

“Ego videbo”: Donne and the Vocational Self

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In a 1620 Lincoln's Inn sermon Donne boldly appropriated Job's voice in affirming the identity of the self at the Resurrection. He, too, would stand face to face, person to person, before the resurrected Christ at the Resurrection:

*Ego, I, I the same body, and the same soul, shall be recompact again, and be identically, numerically, individually the same man. The same integrity of body, and soul, and the same integrity in the Organs of my body, and in the faculties of my soul too I shall be all there, my body, and my soul, and all my body, and all my soul . . . Ego, I the same person; Ego videbo, I shall see” (Sermons, III, 109-10).*¹

This confident voice speaks before familiar Lincoln's Inn faces, including many members well-acquainted with Donne's personal history. First admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1592, he was appointed Master of the Revels in 1593. After ordination in 1615 and appointment as Divinity Reader at Lincoln's Inn in 1616, he frequently preached there; twenty-one sermons written for that familiar audience still remain.² That “same person” confidently standing before them in time expects to see the resurrected Christ in eternity. The inference to be drawn by the members of this familiar Lincoln's Inn audience is that they—as the “same persons”—can together join Donne and Job.

Readers of Donne's early works have not found this confident sense of self integrated within a community of persons. Quite the contrary. Vexing contradictions between witty cynicism and spiritualized love in the love lyrics, which have long bedeviled Donne readers,

have been enlisted to support Thomas Docherty's postmodernist claims that several unstable, contingent voices inhabit these poems.³ Docherty summarily dismisses an article of faith in earlier criticism that an identifiable Donnean voice can be heard throughout the lyric poetry. Instead, the poems configure a postmodernist sense of fragmented, contingent consciousness lacking self-identity.⁴ Another casualty in recent criticism has been John Carey's relatively coherent portrait of Donne, for which R.C. Bald's authoritative biography provided the basic frame. Carey portrayed a careerist turning his back on his Catholic legacy, doggedly pursuing a satisfying place in the patronage systems, and ultimately settling for protection from the Crown. This largely coherent albeit unflattering portrait of "apostasy" and "ambition"⁵ left a deep mark on Donne criticism. But that mark has been eroded by close scrutiny of texts written particularly in Donne's middle years; nor can Carey's portrait withstand criticism for ruling out the validity of Donne's religious experience.

Donne's careerist "ambition" dominates Carey's portrait. But the texts written between his marriage to Anne Donne and his Ordination, although soiled by his search for patronage, are riven by counter-tensions. For David Aers and Gunter Kress, Donne's verse letters to prospective patrons, particularly Lucy Bedford, are inhabited by two selves: a contingent self requiring recognition and support by the patron; and an idealized self true to an independent, stable standard of value by which the contingent world is to be judged.⁶ Annabell Patterson's summary claim is that "self-division and equivocation" mark this period.⁷ Donne characteristically engages in a "social construction of a self, in which group identity and personal identity are interdependent constructs."⁸ Donne "found a way to speak ambivalence."⁹ He worked his clientage strategies while simultaneously practicing an oppositional freedom. He guarded carefully against the textual misrepresentations damaging within contingent political realms, but he also gestured for "freedom" from these constraints. Like David Norbrook, Patterson finds in Donne's parliamentary experience an independent political stance critical of established power. For Norbrook, Donne's connections with the Essex circle and his participation in two parliaments suggest a

traditional republican energy that creates oppositional impulses wrestling variously, often contradictorily, against submissive strategies necessary to make his way in the patronage systems. Both critics discover practices in Donne's sermons that contradict what Norbrook aptly calls "the careerist, absolutist Donne of the current critical orthodoxy."¹⁰ Donne's frequently ambivalent and nuanced responses maintain his place within the church while opening critical, oppositional perspectives expressing the "boldness and independence of mind" praised by Thomas Carew in his elegy on Donne.¹¹

Although such discussions substantially advance our understanding of Donne's complex self-representations in works of his middle years and of his nuanced political strategies later as a pulpit orator, they extract Donne as a social and political being from the intense realities of his spiritual life. They step into the same secular trap as Carey, who accounted for Donne's religious and theological thought as a mere repository of figures serving his psychological and imaginative needs.¹² Patterson and Norbrook confine Donne within the boundaries of clientage and politics by avoiding necessary connections to his concurrent spiritual turmoil and his searching pilgrimage through theological literature. Helen Gardner's characterization—that the *Holy Sonnets* "present an image of a soul working out its salvation in fear and trembling" (p. xxxi)¹³—is one vivid reminder of that intense spirituality. Most *Holy Sonnets* were probably written in 1609-11, a few even later, the latest in 1617 after Anne Donne died. Composition of the *Essays in Divinity* spanned roughly the same period from 1610 until his ordination in 1615. The devotional modulations in these "Several Disquisitions interwoven with Meditation and Prayer"¹⁴ spiritualize Donne's scholarly, "hydroptique"¹⁵ quest through theological literature.

Patterson illustrates Donne's divided self by his presence at the Mitre Tavern gathering in 1611 amongst a cross-section of ambitious intellectuals of various stripes later "powerfully represented in the 1614 parliament,"¹⁶ many strongly "oppositional" to the monarchy. But this division between protective circumspection and a need for independent oppositional expression cannot be extricated from the even more

dramatic self-division in the closely contemporary "Good Friday 1613. Riding Westward." The tension between the embodied self on horseback "carried towards the west" (1. 9) by "Pleasure or business" (1. 7) and "my soul's form" bent eastward by memory toward the crucified Christ is unsettling. The concluding request for punitive affliction, in recalling the equally dramatic request earlier to "Batter my heart," suggests a more inclusive context from which the social, political, and economic "selves" of Donne—however "divided"—should not be surgically removed. A recognizable Pauline/Augustinian self-division plagues Donne's devotional poetry written concurrently with texts situated in more obviously social and political contexts.

However, by its very confidence, the voice speaking to Donne's Lincoln's Inn audience in 1620 opposes the self-division that frays earlier works and invites other ways to construe those divisions. The ordained priest here speaks to an audience familiar with his personal history, thought by some persons, including the Countess of Bedford, to discolor his vocational suitability. Identification with Job is generalized, open to the audience through the priest's confident assertion of an integrated body and soul approved within a human and divine community. The flawed private person known by the audience, the ordained priest fulfilling his vocational role, and the physically beleaguered Biblical saint speak together in this confident voice.

Yet this confidence is hard won. The sermon rehearses Donne's phobic obsession with putrefaction, vermiculation, dissolution, dispersal: "Corruption seises the skinne, all outward beauty quickly, and so it does the body, the whole frame and constitution" (III, 104). Worms soon enter: "*After my skinne, wormes shall destroy this body*" (III, 106). Dissolved to basic matter or consumed by other creatures, the body loses its identity and confuses the identity of others: "one man is devoured by a fish, and then another man that eats the flesh of that fish, eats, and becomes the other man" (III, 96). The terminal *Death's Duell* makes all too clear that Donne did not wear out his obsession however much he may have tamed it:

Is that dissolution of body and soule, the last death that the body shall suffer? . . . It is not. Though this be *exitus a morte*, it is

introitus in mortem: though it bee an *issue from* the manifold *deaths* of this *world*, yet it is an *entrance* into the *death of corruption* and *putrefaction* and *vermiculation* and *incineration*, and dispersion in and from the *grave*, in which every dead man dyes over againe.

(X, 235-6)

Conformity to Christ promises resurrection for the individual; and only confidence in that promise can defuse the threat to personal identity posed by bodily death.

Donne's obsession with bodily dissolution expresses the fear of annihilation, both of mind and body, which galvanizes his works. The Jobian strength with which Donne embraced the doctrine of bodily resurrection is intimately connected to his early rejection of the Mortalist notion that the soul dies with the body. Donne feared the loss of consciousness no less than he feared the loss of bodily integrity. That the soul could enjoy heavenly bliss while the body mouldered before the Last Day denied the annihilation of consciousness and assuaged the deepest human fears of a hyper-conscious temperament. Still, we may ask skeptically whether Donne is not simply whistling in the dark when he expresses a Jobian confidence that defies fear and self-delusion. Certainly such skeptical questions emerge reasonably given the novelty of his new confidence.

This confidence in future integration of an identifiable self that "sees" God in both body and soul deserves further scrutiny. The confidence is circular. It projects the present conviction that the known person standing before his Lincoln's audience will be the same person standing in the heavenly community before God in eternity. The projected future, in turn, reflects back to tame fears that the dualistic human self, a body and soul however compatibly integrated, will become fragmented and dispersed. But it can do so only if there is a present conviction of a continuing self still recognizable as a member of the continuing Body at Lincoln's Inn where Donne had been a member for over twenty-five years. Conviction of identity tames fear of fragmentation and annihilation of identity. The component in personal identity that I would underline as the endpoint of this discussion of

Donne is John Donne the priest. We hear a confident vocational voice speaking to his Lincoln's Inn audience.

The dark background for this hard-won confidence in the priestly vocational role was unrelenting. The shadows of melancholy and grief in Donne's works come as no surprise in a life so darkened by death, loss, separation, and suffering. His Catholic father died when Donne was four in 1576. His sister Elizabeth died in 1577; then sisters Mary and Katharine in 1582. John and his younger brother Henry were separated from their mother and stepfather, Dr. John Syminges, in 1584 when they were sent to Oxford. Contrary to Isaac Walton's assertion that Donne remained there until 1588, afterwards going to Cambridge, Dennis Flynn argues persuasively that the twelve-year old Donne, facing subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Oath of Supremacy and persecution as a Catholic, was joined with a group accompanying Henry Stanley, the Earl of Derby, to the French court in early 1585. In Flynn's account, this even more radical separation from his family was engineered by his Jesuit uncle, Jasper Heywood, a court friend of Stanley, to protect the young boy's Catholic faith and to place him in a protective Catholic community. Donne then served briefly with a contingent of exiled English Catholic nobles and gentry at the Duke of Parma's recently fortified encampment at Antwerp in 1585 before traveling with the Earl's second son, William Stanley, in Spain and Italy until 1587, and returning to England with William in 1587 to serve in the Catholic Stanley household. On his return Donne was still only fifteen.¹⁷

The Catholic undertow carrying the young Donne to and from the Continent kept his family in its grip. In 1593, two years after Donne himself entered the Inns of Court, his brother Henry was arrested for harboring a Catholic priest in his Thavies Inn chambers. Henry's death by plague in Newgate Prison left Donne with only one live sibling. And his mother's stubborn recusancy ensured further separation. Dr. Syminges died in 1588. By 1595 Elizabeth and her third Catholic husband, Richard Rainsford, had sought religious freedom in Antwerp, where they remained for several years. Later, a deep irony ended the separation of son from mother when the widowed and still stubbornly

Catholic Elizabeth Rainsford moved into the Protestant Deanery at St. Paul's, remaining until her death in 1631, just two months before the death of her son.

Death stripped away his last sibling when Ann Lyly died in 1616,¹⁸ but other losses had been even more cruel. Only seven of Anne Donne's eleven children outlived her. After six live births beginning in 1603, she delivered the first of two stillborn children in Donne's absence with the Druries in 1612. Both Mary and Francis died in 1614. And Anne herself died in 1617, five days after the birth of her second stillborn child. Against this devastation, Donne's injunction "Death be not proud" rings hollow.

Anne Donne resists our understanding, and we sense that Donne's sonnet on her death does not capture the full necessity of his bond to her.¹⁹ No doubt "admyring her" did "whett" his mind to seek God. But such praise does not capture their mutual experience of physical love, grief, social ostracism, separation, death, and loss; nor does it capture the ironies of the interrelated watershed events in Donne's life that defined their bond, his secret marriage that predetermined his Ordination. Two compatible needs ruled Donne's person: first, a need for intimate mutuality to repair the ruptures from death and earlier separations; second, a need for membership in a stable community for basically the same reasons. Accidentally, these needs became incompatible when he fell in love with Anne Donne. His gain of intimate mutuality caused his loss of preferment in the dominant culture; the occasion of his greatest gain became the occasion of his greatest loss. In the aftermath he experienced suicidal depression, an aggravated sense of separation, a denigrating search for a solution to his devastated professional prospects, a desperate dependence on male friends, and a practice of marital love that depleted Anne Donne's body in childbirth. In time, Donne satisfied both needs, but more sequentially than concurrently, in spite of the ground swell of death and suffering that continued as a central truth of his existence.

