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Donne's Contemporary Reputation: Evidence from Some Commonplace Books and Manuscript Miscellanies

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An element of recent Donne scholarship has focused on his seventeenth-century readers and his reputation among those readers, especially as that reputation can be determined by studying the ordering and editing of his printed poems. What these studies have confirmed is that Donne, from about the 1620s through the 1650s,[1] and especially after the 1633 edition, was a popular, much-read, and much-copied poet, not only among his coterie, but, as Ernest Sullivan has established, among the less literate, lower social classes.[2] Peter Beal argues for the popularity of Donne's poetry as revealed by miscellaneous manuscript versions of the poems:

> more transcripts of Donne's poems were made than of the verse of any other British poet of the 16th and 17th centuries. The large number of extant transcripts (which must be only a fraction of the number once in existence) indicates the extraordinary popularity of Donne's verse in the 17th century . . . they are . . . a reminder that his verse belonged essentially to a manuscript culture.[3]

However, equal to Donne's own poems in popularity were poems falsely attributed to Donne.

In the two-volume edition of the *First-Line Index of Manuscript Poetry in the Bodleian Library*, Margaret Crum on the short title/abbreviation page grants only two individuals, among the collections and reference works, their own abbreviations—Henry Purcell and John Donne[4]—indicating that many more poems in the seventeenth century were attributed to Donne than to any other of his contemporaries. A study of seventeenth-century poetic commonplace books and manuscript miscellanies at the Huntington and Folger Shakespeare Libraries confirms this proposition. Poems by or falsely attributed to Donne dominate about a quarter of these and at least one of his poems (or a poem wrongly attributed to him) appears in almost half.

The popularity of Donne's verse was precipitated by (and complicated by) his life and the way his elegists chose to write about him. Izaak Walton's primary concern in his *Life* of Donne and in his elegy printed in the 1633 edition of Donne's poems was preserving the reputation of the Dean of St. Paul's by separating the young, licentious Donne from the older, saintly Donne and emphasizing the latter. Robert Fallon on the subject:

> . . . it was Walton's view that prevailed. . . . It is safe to say that readers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw Donne through Walton's eyes and his uneasiness about the love lyrics is a continuing concern during all that period. . . . in fact almost two-and-a-half centuries later, as Dayton Haskin has told us, Alexander Grosart was still wrestling with the question whether the licentious poems should be printed at all.[5]

Fallon emphasizes that the elegies written on Donne's death tell us "not so much about Donne himself as they do about his contemporaries' view of him."[6]

But this view is not as univocal as Fallon would suggest. A study of English commonplace books and poetic manuscript miscellanies (1620-45, approximately) shows that many of Donne's contemporaries were able to accept the poet-lover and preacher as a unified (and titillating) whole. The collections to which I refer are mainly anonymous, written not by Donne's closest circle of friends (as far as we know) but by lesser poets and collectors of verse, and in them Donne is a figure who had become something of a legend by his death in 1631 and remained so for fifteen and more years after. Izaak Walton contrived the image of Donne as a young profligate, who, after a few years and a conversion of sorts, became a pious clergyman. Michael P. Parker describes the effect this division had on Donne's elegists: "[They] had to grapple with the prickly personal issues raised by the apparent disparity between 'Jack Donne', the young scribbler of amatory verse, and 'Doctor Donne', the dignified Dean of St. Paul's."[7] Carew, Parker continues, was the only one of the twelve elegists in the 1633 edition of Donne's poetry who "tactfully offers a solution to the biographical controversy that attempts to do justice to both aspects of Donne's career."[8] Difficulties in reconciling what seem two personalities affect even modern Donne studies. Kathlene Tillotson remarked in 1959 that "To accept Donne whole has been difficult for critics ever since Walton,"[9] and John Shawcross, in 1986, noted: "The demonstrable misreading of Donne has sprung from many roots. One is a picture of Jack

Donne, the fickle and cynical roué, seeking 'soul' and finding only 'body,' and of John Donne, the loving and faithful husband, and eminent divine."[10]

