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Imagining Dutch Reformed Donne

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Sellin, Paul R. *John Donne and "Calvinist" Views of Grace*. Amsterdam: VU Boekhandel/Uitgeverij, 1983. Pp. 61. Illus. 6.

Sellin, Paul R. *So Doth, So Is Religion: John Donne and Diplomatic Contexts in the Reformed Netherlands, 1619-1620*. Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1988. Pp. xi + 295.

In his biography of Donne, R. C. Bald gives short shrift to the poet's involvement with Doncaster's diplomatic mission to Germany in 1619, which purportedly was aimed at avoiding war over the Palatinate. Bald discusses Donne's apparent fear of the Jesuits before tracing the progress of Hay and his entourage from city to city: Antwerp, Brussels, Cologne, Frankfurt, Heidelberg [for nine days], and back to the Netherlands. Even in this rather general chapter Bald allocates only two pages to the two weeks or so Donne spent at the end of the journey in the United Provinces. Bald notes only that Donne preached a sermon at The Hague, the day after Doncaster's address to the States General, on Sunday, December 19, suggesting that Donne preached in English (since he spoke from notes) in a chapel "attached to the ambassadors' house."[1]

Paul R. Sellin's companion books represent a bold effort to come to terms with the religious and literary relations between Donne and the United Provinces, tracing in particular detail the movements of Hay's entourage during his diplomatic sojourn in the Low Countries. James sent the embassy to Europe in the hope of avoiding British involvement in a war with Spain and powers sympathetic to the Catholic cause following the death of Ferdinand. Since James's daughter was married to a claimant to the throne of the Palatinate, Hay's mission to avoid

deepening of the crisis (the supposed purpose of Spanish policy), may have been impossible from the start, but Sellin argues that Donne's religious and poetic sentiments can be inferred from his participation in the venture. The thesis of the combined books, briefly stated, seems to be that, since Donne was with the official party as it traversed the Netherlands over a ten-day span, and since the Netherlands was a hotbed of Orthodox Calvinism as distinct from heterodox Arminianism, and since the British had sent representatives to the recently concluded Synod of Dort, and since some of Donne's works were later published in Dutch, it follows that Donne approved of the outcome of the Synod of Dort, and was in agreement with the governing powers of the States General, which had anathematized the leaders of the Remonstrant rebellion, removing them from the University of Leiden, from their pulpits, and from their seats on the various city councils. Some were imprisoned, others executed.

As the longer of the two books unfolds, Sellin presents an astounding body of material on dozens of people Donne might have or must have met (the two shade into each other as we go along) in this whirlwind ten-day visit to the Netherlands. Sellin examines accounts of inns where the English party stayed, sketches biographies of city councilmen whom they likely encountered, and surveys sites of possible entertainments, church services, boat trips, pageants, fetes, walks, and conversations. Doncaster's party of some eighty members were entertained at a cost of up to $400 a head (62); in the end, James awarded Hay 20,000 pounds in reimbursement for the trip (163-64). Many of the scenes described are hectic: inns crowded beyond capacity, expensive cuisine, hordes of servers (foreign and domestic)—details aimed not at convincing Donne critics that Doncaster's party must have been worn out by the ordeal, but that possible or probable diplomatic contacts in the Netherlands reflected Donne's personal approval of the doctrines and church practices of his Dutch Reformed hosts. To wit, Donne must have agreed with and/or been influenced by the people the English embassy visited in an official capactiy as representatives of James I: "If there was ever a definite moment in Donne's life in which involvement in domestic and international politics can be expected to provide clues for testing his reactions to 'Calvinism,' it was when he accompanied the king's favorite, James Hay, to Germany in 1619, and particularly the December of that year, when the embassy visited the United Provinces" (5). Hence, the details of Doncaster's progress to Germany and back leads up to the pivotal Chapter 5, "Donne's Preaching in The Hague."

