

Werk

Titel: Shakespeare's Sonnets

Autor: Tyler, Thomas

Ort: Weimar

Jahr: 1890

PURL: https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?338281509_0025|log19

Kontakt/Contact

[Digizeitschriften e.V.](#)
SUB Göttingen
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1
37073 Göttingen

✉ info@digizeitschriften.de

Shakespeare's Sonnets,

edited by Thomas Tyler, M. A.*)

A new issue of Shakespeare's Sonnets has just appeared in London, edited by a new 'T. T.' — Mr. Tyler's work must be welcome to every Shakespearean Student. The Sonnets alone would of themselves have made the volume desirable, each one being set in a page by itself, admirably arranged for reference, and instruction, and clearly printed, with careful revision of the text, and copious notes. But Mr. Tyler's special work is presented in the preliminary pages. He has collected all that has been hitherto known regarding them, and has added not a little original matter, that welds his theory of the Sonnets into a whole, more complete than has hitherto been deemed possible. He answers most of the questions that face every thoughtful reader. The series of chapters containing his views are extremely interesting and self-consistent, and indicative of a wide reading and careful and exact research, which makes us hope for an appearance of 'Second Fruits'.

No one can differ from him in the certainty that 'T. T.' the editor stood for 'Thomas Thorpe', as we find in the Stationers' Registers, '20th May 1609: Thomas Thorpe. Entred for his copie under the hands of Master Wilson, and Master Lownes, Warden, a Booke called Shakespeare's Sonnettes, vi^d'.

¹) Published by David Nutt, 270 Strand, London. W. C. 1890. — 8°.

Past Critics have not been unanimous however, in the views taken regarding the other questions, and it is possible that future critics also may disagree. But they will owe much to Mr. Tyler for the way in which he clears the ground for their feet. He commences by considering 'Mr. W. H.', the 'only begetter', the 'person promised eternity', the youth addressed in the Sonnets, as all one and the same person: William, Lord Herbert, afterwards third Earl of Pembroke. To prove this he compares Sonnet 38th with the Dedication. He shows the weakness of the claims made for other 'W. H's', and he explains away the difficulty of 'Mr.' being used for an Earl's son, by the apparently parallel use of 'Mr. Sackville', appended to his poems after he was Lord Buckhurst, as noted by Prof. Minto. He shows also that 'eternity' could not be ensured without the publication of the poems, and from Sonnet 38th he points out that they were intended for the public eye. He classifies them in three groups — Sonnets 1 to 126 being addressed to Lord Herbert, in several series and at several times, ranging at least through three years; 127 to 152 concerned with 'the dark Lady'; and 153 and 154, the two last, a separate connection. To prove these were applicable to Pembroke, whom the dedication of 1623 showed to have favoured Shakespeare, Mr. Tyler had to be very careful about his dates; and he has indeed spared no pains in testing these. Lord Herbert probably came to London early in 1598, and it was September of that year in which Meres spoke of his 'sugred sonnets among his private friends'. Mr. Tyler finds a trace of Meres' classical comparisons in sonnet 55th. The two sonnets in 'The Passionate Pilgrim' 1599, published under Shakespeare's name, were practically the same as Sonnets 138 and 144: therefore fixing a relative date. He points out the allusions to political troubles, the rebellion of Essex (in which Southampton was concerned), and the manner in which the Poet treated it, as evidence against the theory that he could have intended to address his first patron. Sonnet 104th speaking of the lapse of three years, is important also in fixing the period, as between 1598 and 1601. The rival poet, mentioned in the 86th Sonnet and others, is accepted by Mr. Tyler (as by Prof. Minto), as being Chapman; referring to his 'Shadows of Night' published 1594, for the 'familiar ghost'; to the 'first seven Books of the Iliad', published in 1598, for 'the proud full sail of his great verse'; to his enthusiastic nature and claims to supernatural inspiration, throughout his life. Keats tells of the effect

on him of reading Chapman's Homer, and it is possible the same feeling may have been produced on the young Lord Herbert by this new book. In considering other contemporary poets, Mr. Tyler shows that Marston in 1598 published his 'Metamorphosis of Pigmaliions Image and certein Satyres', where he speaks of 'Stanzas like odd bands', of 'voluntaries and mercenarians'

Which, like soldados of our warlike age,
March rich bedight in warlike equipage,

and considers that Shakespeare evidently alludes to this phrase, in the 32nd Sonnet.

