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A Manuscript of John Keats at Dumbarton Oaks

THE purpose of this paper is to establish the following facts concerning the sonnet by John Keats beginning 'Spenser! a jealous honorer of thine': that the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript of this sonnet has never been described; that this manuscript, almost certainly a first draft, was presented by Keats to the sister of John Hamilton Reynolds, Eliza Reynolds Longmore, and lent by her son, W. A. Longmore, to Lord Houghton in 1875; that the sonnet, on the direct evidence of the manuscript, was written on 5 February 1818.

The manuscript (Plate I) is without title. It is written on a single sheet of paper, six and five-eighths inches high by seven and one-eighth wide, which has been folded three times (twice vertically, once horizontally) as though to fit into a small envelope or diary. The paper is age-stained and there are several ink blots at the top. In four of the lines, some words have been ruled out, apparently at the time of composition, and replaced by others which are written above, or in front of, the original words. It is signed below the last line, at the right, 'J K,' and dated at the lower left 'Feb^r 5th 1818.' Thus far the hand is that of Keats, in the more hurried form familiar in other manuscripts revealing similar evidences of the process of composition. At the upper left is written, in a different hand, 'John Keats,' as if to make sure that the children, the grandchildren, the strangers, into whose hands this manuscript might some day fall, would always surely know that 'J K' stood for John Keats. The sheet is now backed with gauze, inlaid into a blank leaf, and bound with other blank leaves in full crushed levant. It was acquired by Mrs Robert Woods Bliss in 1905 from E. D. North, bookseller in New York, and since that time has formed part of the collection of Mr and Mrs Robert Woods Bliss. It has been shelved at Dumbarton Oaks since 1932.

Another manuscript of this sonnet, likewise in Keats's handwriting, and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, has been available for study since 1906, when it was published by Henry Buxton Forman in *The Bookman*.¹ More recently it was collated by Professor H. W. Garrod

¹ XXXI (London, October 1906), 16.

John Keats

Spenser! a jealous foe over of these
 A ^{to greater} ^{parts of} ^{the} ^{ancient} ^{poets}
 said ^{as to my} ^{single} ^{promise} ^{to} ^{refuse}
 Your eagle that might shine thro' our to please
 But Oh! Poet! 'tis impossible
 For an inhabitant of wintry Earth
 To see like Shalun with a golden yell
 Fire-wings and make a morning in his death
 It is impossible to ^{be} ^{capable} ^{from} ^{that}
 O the sudden and receive thy spiriting
 The flower must drink the nature of the soil
 Before it can but forth its blossoms bring
 Be with me in the summer days and
 Well for their honor and his pleasure try -

J. K.

Feb. 5th 1818

PLATE I
 KEATS'S SONNET TO SPENSER
 AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT
 (Dumbarton Oaks)

John Keats

Spenser! a jealous honours^t of thine
Forester deep in ^{tree}
A wanderer in thy among thy midmost wood
Did last eve ^{ask my} ~~make~~ promise to refine
Some English that might shine thine ear to please
But Elfin Poet 'tis impossible
For an inhabitant of Wintry Earth
To rise like Phoebus with a golden quill
Fire wing'd and make a morning in thy Nirth
It is impossible to ^{escape from this} ~~leave this world~~
O' the sudden and receive thy spiring
Thy The flower must drink the nature of the soil
Before it can but forth its blossoming
Be with me in the summer days and I
Will for thine honours and his pleasure try —

x pic

x pic

J K

July 5th 1818.

