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Trafique: A Consideration of John Donne's *The First Anniversary An Anatomie of the World*

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Although modern economic theory evolved from the writings of seventeenth-century businessmen, government officials and intellectuals,[1] little attention is usually paid to economic thought or theory prior to Adam Smith. Joyce Oldham Appleby writes that "[t]he gains of the sixteenth century become the departure point for that sustained growth which has characterized the modern world."[2] She notes that there was a shift in the way business was transacted. "New networks of buyers and sellers replaced the isolated economies of local consumption"[3] and a new marketplace was emerging. Once these isolated economies moved from local to national and then international, a new flurry of economic writing and discourse emerged. While much attention has been paid to the economic conditions of the seventeenth-century, these conditions and the concerns they fostered are rarely mentioned in relation to the poetry of the time. Six years ago, in a

[1]Coburn Freer cites John Hales, Gerard Malynes, Edward Misselden and Thomas Mun, along with Sir Thomas Gresham as leaders in this field.

[2]Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth Century England* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 3.

[3]Ibid., p. 3.

groundbreaking study, Coburn Freer pointed to John Donne as "one of the first English poets to sense the vast economic changes coming over Europe in general and England in particular and the first to work them into the understanding of intellectual experience."[4] This new awareness goes beyond simple metaphors of coinage and usury and instead gives the reader a sense of the vast and problematic nature of both a national economy and a market.

The main concerns of this field, expressed in the pamphlets and publications of the early seventeenth century, centred on specie, free trade, and imports/exports. Gerard de Malynes was the first merchant to formulate a coherent theory on foreign exchange. Though he was born in Antwerp,[5] he described himself as an Englishman. His parents and ancestors were from Lancashire. His father held the position of an English mint-master for some time, but he emigrated to Antwerp in the mid-sixteenth century. "[However] when Elizabeth required the services of skilled workmen for restoring coinage, in 1561, the elder Malynes seems to have returned to England."[6] In 1586, he was sent back to the Low Countries as a commissioner of trade. The following year,

> he was back in England buying pearls from Sir Francis Drake, and discussing mining proposals with Sir Walter Raleigh. The privy council sought his advice on matters of trade during the reign of Elizabeth and during that of

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[4]Coburn Freer, "John Donne and Elizabethan Economic Theory," *Criticism* 38:4 (1996): 497-520 (quoted from p. 497).

[5]All biographical information is taken from E. A. J. Johnson, "Gerard de Malynes and the Theory of the Foreign Exchanges," *American Economic Review* 22:3 (1933): 441-455; rpt. in *The Early Mercantilists*, Mark Blaug, ed. (Vermont, Edward Elgar Publishing Company, 1991). Although much of this information is stated in other texts, I have chosen to paraphrase most of the section from Johnson's thorough work in order to condense the portrait and highlight relevant portions of Malynes' life and career.

[6]Ibid., p. 443.

> James I. In 1600, he acted as commissioner for establishing a true par of exchange; the next year he gave evidence before a committee of the House of Commons on the Merchants Assurance bill. Together with Lord Eure and a number of London merchants, he attempted unsuccessfully to work lead mines in Yorkshire and silver mines in Durham. [In the hope that he might help make England] independent of foreign supplies of base and precious metals.
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> Throughout the whole of his active life, Malynes was constantly concerned with monetary questions. Like his father he was an assay master of the mint, and in 1609, he was appointed a commissioner on mint affairs.[7]

While it would be impossible to say with any certainty that Donne ever knew of Malynes, their economic philosophies seem to overlap. Even the language that Donne uses in his poetry, and later in his sermons, seems to echo the language of the pamphlets that Malynes wrote. Malynes believed that:

> Economic distress resulted from insufficient "policy" and that economic maladjustments demanded intervention. In three economic spheres, he felt that intervention was definitely needed: in the operations of lending and borrowing, the purchase and sale of foreign exchange, the importation and exportation of goods.[8]

The language of his criticism is very similar to that of Donne's "anatomy." In fact, Malynes' early text is titled *The Canker*[9] *of*

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[7]Ibid.,. p. 443.

[8]Ibid., p. 446.

[9]A "canker" is defined as "an eating, spreading sore or ulcer, a gangrene... Formerly often the same as CANCER... Anything that frets, corrodes, corrupts or consumes slowly and secretly" (OED, s.v. "cauber" 1, 1a). It is this secret corruption that Malynes and Donne attempt to expose.