But seventeenth-century poetry collectors found fascination in accepting Donne whole. Some of those who kept and wrote poetic miscellanies and commonplace books did not find it the least bit awkward to bring together Donne's two "lives" on one page. Indeed, they seemed to be much more interested in Donne's life and temperament, specifically in the rumors (and perhaps more than that) about his profligate youth, in the scandal of his marriage, and in his ministry, than in the quality or merit of the verse itself. Unlike some of their contemporaries, they saw a continuity in Donne's life and found it not at all strange to copy a promiscuous poem next to a religious verse, attributing both to "Dr. Donne." Moreover, the sensation of Donne's marriage had caused Donne's life's story to take on mythic qualities, resulting in biographically-read poems, biographically-based titles, and biographically-inspired marginalia. His marriage continued, during his ministry and even after his death, to be for these writers the pivotal event of Donne's life.

Seventeenth-century poetic commonplace books and manuscript miscellanies at the Huntington and Folger Shakespeare Libraries[11] confirm A. J. Smith's statement that Donne was a popular poet from about the 1620s until forty years after his death.[12] When Donne died in 1631, his poems had been circulating among his peers for years (although before the 1620s, circulation was limited probably to close friends), and Donne had become a well-known and popular preacher. Following the studies done by Alan MacColl and R. A. Bryan, Smith provides a list of the number of times individual Donne poems appear in manuscript miscellanies from before 1625 until 1645,[13] to verify Donne's popularity; furthermore, in the twenty years after his death, five editions of his poetry were printed. However, more interesting conclusions can be reached about Donne's contemporary reputation (1620-1645, approximately) by examining not only those poems by Donne that appear in miscellanies and commonplace books, but also by exploring in them the poems falsely attributed to him and marginal notes about him.

First, however, a word needs to be said about the first two printed editions of Donne's poems, because they confirm that, *contra* Walton, many of Donne's contemporaries saw his life as an undivided whole. Like the commonplace book writers, Donne's 1633 editor had no compunctions about mixing the love lyrics and the religious poems. Here the Satyres appear between "Lamentations of Jeremy" and "A Hymne to God the Father," and "Elegie: Sapho to Philænis" directly precedes "The Annunciation and the

Passion" with no moral quibbling. The arrangement of the poems is essentially a non-arrangement and probably indicates that Walton did not edit the 1633 edition but did edit the 1635 edition, in which poems are grouped and arranged in what have become the traditional categories. In arranging the poems in 1635, Walton, Fallon observes, wanted to separate the love poetry from the works of the Dean of St. Paul's, and he did so by intimating that the love poetry was a product of the very young Donne, a youthful indiscretion;[14] Novarr and Gottlieb agree that the order of the poems in the 1633 edition indicates an editor other than Walton.[15] Gottlieb also discusses those of Donne's elegists who followed Walton's pattern of Donne's life, as does Fallon:

> It is intriguing to find these elegists, Donne's contemporaries, reflecting on a theme which has occupied the attention of readers down to our present day, the contrast in tone and content between the early and the late work, between, if I may generalize, the "poet" and the "priest." In many elegies, particularly those in the pastoral tradition, this distinction presents no difficulties . . . . But with Donne it was not so easy. The poet here was a cynic and a libertine, urging his mistress to disrobe and license his hands to range "Behind, before, above, between, below." The priest was the devout, even saintly, Dean of St. Paul's, a model of rectitude in an increasingly moral age, known for his inspired sermons, which were responsible for the conversion of many to the Church.[16]

Walton and Donne's elegists created the incompatability between Donne's love poems and his religious poems—a creation not consistent with the prevalent seventeenth-century version of the poet.