Drayton also in 1594 had published a small volume of 51 sonnets called 'Ideas Mirrour'. These were quite unlike Shakespeare's. But in 1599, Drayton published another edition called 'Idea', to which was added 'England's Heroical Epistles'; and the number of the Sonnets were increased to 59, among which important changes and additions suggest a perusal of Shakespeare's sonnets, especially in Drayton's 22nd: 'An evil sprit your beauty haunts me still', which may be compared with Sonnet 144th, that had appeared that year in 'The Passionate Pilgrim'. He compares also Drayton's 33rd to Shakespeare's 141st, and notices that Drayton at 36 years of age speaks of himself, like Shakespeare, as already 'aged', and, like him, anticipates 'eternal renown' through his verses. The settling of the chronology makes it easier to fix upon William Herbert as the Poet's friend, born in 1580, and sent to London in 1598, by an invalid father residing at Wilton, who was desirous that he should marry soon. From letters preserved in the Record Office it is proved that as early as 1597 the parents were negotiating a marriage for him with Bridget Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford; which he evidently himself refused on the plea of dislike to matrimony. It becomes then very natural that Mary, Countess Pembroke, by some means introduced to Shakespeare, should have suggested the early addresses — see Sonnet 3rd. The allusions to Lord Herbert's life in London, in Rowland White's letters to Sir Robert Sidney, prove quite congruous to other dates. By fixing these dates, Mr. Tyler is able to give a strong probability to his new theory with regard to 'the dark Lady'. He believes her to be Mrs. Mary Fitton, daughter of Sir Edward Fitton, sister of Lady Newdigate, Maid of Honour to the Queen, the Lady to whom Kempe dedicated his 'Nine Days Dance to Norwich' (though by mistake he called her Anne). Mistress Fitton was born in

1578, was elected Maid of Honour in 1595, and in 1599—1600 was at the height of her glory. She was a person of importance at court, took a leading part in dancing and acting of revels; was witty, amusing, and just the sort of woman one might imagine attractive to young Herbert.¹⁾ Her admiration of him went too far. She would tie up her hair, tuck up her petticoats, and put on a man's cloak and hat, that she might go out of court to see him, says old gossip preserved in the Record Office. When the result of the intimacy became manifest, she was dismissed in disgrace to Lady Hawkins, Pembroke was sent to the Fleet prison, and there was great wrath all round. Her father and friends exerted themselves for her, but Herbert 'utterly renounced all marriage'. She had not expected this, but her later behaviour showed that Pembroke's after-thought was at least prudent. Mr. Tyler, in *Earwaker's 'Cheshire'*, saw a description of her mother's tomb at Gawsorth, and in going down to inspect it found that in Mary Fitton's representation the hair and eyes as well as the complexion, were coloured dark, while her brother was painted with a fair moustache and hair. Mr. Tyler considers the features, which he reproduces as an illustration, typical of a voluptuous nature, such as hers seemed to be. On the whole, everything appears to him to point to the fact that Mrs. Mary Fitton is 'the dark Lady' of Shakespeare and his Sonnets, the 'twice forsworn', the 'evil angel', 'coloured ill', shadowed first in *Love's Labour's Lost* and later in *Cleopatra*, perhaps. Having made clear his own discovery Mr. Tyler examines the internal evidence from the Sonnets, as to Shakespeare's feelings, beliefs, religion, philosophy, learning, melancholy, and sensitive tenderness. The book is by far the most thorough and exhaustive analysis of the Sonnets, and description of their circumstances, that has yet appeared, and it is really illustrated by its three plates representing William, third Earl of Pembroke; Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, his mother; and Mary Fitton, his early love.

