scripture, Donne could find an outlet for his grief without being accused of opposing the King's wishes, for while he was not able to speak openly about such events in his sermons, public performances that were both restricted and monitored by King James, nevertheless he could express his personal responses in his sonnet, "Show me deare Christ," and his translation of the "Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part after Tremellius."

As this cluster of Donne's work here discussed—letters, sermons, and dramatic poems—reveals, Donne shared the general sense of despair of the English at the defeat of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, at White Mountain in 1620 and his subsequent 1622 defeat by Tilly which resulted in the fall of Heidelberg in September 1622 and the demise of Protestant power in Europe. Despite Donne's attempts at moderation and restraint in his sermons, the "Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part after Tremelius" powerfully reveals that for Donne and many of his compatriots, their worst fears of Protestant captivity had been realized, and that as Sir Edward Conway declared after the 1620 defeat of the Protestants, "the Law of the Conqueror was indeed ruthlessly imposed on Bohemia."[58] This series of critical defeats led to continued requests for King James to enter the conflict, something he refused to do until it no longer mattered. Donne's connection to Elizabeth, Frederick's wife and James' daughter, which began during his journey with Drury to the continent in 1612, stayed with him until his death nearly twenty years later. Donne's concern for Elizabeth, the now deposed Queen of Bohemia, throughout these terrible times is evidenced by his sending to her in 1624 a copy of his newly published *Devotions Upon Emergent*

Occasions and in 1626, a copy of the first sermon he preached to the newly crowned King Charles. Perhaps Donne hoped that his recently published *Devotions*, the account of his own fall into and recovery from affliction, would bring comfort to Elizabeth, then in exile in the Hague.[59] Memory of Donne's connection to Elizabeth would last well into the seventeenth century, for when Elizabeth died in 1661, Sir Robert Sidney, the nephew of the great poet Sir Philip Sidney and himself a commander of a regiment formed out of Vere's forces in the Low Countries, "immediately associated her and her marriage with Donne and his powerful verse. It was a pity, reads his letter to Northumberland, Penshurst, February 17, 1661/62, that the queen of hearts had not lived 'a few hours more so as to die on her wedding day' and that there 'is not as good a Poet to make her Epitaph, as Doctor Donne, who wrote her Epithalamium upon that Day unto St. Valentine.'"[60]

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Notes

1. Sir Clements R. Markham, *The Fighting Veres* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1888), iii.

2. While many articles have appeared in the last twenty years that focus on Donne and politics, most of these deal with questions of domestic politics—i.e., David Norbrook, "The Monarchy of Wit and the Republic of Letters: Donne's Politics," in Elizabeth Harvey and Katharine Eisaman's *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 3-36; Paul Harland, "Donne's Political Intervention in the Parliament of 1629," *John Donne Journal* 11 (1992): 21-37; and Ann Hurley, "More Foolery from More?: John Donne's Lothian Portrait as a Clue to His Politics," in Hurley and Kate Greenspan, eds., *So Rich a Tapestry: The Sister Arts and Cultural Studies* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1995), pp. 72-87. One of the most well-known books on the topic is Stephen Greenblatt's *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne and Their Contemporaries* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983). See also Dennis Flynn's study, *John Donne & the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), for an important parallel discussion of Donne's relationship to European Catholicism.

3. Paul Sellin, *So Doth So Is Religion: John Donne and Diplomatic Contexts in the Reformed Netherlands, 1619-1620* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1988). Sellin's study is the most detailed discussion of Donne's relationship to the Continent to date. It expands on the ideas first put forth in his essay, "John Donne: The Poet as Diplomat and Divine," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 39 (1976): 267-75.

4. All dates are in new style, unless otherwise indicated. For an excellent account of the events of the Thirty Years' War, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, Revised Edition (New York: Military Heritage Press, 1987).

5. See R.C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 80-92, for a discussion of Donne's military service and journey to the Continent from 1596-1597. Dennis Flynn has suggested that Donne's first trip to the Continent took place in 1585, when, under the protection of his uncle, Jasper Heywood, he took flight to escape the dangers facing Catholics in England. For a detailed discussion of this journey, please see Flynn, *Donne & the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, 133-172. According to Flynn, Donne's "flight from persecution" to the Continent lasted from January 20, 1585 to 1587, during which time he may have witnessed the exploits of the Prince of Parma at Antwerp and traveled with Sir William Stanley to Spain and Italy.