I should add that even the 1633 editor shared some of Walton's prudishness—with justification. Including the five Satyres in the 1633 edition at all was problematic, as Helen Gardner points out:

> On 13 September 1632, eighteen months after Donne's death, the Clerk of the Stationers' Company entered to John Marriott . . . *a booke of verses and Poems* (the five *satyres*, the first, second, Tenth, Eleventh, and Thirteenth *Elegies* being excepted) and these before excepted to be his when he bringes lawfull authority . . . written by Doctor John Dunn.' [Elipses are in Gardner.] On 31 October there was a further entry to Marriott: 'Entred for his Copy . . . *The five*

Satires written by Doctor J: Dun these being excepted in his last entrance."[17]

Even with this permission, the editor omitted (perhaps, but not certainly, because of outside pressure) from Satires 2 and 4, potentially offensive lines, presumably to spare the good dean's reputation.[18] One reader, however, copied out in his edition,[19] probably from a manuscript, the offensive, deleted words (italicized):

> But these do mee no harme, nor they which use
> To *out-doe Dildoes*;[20] and *out-usure* Jewes;
> To out-drinke the sea, to out-sweare the Letanie;
> (Satyre 2, ll. 31-33)[21]

> *And to 'every suitor lye in every thing,*
> *Like a Kings favourite, yea like a King*;
> Like a wedge in a blocke, wring to the barre,
> Bearing like Asses, and more shamelesse farre
> Then carted whores, lye, to the grave Judge; for
> *Bastardy 'abounds not in Kings titles, nor*
> *Symonie 'and Sodomy in Churchmens lives*
> As these things do in him;
> (Satyre 2, ll. 69-76)

> . . . . and mee thought I saw
> One of our Giant Statutes ope his jaw
> To sucke me in; for hearing him. I found
> *That as burnt venome Leachers do grow sound*
> *By giving others their sores, I might growe*
> *Guilty, and be free*.
> (Satyre 4, ll.131-36)

Although this is one example only, it, along with evidence from other manuscripts, suggests that some of Donne's seventeenth-century readers balked at deletions for the sake of clerical modesty and could accept that Donne the Anglican priest had written about sexual and potentially offensive religious matters.

Manuscript collections of poems show even more clearly and abundantly than the above example that readers and copiers of Donne's poems did not

insist on separating the rakish poet from the priest, as Walton and Donne's early elegists did, and that, indeed, they seemed to relish putting the two personae in juxtaposition. Miscellanies written shortly after Donne began his ministry and for a decade and a half after his death, when his poetry (and sermons) were most popular, show that seventeenth-century commonplace book writers both before and, mainly, after the 1633 edition were neither surprised nor bothered by the Dean of St. Paul's love poems. To copy poems with titles such as "To his mistresse," "On his Picture which hee left with his mris when hee went to travaile,"[22] "Dr Dun to his mrs that scornd him," "Going to Bed," "Upon Loves Progresse by Dr Donne,"[23] "Dr Dunne of his mrs rising,"[24] or, most explicitly, "Loves Progresse, or Instructions in wooing to begin at the right end"[25] (at the end of the poem appears "Jo: Donne")—to copy such poems indicates a lack of concern that Dr. John Donne, well-known preacher, had written sexually explicit poems as well as a provocative interest that he had. Of course, when these titles and poems were copied in the commonplace books, John Donne was either a doctor of divinity and dean of St. Paul's Cathedral or had died as such. Using his formal title, then, on poems by or falsely attributed to him is perhaps not all that unusual; however, the frequency of associating Dr. Donne with bawdy poetry, much not at all like Donne's authentic poems, suggests a lascivious interest in the Dean's rumored past love life.

In a Folger Shakespeare Library commonplace book appears a collection of nineteen love poems, twelve of which are attributed by the copyist to Donne.[26] Among versions of, for example, "The Sunnes Rising," "Sweetest love I doe not go," and "Going to Bed," are the seven unattributed poems, none of which is very good, or interesting metrically, or particularly witty. By their placement, however, in this Donne "section," the poems were certainly associated with the poet. One of these poems, "A Lovers Challenge sente to his Mistrese," concludes with these lines:

> There shew thy courage if thou darest, I meane to prove thy strength;
> I thinke thou knowest my weapon well, I need not send the length:
> I meane to lie all on my thrusts, and on my rapiers trickes
> Look to thy selfe, keepe close thy guard, and so farewell till six[27]

Placing this bit of bawdy doggerel amid some of Donne's most serious poems indicates an assumption, perhaps unconscious, that there was no divide between Donne the priest, Donne the husband, and Donne the illicit lover.

