## Donne Manuscripts: Dalhousie II

## Ernest W. Sullivan, II

In 1977, Peter Beal discovered the "First and Second Dalhousie Manuscripts of Poems by John Donne and Others" in the depository of the Dalhousie family at the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh. Scottish Record Office volume "GD 45 INVENTORY OF DALHOUSIE MUNIMENTS Vol III. SECTIONS 17-26 PAGES 648-962" entry 95 reads: "[Early 17 cent.] Paper-covered volumes (2), one having the signature of Andrew Ramsay, both containing poems mostly [?all] by John Donne. (One with a few notes in the handwriting of Patrick Maule of Panmure)" (p. 947). Beal lists and describes the Dalhousie I manuscript (Scottish Record Office number GD 45/26/95/1) as  $\Delta 11$  and the Dalhousie II manuscript (Scottish Record Office number GD 45/26/95/2) as  $\Delta 12$  and classifies them among the now eight Group II Donne manuscripts in his *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* (London and New York: Mansell, 1980), I, i, p. 251.

The two manuscripts next surfaced at the 21 July 1981 Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co. sale in London of "The Property of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Dalhousie K.T., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., M.C." of Brechin Castle, Scotland. The Dalhousie I manuscript (item 490), the larger of the two manuscripts (sixty-nine leaves, forty-three Donne poems), was purchased by a collector who wishes to remain anonymous; the Dalhousie II manuscript (item 491) did not fetch a sufficiently attractive bid and was withdrawn. At a second auction of the muniments of the Earl of Dalhousie at Sotheby's on 12 December 1982, Maggs of London purchased the Dalhousie II manuscript (item 49). Maggs sold the manuscript to Zeitlin and Ver Brugge, a Los Angeles dealer in antiquities, and Texas Tech University purchased the manuscript on 7 March 1983.

Evidently, the Dalhousie II manuscript underwent some changes between the time of its original cataloging at the Scottish Record Office and its purchase by Texas Tech University. The Scottish Record Office catalog mentions "Paper-covered volumes," an appropriate description for the Dalhousie I manuscript (indeed bound in seventeenth-century paper with the original[?] leather stitching); however, between the time that Beal saw the Dalhousie II at the Scottish Record Office and its 21 July 1981 auctioning at Sotheby's, its third leaf had been reversed (the earlier, penciled "3" in the same hand as the other modern foliation is still visible on the now verso side; a penciled "3" in a different hand appears on the now recto side), and all of its thirty-four leaves had been repaired, mounted on guards, and rebound with a dark blue, cloth cover. With all traces of the original binding lost and only the modern foliation, the order of the leaves in, and contents of, the original manuscript remain problematical.

Substantial evidence does suggest, however, that the current state of the manuscript closely approximates the original order of leaves and contents. Catchwords in the hand of the copyist on ff. 25<sup>V</sup> ("her"), 26<sup>V</sup> ("yett"), and 30<sup>V</sup> ("striue") absolutely establish the sequence of ff. 25-27 and 30-31. Donne's "Elegie: Loves Progress" which spans ff. 5-6; an unidentified poem (first line-"If kings did heretofore there loues indite") which spans ff. 7-8; Donne's "Elegie: The Bracelet" which spans ff. 25v-26; Francis Beaumont's "To the Countess of Rutland" which spans ff. 26-27; and Joshua Sylvester's "The fruites of a good Conscience" which spans ff. 30v-31 also absolutely establish the sequence of ff. 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, 25-26, 26-27, and 30-31. Furthermore, even though they overlap no leaves, poems headed "Elegia 3." (Donne's "Elegie: The Perfume"), ff. 15-15"; "Eligia. 4." (Donne's "Elegie: Change"), f. 16; "Eligia. 5." (Donne's "Elegie: Loves Warre"), f. 16<sup>v</sup>; and "Elegia: 6." (Donne's "Elegie: Going to Bed"), f. 17 sequentially occupy ff. 15-17, strongly suggesting that this unit of pages retains its original order. Finally, Donne's "A Storme" (ff. 18-18) and "A Calme" (f. 19) are in their proper and less obvious sequence. If now ff. 18 and 19 were in some other sequence when the foliator or binder encountered them, he would have had not only to make a connection between the topics of these two poems, but also to have read the first line of "A Calme" ("Our storme is past") to arrange the present order; thus, the foliator or binder very likely found ff. 18 and 19 in their present and traditional order as loose leaves.