PLATE II

KEATS'S SONNET TO SPENSER
LONGMORE TRANSCRIPT
(Harvard College Library)

in his standard edition of the poems.² Through the courtesy of the Director of the Morgan Library, I have examined this manuscript. Certain differences between it and the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript are at once apparent. In the Morgan manuscript the sonnet is carefully written, while added at the lower right is 'I K Feb. 5,' in smaller letters and in a different manner of writing from that of the sonnet, but possibly also by Keats. Further, there is no '1818'; there are no ruled-out words or mistakes in spelling; the punctuation is carefully indicated. All other revisions of the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript appear in the Morgan manuscript as integral parts of the text, indicating a relationship of fair copy to earlier draft.³

Despite these appreciable differences, important for the opportunity given to observe and comment upon Keats's processes of poetic invention, no discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript appears in the editions, biographies, or works of criticism. Mr Garrod, in his editing of the sonnet, refers to a second autograph (other than the Morgan one), on the basis of indications given by Lord Houghton in 1876, but is unable to go further. The conclusion is inescapable that the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript has not been available to modern scholarship.

The sonnet was not printed during Keats's lifetime, either in any of the three small volumes which he saw through the press or as one of

² *The Poetical Works of John Keats* (Oxford, 1939), p. 476.

³ In addition to the Morgan manuscript, two transcripts of the sonnet have been recorded, both among the Crewe papers: one, by Woodhouse, in 'Woodhouse Transcripts, Poems II,' the other, by 'Woodhouse's clerk,' in 'Transcripts and Records' (cf. Garrod, pp. lviii, lx, 476). These transcripts are now in the Harvard College Library, as part of the Keats Memorial Collection. The Woodhouse transcript bears the notation 'ff J K's M.S.,' with 'penès me' added in pencil, still in Woodhouse's hand but apparently at a later date. In the lower right-hand corner is a note, in the same penciled writing, calling attention to the fact that Keats did not live to fulfil the promise made in the sonnet, since he never reached his 'summer days.' This transcript differs from the Morgan manuscript only in a few details of capitalization and punctuation; it is therefore quite possible, barring evidence to the contrary, that the Morgan manuscript was at one time in Woodhouse's possession.

The second transcript, that by 'Woodhouse's clerk,' agrees closely with the Woodhouse transcript, though with occasional divergences in punctuation. Usually the clerk's transcript agrees with the Woodhouse transcript instead of the Morgan manuscript, but occasionally one of the transcripts will agree with the manuscript instead of the other transcript. The clerk's transcript has 'Feb? 5th' added at the lower left in Woodhouse's hand. Garrod, p. lxi, states his belief that all the poems written by 'Woodhouse's clerk' are transcripts made from Woodhouse's own transcripts rather than from originals.

his occasional contributions to periodicals. But Keats was always writing poetry: on any scrap of paper; in copies of Shakespeare or Milton; in his friends' notebooks. His letters were full of it: 'I find that I cannot exist without poetry . . . the Sonnet over leaf did me some good. I slept the better last night for it . . .' (letter to John Hamilton Reynolds, Thursday-Friday, 17-18 April 1817); or, 'By the Whim King! I'll give you a Stanza, because it is not material in connection . . .' (letter to Reynolds, Saturday, 22 November 1817); or again, 'Yet I cannot write in prose, It is a sun-shiny day and I cannot so here goes . . .' (letter to Reynolds, Saturday, 31 January 1818).⁴ At his death, there was a mass of this uncollected, unpublished material. Much of it was turned over to Richard Monckton Milnes, afterward Lord Houghton, who, a half-generation younger, had never known Keats. The generosity of Keats's relatives, friends, and publishers provided a further store of manuscripts and information, and in 1848 Milnes issued *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains, of John Keats*, the first biography of Keats to be published. Here, embedded in the *Life*,⁵ the sonnet to Spenser appeared for the first time in print.

Both sonnet and note appeared without change (save for the addition of one comma) in subsequent printings of the *Life*, but the sonnet was not included in the numerous editions of *The Poetical Works of John Keats* edited by Milnes (from 1854) until the Aldine Edition of 1876. Here the sonnet appeared exactly as in the later printings of the *Life*, but Milnes (or Lord Houghton, as he had become) appended a new note. 'I am enabled,' he wrote, 'by the kindness of Mr. W. A. Longmore, nephew of Mr. J. W. Reynolds, to give an exact transcript of this sonnet as written and given to his mother, by the poet, at his father's house in Little Britain. . . .'⁶ On comparison, the transcript, printed below the note, showed some striking correspondences with the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript.