Englands Commonwealth (1601), and he acts as a kind of physician, much like Donne, attempting to root out the diseased portion of the state. Malynes, like Donne, identifies three main areas of interest to the seventeenth-century "economist": trade, money, and the welfare of the nation. In *The Canker* as in *The First Anniversary*, the reader is told that "the unknowne disease putteth out the Phisitions eye" (Malynes, 12) or "sickness without remedy, empayres" (l. 43).[10] Both writers earnestly believed that "This new world may be safer, being told/ The dangers and diseases of the old" (ll. 87-88).

The mercantilists produced many texts and pamphlets in their attempt to understand the economic circumstances that they faced. There were many points on which the individual "mercantilists" did not agree. The general principles of mercantilism remain fairly consistent throughout the writing of the period. Mark Blaug defines mercantilism, or rather "the mercantilist outlook" as:

> the idea of specie[11] or bullion as the essence of wealth; the recognition that a nation without gold or silver mines must secure a permanent surplus in the balance of trade in order to accumulate specie; hence, the idea that a positive balance of trade is an index of national welfare. [The mercantilist "philosophy" also includes] ...an emphasis on population growth and low wages, a concern with full employment and hence the

[10]The most convincing comparison lies in the divisions made by Malynes within his work, and the language that Donne uses to describe the body lying on the anatomy table. These similarities are discussed in greater detail in my thesis, *The World Made Flesh: A Consideration of John Donne's First Anniversary An Anatomie of the World* (McMaster University, 2002). The text of the poem used for this paper is that of Gary Stringer (ed.) *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne, Vol.6: The Anniversaries and the Epicedes and Obsequies*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 7-17.

[11]Coin money (in this instance, I believe Blaug is referring to silver).

> encouragement of labour-intensive exports, and the far-reaching denial of foreign trade as a source of a net gain to the world as a whole; that is, international trade was regarded as a zero-sum game and particular nations were thought to benefit from international trade only at the expense of their neighbours.[12]

The emphasis on competition between countries for trade results in an uneasy relationship between nations. If England did not maintain a "surplus in the balance of trade" then, the mercantilists believed, money or specie would flow out of the country. As England did not have gold or silver mines, there was a constant anxiety over the potential loss of coin within the realm. Early mercantilists believed that the key to a strong state was a strong economy:

> What commended the policy of improvement and with it the whole body of balance-of-trade theory to the prince and statesman was the fact that they saw prosperity as a means to strength. We can see how pervasive and inescapable these ideas must have been, when they ran so readily in a circle from private profit to national strength and back to private profit: for improvement led to power and power in turn led to further improvement. By contrast, depression produced weakness and weakness produced further depression. It did not occur to the mercantilists that they were an inevitable part of the economic process, or that they carried their own cure.[13]

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[12]Mark Blaug, *The Early Mercantilists* (Vermont: Edward Elgar Publishing Company, 1991), p. ix.

[13]R.W.K. Hinton, "The Mercantile System in the Time of Thomas Mun" *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, 7:3 (1955) pp. 277-290; rpt in *The Early Mercantilists*, Mark Blaug, ed.

Donne was certainly no stranger to difficult circumstances. *The First Anniversary* was written at a time in his life when he was in dire need of employment. Donne was trying desperately in the years leading up to the publication of this work, to secure a position. In February 1608 or 1609 (it is unclear which), Donne applied for a position as secretary of the Virginia Company,[14] and he certainly would have had considerable knowledge of England's position in world trade.[15] The economic imagery and allusions in the work reflect the concerns of the mercantilists and statesmen in early seventeenth-century England.

In *The First Anniversary*, Donne betrays an awareness of these economic concerns. As he dissects the world, he notes problems not only in spiritual or cosmic matters, but also in the personal, and especially financial, relations between individual citizens, and on a larger level, between nations. The world can no longer concern itself with a small local population, as it once did springing from Adam and Eve; the relationships between people are far more complex. In the introduction of the poem, Donne mentions the "venemous sinne" (83), alluding to Original Sin, and the "forraine Serpent" (84) representing the serpent from the biblical story in a new context directly related to trade. With the addition of the word "forraine," Donne alludes to international trade and its impact on national interests. It is the foreign for Donne that holds the most evil; the effect of this foreign influence must be closely

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[14]R.C. Bald *John Donne: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) p. 162. Most of Donne's biographical information is taken from this text.