Handwriting also groups the leaves into larger units that tend to verify the integrity of these unit sequences and the overall integrity of the current ordering, though handwriting does not establish any specific ordering within the handwriting units. The description of the Dalhousie II manuscript for the 12 December 1982 Sotheby's auction sale catalog locates the following handwriting units: ff. 1-4v, 5-21, 21v-22, 22v-32 (Scottish), 32v-34v. I differ slightly in identifying the hands: f. 1(A), 1v(B), 3-4v(C), 5-21(D), 21v-34(E), and 34v(F). These handwriting units support the integrity of the ff. 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, 15-17, 18-19 (all in hand "D") and 25-27 and 30-31 (hand "E") blocks.

Of course, the fact that the sheets lay so long unnoticed (and, therefore, presumably undisturbed) would also argue that the present sequence resembles the original, though final judgment of the ordering will have to wait until the textual editors of The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne have collated all manuscripts containing Donne poems, identified the source(s) of the Donne poems in the Dalhousie II manuscript, and compared the order of all poems in the Dalhousie II manuscript to the order of all poems in all related manuscripts.

From the paper, watermark occurrences, and inductions about the order of the leaves, one can tentatively work out the original binding order of the Dalhousie II manuscript and estimate the amount of missing material. Although no direct evidence identifies any particular folds in any particular sheet of the manuscript, the most complete remaining leaves measure 305 x 195 mm.; thus, the leaves were almost certainly originally in folio format, a suggestion supported by the presence of the watermark on almost exactly half of the leaves (sixteen of thirty-four). The watermark, a 67 x 23 mm. pot with features of watermarks 12783 (1564-69) and 12803 (1580-94) in C. M. Briquet, Les Filigranes Dictionnaire Historique Des Marques Du Papier, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1923), occurs on ff. 3, 5, 8, 12, 14-20, 22, 31-32, and 34. From the previously described evidence of catchwords, poems that span leaves, and poems in labelled or traditional sequences, one can know or feel reasonably certain that the following watermark pattern maintains that in the original manuscript: Yes, No (ff. 5-6); No, Yes (7-8); No (9-10); Yes (15-19); No (25-27); and No, Yes (30-31). Inducing that the sheets were folio and assuming that they would have been bound in quires, one can make a very good case for ff. 15-28 forming the inner seven sheets of an eight-sheet, folio quire with the leaves in their original order. The innermost

sheet would be ff. 21 (No)-22 (Yes); and expanding outward one would have 20 (Yes)-23 (No), 19 (Yes)-24 (No), 18 (Yes)-25 (No), 17 (Yes)-26 (No), 16 (Yes)-27 (No), and 15 (Yes)-28 (No). Given the almost certain correctness of the ff. 15-19 (all Yes) sequence (beginning with "Elegia 3.") and the certain correctness of the 25-27 (all No) sequence, the exactly matching sequences of watermark occurrences (ff. 15-20 Yes; 23-28 No), and the single hand throughout, one can feel very good about the completeness and correctness of the order of ff. 15-28. And, in fact, it appears that f. 29 (which would complete a unit of Donne poems begun on f. 28) belongs to the ff. 15-28 quire, giving an eight-sheet, folio quire, with only the first leaf, which would have contained poems headed "Elegia 1." and "Elegia 2.," now missing. The missing leaf would have had ample room for two more elegies-the copyist gets both "Eligia. 4." (36 lines) and "Eligia. 5." (46 lines) on f. 16thus, "Elegie: Jealousie" (34 lines), "Elegie: His Picture" (20 lines), "Elegie: The Comparison" (54 lines), "Elegie: 'Natures lay Ideot'" (30 lines), and "Elegie: On his Mistris" (56 lines) could have appeared in various combinations on the missing leaf. And, indeed, it seems plausible that the top leaf in the quire, which would receive the most wear, would be the missing leaf.

Looking at leaves 1-14 for another eight-sheet folio quire does not produce the same degree of certainty or completeness. Ff. 5-14 are in one hand, but the only certain foliation sequence units are 5-6, 7-8, and 9-10, and the order of these units remains uncertain. Isolating ff. 1-4, one finds ff. 1 and 1<sup>v</sup> in different hands and ff. 3 and 4 in hand "C" in either three attempts to copy an unidentified poem beginning "My deare and onelie loue tak heede" or copying three slightly different and partial versions of the poem. These first four leaves would form a two-sheet quire with the watermarks on ff. 3 and 4, and the contents not related to any other sequence or hand in the manuscript. Ff. 5-14 do contain the basis of a sevensheet quire, particularly if one accepts the present sequence of the 5-6, 7-8, and 9-10 folio units. The innermost sheet would be f. 10 (No) and a missing leaf (Yes); expanding outwards, one would have 9 (No) and a missing leaf (Yes), 8 (Yes)-11 (No), 7 (No)-12 (Yes), 6 (No)-missing leaf (Yes), 5 (Yes)-13 (No), a missing leaf (No)-14 (Yes), and the outer sheet required for another eight-sheet quire missing entirely. Again the outer sheet and the subsequent first leaf would seem the most likely to be lost; no clues to their contents exist.

