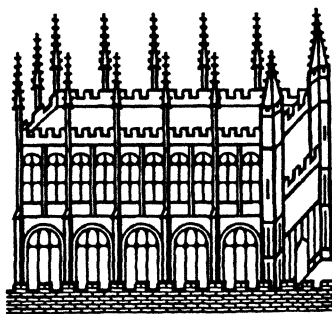


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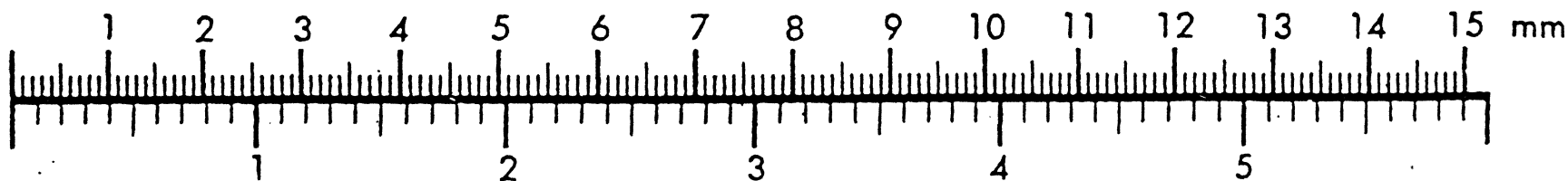
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THE POEMS
OF
WILLIAM HERBERT, THIRD EARL OF PEMBROKE

Edited by
Robert Krueger

2. i. 62

Thesis submitted for the Degree
of
Bachelor of Letters

Trinity Term 1961.^{MIT}

PREFACE

Writing in 1912, Sir Herbert Grierson, who had frequently encountered the poems of Pembroke while working on his edition of Donne, pointed out the need for a reliable edition of Pembroke's poetry:

A scholarly edition of the poems of Pembroke and Rudyard would be a boon. Many ascribed to them by the younger Donne in his edition of 1660 could be removed and others added from manuscript sources. 1

An attempt was made to fulfil this need in 1935 in a B.Litt. thesis prepared by Miss Margaret A. Beese.² At that time, however, the necessary manuscripts for such a study had not come to light, and Miss Beese was therefore able to attribute with certainty only three poems to Pembroke.³ Basing my study in part upon other sources, I have included twenty-four poems by him in the present edition.

The main problem of my study, as these statements

1. The Poems of John Donne, II, cxxxvi n.

2. 'A Critical Edition of the Poems printed by John Donne the Younger in 1660, as written by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Benjamin Ruddier'. Deposited in the Bodleian Library.

3. B.Litt. thesis, p.18.

imply, is to determine the canon of Pembroke's poems. The only printed edition of his poems, which appeared thirty years after his death, was notoriously unreliable: over one-fourth of its poems were by other, well-known seventeenth-century poets. It could not be ignored, however, and my approach to the canon has essentially been to attempt to ascertain where the attributions of the printed text might be accepted. This I have sought to do by determining the manuscript sources from which the edition derived.

After establishing the canon, the second aim of my study has been to provide, on the basis of the printed edition and manuscript sources, a text of Pembroke's poems which is as faithful as possible to what the author wrote.

Though the unreliability of the canon and text of his poems has until now made impossible any study of him as a poet, Pembroke has, as a person, attracted considerable attention from students of history and English literature alike. One of Clarendon's most memorable 'lives' is his eulogistic portrait of Pembroke; and Gardiner and other historians have given him prominent treatment. To literary students he is perhaps best known as one of the 'incomparable bretheren' to whom Shakespeare's First Folio was dedicated, and as the person most likely to have been the 'Mr. W.H.' of Shakespeare's sonnets. Quite recently, in 1949, he was

the subject of a doctoral thesis, 'The Life and Patronage of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke', in which Dick Taylor, Jr., sought to examine his considerable importance as a literary patron.¹ At present, John Briley is preparing to submit a biography of Pembroke for a doctoral thesis at Birmingham University. This work, which emphasizes Pembroke's personal and family background and his growth into the most powerful man of his time apart from Buckingham and the King, draws on a wealth of manuscript material not available to Dr. Taylor. Mr. Briley has generously allowed me to read his more than 1,000 pages of typescript, and I am convinced of the completeness of his research and the soundness of his conclusions. His study will surely be the authoritative biography of Pembroke for some time to come.

In view of such extensive research in progress on Pembroke, and the abundant information about him already available, his life requires no more than a sketch of a few pages here. Much of the information I include in my Introduction will already be familiar to some readers.

Though Pembroke was a great and powerful Jacobean court figure, he was only a minor poet. This does not mean

1. Harvard University (1949).

that his poems are not worth reading, since anyone living in the age of Shakespeare, Jonson, and Donne, as Pembroke did, would have found it difficult to establish himself as a major poet. Although the poems have sufficient intrinsic worth to be of some value to those interested in seventeenth-century poetry, their influence on English poetry has been negligible. Because his poems were few and uninfluential, and these neither unusual nor abstruse, they require no more than a very brief critical introduction.

For so small a thesis, my obligations are many. I am indebted to Miss Margaret A. Beese, who kindly allowed me to read her thesis on Pembroke. My task has been made easier because of the work which she has done. Without it, I should surely have overlooked a number of the sources which I used.

My enquiries to many owners of private libraries containing seventeenth-century papers have unfailingly been courteously answered. While in most cases none of Pembroke's poems were to be found, I am particularly grateful to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, who, through his librarian Mr. T. S. Wragg, allowed me to examine his manuscripts, to the Marquess of Bath, and to his librarian, Miss Dorothy Coates, who made it possible for me to see one of his manuscripts at the Bodleian, and to the Marquess of Salisbury, who

through his librarian, Miss Clare Talbot, allowed me to examine his poetical manuscripts and to give the text of a poem in Pembroke's holograph found among the Cecil Papers.

I am also indebted to Miss Jean Preston of the Henry E. Huntington Library, Mrs. Elaine Fowler of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Mr. Wm. H. McCarthy of the Rosenbach Foundation, and Mr. Herbert Cahoon of the J. Pierpont Morgan Library for checking their first-line indices and providing me with photographic facsimiles of various manuscripts. Similarly, Prof. Arthur Mizener of Cornell University checked his first-line index of poems in early printed miscellanies for me.

Staff members of many university libraries have been helpful, but I am most indebted to those of the Bodleian, particularly Miss Margaret Crum, who has graciously applied her considerable experience with seventeenth-century manuscripts to my frequent enquiries.

To John Barnard and Martin Dodsworth who gave helpful advice about punctuating Pembroke's poems, and to Ruth Pitman, Roger Baty, and Mrs. Helen Heath who have helped me in proof-reading, I am also very grateful.

Among my largest debts are those to members of the English Faculty under whom I have been privileged to study in Oxford: Prof. Herbert Davis, who has helped me with

bibliographical problems, Miss Alice Walker, who advised me on modernisation and punctuation, Mr. John Buxton, who first suggested the possibility of editing Pembroke's poems, and who has supervised most of my work on them, and to Miss Helen Gardner, who has assisted me and supervised my work in its final stages.

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SYMBOLS FOR PRINTED BOOKS.

<u>1635</u>	John Donne, <u>Poems</u> (1635)
<u>1660</u>	Pembroke and Rudyerd, <u>Poems</u> (1660)
<u>A&D</u>	Henry Lawes, <u>Ayres and Dialogues</u> (1653)
<u>2A&D</u>	Henry Lawes, <u>Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</u> (1655)
<u>3A&D</u>	Henry Lawes, <u>Third Book of Ayres and Dialogues</u> (1658)
<u>AC</u>	[John Gough] <u>Academy of Complements</u> (1646)
<u>AC 64</u>	[John Gough] <u>Academy of Complements</u> (1664)
<u>AP</u>	<u>Academy of Pleasure</u> (1656)
<u>Dow</u>	John Dowland, <u>Third Book of Ayres</u> (1603)
<u>MC</u>	<u>Marrow of Complements</u> (1655)
<u>Nor 45</u>	Dudley, Lord North, <u>Forest of Varieties</u> (1645)
<u>Nor 59</u>	" " " , <u>Forest Promiscuous</u> (1659)
<u>PA</u>	<u>Le Prince d'Amour</u> (1660)
<u>PR</u>	Francis Davison, <u>Poetical Rhapsody</u> (1602)
<u>PS</u>	John Dowland, <u>A Pilgrims Solace</u> (1612)
<u>RW</u>	<u>Reliquiae Wottonianae</u> (1651)
<u>Sim</u>	John Simeon, <u>Unpublished Poems of Donne</u> (1856)
<u>Sel 52</u>	John Playford, <u>Select Ayres and Dialogues</u> (1652)
<u>Sel 59</u>	" " " " " " (1659)
<u>Sel 69</u>	" " " " " " (1669)
<u>TM</u>	John Playford, <u>Treasury of Musick</u> (1669)
<u>WC</u>	William Corkine, <u>Second Book of Ayres</u> (1612)
<u>WI</u>	John Cotgrave, <u>Wits Interpreter</u> (1655)
<u>WRA</u>	<u>Wits Recreations Augmented</u> (1641)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Biographical Sketch.

William Herbert was born at Wilton House on 8 May 1580, the first child of the recent marriage of Mary Sidney, and Henry Herbert, the second Earl of Pembroke. With Queen Elizabeth as his godmother and his uncles Leicester and Warwick as godfathers, he had a most auspicious entry into the world. We hear little of him during his early years, though as heir to the West Country's most powerful lord his life at Wilton could not have been difficult. Though it was geographically isolated from the centre of court life, Wilton must have provided an extraordinarily stimulating environment.

His mother came from a family noted for literary talent and patronage. She assisted her brother, Sir Philip Sidney, in translating the Psalms, and it was at her request that he wrote The Arcadia. She herself was the patroness of a group of dramatists including Samuel Daniel which met at Wilton and fostered drama of a rigid classical order.¹ It was of this

1. See Dick Taylor, Jr., 'The Masque and the Lance: the Earl of Pembroke in Jacobean Court Entertainments', Tulane Studies in English, VIII (1958), 21.

Countess of Pembroke that John Aubrey wrote,

In her time Wilton house was like a College, there were so many learned and ingeniose persons. She was the greatest patronesse of witt and learning of any lady in her time. . . . 1

Walter Sweeper, in dedicating a book to Pembroke in 1623 made a similar statement:

And your famous Wilton House, like a little university, was a more exeellent nursery for learning and piety than ever it was in former times. . . . [Wilton had formerly been a nunnery.] Wilton House had in it that godly learned physician and skillful mathematician, Mr. Doctor Moffett . . . great Hugh Sanford, learned in all arts, sciences, knowledge, human and divine . . . to pass over Gerard, the herbalist, Mr. Massinger [father to the dramatist] and other gentleman scholars. 2

The Countess's interests were far more literary than those of her husband, but it should not be overlooked that he patronized Pembroke's Men, a group of players including William Shakespeare, who probably performed at Wilton after 1592. Perhaps it was in these years that his son's interest in the theatre developed. Many years later, on the night of 20 May 1619, he was to mention in a letter to a friend:

. . . My Lord of Lennox made a great supper to the French Ambassador this night here [Whitehall]

1. Brief Lives, ed. A. Clark, I (1898), 311.

2. A Briefe Treatise Declaring the True Christian Noble-man a. the Base Worldling (1623).

and even now all the company are at the play, which I, being tender hearted, could not endure to see so soon after the loss of my old acquaintance Burbage.¹

After being reared at the 'little university' of Wilton, at the age of nineteen he was initiated into life at court. His success there as a young courtier, however, was not as great as had been hoped by his family and friends; according to most reports, he did not pursue the business of paying compliments to the Queen with sufficient ardour. Some said that he suffered from that widespread Elizabethan disorder, melancholia. His unspectacular efforts were a particular cause for concern because his father was ill, and since young Lord Herbert (as he was called) had not reached the age of twenty-one, his position would have been precarious indeed if his father had died and he had become the ward of a member of a court faction opposed to that of his family.

Matters then became far worse when, after the death of his father, Pembroke was forced to confess early in 1601 that he was the father of a child by Lady Mary Fitton, a Maid of Honour to the Queen. He refused to marry her, however, and for this was banished from the court, not to return until

1. Quoted in C. C. Stopes, Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage, (1913), p.117.

the arrival of a new monarch.

The years that followed Jame's coronation were marked by continual court revels in which he took part. Masquing, tilting, hunting, and play-going were the routine of his life. Though he had not the temperament to become a favourite of the King, as his brother Philip did, he was certainly in royal favour.

Early in James's reign, after several years of unsuccessful negotiations with different families, Pembroke finally married in 1604. His interest in his marriage with Lady Mary Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, seems to have been entirely materialistic. Clarendon said that in marrying her, Pembroke had 'paid much too dear for his wife's fortune, by taking her person into the bargain'.¹ Despite the wealth and position of the Talbots and the Herberts, there are no contemporary accounts of the wedding; it was seemingly a small and unimportant affair. His wife, unsuited to court life, apparently lived most of her days at Wilton, which was never again to be referred to as 'a little university'. Pembroke, however, seldom journeyed from the court at which he thrived.

1. History of the Rebellion, I (1849), 81, par.123.

His relationship with his wife, then, makes it most unlikely that his love poems were addressed to her. There is some indication, however, that they were not written simply because they were expected of him as a courtier, but were used - successfully - to win other mistresses. In 'Why with unkindest swiftness', one of the few poems that seems likely to be biographical, Pembroke complains to his mistress that, despite her vows of constancy to him she has given herself to another during his brief absence. Even more provoking than her unfaithfulness is her inability to conceal it, which causes Pembroke to protest, 'My rhymes that won thee never taught thee this'. Lady Mary Fitton was not the only mistress won by Pembroke's rhymes; Pembroke had two illegitimate children by his cousin, Lady Mary Wroth.¹ There is little doubt that Pembroke was, to use a seventeenth-century term, a 'wencher'.

In an age, however, when illegitimate children were almost expected of courtiers, it would be wrong to stress too strongly his weakness for women. From the time that he was appointed Lord Chamberlain in 1613 until just before his

1. This information is contained in two manuscripts, first noticed by Miss Beese, in the Cardiff Public Library, MSS. 5.7; and 3.10. They are the work of an acquaintance and relative of Pembroke's, Sir Thomas Herbert.

death, Pembroke was one of the most dedicated statesmen and admirable courtiers of his age. He was the only nobleman who had the position, courage, and popular backing to oppose consistently the policies of Buckingham and James and still survive. In his ardent Protestantism, his attempts to avoid both a Spanish marriage and a Spanish war, his work to conciliate Parliament and King, and his reputation for honesty and fairness in a court characterized by sycophancy and deceit, he has left behind an admirable record of service that has been unfairly tainted by the attention given to his affair with Lady Mary Fitton. If Pembroke has not been known, it is due less to his considerable achievements than to his own personality, which was given more to conciliation and quiet virtues than to original and daring achievements. His influence and national importance was vastly greater than that of his famous uncle, Sir Philip Sidney, and went far beyond that ever reached by courtiers and statesmen like Bacon, Wotton, Dyer, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, or even Raleigh. Mr. Briley, his present biographer, points out that his image has been most probably obscured because, unlike these men, he left behind very few records of his thought and feelings, either in prose or verse. It is hoped that the present edition may help to remedy this lack.

Sir Benjamin Rudyerd.

Several of Pembroke's poems were written as part of a group of poems answered in verse by Sir Benjamin Rudyerd¹ (1572-1658). Rudyerd, though trained as a lawyer, was an acquaintance of the poets, Jonson, Raleigh, John Hoskyns, and John Owen. He received his position as Surveyor of the Court of Wards in 1618 through Pembroke's intervention, and in the years that followed was closely allied with Pembroke in Parliamentary affairs. Pembroke used his influence to place Rudyerd in the House of Commons, and he became the leader of the anti-Spanish group there, as Pembroke was in the Lords. Aside from the poems written in reply to Pembroke, the only other verse by him which I have discovered is his epitaph, quoted by Elias Ashmole in Antiquities of Berkshire, II (1719), 252.

The Dates of Pembroke's Poems.

The dates at which Pembroke wrote his poems cannot be authoritatively established. John Dowland included 'Disdain me still' in Pilgrims Solace in 1612, but this is the only poem by Pembroke to have appeared in print before 1660. None

1. Also spelled Rudyard, Ruddier, and Ruger in contemporary documents.

of the manuscripts in which his poems have survived can be definitely dated, but, judging by the handwriting and the poems by other authors which they include, the group of manuscripts containing the series of answering poems between Pembroke and Rudyerd seem earlier than manuscripts preserving Pembroke's other work. Certainly the poems written with Rudyerd are among the least accomplished of Pembroke's work.