The following discussion of Donne's sense of the self assumes a psychology of loss, separation, and depression underlying Donne's autobiographical narrative. That narrative intrudes everywhere in

Donne's works, most explicitly in his extensive body of verse and prose letters, in the divine poems, in *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, and in numerous asides throughout the sermons. Its implicit presence in the love poetry remains problematical amongst students of Donne's works, since strict attempts to avoid the biographical fallacy can be no less restrictive than attempts to extract biographical content from the poems. But the Jobian conviction of sustained identity and the Pauline conception of vocation expressed throughout the sermons, as we will see, are later expressions of a psychology that transmuted loss into gain. In examining the development of this psychology in Donne's representations of the self, the following discussion will center, first, on the role of the feminine in Donne's thought, then on the prose letters as intimacy yearning for community, and finally on the Pauline conception of vocation that centered his later years. The concept of the Jobian self "redintegrates"—to use one of Donne's own terms—the broken fragments of his earlier experience.

I. Some Interrelationships:

Amorousness, Gender, Androgyny, Misogyny, Male Readers

The love poetry remains the central focus of Donne criticism, although the filters through which we view the poems change. Current interest in contextualizing Donne in early modern culture invites us to look at individual love poems less as a record of Donne's own experience than as constructs of his cultural context. For Arthur Marotti, Donne is writing for coterie readers "with whom he chose to associate at the Inns of Court and in the urbane and courtly circles to which he belonged in both the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods."²⁰ In particular, he wrote for male intellectuals ambitious to make their way within the patronage systems. Various elements in the love poetry reflect codes understandable within the coteries where Donne's manuscripts were circulated: these include misogyny, strategies of wit, varying love relationships, libertinism, and the characterization of women. The codes set protective screens allowing political and social commentary on practices governing general relationships.

The tendency to view Donne as a conduit for the cultural forces of his time tends to exclude the immediacy of his own particular experience. A warning against this exclusion can be found in his anatomy of motivations for accompanying Essex, Raleigh, and Northhampton on the 1597 Azores Island Expedition:

Whether a rotten state or hope of gain,
Or to disuse me from the queasy pain
Of being beloved, and loving, or the thirst
Of honour, or fair death, out pushed me first,
I lose my end. ("The Calm," 39-43)²¹

He knows his several motivations, but not precisely which in this case, perhaps a combination. In any event, love experience is central in 1597, during the decade in which the bulk of his love poems were probably written. Unlike Christopher Brooke, we cannot know whether Donne is referring to one exclusive love relationship or to several. But he does want to "disuse" himself of love's "queasy pain," a besetting, unsettling, and injurious nausea²² of emotional entanglement. The claim that Donne was a great frequenter of ladies is consistent with this sense of painful and entangling amorousness. But it also suggests that Donne's love poetry is deeply rooted in personal experience, and we should be wary of severing this taproot from our considerations of ways that the love poetry engages the culture of Donne's time.

Admittedly, recent studies that contextualize Donne have guided our responses to the love poetry in fruitful ways. There is a longstanding criticism that Donne's self-enclosed male subjects desire to dominate their female subjects with "masculine perswasive force."²³ Likewise, the misogyny expressed by some speakers, especially in the elegies, has raised questions about both Donne and his male audience that invite a feminist critique. For Marotti, the answers to such questions must be sought within Donne's Inns of Court coterie expanded to include other gentlemen readers. Achsah Guibbory suggests a broader envelope enclosing this male coterie in the pervasive power of a female monarch that unsettles male expectations, hence male

identity.²⁴ Disgust with the female body expressed in the blazon, "The Anagram," easily translates into a disgust with Elizabeth's aged body as the focus of power, just as the elegy, "Going to Bed," embodies a colonialism that dominates the woman's body while playfully suggesting with tongue-in-cheek a new spirituality of sexual titillation. Likewise, the forceful strategies of argument, when read as an attempt to subordinate women, are seen as expressions of standard male-female power relationships displayed for Donne's male readership. Contrarily, Donne may be amusing his coterie by putting these speakers on trial for the very patterns that characterize some members of the coterie.

Accusations that Donne shares the misogynistic aggression, colonialism and male domination at work in various poems are destabilized by recognition that many speakers are not clearly men and can be construed as women. Readers find gender reversals in the love poetry or detect ambiguities that level out gender differences by situating women in rhetorical positions normally falling to the male. Both "Confined Love" and "Breake of Day" are spoken by women. The speaker in "Confined Love" argues the case for libertine naturalism on women's behalf, not men's as in poems like "Community" and "The Indifferent." The aubade "Breake of Day" pits the world of "businessse" against the necessary leisure of love, berating the male's departure as "love's worst disease." No less than poems that score woman as a captive hostage of an abortive, patriarchal honor system, such as "The Flea," this poem scores the male as a captive of the work-a-day world complaining about the "busied man." David Blair cites "Confined Love" and "Breake of Day" for their obvious reversals of gender positions, but he points to the greater subtlety in other poems "deliberately suspending a presumption of maleness." Donne's poems of "marked emotional intensity" demonstrate "an almost complete collapse of differentiated behaviors into a mutuality which generates androgyny."²⁵

Such blurring of gender positions takes us back to Donne's readership. Marotti claims that Donne's target audience remains the educated, ambitious male gentry or would-be gentry expanding outward from the Inns of Court and seeking preferment within the

patronage networks, including the Court. Donne's relationship with Lucy Bedford notwithstanding, his preferred audience is this male coterie. He speaks to other males about male participation in love relationships. One corollary not sufficiently underlined by Marotti is that the love poetry is merely one of several modes of speaking centered in the same male audience: the satires are another and, more importantly, letters written in both poetry and prose. One assumption is that the audience determines the issues. Accordingly, a speaker's misogyny applies to attitudes in the audience, either in sympathy or in criticism. Similarly, his satire targets a shared enemy or criticizes a weakness, shared or not. The claim that Donne, like other members of his male coterie, aggressively seeks to dominate or subjugate runs into increasing difficulty the more that we detect gender blurring or androgyny in the love lyrics. To validate female speakers or to blur the maleness of the dominant speaker is to erode the position of male dominance that forms an essential part of that characterization.

The appropriate dimensions of this problem go beyond the love poetry. Gender blurring goes hand-in-hand with elements of androgyny that run throughout Donne's works. The broad range includes some traditional notions. The female muse, the feminine human soul, "conception" that denotes both thought and impregnation, vocation as a marriage to society, virtue as the feminine "soul's soul"—all these notions express Donne's identification with the feminine. Not just a client's retrospective wit in a letter to Buckingham contrasts "the mistress of my youth, Poetry" with "the wife of mine age, Divinity."²⁶

Donne's recycling of conventional feminine tropes could easily be discounted if not for their frequent appearance in his works. In what Bald calls Donne's "early verse letters,"²⁷ the idea of the feminine muse is a staple; and given the burgeoning interest in verse letters within the Inns of Court culture, we can assume substantial circulation of this idea. "To Mr B.B.," a verse letter written to Beaupre Bell in the 1590s, turns on this idea:

If thou unto thy Muse be married,
Embrace her ever, ever multiply,

Be far from me that strange Adulterie
 To tempt thee and procure her widowed.
 My Muse, (for I had one,) because I'am cold,
 Divorc'd herselfe. (15-20)

Donne wittily denigrates the quality of the verse letter; his muse—the putative “Mother” of his “Children of poetry”—has deserted him for lacking warmth (ll. 10, 13). His “Rymes” (l. 9) lack value unless approved by B.B.

The female muse is one idea threading together several verse letters to Roland Woodward. In assuming a shared narrative within a personal friendship, the letters to Woodward illustrate the same principle discovered in an exchange of letters between Donne and Henry Wotton.²⁸ The most substantial letter (“Like one who’ in her third widdowhood”) responds to Woodward’s request (perhaps 1597)²⁹ to collect Donne’s poetry. The poem joins ideas shared earlier. One is that virtue is the “soules soule” (“If, as mine is, thy life a slumber be” - l. 32); another is that the muse is female. Donne’s purpose in joining these two ideas, in answer to Woodward’s request for copies of his poetry, is to deprecate his love poems and satires as a misuse of talent:

Like one who’ in her third widdowhood doth professe
 Her selfe a Nunne, ty’d to retirednesse,
 So’affects my muse now, a chaste fallownesse;

Since shee to few, yet to too many’hath showne
 How love-song weeds, and Satyrique thornes are growne
 Where seeds of better Arts, were early sown. (1-6)

Rather than poetry, he wishes to cultivate virtue as the soul’s soul inhabiting the self:

Seeke wee then our selves in our selves; for as
 Men force the Sunne with much more force to passe,
 By gathering his beames with a christall glasse;
 So wee, if wee into our selves will turne,

Blowing our sparkes of vertue, may outburne
 The straw, which doth about our hearts sojourne. (19-24)

Donne affects “better Arts” (1. 6) dependent on virtue and, as we learn early in Satire I (“Why should’st thou . . . Hate vertue, though shee be naked, and bare?” ll. 37, 41) and repeatedly in the letters to Lucy Bedford, virtue is also feminine. Here Donne fudges the matter. That is, he does not eschew poetry, but affects a “chast fallownesse” (1. 3) while, like Stoic “farmers of our selves” (1. 31), he will cultivate virtue. The feminine characterization of virtue deserves further comment later. The point here is that for Donne the self and the soul animating it are imaginable only in feminine terms.

Woodward’s proposed collection, proleptically the Westmoreland manuscript, contributes to the mutual narrative that includes discussion of poetry and virtue in these letters to his friend. If written in 1597, the above letter would have postdated the satires, the elegies, and probably some other love poems while strengthening the mortar of ideas that bonds friends together. The notion that virtue is the soul’s soul also informs the narrative in the clientage letters to Lucy Bedford written more than a decade later. There, Donne appropriately exploits the characterization of virtue as feminine, which we find as early as the first satire (“Why should’st thou . . . Hate vertue, thou shee be naked, and bare?” - ll. 37, 41). Donne’s complex strategy in the letters to Lucy Bedford pivots on the idea of virtue that, as Milgate tells us,³⁰ is central throughout the verse letters. A client’s needs unsettle the moral adviser, who encourages the aristocratic giver of favors to embody virtue in her practices, particularly at Court. Praise of her virtue assumes her good behavior, hence such praise is implicit moral advice. Therefore, she is an embodiment of virtue if she practices what he implicitly encourages:

Therefore at Court, which is not virtue’s clime,
 (Where a transcendent height, (as lownesse mee)
 Makes her not be, or not show) all my rime
 Your vertues challenge, which there rarest bee
 For, as darke texts need notes: there some must bee

To usher vertue, and say, *This is shee*.
 ("To the Countesse of Bedford"
 ["Madame,/ You have refined me"], 7- 12)

Praise identifies Lady Bedford as Virtue *if* she embodies his poetic "notes" (l. 11) in her actions. Then Donne subtly backs away from his exaggeration: "Yet to that Deity which dwels in you/ Your vertuous Soule, I now not sacrifice" (ll. 31-2). Donne conflates much here: the exaggeration of clientage stretches orthodox ideas. The "Diety" he serves—now petitioning ("These are *Petitions*, and not Hymnes," l. 33), implicitly praising while claiming not to praise, and doing so lavishly—is God's Image in the human soul. The soul within the soul is virtue. The client's inflated praise has a coherent ideational basis, even though many modern readers see only the sleazy flattery of a court operator. The exercise of virtue repairs the divine image damaged by Edenic failure; to encourage that repair in an earthly female through her erected actions is to provide a representation of virtue which must be conceived as female. The clientage strategy conveniently provided an opportunity to construct a representation of virtue, which like the human soul and poetic representation, Donne conceives as feminine. The poem as an encouragement to virtue—however self-serving—participates in that representation.

Elizabeth Drury provided a similar opportunity. A chorus of complaint abused Donne's poetic strategy of deifying the unknown dead girl. Donne's defense—that "he described the Idea of a Woman and not as she was"³¹—would have convinced few members of that chorus, especially Ben Jonson, who reported Donne's defense to William Drummond. Donne gets scant credit for the logic of his argument, nor are his working assumptions recognized fully. Lewalski's influential claim is that Elizabeth Drury represents the idealized human Image damaged by sin, but reparable through virtue.³² Like Lucy Bedford, who provided an opportunity for characterizing virtue as feminine, Elizabeth Drury represents the human soul, which Donne repeatedly reminds us throughout his works is understood as female. The invitation to divine rape in "Batter my heart, three person'd God"

is the most flamboyant example; less flamboyant, but no less obvious and taken for granted, are several instances in the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, such as his prayer that “my soule may looke and make her use of thy mercifull proceedings toward my bodily restitution & goe the same way to a *spirituall*.”³³ In Elizabeth Drury we find the quasi-divine god-likeness of the soul before the Fall; her death then participates in the Fall, and her return is a preservation. Donne’s praise of her celebrates the regenerate soul deserving the reward of heavenly bliss. Death of the anonymous Elizabeth provided an opportunity to represent the human soul only in terms of the idea of woman.