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The final five leaves (ff. 29-34) may be the remainder of a three-sheet folio with the missing leaf lacking the watermark and located either immediately before or after the current f. 33. Certainly, the two- and three-sheet initial and final quires are sufficiently short and irregular to cause concern; however, the evidence of catchwords, poems overlapping leaves, poem headings, handwriting, and watermarks suggests that the current thirty-four leaves survive from a manuscript of at least forty-two leaves and that two of Donne's elegies have been lost.

So what remains? One of the most important manuscripts of Donne's poems to surface in this century, a manuscript that the early evidence suggests will be absolutely critical to the establishment of the texts of the Donne poems it contains.

The Dalhousie II manuscript contains a total of fifty-three different poems (four occur more than once: "My deare and onelie loue tak heede," three times; Jonathan Richards' "I die when as I doe not see," twice; "Onste and no more, so sayd my loue," twice; and "Carold for new yeeres day 1624," twice): twenty-nine authenticated Donne poems as well as poems by Francis Bacon, Francis Beaumont, William Herbert (3rd Earl of Pembroke), George Morley, Sir Walter Ralegh, Jonathan Richards, John Roe, and Joshua Sylvester (2) and fifteen as yet unidentified poems. The twentynine Donne poems include many of his most important and frequently taught poems: ten of the seventeen elegies ("Loves Progress," "The Bracelet," "The Perfume," "Change," "Loves Warre," "Going to Bed," "The Autumnall," "Oh, let mee not serve so," "The Expostulation," and "The Anagram"), fifteen of the fifty-seven Songs and Sonets ("The Curse," "The Message," "The Autumnall," "The Legacie," "The broken heart," "The good-morrow," "Breake of day," "The triple Foole," "Loves diet," "A Valediction forbidding mourning," "The Will," "Song. Goe, and catche a falling starre," "Loves Deitie," "The Flea," "Communitie," and "Womans constancy"), and four of the verse letters ("The Storme," "The Calme," "To Mr. Rowland Woodward: Like one who'in her third widdowhood" [not listed in Beal's *Index*], and "To Sr. *Henry Wootton*: Here's no more newes").

The Dalhousie II manuscript was almost certainly transcribed during Donne's lifetime: it contains two transcriptions of a song "Carold for new yeeres day 1624" (ff. 21<sup>v</sup>, 33), its first leaf is dated "the 28<sup>th</sup> of september the year of our Lord i622," and its final leaf bears "An Epitaph Vpon the Duke off Buckinghame" (George Villiers, d. 23 August 1628). Of course, the Buckingham

epitaph could have been transcribed many years afterwards from a 1628 original; however, no source for this epitaph exists in *British Poetry: First and Last Lines* (the index to manuscript poems in the British Library) or in Margaret Crum's *First-Line Index of English Poetry 1500-1800 in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library Oxford* (Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, 1969), suggesting that the Dalhousie II epitaph may be the original. Certainly the uniformity of the paper throughout the manuscript (and f. 34 does have the usual pot watermark) implies that no very great period transpired after the earliest dated leaf in the manuscript (28 September 1622) and the transcription of the latest item.