The whole taken together, makes at least a good hypothesis for students to start from. But a working hypothesis is only of value, when it leads us to 'search after negatives' as well as affirmatives to its proposition. Mr. Tyler has been so thorough, that there is little left for others to do, but I bring forward what

¹⁾ See the notice of his character in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*.

little I have gleaned, regardless whether they tell for or against Mr. Tyler's theories, or my own feelings. In regard to William Shakespeare himself, there is one point that Mr. Tyler has not alluded to — that just in 1597, he had lost his only and dearly beloved son, and, with his heart sore from his loss, had bought the fine house in Stratford he had hoped to lodge him in. The loss would predispose him not only to melancholy, but to love of such a youth, that might forever have suggested to him the 'might-have-beens' in his own saddened home-life — see Sonnet 31. 'The Theatre War', so connected with 'the vulgar scandal', whose 'deep impression' was filled by the love of his friend (Sonnet 112), lasted through this period of three years, and in it Shakespeare was not only in the right (Sonnet 121), but had the might to conquer, as proved in the 'Return from Parnassus', Part 2nd, 'written by a University pen in 1601'. Jonson was the chief leader of the attack, but it seemed to have moved the whole 'Profession' and all their followers, and to have galled the soul of the Poet, till he cried,

'T is better to be vile than vile esteem'd.

(Son. 121)

Yet here and there sounds the paeon of conquest not only over foes, but over *self*. Mr. Tylor thinks that the Sonnets are all poetical epistles written by Shakespeare in his own character, and that all are either to Herbert or the Lady connected with both. I think there are some grounds for believing that though all were by Shakespeare, they were not *all* directly addressed to Herbert, and that a few were even but Shakespeare's voice for Herbert's feelings; but a paper such as this does not give room to discuss the question exhaustively enough to work out my grounds. Another point Mr. Tyler seems sure of, is that the order of the Sonnets is practically the original order. But if his theory is true, that they were all addressed to Herbert and the Lady, it is clear that the consecution cannot be correct, as at least those addressed to the Lady must be sandwiched between those addressed to the youth, thus altering the context. I think a rearrangement might probably elucidate many difficulties, and it is evident that some of the unimportant sonnets have been transposed, for instance it is clear that Sonnet 22 should precede 19, and 24 should follow 21. We know that a rearrangement took place in the 1640 edition, for some reason or other, sufficient to interfere with the simpler repetition of the order of the 1609 publication. It is very probable some are lost of those

that Meres spoke of as 'among his private friends'; perhaps the¹⁾ 'Amours by J. D. and certain other Sonnets by W. S.' were some of these; and Professor Minto believes that the sonnet by Phaeton to his friends in Florio's 'Second Fruits', is by Shakespeare.

I am not in favour of emendations of Shakespeare's text. Far better that each one should face the problem for himself, of what the writer, printer, and speaker of the time could mean, than have it simplified by any one modern writer, except in notes. To my mind there is far more meaning, though perhaps less rhythm, in sonnet 146th:

Poor soule, the center of my sinful earth,
My sinful earth these rebell powers that thee array

than in Mr. Tyler's improvement of putting 'Why feedst' instead of the three repeated words beginning the second line.

The view that the Sonnets were addressed to Herbert seems clearly enough supported to be believed. Born heir to a noble family, son of a beautiful and talented mother, there is no doubt that about 18 years of age, he was charming enough to merit a poet's praise, especially praise of such an one as Shakespeare, sensitive and ambitious. He had been sent to New College, Oxford, in 1592, and probably remained there four or five years. It is more than likely the dullness felt by him on resuming a permanent residence in the 'Mannour of Wilton' induced him to urge his father to allow him to go to London (even without his paternal care), in the spring of 1597. The anxious father postponed his son's plunge into life, at least until April 1598, when he would be 18 years old; and was anxious before then to have him married, and also that he should have some foreign travel before appearing in court. The summer and autumn of 1597 were spent in negotiations with the Earl of Oxford for his daughter. These were evidently broken off; but I think it more than likely that the youth stuck to the project for foreign travel, as being a change and occupation, and that some grave and reverend tutor or governor would accompany him, and bring him back to London for the summer season there. Had he been in London late in 1597

¹⁾ '3rd Jan. 1600, in Stationers' Registers, Eleazar Edgar, entered for his copye, under the hands of the Wardens, A book called Amours by J. D. with certeyne other Sonnettes by W. S.' — Yet in 1599 we know that Venus and Adonis, was spoken of, as 'certain amorous sonnets' and the word was then loosely used in relation to verse forms.