The Virgin Mary remains the norm for assessing Elizabeth Drury. Jonson’s complaint that “Donne’s *Anniversary* was profane and full of blasphemies” and “if it had been written of the Virgin Mary it had been something”³⁴ used the appropriate norm, but may have miscalculated the nature of Donne’s application. Two feminist readings of the poem use the same norm, but with different results. Maureen Sabine suggests that in *The Anniversaries* Donne necessarily extricates himself from an inherited Catholic devotion to the Virgin that was anathematized in the Protestant world he would enter:

By compelling the readers of his *Anniversaries* to accept a wisp of a girl like Elizabeth Drury in place of the Virgin, even if he thus hoped to save some trace of her mystique, Donne was contributing to the deconstruction of the Marian ideal and ultimately to its indeterminacy. Not only far-but partial-sighted as a poet, he now began the work that has recently absorbed literary theory, that of depersonalizing the text, by extracting the essence or pure “Idea” of femininity from its specificity in Mary’s maternal body.³⁵

Not only Jonson has found Elizabeth Drury’s shoulders too thin to bear the symbolism laid on her. With particular trenchancy the sometimes Catholic Jonson judged that Donne should have known better than to write a poem so “profane and full of blasphemies.” Sabine’s account assumes that Jonson misread Donne’s deliberate intentions to set Mary aside as the symbolic vehicle of femininity, although some readers might argue that Drummond of Hawthornden’s second-

hand account may masque that Jonson knew precisely what Donne was doing. What is clear is that the idea of the feminine so central to Donne's thought cannot be understood without reference to Mary.

Elizabeth Harvey's gynocritical reading of the *Anniversaries*, in linking the pervasive iconography of the Virgin to Elizabeth Drury as the inspiration of Donne's poems, also invokes ideas related to Donne's feminine muse. The chain of ideas sites woman's body, specifically, the womb, as the locus of creation:

Renaissance physiology privileged the connection between women and the imagination because of the uterus, which was putatively susceptible to the influence of both the moon and the imagination. While this impressionability meant that pregnant women were vulnerable to the image-making capacity of the imagination, it also gendered the imagination as feminine.³⁶

The womb is linked to the imagination through the negative stereotype of feminine changeability and the conviction that imagination controls products of the womb; and the womb is associated with words through the negative stereotype of feminine garrulity. These respective elements are conflated and sublimated in the idea of the feminine muse, who gives the male poet his poetic voice. Elizabeth Drury, whose dead body provides the occasion for a poem, which is "full of metaphors of her sexuality and fecundity,"³⁷ is to be understood in terms of Mary, whose body also was the occasion for productivity.

The Anniversaries do not celebrate Elizabeth Drury's maternity, however, but her virginity. Paradoxically, her ability to propagate texts is dependent upon that sexual purity. Like the Virgin, her fecundity is asexual. Again, the point is that the Virgin is the standard for measuring Elizabeth Drury, and, when Donne steps back from explicitly identifying her as his muse, his reasons relate partially to basic use of Marian iconology, identifying Mary with the female human soul.

In the second poem Donne makes clear at the outset that, although "poetry is only produced by a chaste muse" and the "dead girl is his poetic source," she becomes the "animating spirit" of the world.³⁸ For

that reason in “a transsexual exchange,” she impregnates Donne’s muse:

Immortal Mayd, who though thou wouldst refuse
 The name of Mother, be vnto my Muse,
 A Father, since her chaste Ambition is,
 Yearely to bring forth such a child as this.
 These Hymes may worke on future wits, and so
 May great Grand-children of thy praises grow.
 (“The Second Anniversary,” 33-8)³⁹

Several iconologies serve Donne’s in developing the symbolism of Elizabeth Drury. As the “animating” spirit who impregnates Donne’s muse, as we will see shortly in Donne’s sermons, Elizabeth Drury functions like the Holy Spirit. The key to Donne’s application lies in the idea of “conception” introduced a few years earlier in his address to Mary in “La Corona”:

Ere by the spheares time was created, thou
 Wast in his minde, who is thy Sonne, and Brother
 Whom thou conceiv’st conceiv’d; yea thou art now
 Thy Makers maker, and thy Fathers mother,
 Thou’ hast light in darke; and shutst in little roome,
Immensity cloysterd in thy deare wombe.
 (“2. Annunciation,” 9-14)

Mary’s maternal womb conceives the Son, just as God’s eternal “mind” conceived Mary before her birth. Donne’s concluding address to the Lamb leads us further toward the necessary equivalencies: “And if thy holy spirit, my Muse did raise/ *Deigne at my hands this crowne of prayer and praise*” (“7. Ascention,” 13-14). Just as Elizabeth Drury must father poetic offspring on the “chaste ambition” of his muse, the Holy Spirit must “raise” the poetic prayer and praise of “La Corona.” Mary’s conception of Jesus through the entry of the “over-shadowing” Holy Spirit is the icon for poetic inspiration from the Spirit. This iconology frames our understanding of the female Elizabeth Drury

as the transsexual “Father” of Donne’s “Hymnes” in “The Second Anniversary.” The several ideas here can be unknotted and displayed by reference to Donne’s treatment of Mary in the sermons.

Mary’s “conception” is the crucial member in a set of parallels. The Son is generated and conceived eternally in the Father’s mind; the Spirit proceeds eternally from both Father and Son.⁴⁰ The Son is generated temporally by the Holy Ghost, first in Mary’s womb, later in each believer’s soul, where conception occurs. The crux is Biblical: “*The Holy Ghost overshadowed the blessed virgin* [Luke 1.35], and so he was conceiv’d: there was enough done to magnifie the goodness of the holy Ghost in bringing him” (*Sermons*, VII, 155). Likewise, the female human soul is a womb in which Christ is generated, conceived and born; both the Holy Spirit and Christ the Son play their roles. The same spirit who “shadowed the whole world under his wings” at Creation will enter the human soul: “Be thou a Mother where the Holy Ghost would be a Father; Conceive by him; and be content that he produce joy in thy heart here” (*Sermons*, VII, 1, 70). The rational human soul, when consciously responsive to inward motions of Christ’s Spirit,⁴¹ can “conceive” the Son through conformity with Christ. In short, Christ is thereby conceived and “born” within the human soul.⁴² Christmas manifests this truth rehearsed in Donne’s 1625 Christmas Day sermon:

He had a heavenly birth, by which he was the eternall Son of God, and without that he had not been a person able to redeem thee; He had a humane birth, by which he was the Son of *Mary*, and without that he had not been sensible in himself of thine infirmities, and necessities; but, this day (if thou wilt) he hath a spirituall birth in thy soul, without which, both his divine, and his humane birth are utterly unprofitable to thee, and thou art no better then if there had never been Son of God in heaven, nor Son of *Mary* upon earth. (VI, 335)

Mary’s womb instructs the receptive human soul.

Other human souls are not chaste, but sinful, and this Christmas Day sermon supplements chaste Mary with repentant Magdalen. Though pure and full of grace, the anomalous Virgin was wrongly suspected of

sexual incontinence. Her model comforts other chaste women stained by unjust suspicion; it also comforts women guilty of sexual misconduct, their reputations stained. Repentant behavior can exempt them from God's wrath and remove their stains. All sinners can be reassured by Christ's willingness to be born even in souls stained in the community's eyes or so sinful as to be initially offensive to God:

In that soul, that hath been as it were possessed with *Mary Magdalens* seven Devils, yea with him, whose name was Legion, with all Devils; In that sinful soul would Christ Jesus fain be born, this day, and make that soul his Mother, that he might be a regeneration to that soul. We cannot afford Christ, such a birth in us, as he had, to be born of a Virgin; for every one of us wel-nigh hath married himselfe to some particular sin, some beloved sin, that he can hardly divorce himself from. (VI, 339)

Every repentant soul, even the dramatically sinful Magdalen, can be Christ's mother. The Spirit fathers; the human womb conceives; the Son is born, "*made of a woman*" (V1, 338). Every human soul is such a woman.

The spirit that fathers a child in the human soul takes us back to Elizabeth Drury, the "Immortal Maid," invoked as a "father" to Donne's muse to "bring forth" an annual poetic "child" (11. 33, 36-7). Put simply, she participates in the iconology of both Mary and the Holy Spirit, both female and male. As noted above, her virtuous, but mortal body is the occasion for Donne's poem. And the memory of her virtue fathers his muse to conceive his poetic children. The iconologies of both Mary and the Holy Spirit lie just behind the poem; and the "Idea of Woman" can be said to include both. If Lewalski is right that Elizabeth Drury represents the regenerate human soul freed from its mortal body, then it follows that the residual force of that soul, whose soul is virtue, can imprint others. The very "idea of woman" paradoxically has an androgynous dimension through its participation in the iconology of the animating Holy Spirit.

Repeated emphasis on the soul, the muse, and virtue as feminine should not be discounted as a mere metaphorical tic. Instead, it

illuminates the gender reversals increasingly discovered in Donne's love poetry. It likewise complicates claims of misogyny, male aggression, dominance, anti-feminism and colonialism in these poems that reverse gender.

But Donne's misogynistic aggression is especially troublesome by flatly contradicting sincere praise of women. "Loves Alchymie" is an extreme example. The speaker's bitter denial of "minde" (l. 23) and imagined embrace of dead flesh blame women for dashing love's high hopes of finding love's "hidden mysterie" (l. 5). Disclaimers that Donne is not the speaker cannot mask this current of aggressive misogyny circulating throughout the love poems. Blame contradicts praise; misogyny strains intolerably the seams in Donne's androgynous search for the feminine; and a deep ambivalence remains unexplained.

Anna Nardo sees Donne as an amphibian moved by "contradictory fears of separation and union." Donne both avoids and desires union with women. Some of his cynical, escapist or anti-feminist speakers staunchly resist commitment; contrarily, others "seek union with the beloved, body and soul." A quite extraordinary "one-fifth of the *Songs and Sonets* . . . are valedictions" that convey Donne's ambivalence, exit lines that reassure union while practicing avoidance.⁴³ Nardo's insight serves us well, although she shortchanges critics who would take us back to the troubled recusancy of his mother, Elizabeth Donne, and his own apostasy to understand the separation anxieties that shake the love poetry. Nardo abandons "biographical scenarios" as too "speculative"⁴⁴ while settling for a more generic solution from Object Relations thought. All humans need face-to-face union with the mother, while desiring independence; this ambivalence lingers with special strength in some adults like Donne. But Nardo's fruitful observation begs the question why this ambivalence was so tenacious in Donne; that is, her argument leads naturally to a "biographical scenario" that, in general terms, includes the presence and absence of Elizabeth.

Before suggesting a revision of Nardo's frame, I would briefly like to pull together various strands in the above argument that serve our understanding of Donne's conception of the self. This rehearsal

emphasizes how these strands are woven together; also it prepares for the discussion below of friendship in Donne's letters as a parallel search for intimacy. Even while addressing characteristic ambivalencies in Donne's works, this essay queries overstated claims of fragmentation in Donne's notion of the self before discovering a thrust toward a reintegrated self that emerges in his church vocation. The presence of dominant imprints in Donne's nature is evident in early works. These imprints have been greatly undervalued by critics addressing the complex ambivalencies and contending voices in the love poems. The imprints cannot be understood apart from his biographical narrative. Donne's experience was deeply scarred by separation, loss, death, suffering, and grief. His family's ingrained recusancy and protection of Jesuit uncles, his father's early death and Elizabeth's prompt remarriage, an early departure to Oxford at age twelve, then a Catholic's exile in Europe before return to England at sixteen—we find a history of rupture and separation punctuated with death, disease and grief that progressively destroyed his family's protective envelope. His mother virtually disappeared after he and his brother Henry left for Oxford; she re-established her presence, ironically, only at the Deanery of St. Paul's. Significantly, the early Donne was preoccupied with the "queasy pain" of love, the gestures of a congenital, but dissatisfied amorous nature to repair the losses endemic to his life. Donne's identification with the feminine translates into various expressions of androgyny and a hydroptique search for lost union, for face-to-face feminine presence lost early in his life. Hydroptique yearning, however, suggests the damage of earlier loss, a teeming, paradoxical emptiness not easily satisfied. This yearning ties Donne's amorousness to his other dominant imprints of ambition and covetousness (alternately envy). Just as love seeks approval from the beloved, ambition seeks approval through honor, and covetousness/envy wants the acknowledgment enjoyed by others, the security of possessions that ensures honor. All three dominant imprints create a thirst for fulfillment to be discussed in detail below.