As the texts of the Donne poems in the Dalhousie II manuscript have not yet been collated against those of any significant number of other Donne manuscripts, it is too early to know the relationship of the Dalhousie II to other Donne manuscripts. In his *Index*, Peter Beal classifies the Dalhousie I and II manuscripts with the Group II Donne manuscripts (p. 251), a group of manuscripts thought to have some texts based on Donne holographs and known to have influenced the texts of some poems in the 1633 first collected edition of Donne's poems. Helen Gardner, in her edition which includes most of the Donne poems in the Dalhousie II manuscript, John Donne: The Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), assesses the textual significance of the Group II manuscripts: "Collation of these twenty-eight manuscripts . . . has convinced me that in the construction of a text only Group I  $[\Delta 1-\Delta 6]$  in Beal (supported in some poems by H 40), Group II  $[\Delta 7-\Delta 14]$  (supported in some poems by L[ansdowne] 74[0]), Group III [ $\Delta 15-\Delta 18$ ], and in the *Elegies*, W are of value" (p. lxxxi). Beal notes relationships among the Lansdowne 740 manuscript  $(\Delta 8)$  and Haslewood-Kingsborough manuscript  $(\Delta 26)$  and the Dalhousie I manuscript and finds the Dalhousie II manuscript "evidently transcribed from Dalhousie MS I ( $\Delta$ 11) (and the text of two of four other poems by Donne on ff. 9-11 corrected from that MS)" (Index, p. 251). Beal is undoubtedly correct about at least an indirect relationship between the Lansdowne 740 manuscript and the Dalhousie II manuscript; except for "Elegie: Loves Progress" (ff. 5-6), every Donne poem in the Dalhousie II appears in Lansdowne 740, and they share a marginal note associating "The Autumnall" with Magdalene Herbert. Perhaps even more interesting, the texts of the poems in Dalhousie II are astonishingly close to those in Donne's 1633 Poems; for example, there is not a single substantive difference between their texts of "Song. Goe, and

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catche a falling starre." The Dalhousie II manuscript, however, cannot lie directly behind the 1633 *Poems*: it contains some as yet apparently unique readings. For example, line 32 of "A Valediction forbidding mourning" in the Dalhousie II reads "And growes direct as it comes home" against 1633's "And growes erect, as that comes home."

From even my brief study to date, the Dalhousie II manuscript is clearly an exciting discovery, a manuscript of great significance for the texts of Donne's poems. I will know a great deal more about the importance of the Dalhousie II manuscript when I examine the Dalhousie I manuscript which Texas Tech University has just arranged to purchase.

A complete inventory of the contents of "The Second Dalhousie Manuscript of Poems by John Donne and Others" follows. For any unidentified poems, I give the manuscript heading (if any), first and last lines, and number of lines. Naturally, I would very much appreciate any assistance in identifying poems.

Fol.

- Note dating manuscript "the 28<sup>th</sup> of september the year of our Lord i622"
- 1v Signature of "Andrae Ramsey"
- 2 Blank
- 2<sup>v</sup> Blank
- Unidentified. "My deare and onelie loue tak heede, least fame a fault descry . . . My teares my greues shall grace thy graue. I cannot leave to loue." 20 lines.
- 3v Blank
- 4 Unidentified. "My deere and onlie loue tak heed . . . And nevir loue the more." 40 lines.
- 4v Unidentified. "My deere and onlie loue tak heed . . . I'le nevir [see the more]." 16 lines.
- 5-6 Heading: none [John Donne, "Elegie: Loves Progress"]
- 6<sup>v</sup> Blank
- 7-8 Unidentified. "If kings did heretofore there loues indite . . . let not deceive it, then so pray comend me." 116 lines.

8٧ Blank 9-10 Heading: none [John Donne, "Elegie: The Bracelet"] 10 Unidentified. "Vnto that sparklinge witt that spirritt of fire . . . as all the world will sweare it is your owne." 44 lines. 10<sup>v</sup> Blank Heading: "The Cursse," [John Donne, "The Curse"] 11 Heading: "Song" [John Donne, "The Message"] 11V Unidentified. No heading. Usual heading: "A Paradoxe 12-12V of a Painted Face." "Not kisse? by loue I must and make Impression . . . Were it but warme and soft and could not moue." 84 lines. Included in "APPENDIX C. A SELECTION OF POEMS WHICH FREQUENTLY ACCOMPANY POEMS BY JOHN DONNE IN MANU-SCRIPT COLLECTIONS OR HAVE BEEN ASCRIBED TO DONNE BY MODERN EDITORS," by H. J. C. Grierson, The Poems of John Donne (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1912), 1, 456-59. 13 Heading: none [loshua Sylvester, "To yonge gentlewomen at Court" Unidentified. "Lost lewells may be recourred, virginitie 13 never: / Thats lost but once, and once lost, lost for ever: /" 2 lines. 13 Unidentified. "Yst for a fauoure, or for some dislike . . . your gloues be pfumed: your lipps and Cheeks be painted." 6 lines. Heading: "A songe" [Jonathan Richards, "I die when as 13V I doe not see"l 13V Unidentified. "Onste and no more, so sayd my loue ... and soe againe shee kissed." 8 lines. 134 Unidentified. "ffor a louinge constant hart . . . scorninge setts my loue at naught." 16 lines. Unidentified. Heading: "A songe." "When my hart 14 seemes moste ingaged . . . I loue those that loues to change." 36 lines.