There appeared to be, then, a hidden connection between the Longmore transcript and the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript; that it might be discoverable seemed possible; but that it should rise — to borrow a much-discussed line from the sonnet itself — like Phoebus with a golden

⁴ The edition of Keats's letters followed has been that of Henry and Maurice Buxton Forman in the Hampstead Edition of *The Poetical Works and Other Writings of John Keats* (New York, 1938-39).

⁵ Vol. I, p. 11, with a brief introductory note.

⁶ P. 56. Minor inaccuracies appear: Reynolds's initials were 'J. H.', not 'J. W.'; 'father' should be 'grandfather.'

quell, would have surprised an even greater optimist than myself. In the collection at Dumbarton Oaks there are two holograph manuscripts of Lord Houghton, one, a ten-page review of a poem called *The Two Destinies*, by Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, the other, a letter, beginning 'My dear Sir.' Lord Houghton's handwriting was the terror of his friends. The General Post Office exhibited one of his addressed envelopes as a triumph in decipherment. The ten-page review could be bypassed; the letter, no matter how desperately illegible, must be read. The very date was compelling: 6 April 1875 — a time, in all probability, when Houghton was making ready for the press his 1876 edition referred to above. The reward was great. 'My dear Sir,' it began, 'I return you the "Keats" sonnet with many thanks.' Obviously, this letter was part of a two-way correspondence. Possibly, in view of the note and transcript in the 1876 edition, Houghton was addressing Longmore. Among the papers which the Marquess of Crewe had inherited from his father, Lord Houghton, was an album in which the latter had bound much of the material he had used in the preparation of the 1848 edition of the *Life*, as well as the correspondence addressed to him concerning Keats before and after the publication of his book. The album, with other Crewe manuscripts, now forms part of the Keats Memorial Collection of the Harvard College Library. Among these papers, the curator of the collection, Miss Mabel Steele, uncovered not only three letters from Longmore to Houghton, all on the subject of the Spenser sonnet, but also a transcript of the sonnet written in Longmore's hand (Plate II).

It was at once apparent that the source for this transcript lay in the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript. The copying was carefully done. Where Keats ruled out a word and wrote another in its place, Longmore did the same; where Keats misspelled, so did Longmore. He misread three words (for 'honorcr' he read 'honour'; for 'strive,' 'shine'; for 'quell,' 'quill'),⁷ but a glance at the manuscript itself will show how

⁷ Longmore actually wrote 'guill.'

The word 'quell' had been printed 'quill' till 1906, when H. Buxton Forman, seeing what is now the Morgan manuscript, recognized the word as 'the uncommon (perhaps reinvented) substantive *quell*' (*The Bookman*, *loc. cit.*). He refers to it again in *The Poetical Works of John Keats* (Oxford, 1906, and later editions), p. 1: ' . . . wherever Keats may have got hold of that bold and picturesque noun — whether from *Macbeth* ("our great quell") or out of his own head . . .,' while the Hampstead Edition, IV, 19, has: ' . . . the word ending line 7 is unquestionably *quell*, used as in *Macbeth*, I. vii. 72. . . .' Ernest de Sélincourt, in his valuable glossary (*The*

easily these misreadings might have occurred. A minute scrutiny will reveal a scattering of other variations, all minor, and chiefly in punctuation.⁸