[15]Geoffrey Keynes' *A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne Dean of Saint Paul's* records that Donne kept a pamphlet from this period. Bound with other works is a sermon delivered by William Symonds, "Virginia. A Sermon preached at White-Chappel In the presence of many, Honourable and worshipfull, the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia. 25. April. 1609." It is relevant to point out here the deep-rooted and abiding interest that Donne had in England's financial and colonial affairs.

monitored so as not to affect adversely the local or national body. While I will not argue that this topic is the central concern of the poem, I do maintain that a working knowledge of the metaphors derived from the economic environment is central to a complete understanding of the poem. While the main thrust of the poem is toward a spiritual as well as a physical knowledge of the world, that picture would be incomplete if it did not include what is arguably the main secular concern of the population. The economic instability that Donne addresses in the *Anniversaries* is yet another symptom of the decaying world, but one that has been largely ignored.

One of Donne's main recurring themes is the problematic nature of ascribing value; not only to a life, but also to a society. If the new world is to be successful, we must look at both our actions and our transactions. In both *Anniversary* poems, he revisits this system of monetary transactions, of trade, and exchange. The first such instance occurs in *The First Anniversary*. Donne comments on the shortened human life span as proof of the decay present in life. In lines 111-136, he comments on man's earlier (biblical) longevity. Compared to this lengthy time on the earth, Donne asks, "Where is this mankind now? Who lives to age,/ Fit to be made *Methusalem* his page?" (127-8). He continues:

> So short is life that every peasant striues,
> In a torne house, or field, to haue three liues.
> And as in lasting, so in length is man
> Contracted to an inch, who was a span. (133-136)

Man not only is worth less, but also his impact, his presence in the world is "contracted to an inch." He becomes less of a presence, literally taking up less space in time and eventually, as Freer has shown,[16] man becomes less valuable monetarily.

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[16]"[T]he debasement of coinage came to describe the decaying quality of life: as Donne says, compared to our fathers, we are indeed debased

A life that is shorter and more frail is not only essentially less valuable, but also the individual does not have the time within so short a span to improve his lot (spiritually or economically). The descendents of Adam and Eve were closer to God, despite the Fall. The lives described in biblical texts were extraordinarily long compared to those of the men in the early seventeenth century, they were also closer to God, to Eden, and to a state of grace. Biblical lives had greater spiritual value. Populations (when they lived devout lives) were allowed to flourish both spiritually and economically. A shorter life span not only means less time to serve God, but also less time to make an impact in the secular world. If the life span of the individual is shortened, then the monetary value of what that life yields must also be less. By monetary value, I mean the estate or holdings of an individual. When Donne bemoans the fact that we no longer have the life span of "Methusalem,"[17] he continues to express some of the frustration that people must have felt; the idea that there is not enough time in life to allow for significant change. "So short is life, that every peasant striues,/ In a torn house, or field, to haue three liues" (133-134).

As knowledge of the world expands, the individual, even the country, seems small in comparison. At the same time as we occupy less physical space, we also occupy less space in time, and the less a person's presence is felt, the less its existence is worth. Donne's deliberate exaggeration of the effect that Elizabeth Drury's loss has on the world is, in part, meant to show that if our lives were more significant, we *would* feel the loss of the individual more acutely. A life that is worth less passes almost unnoticed. We have become lethargic, we *notice* less. We hardly notice Elizabeth

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men" (Freer, p. 499). Donne repeatedly alludes to the shortness, smallness and lesser worth of men's lives, as later passages will show.

[17]Methusalem is a biblical figure who lived until the age of 969 years, and whose name can be seen as a synonym for a long life. See Genesis 5: 21-27.