Sellin documents the progression to this point with extraordinary patience for detail. In the "Introduction," he argues that, because Donne delivered sermons "in Calvinist strongholds" (3), he must be considered a "conscientious Protestant" (4) leaning toward the Puritan end of the religious spectrum. In prosecuting his thesis, Sellin purports to show a "richer tapestry of connections between Donne's milieu in England and the Low Countries than people have suspected . . ." (8). In Chapter 1, he examines Donne's status within the Doncaster mission, emphasizing his reputation as seen in the import into the Netherlands of *Biathanatos* and *Ignatius His Conclave* and in evidence found among the papers of Constantine Huygens (23) (discussion of which occupies the last half of the chapter). In succeeding chapters he traces the itinerary of Doncaster's party from city to city through the Low Countries, with thumbnail biographies of Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, alive and dead—men like Sir Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Hugo Grotius, Rombout Hogerbeets, Dr. Gerard van Hamel, P. C. Hooft, and Philip Calandrini (meeting with Calandrini being one of two "possible experiences in Amsterdam that especially tickle the imagination" [54])—recording the progress of Doncaster's mission in the Netherlands. We learn about the financial situation in Holland, and how the Estates General spent different sums receiving Doncaster and Girolamo Lando, and about how, a year later, Trevisano (the Venetian ambassador-designate to England) spent "exactly what seems to have been the standard visit of some two days" in Amsterdam (47). During such a visit Donne could have met Michel Le Blon, the artist and publisher who brought out a translation of Donne *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* thirty-five years later (55). Sellin describes the town fathers of various cities, especially Haarlem and Leiden: Rombout Hogerbeets, Goozen Schaffer, Johan van Gooch, Johan de Mortaigne, Robrecht Valkenburgh (68). We learn about the genealogy of Lady Carleton, and about the self-deception of such an Arminian "fellow traveler" as Professor Conrad Vorstius (71). We learn about the layout of certain cities, about the shape, size, and composition of various churches and congregations, about the flourishing economy of the Low Countries, and about the role played by many individuals in events preceding and following the Synod of Dort.

As suggested earlier, Sellin's deliberate chronology leads up to Chapter 5, "Donne's Preaching in The Hague," which renders the remaining two chapters ("After Doncaster's Audience" and "Return Home") anticlimactic. It is in Chapter 5 that Sellin establishes his firmest purchase on

the Donne canon. According to Sellin, "'The Fishers of Men' sermon . . . followed right on the heels of Doncaster's speech before the States General," and thus, "it was designed to complement, perhaps even augment, Doncaster's postures before the Council of State and his address to the States General the day before" (109). Given this political context, Sellin argues, it is unfortunate that "Biographers seem to assume that the sanctuary in which Donne spoke was somehow attached to Sir Dudley's house, that it was used for private devotions rather than public, and that 'Fishers of Men' was rather a private address in English to Sir Dudley, his household, and Doncaster's train than a public oration with political overtones."

In fact, Sellin writes, all this business about the church being attached to the Carleton residence is without foundation. We cannot even be sure which of four possible churches in The Hague was the site of Donne's December 19 sermon. Two of the four structures were restricted to Dutch parishioners, which leaves the English Church and the Court Chapel as the only likely candidates. Since, if Donne preached at the English Church, "he would have officiated at a Presbyterian service" (111), Sellin opts for the Court Chapel as the likely site for "Fishers of Men." Even though this church catered to a Huguenot congregation, and Donne probably knew the French language better than Dutch (112), the possibility that the sermon was delivered at the Court Chapel "necessarily involved heavy ironies": "The thought of Donne's words echoing in the space over van Oldenbarnevelt's very tomb is rather poignant, though within the context in which Donne found himself, a seventeenth-century mind would be likely to meditate on the revenges that the whirligig of time brings in rather than on the humane perspectives that attract modern sensibilities" (113).