Rudyerd was called to the Bar in 1600 after having been a member of the Middle Temple since 1590. In 1602 Pembroke, who was then banished from the court, entered Gray's Inn, probably to share in the conversation of the young wits who gathered at the Inns of Court. The only datable records we have of their acquaintance come from later years when they already knew one another well, but I think it likely that they first met at the Inns of Court, and wrote their group of answering poems at that time. It is difficult to believe that the verses debating the proper attitude of a lover towards his mistress, and those concerning the supremacy of Love or Reason could date from their mature years when they were working together in Parliament on matters of extreme national importance.

The other poems by Pembroke have survived mainly in manuscripts which apparently date from the 1620's. In general, these poems are superior to those written with

Rudyard, but Pembroke's talent was always uneven, and it would be a mistake to suggest that even those which are better must necessarily have been written after those composed with Rudyard. The evidence at hand is insufficient for even this generalization.

From what we know of Pembroke's life, he seems likely to have written most of his poems in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Most of these years he spent as a young courtier accompanying a new monarch in a relatively carefree court. He held no important positions, and had no important responsibilities. Once he assumed the Lord Chamberlainship in December, 1613, however, his life was considerably altered. After this time matters of state became his predominant concern, and he would be less likely, I think, to have given much attention to writing verse.

The Poems.

Pembroke's poetry is an ornament to his greatness, not the cause of it. His verses were surely spare-time effusions designed for either his own enjoyment and that of his friends, or perhaps to win the affection of a lady; but it would never have occurred to Pembroke that anyone would be interested in his poems three and a half centuries after they were written. The poems which we have received appear to have been passed

from hand to hand in court, and may suffer from considerable textual corruption. Only part of their uneven texture can be so explained, however; much of it must derive from Pembroke's own inattention to detail when he wrote them. The poems are as a whole unequal in achievement, ranging from the lyric 'Dear leave thy home', which paints easily and smoothly a picture of blissful lovers in an idyllic setting, to the Epitaph on the Earl of Salisbury, which laments the great man's passing in lame and halting verse.

Nor is the disparity of achievement found only among various poems; rather, his skill too often varied from line to line. 'Soul's joy', which until this century was thought good enough to be by Donne, offers an example. Here Pembroke ends the admirable, smooth-flowing first stanza, which is based on the Platonic conceit of the union of two lovers' souls, with a weak six-foot line requiring a double caesura: 'Our bodies, not we, move'. His unequal accomplishment and the small number of his poems which we have make it difficult to generalize about his verse, but some conclusions can be drawn.

Six of the eight early poems between Pembroke and Rudyard form a series which amounts to a debate in verse on the subject of whether Reason or Love should be sovereign in a lover. The poems are, in themselves, a minor accomplish-

ment; but in planning a series of answering poems written on a single subject Pembroke and Rudyard deserve credit for having shown considerable originality, however little influence on later writers their work may have had. Similarly, in their adoption of the heroic couplet for these poems, they showed both their willingness to work in a verse form which was unpopular at that time, and an awareness of the couplet's suitability to argumentative verse.

High praise for Pembroke's use of the couplet has been made by a recent writer:

For having been written before Dryden was even born, the poems in couplets are remarkable. Their demand for full yet concise statement gets satisfied in Pembroke's hand as limpidly as any thirty or forty years later. 1

I find this praise exaggerated, because the twisted syntax and inversions which Pembroke sometimes uses to meet a rhyme make many lines anything but balanced and lucid. In 'Shall love that gave Latona's heir', for example, he writes,

A flaming straw which one spark kindles bright
And first hard breath out of it self doth fright

. . .
'Tis so, and this a lackey term you may,
For it runs oft and makes but shortest stay.

1. Gaby E. Onderwyzer, Poems...by...William Earl of Pembroke, Augustan Reprint Society, Publication No.79 (Los Angeles, 1959), p.viii.

Their interest derives less, I think, from their intrinsic merit than from the fact that they are fairly unusual examples at this time of heroic couplets with end-stopped lines. A more serious fault, perhaps, than Pembroke's twisted syntax is his inability to shape the progression of his argument. Too often he simply restates the same point rather than develops it; indeed, many lines could probably be shifted from one point to another within the same poem.

Criticism of the structure and syntax might also be made of Pembroke's other couplet poems, and, to a certain extent, of his lyrics in other verse forms. His best poems are usually his shorter ones; the longer poems tend to lose shape. The first stanza of 'Can you suspect a change in me', for example, opens with Pembroke's assertion that, though his mistress has accused him of inconstancy, her doubting him reflects her own inability to remain true. He demonstrates this by a striking conceit in which Love hesitates to engrave Pembroke's image in his mistress's heart,

. . . fearing that dainty flesh would smart,
And so his painful sculpture would resist.

The stanzas which follow are, individually, often well done, but they do not fit together to give the poem an overall shape. With this poem, as with others, the reader may realize

that it has ended only when he comes to the title of the poem that follows.

As with the structure of Pembroke's poems, so with the imagery which they employ, one can easily find fault. Images like the flesh of his mistress' heart, which would smart if it were engraved, are all too rare. One occasionally finds striking images, as in 'Friendship on earth', where Pembroke describes false friends who

. . . make a glorious show a little space
But tarnish in the rain like copper-lace;
Or, nealed in affliction but one day,
They smoke and stink and vapour quite away.

More often, however, the poems are distinctly lacking in colour, and several of his poems can be read without finding a single image of strong visual appeal.

Because Pembroke's poems are inclined to be weak in structure and imagery, they are often best when based on an accepted convention which provides a pattern for the poem. Thus, 'Dear, leave thy home' is but one of many poems inspired by Marlowe's 'Passionate Shepherd', but it is a lovely lyric, simple in sentiment and smooth in execution. He uses the standard imagery of the pastoral, but uses it in an interesting manner. Pembroke was perhaps most successful in his poems built upon the Platonic motif of the insepara-

bility of the souls of lovers. In these the basic idea is provided: the poem will centre upon the separation and union of two souls, and the poet need only elaborate and portray the themes which this basic idea implies. 'Soul's joy' and 'If that you must needs go' are each formed on this pattern, and since the pattern to some extent controls the shape of the poem, Pembroke's difficulty with poetic structure is partly avoided. Similarly, he sometimes provides interesting poems based on variations of this Platonic idea, as in 'When mine eyes', where his eyes, having stolen the picture of his mistress and brought it to his heart, content themselves in viewing it there.

To expect more than a sometimes skillful treatment within widespread poetic conventions, or modest originality in handling unperfected forms, is to be disappointed in Pembroke's poems. They can stand on their own merits, but only as minor verse. They are best appreciated, I think, if taken as one expression of the varied talents of a great Jacobean statesman who wrote verse at a time when even amateur and minor talent was by present standards astonishingly high, and when writing poetry was taken as a part of everyday life.

INTRODUCTION TO
THE CANON AND TEXT OF
PEMBROKE'S POEMS

Thirty years after the death of William Herbert,
third Earl of Pembroke, his poems were first published in
1660:

POEMS, | Written by the | RIGHT HONORABLE | WILLIAM |
EARL OF | PEMBROKE | Lord Steward of his Majesties
Houshold | WHEREOF | Many of which are answered by way
of Repartee, | BY S^r BENJAMIN RUDDIER, | KNIGHT. | With
several Distinct | POEMS, | Written by them Occasionally,
and Apart. || LONDON, Printed by Matthew Inman, and
are to be sold by | James Magnes, in Russel-street,
near the Piazza, | in Covent-Garden, 1660.

HT] EARLE OF PEMBROKE Lord Steward:

Collation: 8^o, A4 (†A4), f1, B8 - H8, I4

[misprints H3 as H2], 65 leaves paged (B1) 1 - 118.

A1 blank, Title A2 (A2^v blank). [Woodcut]

Dedication "To the Right Honorable Christiana,
Countess of Devonshire, Dowager", A3 - A4 (A4^v
blank). X1 "To the Reader". B1 - I3 Poems, I4
blank and missing.

Note: A4 cancellandum preserved in Bodleian
Malone 460, reading "light" in last line but one,
and "John Donn" beneath dedication. Cancellans
reads "life" and "John Donne". Page numeral on
p.66 inverted, reading "96". Catchwords: A4 EARL,
B8 If, C8 The, D8 SON-, E8 But, F8 But, G8 For,
H8 A. Incorrect catchwords: F6 To [Of], G1^v To

[The], G8 A [Sonnet.] H1^v To [On] H2 A [SONG].

Copies examined: Bodleian Malone 460 (lacks X1 and II), Malone 461 (lacks X1, D1 - 8, II); British Museum G11446 and E1924; Yale (lacks X1); Folger, Pierpont Morgan, New York Public Library.

Aside from reprints of this volume, this is the only edition of Pembroke's poems to have appeared in print.¹

Edited by John Donne, son of the poet Dean of St. Paul's, the book was carelessly compiled and poorly printed, marred by inverted letters, varying sizes of type, and misreadings. More significantly, the book was plagued with incorrect attributions. It ascribed to Pembroke and Rudyerd such well-known poems as Carew's "Ask me no more", Henry King's "Why slights thou her whom I approve", and William Strode's "Keep on your Mask".² Of its more than eighty poems, only

1. Hereafter referred to as 1660. Reprinted in full by Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges (1817). Partial reprints in Memoirs of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, Knt., ed. James Alexander Manning (London, 1841), and Poems Written by the Right Honourable William Earl of Pembroke, ed. Gaby E. Onderwyzer, Augustan Reprint Society Publication Number 79 (Los Angeles, 1959).

2. To avoid ambiguity I usually refer to poems by their first lines.

twenty-four, I believe, properly belong to them. It is not surprising, then, that it has recently been referred to as "a carelessly edited anthology of seventeenth-century poems".¹ Its only sign of editorial supervision is indicated in sig. A4, a leaf apparently replaced because the cancellandum misspelled the editor's name "Donn".

More than most, this book bears the imprint of its editor. By profession a clergyman but by inclination a profiteer, Donne appears to have used editing solely for purposes of personal gain. The first record we have of him connected with editing is his petition on 16 December 1637 to Archbishop Laud. He sought to stop the unauthorized printing of his father's works, undoubtedly so that he could gain the profit from them himself. He claimed:

There hath bene manie scandalous Pamflets printed, and published, under his [father's] name, which were none of his, by severall Boocksellers, withoute anie leave or Autoritie; in particuler one entituled Juvenilia, printed for Henry Seale; another by John Marriott and William Sheares, entituled Ignatius his Conclave, as allsoe certaine Poems.... 2

In spite of his (false) claim that Juvenilia, Ignatius his Conclave, and the Poems were not his father's work, the

1. Charles B. Gullans, "Raleigh and Ayton: the Disputed Authorship of 'Wrong not sweete empress of my heart'", Studies in Bibliography, XIII (1960), 195.

2. Quoted in The Poems of John Donne, ed. Herbert J. C. Grierson, II (1912), lxvi-lxvii.

younger Donne later went on to publish each of them himself. In fact, though Ignatius his Conclave had by then already gone through several editions, when the younger Donne published it in 1653 he asserted that it was a translation from a Latin original found among his father's papers.¹ He was only slightly more truthful in 1650 when, in publishing his father's Poems, he claimed to add 'divers Copies under his [father's] own hand never before in Print'.² These consisted of a sheet and a half of additional poems, some spurious, appended to a reprint of the 1649 edition. Though charges of laxity might be levelled against almost all his editorial work, the most striking example of his dishonesty is found in the printing of his father's sermons. He agreed to sell to Francis Bowman, an Oxford publisher, fifty sermons for £50, but after receiving payment and insisting upon £100 bond against Bowman's failure to print them, Donne provided only forty-two sermons. According to Bowman, Donne then ruined their proposed sale by claiming they were surreptitious, and by enabling another printer to bring out LXXX Sermons first. After this Donne sued Bowman for £100 for his failure

1. Evelyn M. Simpson, A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne, 2nd ed. (1948), p.135.

2. Quoted in Grierson, II, lxix.

to print.¹

Given an edition of such questionable authority, prepared by an editor of no less questionable character, the first task of a modern editor of Pembroke must be to establish the canon of his poems.

The Canon.

Manuscript attributions of poems to Pembroke are in themselves too few to provide the canon of his poems. As one of the most powerful peers of his day it would have been beneath Pembroke's position to have the stigma of print on his verse. His poems probably circulated mostly among the court, and when they went beyond this circle he surely made no attempt to claim authorship of them. They therefore entered anonymously into most of the manuscript miscellanies in which they appear.

The only way in which to determine the Pembroke canon, then, is to attempt to ascertain the sources from which 1660 derives to see which parts of it, if any, are reliable. In his Dedication to Christiana, Countess Dowager of Devonshire,

1. I found this information in the license to print Fifty Sermons - items 25 and 26 in Magdalen College, Oxford MS. 281, and in a suit brought by Francis Bowman against Donne, P.R.O. pressmark C8/118/14. I have provided information for a note discussing this in greater detail to be printed in an appendix to Vol. 10 of The Sermons of John Donne, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson (Los Angeles, 1961).

Donne said:

Madam, It will be no small addition to all your great Titles and other Excellencies, that you have been so careful to preserve, & now command to be published, these elegant Poems . . . this Monument that your Ladiship hath erected to his memory, will out-last the Calculation of all Astrologers; who though they could foretell the time that he should leave us, could set no Date to the Fame that he should leave behind him; which, though it have lain asleep in all this noise of Drums and Trumpets, when all the Muses seemed to be fled, and to have left nothing behind them, but a few lame Iambicks, canting at the corners of our desolate streets; yet they are now content to be awakened by your Ladiships command, & vnder your Patronage to come abroad, and meet, and salute that peace that gave them their first being, and to tell the World, that what-ever was excellently said to any Lady in all these Poems, was meant of you; and that the Poet himself being inspired by your Ladiship, you only that are extracted from an ancient and Royal Family, have the Right and power to give life and perpetuity to so noble a person.

Although the statement that Lady Devonshire was the inspirer of the poems is probably simple flattery typical of dedications, there is reason to believe that she might have provided Donne with Pembroke's poems.

There is no question that Pembroke and Lady Devonshire were acquaintances, since contemporary accounts of his death mention that he dined with the Countess of Bedford and her on his last night.¹ How well he knew her is harder to determine. George Thorn-Drury has described her as "one of

1. [Sir Thomas Herbert] Cardiff Public Library MS.5.7, p.92; Thomas Birch, Court and Times of Charles I, II (1848), 73.

the most intelligent and distinguished women of her time".¹ If so, she might well have appealed to Pembroke, who was strongly attracted to intelligent, cultured women: Lady Mary Wroth and Lucy, Countess of Bedford are two with whom he frequently associated.

Nor is it unlikely that Donne could have known her, for hef too moved in a cultured social group. A wit and poet in his own right, he was the associate of Waller, Killigrew, Denham, and the Duke of Buckingham.² A Royalist whose sympathies are obvious in other works besides the Dedication in Pembroke's Poems, his political opinions would surely have been in accord with those of Lady Devonshire, whose secret intrigues with Monk helped contribute to the Restoration. Moreover, if Donne hoped to profit by dedicating the Poems to the Countess, as seems likely, it would scarcely have served his purpose to state that she had preserved the poems and ordered them to be published if she had not. The accumulation of this evidence satisfies me that Lady Devonshire provided some of the poems for 1660.

1. The Poems of Edmund Waller, Muses Library, II [1905], 175.

2. Margaret A. Beese, "John Donne the Younger: Addenda and Corrections to his Biography", Modern Language Review, XXXIII (1938), 356-359.

I.

The edition falls into three sections if we compare it with extant manuscript collections: Section I runs from pp. 1 to 22, Section II from pp. 23 to 64 or 65,¹ and Section III from pp. 65 or 66 to the end. It seems likely that Lady Devonshire provided the poems for the first two of these sections.

Lady Devonshire might have handed Donne poems on loose sheets, but this hypothesis is made unlikely by comparison of the edition with extant manuscripts.² It appears more likely that she gave him poems copied into either a single manuscript or two manuscript volumes. I call the Countess's manuscript, or manuscripts, CD. Whatever form CD took, it can be divided into two sections, CD 1 and CD 2, by comparison of the text of 1660 with texts preserved in manuscript.