he would not likely have met Shakespeare, who was on a long tour then, being in Dover, Feversham, Bath, Bristol, in September, and in Marlborough, 13th Dec. 1597.¹⁾ It seems indeed more than likely the friendship began early in 1598. Probably on his coming to town, masters of polite accomplishments would be secured for the brilliant young Lord, and Shakespeare may well have been chosen to teach acting, elocution, and versifying, the hint having been given him of the youth's ailing father's and anxious mother's desires to see him happily married. Hence the early Sonnets. The unequal acquaintance ripened rapidly, from similarity of tastes and from mutual admiration of each other's gifts. Baynard's Castle, the London house of the Pembrokes, was not far from Blackfriars, opportunities of meeting were doubtless abundant, in theatres or homes. With some natures affection becomes an absorbing passion, little differing from love, even between friends of the same sex, as Jeremy Taylor said, 'some live under the Line and the beams of friendship in that position are imminent and perpendicular', 'some are the Courtiers of the Sun, and wait upon him in his Chambers of the East.'²⁾ This friendship ripened thus, and there is no reason to be surprised at the strong language used in poetically expressing it. 'Love', 'Lover' and other phrases, now limited to the opposite sex, were then quite appropriately used between friends of the same sex. As Francis Meres would lately have been Lord Herbert's professor in Oxford, it was more than likely he would meet his former student in London, and see these sonnets, not then kept privately, and perhaps meet the writer of them in Herbert's house in friendship.

The absorptions of Lord Herbert in 1599, may well account for the apparent uneasiness, anxiety and jealousy of the poet. Herbert was evidently received with open arms by the court and by his Royal godmother, though he was considered by many to use but indifferently his opportunities, and to get the name of a 'melancholy young man'.³⁾ This may have been the reflected effect of Shakespeare's brooding upon all things in heaven and earth with him. In August he was to have 200 horses sent up by his father to attend her Majesty's person, but he had not a horse of his own

¹⁾ See Halliwell-Phillips's *Tours of Shakespeare's Company*.

²⁾ Pointed out by Prof. Rolfe.

³⁾ See Rowland Whyte's *Letters to Sir Robert Sydney*.

that would stand firing, so he had to borrow 'Bayleigh' from his uncle, Sir Robert Sydney, then abroad, Governor of Flushing. He would be away from court a week at a time, 'swaggering it amongst the men of warre, and viewing the manner of the musters.'¹) In September 'he was a continuall courtier, but too cold in a matter of such greatness'.¹) His uncle's secretary proposed a match between him and the Lord Admiral's niece. By the 12th his father fell ill, and he hurried to the country, leaving others 'to observe the suitors for the many places he holds under her Majesty', and he was again blamed for coldness and melancholy.¹)

Fortunately Earl Pembroke recovered, 'or strange and cunning courses would have been held with the young Lord'. He was sent for by the Queen on Michaelmas Day; but his father refused his attendance, on account of expenses, and probably on account of his own health, but he was back by 6th of October, and 'much bound to the Queen by her gracious favour'. Essex was in disgrace, and the world waited watching for the new favourite. Herbert had a good chance. Southampton was 'spending his time going to plays every day', but Herbert was sent on an embassy to Denmark where he was well received, and 'well received also on his return, though he brought no certain answer in the business he went for', 4th November 1599.¹) He was anxious for the return of his uncle Sir Robert Sydney, whose advice and presence would help him in many things. Another marriage was suggested him, but he needed a male relative at court to settle such points. He went to see his father at the end of November at Ramsbury, and the Queen honoured him greatly, giving him an hour's private audience before his departure. Instead of a short visit it was a long one: an attack of ague, a relapse, and consequent weakness, also the charms of the race-course kept him with his parents, until Easter Eve, the 22nd March 1599 (or with us 1600). In his absence Mrs. Fitton was also sick, and went to her father's in January. On his return, Lord Herbert begged the Queen to excuse his father on account of his health, and promised to do what he could in his place. It was probably at this time, when sympathy with his sufferings, and joy at his return, made every heart open to him, that he became more intimate with Mary Fitton, an intimacy that reached its climax in the festivities, in connection

¹) See Sydney Papers.