The Object Relations model invoked by Nardo sheds considerable light on Donne's ambivalence between union and separation. But

separation taken only as an independent need to identify the self does not help us much in explaining Donne's misogynistic aggression against women. An alternative Object Relations model emphasizes the child's aggressive reaction against the mother's intentional separations. Absence fires the child's natural resentment, anger and aggression against the defecting mother. Satisfaction of the child's needs tames aggression now channeled into productive activities as the child develops, though readily ignited when satisfaction is blocked. Resentful aggression when exacerbated becomes misogyny; even in normal circumstances it resides side-by-side with an amorous desire for reunion, a true natural ambivalence.⁴⁵ Amorousness and resentment mutually inform each other. Extreme circumstances that exaggerate resentment and aggression can fuel scorn, the stuff of satire; woman, who denies satisfaction, is both a natural target and an object of desire. In Donne's personal narrative the domestic envelope of safety sealed by the mother's presence was increasingly breached, and the idea of woman expressed the desire to repair the breach and restore lost intimacy. In sum, his misogyny expresses an aggressive, resentful sense of injury while his congenital amorousness impelled a desire for union.

Readiness to abandon the search for the basic Donne colors much recent criticism. The tendency has been to treat contingencies as a cluttered opaque screen, not as a dark glass through which outlines are still visible. But to detect dominant imprints keyed to a basic amorousness is to see through a glass darkly; even abiding ambivalence between misogyny and the search for feminine intimacy can be seen as suggesting a basic psychic substratum. So, too, the notions of the soul, the muse and virtue can be seen as part of a basic androgyny that includes an "idea of woman" and expresses hydroptique desire for a lost feminine presence as part of the self. These blurred outlines often may seem to disappear behind the contingencies, but they are never completely obscured. Nor can they be more fully understandable without also taking into account the role embodied in Donne's prose letters, especially those written to his male friends. Even if we resist the full force of Marotti's argument—that Donne's poems are written primarily for male readers—it must be granted that the expectations of that

audience constitute one circle in which to examine much in the love poems. That circle can be measured with considerable exactness in terms of his communications with friends in the prose letters. Additional contours of the self are drawn quite clearly there.

II. The Religion of Friendship, the "Exstasie" of Letters, Ambition Reconsidered

Donne has frequently been hauled before the bar and judged guilty of careerist "ambition" by modern critics. There have been influential prosecutors, especially R.C. Bald followed by John Carey and Arthur Marotti; and, admittedly, Donne's scrambling to find an appropriate patronage ladder to climb may strain any advocate on his behalf. Influenced by Bald's biographical portrait, Carey locked Donne into a Procrustean bed by arguing that his life was ruled by "ambition" and "apostasy." In turn, Marotti fixed him within coterie of aspirants and players in the patronage systems. But Carey left "ambition" undefined. He also ignored the prose letters, which provide a basic window into Donne's "mind" through his intimate friendships with coterie members. These letters span a period from the 1590s through 1620s even to his last months in 1631, running parallel to his writing in other genres. In their intimate disclosures, letters to close friends expose the psychological foundations of the vocational self that unifies Donne's religious prose. The search for intimacy in the love poetry and a similar search in the familiar letters follow the same emotional current. And Donne's "ambition," as already hinted above, is more complex than accusations of careerism allow. If we remove the Procrustean bed, we can see "ambition" as a way to enter into a vocational relationship with the social Body that satisfies a hydroptique desire for union. That desire emerges naturally from Donne's narrative of separation and marginalization.

Donne's secret marriage to Anne Donne greatly weakens the charges of careerism against Donne. As a secretary to Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Seal, later Lord Chancellor, Donne had

a foot on the patronage ladder. Ambition and covetousness, if served wisely by talent and discretion, could achieve honor and wealth; the professional narratives of many Donne contemporaries give ample evidence.⁴⁶ A strategic marriage could be a wise chess move. Carey's attempt to protect his careerist portrait of Donne leads him to suggest that in secretly marrying Anne, Donne made such a move, but unwisely. Bald's assessment is simply that Donne grew overconfident and thought he could get away with it. We are asked to ignore the compelling human reality that Donne fell in love. Even if, like most of us, Donne had mixed motives, it seems more likely that his heart overruled his head. A true careerist would know better than to sneak off with the teen-aged daughter of a stormy aristocrat. Here is the heartfelt need of an amorous nature for intimate long-term union with a woman.

A singular fact about Donne's life and works is the way his amorous nature, which is embodied in both his secular and divine love poetry, is contextualized by his varyingly intimate friendships with men. Appropriately, Christopher Brooke, to whom he confessed his "queasy paine/ Of being beloved, and loving," also "gave away the bride at Donne's clandestine marriage in 1602."⁴⁷ And, if we accept Marotti's argument, most of the love poetry was written for a male audience. Donne wrote a virtual steady stream of letters to close male friends, first in verse through the 1590s, a few even later, then later a sizable number of prose letters dating from his marriage and lasting for roughly 30 years. His letters to women are limited, except patronage letters to Lucy Bedford, none suggesting intimacy. Inexplicably, few are written to Anne Donne, their deep bond notwithstanding.⁴⁸ Intimate male friendships sustained in epistolary exchanges co-existed with his writing love poetry and with the full duration of his relationship to Anne Donne. Letter writing continued into his vocational life as a priest. The friendships that sustained him during the spiritually dark years after the marriage that divorced from him his professional hopes are embodied in these letters. Donne's notion of the self cannot be understood without their anatomy of friendship as a necessary mode of participation in the social Body through others. Just as heterosexual love provides androgynous completion of the self and relates the lovers to

a spiritual Body, the “second religion,” friendship, takes the soul beyond itself to union. And it must be noted that Donne’s friends are characterized, through their designated roles, by their active participation in the larger world from which his marriage separated him.

For Donne the letter is a mode of intersubjectivity that opens into that larger world. His “A Valediction: of the Book” provides a useful key that, at the same time, indicates close thematic ties between some love poetry and his letters. This poem quite likely arises from his relationship to Anne Donne. In the face of separation, the departing lover will “anger destiny” (l. 2) and “posterity shall know it too” (l. 4). His fictional plan is to compose a book from their letters:

Study our manuscripts, those Myriades
Of letters, which have past ‘twixt thee and mee,
Thence write our Annals, and in them will bee
To all whom loves subliming fire invades,
Rule and example found. (11-14)

Behind the fiction is the practice of letter exchanges between separated lovers. A mixed blessing, the pain of absence does provide the occasion to assess the values of presence: “How great love is, presence best tryall makes, / But absence tryes how long this love will bee” (ll. 57-8). A shared narrative, these texts not only have value for the lovers, but for other readers. Donne may have in mind his own coterie readers privy to his experience with Anne Donne. In turn, the projected “annals” could be a group of poems, perhaps including “The Canonization” with its “sonnets” built of “pretty roomes,” arising from his love of Anne Donne. In any event, a working analogy here tells us much. Connected love poems like skeins of connected letters are shared narratives embodying intersubjectivity; and as texts available to additional readers they serve an expanded audience. Poets and letter writers both enter a larger community thereby.

Donne’s frequent correspondence with a group of male friends absorbed in the outside world provides the context for evaluating his theoretical statements about both friendship and the letter form. Donne’s numerous extant letters in poetry and prose express a remarkable

sociability as well as a capacity for abiding friendship. Letters were the medium for maintaining the presence of friends even in absence. Separation plagues the letters no less than the love poetry, and the frequency of letters to close friends like Henry Goodyere (every Tuesday) and George Garrard lend special weight to his much quoted claim that friendship is a second religion and letters are like ecstasies. This textual medium connected him to the greater world where he sought an active place. As I will argue below in relation to the sermons, the same sociable needs were satisfied later by a vocational spirituality also involving a textual medium.

Donne's sociability, friendship, and amorousness express a deep need for mutuality as the shield against separation, loss, and resulting grief. Friendship like mutual love is a selective sociability when two souls meet. Much more than a poetic figure, Donne's "second religion, friendship" (XXX, 74)⁴⁹ captures his conviction that spiritual union is possible between close friends. His understanding of that "second religion" and the central role of letters are most explicit when writing to long-term, close friends like Henry Goodyere, George Garrard, and Henry Wotton. No less than spiritualized heterosexual love, same-sex friendship comprises godlikeness through mutuality. Both words and actions, both spoken and written words are necessary; and the relationships between language and self, between texts and souls are spelled out.

Donne's opening strategy in his 1598 verse letter to Henry Wotton gives a useful keynote for examining the "religion of friendship" and the role of epistolarity:

Sir, more than kisses, letters mingle Soules;
For, thus friends absent speake. (1-2)

Donne builds in three parallels: one between heterosexual and homosocial love, a second between spoken and written words, a third between absence and presence. A prose letter from Donne to Wotton written much later in 1612 while at Amiens with the Druries explicitly names "affection" as the engine that drives their long standing practice of exchanging letters:

You (I think) and I am much of one sect in the Philosophy of love; which though it be directed upon the minde, doth inhere in the body, and find piety entertainment there: so have Letters for their principall office, to be seals and testimonies of mutuall affection, but the materialls and fuell of them should be a confident and mutuall communicating of those things which we know. (XLI, 104-5)

The claim that both of Donne's 1598 verse letters to Wotton, including "Sir, more than kisses, letters mingle Soules," participate in a sequence⁵⁰ is made even more persuasive by Donne's explicit claim here that his various letters "make but one long Letter," just like the "affection . . . continuall and uninterrupted" that "suggests and dictates them" (p. 104). In claiming that his letters "interpret one another," a 1607 letter to Magdalen Herbert glosses this principle.⁵¹ In short, love motivates union in friendship; the mutual narrative embodied in letters sustains it.

Souls mingled by letters between friends recall the mixed souls gone out of their bodies in the "The Extasie." A letter to Thomas Lucy in 1607 rehearses this idea even more explicitly:

I make account that this writing of letters, when it is with any seriousness, is a kind of Extasie, and a departure and secession and suspension of the soul, which doth then communicate itself to two bodies: And, as I would every day provide for my souls last convoy, though I know not when I shall die, and perchance I shall never die, so for these extasies in letters, I oftentimes deliver myself over in writing when I know not when those letters shall be sent to you (VI, 10).

A characteristic pun on "deliver" opens up further dimensions in the idea. As Donne says to George Garrard (1630-1), "our Letters are our selves and in them absent friends meet" (LXXXVI, 207). To Henry Goodyere he calls letters "conveyances and deliverers of me to you" (XXXVI, 94). The text of the letter embodies the self then delivered to the friend; the spiritual selves are mixed in an exchange of letters. The epistolary texts present souls to each other.

The pun on “deliver” assumes conception and pregnancy while carrying into the notion of friendship as religion. In 1612 he writes on reception of two connected letters from George Garrard, “the mother and the daughter,” assuming that the last written letter delivered to him has been conceived by Garrard in light of the preceding letter (XCIV, 222). The letters are conceived by the self, hence embody it. In 1609 Donne treats Goodyere to a variation of the same idea:

Because things be conserved by the same means, which established them, I nurse that friendship by Letters, which you begot so: though you have since strengthened it by more solid aliment and real offices. (XXIV, 59)

Here friendship is the child fathered by Goodyere; Donne is the mother nursing the child through letters.

The implicit idea of spiritual conception leads Goodyere a step further toward the sustaining religious sphere always perceptible in this notion. Creating friendship is a godly act: “There is some of the honor and some of the degrees of a Creation, to make a friendship of nothing” (XXII, 57). The “divinity” of “friendship” requires the “sacrifice” of letters, which requires not only the disposition but, as he writes to Goodyere, the regular practice, “some certain times for the outward service thereof, though it be but formall and testimoniall” (XXXIX, 100). Donne stresses that the spiritual “divinity” lies not in “friends,” but in friendship, in the shared experience. Perhaps Donne has in mind an analogy with the mutuality of persons of the godhead.

Friendship as a creation from nothing exposes the emotional quick in Donne. The competition between creation and annihilation in Donne’s thought⁵² formalizes the opposition in his nature between being and non-being, between life and death, between fullness and emptiness, between union and separation. His self-representation as “nothing” throughout his works is prominent during the difficult years after marrying Anne when he felt exiled from the world of London. The “nothing” that resonates with Donne’s deepest anxieties is never completely silent in his inner self, but his cries are most anguished in those troubled middle years between his marriage and his ordination.

The most unsettling moments occur in letters to his closest friends, especially Henry Goodyere. Such letters have been too readily exploited as evidence of his careerist ambition.