CD 1 provided the material for Section I of 1660. The poems printed here can be connected with poems found in four manuscripts, two of which can be treated as a single witness, which I call Group I.

1. For a discussion of the point at which Section II ends, see p. lii.

2. See p. xxxvii on the sequence of poems in MS. Pen, and p. liii on catchwords in 1660.

Group I.

(a) HK 1. The Hazlewood-Kingsborough MS. was used by Grosart in his edition of Donne and is being used by Miss Helen Gardner in her forthcoming edition of the Songs and Sonets.¹ It is described by Josephine Waters Bennett in 'Early Texts of Two of Raleigh's Poems',² where she shows that it consists of two distinct manuscript collections of poems bound together, now Huntington MS. 198. The first part, HK 1, is, like all but the musical manuscripts in which I have found Pembroke's poems, a "miscellany" containing the work of many different authors. Several of Pembroke's poems appear scattered throughout the miscellany, but HK 1 also has blocks of poems by a single author. One of these is a group of Donne's poems on pp. 64-105, and another occurs on pp. 138-147, where appear the eight poems written in answer to one another by Pembroke and Rudyerd. Aside from 1660, where these poems are found on pp. 3-22, HK 1 is the only extant witness for all eight poems.

1. Miss Gardner graciously allowed me to read her Textual Introduction, and I have profited considerably from her examination of various manuscripts and from information which she provided me about poems attributed to both Donne and Pembroke.

2. Huntington Library Quarterly, IV (1941), 469-475.

(b) H40 and RP31. The similarity of these two manuscripts, British Museum Harleian MS. 4064 and Bodleian Rawlinson Poetry MS. 31, was noted by Grierson in his edition of Donne.¹ RP31 is a miscellany containing poems by Donne, Harington, Jonson, Pembroke, Lord Herbert of Cherbury and others. While it has some poems not in H40, the two manuscripts share fifty poems in the same sequence; and H40 in addition has forty-four poems, thirty-nine of them by Donne, not found in RP31. While H40 is in appearance an ordinary miscellany, RP31 is a particularly beautiful collection in its original vellum binding. Its elegant Elizabethan Secretary hand and careful layout suggest that it was copied by a professional scribe, while the colour of ink and general appearance indicate that it was written all at one time rather than having been compiled at various periods, as is more common with miscellanies. Both manuscripts contain Pembroke's "If her disdain" answered by Rudyard's "Tis love breeds love" - two poems appearing on pp.3-5 of 1660. They also have the first two poems of the verse tournament beginning on p.5 of 1660, "Shall love that gave Latona's heir", and "No praise it is". These are divided under the headings "P." and "R." as in the printed text.

1. Ibid., II, ciii.

(c) HK 2. Like HK 1, with which it is bound, HK 2 is a miscellaneous collection in several hands which has certain blocks of verse by a single author. Miss Gardner points out that thirty-nine of Donne's Songs and Sonets (thirty-one of which are also found in H40) appear on ff. 1-5 and 12-33^v. While HK 2 contains fifteen poems found in 1660, two found on ff. 8-10 are of particular interest. Pembroke's "Shall love that gave Latona's heir" and the reply "No praise it is" appear under the heading "P." as they do in H40 and RP31, except that HK 2 has omitted "R." over Rudyard's poem.

* * *

CD 2 provided the poems for Section II of the printed edition. No single extant manuscript contains proportionately as many of the poems of Section II as HK 1 contains of Section I. But four manuscripts, which I call Group II, taken together contain most of the poems found in Section II.

Group II.

(a) Pen. Peniarth MS. 500B in the National Library of Wales is a collection consisting of 42 quarto leaves, 188 x 145 mm. Although the leaves have been pasted into a modern binding, their pagination shows that their original order has been maintained. A miscellany compiled at least as late as the mid-1620's, it contains a number of poems

seldom found elsewhere. It has ten poems found in 1660, eight of which show textual relation to the edition. Pen. is notable in that these eight poems proceed, with poems by other authors sometimes intervening, in the same general sequence as 1660. In the list of its contents which follows, each poem also appearing in 1660 is marked with an asterisk, and the page number of 1660 given beneath.

pp. 1-4	"A Letter from Dr. Corbet."
5	*"On the Countess of Pembrokes Picture" <u>1660</u> , p.26
5-6	"Letter from H.H."
7-18	"An Elegie on Prince Henrie by H: Holand"
18-19	*"Verses made by S ^r Henry Wotton" <u>1660</u> , p.34
20-24	"That he was betrayed by a perfume."
25-27	*"A Sonnet" <u>1660</u> , p.38
27-28	*"Verses made by the Earle of Pembroke" <u>1660</u> , pp.3-4
29-30	*"The Answer" <u>1660</u> , pp.4-5
30-31	*"Of Freindshipp" <u>1660</u> , p.48
32	*"I.G. his Ballet" <u>1660</u> , p.53
34-55	"From H:H: to a private freind"
56	"Similitudes of man flouishinge and fadinge"
57	"Epitaph on Earle Bodwell"
58-59	"Epitaph on S ^r Walter Rawleigh"
59-61	*"A Dialogue." <u>1660</u> , pp.59-60
62	"Epitaph"
62-64	"Written by a Lord to a Citizens wife"
64	"Epitaph"
65-67	*"On black haire and eyes" <u>1660</u> , pp.61-62
68-75	"I went from England into France"
76-77	*"I. Grange, to the Prince at his returne from Spaine" <u>1660</u> , pp.63-64
78-83	"An Elegy on the death of Thomas Washington who dyed in Spaine"

(b) A23. British Museum Additional MS. 23229 is a collection of miscellaneous papers of the Conway family which have been pasted into a modern binding.¹ Seventeenth-century copyists often copied poems not into bound volumes but on loose sheets of paper folded in such a way that they could later be bound, and many "miscellanies" and "commonplace-books" were put together in this way.² Folios 52-54 of A23, which contain five poems from Section II and two from Section I of 1660 were apparently written on such loose sheets intended for later binding. The handwriting, copyist's folding, and grime marks on the leaves indicate that all the leaves are from the same source and were kept together. The last poem on f.54^v, "Nay I must love thee still" is incomplete, but has a catchword showing that the scribe continued the poem on papers since lost. These leaves, then, were once part of a larger collection of poems. A23 itself forms part of a larger bequest by the Rt. Hon. John Wilson Croker of papers belonging to the Conway family dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. All the papers from the early seventeenth century, it appears, descend from Sir Edward

1. It is described briefly in Grierson, II, lxxxii.

2. This is discussed in a forthcoming article by Miss Margaret Crum in The Library: "Notes on the Physical Characteristics of some Manuscripts of the Poems of Donne and Henry King". Bodleian MS. Add. B.97 is one example of such arrangement.

Conway, later Viscount Conway of Conway Castle. There are a large number of letters to him written from 1612 onwards from Lady Dorothy Conway, his first wife, and Katherine Conway, his second. Conway held several important governmental positions, but perhaps his most important was as one of two Secretaries of State to James I, a position he held from 1623 to 1628 in which his duties brought him in constant contact with Pembroke. All evidence points to Pembroke's poems in A23 having been among Conway's family papers, and this receives corroboration from the fact that the related manuscripts Hol. and Pen. probably date from the 1620's, the period in which Conway would have been most likely to receive Pembroke's verses.

(c) Hol. This quarto manuscript of 333 pages was compiled mostly by a member of the Holgate family, possibly William Holgate. Most of the entries appear to date from the mid-1620's, though there were eighteenth-century additions by John Wale of Colne Priory. Hol was described in the Times Literary Supplement, 15 September 1921, by its owner, W.G.P.; and by J.A.W. Bennett and H.R. Trevor-Roper in The Poems of Richard Corbett (Oxford, 1955), p.xliii. It is now MS. 1057 in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. It contains seventeen poems found in 1660, and all are related to it in text except "If her disdain" and "Tis love breeds

love," which are closer to Pen. and A23.

(d) RB. This miscellany (MS. 1083.16 in the library of the Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia, Pa.) is entirely in the hand of Robert Bishop, probably the Robert Bishop who commenced B.A. from Exeter College, Oxford in 1616 and studied at the Middle Temple in 1614.¹ His name with the date 1630 appears on the title-page, and Dr. David C. Redding, who has edited the manuscript,² tells me he has no reason to question the date. It appears, then, to have been compiled at about the same time that Hol., Pen., and A23 were probably written. RB contains thirteen poems found in 1660, five of which are textually related to it. Four of these five are also found in Hol. It groups together three poems, "Dear when I think", "When mine eyes", and "Oh let me groan" which do not occur together elsewhere.

II.

There is no reason to doubt the authorship of the poems attributed to Pembroke and Rudyard in Section I of

1. Alumni Oxonienses, ed. Joseph Foster, I (1891), 130; Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple, ed. C.T. Martin, II (1904), 591.

2. "Robert Bishop's Commonplace Book: An Edition of a Seventeenth-Century Miscellany", Ph.D. thesis at University of Pennsylvania.

1660. There is strong manuscript evidence in favour of all but the first poem, "Canst thou love me". This poem I have not found outside 1660, but it is similar in tone, thought, and style to the poems definitely by Pembroke; and since it occurs in this reliable section of 1660 and is uncontested elsewhere, it may be accepted as genuine. Of Section I poems only "If her disdain" and the reply "'Tis love breeds love" have been ascribed elsewhere to other authors. The 1635-69 editions of Donne's Poems, which added several spurious poems, and a few manuscripts (some of which have taken their attributions from Donne's printed works) have given the poems to Donne and Sir Henry Wotton. No modern editor of Donne, however, has accepted them as authentic. Since Donne was probably the most influential poet in the early seventeenth century, his name was attached to many poems by other authors. Pembroke, however, had no widespread popular reputation as a poet, so that record of his authorship could easily be lost. Nevertheless, the manuscript evidence is convincingly in favour of Pembroke and Ruyerd: their claim cannot really be questioned.

Section II is not so reliable as Section I. In order to demonstrate which of its poems are authentic, it is necessary first to list the poems appearing in Section II and to note their reappearance in Group II manuscripts with

the titles and attributions accompanying them there. I have indicated attributions made in 1660 by "P." and "R.", and have used "n.a." for "no attribution". Page numbers, first lines, and titles (in parentheses) follow.

- P. 23 Canst thou love me ("Sonnet.")
- P. 24 Soul's joy when I am gone ("Song.")
- P. 25 Dear, when I think ("I left you, and now the gain of you is to me a double Gain.")
Hol. ("I lost you & now the gaine is double to mee.")
RB. (No title.)
- R. 26 Here, though the lustre ("On the Countess of Pembrokes Picture")
Pen. ("On the Countess of Pembrokes Picture")
- P. 26 Do not reject ("That she is onely Fair.")
- P. 28 Muse get thee to a Cell (No title.)
A23. (No title.)
Hol. (No title.)
- P. 29 He that his mirth hath lost ("A Sonnet")
- P. 33 Oh do not tax me ("That Lust is not his Ayme.")
Hol. ("That Lust is not his Aime:")
- R. 34 Oh faithless world ("Verses made by Sir B.R.")
Pen. ("Verses made by S^r Henry Wotton")
- P. 35 Wrong not dear Empress ("Sonnet")
A23. (No title.)
Hol. (No title.)
- P. 36 Nay, I must love ("That he will still persevere in his Love.")
A23. ("That he will still perseuer in his Love")

- P. 38 Dear leave thy home ("A Sonnet")
Pen. ("A Sonnet")
- P. 40 Deron the sad shepherds swain ("A Sonnet.")
- P. 43 If that you needs ("On one heart made of two.")
RB. ("One heart made of two.")
- P. 45 Disdain me still ("That he would not be belov'd")
A23. ("That he would not be beloude")
Hol. ("That hee would not bee beloued:")
- R. 46 Who would have thought ("Benj. Rudier of Tears.")
Hol. ("Dr. B. of Teares.")
- R. 47 O God! my God! [Part of the above poem, incorrectly divided in 1660.] (No title.)
Hol. [Correctly included with above poem.]
- n.a. 48 Friendship on earth ("Of Friendship.")
Pen. ("Of Freindshipp")
Hol. ("Off Freindshippe")
- P. 49 Saint did never yet object ("A Sonnet.")
- P. 50 One with admiration ("To his Mistress, of his Friends Opinion of her, and his answer to his Friend's Objections, with his constancy towards her.")
- P. 52 Oh let me groan ("To his Mistris on his Death.")
Hol. (No title.)
RB. ("To his Mistress at his Death.")
- R. 53 Since every man ("B.R. his Ballet.")
Pen. ("I.G. his Ballet")
- n.a. 54 When mine eyes (No title.)
Hol. ("The picture of his Mistris")
RB. (No title.)
- R. 55 Why do we love (No title.)
A23. (No title.)
Hol. (No title.)

- n.a. 56 Why with unkindest (No title.)
- P.-R. 59 Be not proud ("A Dialogue.")
Pen. ("A Dialogue.")
Hol. ("A Dialogue betwixt a man and a woman")
RB. ("A Dialogue")
- R. 61 If shadows be a pictures excellence ("On black Hair and Eyes.")
Pen. ("On black hair and eyes.")
- R. 63 Sir, such my fate ("Benj. Rudier to the Prince at his return from Spain.")
Pen. ("I, Grange, to the Prince at his returne from Spaine.")
Hol. ("Vppon Prince Charles his comminge home out of Spaine: 1623"), subscribed "I.G."
- R. 64 What if rude nature ("Of deformity in a Man.")

In Section II Donne ascribed ten poems to Rudyerd, but none of them appear to be his.¹ Apart from 1660, all early ascriptions give 'Oh faithless world' to Sir Henry Wotton, not Rudyerd.² Similarly, the six early sources that I found for the two poems (as Donne has divided them) on pp.46-47 of 1660, 'Who would have thought' and 'O God! my God!' all attribute the poem not to Rudyerd but to 'Dr. Brookes', probably Dr. Samuel Brooke, sometime Master of

1. In Appendix I, I treat individually and in greater detail the authorship of each spurious poem found in 1660, and give brief biographical information about obscure authors.

2. See p.78.

Trinity College, Cambridge.¹ 'If shadows be a pictures excellence', certainly by Walton Poole, is attributed to several different authors in early manuscripts, but is nowhere aside from 1660 assigned to Rudyard.² John Grange³ is the author of three poems attributed to Rudyard in 1660: 'Since every man', 'Be not proud', and 'Sir, such my fate'.⁴ He may also have written 'Why do we love' and 'What if rude nature',⁵ ascribed to Rudyard in Section II. The author of the only other poem attributed to Rudyard in Section II, 'On the Countess of Pembrokes Picture',⁶ remains unidentified, but since all other ascriptions to Rudyard in Section II are false, there is no reason to accept Donne's attribution of this poem to him.

The clue to the reliability of 1660 and therefore to the canon of Pembroke's poems is provided, paradoxically, by the titles of poems ascribed to Rudyard in 1660. By

1. See p.79.

2. See p.80.

3. See Appendix II, p.92.

4. See pp.79-81.

5. See p.81.

6. See p.77.

comparing these titles with the titles given to the same poems in related manuscripts, it becomes evident that in Section II Donne was intentionally altering ascriptions and assigning poems to Ruyrd which he knew to be by other authors. The wide variety of titles found in manuscript miscellanies for a particular poem indicates that titles were relatively unimportant and easily lost in transmission. A skillful scribe, by ingenuity or good sense, might sometimes have chanced to correct a misreading in the text of a poem and hit upon the original reading. But titles were more a matter of personal preference. Poems as often occur without titles as with them in manuscript, and it seems that copyists were far readier to add, drop, or alter titles than readings in the text. Once a title was lost, the chance of its being returned to its original - if indeed the author had given it a title - was quite remote. When similar titles are found in different witnesses for a poem, then, it frequently indicates that their texts are related. Thus, of over forty copies of the popular poem beginning "If shadows be a picture's excellence," only three witnesses use the title, "On black hair and eyes." Two of these, Pen. and 1660, are textually related.