with Mrs. Anne Russel's marriage to 'the other Lord Herbert', son of the Earl of Worcester. There he and she shone foremost in favour of the Queen and the beholders. During 1600 he was anxious to train for the tournament, and practised tilting at Greenwich for the Coronation Day, 24th October 1600. In January of the following year his father died, and he became the Earl of Pembroke, and a dark time came over the youth. At the summer festivities he had begun clandestine relations with Mrs. Mary Fitton, that ended in March, for her, with bitter shame, and disappointed love and ambition; and for him, first in the Fleet prison, then in more honourable custody elsewhere, afterwards in banishment from the Queen's presence, refusal of permission to travel, heavy charges for his wardship on attaining his Majority in April 1601, and an exile to country life in Wilton. It is not clear whether the Queen wished him to marry Mary or not, though it would seem so by her anger with him, but certainly the Lady and her friends did; yet he was not inclined to matrimony. When afterwards he married, in 1604, Mary, daughter of Earl Shrewsbury, probably it was only a *mariage de convenance*, for it was not a happy one. His life harmonises well with the suggestions of the Sonnets. The desire of the parents that he should marry young, is further illustrated by their plans regarding his younger brother Philip. At an even earlier age they suggested a marriage between him and a neighbouring heiress of St. Julians, of the family name, in 1597. In April 1600 Philip was at court for a week, and made the most of his opportunities, being 'the forwardest young courtier' Whyte had ever seen; and in May, Earl Pembroke offered the Queen £5000, if she would allow her ward, daughter of Sir Arthur Gorge, to marry him; but it was not so arranged. Afterwards he married, in 1603, being then only 21, Lady Susan Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford, sister of the Bridget whom William would not marry in 1599. So that it is very evident early marriages were the wish of the parents. That therefore satisfactorily accounts for the youth of the person, Shakespeare urges to marry. His addressing him as his 'Muse' and inspiration, is not altogether unnatural. Herbert had come of a poetic family — his uncle Philip Sydney, a chief name in literature; his Mother, though more retiring, had also produced translations, poems, tragedies even. *She* had inspired Daniel, *her son* now inspired Shakespeare. His patronage of literature is a matter of history, his poems, though not so well-known, are mentioned in Wood's *Fasti*

Oxonienses, and were published in 1660 from manuscripts preserved by Christian Bruce, Countess of Devonshire, the Lady of Royal descent who raised the glory of the Cavendishes. She was a Lady not connected by blood or marriage with Pembroke; her character was far above the breath of any scandal in connection with him, and it is probable she had these verses in one of those manuscript copies sent round among friends in those days. In the dedication, the Editor says, 'This monument your Ladyship hath erected to his memory, will outlast the calculations 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'. The Horoscope of William Herbert was well known to the world, and anxiously watched by his friends, some allusion to which seems clear in the reading of the Sonnets (see Sonnets 25,14, and others). The poems of Herbert however, do not add much to his fame, if those we have are all he wrote; nevertheless there are many points of interest in them, in comparing them to lines in Shakespeare, beyond the undoubtedly finest one, quoted by Mr. Tyler,

Soul's joy, when I am gone —

which seems almost as if written to Shakespeare himself. Another sonnet begins,

Can you suspect a change in me,
And value your own constancy?

Another on the same subject ends

Short love liking may find jarres,
The Love that's lasting, knows no warres.

There are also strange parallels between the poems evidently addressed to Ladies. For instance, Pembroke says,

Others are fair if not compared to thee,
Compared to them, thy beauty doth exceed,
So lesser stars give light, and shine, we see,
Till glorious Phoebus lifteth up his head —
And then as things ashamed of their might,
They hide themselves and with themselves their light.
Since nature's skill hath given you your right,
Do not kind nature and yourself such wrong,
You are as fair as any earthly wight,¹⁾
You wrong yourself if you correct my tongue.
Though you deny her and yourself your due,
Yet duty bids me *fair* entitle you.

(Page 27.)

¹⁾ See Sonnet 21.

He has a poem 'To his Mistress, on his Friend's opinion of her':

One with admiration told me,
He did wonder much and marvel,
(As by chance he did behold ye)
How I could become so servile
To thy Beauty —

finding fault with her rolling eyes, wanton expression, and tall stature (Page 90). There is a poem on, 'Venus and Adonis' (Page 99), — and one, specially interesting as a parallel to the Sonnet 127: 'In the old days black was not counted fair'.

On Black Hair and Eyes.

Why should you think, rare creature, that you lack
Perfection, 'cause your hair and eyes are black?
Nor was it fit that nature should have made
So bright a sun to shine without a shade.