Knocked off the patronage ladder, then kept off by wary patrons, Donne describes himself with telling poignancy in an often-quoted lament to Goodyere from Mitcham in 1608. He complains about separation from the dominant social Body, distinguishing his isolation from “primitive Monkes” whose “retirings and enclosures of themselves” were “excusable” by their self-sufficient lives of “meditation and manufactures” respectively fulfilling of “soul and body” (XVIII, 42). The monkish parallel serves two purposes: one, to characterize the religious practices of his Mitcham isolation that serves a powerful “thirst and inhiation after the next life” (p. 43) that is potentially destructive through suicidal excess in Donne; two, to underline the need for bodily action to supplement spiritual life with active involvement in the world:

Therefore I would fain do something; but that I cannot tell what, is no wonder. For to chuse, is to do: but to be no part of any body, is to be nothing. At most, the greatest persons, are but great wens, and excrescences; men of wit and delightful conversation, but as moalls for ornament, except they be so incoorporated into the body of the world, that they contribute, something to the sustentation of the whole.

By marrying Anne Donne, he “stumbled” in his “service” to Egerton; he became a “nothing” without preferment, separated from active participation in the dominant culture (pp. 44-5).

That conception of “nothing” is vocational, but it addresses disorders of an excessive nature, rather than careerist “ambition.” His retrospective analysis of that disorder is penetrating: “I have often suspected my self to be overtaken . . . with a desire of the next life.” That desire was assertive even earlier when his worldly “hopes” were “fairer” and, he implies, a religious suicide could now tempt him from necessary worldly involvement. Earlier, he had been “diverted” from legal studies by the “worst voluptuousnes, which is an Hydroptique immoderate desire of human learning and languages: beautifull orna-

ments to great fortunes.”⁵³ But he lacked such fortune; he needed an “occupation”; hence, he submitted himself in “service” to Egerton. Life in Mitcham now presents a parallel situation; he is “nothing, or so little that I am scarce subject and argument enough for one of mine own letters” (pp. 44-5). In losing his vocational foothold, he had simultaneously annihilated the London social context that had sustained him, even when earlier “overtaken” by religious desire or “diverted” by studious retreat.

His intense depression darkens the melancholy and suffering inherent in the separation and isolation clouding his personal narrative. The need for intimacy that caused his exile is met on two fronts, by Anne Donne on one, by his male friends on the other. The sometimes whining, self-indulgent complaint to Wotton and Goodyere—he is “nothing” and it is unimaginable that persons busy in the world can be interested in someone separated from real events—is expressed only more strategically and less pathetically in a 1610 New Year’s verse letter to Lucy Bedford where he is merely “One corne of one low anthills dust, and lesse” (“This twilight of two yeares,” 28). He is virtually nothing without a vocational role in a world defined by secular patronage. Paradoxically, his male friendships can “create him,” but not in fullness. His grief, melancholy and depression are not new; they are longtime companions exaggerated by his separation, which he regarded as isolation, as nothingness. The basic alienation recalls those love poems, perhaps contemporary with these letters, where there is an inner community spiritually bonded. The lovers are available for an inner community of other lovers who are also alienated, separated from the dominant community. In prose letters written during this period, Donne is bonded to his friends, but separated from the social Body. In contrast, his friends participate in that Body, while also sharing a religion of friendship with him. He cannot manage the threat of nothing until he also participates fully in that larger world.

The language of the letters constantly places the “nothing” Donne outside the boundary of the established world, while playing on the means of engagement there. Friendship is characterized in terms of business, the duties of office, and legal contracts, thereby drawing

attention to the active world that engages his friends, but excludes him. A 1607 letter to Wotton signed “Your unprofitablest friend” wittily mingles the language of religion and commerce to characterize their friendship. Uncertain where to send his letter, Donne playfully writes anyway, thereby satisfying both “duty” and “conscience”:

and so in all Pilgrimages enterprised in devotion, he which dies in the way, enjoys all the benefit and indulgences which the end did afford. Howsoever, all that can encrease my merit; for, as where they immolate men, it is a scanter devotion, to sacrifice one of many slaves or of many children, or an onely child, then to beget and bring up one purposely to sacrifice it, so if I ordain this Letter purposely for destruction, it is the largest expressing of that kinde of piety, and I am easie to beleieve (because I wish it) your hast hither (XLV, 121-2).

The mingled “Pilgrimages enterprised in devotion” prepares Wotton for play on two kinds of “businessse” that keep him in London from visiting Mitcham; one is “true businessse” spurred by his “fortune and honour,” the other is competing *Quasi negotia*, minor “visitations, and such, as though they be not full businesses, yet are so near them that serve as for excuses.” The letter implicitly chides Wotton for allowing such minor businesses at “Courts and the houses of great Princes and officers” to “serve as for excuses” for delaying more important matters, by implication, the visit to Mitcham. Such delay of “true businessse” is further characterized by a legal category: “As when abjuration was in use in this land, the State and law was satisfied if the abjurer came to the sea side, and waded into the sea, when windes and tydes resisted” (122). Donne’s rather self-pitying “Your unprofitablest friend,” the Mitcham resident in exile, admits his envy of Wotton’s busy involvement and his own “extream idelennesse” (123); but his chiding assumes that friendship itself is a competing “businessse” as he readily states in a letter to Goodyere, also written from Mitcham: “As you are a great part of my businessse, when I come to London, so are you when I send” (LXXX, 195). Like Donne in London, Wotton was expected to tend the business of friendship in Mitcham.

A crucial point is that Donne's conception of friendship is determined by the friends with whom he mingles selves. Donne was a "gentleman," if we take Louis Montrose's flexible designation to include not just hereditary gentility, but all persons enabled by education and talent to advance their positions.⁵⁴ Donne's ties through his mother to the Heywood and More families, taken together with his Oxford education and ties at the Inns of Court, ensured association, almost exclusively, with other gentlemen, both hereditary and not. Intense sociability widened his circle of friends circulating, doing "businessse," within the patronage systems, both inside and outside the Court. Unprecedented economic mobility in Jacobean England speeded this circulation.⁵⁵ Donne's exile from preferment was anomalous for members of his immediate circle; and his desire to re-establish himself through secular preferment is to be expected for a "nothing" excluded from his natural ambience.

Such friends determine his conception of friendship. The vocabularies of "business," "service," and "obligation" that distinguish Donne's conception of "friendship" express his desire to enter the world where his friends participate. That vocabulary honors that world where he participates only vicariously, while expressing his own desire to re-enter. He can contact this world, and did so through regular trips to London, even sitting as a Member of Parliament and developing a network of patronage ties. But he no longer had an established vocational place within it, hence remained separated and indebted to friends through whom he participates vicariously. Letter writing is the currency of this "businessse" of friendship. In a 1607 letter Donne wittily calculates the debt of letters owed to Goodyere: "I owed you a Letter in verse before by mine own promise, and now that you think that you have hedged in that debt by a greater by your Letter in verse, I think it now most seasonable and fashionable for me to break" (XXX, 76). A letter to George Garrard while traveling with the Druries in 1612 calculates this relationship more exactly:

It is one ill affection of a desperate debtor, that he dares not come to an account, nor take knowledge how much he owes; this

makes me that I dare not tell you how manie letters I have received from you since I came to this Towne; I had three first by the Cooke, who brought none but yours, nor ever came to me, to let me know what became of the rest (XCII, 218).

In a letter written just two days earlier, while commenting on “the offices of so spiritual a thing as friendship,” he underlines the importance of re-reading letters, lavishly praises Garrard’s letter, and promises to pay his “great debt” with “small summes weekly” by writing regularly (LXXXIX, 213). In the “business” of friendship Donne’s lavish praise is partial payment.

The vocabulary of friendship as “business” blends into the even more pervasive vocabulary of “service.” Predictably, Donne’s letters to patrons like Lucy Bedford script a servant’s role for himself, an appropriate protocol for subordinates within hierarchical power relations. Less predictable, but more revealing is his conception of friendship as “service” with “duties,” “obligations,” and “offices” to perform; it is a habit of “obedience” to “commands.” To Goodyere he is varyingly “Your very affectionate servant and lover” (XXVII, 71); “Your very true poor friend and servant and lover” (XXVI, 66); “Your very affectionate friend and servant” (LXV, 171). These concluding epithets are not mere formulaic courtesies. The spirituality of friendship assumes the mutual delivery of selves, a mutual “service” mingling souls. The exchange of letters and mutual “service” in practical matters follows. This mutuality does not rule out a greater dependence by the “exiled” Donne in the wake of his marriage; Donne requested favors from his established friends throughout those difficult years, leaning at times too strenuously on his “servant’s” dependency. Such “service” can seem more like self-pitying servility. However, a 1621 letter to Goodyere at Polesworth, in playing usefully on the ways mutual friends serve each other, suggests the underlying principle at work even in his dependency earlier:

Though I be not Dean of *Pauls* yet, my L[ord] of *Warwick* hath gone so low, as to command of me the office of being Master of

my game, in our wood about him in *Essex*. I pray be you content to be my officer too, the Steward of my services to all to whom you know them to be due in your walk, and continue your own assurance that I am

Your affectionate servant in Chr. Jes.

J. Donne

(LXXXI, 196-7)

As "Steward," Goodyere serves as the emissary of Donne's will; in turn, Donne as a clerical friend serves Goodyere "in Christ," thereby through conformity to Christ's humble service upending the hierarchy. To serve is to submit the self to another's will; mutual submission prevents an unequal power relation while satisfying the need for intimacy.

The mutual "service" in friendship can be brought into sharper perspective through contrast to the cultural practices that deny mutuality in the love poetry. The hate-filled speaker of "Oh, Let mee not serve so" transforms an embittered sense of injury against a "faithlesse" (l.13), libidinous lover into rebellion against one-way love service. Self-hatred likens his former experience to "Idolatrous flatterers" (l.5) of the great who get nothing substantial in return:

Such services I offer as shall pay
Themselves, I hate dead names: oh then let mee
Favourite in Ordinary, or no favourite bee.

(8-10)

Thwarted expectations of mutuality transform the recusant speaker into a rebel against the cultural habit of abusing proper service. So, too, the speaker of "The Will" frames his playfully murderous rebellion against love service by reference to a cultural fabric of imbalances:

Thou, Love, hast taught me heretofore
By making mee serve her who' had twenty more,
That I should give to none, but such, as had too much before.

(7-9)

The speaker plays with suicide as revenge against serving an older woman who recompenses his love only with, at best, “friendship” shared with other “yonger lovers” (ll. 44-5). His “will” playfully addresses pandemic imbalances by wittily attacking practices of love service; but his failure to encourage mutual love as a radical shield against imbalance merely leaves him a dissatisfied participant. In poems like “Loves Deitie,” “Loves Diet” and “Loves Exchange,” Donne energetically extends his satirical critique of love rituals which mirror violations within a hierarchical society. His conception in the prose letters—that “true” friendship is mutual service—expresses the same assumptions that widespread cultural habits stifle the bonds of mutuality necessary to satisfy essential emotional needs. Letters to friends busying themselves within that hierarchical world with its complex service relationships assume that mutuality offers a proper fulfillment of “service.” This assumption honors their “business” there while admitting his own need to incorporate himself within that world.

A final point to be underlined about Donne’s prose letters is that the medium is inextricable from the message. The number of extant prose letters, plus evidence of regular correspondence only minutely represented in the extant collections,⁵⁶ suggests that Donne wrote hundreds of letters. Rapid growth of the letter form in his time, in both verse and prose, cannot account for Donne’s outpouring of letters for thirty years. Written with crude pens, the numerous letters to a variety of persons, especially intimate friends, would have been laborious and constant. If, in fact, he wrote every Tuesday to Goodyere for twenty-five years, the number would have exceeded a thousand. All told, the number written during his lifetime would have been extravagant. The motivation seems obvious in one so ingrained by separation and absence. In a 1618 sermon, not too long after his ordination and incorporation in the established Church, he characterizes his sense of the form:

An Epistle is *collocutio scripta*, saies Saint Ambrose, Though it be written far off, and sent, yet it is a Conference, and *seperatos copulat*, sayes hee; by this meanes wee overcome distances, we deceive absences, and wee are together even then when wee are asunder (I, 285).