At this juncture, Sellin reminds readers of the recent history of the Huguenot parish. Jean de la Haye had died, leaving the pulpit empty for a time, before Jean Sanisson ("a conservative Contra-remonstrant" [114]) took over. Sanisson was probably assisted by Johannes Lamotius, an important figure, who played an important part in the closing moments of Oldenbarnevelt's life (offering a prayer before the public beheading of the [non-conservative?] Arminian). Further, Lamotius provides what Sellin calls "a 'Puritan connection'" (114) with Donne, for he translated works by William Cowper and a host of other theologians of decided low-church sentiments (Sellin mentions William Perkins, George Abbot, Joseph Hall, and Nicholas Byfield). Byfield's name is linked with Donne's by the fact that he dedicated one of his books to

Lord Hay's wife. And then there is Daniel Dyke, whose brother, Jeremy Dyke, likewise inscribed a work to Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

By elucidating these associations Sellin lays the ground work for his challenge to the usual understanding of Donne's attitude toward religious sentiments associated with Geneva, especially as construed from "Donne's supposedly very first Verse Epistle to his 'divinity,' the Countess of Bedford" (120):

> Therefore I study you first in your Saints,
> Those friends, whom your election glorifies,
> Then in your deeds, accesses, and restraints,
> And what you reade, and what your selfe devize.
> (ll. 9-12)[2]

To Sellin, these lines "allude rather directly to pietistic ministers like Byfield and the Dykes, and he [Donne] compliments her on her choices" (120). But is there a "deliberately Calvinist slant to this language" as—to Sellin—"seems obvious" (121)? The poem seems to proceed from a figurative biforcation of the soul's faculties into "Reason" and "Faith." The speaker addressing the Countess seems to be saying that, regardless of which quality of mind in whatever proportions individuals may express, "all" love the Countess of Bedford, and are therefore elected by God to the special grace of her presence. True, the figures are religious and may seem to be even "Calvinist" and "Puritan" (if we assume that the concepts of sainthood and election were in Donne's time appropriated only by Calvinists of a Protestant, low-church variety). But the figures are employed in hyperbolic praise of the Countess of Bedford's generosity and friendship, which are bestowed, like the love of God, on "all":

> But soone, the reasons why you'are lov'd by all,
> Grow infinite, and so passe reasons reach,
> Then backe againe to'implicite faith I fall,
> And rest on what the Catholique voice doth teach;
>
> That you are good: and not one Heretique
> Denies it. . . . (13-18)

The Countess is "Gods masterpeece" because she transcends schismatic perceptions. Everybody loves her. All concede that, like God, she

is good. As for the association of the Countess of Bedford with "Puritans," that is matched by her friendship with more liturgically sober types, Queen Anne of Denmark, for instance. It is, moreover, an indication of the catholicity of her love and generosity. We think, too, of the breadth of her literary acquaintance, as the center of the Twickenham circle, so that the religious figures work on the poetic level as well. The poem does not necessarily praise Byfield or either Dyke or both Dykes, but "what" in the Countess of Bedford "the Catholique voice doth teach" (16), namely, the healing virtue of a refined nature conjoined with proper nurture:

> In every thing there naturally growes
> A *Balsamum* to keepe it fresh, and new,
> If 'twere not injur'd by extrinsique blowes;
> Your birth and beauty are this Balme in you.
>
> But you of learning and religion,
> And vertue,'and such ingredients, have made
> A methridate, whose operation
> Keepes off, or cures what can be done or said. (21-28)

The speaker praises the Countess as angelic in that she lives on a diet of "such ingredients" as heal. She consumes and literally becomes the antidote to words or actions that cause disease. Thus, the speaker sees in her the perfect mix of human qualities which neither "Reason" nor "Faith" will reject.

Sellin presses his argument that "Donne had ready access to some important 'Puritans'" (121), which leads him to challenge "Donne's supposed Anglican predilections" (122). But would not one with "Anglican predilections" (some Anglican priests had them) as likely influence as be influenced by "Puritans" with whom he came in contact? Sellin's answer seems to be that, "Given such ties with nonconformism, whether at Isleworth or The Hague, an English minister with Donne's background should probably have had few scruples about officiating at a Reformed service" (122). But would someone—*could* someone—without such ties, but bearing such diplomatic responsibilities as Sellin has so carefully shown were vested in Donne, refuse to officiate at such a service?