When Hol. has "Dr. B. of Teares" but 1660 reads "Benj. Rudier of Tears", then, one may be suspicious. In like

manner, Pen. entitles a poem "I. Grange, to the Prince at his returne from Spaine", which in 1660 becomes "Benj. Rudier to the Prince at his return from Spain". It is manifest that Donne was altering the attributions found in CD 2. for in doing so, he even followed the abbreviations of his manuscript: thus "I.G. his Ballet", in Pen., becomes "B.R. his Ballet" in 1660. It seems clear that although Donne had authentic Rudyerd poems in Section I written in answer to those by Pembroke, when he came to the end of these, he had no further poems by him. Since Rudyerd was a well-known statesman who had died only two years before the Poems were printed, his name would be likely to add interest to the sale of a book of Pembroke's poems, particularly since Pembroke and Rudyerd had been very closely allied in parliamentary politics. Because a mere four poems by Rudyerd would scarcely encourage Rudyerd's admirers to buy the book, Donne, with typical duplicity, simply altered the attributions from Grange, Brooke, and others to Rudyerd.

While Donne was patently ascribing poems to Rudyerd which he knew to be by other authors, there is no indication that he altered any ascriptions in Section II in order to give more poems to Pembroke. Section II contains nineteen poems in addition to the ten spurious ones attributed to Rudyerd, and of these only four are definitely by other

authors. Dudley, Lord North wrote two ('Do not reject those titles of your due' and 'Oh do not tax me'),¹ Dyer one ('He that his mirth hath lost'),² and Raleigh or Aytoun the other ('Wrong not dear Empress of my heart').³ Significantly, none of the Group II manuscripts assigns authorship for these four poems; therefore it seems that Donne's mistakes here were innocent ones. Evidently he felt pressed to provide more poems for Rudyard, but not for Pembroke at this point.

Aside from these four poems, the remainder of the poems in Section II appear to be the work of Pembroke. Independent witnesses assign certain poems to him. Henry Lawes, a reliable authority whose relationship with Pembroke I discuss later, credits Pembroke with "Canst thou love me" (1660, p.23) in his Ayres and Dialogues (1653). William Browne, a retainer of Pembroke's apparently assigned the authorship of 'Soul's joy' to him. RB, whose texts seem to have followed a different line of transmission than those of other Group II manuscripts, groups together "Dear when I think", "When mine eyes", and "If that you must needs go".

1. See pp. 77 and 78.

2. See p.77.

3. See p.78.

Moreover, the Section I poems "If her disdain" and "'Tis love breeds love" by Pembroke and Ruyerd occur in conjunction with Section II poems in Pen, Hol, and A23. And "Disdain me still", a poem which was printed on p.5 of 1660 and again on p.45 with a different title and slightly different text, is found in Hol. and A23.

Beyond this external evidence, the recurrence of certain ideas and themes in Section II poems testifies to his authorship. We find several poems employing various aspects of the Platonic idea of a lover's soul leaving his body to be united with the soul of his mistress. Though this idea was used by numerous poets after being popularized by Donne, few of them used it as persistently as Pembroke. He refers to it briefly in "Dear when I think", and it serves as the basis for the lyrics, "Soul's joy" and "If that you must needs go". It again finds expression in the concluding couplet of "Canst thou love me", and in stanza 3 of "Can you suspect a change in me":

Dear, can you take my soul from me,
And yet have no belief
That I have grief?
Oh did your fair eyes ever see
(Without a painful force)
That sad divorce!

The poet's attitude towards his mistress in many Section II poems is identical with that professed by Pembroke

in Section I. As he had told Rudyard,

If her disdain least change in you can move
you do not love,

so in "Nay I must love thee still" he maintains,

Though I am tempted and provoked with scorn,
My love cannot decline.

It is a familiar theme in Pembroke's poems - the determination to continue in his love even though it be unrequited and scorned. Though familiar enough in Elizabethan poems, this attitude is not as frequently found in Metaphysical verse. Suckling's approach to his mistress is more typical:

Out upon it! I have lov'd
Three whole days together;
And am like to love three more,
If it prove fair weather. 1

Pembroke's authorship of poems awarded to him on manuscript evidence, then, is supported by the thought, attitude, and poetical ideas which these poems contain. The evidence is entirely in his favour, and for virtually all of them his claim is unchallenged. I believe they can with confidence be classed as Pembroke's work.

1. The Works of Sir John Suckling, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (London, 1910), p.45.

The last poem in 1660 to appear in Group II manuscripts is John Grange's "Sir, such my fate", found on pp.63-64 of the printed text; therefore we would expect CD 2 to have finished at about this point. There is some indication that it may have finished with the next poem, John Grange's 'What if rude Nature', which appears on pp.64-65. This speculation is prompted by the fact that where Grange's poem finishes on p.65, the bottom half of the page is blank, only fourteen lines instead of the usual thirty lines of type having been set. We find a similar case on p.22, where Section I ended. Only half the page was set up, and Section II begins on p.23. Except for p.42, these are the only two instances of the printer leaving blank such a large part of his page. It seems possible that CD 1 and CD 2 each finished with blank spaces, and that the printer, when he came to the end of these two collections, also did not bother to fill out the remainder of his page. Whether Section II ended on p.64 or p.65, however, is in itself of no great importance. It is only necessary to point out that it must have ended about here; and therefore its integrity as a witness for the Pembroke canon is not impaired by the inaccuracy of attributions in 1660 after p.65.

Section III consists of pp.^{65 or}66 to 118. It includes

groups of four or five poems each by such well-known poets as Carew and Strode, and scattered poems by such obscure persons as Henry Reynolds, Richard Cleark, and Charles Rives. Though some of its poems occur frequently in printed and manuscript miscellanies, I have found no single manuscript nor group of manuscripts relating to Section III. This suggests that Donne provided poems from not one but several manuscripts - or more likely several unbound sheets of paper. The latter suggestion is supported by evidence from the catchwords in Section III. A printer uses catchwords, of course, so that he does not lose place but can keep the sequence of his manuscript; and it is unusual to find a catchword that does not link with the following page, unless an entire gathering has been misplaced in binding. Sections I and II appear to have been set up from two fairly continuous collections of poems, and therefore should not have been especially difficult to follow. In these sections all the catchwords are correct. Section III, however, has incorrect catchwords on pp. 75, 82, 95, 98, and 101. Since in each case the incorrect catchword precedes the beginning of a new poem, it suggests that the printer was setting up from loose sheets of miscellaneous poems, and was therefore uncertain about either the order in which the poems were to be placed, or the material to be included.

Of the poems which cannot be definitely assigned to

other authors, only "Why should thy look" in Section III bears very close resemblance to the bulk of Pembroke's work in Sections I and II. Most of the poems have a light-hearted, carefree air that Pembroke seldom exhibited: their lovers are usually hopeful or confident, or perhaps unconcerned, but not scorned and begrudgingly faithful as Pembroke generally was. The verse forms are frequently simpler and more straightforward than Pembroke's, and many of the poems employ more imagery from classical mythology than Pembroke was inclined to use. Stylistically, then, there is no reason to think these works are by Pembroke; and there is no manuscript evidence whatsoever to indicate that any of them are by Rudyard or Pembroke. The entire section appears to be spurious, and was probably added to fill out the very slender body of authentic poems.

Before leaving the problem of the sources of 1660 it is necessary to consider Donne's "To the Reader", an inserted leaf, X1, found in some copies of 1660. It is apparent that this leaf was an afterthought, both because it is not found in all copies and because the woodcut used in this leaf is the same as that used in sig. A3. The two leaves, therefore, could not have been in the same forme. In his "To the Reader" Donne makes the following statement:

In the collecting of these Poemes (which were chiefly preserved by the greatest Masters of Musick,

all the Sonnets being set by them) I was fain first to send to Mr. Henry Lawes, who furnishing me with some, directed me for the rest, to send into Germany to Mr. Laneere, who by his great skill gave a life and harmony to all that he set; so that if by their wandering some be surreptitiously got into their company; or, if (the Author leaving no other issue but these of his brain) some of these Nymphs seem a little more wanton then the rest, of which there are but two or three Copies can be suspected, they desire that they may not make their retreat, untill the next Impression; and then you will find many more ready to supply their room, which were not come unto my hands when I published these.

Donne's statement at first seems plausible since Lawes relied more than any of his contemporary composers on members of the court to supply his verses,¹ and since many of the poems in 1660 were set to music. Moreover, it is almost certain that Pembroke and Lawes knew one another. One of his poems, 'Canst thou love me', was set by Lawes and attributed to Pembroke in Lawes's Ayres and Dialogues (1653). In his address "To all Understanders or Lovers of Musick" in this work, Lawes claimed, "As for those Copies of Verses in this Book, I have rendered their Names who made them, from whose hands I received them." Even if this statement is somewhat exaggerated, there are other indications that Pembroke probably knew this important court musician. Lawes received his appointment to the Royal Household in 1625 when Pembroke was Lord Chamberlain, and was advanced to the position of

1. Eric Ford Hart, "Introduction to Henry Lawes", Music and Letters, XXXII (1951), 332.

Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1626 after Pembroke's brother Philip Herbert had taken the position of Chamberlain and Pembroke had advanced to become Lord Steward of his Majesties Household.¹ Finally, Lawes alone of early seventeenth-century composers took an interest in the authorship of songs which he set.² The three volumes of his Ayres and Dialogues published in 1653, 1655, and 1658, all include the names of poets whose works appear there; and though he made occasional errors, Lawes is on the whole very accurate in his attributions.

In spite of the reasons for thinking Lawes might have provided poems for 1660, however, it is more likely that this claim was another of Donne's fabrications. An examination of Lawes's holograph manuscript of songs, now on loan at the British Museum, shows that it contains ten songs found in 1660. Four of these appear in Lawes's printed collections - three attributed to other authors, and "Canst thou love me" assigned to Pembroke. (The manuscript itself contains no attributions.) While Lawes's musical settings for "Canst thou love me" in Ayres and Dialogues differs from that in

1. Willa McClung Evans, Henry Lawes, Musician and Friend of Poets (New York, 1941), p.30.

2. Eric Ford Hart, "Caroline Lyrics and contemporary Song-Books", The Library, 5th Series, VIII (1953), 95.

his manuscript, the two poetical texts agree exactly with one another. Since they differ considerably from 1660, however, it is most unlikely that Donne received this poem from Lawes. Of the six remaining poems which appear in 1660 and Lawes's manuscript, only two are close textually, but even they do not appear to have come to Donne from Lawes. One, "Oh let me groan", is found in Hol. and RB, and RB preserves the same title as in 1660. The other, "One with admiration", does not appear among Group II manuscripts. In 1660, however, it has a lengthy title of twenty-one words. Since Lawes gave no titles to his songs in his manuscript, and seldom gave titles in his printed works, he does not appear to have provided the texts of these poems either.

Lanier seems even less likely than Lawes to have provided Donne with verses. If Lanier set Pembroke's poems - and I failed to find any of them among Lanier's manuscripts - it is questionable whether he could have provided Donne with any of them. Thirty years had elapsed between Pembroke's death and 1660, and it is unlikely that a composer who took no special interest in authorship of verses could correctly have identified Pembroke's poems even if he had any at that time.

Why then should Donne have made the statement about Lawes and Lanier? There are at least two possibilities. It

seems evident that the extra poems of Section III were added in order to increase the size of a very slim volume of verse. Therefore if Donne hoped to please Lady Devonshire by publishing Pembroke's poems, he might have needed an explanation for the considerable number of poems added to those which she had supplied. By crediting Lawes and Lanier with having provided them, he would at once take the responsibility for their authenticity off himself and justify their inclusion. In his "To the Reader" Donne used Lanier's being abroad as an excuse for some of the surreptitious poems that might have slipped into the book: the poems had travelled so great a distance that a few others might have got mixed with them on the way. The second possibility is that Donne was using the well-known names of Lawes and Lanier to enhance the sale of his book. Lanier had a considerable reputation since he had introduced recitative musik into England in 1617.¹ This style of music, based on the dictum, "Music should be the servant of poetry", became strongly established in England in the years that followed, and Lawes later became its leading practitioner. Lawes's great following is indicated in the large proportion of his work among the anthologies of songs

1. Hart, "Introduction", p.329; and Vincent Ducloux, "The Gamble Manuscript as a Source of Continue Song in England", Journal of the American Musicological Society, I (1948), 27.

published by John Playford between 1652 and 1669, and in Playford's publication of Lawes's songs separately in 1653, 1655, and 1658.¹ Lawes's method, "which is to shape Notes to the Words and Sense",² won him poetical addresses from Milton, Waller, Herrick, Townshend, Berkenhead, and numerous lesser poets.³ Moreover, his reputation as a composer was sufficiently great to make it an asset in selling a book of poems. When Milton's Poems were published in 1645 the title-page announced, "The Songs were set in Musick by Mr Henry Lawes Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and one of His Majesties Private Musick."⁴ A similar notice regarding 'All the Lyrick Poems in this Booke' appeared on the title-page of Waller's poems published in 1645;⁵ and in 1651 the works of William Cartwright were published with the claim, 'The Ayres and Songs [were] set by Mr. Henry Lawes'. Donne may have thought that his claim for Pembroke's poems, "all the Sonnets being set

1. Hart, "Introduction", p.217.

2. "To all Understanders or Lovers of Musick", Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues (1655).

3. Hart, "Introduction", p.217.

4. Quoted in Evans, p.167.

5. Ibid.

by them [Lanier and Lawes] " would encourage the sale of his volume. If so, the fact that it was untrue would scarcely have deterred him from making it.

In addition to those poems found in 1660, manuscripts ascribe five others to Pembroke. One is in his holograph, and about three others there can be little question. Similar in style and content to the rest of his work, they are assigned to him in several independent witnesses, and have no other claimants. The fifth I have printed under Dubia, and discuss its authorship there.

The Text.

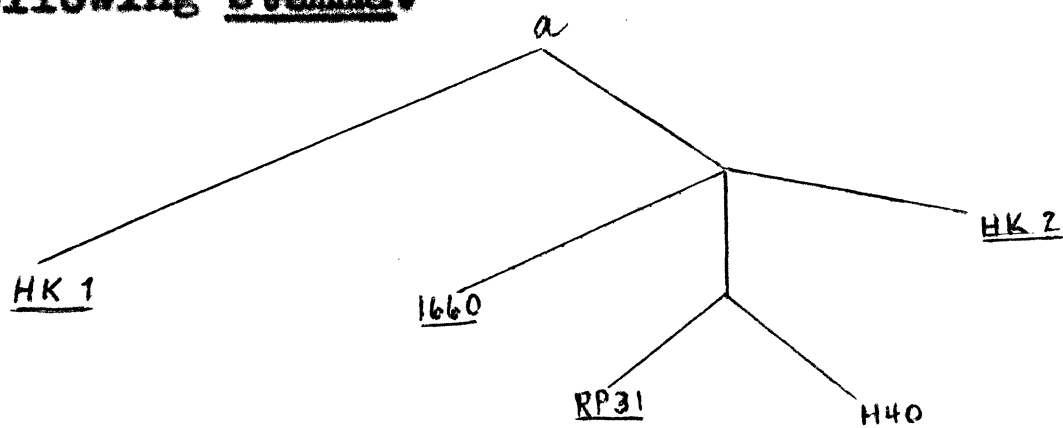
Since CD has been shown to have been the likely source for the authentic poems in 1660, it is worth considering the possible sources from which CD itself derives. Had Lucy, Countess of Bedford, or Lady Mary Wroth provided Donne with Pembroke's verses, there would be reason to think that they might have earlier come from Pembroke himself, since we might expect Pembroke to have sent poems to one of these ladies. This is less likely, however, with the Countess of Devonshire. The only mention that I have found of them together is that previously noted - that they supped together on the night of his death. While they may have been well acquainted, since Lady Devonshire was sufficiently interested in his poems to

publish them, there is no particular reason to expect that Pembroke personally sent Her his verses. The misreadings and transpositions in 1660 are frequent enough, even if many are due to the printer and not to his copy, to demonstrate that the manuscript could hardly have passed under Pembroke's eye. One can only conjecture, but it seems to me likely that the two sources indicated by Groups I and II derive from two separate groups of papers, possibly like that of which A23 represents a part, which circulated among members of the court. These would appear to date from no later than the 1620's, since the Group II manuscripts, which contain only some of the poems in the original collection, seem to have been copied at about that time.

Of the many manuscripts containing poems found in 1660 only three Group I manuscripts, H40, RP31, and HK 2 make use of his initial, "P." to indicate the authorship of Pembroke's poems. The presence of this peculiarity in them indicates that they are related to CD 1, from which Donne undoubtedly adopted this unlikely method of indicating authorship. They contain only a few poems from Section I: all three have the two opening poems of the verse tournament, and H40 and RP31 include "If her disdain" and "Tis love breeds love". The manuscripts have an agreement in error which shows that they descend from the same exemplar. In line 4 of

Rudyard's "No praise it is", for example, they agree in reading "Master" where 1660 and HK 1 correctly read "Monster". Their separate errors indicate, however, that none derives from another of the three. Though they correct a few misreadings in 1660, their variants are more often inferior to the printed text.