Drury's presence. This debasement of human life is reflected in the debasement of specie. The currency, as Freer points out, is also "shrinking":

> While Elizabeth succeeded in stabilizing the currency, it still bought less and less, and the debasement of coinage came to describe the decaying quality of life: as Donne says, compared to our fathers, we are indeed debased men,
>
> > But this were light, did our lesse volume hold
> > All the old Text; or had wee chang'd to gold
> > Their silver [147-149]
>
> Smaller and weighing less for our relative size, we are like lightweight coin, not even good silver, much less gold.[18]

It is not simply the debasement of the currency that was a source of anxiety for Donne. Donne realized that the quality of human life depended largely on economic factors, that are largely out of an individual's control. It is important to note that the language Donne uses is very similar in many ways to the language of most of the economic and mercantile treatises published or circulated in manuscript from around the turn of the century. As R. W. K Hinton states, "[i]n the economic depression of Thomas Mun's lifetime the common cries were of decay of navigation, decay of trade, decay of clothing, decay of rents and scarcity of money...."[19] The earlier essayist, Gerard de Malynes, attempted to show "the 'Canker' which had developed and the remedy for this diseased section of the economic organism."[20] If, as the title states, the poem's intent is to represent "the frailtie and the decay of this whole World," then it is important to note that this decay and frailty were a contentious issue in economic texts as well. One must

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[18]Freer, p. 298.
[19]Blaug, p. 80.
[20]Johnson, p. 449.

conclude that Donne, with his earlier career aspirations with the Virginia Company, would have been aware of these debates.

For Donne, the problem of value extended much further than just England's currency. Later in the poem, he states:

> Shee that was best, and first originall
> Of all faire copies; and the generall
> Steward to Fate; shee whose rich eyes, and breast,
> Guilt the West Indies, and perfum'd the East;
> Whose hauing breath'd in this world, did bestow
> Spice on those Isles, and bad them still smell so,
> And that rich Indie which doth gold interre,
> Is but as single money, coyn'd from her: (227-234)

There is, in this passage, an awareness of the effect that foreign trade had on England's economy. In this section, Donne weaves the many themes involved in the economic discourse of the time together. The reader will note references to "copies," trade ("the West Indies" and "the East"), commodities: "Spice," the purity of foreign gold and the problem of ascribing value to money. Drury's death, much like the exile from Eden, has given us (however unwillingly) the opportunity to evaluate and change our perception of the world and our place within it. Suddenly England finds herself in a world market, thrust out from a more contained existence. "By the beginning of the seventeenth century, English statesmen had ceased to think of turning back to a more contained economy in order to prevent the social disruptions produced by the acceleration of commerce."[21] Donne not only sensed these changes, but also chose this occasion to comment on them. Looking back to the quoted passage, this new world has a decided lure for Donne. The passage is full of sensuous imagery ("rich eyes, and breast," "breath'd in this world") which seems to suggest that even though the new world will no longer have that intimate connection with her greater presence, her beauty has still left its mark. It is this loss

[21]Appleby, pp. 19-20.

of her sensual, tangible presence in the world that Donne bemoans in the poem. This larger and more intimidating picture of the world will never feel as safe as the old. As we move further from this sensuous and spiritual connection with that old world, we are in danger of descending into mere "copies" (228). The loss of a connection not only with sensuous, but also, concrete and tactile experience, is indicative of a profound change in the way one conducts business transactions.

> The removal of key links in production and consumption from the range of tactile experience promoted the creation of symbolic representations. Price, rate, and credit began to stand in place of the bargain, the payment, the contract they represented.[22]

These symbolic representations were problematic for Donne. The symbol no longer represented a greater spiritual connection, but rather left him feeling empty. Monetary value, trade, and transaction provided no healing balm for the diseased world he describes.

The passage, by linking other commodities with gold and money seems to show Donne's awareness of a new relationship that people had with money. "What a few Elizabethan economic writers grasped, and what Donne alone among the poets seemed to sense, was that within his lifetime, money itself had become a commodity."[23] This distinction becomes important when we realize that as a commodity, money lacks any spiritual significance. Gone are the days when the stamp of the king would immediately mean that a coin had value. There is no greater value than the amount of precious metal that the coin contains. Line 234 expresses the poet's anxiety about this change. At this point, gold is "but as single money, coyn'd from her." The original gold (24-carat) is far more

[22]Appleby, p. 20.
[23]Freer, p. 501.

pure than the money that is made of that gold (whose value fluctuated dramatically in this period).[24]

The physical world for Donne showed obvious signs of decay. "As gold fals sicke being stung with Mercury,/ All the worlds parts of such complexion bee" (345-346). Again he highlights the impurity of gold, the devaluation of the coin, as an outward sign that the world is unwell. Mercury is most commonly used to extract gold and silver. In the course of this process, the gold would change color, adding mercury's greyish tinge, and making the gold seem sickly. As humans show outward signs of sickness through a loss of color in their skin, so to do gold coins "pale" as a result of altering their composition. A loss of color for Donne signifies poor health. The focus in this section on color may also indicate an awareness of the problem that the cloth industry faced:

> Sight is the noblest sense of any one,
> Yet sight hath onely color to feed on,
> And color is decayd: summers robe growes
> Duskie, and like an oft dyed garment showes. (353-356)

Just like the earlier reference to gold, dyes also become paler. The physical world's sickness is reflected in a loss of color in many

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[24]B. E. Supple, *Commercial Crisis and Change in England 1600-1642* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1964), notes the anxiety over the proper ratio of gold:

A drain of gold seems, however to have arisen within a relatively short period, and in 1610, when Holland raised its official ratio... this loss of the more precious metal grew sufficiently to provoke a deep anxiety in government circles. Discussions of the problem in the Privy Council led to the obvious conclusion that 'in general this is the mischief: that our gold is not so much allowed as our silver and therefore being worth more than silver is bought and carried away'. To prevent this, in November 1611, gold coins were enhanced by 10 per cent. But this move was far too drastic to re-establish equilibrium. The resulting ratio was... much too high: silver was now drastically undervalued...(pp. 166-167).

different industries. Color itself is "decayd," and is not able to last in this new world. The connection here between color and garment would have resonated with seventeenth-century merchants. The cloth trade was England's most important venture, especially for London merchants. B. E. Supple notes that:

> it appeared that [according to Edward Misselden] 'the cloth trade is... the axis of the commonwealth, whereon all the other trades... do seem to turn, and have their revolution', or that it could be called 'the flower of the king's crown, the dowry of the kingdom, the chief revenue of the king... the gold of our Ophir, the milk and honey of our Canaan, the Indies of England'.[25]

While the cloth trade did not necessarily employ the greatest number of citizens, its players were key in the formation of economic policy. Rivalry between English and Dutch merchants (mostly over the finishing of the cloths) was a constant bone of contention in parliament. The concern was that the Dutch were taking profits away from England by finishing the textiles (dying and refining the wool), and then reselling them for higher profits than the English could. Supple continues later to show that:

> it may well have been an increase in general prosperity in southern markets which meant that clothing was no longer bought to last a lifetime.... Where the colours were guileful and the price low, then... the middle and lower classes would be the more tempted to buy. Hence the demand for the traditional hard-wearing cloth, made from carded short wool, gave way to a demand for the more flimsy newer fabrics, ... which consumers were able to purchase at more frequent intervals... the London drapers noted... that 'the wonted wearing of gowns and petticoats of cloth both by our women and strangers was no small help to support the draperies of

[25]Supple, p. 6.

> this kingdom, but now swallowed up by an innumerable company of stuffs unprofitable, which after a quarter of a year's wearing are no better than a piece of old painted cloth.' ...'There are many sorts of cloth or stuffs lately invented', wrote John May... 'which have got new godfathers to name them in fantastical fashion, that they which wear them know not how to name them, which are called the new drapery'.[26]

The idea of seasonal garments, a summer dress dyed in "guileful" colors is a new concept in the early seventeenth-century. An early instance of "disposable culture," the color and the garment will decay more quickly, its life span reduced, its value decreased. Donne notes in minute detail the symptoms of the world's secular decay.

These secular events did not pass unnoticed in the spiritual realm. The relationship between heaven and earth, between God and man cannot help but suffer from this decay.

> For heauen giues little, and the earth takes lesse,
> And man least knowes their trade and purposes.
> If this commerce twixt heauen and earth were not
> Embarr'd, and all this trafique quite forgot,
> Shee, for whose losse we haue lamented thus,
> Would worke more fully; and pow'rfully on vs.
>
> (397-402)

One cannot help but note the economic/mercantilist language of this passage. The emphasis on "commerce," and "trafique," and especially on "trade" is suggestive of the ongoing secular debates in the early seventeenth century. In the years after the Anglo-Spanish

[26]Supple, pp. 154-155.

treaty of 1604,[27] there were renewed debates in Parliament surrounding trade policies:

> The campaign for free trade... [that] broke out in the 1604 parliament is best seen against [a] background of capital... seeking employment in peaceful commerce. The movement to free commerce from company regulation was, indeed, part of the general hostility....[28]

Free trade and government regulation were key concerns for the mercantilists. Not only are there problems in the trade between countries, and economic concerns that result in an unbalanced trading environment, but there are also, for Donne, problems in the trade between heaven and earth, and spiritual imbalance results. The breakdown in communication, while expressed in monetary terms, is no less devastating than a decayed trade relationship. If trade is hampered, depression results and people starve. Donne's position seems to be that the world has lost a key link in the spiritual trade, the traffic of heavenly virtue, which starves the soul as surely as economic depression starves the body.