Another Folger Shakespeare Library manuscript of poems[28] includes "Dr. Dunn's farewell to the world," a twenty-line poem rejecting the world's pleasures; one page later appears a version of "Going to Bed." Two poems could not be more dissimilar. Was the copier or compiler taken by the juxtaposition of the saintly Dr. Donne scorning the world and then two pages later licensing his "roving hands"? This pattern occurs repeatedly in contemporary miscellanies and commonplace books, indicating that those interested in copying poems saw no discontinuity between the sermon writer and the love poet.

For example, the following poems or variations of them appear again and again:

Dr. Dun to his Wife giving him the Lye
You say I Lie, I say you lie
Judge now Whether,
If wee both Lie
Let us Lye both together.

A Gentlewoman to Doctour Dun
Say not you Love, unlesse you doe
For lying doth not honour you.

Dr. Duns reply
Madame I love, and love to doe
But not to Lye unlesse with you.[29]

In almost every instance, these poems are either attributed to Donne with the title "doctor" or appear in the midst of other poems attributed to Donne.

In a 1640 poetic commonplace book, Elegie XIX, "Going to Bed," is copied with as its only title "Dor Donne"[30] The poem, shortened by eighteen lines, is preceded by the following poems:

One Doctor Prick
The five and twentieth of September
Christ's College lost a prized member [.]
Maid[s] may lament and widows make moan
For now the prick lies under the stone.

Upon a wench under 14[31]

Why should passion make thee blind
Because thy mistress is unkind
She's too young to know delight
And is not plum'd for Cupids flight
Shee cannot yet in hight of pleasure,
Pay her love equal measure
But like a kolt new broke doth feed
The eyes alone, but does not steed
Shee is a flower but in the spring
And cannot love till Cupid bring
A hotter passion with his fire,
That will ripen her desire;
Autumn will shortly come to greet her
Making her taste and color sweeter
Then her ripening will be such
That shee will fall even at a touch.[32]

And then: "A lovers passion, or a fayre Mayde" (28r), "Staye o sweet and doe not rise" (31v), "Dr Dunn" ("Farewell ye guilded follies") (34r-34v), "Say not you love . . . / Madam I love & . . ." (42v), and "Upon an illformed gentlewoman, by D. C."[33] (44v-45v). This admixture of poems, mostly unattributed, points to Donne's popularity—five of eight poems are unattributed; the remaining three are attributed to Donne—and to the tendency to associate Dr. Donne, who less than a decade before had preached magnificent sermons, with licentious poems.

In 1614, when Donne knew he would soon become an Anglican priest, he was preparing to have printed a collection of his poems. One of two motives is usually cited for Donne's proposed action: either Donne, still hoping for a court appointment through Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, or another wealthy patron, believed a volume of his verse would be a fitting compliment, or Somerset was pressuring Donne into printing some of his poems.[34] In 1614, Somerset was losing his position as James's favorite to George Villiers, and even as favorite, he had not been able procure any court position he sought for Donne. Why in this developing predicament he might have been interested in having Donne's poems printed and dedicated to him is not clear.

A more likely possibility is that Donne himself was aware that his name was being associated with far cruder poems than he had written and that he

wanted to distance his name from those poems by printing the poems he *had* written. In his curious letter to Goodyer announcing his plan, Donne writes:

> One thing more I must tell you, but so softly that I am loth to hear myself; and so softly that, if that good Lady [Lucy, Countess of Bedford] were in the room with you and this letter, she might not hear. It is that I am brought to a necessity of printing my poems, and addressing them to my Lord Chamberlain [i. e., Somerset]. This I mean to do forthwith, not for much public view, but at mine own cost, a few copies. I apprehend some incongruities in the resolution, and I know what I shall suffer from many interpretations; but I am at an end of much considering that, and if I were as startling in that kind as ever I was, yet in this particular I am under an unescapable necessity, as I shall let you perceive when I see you. By this occasion I am made a Rhapsoder of mine own rags, and that cost me more diligence to seek them, then it did to make them.
>
> This made me aske to borrow that old book of you, which it will be too late to see, for that use, when I see you: for I must do this, as a valediction to the world, before I take Orders.[35]