By deceiving absence, letters simulate the presence of persons together. Donne catches this complex reality simply: "we are together." The self is delivered to the receiver, translating absence into presence, a surrogate union that salves the pain of separation.⁵⁷ The medium is the message, notwithstanding the exile's self-pity that, unlike his friends in the thick of London's activity, he was "nothing." The self-pity mounted its own logic: his letters contained nothing since he was nothing; neither could have substantial news. But paradoxically he did send them the presence of the mediated self, as he tells Garrard: "our Letters are our selves, and in them absent friends meet" (LXXXVI, 207). In contrast, the devastated speaker in "A Nocturnall upon S. Lucies Day" is "rebegot / Of absence, darknesse, death; things which are not" (ll. 15-16). Spiritual annihilation frequently occurred when "absences / Withdrew our soules and made us carcasses" (ll. 26-7); without mediated spiritual presence there is "death in absence" (LXXXVIII, p. 211). The text of the letters to friends presented the self.

III. Redintegration and Service

The ironies emerging from the last stage in Donne's life play against each other. The long-avoided priestly vocation satisfied the basic needs of his complicated nature, but an appropriate secular career might have served just as well. Many readers still find his unrelenting pursuit of secular preferment compromising. Even though his religious vocation opened the path to what may be his finest literary achievements and to a creative satisfaction of his hydroptique nature, accusations of compromising insincerity and last ditch opportunism are unabated. Unforgiving critics find grist enough for their mill, and Donne will never escape the indictments for insincerity that have dogged accounts of his life. However much the play of ironies may continue to vex Donne readers, the retrospective elements in his later works indicate that much in his troubled nature was resolved in the various dimensions of his religious vocation.⁵⁸ That habit of retrospection

keeps exposing the basic grounds in his own nature and contributes to the reformulations of basic powers.

His identification with Paul is the key. Paul was his favorite Biblical saint, and to understand Donne's ventriloquism of Colossians 1:24, a favorite Biblical verse, is to return to his hydroptique nature, immured to suffering, annihilated by absence and struggling for fullness in concert with others. Paul's model invited affliction as the means of incorporation in the community: "Who now rejoyce in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his bodies sake which is the church" (III, 332). The crux is Donne's simultaneous conformity with Paul, in Christ, through the agency of suffering on others' behalf. The transmogrification of Donne's suffering, the source of his lifelong pain, becomes the avenue of his joy.⁵⁹ To understand the complicated psychology and theology of this truth is to probe the center of the later Donne. In his personal accommodation of the Pauline truth lies the essence of his mature work and the gist of his conception of vocation. At the center is conformity with Christ that subsumes the androgyny, dominant psychological imprints and desire for participation in community that color his thought throughout his previous works.

Donne's habit of retrospection continues to highlight the dominant imprints in his nature, most obviously in the *Holy Sonnets*, but no less significantly elsewhere. Profane love must surrender to spiritual love in the sonnets; later in the sermons we are told that Solomon was imprinted with an amorous nature:

Salomon whose disposition was amorous, and excessive in the love of women, when he turn'd to God, he departed not utterly from his old phrase and language, but having put a new, and a spiritual tincture, and form and habit into all his thoughts, and words, he conveyes all his loving approaches and applications to God, and all Gods gracious answers to his amorous soul, into songs, and Epithalamions, and meditations upon contracts, and marriages between God and his Church, and between God and his soul (*Sermons*, I, 237).

But Donne is still thinking about himself as well. Self-retrospection explains the cluster of sins—wantonness, ambition, covetousness—and their variants⁶⁰ that reappear in the sermons. Frequent reappear-ance of these standard Christian targets as a cluster—often arranged in the same chronological order—owes not just to their personal importance since they were common targets. But Donne can revisit a personal truth while pointing to their generic significance. In a 1618 churching sermon he admonishes that a pardoned sin requires continuing good behavior: “When I returne to my repented sinnes againe, I am under the burden of all my former sinnes, and my very repentance, contracts the nature of a sinne.” The history of one’s sinnes continues to threaten, especially “all the wantonnesses of your youth, all the Ambitions of your middle years, all the covetous desires of your age” (*Sermons*, V, 182). The voice returning to “my repented sinnes” while laboring under “the burden of all my former sinnes” includes himself with others; this is the representative “I” identified by Joan Webber.⁶¹ There is an unmistakable fit between Donne’s own life and the generic pattern, a chronology revisited retrospectively.

Donne’s reiterated consideration of his own dominant imprints, even in his years as a priest, is broadened to include examination of other affections while expressing the same understanding of human nature. Like Solomon, Donne had an amorous nature; his task was to turn loving toward the right love object, to change “*amorousnesse into devotion*” (VI, 203). Donne speaks through Augustine: “But *purga amorem*, saith hee, I doe not forbid thee loving, (it is a noble affection) but purge and purifie thy love” (*Sermons*, IX, 384). Similarly, a person given to choler must change it “into Zeale,” another must change “wastfulnesse into Almes to the poore” (*Sermons*, VI, 203). Building the new spiritual habit required retrospection on the old sinful habit, as the condition of understanding the natural imprint of zeal on that self. A dominant imprint must be converted.

The threat of relapse, of returning to old habits, required the discipline of retrospection, and then renewed resolve. A “covetous mind” lives in “an insatiable whirlpools” (III, 236), given to idolatry (IV, 141) of material riches. An “ambitious” surrender to the “ways of

preferment" (IV, 151) expresses a perverted desire for "honour" (VI, 159) that seeks the regard of other persons. Such desires must be converted to "holy amorousnesse . . . covetousness . . . ambition . . . voluptuousness" (VII, 390)). To love, possess, and enjoy God's attention through proper devotion is to fulfil the needs that dominate one's nature. The groundwork for understanding human nature lies in Donne's own experience and in his recognition that one must contemplate one's own sinful history in order to consider the direction of new habits.

To explain just how the hydroptique Donne satisfied his amorousness, ambition and covetousness in the priestly vocation is an ultimate goal in this chapter. But, first, the ways that the androgyny in his thought is implicated in this satisfaction must be understood. The central idea is the feminine soul, so dramatically signified in "Batter my heart." There, the soul is betrothed to Satan and needs to be overcome by a divine forcefulness to prepare for the spiritual marriage to God. The sermons provide a striking cognate in the sinful slave woman whose affections must be "circumcised" in preparation for marriage to Christ:

As by the Law a man might mary a captive woman in the Warres, if he shaved her head, and pared her nails, and changed her clothes: so my Saviour having fought for my soul, fought to blood, to death, to the death of the Crosse for her, having studied my soul so much, as to write all those Epistles which are in the New Testament to my soul, having presented my soule with his owne picture, that I can see his face in all his temporall blessings, having shaved her head in abating her pride, and pared her nails in contracting her greedy desires, and changed her clothes not to fashion her self after this world, my soul beeing thus fitted by himself, Christ Jesus hath married my soul (III, 251).

The soul is doubly "captive," both to sinful affections like the entrapped self betrothed to Satan in "Batter my heart" and also to Christ, the husband. The female soul burnt by the "fires of ambition, or envy, or

lust" (III, 251) must be disciplined in marriage to the male Christ: "so captivate, subdue, change the affections" (VI, 203). The reach of the androgyny is no less arresting than in the "heart" to be battered, which William Kerrigan tells us stood for both the male and female genitalia in Donne's time.⁶² Here, the audience is told to "Circumcise the heart to him, and all thy *senses* and all thy *affections*. . . change thy *choler* into Zeale, change thy *amorousness* into devotion, change thy *wastfulness* into *Almes* to the poore, and then thou hast circumcised⁶³ thy *affections*, and mayest retaine them" (VI, 203-4). The captive woman modulates into the male penis, the offending male member in Donne's youthful wantonness, a personal figure for misguided affections, the lasting emblem of the impure self that pursued "prophane mistresses" and now must submit like a loving wife to Christ.

Our understanding of the female in the human soul is incomplete without the idea of "conception." Mary's conception of Jesus stands for the presence of Christ generated and conceived in the believer's soul. Each person is Mary; each must conceive Christ in the soul; and each can give birth to Christ by conforming to his truth. Conception and birth require conformity to Christ, who is both the child and the husband of the soul. Conception leads to fruitfulness, to children, to good thoughts, desires and actions in the world:

Woe unto inconsiderate Christians, that think not upon their calling, that conceive not by Christ . . . wo unto them that are with child, and are never delivered; that have sometimes good conceptions, religious dispositions, holy desires to the advancement of Gods truth, but for some collaterall respects dare not utter them, nor bring them to their birth, to any effect. The purpose of his marriage to us, is to have fecundity, that working now, by me in you, in one instant he hath children in me, and grand children by me. (*Sermons*, III, 252)

Each Christian soul, disciplined, circumcised, and pregnant with good conceptions serves others through conformity to Christ the Bridegroom. Androgyny is an essential aspect of that conformity.

Service to others through conformity to Christ is the essence of Calling. Just as the Head serves the members of the communal Body, so does the believer through conformity to the head serve other members of that Body. Conformity to Christ welds the personal to the social through a set of equivalencies that incorporates individuals in mutual service and participation with others. These equivalencies extend androgyny. The Bridegroom simultaneously marries the Bride, the individual soul, as well as the female church. In turn, the individual believer commands the female soul to conceive children, the good actions that serve others in the communal body. Such conformity with the Head leads to a designated mode of service, a specific vocation. For Donne as a priest, vocation was the social side of conformity; the personal side of conformity included the moral, spiritual and devotional whereby the priest disciplined his own female soul. Donne's investigation of the feminine continues from his earliest texts, and in the received notion of conformity, he experienced a complex and subtle fulfillment of his own emotional nature. Not the least is that his prayerful devotions to Christ satisfied his personal needs for intersubjectivity that drives the secular love poetry and his compulsive letter writing.

Conformity with Christ likewise solved the problem of separation, annihilation, absence and exclusion that were Donne's birthright. Although conformity did not dispel suffering and the anxiety of separation, it harnessed them through participation in the community. For this reason Colossians 1:24 is pivotal in Donne's mature thought.⁶⁴ The Cross represents suffering as a mode of serving others; in Paul's footsteps, Donne sought joy by turning suffering into service, thereby addressing the problem of absence, alienation, isolation and nothing, "things which are not." Like Christ and like Paul, Donne became a preacher. An intellectual like Paul, he wrote letters and sermons, following a path of conformity that through the right use of words promised joy in service.

To conform is to take up the Cross, to be crucified with Christ, to fulfil Christ's suffering in one's own place. "And when I am come to that conformity with my Saviour as to *fulfill his suffering in my flesh* (as I am, when I glorifie him in a Christian constancy and cheerfulness in

my afflictions) then I am crucified with him, carried up to his Cross" (II, 300). But the "Cross" is personalized; it is not just any affliction, but those specifically selected by God; nor is the "Cross" those afflictions that are necessary correction or punishment for past sins:

So that that onely is my crosse, which the hand of God hath laid upon me. Alas, that crosse of present bodily weaknesse, which the former wantonneses of my youth have brought upon me, is not my crosse; That crosse of poverty which the wastfulesse of youth hath brought upon me, is not my crosse; for these, weaknesse upon wantonnesse, want upon wastfulesse, are Natures crosses, not Gods, and they would fall naturally though there . . . were no God.

Instead, the crosses specifically laid on by God are "tentations or tribulations in my calling" (II, 301). The designated cross taken up by the believer is a means of identification: "my calling" to suffer for others. The self achieves identity in the community through suffering. The "nothing" separated from the social Body in Donne's earlier prose letters has become an identified "I" with a God-given place.

It is no accident that Paul's verse encapsulates for Donne the essence of Calling. Nor is it merely enough to note that Paul was Donne's favorite Saint. Donne is categorical: each believer must seek models within a given Calling. That principle is clearly set out in a 1627 sermon on Stephen, who as a preacher was also one of Donne's models. Three dicta shape the sermon: 1) every person is "bound to be something, to take some calling upon him"; 2) "each is bound to do seriously and sedulously, and sincerely the duties of that calling"; and 3) "the better to performe those duties, every man shall do well to propose to himself some person, some pattern, some example whom he will follow and imitate in that calling" (VIII, 175). Stephen is a generic good man laboring in his Calling through conformity to Christ, suffering pain while performing his duties as a Deacon. Not just a generic pattern to imitate, he was also a more personal model for Donne as a preacher of Christ's truth. But Paul was the most important personal model.