14V

Blank

15-15V	Heading: "Elegia 3." [John Donne, "Elegie: The Perfume"]
16	Heading: "Eligia. 4." [John Donne, "Elegie: Change"]
16 <sup>v</sup>	Heading: "Eligia. 5." [John Donne, "Elegie: Loves Warre"]
17	Heading: "Elegia: 6." [John Donne, "Elegie: Going to Bed"]
17 <sup>v</sup>	Heading: none [John Donne, "The Autumnall"]
18-18V	Heading: "A Storme" [John Donne, "The Storme"]
19	Heading: "A Calme" [ John Donne, "The Calme"]
19٧	Heading: none [John Donne, "To Mr. Rowland Woodward: Like one who'in her third widdowhood"]. Not listed in Beal's Index.
20	Heading: none [John Donne, "To Sr. Henry Wootton: Here's no more newes"]
20 <sup>v</sup>	Heading: none [John Roe, "Deere loue contynue nice and Chaste"]
21	Unidentified. "Wonder of Beautie Goddesse of my sence you keepe my bodie and my soule asunder." 14 lines. Included in Grierson's "APPENDIX C.," I, 447.
21	Unidentified. "ffaire Eies doe not thinke scorne to read of loue But pittie him that onely sighes and dies." 14 lines. Included in Grierson's "APPENDIX C.," I, 447.
21 <b>v</b>	Unidentified. Heading: "Carold for new yeeres day 1624." "Tymes have there seasons and doe comprehend And this in spight of tyme shall still endure." 24 lines.
22	Heading: none [Francis Bacon, "The worlds a buble, and the Lyfe of man"]
22 <sup>v</sup>	Heading: "Elegie" [John Donne, "The Legacie"]
23	Heading: "Elegie" [John Donne, "The broken heart"]
23 v	Heading: none [John Donne, "The good-morrow"]

Heading: none [John Donne, "Breake of day"]

23 v

24	Heading: none [John Donne, "The triple Foole"]
24-24V	Heading: "Loues Dyett" [John Donne, "Loves diet"]
24V-25	Heading: "Elegie" [John Donne, "A Valediction forbidding mourning"]
25-25 <sup>v</sup>	Heading: "Elegie" [John Donne, "Elegie: Oh, let mee not serve so"]
25v-26	Heading: "Loues Legacie" [John Donne, "The Will"]
26-27	Heading: "To the Countesse of Rutland" [Francis Beaumont, "To the Countess of Rutland"]
27-27 <sup>v</sup>	Heading: "Elegie" [John Donne, "Elegie: The Expostulation"]
28	Heading: "A song" [John Donne, "Song. Goe, and catche a falling starre"]
28v	Heading: "Loues dietie" [John Donne, "Loves Deitie"]
29	Heading: none [John Donne, "The Flea"]
29-29V	Heading: none [John Donne, "Communitie"]
29v	Heading: none [John Donne, "Womans constancy"]
30-30v	Heading: none [Sir Walter Ralegh, "The Lie"]
30 <sup>v</sup> -31	Heading: "The fruites of a good Conscience" [Joshua Sylvester, "The fruites of a good Conscience"]
31-31 <sup>v</sup>	Heading: none [John Donne, "Elegie: The Anagram"]
31v	Heading: none [Jonathan Richards, "I die when as I doe not sie"]
32	Unidentified. "Once and no more soe sayd my loue and so againe shee kissed." 8 lines.
32v	Heading: none [William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, "When my Carliles Chamber was on fire"]
32 <sup>v</sup>	Unidentified. "My dead and buried loue is resin againe off those my sight is now fruitione." 12 lines.
32 <sup>v</sup>	Unidentified. "Why doe yee giue mee leaue to sip But these haue all noe eares." 10 lines.

33	Unidentified. Heading: "Carold for newe yeares day. 1624." "Tymes haue there seasones and doe comprehend And this in spyght of tyme shall still endure." 24 lines.
33v	Blank
34	Heading: none [George Morley, "On the death of King James"]
34V	Unidentified. Heading: "An Epitaph vpon the Duke off Buckinghame." "Dearling off kings, Patrone off armes, Base Cowardise and Ignorance." 12 lines.

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