Helen Gardner dismisses both Donne's intention and his letter:

> A more unsuitable method of bidding farewell to the world on taking holy orders it would be hard to imagine. Presumably the poems were to have been printed with some kind of prefatory palinode or retraction for the follies of his youth, but even so their publication at this moment could hardly be regarded as edifying.[36]

The words in Donne's letter to Goodyer should, however, be taken more seriously than Gardner does because the 1614 edition is a more vexed question than it has generally been considered to be. First, why would Somerset have wanted Donne to produce a volume guaranteed to remind James of Donne's unsavory past while still having hopes of procuring a court appointment for him?[37] Second, why, if Somerset insisted on an edition dedicated to him, is Donne rather than his patron financing it? Finally, why, if Donne is being forced by Somerset to produce this volume does he use the word "valedicition"? In fact, Donne's use of "valediction" in this letter, the first recorded English appearance of the term, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, seems quite deliberate:[38] Donne was consciously bidding a

formal farewell (he believed) to the poetry and cares of a secular life and, thus, emphasizing a division in his life that many of his readers continued to dismiss.

This association of Donne and sexually titillating poems was fueled by a continuing interest in Donne's unorthodox marriage, resulting in the biographical cast with which his contemporaries read his poems. Scholars are so accustomed to the circumstances of Donne's illegal marriage to Anne More that we may tend to minimize its impact in the seventeenth century. As apparently did Donne. Shortly after his marriage and his release from prison, Donne wrote his well-known letter to Egerton, hoping to retrieve his former job, insisting that his *only* fault was marrying, which should not keep him from a court appointment forever.[39] But Donne misjudged his society: in fact, his unorthodox marriage itself, without any additional crimes, was enough to keep him jobless for the next fourteen years. Whether Donne considered his marriage the "remarkable error of his life" (as Walton calls it) or not, seventeenth-century society strongly disapproved of secret marriages without church or parental blessing.[40] The repetition of Donne's supposed pun, "*John Donne, Anne Donne, Vn-done*," throughout the rest of the century attests to Donne's continued association with scandal.[41] Judging from the titles attached to poems by or wrongly attributed to Donne between 1620 and 1645, Donne was remembered primarily as the Dean of St. Paul's who had flouted society's strictures and gotten away with doing so, even though he suffered for his action.[42]

John Shawcross notes that the true subjects of the poems, especially in the *Songs and Sonets* and the elegies are sometimes lost in the implications of the titles, which often purport to be biographical.[43] For example, the majority of titles given to the elegy beginning "By our first strange and fatall interview" implicate Anne as the woman who would disguise herself as a page. A sampling includes:

> "His wife would have gone as his Page"[44]
> "A Depracatory To his wife who, would have accompanied him in the disguise of a page, when he went to travaile" Dr Donn[45]
> "Dr Donne his wife would have gone as his Page"[46]

When interpreted biographically, the most common placement for the poem in Donne's life is where Walton placed it--before Donne's 1611 trip to the Continent with the Drurys. In 1611, Anne Donne was about twenty-seven and the mother of seven children, pregnant with their eighth.[47] If the commonplace

book writers had any eye on chronology when copying these poems, they would have realized the absurdity of the connection.[48] These titles imply either that Donne's contemporaries believed that even as a matron with children Anne More's love for her husband was so strong that she would consider disguising herself as a boy and leaving her children to accompany him or (and this is much more likely) that the facts of John and Anne's lives did not matter so much as a lingering scandal about the circumstances of their marriage.