6. Sellin, "John Donne and the British Military Abroad: The Army of the States General as a Political and Cultural Crossroads," paper delivered in Session 544: "The Political Donne" at the Modern Language Association Convention, San

Francisco, December 29, 1991. Sellin's reference is to Donne's letter to George More just after his elopement with More's daughter Anne, dated by Geoffrey Keynes as March 1601[2]. In this letter Donne writes: "I should wrong you as much again as I did if I should think you sought to destroy me; but though I be not headlongly destroyed, I languish and rust dangerously. From seeking perferments abroad, my love and conscience restrains me" (Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, Volume 1, [London, 1899], 113). According to Sellin, "given [Donne's] earlier enlistments [1596-97] in Dutch service, what other 'preferments abroad' might he have been 'seeking' if not a place in the army of the States."

7. See Bald, 257. According to Bald, "When Donne and Drury met with the Duc de Bouillon, the Duc "was on the point of setting out for England as Ambassador Extraordinary to bear the formal announcement of the betrothals which had just been celebrated in Paris, and at the same time to explore the possibility of a marriage between Prince Henry and a French princess."

8. Donne's "Epithalamion upon Frederick Count Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth marryed on St. Valentines day" celebrated the February 14, 1613 wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine, an event that had been postponed due to the death of Prince Henry on November 6, 1612. See Bald, 268-269 and Gary Stringer, et al, *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne: The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Miscellaneous Poems* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 8, 365-366.

9. See Herbert J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Poems of John Donne, Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, reprint 1963), 92, and Stringer, ed., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, 8: 365. Further discussion of Donne's relationship to the Russells and the Harringtons can be found in Bald, 170-180, 275-276, 347, and P. Thomson, "John Donne and the Countess of Bedford," *Modern Language Review* 44 (1949): 329-340.

10. Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion*, 119. Note, too, the connection Sellin details between Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and her family, both the Russells and the Harringtons, and a circle of "Puritan" divines through the translations of numerous English Protestant works into Dutch by Reverend Johannes Lamotius from 1617-1619, just prior to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. According to Sellin, through the Earl and Lady of Bedford "Donne had ready access to some important 'Puritans,' and the tie reached deep into the older generation of both the Russells and the Harringtons" (114-121). Donne's close relationship to the Harrington family during these years is also evidenced by the long poem, the "Obsequyes upon the Lord Harrington, the last that died," which Donne wrote on the occasion of the early death of Lucy's brother, Sir John Harrington, second Lord Exton, who died of smallpox at Kew on February 27, 1614.

11. Sellin, "John Donne: The Poet as Diplomat and Divine," 268, 274. See Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion* and "John Donne: The Poet as Diplomat and Divine" for a detailed discussion of Donne's role in and experiences with Doncaster's

mission to the Palatinate and the Netherlands. A description of the embassy and its work as a whole can be found in Bald, 338-365.

12. Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2: 133-134.

13. Chamberlain to Carleton, in Norman E. McClure, *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), 2: 263-264.

14. Chamberlain to Carleton, October 2, 1619: 2: 266.

15. For accounts of the growing discontent over James's failure to act decisively in support of the Palatinate, see the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, Volume 10 (1619-1623), ed. Mary A.E. Green (London: Longman, 1858); and Valaresso to the Doge, March 1, 1623, in the *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian Series*, Volume 17 (1621-1623), ed. Allen B. Hinds (London: 1911). The accounts of the Dutch ambassador in London, Noel de Caron, also underscore this growing discontent on the part of the English citizenry. See, for example, his letters to the States General from December 25, 1621 to March 13, 1623, printed in The British Museum, London, "Engelsche depeches, berustende in het Rijks Archief te s'Gravenhage," *Documents on British Dutch Relations*. Deposited in the British Museum by order of Viscomte Palmerston, Secretary of State, December 20, 1848, 11 reels. Microfilmed by the Bancroft Library, The University of California, March 4, 1957, #0157, reel 5. Cf. Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 1-38.