Longmore's three letters to Houghton, the first transmitting a copy

Poems of John Keats, 5th ed., London, 1926, p. 619), lists two instances of Keats's use of the word as a noun: *Endymion*, ii. 537, and the *Sonnet to Spenser*, 7. As source, he, also, cites the passage from *Macbeth*, as does C. L. Finney, *The Evolution of Keats's Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), I, 364. C. D. Thorpe, in his edition of the *Complete Poems and Selected Letters* (Garden City, N. Y., 1935), p. 216, prints 'quell' in the text of the sonnet, but gives 'quill' in a footnote, without explanation. The *New English Dictionary* records two distinct meanings, from distinct sources, for the rare substantive 'quell': (1) slaying, slaughter; power or means to quell—(2) a spring, fountain. Various dictionaries available to Keats, including Johnson and Walker, list 'quell' as a substantive, defined as 'murder' and labeled 'obsolete' or 'not in use,' with 'Shakespeare' sometimes added as a source (Johnson supplying also the lines from *Macbeth*). Bailey, whose dictionary Keats is known to have owned, does not give 'quell' as a noun.

The sinister connotation of the word as used by Lady Macbeth, 'who shall bear the guilt Of our great quell,' seems to me out of key with the tone of the present sonnet. Keats was addressing Spenser, and it is perhaps not irrelevant here to quote Charles Cowden Clarke's enchanting description of the boy Keats in his first reading of *The Faerie Queen*: '. . . he went through it . . . as a young horse would go through a spring meadow—ramping!' (Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke, *Recollections of Writers*, London, 1878, p. 126). The sixth line of the sonnet ends with the words 'wintry earth,' the seventh with the words 'golden quell.' Spenser more than once coupled January, or winter, with the verb 'quell.' Might not this association have been stirring in Keats's memory? Add to this the classical attributes of Phoebus Apollo: his victory over dragons and serpents, symbolizing the driving away of winter and darkness; add the Middle English meaning, the power or means to quell—and you will have, I believe, more acceptable stimuli for the use of the word 'quell' in this sonnet than can be found in the Shakespeare passage.

It may be noted, also, that in the other use of the word by Keats, in *Endymion*, there is a similar lack of sinister coloring, with a similar sense of power:

Saving Love's self, who stands superb to share
The general gladness: awfully he stands;
A sovereign quell is in his waving hands.

For the use in the sonnet it is tempting, though rash, to speculate about the possible admixture of sense or overtone from the second meaning of 'quell'—a spring, fountain: rash, for the *NED* states that only one instance of the noun in this meaning has been found, for the year 1894 and presumptively as an adoption from the German; yet tempting, because of the obvious appropriateness to the rising of the sun, reinforced by all the traditionally poetic associations of 'spring' and 'day-spring' as epithets for the dawn.

* The Buxton Formans, not knowing the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript or the Longmore transcript, have the following comment in the Hampstead Edition, IV, 19: 'Mr. Longmore must have shamefully betrayed Lord Houghton if this was the manuscript he transcribed, the same that is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library.'

of the Longmore manuscript,⁹ the second enclosing the manuscript itself, the third requesting the return of the manuscript, and Houghton's letter returning the manuscript are printed herewith, in chronological order. Taken in conjunction with the transcript, they prove, I believe, beyond any question the provenance of the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript, while revealing, in addition, that Houghton had in his hands the original manuscript as well as the transcript.¹⁰

1 Queens terrace
South Hackney
Dec^r 16 1870-

My Lord,

Having lately read your Lordships "Life & letters of John Keats", I find that you have inserted at page 9 — a sonnet on Spenser, the date of which you say that you have not been able to trace —

Now it happens that I have preserved, as a relic of former times, what I believe to be the original manuscript of the sonnet in question, and I beg to enclose to your lordship a copy of the same — The original was given to me about 25 years ago by my late mother, who was one of the sisters of J. H. Reynolds, and who I recollect told me that it was given to her by John Keats himself, who wrote it at her fathers house in Little Britain —

I was rather surprised to see it in print, as it has not been out of my possession, nor has anyone had a copy of it until the one I now enclose —

I remain —
Your obedient serv^t
W- A- LONGMORE —

The Lord Houghton —
D.C.L. &c

* Just for good measure it may be noted that the transcript now recovered is written on the same kind of paper, of the same size, with the same watermark, and with the same folds, as the Longmore letter of 16 December 1870.