Other biographical titles attached to Donne's real or specious poems include: "Dr. Dun to his Wife giving him the Lye,"[49] "Dr Dunne to his mistre" [sic] ("Come, madame, come"),[50] "Dr. Dunne on his Departure from his Love" ("Sweetest love"),[51] "Dr Dunns goodnight to the world" (falsely attributed),[52] "Dr dunne of his mrs rising" ("Ly stil my deare"), [53] and many others. Shawcross notes that

> One might remark that in the miscellanies just about every poem in which a woman goes to bed or is being cajoled to go to bed with the poetic narrator is entitled something like "Dr. Donne to his mistress to come to bed."[54]

Still, the titles clearly indicate that during the mid-seventeenth century John Donne's poems were at least titled, and probably read, with the sensationalism of his marriage as a factor.

Two other intriguing bits of evidence (and, perhaps, others yet unnoticed like these) show that Donne's contemporaries and near contemporaries were very interested in the fact of Donne's marriage and assumed that Donne's love poetry reflected his personal circumstances. Two marginal comments, both in seventeenth-century hands, alongside two of Donne's love poems, in separate volumes, confirm how Donne's contemporaries read his poems and his life. The first occurs in the well-known Huntington Library manuscript copy of Donne's *Poems and Paradoxes and Problems*.[55] This manuscript differs from others in this essay in that it was compiled by one of Donne's friends who knew *him*, not just his reputation. However, it substantiates the connection Donne's contemporaries saw between his life, especially his marriage, and his poetry. Next to the line "To *enter in theise bonds, is to be free" from the elegy "Going to Bed" is written "*why may not a man write his owne Epithalamion if he can doe it so modestly." Even though the poem itself gives no indication that the two involved are married or even betrothed, the commentator assumes not only a marriage between the two but also that John Donne himself is the speaker and the groom. The paradox of being in

bonds and therefore free is characteristic of Donne, and, as the commentator knew, Donne entered not only the bonds of marriage when he and Anne wed but also the bonds of poverty for the next decade of his life. The sexual explicitness of the poem may belie the commentator's adverb "so modestly," but for a man whose life resulted (even if he had not planned it this way) in losing the world as he had supposed it would be for love, perhaps the poem, as the marginal commentator perceives it, is a modest reflection of the joys of his marriage.

An even more direct and explicit marginal comment bears out the assumption that Donne's poems were read by those who knew him only by reputation as documents of his life. This bit of marginalia appears in a mid-1620s commonplace book at the Folger Shakespeare Library.[56] In the right margin next to the heading "Dr Donne 'On his Picture which hee left with his mris when hee went to travaile'" ("Elegie His Picture") is written, as identification of "his mris," "S[r] George Moores daughter." In the mid 1620s, John Donne and Sir George More were known in different contexts than they were when Donne's marriage first took place. Although their familial connections were no longer rancorous,[57] this commonplace book writer is still intrigued to bring them together in this way. Here was someone who clearly saw a relationship between Donne's life and his poetry; a large majority of the poems in this volume are attributed to Donne, and a good majority of them reflect this writer's belief in the biographical nature of Donne's poetry.

Absolute conclusions about Donne's reputation in the seventeenth century would be imprudent. However, the evidence from commonplace books, manuscript miscellanies, and marginalia seems to show that much of Donne's fame and notoriety was not due to his poetry *per se* but rather to his marriage and his ministry. While some, especially those who were Donne's friends (reading Donne's versions of his poems) admired the wit, the varying metrical and rhyme patterns, and the conceits, many more were intrigued by the proximity of the illegally married love poet, to whom graphically sexual poetry was attributed, and the saintly Dean of St. Paul's who preached about sins of the flesh. To the minds of many of those writing commonplace books or miscellanies, the division that Walton had been promulgating since 1635 about Donne's life had no basis in fact. It seems clear that additional work of this kind would clarify and enrich our understanding of how Donne's contemporaries and near contemporaries regarded him and his poetry.

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Notes

[1] Alan MacColl comments: "it would appear that Donne's verse enjoyed its highest popularity in the second quarter of the century and that it was not very widely known before this. The peak seems to have come in the ten years or so following the publication of the first edition" ("The Circulation of Donne's Poems in Manuscript," *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. A. J. Smith [London: Methuen & Co., 1975], 40).