HK 1 preserves all the poems found between pp. 3 and 22 in 1660 except for "Disdain me still", a poem appearing both on pages 5 and 45 of the printed text. It is the only extant manuscript that includes the complete group of answering poems between Pembroke and Rudyard, and the only manuscript at all to have the last four of them. With so few witnesses it is not surprising that its texts are close to 1660. Instead of the abbreviations "P." and "R." to indicate authorship, however, HK 1 usually gives complete names, e.g. "Earle of Pembroke to S^r Benia. Ruger" and "Sir Beni: Rugers answer". The text of HK 1 represents a different line of descent from H40, RP31, HK 2 and 1660, and by agreeing with the other manuscript tradition provides several corrections for 1660. The interrelationship of Group I with 1660 is indicated in the following stemma.



One can only indicate very roughly the interrelationship of Group II manuscripts with 1660. Their readings are usually close to 1660, but it is impossible to draw a stemma indicating their interrelationship, since no single poem reappears in all four manuscripts, and very few are even found in two of them. Each manuscript has individual misreadings and lacunae not found in other witnesses for the same poems, which indicates that the manuscripts within Group II do not descend from one another. Since no more can be shown, however, their variants must be considered on their individual merits.

In addition to their appearance in Groups I and II, some poems are found in Henry Lawes's manuscript and in various printed and manuscript miscellanies. Most of these witnesses are later than CD and the manuscripts of Groups I and II, though this does not in itself disqualify their readings since one manuscript or printed text might be considerably later than another and still preserve a text closer to the author's original. In general, however, these miscellanies are characterized by greater corruption than 1660 and its related manuscripts.

As is readily apparent from the discussion of the text, the only possible copy-text for almost all of those poems which it includes is 1660. No single manuscript or group of

manuscripts supplies nearly so many poems, nor is any manuscript generally superior in text. Nevertheless, 1660 can often be corrected by manuscript readings. For Section I poems, when the two manuscript traditions agree against variants in 1660 their readings have perforce been adopted. For other poems no systematic method of handling variants can be found, since the witnesses vary from poem to poem. In such cases an editor can only rely on his own judgment and consider each reading on its individual merits.

The Present Edition.

Each poem is presented in the layout of the copy-text unless otherwise indicated. The apparatus gives first the siglum or abbreviation of the copy-text, followed by that of other witnesses whose variants are recorded. If no indication is made, 1660 may be understood to be the only witness. The source of the title, if not from the copy-text, comes next. Some poems, however, appear without titles, since I have supplied them only when it seemed advisable in order to assist in the understanding of the work.

For a number of poems I have not included variants from all available witnesses. My task has been to ascertain, as best possible, what Pembroke wrote. To give all variants would be to present a record of the misreadings, blunders,

and personal whims of scores of seventeenth-century copyists, but it would not, I think, bring the reader closer to the author's intention. Instead, he would be lost in irrelevant detail. Recording obviously incorrect readings unless they support other readings is to present a less 'critical' edition than results from a more selective apparatus. Those who wish to know the readings of all documents, however, will find in the Commentary lists of all early witnesses for each poem.

The Commentary also presents evidence for the authorship of all the authentic poems. Spurious poems are dealt with in Appendix I.

With two exceptions,¹ I have left the poems in the order in which they appeared in 1660 and have placed those poems added from manuscript after them. There are several reasons for this. First, the arrangement of 1660 represents the two collections from which authentic poems derive, and preserves the poems in the sequence in which they circulated in Pembroke's time. Second, the distinction between Sections I and II may have chronological significance. The style of the poems written with Rudyard in Section I seems less finished, and the attitude of the author less mature than

1. See pp. 65 and 68.

that in Section II. It would be impossible to arrange the poems in a definite chronological sequence, since the only poem for which a precise date can be offered is Pembroke's Epitaph on the Earl of Salisbury, not included in 1660; however the scant manuscript evidence available also suggests that Section I was written before Section II. Third, all but two of the poems are amatory, so that an arrangement of the poems by subject matter would not produce appreciably different results from the method adopted. And finally, the corpus of his works is itself so small that the reader would not be greatly assisted to find them classified by style or genre.

When Pembroke's poems were published in 1660 they appeared in the spelling and punctuation of that time, and thus were already modernized in their first printing. For a modern editor to invent an old spelling would be foolish and false; and to gather eclectically 'old spellings' from various manuscripts would scarcely be more wise. Recent work in identifying the compositors of the Shakespeare First Folio by their habits of spelling has demonstrated conclusively that compositors usually used their own spelling, not that of their author. Moreover, if my analysis of the manuscripts and 1660 is correct, all the poems but one do not derive from the author's holograph, so that there is little chance of the

author's characteristic spelling being preserved. Even in related texts, spelling and punctuation usually show no similarity; indeed, one is somewhat surprised to discover complete consistency even within a single manuscript. I do not, therefore, believe that by my preserving scribal peculiarities a modern reader would be able to come closer to the poet's intention. Again, early punctuation is usually inadequate or even non-existent. In the Commentary,¹ I reproduce the Epitaph on Robert, Earl of Salisbury as it appears in Pembroke's holograph. It demonstrates, I believe, that even Pembroke's own punctuation was careless, if not chaotic by modern standards. I have therefore modernized spelling and punctuation. My punctuation is somewhere midway between the negligible punctuation of most manuscripts and the heavy punctuation of 1660. Because no one person reads a poem exactly like another, I chose to use little pointing, believing that most readers are more likely to be bothered by an excess than by a lack of punctuation. The argumentative couplet poems, however, seemed to require heavier punctuation than the lyrics, whose layout and rhyme scheme in themselves often suggest where pauses are desirable.

1. See p.72.

My practice has been to indicate elision only where a modern reader is unlikely to make the required elision on his own, as is usually the case between two words. On the other hand, single words, like power, which are today pronounced both with and without elision, are usually left to the reader to supply elision for himself.

LIST OF SIGLA

Classified List of Manuscripts Used

Group I.

<u>HK 1</u>	Hazlewood-Kingsborough MS., part 1. New Henry E. Huntington Library MS. 198.
<u>HK 2</u>	Part 2 of Henry E. Huntington Library MS. 198.
<u>RP 31</u>	Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS. 31.
<u>H 40</u>	British Museum, Harleian MS. 4064.

Group II.

<u>A 23</u>	British Museum, Add. MS. 23229.
<u>Hol</u>	Holgate MS. J. Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y., MS. 1057.
<u>Pen</u>	National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS. 500B.
<u>RB</u>	Robert Bishop MS. The Philip and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation (Philadelphia, Pa.), MS. 1083.16.

Miscellaneous.*

* <u>A 10</u>	British Museum, Add. MS. 10309.
<u>A 11</u>	" " " " 11608.
<u>A 11.8</u>	" " " " 11811.
<u>A 14</u>	" " " " 14047.
<u>A 15</u>	" " " " 15227.
* <u>A 18</u>	" " " " 18647.
* <u>A 21</u>	" " " " 21433.
* <u>A 22</u>	" " " " 22603.
* <u>A 25</u>	" " " " 25303.
<u>A 25.7</u>	" " " " 25707.

* Miscellaneous manuscripts containing authentic poems of Pembroke and Rudyard are marked with an asterisk. Other manuscripts contain only spurious poems.

<u>A 28</u>	British Museum, Add. MS. 28644.
<u>A 30</u>	" " " " 30982.
<u>A 33</u>	" " " " 33998.
<u>A 37</u>	" " " " 37717.
<u>A 38</u>	" " " " 38599.
<u>A 47</u>	" " " " 47111.
<u>*Ash 36</u>	Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS. 36.
<u>Ash 38</u>	" " " " 38.
<u>*Ash 47</u>	" " " " 47.
<u>*Ash 781</u>	" " " " 781.
<u>B 2</u>	Bodleian Library, Music School MS. B.2.
<u>CCC 176</u>	Bodleian Library, Corpus Christi College MS. 176.
<u>CCC 318</u>	" " " " " " 318.
<u>CCC 325</u>	" " " " " " 325.
<u>CCC 327</u>	" " " " " " 327.
<u>*CCC 328</u>	" " " " " " 328.
<u>Ch 87</u>	Christ Church, Oxford, MS. 87.
<u>*Che</u>	Chetham Library, Manchester, MS. 8012.
<u>CUL 4</u>	Cambridge University Library, MS. Ee.4.14.
<u>CUL 5</u>	" " " " MS. Ee.5.23.
<u>Don 57</u>	Bodleian Library, MS. Doncaster c.57.
<u>Don 58</u>	" " " " c.58.
<u>Drex</u>	New York Public Library, Drexel MS. 4175.
<u>Eg 9</u>	British Museum, Egerton MS. 923.
<u>Eg 22</u>	" " " " 2230.
<u>Eg 24</u>	" " " " 2421.
<u>*Eg 27</u>	" " " " 2725.
<u>*Eng 9</u>	Bodleian Library, MS. English Poetry f.9.
<u>Eng 10</u>	" " " " " f.10.
<u>Eng 14</u>	" " " " " e.14.
<u>Eng 16</u>	" " " " " f.16.
<u>Eng 25</u>	" " " " " f.25.

<u>*Eng 50</u>	Bodleian Library, MS. English Poetry c.50.
<u>Eng 53</u>	" " " " " c.53.
<u>F 43</u>	Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. V.b.43.
<u>F 96</u>	" " " " V.a.96.
<u>F 97</u>	" " " " V.a.97.
<u>F 103</u>	" " " " V.a.103.
<u>F 124</u>	" " " " V.a.124.
<u>*F 125</u>	" " " " V.a.125.
<u>*F 160</u>	" " " " V.a.160.
<u>F 162</u>	" " " " V.a.162.
<u>F 170</u>	" " " " V.a.170.
<u>F 196</u>	" " " " V.a.196.
<u>F 245</u>	" " " " V.a.245.
<u>F 276</u>	" " " " V.a.276.
<u>F 308</u>	" " " " V.a.308.
<u>F 319</u>	" " " " V.a.319.
<u>*F 322</u>	" " " " V.a.322.
<u>F 339</u>	" " " " V.a.339.
<u>F 345</u>	" " " " V.a.345.
<u>Gam</u>	John Gamble's song-book, New York Public Library, Drexel MS. 4257.
<u>H 7</u>	British Museum, Harleian MS. 791.
<u>*H 39</u>	" " " " 3910.
<u>H 60</u>	" " " " 6057.
<u>*H 69</u>	" " " " 6917.
<u>Harv</u>	Harvard University Library, MS. Eng. 626.
<u>*HL</u>	Henry Lawes's holograph song-book. Loan 35 in British Museum.
<u>HM 116</u>	Henry E. Huntington Library, MS. 116.
<u>JW</u>	John Wilson's holograph song-book, Bodleian Library, MS. Mus. B.1.
<u>*L 777</u>	British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 777.
<u>LF</u>	Leweston Fitzjames's commonplace-book. Bodleian Library, MS. Add.B.97.

<u>*M 13</u>	Bodleian Library, Malone MS. 13.
<u>*M 16</u>	" " " " 16.
<u>M 21</u>	" " " " 21.
<u>Nor</u>	Bodleian Library, North MS.e.41.
<u>*NLW</u>	National Library of Wales, MS. 5390D.
<u>*O</u>	MS. in the library of Prof. James Osborn, New Haven, Connecticut.
<u>*O'F</u>	O'Flaherty MS. Harvard College Library, MS. Nor.4502.
<u>*Pem</u>	Pembroke's holograph epitaph on Robert, Earl of Salisbury, at Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 140/f.116.
<u>R 239/23</u>	The Philip and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation (Philadelphia, Pa.), MS. 239/23.
<u>R 239/27</u>	Rosenbach Foundation, MS. 239/27.
<u>*R 240</u>	" " " 240/2.
<u>*R 243</u>	" " " 243/4.
<u>R 1083</u>	" " " 1083/17.
<u>RP 85</u>	Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Poetical MS. 85.
<u>*RP 116</u>	" " " " " 116.
<u>*RP 117</u>	" " " " " 117.
<u>RP 142</u>	" " " " " 142.
<u>*RP 147</u>	" " " " " 147.
<u>*RP 160</u>	" " " " " 160.
<u>RP 199</u>	" " " " " 199.
<u>RP 206</u>	" " " " " 206.
<u>S 5</u>	British Museum, Sloane MS. 542.
<u>*S 14</u>	" " Sloane MS. 1446.
<u>*S 96</u>	" " Stowe MS. 962.
<u>SC</u>	St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, MS. III.16.
<u>SJ</u>	St. John's College, Cambridge, MS. 423.
<u>T 169</u>	Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 169.
<u>T 306</u>	" " " " 306.

*TCD
W 58

Trinity College, Dublin, MS. G.2.21.
Worcester College, Oxford, MS. 58.

THE TEXT

POEMS BY PEMBROKE

AND RUDYERD

R.

'Tis love breeds love in me and cold disdain
Kills it again,
As water maketh fire to fret and fume
Till all consume.

None can of love more free gift make
Than to love's self for love's own sake.

5

I'll never dig in quarry of a heart
To have no part;
Nor roast in those fierce eyes which always are
Canicular;

10

Who this way would a lover prove
Doth show his patience, not his love.

A frown may be sometimes for physic good
But not for food,
And for that raging humour there is sure
A gentler cure.

15

Why bar you love of private end
Which never should to public tend?

R. Authorship supplied from MSS. Poem incorrectly included as part of "If her disdain" in 1660.

1660, HK 1, H40, RP31, A23, Hol, Pen

4 all] it A23, Hol, Pen

5 of. . . make] to. . . take A23, Hol, Pen

6 to love's self] love from love A23, Hol, Pen

8 no MSS.: nor 1660

9 roast. . . fierce] rest. . . faire A23, Hol, Pen

16 gentler] greater RP31, H40: gentle HK 1, A23, Hol, Pen

VERSES ON REASON AND LOVE

P.

Shall Love, that gave Latona's heir the foil,
(Proud of his archery and Python's spoil)
And so enthralled him to a nymph's disdain
As when his hopes were dead he, full of pain,
Made him above all trees the laurel grace, 5
An emblem of Love's glory, his disgrace;
Shall he, I say, be termed a foot-boy now,
That made all powers in heaven and earth to bow?
Or is't a fancy which themselves do frame,
And therefore dare baptize by any name? 10
A flaming straw which one spark kindles bright,
And first hard breath out of itself doth fright;
Whose father was a smile, and death a frown,
Soon proud of little, and for less cast down;
'Tis so, and this a lackey term you may, 15
For it runs oft and makes but shortest stay.
But thou, O Love, free from time's eating rust,
That set'st a limit unto boundless lust,
Making desire grow infinitely strong
And yet to one chaste subject still belong, 20
Bridling self-love, that flatters us in ease,
Quick'ning our wits to strive that they may please,
Fixing the wand'ring thoughts of straying youth,

VERSES ON REASON AND LOVE: title of sequence supplied
1660, Group I
20 still Group I: doth 1660

The firmest band of faith, the knot of truth: 25
 Thou that didst never lodge in worthless heart,
 Thou art a master wheresoe'er thou art.
 Thou mak'st food loathsome, sleep to be unrest,
 Lost labour easeful, scornful looks a feast;
 And when thou wilt, thy joys as far excel
 All else as when thou punishest thy hell. 30
 O make that rebel feel thy matchless power,
 Thou that mad'st Jove a bull, a swan, a shower;
 Give him a love as tyrannous as fair,
 That his desire go yoked with despair.
 Live in her eyes, but in her frozen heart 35
 Let no thaw come that may have sense of smart;
 Let her a constant silence never break,
 Till he do wish repulse to hear her speak.
 And last, such sense of error let him have
 As he may never dare for mercy crave; 40
 Then none will more capitulate with thee,
 But of their hearts will yield the empire free.

R.