¹⁰ Mr Garrod refers to Longmore's letter of 16 December 1870: '[T] contains a letter of W. A. Longmore (dated 16 December 1870), in which he tells Milnes that he has an autograph of this poem which had belonged to his mother (Eliza Reynolds, sister of J. H. Reynolds): Milnes seems to have used this or a copy for his Edition of 1876]' (*ed. cit.*, p. 476).

The transcript as printed by Houghton is much closer to the Longmore transcript than to the original. Through a strange slip, the printed transcript is signed 'T. K.,' although both original and Longmore transcript read 'J K'; this error is uncorrected in subsequent Houghton editions.

The Dumbarton Oaks manuscript in its present state exhibits no evidence of the treatment described by Longmore in his letter of 2 January 1875. As I understand Longmore's words, the Keats sonnet and the Lamb note were mounted on opposite sides of a scrapbook leaf which he tore out of the scrap book instead of removing the sonnet from the leaf. This removal, then, took place at some later date.

Brighton Villa
Church Hill
Walthamstow
Jan^y 2nd 1875

My Lord,

I have much pleasure in enclosing for your inspection the John Keats Sonnet — it has been for many yea[r]s fastened into a Scrap book, & finding some difficulty in detaching it I have torn out the leaf which I now forward — On the back of the same leaf was a note from Charles Lamb to my uncle Thos. Hood, which I have taken off —

I have only to add that the enclosed is at your Lordships service for the time you think sufficient for its examination — when perhaps you will be so good as to return it, altho', being only a *poor Architect*, perhaps I might be induced to part with it, if you think it worth while to make me an offer for it —

I should mention that the words John Keats in the corner are in my mothers writing —

I am, My Lord
Yours obediently
WALONGMORE

The Lord Houghton.

Brighton Villa
Church Hill
Walthamstow E
Mar — 20/75 —

My Lord,

I shall be much obliged if you will return to me the Ms^t of John Keats which I forwarded to you in Jan^y last — I shall also be glad to hear, if not troubling you too much, whether you have been able to arrive at a satisfactory Conclusion as to the date &c —

I am
My Lord
Yours obed^{tly}
W A LONGMORE

Lord Houghton —

Fryston Hall.
Ferrybridge.
April 6th 1875

My dear Sir,

I return you the "Keats" sonnet with many thanks. I have several autographs of the Poets & thus should recommend you, if you care to dispose of it, to see M^r Waller of Fleet St, who is a large purchaser or put it into some good sale of autographs at Mess. Sotheby's — but mind that it is a good sale & that the autographs in it are separately catalogued.

Sir Charles Dilke is of opinion that it is one of his first works & that the date is erroneous. I go rather by the writing than the spelling, at which he seems never to have been very good. C'ld you throw any further light on the time of his visit to your mother? He was born in 95 and thus you could judge of his age at the time the families were acquainted.

I remain,

y^r try [?] & oblig'd

HOUGHTON

Questions concerning the dating of the sonnet, its origin, and the circumstances under which it was written have given rise to considerable discussion and to an equal volume of conjecture, with the note in the Aldine Edition as a point of departure. In the note preceding the first printing of the sonnet, in the *Life*, 1848, Houghton had written: 'In the scanty records which are left of the adolescent years in which Keats became a poet, a Sonnet on Spenser, the date of which I have not been able to trace . . .,' reiterating his position in the Aldine Edition note: 'The poem is dated, in Mrs. Longmore's hand, Feb. 5th, 1818, but it seems to me impossible that it can have been other than an early production and of the especially Spenserian time.' The ascription of the dating to Mrs Longmore rather than to Keats himself, in spite of the evidence of the autograph manuscript before him, made it possible for Houghton to maintain his theory that the poem was of the 'adolescent' period.¹¹