[2] "Who Was Reading/Writing Donne Verse in the Seventeenth-Century?" *John Donne Journal* 8 (1989), 2.

[3] *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* (London: Mansell 1980), 3, p. 245.

[4] *English Poetry 1500-1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (New York: Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, 1969), 1, p. ix.

[5] "Donne's 'Strange fire' and the 'Elegies on the Authors Death,'" *John Donne Journal* 7 (1988), 197.

[6] Fallon, p. 197.

[7] "Diamond's Dust: Carew, King, and the Legacy of Donne," *The Eagle and the Dove: Reassessing John Donne*, eds. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), p. 191.

[8] Parker, p. 191.

[9] "Donne's Poetry in the Nineteenth Century (1800-72)," *Essential Articles*, ed. John R. Roberts (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1975), p. 29.

[10] "Poetry, Personal and Impersonal: The Case of Donne," *The Eagle and the Dove*, p. 54. Donne himself encouraged the perception of a division in his life, from Jack to Dr. Donne, in a 1619 letter to Robert Ker, accompanying his *Biathanatos*:

> But besides the poems, of which you took a promise, I send you another book to which there belongs this history. It was written by me many years since, and because it is upon a misinterpretable subject, I have always gone so near suppressing it, as that it is only not burnt; no hand hath passed upon it to copy it, nor many eyes to read it; only to some particular friends in both universities, then when I writ it, I did communicate it. And I remember I had this answer, that certainly there was a false thread in it, but not easily found. Keep it, I pray, with the same jealousy; let any that your discretion admits to the sight of it know the date of it, and that it is a book written by Jack Donne, and not by Dr. Donne. (Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1959), 2, p. 124.

[11] When these manuscripts are cited, they will be designated as either FSL or HL, followed by catalogue number, date, and page if available.

[12] *John Donne: The Critical Heritage* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 4, 12.

[13] Smith, pp. 6-8.

[14] Fallon, pp. 208-09.

[15] David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's Lives* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1958), pp. 32-33; Sidney Gottlieb, "*Elegies Upon the Author*: Defining, Defending, and Surviving Donne," *John Donne Journal* 2 (2), 29-30.

[16] Fallon, p. 201.

[17] *John Donne: The Divine Poems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. lxxxii.

[18] Wesley Milgate comments: "The editor of 1633 suppressed words in ll. 32 and 33, and the entire lines 69-70, 74-75, representing them by dashes. All the manuscripts agree among themsleves and with *1635* in these places . . . ." (*John Donne: The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967], p. 127). The lines omitted from Satyre 4 (134-6) in the 1633 edition were printed in the 1635 edition and are present in all manuscripts (Milgate, p. 148).

[19] FSL, *STC* 7045.2, 1633.

[20] By deleting "*Dildoes*," the editor rids the text not only of a potentially offensive word but also of the bawdy meaning of "out-doe," that is, out-copulate. See Wesley Milgate, *John Donne: The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 132.

[21] Unless otherwise stated, all references to Donne's poetry are from John T. Shawcross, *The Complete Poetry of John Donne* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967).

[22] Anon, *Commonplace Book*, FSL, V.a. 103, 1620-25, Pt. 1.

[23] Richard Archard, *Commonplace Book*, FSL, V.a. 124, 1650-57.

[24] Anon., *Commonplace Book*, FSL, V. a. 452, 1630.

[25] Anon., *Poetical Commonplace Book*, FSL, V. a. 322, 1650.

[26] Anon., V.a. 103, 1620-25.

[27] V.a. 103, p. 32r.

[28] V.a. 97, 1640.

[29] HL, HM116, c. 1650, p. 12.

[30] FSL, V. a. 281, 1640, 24v-25r.

[31] This particular poem was printed in *Poems of Pembroke and Ruddier*, 1660, p. 76.

[32] V.a. 281, pp. 4r and 17r, respectively.