No praise it is that him who Python slew,
 Love at his own tried weapon did subdue;
 To all clear minds it doth most clearly prove
 The greater monster of the two was Love.
 Oh what a wretched power is that, and strange 5
 To be invoked, which hath such power to change

1660, Group I, S96 (lines 22-78 only)

4 greater Group I: greatest 1660

Our heavenly part into a beast, a tree,
 Things which sensual still, or senseless be.
 He that so well is read in Love's brave story
 And is so jealous of his waning glory, 10
 How could he omit (like a young beginner)
 Hercules the strong, Love's valiant spinner?
 But what boots it his famous acts to name,
 When in them lies enwrapped his greater shame?
 For this declares that, at his cheapest rate, 15
 He always makes a man effeminate.
 And whosoever loves, he down doth bring
 From what he was into some meaner thing;
 Shows him ridiculous to standers-by,
 And quite bereaves him of perceiving why. 20
 Now why should Love a foot-boy's place despise,
 When higher than the earth he doth not rise?
 And I have often seen his Greatness trudge
 In little errands, like a worthless drudge.
 I will send him at any time a mile 25
 To fetch me thence the meaning of a smile,
 A look, a not-look, a silence, a frown;
 For privatives he'll lackey up and down.
 Yet let no man believe what he doth say;
 False answers still he coineth by the way: 30
 'Tis well if he this title high can keep,
 For where Love cannot go, 'tis known he'll creep.
 And fit it is, the rule which he hath got
 From Reason by a base usurping plot,

13 acts] deeds HK 1

14 enwrapped Group I: conceal'd 1660

18 what HK 1, RP31, H40: that 1660, HK 2

By under-means should likewise be maintained; 35
Power evermore is held as it is gained.

Base Love, the stain of youth, the scorn of age,
The folly of a man, a woman's rage,
Order's confounder, secrets' light discloser,
Disturber of all sorts, a king's deposer: 40

The canker of a froward wit, thou art,
The business of an idle, empty heart;
The rack of jealousy and sad mistrust,
The smooth and justified excuse of lust, 45

The thief which wastes the taper of our life,
The quiet name of restless jars and strife,
The fly which doth corrupt and quite distaste
All happiness, if thou therein be cast:

The greatest and most concealed imposter
That ever vain credulity did foster; 50
A mountebank, extolling trifles small,
A juggler, playing loose (not fast) with all;

An alchemist whose promises are gold,
Payment but dross, and hope at highest sold.
This, this is Love, and worse than I can say, 55
Where he a master is and bears the sway,

He guides like Phaeton, burns and destroys,
Parches and stifles what would else be joys.

But when clear Reason sitteth in the throne,
Governs his beams (which otherwise are none 60
But darts and mischief), then sun-like he
Doth actuate, produce, ripen and free

58 would else Group I: else would 1660
59 sitteth] sitting HK 2, H40, RP31, S96

From grossness those good seeds which in us lie,
 Till then as in a grave, and there would die.
 All high perfections in a perfect lover 65
 His warmth doth cherish, and his light discover;
 He gives an even temper of delight
 Without a minute's loss; no fears affright
 Nor interrupt the joys such love doth bring,
 Nor no enjoying can dry up the spring. 70
 Unto another he lends out our pleasure,
 That, with the use, it may come home a treasure.
 Pure link of bodies, where no lust controls
 The fastness and security of souls;
 Sweetest path of life, virtue in full sail, 75
 Fresh budding hope, whose fruits do never fail:
 To this dear Love, I do no rebel stand;
 Though not employed, yet ready at command.
 But as for him who in his fit did curse
 And rave at me, I cannot wish him worse 80
 Than he already doth appear to be:
 Full of distemper in extreme degree.
 In this hard state he rather needeth prayer,
 His strong deluded fancy to repair.

Wherefore, O Reason high, thou who art king 85
 Of the world's king, and dost in order bring
 The wild affections which so often swerve
 From thy just rule and rebel passion serve;
 Thou, without whose light Love's fire is smoke,

74 fastness Group I, S96: fatness 1660
 76 fruits do HK 1, S96: fruites doth HK 2, RP31:
 fruit doth H40, 1660
 77 no HK 1, HK 2, RP31, S96: not 1660, H40

Puts out eyes and mind, all true sense doth choke, 90
 Restore this man unto himself again!
 Send him a lively feeling of his pain,
 Give him a healthy and discerning taste
 Of food and rest, that he may rise at last
 By strength of thee from this strange, strong disease, 95
 Wherein the danger is that it doth please.
 What help for him who takes his sickness' part?
 It must be only thy great work and art.
 Provide him also of thy sober hand
 A thrifty course of breath, which long may stand, 100
 Lest he in sighs do prodigally spend
 Before one loving moon do change and end
 More than would find him life for many years,
 If he were rid of these false-seeming fears.
 Grant this, O Reason, at his deep request, 105
 Who never loved to see thy power suppressed.
 And now to you, Sir Love, your love I crave;
 Of you no mastery I desire to have.
 But that we may like honest friends agree,
 Let us to Reason fellow-servants be. 110

P.

It is enough a master you grant Love
 At one weapon - 'twas all I sought to prove.
 For worth, not weakness, makes him use but one,
 While that subdues all strength, all art, alone.

1660, HK 1

I studied not examples in this kind; 5
 They were far harder to avoid than find.
 And that to worthless forms Love changeth us,
 Makes not him blush, nor his ridiculous.
 For in his wars Love diversely proceeds;
 Sometimes by force, sometimes by sleight he speeds; 10
 When he will force, then arms he his to fight
 In strength of merit, riches of delight.
 But when by stratagems he means surprise,
 His men in forms more mean he will disguise:
 Not bearing to the forms themselves respect, 15
 But careful to avoid his foes' suspect.
 And when at this with jests their wits are worn,
 Do lovers or the laughers bear the scorn?
 But O how finely with yourself you play,
 When with this quick conceit you run away: 20
 That you make Love to lackey up and down
 To fetch the meaning of a smile or frown.
 Alas, in these slight errands he sends you,
 Wherein your powers trudge as if they flew,
 Making the least which to his pleasure tends 25
 A thing wherein your weal or woe depends.
 Nor plots he to dissolve by feigned delight,
 Over the senses, Reason's sovereign right;
 But Reason, finding Love to rule more fit,
 She doth that government to him commit. 30
 And so, 'twixt these there is no factious strife;

6 were] are HK 1
 14 forms more mean] meaner forms HK 1
 17 at HK 1: as 1660

Love here the husband is, Reason the wife,
 Not grudging at her husband's active sway,
 But thinks she rules so just laws to obey.
 And Love this title high thus got may keep; 35
 A threadbare proverb cannot make him creep;
 And for that rabble of confused names
 Which to Love's charge you lay as bitter blames,
 They touch not him, he in himself, divine,
 To falsehood nor to weakness can incline, 40
 If not disfigured by our fleshly mask,
 As wine corrupted by a faulty cask.
 He is no mountebank; his wares do reach
 Beyond the setting forth of any speech:
 Nor alchemist, but that elixir old, 45
 Which turns lust's mercury to friendship's gold.
 And so the rest wherewith you stain his name
 Will turn, considered rightly, to his fame.
 I do not sever Love from Reason's law,
 But say that they in one sweet yoke do draw; 50
 Nor let your wit dissension strive to make
 When they in joint command such pleasure take.
 As for the joys which from these joined do flow,
 To be beyond expression I do know;
 So may they fall on you from Love's large hand 55
 If to this Love you do not rebel stand,
 And we in one opinion shall agree,
 If both, to both, may fellow-servants be.
 For me, if sceptic like you will dispute
 And what I feel in heart with words refute, 60

50 do] will HK 1
 53 the joys] that joy HK 1

Go on, and laugh at Love's commanding fire,
Till you cannot your scorched self retire.
My curse a blessing was, your prayer a curse;
For not to love, than scorn in love is worse.
O let sighs prodigally spend my breath, 65
My sufferings doubled be until my death;
So but in one kind look they her engage,
One hour, so lived, is longer than an age.

R.

Not like a sceptic equally distract,
Nor like a sophister of sleights compact,
Nor to vie wit (a vanity of youth),
Nor for the love of victory, but truth,
The lists again I enter, bold, assured, 5
Within my cause's right, strongly immured.

Man unto man both text and comment is:
They that best read this character of his,
His body, and they that most understand
The sense thereof, his soul, do both command. 10
This is a firm rule infallibly true,
Not to be changed for one more weak, more new:
That Reason holds the head, and highest part;
Th'affections lower are placed in the heart
To show that they must serve and still obey; 15

61 Love's] trew HK 1

67 but] that HK 1

1660, HK 1

6 cause's right] cause, right HK 1

11 is HK 1: as 1660

Reason must ruler be and bear the sway.
 From this pure fountain see how pure the streams
 Do run, from this bright sun how fair the beams.
 Anger whilst he a servant true persisteth
 Whetteth mild Justice' sword, Valour assisteth, 20
 But when his power to himself he taketh,
 He nought but brawls and wars and slaughters maketh,
 Furthereth revenge, injustice, wrong, and hate,
 Nothing but blood his fury can abate;
 And that but for a while; for hot and dry 25
 He thirsteth oft, as oft for blood doth cry.
 And so of all th'affections of the mind,
 When them we do in due obedience find,
 Great helps they are, and ministers of good,
 But else to vice a fierce and headlong brood. 30

What privilege beyond the rest hath Love?
 Show his exemption and his freedom prove.
 Is he no affection? Then is he worse,
 A passion, the body's waster, mind's curse.
 As long as he to Reason yields subjection 35
 He is the best and principal affection,
 Effects most good, the cement, band and tie
 Of human fellowship, wherein doth lie
 All the dear comfort which makes life a life,
 Without whose influence nothing but strife 40
 Would bring us together, or we should live

17 pure. . . pure] cleare. . . cleare HK 1
 26 as] & HK 1
 30 But] Or HK 1
 33 no. . . is he] not an. . . hees HK 1:
 39 comfort. . . makes HK 1: comforts. . . makes 1660

Stragglings alone and no account could give
 That e'er we had been here: with us would die,
 Summed in our deaths, life of posterity.
 When best things are corrupt they most are so; 45
 Love once defected doth more traitor grow
 And works 'gainst Reason with more violence
 Than all the rest, and with more smooth pretence.
 I need not here repeat, will not enlarge
 His faults, I loathly take 'gainst Love that charge; 50
 I only say that Reason is his king,
 And Love, at highest, is his underling.

You do confess - or truth doth it extort -
 That Reason sovereign is in clearest sort,
 Committing unto Love the senses' state, 55
 Which shows Love's power is but subordinate.
 But then again where you would end the strife,
 Making Love the husband, Reason the wife,
 You begin anew; error hath no stay,
 Runs infinitely on, but not one way, 60
 Crosseth itself, findeth no resting place,
 Appeareth always with another face;
 Increaseth faster and doth multiply
 Beyond the breed of any spawned fry.
 Truth is still one, its one centre and end 65
 Still like itself and to itself a friend.
 Who gave the soul's abstract intelligences
 Bodies and sex (nearer to bring the senses
 Acquainted with them and their high enjoy)

46 more HK 1: most 1660
 54 clearest HK 1: dearest 1660
 58 Love the husband] the husband Love HK 1
 61 findeth] finding HK 1

Made Love a lasting and perpetual boy, 70
Still in minority, never of age,
A ward to Reason serving as his page;
Because to govern he is most unfit,
By nonage, fair excuse, they him acquit.

Nature's best observers the wise Egyptians 75
In their abstruse and mystical descriptions
Did of each element two sexes frame,
Which yet, for marriage' sake, had but one name.
Of fire, the mast'ring heat, they made the male,
The female what was flaming, weak and pale; 80
Of air, the man was active, bustling wind,
The rainy, weeping clouds, of womankind.
The deep and boundless sea was masculine,
The shallow, slender rivers feminine;
Of earth the constant, rocky part was he, 85
The gentle, yielding, tilled vein a she.
So in the soul, Understanding and Will
Betwixt themselves hold such proportion still
As male and female; he strongly imprints
Upon her easiness, she never stints 90
But straight pursues with ready inclination
Or quickly shuns with shrinking aversation.
As is the object he begets on her,
So her desires do duly move and stir.

What else is Reason to be more exact 95
But the redoubled and reflected act
Of Understanding? What th'affections
But the agitations and ejections

72 Missing in 1660
85 earth HK I: Earrh 1660

Of Will, where Love is one, as all may see,
 To Reason born a servant in degree? 100
 If you in ought conformity had held
 With nature's course, and not 'gainst all rebelled,
 But Reason husband, Love for wife had meant,
 I straight to be at peace had given consent;
 Not thought it strange, but had been well apaid 105
 That Reason now had married his handmaid,
 In hope that she in duty for that honour
 Which he in grace had thus bestowed upon her,
 Would strive by all obedience to appear
 More lovely in his eyes, and still more dear. 110

Thus having made it safe that every way
 Love must as servant or as wife obey,
 I here might rest against Truth's brazen wall
 And not regard the drops which on it fall;
 Yet will I wipe away as they do lie, 115
 Some spots which you have dashed in passing by.
 And first, that Love doth hurt and overthrow,
 Doth him no master make, but monster show;
 A master's strength preserves, a monster's spoils:
 It is the use that force from vice assoils. 120
 Strange things of wars and stratagems you tell,
 And little business with great words do swell.
 What helps 'twixt truth and me this grave formality?
 Love is a sneaking, corner-seeking quality,

100 in HK 1: by 1660
 105 had HK 1: should 1660
 106 his HK 1: her 1660
 110 dear HK 1: clear 1660
 112 as. . . as HK 1: as a. . . as a 1660
 122 do HK 1: doth 1660

Which hates the light, chooseth false times and shapes 125
 To make his drifts to cover his escapes;
 And when he is descried, his vizard torn,
 He proves a lucky jest, a fertile scorn.
 Love sends not me, nor need I vainly go
 To fetch the meanings which I always know. 130
 Her single heart is one, and one to me
 Dares show itself, it is so clean, so free;
 From thence such warrant have I of her smiles
 That I mistrust them not for glittering wiles,
 But know when the deep channel of her heart 135
 With joy is over-filled, it doth impart
 Some to the banks, and flows into her face
 Which leaves thereon a fresh and springing grace.
 Her frowns I know not what, nor that they are.
 When Reason rules, Love feasts on no such fare, 140
 Tastes nought but what is pure and truly sweet;
 Then bodies do but bring the souls to meet,
 Who shines through and all within discovers,
 No thought lies hid 'twixt such beloved lovers.
 Sly reservations, shuffling excuses, 145
 Minced favours, made frowns, welcome abuses
 Lose then their use, and have at all no place:
 When Love is master, they have only grace.
 A proverb's proof is not so soon put off
 By slight neglect or by a mighty scoff, 150
 Whose truth his life hath hitherto maintained
 And through so many ages credit gained.

128 a fertile] & fertile HK 1
 150 mighty] windy HK 1

They are the quintessence of Truth, extract
From vulgar use, and of such strength compact
That they have lived indeed in living men 155
Since many volumes writ by mortal pen
Are dead and gone; and more to ruin tend
Whilst these from sire to son do still descend.

Nor need it as a fault be here excused
That I expressed a nature most confused 160
In terms so like itself, for Love once gone
From Reason hath no hold to rest upon;
But our unseasoned flesh you rather blame,
Which unto me doth just appear the same
As if you should condemn the mice, not swine, 165
Who love to wallow there, and think it fine.

Likewise the friendship which such love doth breed
Doth end in hate both of themselves and deed.
Whenever you can Love to Reason marry,
I will not from that happy wedding tarry, 170
So that you sex them right by nature's law,
But yield them all the service, fear, and awe
Which unto such a king and queen belong,
Whose force will so united grow more strong.

I mean not to deny, had rather cure 175
The pangs your heart infected doth endure;
And for Love's scorching fits, I fear them not:
Reason or Love shall be my antidote.
But not to love, than scorn in love, is worse;
This baseness is to man the greatest curse. 180

153 Truth HK 1: Truths 1660
160 expressed/ express HK 1
175 mean] meant HK 1

A scorn no being hath, cannot proceed
From an inferior in word or deed.

How can we so unman ourselves and fall
Beneath that creature which was made of all
Next under us? To be more evident,
Who stands as he was born cannot consent.

185

Bad usage soon would force my heart to turn,
And make the fire of Love to anger burn;

But you do all so willingly abide
As that your ease would be the sicker side.

190

A small reward will you contentment give,
When but a phoenix' death you wish to live,
Where may you burn in flames both short and sweet.
Thus since our wills will not, our prayers shall meet.

P.

Men sad and settled love not to contend;
Dispute my wounds may vex, but never mend.
If Love had pleased I might have tasted joy
In as full measure as I prove annoy,

But princes show on some their power, their grace
On some, and both without control do place.