Later editors and critics, having no basis for dissent, have accepted Houghton's ascription of the dating to Mrs Longmore, but his views on the true date of the poem have by no means gone unchallenged. De Sélincourt comments as follows: 'The tone of the poem seems at first sight to bear out what Lord Houghton says, and accordingly he has been followed by Mr. Forman and other editors. But they are probably mistaken. The form [Shakespearian] of the sonnet amply corroborates the date which Mrs. Longmore has given, which, apart from internal evidence, there would be no reason for disputing.'¹² Mr

¹¹ It may be noted, further, that in no one of the three letters to Houghton does Longmore say that the date was written by his mother, while he does state, in the letter of 2 January 1875, that the words 'John Keats' in the corner are in her hand.

¹² *The Poems of John Keats* (1st ed., London, 1905, and later editions), p. 543. In the Formans' Hampshire Edition, the sonnet still is printed among Keats's earliest compositions, immediately preceding the 'Ode to Apollo,' assigned, in accordance with Lord Houghton, to February 1815. De Sélincourt's comment is echoed by J. M. Murry in his edition of *The Poems & Verses of John Keats* (London, 1930), II, 575.

Thorpe states categorically: 'Written February 5, 1818.'¹³ Mr Finney, likewise definite, presents a series of arguments: 'Lord Houghton erred, however, in doubting Mrs. Longmore's dating and in placing this sonnet in the early period of Keats's poetry. . . . The thought of the poem, the disinclination to imitate Spenser, proves that Keats composed it in February 1818. The style too belongs to this period . . . and the rhyme scheme is the Shakespearian which Keats adopted at the end of January 1818.'¹⁴ Finally Mr Garrod, more cautiously: 'I have placed Sonnet xii, the Spenser sonnet, hesitantly in 1818. Mrs. Longmore, who had the autograph of it before her, deciphered the date as 5 February 1818. But editors generally have disregarded this testimony, and the poem is commonly placed, on internal evidence, among Keats' earliest compositions. I at one time suggested 1816. But I am now disposed to accept, with Mr. de Selincourt, the Longmore dating.'¹⁵ At long last, we have the autograph before us, and can read the dating in Keats's own hand, inscribed on what is almost certainly the first draft of the poem.

Utilizing the data provided by Longmore as quoted by Houghton in the Aldine Edition note, and accepting the dating of 5 February 1818 (supposedly supplied by Mrs Longmore), editors and biographers have offered a series of candidates for the position of 'jealous honorer' of Spenser, to serve as 'onlic begetter' of the sonnet, and have constructed an attractive set of circumstances for its composition. Leigh Hunt, John Hamilton Reynolds, and Eliza Reynolds Longmore have all had their supporters.¹⁶ Reynolds's strongest claim has been his sonnet, 'We are both lovers of the poets old!' first printed in *The Athenaeum* for 7 July 1832, which has been thought to represent the first half

¹³ *Ed. cit.*, p. 216.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 363-364.

¹⁵ *Keats* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1939), pp. 147-148 (in his list of the sonnets of Shakespearian pattern, in this work, p. 146, Mr Garrod gives the date as '1818 4 Feb').

Colvin (*The Poems of John Keats*, London, 1915, I, xviii) and G. R. Elliott (*The Complete Poetry of John Keats*, New York, 1927, p. vii) both tacitly assign the poem to 5 February 1818, while W. J. Bate (*The Stylistic Development of Keats*, New York, 1945, p. 124) places it among the later sonnets (i.e., after January 1818), likewise without comment.