[33] Who D. C. is remains unclear, but someone in the seventeenth century was certain enough that the poem was Donne's that he wrote in the upper left corner "Dr Dunn."

[34] See, for example, Robert C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 296; and John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1981), p. 70.

[35] Gosse, II. 68.

[36] Gardner, pp. lxiv-lxv.

[37] See Bald, pp. 293-94.

[38] Donne may have actually used this term earlier than 1614 in what are now called his four valedictions ("forbidding mourning," "of weeping," "my name, in the window," "of the book"), but as John Shawcross indicates the titles in the *Songs and Sonets* may not be Donne's own ("But Is It Donne's? The Problem of Titles on His Poems," *John Donne Journal* 7 [1988], 144, 148).

[39] Gosse, I. 115.

[40] See Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage: In England 1500-1800.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 182-87.

[41] The following are the best-known versions:

> Donne is undonne; he was lately secretary to the Lord Keeper, and cast of because he would match him selfe to a gentlewoman against his Lords pleasure (John Manningham, Diary, December 1602, p. 99)

> Upon a Discourse of the singular parts, which Doctor *John Donne* dean of *Pauls*, was indowed withall, he took occasion to speak of his marriage, who marrying into a rich and honourable Family, being much above his Degree, and against his wives fathers consent, insomuch that the father would give her no Portion, which the Doctor then perceiving, took his Pen and writ *John Donne, Anne Donne*, undone, which wrought good effects on the old man. (Apophthegms of K. Charls, 1658, p. 26)

> In the time of Master *Donnes* melancholly Imprisonment, how true I know not, onely I have heard it often discoursed that he writ on the window with the point of his Diamond, reflecting on the then present affliction of his Marriage, these words, *John Donne*, done and undone. (Winstanley, "The Life of Doctour Donne Dean of Pauls," 1660, p. 301)

Ernest Sullivan has shown that Donne probably was the author of the "John Donne, Anne Donne, Undone" pun and wrote it with a different intent from that implied above. He cites the version in Archibald Armstrong's *A Choice Banquet* (printed 1660):

> *On Doctor* Donne.
> DOctor *Donne* after he was married to a Maid, whose name was *Anne*, in a frolick (on his Wedding day) chalkt this on the back-side of his Kitchin-door, *John Donne, Anne Donne, Un-done.* (Sullivan, 1989, p. 103)

[42] According to Carey, King James refused Donne's suit for the ambassadorship of Venice in 1614 because, "though he admired Donne's talents, [King James] maintained adamantly that he had shown himself, by his rash marriage, unfit for

confidential employment" (87).

[43] "But Is It Donne's?" pp. 144-47.

[44] HL, EL6893, 1620, p. 60.

[45] FSL, V. a. 103, 1620-25, pp. 37r-37v.

[46] FSL, V. a. 262, 1637, pp. 15-17.

[47] Even if, viewed biographically, Donne's poem was written before his possible travels in France and Italy sometime between 1605 and 1609, Anne was the mother of Constance and John and pregnant with George (Bald, p. 148).

[48] This biographical reading of the poem did, however, continue into the early years of the twentieth century.

[49] See, for example, HL, HM116 (c. 1650), p. 26; *Harmony of the Muses*, 1654; FSL, V. a. 170.

[50] FSL, V. a. 97, 1640, pp. 68v-69r. Many variations of this title exist, for example, "Dr Donne: to his Mrs" (FSL, V. a. 170, p. 89). See also Shawcross, "But Is It Donne's?" p. 145.

[51] FSL, V. a. 452, 1630, pp. 131-32.

[52] HM116, p. 78. See Sir Herbert J. C. Grierson, *The Poems of John Donne*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912), 1, p. 465.

[53] FSL, V. a. 452, 1630, p. 237.

[54] "But Is It Donne's?" p. 145.

[55] EL6893, 1620, pp. 106v-107r.

[56] V. a. 103, pp. 37r-v.

[57] According to Bald, the relationship between Donne and More was satisfactory enough that Donne in 1629 lent his father-in-law money (p. 514).