Donne's affinity to Paul was natural. The intellectual Saul was first a persecutor, then Paul the preacher fulfilling the suffering of Christ in his own flesh for the Body's sake. So, too, Jack Donne, who crucified Christ daily through his own sins,⁶⁵ became John Donne, a preacher like Paul. The compulsive writer of letters knew the greatness of Paul's letters. Just as those persons "erre not much, that call the whole new-Testament Epistle" so did Paul's epistles contain the "vehemence, the force of the holy-Ghost" (I, 285-6) in his letters. Like Stephen, Paul made sermons, but he also readily adapted his literary gifts as situations required, a facility that Donne repeatedly demonstrated. A sermon on Colossians 1:24 expresses his admiration for Paul's literary adaptability and passion:

But when Saint Paul being now a prisoner for the preaching of the Gospell, speaks still for the advancement of the Gospell, that he suffers for, and finds out another way of preaching it by letters and epistles, when he opens himselfe to more danger, to open to them more doctrine, then that was very credible which he spake, though in prison; There is in all his epistles *impetus Spiritus sancti*, as Irenaeus says, a vehemence of the holy Ghost, but yet *amplius habent quae e vinculis*, says St. Chrysostome, Those epistles which Saint Paul writ in prison, have more of this vehemency in them (III, 336).

Paul addressed his own profound sense of guilt through service to the community, but by submitting to Christ's superior pattern. Conformity with Christ as the linchpin in Donne's mature thought depends on Paul.⁶⁶ Suffering in Christ's pattern on behalf of others reforms the dominant imprints in Donne's nature deformed by sin and guilt. Paul's pattern was Christ; Donne's essential pattern of the preacher, the maker of words, was Paul in Christ. Donne stands in Paul's lengthened shadow when he claims that "It is an inexpressable comfort to have beene God's instrument, for the conversion of others by the power of Preaching, or by a holy and exemplar life in any calling" (IX, 317-18).

Donne's discussion of vocation everywhere reflects his own experience as a priest; but the more general principles applying to all

believers are set forth in two sermons on Matthew 4:18-9 delivered at the Hague in 1617, just two years after ordination, then revised in 1630 shortly before his death in 1631. In these Biblical verses Christ calls Peter and Andrew to follow him and become “fishers of men,” in that name capturing the basic principles “of labor, of service, and of humiliation” in an honest and lawful vocation. Although chosen to be apostles, they remained fishers, their basic talent enhanced spiritually within the vocation: “He does not call them from their calling, but he mends them in it” (II, 305). To follow requires humility, not thrusting pride of self, plus hard work in serving Christ and the members of the communal Body. Donne’s emphasis on Peter and Andrew as humble fishermen applies broadly to all professions while targeting prideful expectations of a hierarchical, honor code. All human functions are insignificant in contrast to divine functions, but they can be elevated spiritually through divine summons. The concept of dominant imprints works here as well:

Christ makes heaven all things to all men, that he might gaine all: To the mirthfull man he presents heaven, as all joy, and to the ambitious man, as all glory; To the Merchant it is a Pearle, and to the husbandman it is a rich field. Christ hath made heaven all things to all men, that he might gaine all, and he puts no man out of his way to come thither. These men he calls Fishers. (II, 304)

He goes on to say that “names that tast of humiliation, and labour, and service, are most properly ours; (fishers we may be) names of dignity, and authority, and command are not so properly ours.” His attack on “empty, aery, frothy love of Names and Titles,” consciously or not, reflects ironically on his assiduous search for secular preferment earlier. But the idea of the apostle is ambiguous since the chosen few were called to preach. Some callings do have more honor and dignity than others, and standing behind this discussion is Donne’s claim that preaching has a special value. Donne’s emphasis on humility to some readers may seem to protest too much. But the point is clear: Christ calls each believer within the limits of that particular ability and temperament to rise by answering the divine call.

Not surprisingly, Donne's conception of vocation is integral in his mature theology of Creation. The threat of nothing, of annihilation, that sends its shock waves through his earlier writings expressed his birthright of separation, suffering, loss, and marginalization. Annihilation, in general, and lack of vocational certainty, in particular, expressed that inherited burden. But in his mature thought, the balance leans toward Creation and its optimism, and away from annihilation and pessimism. His burgeoning theology of the Holy Spirit,⁶⁷ both as the agent of Creation and of spiritual re-creation, expressed this new optimism. The overshadowing Spirit, who generated the Christ child in Mary's womb and illuminated a believer's heart (VI, 174), shall edify the believer:

God shall raise thee peece by peece, into a spirituall building; And after one Story of Creation, and another of Vocation, and another of Sanctification, he shall bring thee up, to meet thy selfe, in the bosome of thy God, where thou wast at first in an eternall election. (VI, 175)

For Donne, vocation was necessarily connected to his theology of Creation through the Holy Spirit. The vocation of John the Baptist provided a ready example. John, who called others to Christ, was himself called by the Spirit to serve God. John as a figure for the true preacher and a model for Donne himself: "those onely who have a true *inward Calling* from the Spirit, *shall turn the people from their evill wayes, and from the wickednesse of their inventions.*" This "*vocation* of his *internall Spirit*" (IV, 156) is necessary to perform his mission. The same Spirit who presided at Creation and now enters the sanctified believer is the divine agent of calling, of vocation. We remember that the believer "conceives" when the Holy Spirit generates within the willing soul. A fullness of conception yields the vocational mission that joins the believer in service to the communal Body. John's example armed Donne against his fears of separation and annihilation: "He that undertake no course, no *vocation*, he is no part, no member, no limbe of the body of this world; no eye, to give light to others; no eare

to receive profit by others.” Those without vocations may only be “excrementall *nayles*” scratching favors from others, or “excrementall *hayre*” entertaining others with “*wit, or mirth*” (IV, 160). This 1622 sermon on John the Baptist touches the same tender nerve as his 1608 letter to Goodyere anguishing that he is a “nothing” without vocational identity. Earlier depression and alienation have given way to the preacher’s authority and vocational confidence.

We heard that confidence in the Jobian voice of the 1620 Lincoln’s Inn sermon. Here, the reintegrated self pours scorn on “excrementall *nayles* . . . and *hayre*,” defensively lengthening the distance from its own earlier scratching and entertaining. Vocational purpose can hold at bay the swelling fear of “things which are not.” The preacher’s authority and confidence characterize his sense of membership in a social Body. Fear of isolation has been tamed by conformity with Christ, who “loves not singularity” and who offered a model of vocational service to the Body. That vocational model reintegrates the self and, by defying annihilation and marrying the self to the Body, restores its created nature. Vocation is a marriage that recreates the androgynous self in relation to others.

Common vocational language in Donne’s sermons resonates with a special life when we consider the twisting path leading to his priestly vocation. Paul’s familiar injunction to “walk in the calling to which you are called” (I Corinthians 7:20) undergirds the sermons, along with the standard Protestant command to labor or work in a “lawful calling.”⁶⁸ His listeners are told that “We must labour in our severall vocations, and not content our selves with our own spirituall sleep” (II, 227). Elsewhere, God’s command that Adam and Eve “increase and multiply” (Genesis 1:28) takes an identifiable Reformation coloration in Donne’s pastoral claim that vocation requires a presence in the material world: “there is a law, or obligation laid upon us, to endeavor by industry in a lawful calling, to mind and improve, to enlarge ourselves and spread in worldly things” (II, 291). Likeness to God determines this “labour” or “work” in a Calling. Like the Creator, the human creature must continue to work. “God hath not accomplished his worke

upon us, in one Act, though an Election; but he works in our Vocation, and he works in our Justification, and in our sanctification he works still" (VIII, 368). Like God in Creation, and in re-creation, a believer must labor in a vocation; likeness includes conformity with the Cross, in the "crosses," the "tentations and tribulations," of a calling. A minister's "labours" of words and deeds embody conformity with Christ, advancing Christ's suffering in human words and exemplary actions for the sake of the social Body; the cooperating Holy Spirit aids these "labours" in vocational responsibilities that recreate the individual. The *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, which interprets Donne's own bodily experience on behalf of the social Body and the King, is such a labor. The *Devotions* is a "work" in more than one sense.

Donne's "labour" as a political counselor should be viewed in this vocational light. The *Devotions*, in speaking to a public audience, enacts Donne's incorporation in the social Body. Dave Gray and Jeanne Shami have shown that the work also offers political counsel to King James and to Prince Charles, the heir apparent.⁶⁹ Donne walks this same political tightrope in the sermons, risking criticism of royal actions while supporting the monarchy. Specific Donne sermon texts, in addition to their other purposes, offer independent commentary on important political issues of the day. Shami shows how Donne's nuanced support and criticism of James's 1621 *Instructions to Preachers* assumes his pulpit's watchful political role in relation to the Crown. Donne's labor in "the publicly authorized vocation of minister as 'conscience' of the Church frees him to speak throughout the sermons."⁷⁰ Paul Harland discovers in Donne's 1629 Whitehall sermon a pointed intervention in the parliamentary crisis that basically supports the Crown while independently criticizing Charles's excesses.⁷¹ Donne's claim that a minister is not a prophet with the right to upbraid kings (III, 296) resists a more intrusive admonitory role, at the same time that he saw his responsibility as a working member of the Body to influence contemporary affairs. The emerging picture of Donne as a moderate, forceful, but subtle critic of royal and parliamentary issues suggests a

mature vocational sense of duty. Such counsel is “labour” in his lawful profession; the risks taken by conscience are “crosses” shouldered in that role.

Donne’s “labours” included both the text and its pulpit performance, both words and exemplary actions. No less than his performance of the 1629 Whitehall sermon during the parliamentary crisis or *Deaths Duell* delivered in his dying body, the words of his Jobian voice spoken to his Lincoln’s Inn audience in 1620 express a sense of vocational responsibility that informs the whole person, body and soul. His confidence that he and his audience will “see” God with their own eyes assumes the integrity of the full person at the resurrection. That assurance is the strength of self earlier threatened by “things which are not,” then later “redintegrated” through a defined vocational role in the community. The self that speaks occupies a vocational place in the same community that includes Job.

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Notes

1. *The Sermons of John Donne*, eds. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953-62), 3: 109-10. All references to the sermons are to this edition, with volume and page numbers given parenthetically within the text.

2. R.C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 320. Biographical information on Donne is drawn from this work, unless otherwise noted; hereafter cited as *A Life*.

3. Thomas Docherty, *John Donne, Undone* (London: Methuen, 1986), pp. 26-9.

4. *Ibid.*, 123-44.

5. John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981). See Chapters 1-4.

6. David Aers and Gunter Kress, "'Darke Texts Needs Notes': Versions of Self in Donne's Verse Letters" in *Literature, Language and Society in England: 1580-1680*, eds. D. Aers, B. Hodge, and G. Kress (Totawa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble Books, 1981), 30.

7. Annabel Patterson, "All Donne," in *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry*, eds. Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katharine Eisaman Maus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 51.

8. *Ibid.*, 39.

9. *Ibid.*, 51.

10. David Norbrook, "The Monarch of Wit and the Republic of Letters: Donne's Politics" in *Soliciting Interpretation*, 21.

11. *Ibid.*, 25.

12. Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art*, 220-1, 253, 276-7.

13. "Introduction" in John Donne, *The Divine Poems*, ed. Helen Gardner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), xxxi. All references to Donne's divine poems are to this edition, hereafter cited as *Divine Poems*.

14. John Donne, *Essays in Divinity*, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), title page.

15. A language of dropsy expresses a core relationship between Donne's consuming, lifelong, encyclopedic erudition and his amorous desire. In a 1608 lament to Henry Goodyere, he acknowledged the danger of learning separated from vocational responsibilities. Earlier, he "was diverted by the worst voluptuousnes, which is an Hydroptique immoderate desire of humane learning and lanaguages"; but this "desire . . . needed an occupation, and a course." The same letter connects the god-given "thirst and inhiation after the next life" in human nature and his own constant "desire of the next life" always present despite diversions. ("To Sir H. Goodere," in *Letters to Severall Persons of*

Honour by John Donne, ed. C.E. Merrill (New York: Sturgis & Walton Co., 1910), XVIII, 42-5. Unless indicated otherwise, all references to Donne's prose letter are from this edition, with letter and page number given parenthetically within the text.) His sonnet on Anne Donne interconnects human and divine love: from "she whome I lov'd" followed that "admyring her my mind did whett / To seeke thee God" (ll. 1, 5). Spirituall dropsy follows: "But though I have found thee, and thou my thirst has fed, / A holy, thirst dropsy melts mee yett" (ll. 6-7). Dropsy's paradox captures both the headlong greed of "inhiation" and fullness beyond measure, both the lover's and the scholar's desire. A scholar's life-long "ordinary diet, which is reading" feeds the thirst of learning. ("To the Earl of Dorset" [?] in *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, ed. Edmund Gosse, (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899; repr. Gloucester Mass.: Peter Smith, 1959), II, 208; hereafter cited as *Life and Letters*). In a prayer written during his intense study of theological literature prior to ordination, he once again confesses learning's power to divert him: "Thou hast given mee a desire of knowledg, and some meanes to it, and some possession of it; and I have arm'd my self with thy weapons against thee." See *Essays in Divinity*, ed. Evelyn M. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 97; hereafter cited as *Essays*. The scholar's thirst, like the lover's thirst for "prophane mistresses" (l. 10 in the Holy Sonnet, "What if this present were the world's last night?") had known various diversions; but the headlong, hydrosical desire in Donne's nature remained constant.