¹⁶ Cf. de Selincourt, *ed. cit.*, p. 544; Sir Sidney Colvin, *John Keats* (1st ed., London, 1917, and later editions), p. 259; Amy Lowell, *John Keats* (Boston, 1925), I, 197, 573-574; Thorpe, *ed. cit.*, p. 216; Finney, *op. cit.*, I, 362-365.

of a friendly debate to which Keats's sonnet was the reply.¹⁷ Recently, however, it has been shown that Reynolds's sonnet was addressed to Benjamin Bailey, on the conclusive evidence of a copy of the poem in the Leigh Browne Collection in the Keats Museum. This copy, written in Bailey's hand, headed 'To my Friend B. B.,' and dated 6 December 1816, appears in a notebook of Bailey's entitled 'Poems by Two Friends' (i.e., Bailey and Reynolds).¹⁸ With this special claim gone, Reynolds is still as likely a candidate as any, in view of his declared predilection for Spenser and the indications that Keats and he were together on February 4th.¹⁹ As likely perhaps, but no more, for Spenser ranked as high with Hunt as with Reynolds, and we are told by Keats that he was with Hunt on the 4th, when they joined with Shelley to write sonnets on the Nile.²⁰ As for Eliza Longmore, her candidacy seems to derive entirely from her son's statement to Houghton that Keats gave her a copy of the sonnet.²¹ In sum, then, we really do not know who the 'jealous honorer' was.

A similar situation confronts us when we turn to the question of the circumstances under which the poem was composed. We have Longmore's statement that it was written at his grandfather's house in Little Britain. We have Keats's autograph date on what gives every appearance of being a first draft. Keats cannot have spent the evening of February 5th at the Reynoldses', since by his own evidence he attended the

¹⁷ See G. L. Marsh, in *John Hamilton Reynolds; Poetry and Prose* (London, 1928), p. 178, and again in 'The Writings of Keats's Friend Reynolds,' *Studies in Philology*, XXV (October 1928), 505; also Finney, *op. cit.*, I, 364-365.

¹⁸ I owe my information regarding this Leigh Browne transcript to the excellent but unpublished work of W. B. Pope, 'Studies in the Keats Circle; Critical and Biographical Estimates of Benjamin Robert Haydon and John Hamilton Reynolds,' doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1932.

¹⁹ Letters of Keats to Reynolds of 3 February 1818 and to Haydon of 5 February 1818. It is true, further, that Keats, in his letter to Taylor of February 5th, implies that he expects to see Reynolds on the 6th, but there is apparently no proof that he actually did so, nor any evidence that he gave Reynolds a copy of the sonnet on this date (as has been at least strongly suggested by Finney, *op. cit.*, I, 363) or indeed at any other date.

²⁰ Letter of Keats to his brothers of 14 February 1818.

²¹ One may note, in passing, that Longmore does not say that the sonnet was given on the day it was written, or even that it was given at the Reynolds house. Houghton, however, in his Aldine Edition note, though undoubtedly deriving his information from Longmore, states the latter and implies the former.

first night of Milman's 'Fazio,' at the Covent Garden Theatre.²² During the day he had 'very particular employ in the affair of Cripps.'²³ If Longmore is correct, Keats must have called at the Reynoldses' some time on the 5th, in spite of a crowded day, and have written the sonnet during the visit.²⁴ We can only conjecture as to which members of the family were present that day. But that Keats at some time gave a copy of the sonnet to Mrs Longmore, that this copy is the Dumbarton Oaks manuscript, and is in fact a first draft, that this first draft was written on 5 February 1818 -- of these matters, on the basis of the evidence uncovered, it would seem that there can be no reasonable doubt.

ETHEL B. CLARK

²² Letter to his brothers of 14 February 1818; 'it hung rather heavily on me.'

²³ Letter to John Taylor of 5 February 1818.

²⁴ The presence of the Reynolds family in Little Britain in early February has been questioned by G. L. Marsh, 'New Data on Keats' Friend Reynolds,' *Modern Philology*, XXV (February 1928), 326, and by Pope, *op. cit.*, p. 693, both being inclined to place the move from Lamb's Conduit Street as late as March. However, Keats's letter to Reynolds of 31 January 1818 is addressed to Little Britain.

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