5

Me for the first, O me Love kept in store
When to that cruel fair he gave me o'er,
In whom all worth so eminent appears

As her disdain the style of justice bears;

10

188 make HK 1: made 1660

194 prayers shall meet HK 1: Prayers meet 1660
1660, HK 1

And thus with me Love played a master-part,
When with one choice he hurt, and pleased, my heart.

For, than I am, let me more wretched prove,
If her (howe'er unkind) I leave to love. 15
Thus to be fond of scorn you sickness call;
In truth, 'tis I to Love, my lord, am thrall.
'Tis he that makes me find these wonders true,
And he may work the same as well in you;
For even in your sound health I find this strife:
Love late was Reason's lackey, now his wife. 20
But to conclude debate whilst you are free,
You may make Love even what you list to be,
As those that will describe an unknown land
Place cities, rivers, hills where none do stand.
Even so you deal with Love and straight will know 25
How far he shoots, that never felt his bow.
One day you may, and then confess with me
You love his fetters more than to be free.

R.

Nor will I now your wound exulcerate
But rather grieve at your deplored estate,
Yet must I not myself so much forsake
As not to show wherein you me mistake.

For peace, and you, I was content to find 5
How Love and Reason might be near combined,
But not their natures alter or confound,
Nor I remove at all from my first ground

ll played] plays HK 1
1660, HK 1

Of due obedience which just Love doth owe
 To Reason, though it should to highest grow. 10
 'Twas not well done of you thus to object
 That which I did for you in your respect;
 Beside, your argument is drawn amiss
 From that which may be unto that which is.
 I did not Love for Reason's wife avow 15
 But only gave it possible; and how
 That I am disengaged, untouched, and free
 Makes me of Love the fitter judge to be.
 Self-interest doth so corrupt and blind
 The clearness quite, and soundness of your mind 20
 That Justice still to it hath born a grudge;
 No law allows a party be a judge.
 In what we earnest are ourselves we leese;
 A looker-on more than a gamester sees.
 To say my heart was maimed in Cupid's wars 25
 And pity beg by showing of my scars,
 Or tell what losses I have had by fire
 Doth sure a weaker heart than mine require.
 Yet have I loved, and may do so again;
 A strong link I have been in that fair chain 30
 Which you a fetter call, and rightly too,
 But that a breaking link did me undo.
 You pierce me deep to say I never loved
 When it by so much truth hath been approved;
 Yet for all this we will not disagree, 35
 Each lover thinks none ever loved but he.

10 though HK 1: thought 1660

15 avow] allow HK 1.

20 soundness of your HK 1: sadness of the 1660

22 No. . . be a HK 1: Nor. . . to be 1660

PEMBROKE'S POEMS

Sonnet.

Can you suspect a change in me
And value your own constancy?
O no! you found that doubt in your own heart,
Where Love his images but kissed,
Not graved, fearing that dainty flesh would smart 5
And so his painful sculpture would resist;
But wrought in mine without remorse,
Till he of it thy perfect statue made
As full of sweetness as of force.
Only unkindness may the work invade, 10
And so it may defaced remain
But never can another form retain.

While we dispute our liberty
I have lost mine,
And which is worse, incline 15
To love that slavery.
Not the Great Charter nor the King's-Bench can free
Me from the chain wherein my thoughts she tied;
For our dull Earth what care is had we see,
Yet eas'ly let our mind 20
Into more thraldom slide.
Oh that she were but kind!
To give for that a pledge,
There were my law, and there my privilege.

Dear, can you take my soul from me 25
And yet have no belief
That I have grief?

O, did your fair eyes ever see
 (Without a painful force)
 That sad divorce? 30
 The soul and body love like me,
 Not you, the evening kind,
 The morning of another mind,
 And every several hour
 Slack and increase that power. 35
 They are by Love made perfect One;
 No less than death makes them become alone.

When the resistless flames of my desire
 Make Aetna of my heart
 And I, enraged, impart 40
 The torments unto you and press
 For pity in this violent distress,
 You sing, and think I feign this fire.
 Because one frown of yours can all control,
 Wrong not my pains, you are the true 45
 Higher part of my soul;
 The lower tyrant is to me and slave to you.

 Why do you give me leave to sip
 And pull the cup from my so thirsty lip
 Before I drink? 50
 Desire hath left my heart to think,
 And is dispersed in every outward part:
 My hands, lips, eyes,
 That all restraint despise.
 While it was in my heart 55
 It did your will, in chains of slavish fears,
 But these have all no ears.

Sonnet.

I.

Canst thou love me and yet doubt
So much falsehood in my heart
That a way I should find out
To impart

Fragments of a broken love to you, 5
More than all being less than due?
O no! Love must clear distrust
Or be eaten with that rust:

Short love liking may find jars
The love that's lasting knows no wars. 10

II.

This belief begets delight
And so satisfies desire
That in them it shines as light,
No more fire;

All the burning qualities appeased, 15
Each in other's joying pleased:
Not a whisper, not a thought
But 'twixt both in common's brought;
Even to seem two they are loath,
Love being but one soul in both. 20

1660, HL
10 that's lasting] that lasteth HL
11 This] There
13 That. . . as HL: And. . . a 1660
16 joying HL: joyning 1660
20 but one soul in] only soul to HL

Song.

Soul's joy, when I am gone
And you alone
(Which cannot be
Since I must leave myself with thee
And carry thee with me), 5
Yet when unto our eyes
Absence denies
Each other's sight,
And makes to us a constant night,
When others change to light, 10
O give no way to grief,
But let belief
Of mutual love
This wonder to the vulgar prove:
Our bodies, not we, move. 15
Let not thy wit bewweep
Wounds but sense-deep,
For while we miss
By distance our lip-joining bliss
Even then our souls shall kiss. 20
Fools have no means to meet
But by their feet;
Why should our clay

L777, 1635

I when] now 1635

17 wounds] words 1635

18 while] when 1635

19 lip-joining] hopes joyning 1635

Over our spirits so much sway
To tie us to that way?

25

[26] O give no way to griefe, &c. 1635.

I left you, and now the gain of you
is to me a double gain.

Dear, when I think upon my first, sad fall
From thy fair eyes, I needs must feel withal
The many widowed hours I since have numbered,
Which in wished shades I might have safely slumbered,
Rocked into endless heavenly trances by 5
Thy soul-enchanting graces' harmony;
Whilst I enjoyed not what I did possess,
But, like an unthrift of my happiness
Did not my loss till 'twas too late espy,
As children kill their birds and after cry. 10
But, since those clouds that so eclipsed thy light
(And gave my every day so many a night,
As my life had but a dead winter been
Had I no better after sunshine seen)
Are fled, let us (thou best of me) redeem 15
Those hours we fondly did so disesteem;
And since past joys are but bewailed in vain,
Come, and we'll prove them over all again:
That small division so will come the meeter
To make the music of our bliss the sweeter. 20

1660, Hol., RB, A47

4 might have safely] safely might have RB

6 graces' MSS.: Graces 1660

11 those. . . eclipsed thy light] these. . . ecclypse
thy sight A47

15 Since they are Fled oh let vs now redeeme A47

19 That] The RB

20 To] And RB

Muse get thee to a cell, and, wont to sing,
 Now mourn, nay, now thy hands, thy heart now wring;
 And if perhaps thine eyes did ever weep,
 Now bleed, and in eternal sorrow sleep.
 O, she that was, and only was, is gone; 5
 And I, that was but one, am left alone.
 Who says that I for things ne'er mine am sad?
 That was all mine which others never had.
 No sighs, no tears, no blood but mine was shed
 For her that now must bless another's bed. 10
 As fate bound me, had fortune made me free,
 None had had her but I, she none but me.
 O had not I been swallowed up with night
 Before I saw your sun, that glorious light
 Whose beams alone do only comfort bring, 15
 Where I still weep, had ever made me sing:
 Now on a strange horizon it doth rise
 Where all do live, and elsewhere each thing dies.

1660, A23, Hol., HK 2, Eng 50

14 your] the MSS.

18 and elsewhere] and else where MSS.: or else where
1660

That he will still persevere in his love.

Nay, I must love thee still,
Be it for those good deeds thou hast done,
That thou hast loved me once hath won
And made me ever thine;
Though I am tempted and provoked with scorn 5
 My love cannot decline.
Though I with hopes, doubts, and despairs am torn,
Nay should I fret, think, grieve, and die
For thee, and know not why,
 Yet I must love thee still. 10
Nothing removes my heart:
Ages that change and (slow things) move
May wear my body, not my love;
 So fixed I am on thee
That all thy spite cannot devise 15
 A wrong to trouble me!
Alas, I dote in all thy injuries;
Though all thy looks were feigned and thy sighs wind,
Though thy free vows thou shouldst unbind,
 Nothing could move my heart. 20
Nay I must love thee still;
Love that wears, and into ashes goeth in thee,
Raiseth new bodies up in me.
 I am Love's wild-fire right,
Whose powerful tempered flames being rightly bred, 25
 Burns by his opposite.

1660, A23 (lines 1-20 only)
12 change. . . things] changes. . . things 1660:
changes. . . runs A23

Hopes kill, and violent despairs have fed
My passions; I have power to live and die:
Nay, should it oppose destiny,
 Yet I must love thee still.

30

A Sonnet.

Dear, leave thy home and come with me
That scorn the world for love of thee;
Here we will live within this park,
A court of joy and pleasure's ark.

Here we will hunt, here we will range, 5
Constant in love, our sports we'll change;
Of hearts if any change we make,
I will have thine, thou mine shalt take.

Here we will walk upon the lawns
And see the tripping of the fawns, 10
And all the deer shall wait on thee,
Thou shalt command both them and me.

The leaves a whispering noise shall make,
Their music-notes the birds shall take,
And while thou art in quiet sleep 15
All the green wood shall silence keep.

And while my herds about thee feed,
Love's lessons in thy face I'll read,
And feed upon thy lovely look,
For beauty hath no fairer book. 20

1660, Pen, F322, HK 2, H69
16 All HK 2, H69: And 1660, Pen, F322
16 wood] leaves Pen, F322, H69

It's not the weather nor the air,
It is thy self that is so fair;
Nor doth it rain when heaven lowers,
But when you frown then fall the showers.

One sun alone moves in the sky, 25
Two suns thou hast, one in each eye;
Only by day that sun gives light:
Where thine do rise, there is no night.

Fair starry twins, scorn not to shine
Upon my lambs, upon my kine, 30
My grass doth grow, my corn and wheat,
My fruit, my vines thrive by their heat.

Thou shalt have wool, thou shalt have silk,
Thou shalt have honey, wine and milk;
Thou shall have all, for all is due 35
Where thoughts are free, and love is true.

28 Where] When Pen
28 do MSS.: doth 1660

A Sonnet.

Doron the sad shepherd's swain
Who abroad had long time been,
Coming to those fields again
Where he Cloris oft had seen,

With love and sorrow waxes faint. 5
(None but his poor cur and he)
As he on his sheep-hook leant
It was his chance that bank to see,

Near a little purling brook,
Where the mistress of his heart 10
Leave of faithful Doron took
From his presence to depart.

He quickly found the ancient flame
Which had oft bereaved his rest,
When back now to that place he came 15
Where her eyes first pierced his breast.

Looking on the mead and grove
Where her herds are wont to browse,
Faithful witness of his love
Which so oft had heard his vows; 20

12 his] her 1660

Where he had seen his Cloris merry,
Walking in the pleasant spring,
Tended by the frisking fairy,
Dancing many a wanton ring;

Woods, quoth he, I saw you woo her 25
And as through your shades she past,
Humbly bowed your lops unto her,
With each little trembling blast.

I have seen this wand'ring will 30
Oft the silent murmur break,
And from the natural course stand still,
Ravished to hear her speak.

In these meadows richly dight,
Gath'ring strowing for her bowers
The bees are dazzled in her sight, 35
Taking her blue veins for flowers,

Stingless on her temples stuck;
Famine could not threaten death
But their labour quite forsook
For the sweetness of her breath. 40

I have seen the gentle wind
His most speedy course forbear,
And it wondrous sport to find
In dallying with her braided hair.

Never did the morn awake her, 45
If herself but once she showed,
But the birds would music make her
Still to welcome her abroad.

Then poor shepherd swain, quoth he, 50
Let thy thoughts of her suffice,
It is too high a task for thee
To tell the wonders of her eyes.

O, dear Cloris, then come to us,
Bless the summer with thy sight;
Or thy absence will undo us, 55
For the world will half be night.

One heart made of two.

If that you must needs go
What shall our one heart do -
This one made of our two?

Madam, two hearts we break,
And from them both did take
The best, one heart to make.

5

Half this is of your heart,
Mine is the other part
Joined by our equal art.

Were it cemented or sewn
By shreds or pieces known
We each might find our own.

10

But 'tis dissolved and fixed
So curiously and mixed
No difference is betwixt.

15

But how shall we agree
By whom it kept shall be,
Whether by you or me?

RB, 1660, HK 2, WI
1 that] thus HK 2, WI
2 one] own HK 2, WI
8 is] in 1660, HK 2, WI
11 shreds...known] threads...hewn HK 2, WI
16 how shall we HK 2, WI: shall we now RB: shall
we 1660

It cannot two breasts fill,
One must be heartless still 20
Until the other will.

It was with me today
When I willed it to say
With whether it would stay.

It told me in your breast 25
Where it might hope to rest
As if it were my guest.

For certainly it knew
That I would still anew
Be sending it to you. 30

Never I think had two
Such work, so much to do,
A unity to woo.

Yours was so cold and chaste
Whilst mine with zeal did waste 35
Like fire with water placed.

How my heart did entreat,
How pant, how it did beat
Till it could give yours heat!

27 As] For HK 2, 1660: Then WI
33 A HK 2, WI: Or RB: An 1660
37 my heart did] did my heart HK 2, WI

Till to that temper brought
With either's mixture wrought
That blessing, either's thought.

40

In such a height it lies
From this base world's dull eyes
That heaven it not envies.

45

All that this earth can show
Our hearts shall not once know,
For it's too vile and low.

41 mixture 1660, HK 2, WI: mixtures RB
44 eyes] joyes HK 2, WI
45 That 1660, HK 2, WI: The RB

That he would not be beloved.

Disdain me still, that I may ever love,
For who his love enjoys can love no more,
The war once past, with peace men cowards prove,
And ships returned do rot upon the shore.
Then though thou frown, I'll say thou art most fair, 5
And still I'll love, though still I must despair.

As heat's to life, so is desire to love,
For these once quenched, both life and love are done;
Let not my sighs nor tears thy virtue move,
Like basest metals do not melt too soon, 10
Laugh at my woes although I ever mourn,
Love surfeits with rewards, his nurse is scorn.

1660, p.45, A23, Hol, HK 1, HK 2, S96, PS, 1660, p.5

Stanza division from A23, 1660, p.5

3 peace] ease HK 1, S96, PS

7 heat's] heat HK 1, S96, PS

8 life and love are done] love and life are gone HK 1,
S96

10 basest] baser HK 1, PS

10 metals] metal A23, HK 1, HK 2, Hol, 1660, p.5

12 rewards] reward HK 1, S96, PS, 1660, p.5

Of Friendship.

Friendship on earth we may as eas'ly find,
As he the Northeast Passage that is blind;
'Tis not unlike th'imaginary stone
That tattered chemists long have doted on.
Sophisticate affection is the best 5
This age affords; no friend abides the test:
They make a glorious show a little space
But tarnish in the rain like copper-lace;
Or, nealed in affliction but one day,
They smoke and stink and vapour quite away. 10
We miss the true materials choosing friends,
On virtue we project not but our ends;
So by degrees when we embrace so many,
We courted are like whores, not loved of any.
Good turns ill placed that we on all men heap, 15
Are seeds of that ingratitude we reap:
And he that is so sweet he none denies,
Was made of honey for the nimble flies.

1660, Hol, Pen, Hk 1, A10

- 1 on earth we may as eas'ly] we may on earth as
easy HK 1
2 Northeast] Northwest A10
3 'Tis] Its A10
6 This age] The world A10
6 No friend abides] no frends abide HK 1
8 tarnish] vanish Hol
9 Or] For HK 1
10 vapour...quite] vapour...all HK 1: vanish...
quite A10
13 when we embrace so] wee entertaine so HK 1: whilst
we embrace too A10
15 Good turns ill placed] For the good turnes HK 1:
Good deeds ill placed A10

Choose one or two companions of thy life,
Then be as true as thou wouldst have thy wife.
Though he live joyless that enjoys no friend,
He that hath many pays for't in the end.