16. Patterson, "All Donne," 58.

17. Dennis Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995). See pp. 134-46 for discussion of Donne's experience in France and Belgium, and pp. 170-2 for his presence later in the Stanley household.

18. For a discussion of Donne's touching efforts to assuage his mother's grief at Ann Lyly's death, see Bald, *A Life*, 316. Bald sets Ann's death "about 1616" (239).

19. See *John Donne's "desire of more": The Subject of Anne More Donne in His Poetry*, ed. M. Thomas Hester (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996). This useful volume addresses the longstanding need in Donne criticism to provide a systematic assessment of Anne Donne as a subject in his life and works. Her shadow presence necessarily will remain elusive in spite of these substantial efforts.

20. Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), xi.

21. All citations from the verse letters are taken from John Donne, *The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters*, ed. W. Milgate (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

22. In addition to the more obvious "nausea," the O.E.D. points to other dimensions in "queasy." These include: an unsettled condition, even the times;

unhealthiness or an inclination to sickness; a delicacy or fastidiousness of sensibility; scrupulous conscience. The verb “disuse” assumes habitual practice to be broken.

23. Elegy 16. “On His Mistress,” l. 4. All quotations from the secular love poetry are from *The Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets*, ed. Helen Gardner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

24. Achsah Guibory, “‘Oh, let mee not serve so’: The Politics of Love in Donne’s *Elegies*,” *ELH* 57 (1990): 811-33.

25. David Blair, “Inferring Gender in Donne’s *Songs and Sonets*,” *Essays in Criticism* 45 (1995): 243, 241.

26. “To the Most Honourable and my most honoured Lord, the Marquess of Buckingham,” in Gosse, *Life and Letters*, I, 176; see no. 15 above for full bibliographical information.

27. Bald, *A Life*, 75.

28. Ted-Larry Pebworth and Claude J. Summers, “‘Thus Friends Absent Speake’: The Exchange of Verse Letters between John Donne and Henry Wotton,” *MP* 81 (1984): 361-77.

29. See Milgate’s discussion of Woodward’s request and the date in *The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters*, 223.

30. *Ibid.*, xxxv-xxxix.

31. Ben Jonson, “Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden” in *Works*, I, eds. C.H. Herford and Percy M. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 133.

32. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Donne’s ‘Anniversaries’ and the Poetry of Praise: The Creation of a Symbolic Mode* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 108-41.

33. “XX. Prayer” in John Donne, *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1975), p. 109.

34. Jonson, “Conversations with William Drummond,” 133.

35. Maureen Sabine, *Feminine Engendered Faith: The Poetry of John Donne and Richard Crashaw* (Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1992), 90.

36. Elizabeth Harvey, *Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts* (London: Routledge, 1992), 10.

37. *Ibid.*, 107.

38. *Ibid.*, 112.

39. “The Second Anniversary” in *John Donne: The Anniversaries*, ed. Frank Manley (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), p. 92.

40. The related notions are: idea, generation, conception, birth. The Father’s mind contains “Ideas,” which are “pre-conceptions” that inform or generate or cause conceptions in the divine being. The “Ideas,” which are

associated with the Son or Word, are eternally generated in the Father's mind; these "ideas" or "preconceptions" generate or induce conception, the fruitful reception of ideas in other media. In turn, the the eternal Son is generated in Mary's temporal womb by the overshadowing Holy Spirit (who precedes eternally from Father and Son, but who enters time); Mary's womb conceives the eternal Son in human form. For a thumbnail discussion of the received theology of Donne in this matter, see my *Fulfilling the Circle: A Study of John Donne's Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 6-9.

41. See *ibid.*, 7-10 for a discussion of 1) the Spirit's role externally in Creation, internally in re-creation, and 2) conformity with Christ as the lynch pin of Donne's mature thought.

42. "So the Lord, which was with thee in the first conception of any good purpose, Returnes to thee againe, to give thee a quickning of that blessed childe of his, and againe, and againe, to bring it forth, and to bring it up, to accomplish and perfect those good intentions, which his Spirit by over-shadowing thy soule, hath formerly begotten in it" (V, 371-2).

43. Anna K. Nardo, *The Ludic Self in Seventeenth-Century English Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 50.

44. *Ibid.*, 53.

45. Melanie Klein argues that the human being is congenitally an anxious creature desiring gratification. Fear of separation caused by birth trauma, fear of annihilation and fear of unsatisfied bodily needs all comprise a destructive primary anxiety that opposes the desire for gratification. The mother is the natural object of this congenital opposition of forces. She has the power both to increase persecutory anxiety or to satisfy desire. Congenital anxiety if not relieved creates frustration, anger, aggression, distrust, and hatred; contrarily, satisfaction of need and desire creates love, enjoyment, and gratitude. The particular mother, as the external object whose responses shape these opposing energies, is also the external model on which the child projects and, hence, objectifies its negative and positive energies. This model provides the basis for relationships to other human objects later. The elements of this model are also internalized as aspects that make up the growing self. If the conflicting destructive and productive energies have not been integrated, patterns of splitting, distintegration and fragmentation develop in the self. These patterns can be carried into adult life. For one encapsulation of these ideas see Melanie Klein, "Notes on Some Schizoid Mechanisms" (1946) in *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963* (London: Hogarth Press, 1975; Repr. London: Virago Press, 1990), pp. 1-24.

46. See Chapter 3, "Conditions of Entry and Service," 69-159; Chapter 4, "Payment of Officers; Sale and Value of Offices," 160-252; and Chapter 5, "Who the King's Servants Were: A Chapter of Social History," 253-336 in Gerald Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-1642*

(London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961).

47. A.J. Smith, ed. in *John Donne, Complete English Poems* (London: Penguin Books, 1986), p. 516.

48. For a discussion of Donne's letters to Ann, see Ilona Bell, "'Under Ye Rage of a Hott Sonn & Yr Eyes': John Donne's Love Letters to Ann More" in *The Eagle and the Dove: Reassessing John Donne*, eds. C. J. Summers and T.-L. Peabworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 25-52.

49. See n. 15 above for bibliographical information on the prose letters.

50. See n. 28 above.

51. Gosse, *Life and Letters*, I, 165. See n. 15 above for complete bibliographical information.

52. *Fulfilling the Circle*, 4, 134-7.

53. See n. 15 above.

54. Louis Adrian Montrose, "Of Gentlemen and Shepherds: The Politics of Elizabethan Pastoral Form," *ELH*, 50 (1983): 429, 433, 452.

55. Stone, Lawrence, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Abridged Edition), (London: Oxford University Press, 1967) p. 8.

56. The low survival rate of Donne's letters prevents accurate estimates of how many he wrote. His correspondence with Magdalene Herbert illustrates the problem. Early in their friendship, he promises in a 1607 letter from Mitcham that an "entire colony of letters, of hundreds and fifties, must follow"; less than two weeks later he speaks of "my resolution of writing almost daily to you" (Gosse, *Life and Letters*, I, 164-5). Only her death and Donne's 1627 funeral sermon concluded their long-lived friendship. Bald tells us that "Walton claimed to possess a considerable number of the letters they exchanged, but he printed only four [in *Life of George Herbert*], all of which belong to the early stages of the friendship" (*A Life*, 181). Earlier, Gosse had observed that all the originals in Walton's possession "doubtless perished among Lady Cook's collection of MSS. when Higham House was burned by the Roundheads" (162). In short, the number of letters written to Lady Danvers remains anybody's guess.

57. For useful discussion of issues in epistolarity, including the artifice of presence in absence, see: Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1982), esp. 118-140.

58. For two earlier studies of Donne and vocation see Robert S. Jackson, *John Donne's Christian Vocation* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1970) and Robert B. Shaw *The Call of God: The Theme of Vocation in the Poetry of Donne and Herbert* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cowley Publications, 1981). The approaches in these two studies differ. Jackson's pointed concentration on Donne's inner spiritual struggle in the trouble years 1608-11 provides a useful perspective on recent so-called "new Historicist" attention to the political/social sides of Donne that ignore the spiritual inner side. Jackson's assumption that the vocational and the spiritual are inextricable in Donne is unexception-

able. However, this useful discussion of the vocational thrust in Donne's experience cannot surmount the self-imposed barrier of discussing "vocation" without reference to the sermons. Inexplicably Jackson does not engage Donne's explicit discussion of vocation, particularly the priestly vocation, in the sermons.

Jackson's attempt to contextualize Donne's experience as "Mannerist" lacks Shaw's more accurate historical applications. Shaw traces the developing Reformed notion of vocation from Luther through Calvin to William Perkins. His project to locate Donne on this line is informed convincingly by reference to Donne's sermons. His elegant discussion is more concerned with Donne's thought than his spiritual history, although he captures Donne's personal attempt to find unity of the self through vocation, by reference to works throughout his career. Both Jackson and Shaw rightly assume that Donne's thought, at its very core, is vocational. Neither examines the priestly vocation as a satisfaction of basic contours in Donne's nature.

59. On Donne's paradoxical joy in suffering see *Fulfilling the Circle*, 117-18, pp.127-9.

60. A cohort of affections appears with frequency in the sermons: amorousness sublimated as devotion, or misdirected as wantonness or licentiousness; ambition veering in one direction toward secular honour and preferment or in another to divine glory; covetousness seeking to possess wealth or a spiritual realm. Although co-existent, the three members of the cohort are sometimes identified respectively by Donne with youth, middle years and age. The cohort has flexible boundaries for him: amorousness emerges as gross lust and ambition as competition for place; covetousness modulates into envy, a competitive desire to have what others possess. One succinct statement of the cohort can be found in the retrospectively confessional *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*: "the fuel of lust, and envy, and ambition, hath inflamed mine" [i.e., heart] (p. 73).

But Donne had identified this cohort much earlier in his works. His 1590s letter to Henry Wotton ("Sir, more then kisses") locates "pride, lust, covetize" in "all three places," countries, courts and towns (31-32). Defensive scorn in "The Sunne Rising" and "The Canonization" opposes spiritualized love competitively to the base world of ambition and covetousness. But to be "all States, and all Princes" in "The Sunne Rising" confesses ambition just as "the India's of spice and Myne" that "lie here with mee" sublimate covetousness and envy. In "The Canonization" love's explosive aggression overcompensates for ambition's path to "a course" or "a place" now blocked and for desired preferment from "his Honour, or his Grace" or the King now compromised. This commemorative poem that competes with "a well wrought urne" struggles to reform covetous envy of place, wealth and power.

61. Joan Webber, *The Eloquent 'I': Style and Self in Seventeenth-Century*

Prose (Madison, Milwaukee, London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 34ff.

62. William Kerrigan, "The Fearful Accommodations of John Donne," *ELR* 4(1974):354-5.

63. Surgical circumcision applies more generally, but not exclusively to males; in both cases purification is the issue. The drama of Donne's ambiguity plays on the maleness of the Judaic-Christian practice.

64. *Fulfilling the Circle*, 104.

65. "But by my death can not be satisfied
My sinnes, which passe the Jewes impiety:
They kill'd once an inglorious man, but I
Crucifie him daily, being now glorified"
(Holy Sonnet, "Spit in my face yee Jewes," 5-8).

66. Donne's theology of conformity bears a heavy debt to Augustinian conformity of divine and human wills, but the affective likeness to Christ is Pauline. "For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren" (Romans 8: 29); "That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death" (Philippians 3: 10).

67. *Fulfilling the Circle*, 5-13, 44-50, 53-60.

68. For an obvious application of this commonplace notion, see William Perkins, *A Treatise of the Vocations*. Written in the late 1590's and first published posthumously in 1602, Perkins' treatise is the most developed discussion of "calling" in the English Reformation. Perkins establishes I Corinthians 5: 20 as its keynote, and the principle of "labour" or "work" in a "lawful calling" is everywhere explicit.

69. Dave Gray and Jeanne Shami, "Political Advice in Donne's *Devotions: No Man Is An Island*," *MLQ* 50 (1989):337-56.

70. Jeanne Shami, "The Absolutist Politics of Quotation" in *John Donne's Religious Imagination: Essays in Honor of John T. Shawcross*, eds. Raymond-Jean Frontain and Frances M. Malpezzi (Conway, Arkansas: University of Cent. Arkansas Press, 1995), p. 403.

71. Paul Harland, "Donne's Political Intervention in the Parliament of 1629," *JDJ*, 11 (1992), 21-37.