Obviously, any useful answer must lie in our understanding of the sermon delivered in The Hague. Sellin asks: Does anything in Donne's sermon "show him to be at variance with the main leaders of the Dutch

republic?" (122). Does he repudiate the Synod of Dort? Does he assert "a high-Anglican or an anti-Puritan conscience"? By suggesting that the Dutch point of view is "as valid as his own" (123), Sellin argues, Donne in effect identifies with the Contra-Remonstrants. Thus, Sellin construes the anti-schismatic passages in "Fishers of Men" as directed at the admittedly few Arminianins left alive and at large after the Synod of Dort. But surely Donne's remarks on "lawfull Calling"[3] express at least a gentle element of rebuke to those of the "Puritan" stripe who opposed episcopacy, in general, and a learned clergy, in particular:

> It is well provided by your Lawes, that Divines and Ecclesiasticall persons may not take farmes, nor buy nor sell, for returne, in Markets. I would it were as well provided, that buyers and sellers, and farmers might not be Divines, nor censure them. I speake not of censuring our lives; please your selves with that, till God bee pleased to mend us by that, (though that way of whispering calumny be not the right way to that amendment) But I speak of censuring our Doctrines, and of appointing our doctrines; when men are weary of hearing any other thing, then Election and Reprobation, and whom, and when, and how, and why God hath chosen, or cast away. We have liberty enough by your Law, to hold enough for the maintenance of our bodies, and states; you have liberty enough by our Law, to know enough for the salvation of your soules; If you will search farther into Gods eternall Decrees, and unrevealed Councels, you should not cast your nets into that Sea, for you are not fishers there. (II, 278-79)

Implicitly, Donne responds to the familiar Separatist theme of a "sanctified" clergy, which, in England, meant a pastor "chosen the mouth of many,"[4] that is, elected by the congregation rather than selected by the episcopacy. Sellin admits that King James and Archbishop Laud would have liked Donne's sermon (125). As a review of Part V, Section 81, of Hooker's Lawes (1597) will remind us, Donne's perspective is, on this important issue of clerical learning and hierarchy, faithfully Anglican. And this is a point which Sellin himself concedes in the chapter on "Discipline" in the earlier work (see esp. pp. 24-25). It was a point of difference "tactlessly insisted on" (24), Sellin recalls, by Bishop Carleton himself.

And yet, in the later study, Sellin construes Donne's implicit criticism of Dutch Reformed "liberty of expression" (125) as a call for tough treatment of the practically insignificant number of remaining Dutch Arminian troublemakers. Further, Sellin adds, presumably to explain his remark about the likely response to "Fishers of Men" by the Anglican Establishment, the extant text may reflect revisions aimed—in 1630—at Laud and Charles (125-26). To this special plea we might respond that every address is addressed to somebody. If Donne could avoid offending James, Laud, and Charles, while getting along with his Dutch Reformed counterparts in The Hague, we might infer that he functioned effectively as a representative of the Church of England in somewhat uncongenial circumstances (Sellin, for instance, notes the hostility of Dutch reformers to the Book of Common Prayer [111]).

But, to quote Sellin, "What about Donne in all this?" (165). In a way, Sellin's answer to this critical question was already given in *John Donne and "Calvinist" Views of Grace*. This solid, interesting, beautifully printed monograph provides the theological focus only indirectly supported with biographical details in the more recent book. Sellin agrees with E. Randolph Daniel that "there are compelling affinities between 'Puritan' theology and Donne's" (*So Doth* 2)—insisting that Donne is a thorough-going Calvinist, and, as such, a "Puritan." Indeed, the abiding Calvinism of his conclusions lead to—and may themselves be the "cause" of—the problematic implications of *So Doth, So Is Religion*. At times, Sellin seems to argue that *all* readings of Donne reflect a prior religious bias, hence, that both error and correction of error are impossible except as a further ratchet effect of new or repeated expressions of the same or different biases. And yet as he spells out this Calvinist world of pre-ordained interpretations, he loads the rhetorical dice:

> Those who start from crypto- or Anglo-Catholic principles will read this garland of sonnets ["La Corona"] in a way quite different from that followed by skeptics or critics under the influence of modern evangelical Protestantism, and anyone who attempts to view it through Calvinist eyes will conceive the line of action informing it very differently from Laudians or from rugged individualists bent on captaining their own fates. (*So Doth* 1)

At first glance the drift of this sentence seems to be toward a benign relativism: Let a thousand flowers of socially determined, equally insupportable, perspectives bloom. But the parallelism of the sentence suggests that "crypto" and "Anglo-Catholic" may or may not refer to the same set, that is, that the "or" might impute synonymy to the two designations, and therefore a kind of all-pervading furtiveness or lack of candor to critics who perceive Catholic sensibilities in Donne's texts. Although anything suggesting furtiveness or duplicity may in a book on Donne seem to be at least superficially interesting and even plausible, this particular insinuation follows the syntactic apposition between "skeptics or critics under the influence of modern evangelical Protestantism," suggesting, again, that two sets defined by mutually exclusive characteristics somehow merge in their agreeable differences from "crypto" and/or [?] "Anglo-Catholics." And does the remaining "or" likewise seem to pit "Laudians" against libertarians "bent on captaining their own fates," while proposing that "Calvinists" pit themselves always and everywhere against both? Again, in *John Donne and 'Calvinist' Views of Grace*, Sellin portrays his perspective as that of a beleaguered dissident: "it seems evident that virtually everywhere the shadow of a great but nonetheless partial Anglican tradition—one that stretches from Walton up through Augustus Jessop, H. J. C. Grierson, T. S. Eliot, Evelyn Simpson, R. C. Bald, Dame Helen Gardner, and many others—still looms so large in Donne studies that it has inhibited our responding aright to rare voices of protest and prevented even the most respectable of modern 'revisionists' from going far enough" (49).

Prevented, that is, until now. For Sellin's revisionist thesis seems to have gone "far," even "far enough," in suggesting how completely Donne threw off his Roman and Anglo-Catholicism. For instance, the chapter headings of *John Donne and 'Calvinist' Views of Grace* read: "Predestination," "Discipline," "Church Government," and "Perseverance." Of these, the most important is the first. In fact, Sellin's argument for Donne's "Calvinism" is based largely on his reading of several of Donne's sermons—especially "Fishers of Men"—as they bear on the doctrine of predestination. More or less ignoring the diplomatic demands of the rhetorical situation (i.e., of Donne addressing a partisan audience as a representative of a friendly power hoping to stay friendly), Sellin stresses the interrelation between passages from the sermon delivered in The Hague and relevant articles from the Synod of Dort. Although at times he admits that one or another main point "is a matter

of speculation" (41), suggesting that "caution should remain the watchword" (47), Sellin seems more believable exposing how the speculations of, say, R. C. Bald are not only "incredible" but indicative of "the loose way in which Donne scholars have drawn far-reaching [and wrong-headed] conclusions regarding the Reformed churches" and Donne's "supposedly Anglican sensibilities" (6). In truth, Donne is in substantial agreement "with Calvin, the Belgic Confession, and the Heidelberg Catechism" (6).

In further support of this—his major—thesis, Sellin examines the Dutch printing of *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, which he shows to have been translated, not by Huygens (as Keynes and Simpson believed), but by Johannes Grindal (39). Although Sellin convincingly demonstrates that Donne's work shares with Puritan texts "the very same spiritual problems" (42), this is not the same as proving that Donne shared the panoply of beliefs that separated the "Puritans" in England from their Establishment adversaries. Predestination was one and only one issue, and it may not even be the best one for discriminating among left, right, and center, in the England of Donne's time. Were John Greenwood and Henry Barrow executed because they believed or refused to believe in predestination? Or in infra- or supralapsarianism? For that matter, what is "Puritan" about an *unemphatic* assent to the doctrine of predestination? I doubt that we find anything in Donne's writings that conflicts with the two relevant "Articles of Religion" well established as Anglican doctrine at the time. First, we have Article 10, "Of free-will":