16. See Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, 63; W. Notestein, F. H. Relf and H. Simpson, eds., *The Commons Debates for 1621*, Volume 5 (New Haven, 1935), pp. 203-04.

17. Charles E. Merrill, Jr., *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour by John Donne* (New York: 1910), pp. 134-36.

18. See Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, 64-69, for a further historical account of these events.

19. Sellin reminds us, in "The Proper Dating of John Donne's 'Satire III,'" *HLQ* 42 (1980): 292-93, that Sir Horace Vere was in London during the early 1620s to recruit troops for his activities in the Palatinate, the largest recruitment of Englishmen to fight in the Low Countries since the recruitment of soldiers for the seige of Juliers in 1610. In light of Donne's comments in his letter to Goodere, it is worth noting that Vere complained that James did not allow him to recruit as many as he needed and that, as a consequence, he was seriously undermanned. Cf. C.W. Markham, *The Fighting Veres*, 392-450, for a discussion of Vere's experiences in the Thirty Years' War.

20. *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, 143.

21. *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, 199-200.

22. Parker, *Thirty Years' War*, 65.

23. Parker, 64.

24. Parker, 67-68.

25. *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, 182-183.

26. In England during the early 1620s, the Thirty Years' War was regarded as an apocalyptic struggle: see Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, "The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I," in Kenneth Fincham, ed., *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 23-49.

27. *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, 72-73.

28. Parker, 68-69.

29. *C.S.P., Venice*, Volume 18 ; "English Depeches," in *Documents on British Dutch Relations*; and *Letters of John Chamberlain*, Volume 2, #400, 420.

30. See Cogswell, 27-35, for a discussion of the events leading to James's issuing of the *Directions for Preachers* in August 1622.

31. Koos Daly, "'And Like a Widdow Thus': Donne, Huygens, and the Fall of Heidelberg," *John Donne Journal* 10 (1991): 57.

32. George R Potter & Evelyn M. Simpson, eds., *The Sermons of John Donne* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), 3: 10-11.

33. Potter & Simpson, 3: 11.

34. Potter & Simpson, 3: 166-67.

35. Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion*, 170.

36. Potter & Simpson, 4: 24-28.

37. Potter & Simpson, 4: 183.

38. Chamberlain to Carleton, #413, 2: 451. Chamberlain remarks on the strangeness of Donne's text for such an occasion. Perhaps Donne intends to call to his listeners' attention the larger passage from which Judges 5:20 comes. In Judges 5:23, for example, the Biblical text reads in the Authorized Version: "Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." Cf. also Judges 5:31: "So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord: but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might."

39. Bald, 433-434; Cf. Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion*, 170.

40. Potter & Simpson, 4: 237-38. In order to maintain consistency, I have used the sermon text as presented in Potter & Simpson's edition of Donne's sermons. Recently, however, Jeanne Shami discovered a manuscript version of this sermon, to which she identified some corrections by Donne: *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon: A Parallel-Text Edition* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1996).

41. Daly, 64-68.

42. Shami, "Donne on Discretion," *English Literary History*, 47 (1980): 58.

43. Potter & Simpson, 4: 263. Cf. Shami, pp.181-85.

44. Gosse, 2: 174-75. Cf. Bald, 440-441.

45. Daly, 67.

46. See Cogswell, 27-34, for an account of several sermons preached with reference to Bohemia. Cogswell also outlines how the popular sentiments toward

Bohemia and James defense of his pacifist policies created great tension in the pulpits and led, in 1622, to James' issuing of the *Directions for Preachers*.

47. Donne was not the only writer to respond to the events in the Palatinate. As Cogswell, 24-27, explains, "The muttering in the alehouses was not unique; some of the literati were also restive in 1622. In fact the second part of Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* stands as a monument to what the poet dubbed 'the evill time' of Jacobean neutrality....Drayton's bitter discontent with royal inaction can be seen even more clearly in the private poems he wrote in 'the evill time.' Direct discussion of current events he politely avoided; 'I feare, as I doe Stabbing,' he maintained, 'this word, State, / I dare not speake of the Palatinate, / Although some men make it their hourly theame / And talke what's done in Austria and Beame [Bohemia],'' [Michael Drayton, *The Works* (Oxford, 1961), IV, 391, 393, 395].