20

19 one or two A10: one of two 1660, Hol, Pen: two
or three HK 1

A Sonnet.

Saint did never yet object
Former knowledge's defect
Against those whose zealous vows
True devotion avows;
If my merit yet be small 5
To procure your love withal,
Time alone to you must prove
How well I will deserve your love.
Grace in saints ought to abound;
Grace ne'er grows on merit's ground. 10
Be then gracious, as I true,
Constant and faithful unto you;
And my fortunes that have crowned
Me happy on that relic's ground,
Shall be all ascribed to serve 15
You that do all praise deserve.

To his mistress, of his friend's opinion
of her, and his answer to his friend's
objections, with his constancy towards
her.

One with admiration told me
He did wonder much and marvel,
As by chance he did behold thee,
How I could become so servile
To thy beauty, which he swears
Ev'ry ale-house lattice wears.

5

Then he frames a second notion
From thy revoluting eyes,
Saying such a wanton motion
From their lustre did arise,
That of force thou couldst not be
From the shame of women free.

10

Then he blames the work of Nature
'Cause she framed thy body tall,
Alleging that so high a stature
Was most subject to a fall,
Still detracting from thy worth
That which most doth set thee forth.

15

1660, HL
3 thee HL: ye 1660

So the buzzard Phoebus flies,
When the eagle's piercing eye 20
Sees those noble mysteries
Which adorn the azured sky;
Bravest objects, so we find,
Strike the weaker judgments blind.

For I know thy native beauty 25
(Teaching art her imitation)
Owes no mortal power a duty;
But as free from alteration,
If not whiter, as the skin
Of the spotless ermelin. 30

And those love-alluring darts
Shot from thy translucent eye,
To the knowing man imparts
Such an awful majesty,
That each man may read the mirror 35
Of thy mind, and he his error.

If thy curious body's frame
To thy making add no splendour,
Why adore we Cynthia's name
And our poets most commend her, 40
When amongst her nymphs she crouches,
Cedar-like 'mongst lower bushes?

19 Buzzard, Phoebus HL: Buzzard Phoebus 1660
21 Sees] See 1660, HL
35 That] As HL

But my Julia I am sure
Be thou low or high of stature,
Thou from blemish art as pure
As the yesternight-born creature.
And though blind men talk of light,
None can judge that wants his sight.

45

45 art as HL: art and as 1660

To his Mistress on his Death.

O let me groan one word into thine ear
And with that groan break all my vital strings,
Thou that wouldst never, now vouchsafe to hear
How Leda's bird on sweet Meander sings:
So dying tapers lend their fiery flashes, 5
And dearest cinders have some burning ashes.

Those were the looks that once maintained my strength,
Those were the words that all my parts did cherish;
And what, unkindest, wilt thou gain at length
If by the same I miserably perish? 10
This, that a frown did in a minute starve,
That which a smile did many years preserve.

1660, RB, Hol, HL, AC

5 lend] have AC

6 dearest cinders] deadliest embers AC

10 miserably] miserable RB, Hol, HL

11 This, that a frown did in a minute starve] This,
that\not/... Hol: To kill, a frown...serve RB:
That frown, that frown did...AC

The picture of his Mistress.

When mine eyes, first admiring your rare beauty
Secretly stole the picture of your face,
They, fearing they might err, with humble duty
Through unknown paths conveyed it to that place,
Where Reason and true Judgment hand in hand
Sat, and each workmanship of senses scanned. 5

Reason could find no reason but to love it,
So rich of beauty was it, full of grace;
True Judgment scanned each part and did approve it
To be the model of some heavenly face: 10
And both agreed to place it in my heart,
Whence they decreed it never should depart.

Then, since I was not born to be so blest
Your real self fair mistress to obtain,
Yet must your image dwell within my breast, 15
And in that secret closet still remain;
Where all alone, retired, I'll sit and view
Your picture, Mistress, since I may not you.

1660, RB, Hol: Title from Hol.

1 your rare] of your RB
6 scanned RB, Hol: stand 1660
7 could] would Hol
9 part] place Hol
12 Whence] where RB

Why with unkindest swiftness dost thou turn
 From me, whose absence thou didst only mourn? -
 Of which thou mad'st me such a seeming show
 As unbelievers would have thought it true.
 We have been private, and thou know'st of mine 5
 (Which is even all) as much as I of thine.
 Dost thou remember? Let me call t'account
 Thy pleasant garden, and that leafy mount
 Whose top is with an open arbour crowned
 And spanned with greenest palisades round, 10
 Whereon the powers of night may oft have seen us
 And heard the contracts that have been between us.
 Dost thou remember, O securest beauty,
 Where, of thine own free motion (more than duty)
 And unrequired, thou solemnly didst swear 15
 (Of which avenging heaven can witness bear)
 That from the time thou gav'st thy spoils to me
 Thou wouldst maintain a spotless chastity,
 And, unprofaned by any second hand,
 From sport and love's delight removed stand; 20
 Till I, whose absence seemingly was mourned,
 Should from a foreign kingdom be returned?
 Of this thou mad'st religion and an oath;

HK 2, f.105, 1660, HK 2, f.101 (lines 1-18 only)
 2 me...only] me...truly 1660: one...only HK 2, f.101
 3 show] view 1660: hue HK 2, f.101
 10-11 Missing in 1660
 12 Missing in 1660 and HK 2, f.101
 15 unrequired] required HK 2, f.101
 17 thy 1660, HK 2, f.101: the HK 2, f.105

But see the frailty of a woman's troth!
 Scarce had the sun (to many rooms assigned) 25
 Been thrice within the changeful waves confined,
 And I scarce three days' journey from thine eyes
 When thou new love didst in thy heart devise,
 And gav'st the relics of thy virgin-head
 Upon the easiest prayers as could be said. 30
 'Tis true, I left thee to a dangerous age
 Where vice in angel's shape does title wage
 With ancient virtue, both disguising so
 That hardly weaker eyes can either know.
 Besides, I left thee in the hour of fears, 35
 And in the covetous spring of all thy years,
 What time a beauty that hath well begun
 Asks other than the solace of a nun.
 But since thy wanton soul so dear did prize
 The gain that thou for it didst underprize 40
 Thy faith and all that to good fame belongs,
 Couldst thou not cover it from common tongues,
 But cheapest eyes must see thee tread amiss?
 My rhymes that won thee never taught thee this.
 Thou might'st have wandered in the paths of love, 45
 And neither leafless hill nor shady grove
 Have been unpressed by thy wanton weight,
 Yet thou thought honest, hadst thou used sleight.

28 didst in thy heart] in thy heart didst 1660
 30 prayers as] prayer that 1660
 40 gain] game 1660
 40 didst 1660: did HK 2
 43 tread] do 1660

Much care and business hath the chastest dame
 To guard herself from undeserved blame. 50
 What artifice and cunning then must serve
 To colour them that just reproof deserve?
 'Tis not a work for every woman's wit,
 And the less marvel thou neglectedst it.
 That which amazes me the most is this: 55
 That having never trodden but amiss,
 And done me wrongs that do as much deny
 To suffer measure as infinity,
 When I approach, thou turn'st thy head awry,
 As if sour eyes and scorn could satisfy. 60
 Can second wrongs the former expiate
 And work them out of memory and date?
 Or teach me, ill in humane precepts nursed,
 That second mischiefs do secure the first?
 Thou art malicious as incontinent, 65
 And mightst have met with such a patient
 Whose wronged virtue to just rage invited,
 Would have revenged, and in thy dust delighted.
 But I that have no gall, when once I love,
 And whom no great things under heaven can move, 70
 Am well secured from Fortune's weak alarms,
 And free from apprehension as from harms.
 Thus do I leave thee to the multitude
 That on my leavings hastily intrude.
 Enjoy thou many, or rejoice in one, 75
 I was before them, and before me none.

- 60 sour] sore 1660
 63 nursed] durst 1660
 64 mischiefs do secure] wrongs do expiate 1660
 70 things] thing 1660
 73 multitude 1660: multitudes HK 2
 74 leavings] leaving 1660

POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO PEMBROKE
IN MANUSCRIPTS

But when I did give thee more
Than again thou couldst restore

And woman be,

I forced thee against thy will

To remain ungrateful still,

By binding thee

Too much to me.

25

23 than again thou couldst...] then thou couldst
well... A21, A25, H69
25 forced] made A21, A25, H69

Had she a glass and feared the fire,
That tells her that her eyes
Can make all hearts burnt offerings of desire,
And not become themselves a sacrifice.
Fire burns not fire,
Nought can their force impair,
But (what is bred by their own cruelty) despair.

5

A18, RP 117, TCD
2 That tells] They tould TCD
4 And not become RP 117, TCD: And become A18
6 their] there RP 117

My dead and buried love is risen again,
A true type of our other day,
And now doth in my thoughts remain
Refined, as then shall be our fleshly clay.

'Twill be a glorious garment of our soul, 5
No burden then, no whit abate
The soul's powers, which without control
Shall work more freely than if separate.

So my love now hath infinite delight,
As much desires, not built upon 10
Sensual touches; no, no, in spite
Of those, my sight is now fruition.

A18
9 delight] desires MS.
10 desires] delight MS.

Epitaph on Robert,
Earl of Salisbury.

You that read in passing by
Robert Earl of Salisbury,
Know that in so short a story
Thou canst never find such glory;
All state secrets on him laid, 5
He the staff of treasure swayed,
Gave his master all the gain
Of the wards, reserved the pain:
Governed all with so clean hands
As most maliced silent stands, 10
And who snarl will be soon
Found dogs barking at the moon.
This tomb hath his bones possessed,
Heaven and friends hold dear the rest.

Pem, Che Title supplied.
1 read in] read Che
4 Thou canst...such] You can...more Che
5 state] ye Che
9 clean] cleare Che
11 And who...will] All that...shall Che
14 hold dear] preserue Che

DUBIA

Victorious beauty, though your eyes
Are able to subdue a host,
And therefore are unlike to boast
The taking of a little prize,
Do not a single heart despise. 5

It came alone, but yet so armed
With former love, I durst have sworn
That where a privy coat was worn
With characters of beauty charmed,
Thereby it might have 'scaped unharmed. 10

But neither steel nor stony breast
Are proof against those looks of thine;
Nor can a beauty less divine
Of any heart be long possessed,
Where thou pretend'st an interest. 15

Thy conquest in regard of me
Alas, was small, but in respect
Of her that did my love protect,
Were it divulged, deserved to be
Recorded for a victory. 20

A25, A21, H39, M13, Sel 52, Eg27

2 a] an MSS. and Sel 52

2 Are] Be Eg27

3 unlike] not like M13

5 single M13, Eg27, Sel 52: little A25, A21, H39

6 but] and M13

13 less] so M13

15 thou pretendst] you intend Sel 52

16 Thy] The Eg27, Sel 52

17 was] is M13, Eg27, Sel 52

18 love] heart M13

19 deserved] deserves M13, Eg27

And such a one, as some that view
Her lovely face perhaps may say,
Though you have stolen my heart away,
If all your servants prove not true,
May steal a heart or two from you.

25

COMMENTARY

Although Pembroke's poems have many of the characteristics of the 'Metaphysical' verse being written in the early seventeenth century - the argumentative strain, the poet's self-consciousness, the images of violence, and the popular Platonic attitude toward love: - they are seldom 'difficult' in the way that poems by Donne, Herbert, and Cowley are. There is little abstruse learning, whether religious or scientific, and when his poems are difficult to follow, the difficulty usually arises not from quick turns of thought but from inaccurate syntax, apparently resulting either from his inability to write better, or more likely, from his lack of concern about polishing his verse. Moreover, some of the poems have reached us only in corrupted texts. Usually the poems require little or no commentary in order to be understood; consequently my Commentary relates primarily to matters of canon and text. I list all early sources for each poem, including those whose variants were not recorded, and present the evidence for Pembroke's authorship; explain emendations or departures from my copy-text, including punctuation, where this seems required; gloss occasional obscure words; and attempt to point out the sense of lines that are particularly puzzling.

POEMS BY PEMBROKE AND RUDYERD

p. 2. 'If her disdain least change in you can move'.
1660, p.3; HK 1, p.138; H40, f.252; RP 31, f.30; A23,
 f.52^v; Hol, p.138; Pen, p.27; RP 116, f.50; RP 117,
 f.199^v; RP 147, p.81; Eng 9, p.133; A 10, f.109^v; Eg 27,
 f.91^v; H39, f.22^v; S96, f.111^v; R 240, p.13; F 125,

part 1, f.51; Q; 1635, p.195.

Although 1635, F 125, RP 117, and RP 147 all present this poem as part of a dialogue between Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, some of the manuscript attributions probably come from 1635, and no modern editor of Donne or Wotton has accepted the poem. Most of the manuscripts assign it to Pembroke, to whom it surely belongs.

7. others' moan. 1660 and MSS. use no apostrophe to indicate punctuation. Others' moan makes it the moan of several; but one might read other's moan, meaning 'another's moan'.

p.3. 'Tis love breeds love in me'.

This poem, which answers 'If her disdain' (see above), follows immediately after it in all sources, and is usually attributed to Rudyard wherever 'If her disdain' is assigned to Pembroke.

Verses on Reason and Love

The arguments of Pembroke, who asserts the sovereignty of Love over Reason, and of Rudyard, who takes the opposing position, use information which might have been found in many of the books of popular knowledge of the time. While the opinions voiced need not have had any literary inspiration, it is possible that the poems owe something to the views on Love and Reason given in Alcilia: Philoparthens Loving Folly, by J. C., published in 1595.¹

1. Reprinted in E. Arber, English Garner, IV (1895), 253.

p.4 'Shall Love that gave Latona's heir the foil'.
It is correctly attributed to Pembroke in 1660, p.5; RP31,
f.31; H40, f.253; HK 2, f.8; HK 1, p.138. Sim, p.10,
ascribes it to Donne, but no modern editor of Donne has
accepted it.

p.5 'No praise it is that him who Python slew'.
1660, p.7; RP31, f.31^v; H40, f.254; HK 2, f.8^v; HK 1,
p.139; Sim, p.11; S96, f.217 (lines 21-64, 73-78); RB,
p.280 (lines 21-64). Sim attributes this incorrectly to
Donne. The fragments in S96 and RB are anonymous, while
Group I and 1660 correctly attribute the poem to Rudyard.

p.9 'It is enough, a master you grant Love'.
This poem is attributed to Pembroke in 1660, p.11, and
HK 1, p.141.

p.12 'Not like a sceptic equally distract'.
1660, p.13, and HK 1, p.143, both assign this poem to
Rudyard.

143. shines...discovers. The verb agreement seems
incorrect, since shines and discovers apparently refer to
the lovers' souls which shine through their bodies.

p.19 'Men sad and settled love not to contend'.
1660, p.20, and HK 1, p.146, attribute the poem to Pembroke.

p.20 'Nor will I now your wound exulcerate'.
It is attributed to Rudyard in 1660, p.21; HK 1, p.147.

23. leese: set free, loosen.

PEMBROKE'S POEMS

p. 23 'Can you suspect a change in me'.

This poem was ascribed to Pembroke in 1660, p.1, where it appeared in Section I along with the group of poems answered by Rudyard. I have placed it with the rest of Pembroke's poems written individually.

p.25 'Canst thou love me and yet doubt'.

1660, p.23; HL, f.79^v; WI, p.64; A&D, part 1, p.23. It is attributed to Pembroke in 1660 and is anonymous elsewhere. Lawes's text in A&D probably comes from HL, and WI appears to come from A&D, for their readings and title are virtually identical. I suspect that some of Lawes's variants were his alterations to reduce sibilants, which musicians tried to avoid. In the preface to 2A&D he complains of Latin, "which Language we find overcharg'd with the letter S". It is fairly certain, on looking at his setting, that he altered line 20 to fit his music.

p.26 'Soul's joy when I am gone'.

1635, Lut, and O'F all give this poem to Donne, but Grierson, who rejected it, said,

The thought is Donne's, but not the airy note, the easy style, or the tripping prosody. Donne never writes of absence in this cheerful, confident strain. ¹

It is anonymous in S96, f.226; but is assigned to Pembroke in 1660, p.24, and L777, f.73. Of the latter, Grierson said, 'Mr. Chambers justly calls [it] "a very good authority"'.²

1. The Poems of John Donne II (1912), cxxxvi.

2. Ibid.