> The condition of man after the fall of *Adam* is such, that he cannot turne and prepare himself by his owne naturall strength and good workes to faith and calling upon God: Wherefore wee have no power to doe good workes pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that wee may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.[5]

And this doctrine fits with Article 17, "Of Predestination and Election":

> Predestination to life, is the everlasting purpose of GOD, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsell,

> secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation, those whom hee hath chosen in Christ out of mankinde, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which bee indued with so excellent a benefite of God, be called according to Gods purpose by his Spirit working in due season: they through grace obey the calling: they bee justified freely: they bee made sonnes of God by adoption: they be made like the Image of his onely begotten Sonne Jesus Christ: they walke religiously in good workes, and at length by God's mercy, they attaine to everlasting felicitie.
>
> As the godly consideration of Predestination and our Election in Christ, is full of sweete, pleasant, and unspeakeable comfort to godly persons, and such as feele in themselves the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the workes of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their minde to high and heavenly things, as well because it doeth greatly establish and confirme their faith of eternall salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doeth fervently kindle their love towards God: So, for curious and carnall persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of Gods predestination, is a most dangerous downefall, whereby the devill doeth thrust them either into desperation, or into rechlessnesse of most uncleane living, no lesse perillous then desperation.
>
> Furthermore, wee must receive Gods promises, in such wise, as they be generally set forth unto us in holy Scripture: and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressely declared unto us in the word of God. (B1v-B2)

I quote these Articles in their totality because Sellin places so much emphasis on the Synod of Dort, the Belgic Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the ins and outs of Netherlandish religious controversy that we tend to forget that Donne was an emissary of the Church of

England, which had agreed-upon "Articles of Religion," doctrines, practices, and traditions of its own, many of which (those concerning ordination, for instance) were quite different from those of the Dutch Reformed Church. We need to remember, too, that, in Donne's time, consent to the doctrine of predestination did not mean that one was lacking in "Anglican predilections." Doubtless, as Sellin argues, the doctrine is complicated, involving, in Thomas Rogers' analytic approach to Article 17, ten propositions, each of which Rogers supports by "proof from God's word,"[6] the truth of which, in turn, is opposed by "adversaries," even though "All churches consent with [in this case, the first] doctrine" (145). In his discussion of Proposition 6 ("*They who are elected unto salvation, if they come unto years of discretion, are called both outwardly by the word, and inwardly by the Spirit of God*" [150]), Rogers distinguishes between Puritans and reformed churches. For, he writes with respect to Proposition 6 of Article 17, although "All churches reformed consent hereunto" (151), the Puritans are numbered among the "*adversaries unto this truth*": "Thirdly, the Puritans, who, among other assurances given them from the Lord of their salvation, make their advancing of the presbyterial kingdom (by the putting down of bishops, chancellors, &c.) a testimony that they shall have part in that glory which shall be revealed hereafter" (152).

Of course, Rogers speaks only for Rogers here, but in doing so he does make clear that some Anglicans considered the Puritan disdain for the episcopacy, including its insistence on a sanctified (unlearned) priesthood, intertwined with Article 17, "Of Predestination and Election." Although he wrote without official warrant, Roger's views were not unusual. I say this to offset any suggestion that by citing his opinion I do no more than reflect that Anglo-Catholic bias which, according to Sellin, has come to dominate Donne scholarship in unhealthy ways. Actually, Sellin forgets to tell us how so notable a scholar as Barbara Lewalski managed to elude the repressive reach of these Anglo-Catholic hegemonists. Indeed, I wonder why Sellin has had so much trouble hearing the cacophony of "voices of protest and . . . respectable . . . 'revisionists'" (49), for analysis of recent trends in criticism of the period might suggest a bull market for Protestantizing futures.