The final reference in *The First Anniversary* involves the role of government in both secular and spiritual ventures.

> ...though she could not transubstantiate
> All states to gold, yet guilded euery state,
> So that some Princes haue some temperance;
> Some Counsaylors some purpose to aduance
> The common profite; and some people haue
> Some stay, no more then Kings should giue, to craue;

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[27]Keynes also lists "Articles of Peace, Entercourse, and Commerce, concluded by James I with Philip III of Spaine, 1605," which contains "many of Donne's pencil markings in the margins" (Keynes, p. 264). The details of the Anglo-Spanish treaty were obviously of interest to Donne.

[28]Supple, p. 30.

> Some women haue some taciturnity;
> Some Nunneries, some graines of chastity. (417-424)

In a passage tinged with typical Donne satire, the importance of gold and profit in the world is emphasized. Yet it is not the physical transubstantiation of another state to gold that is important, it is that the presence of Elizabeth Drury's spirit in the world "guilded euery state," and made the world a more valuable place in which to live. The state itself was more prosperous, lives were more meaningful and spiritually rich; in short, her death has marked the change from a world in a "guilded state" to a debased world. The role that Princes, Councilors, and Kings play in advancing the common profit, is alluded to in this section. At the end of the work, it shows the market functioning at every level. There is an implied realization of the connection between government and population, between institution and inspiration. It becomes impossible to separate economic profit from spiritual gain. If one notes l. 415, just before the quoted passage, it becomes apparent that Donne is viewing the system of government through a Platonic lens. The argument essentially becomes that Elizabeth Drury, "from whose influence all Impressions came" (415), was closer to an Ideal form. What critics fail to note is that she was not the Ideal itself, but rather closer to it. The guilded state that Donne continues to describe is not unlike the state that Plato[29] had envisioned, and is certainly closer to an ideal than to reality. Princes, "Counsaylors," and Kings all behave with the best interests

[29]See *Republic* 415a, where he discusses the "tale" of man's creation. A man with a golden soul is considered to be closer to God. It is Drury's soul, her presence in the world that Donne misses, and her soul seems to be one of these "golden" souls. This fallacy is referred to as the "noble lie." If Donne, as he is quoted to have said to Jonson, is referring to the "Idea of a woman and not as she was," then can this idea not be construed as a similar type of falsehood? If it is not Drury's presence that inspires this piece, then "let [another] Lady make her self fit for all those praises in the book, and they shall be hers" (Stringer, p. 239).

of the people and each other in mind. They work for the "common profite," even in a guilded state, the economic system is of paramount importance. It is impossible to separate economic profit from spiritual gain. Perhaps this idealized harmony is Donne's reaction to the idea that "debasement [of the quality of materials, was due] to the peculiar wickedness that flourished in the hearts and minds of the manufacturing classes."[30] For, as F.J. Fisher points out, contrary to this popular assumption, "there were not wanting some shrewd enough to see that low prices and low wages were more to blame than any natural sinfulness."[31] The world worked in a more harmonious manner while Drury was alive, even though it may not have been ideal. That "our age was Iron, and rusty too" (426) only proves how beneficial this awareness of an Ideal is. The world, since Drury's death, has become tarnished, and so "drie a Cinder" (428) that it is useless to hold onto it. Donne has the firm conviction that in order to survive, the population must move forward from this dead world and into a new world that has learned from the mistakes of the old.

The First Anniversary not only reflects the general anxiety provoked by debate over economic policy, but also provides an example of Donne's reaction to new economic conditions.

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[30]Fisher, p. 71. From: F.J. Fisher, "London's Export Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century" *The Economic History Review*, Second Series Vol. III (1950); rpt. in: *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, W.E. Minchinton, ed. (Suffolk: Meuthen & Co. Ltd., 1969), pp. 64-77.

[31]Ibid., p. 71.