48. Gardner's analysis appears in Appendix C of both the first and second editions of her edition of Donne's divine poems, *John Donne: The Divine Poems*, edited with introduction and commentary by Helen Gardner (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1952, 1978). I use the second edition in all references to Gardner's arguments and as a text for Donne's divine poems. The text of "Show me deare Christ" is from the Westmoreland manuscript, where it is linked with two additional Holy Sonnets, "Since she whome I lovd" and "Oh, to vex me." Because of the connection to "Since she whome I lovd," a poem that has been linked biographically to the death of Donne's wife Anne in 1617, some readers believe that "Show me deare Christ" could not be as late as the 1620 date that Gardner postulates, but in fact must have been written shortly after 1617. However, according to Gary Stringer, the General Editor of the Donne Variorum Project, there is no firm bibliographic evidence either to prove or disprove this assertion: although the Westmoreland manuscript generally is considered an early manuscript and generally is dated around the early 1620s, that dating is reached through interpretive rather than bibliographic evidence. Wesley Milgate (*Donne's Satires* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967], xlvi-xlvii) dates the Westmoreland manuscript about 1620, using as his evidence the suggestion by Gardner that the poem referred to events in Bohemia. There seems to be no hard and fast evidence to confirm that the poem was written before the events in Bohemia in 1620. Rather, any assertions regarding dating derive from biographical readings of other poems in the manuscript and not from bibliographic examination of the manuscript itself.

49. Gardner, 124-125.

50. Gardner, 103-104.

51. In addition to the essay by Koos Daly, see John J. Pollock, "Donne's 'Lamentations of Jeremy' and the Geneva Bible," *English Studies*, 55 (1974): 513-515; Graham Roebuck, "Donne's *Lamentations of Jeremy* Reconsidered," *John Donne Journal*, 10 (1991): 37-44; John Klause, "The Two Occasions of Donne's Lamentations of Jeremy," *Modern Philology*, 90 (1993): 337-359; and William Hunter, "An Occasion for John Donne's 'The Lamentations of Jeremy'," *ANQ*, 12

(Summer 1999): 18-23.

52. According to Isaak Walton, after his ordination, "all [Donne's] studies which had been occasionally diffused, were all concentred in Divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new imployment for his wit and eloquence: now all his earthly affections were changed into divine love; and all the faculties of his own soul, were ingaged in the Conversion of others: In preaching the glad tidings of Remission to repenting Sinners, and peace to each troubled soul;" *Life of Donne*, 1675 ed., reprinted in the World's Classics series (Oxford, 1927), pp. 47-48.

53. Klause, 356.

54. Gardner, 104.

55. See the anathema placed in all Catholic Bibles following the Council of Trent until the present day. Tremellius's Bible, it should be noted, was first published in Heidelberg, the cradle of the Reformed movement.

56. Daly, 61; Sellin, "John Donne and the Huygens Family, 1619-1621: Some Implications for Dutch Literature," *Dutch Quarterly Review*, 12 (1982/3): 193-204, esp. 201-203. See also Sellin's review of David Novarr's *The Disinterred Muse: Donne's Texts and Contexts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 82 (1983): 240-245.

57. The text of Donne's "Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part after Tremelius" is from Gardner's edition of Donne's *Divine Poems*.

58. Parker, 2nd edition, 55. Sir Edward Conway was a British military leader, along with Sir Horace Vere, in the Bohemian conflict.

59. The letter accompanying a copy of his *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* was dated February 1, 1623[4], and is found in the Tobie Matthew Collection. The letter accompanying King Charles' first sermon upon assuming the throne is in Geoffrey Keynes, no.59, item 8. I made a similar point in "The Politics of John Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* Reconsidered," *Renaissance & Reformation*, N.S. 15 (1991): 233-248—that "Even in sending a dedication copy to the exiled Queen of Bohemia, at best Donne hopes to comfort her and urge her to bear her crosses and afflictions, as she has done thus far, with patience and faith. The only possible political reference here is to events in the Palatinate" (241).

60. See Sellin, *So Doth So Is Religion*, 239 n. 37.