Sellin's final point concerns such Dutch poets, artists, and engravers as Michel Le Blon, Joost van den Vondel, Daniel Heinsius, and Joachim Sandrart. Although a solid connection between Heinsius and Donne would help Sellin's case (for Heinsius was solidly opposed to the Remonstrants at Dort), it is not clear what good accrues from evidence of

contact between Donne and the duo of Le Blon and Vondel. Vondel sided with the Remonstrants, and his spiritual journey ended in his embrace of Roman Catholicism. Sellin himself points to a major inconvenience of his focus on Donne's "partiality to the 'Flemish' style." Sellin notes that Le Blon journeyed to Italy with "his cousin, the famous portraitist Joachim Sandrart . . . in the course of which visit they were admitted to the curious society of Dutch artists in Italy" (44). But Sellin's emphasis on the connection between Donne, Le Blon, and Flemish artists and engravers is just as "curious," for it leads Sellin to prove the importance of Rubens in England at the time in question. In this connection, we might recall that many of the more important contemporary Netherlandish artists and engravers of the period—practitioners of the "Flemish style"—studied their craft in Italy, hence, their common designation by art historians as the Roman school. Of these, the most notable painter was, of course, Peter Paul Rubens. Born a Catholic, Rubens spent years under the artistic influence of Annibale Carracci, from whom he learned many of the techniques of Michelangelo; and on his own, working in the court at Mantua, he learned much from the largest collection of Titian in the world. Do we regard Rubens' work or influence as "pietistic" or "Puritan"? Were his Antwerp paintings theologically different from those done in the 1620s in Genoa? What of his great altarpiece, "The Miracle of St. Ignatius Loyola," done for the Jesuit church in Antwerp? Is it an example of the Puritanism that Rubens passed on in his remarkable influence on Bernini?

To sum up, Sellin's two books represent a demanding and complex undertaking, which, I believe, only he could have finished. Donne scholars must be grateful for the assembly of so enormous a body of evidence surrounding the delivery of Donne's sermon in The Hague, and for the extensive analysis of the articles of faith at the center of discussion at the Synod of Dort. And yet, if a second printing of *So Doth, So Is Religion* is undertaken, I suggest shifting to the new *MLA* style for notes and list of "Works Cited." First, the twenty-one page "Bibliography" is already in place. Then, too, as things now stand, with the book's 650 notes (occupying 65 pages), Index, and Appendices, the back-matter runs to 110 pages in support of 184 pages on Donne's travels. This economy would allow the second edition to include the earlier monograph, which tries to draw the biographical record into relation with Donne's general religious outlook.

Paul R. Sellin has generously advanced the state of Donne scholarship regarding "The Author's Last Going into Germany" and the Low Countries. If the story of Donne's ten days in the Netherlands is ever rewritten,

especially as that account relates to his delivery of the "Fishers of Men" sermon at The Hague on December 19, 1619, the future biographer will have to start here.

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Notes

[1] R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life*, ed. W. Milgate (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), p. 364.

[2] John Donne, *The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters*, ed. W. Milgate (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), pp. 90-91; hereafter, cited in the text.

[3] *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, 10 vols. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1955-62), II, 279; hereafter, cited in the text.

[4] John Greenwood, *An Aunswer to George Giffords Pretended Defence of Read Prayers and Devised Leitourgies* ([Dort], 1590), A2v.

[5] *Articles, Whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Cleargie . . . for the stablishing of consent touching true Religion* (1612), A4; hereafter, cited in the text.

[6] Thomas Rogers, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England: An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles* [1586] (Cambridge, 1854), 39, 104, 144, for instance; hereafter, cited in the text.

[7] Sellin quotes Dennis Flynn (58n).

[8] For a discussion of the controversy surrounding several of the engravers of the Roman or Mannerist school (one of the charges against Laud was that he owned books engraved by Boethius Bolswert), see my *George Herbert* (Boston: Twayne, 1986), p. 76.