B. R.

In regard to Mistress Mary Fitton being 'the dark ladye' of the Sonnets, it is true there are many interesting points brought forward, but I cannot consider the case quite proved. The connection supposed to be established with Shakespeare's Company by the dedication of Kempe's 'The Nine Days Dance to Norwich' I think too slight to be used. From all accounts in the Sydney Papers and elsewhere, Mrs. Mary Fitton seems to have been the best dancer in the court.¹⁾ In the 'Masque of the 8 Muses' at the marriage of 'the other Lord Herbert' to Mrs. Russel, 'Mrs. Fitton led, and went to the Queen, and wooed her to daunce; Her Majestie asked what she was, 'Affection', she said. 'Affection', said the Queen, 'affection is false', yet Her Majestie rose and daunced. 23rd June 1600'. Now I believe she ought to have said 'Terpsichore', which explains at once the reason of the Queen's remark and of Kempe's dedication. Probably also, Kempe was brought at times to court to design and teach the dances in these Masques, and pleased by her frankness, had complimented her, on her good dancing, and then had been treated kindly and liberally. Indeed I am inclined to believe, that after her first error she was partly restored to Royal favour, and that the allusion on 28th December 1602, is to her:¹⁾ 'Mrs. Mary, upon St. Stevens day, in the afternoone dawnced before the Queene two galliards, with one Mr. Palmer, the admirablest dawncer of this time, both were much commended of her Majesty, then she dawnced a corante'.

¹⁾ Sidney Papers.

This was written to Herbert's uncle by his secretary, who told him all court gossip, and specially that which concerned his distinguished nephew. Be that as it may, Mrs. Fitton was certainly not 'abhorred by others' (Sonnet 150), as the love of her great-uncle, her father, her second fault, and after marriage with two husbands prove. She was not plain. Even the representation on her tombstone (not likely to be flattering), gives an oval face, arched eyebrows, moon-shaped forehead, delicately outlined cheeks, and lips like the arch of Cupid's bow, — all points greatly admired in these days, when the friendship of Elizabeth was extended to beautiful women, as well as to beautiful men. In page 18 of Kempe's 'Nine Days Dance' he says, '*Faire Madame*, to whom I too presumptuously dedicate my idle pages'. Even if she had dark eyes and hair, there is absolutely no trace of her being 'coloured ill'. That even an enemy could not suggest this, is given in Kempe's allusion to the 'Blackamore' in his dedication, and that a 'lover should say he lies when he calls her fair' (Sonnet 101), is perfectly inadmissible to Mrs. Fitton. I believe her chief faults were imprudence, credulity and ambition; and it was a very different thing in the lax moral code of the time to risk a fault with the handsomest and highest youth in England, with a view to matrimony, than to trifle with any one so dangerous as a married play-actor. Herbert was the Queen's godson, and at that time 'a Royal Ward', therefore the punishment was visited upon him rather than upon her, though she was two years his senior. That 'he utterly renounceth all marriage' — was possibly a stroke of wisdom on his part, in regard to the Queen. Shakespeare's 'lady of the Sonnets' must have been some other dame, older, more sinful, more practised in deceit, and above all, *she must have been a married woman*.

Mr. Tyler, basing his views on those brought forward by Prof. Minto, makes a very strong case for Chapman, as 'the rival poet'. 'The proud, full sail of his great verse', 'his compeers by night', and 'affable familiar ghost' (see Sonnet 86th) seems very likely suggested by Chapman's 'Shadow of Night' 1594, and 'the first seven Bookes of the Iliade', published in 1598, and noticed by Meres. We might almost imagine that a small poem, entitled 'Enthemiae Raptus, or The Teares of Peace', published in 1609, had also been handed about in Manuscript among his friends. Because there the Shade of Homer appears to him, addressing him in lines concluding thus —

And I invisible went *prompting* thee
To those faire greenes where thou didst english me.¹⁾

Chapman had written 'The Blinde Beggar of Alexandria', in 1598, a 'Pastoral Tragedy', in 1599, now lost²⁾, as well as other plays (See Meres). He had published 'Hero and Leander' in sestiams in 1600, and he was known to devote himself enthusiastically to poetry. But on the other hand, there was no trace of any connection, at any time, between him and Pembroke. He gave him no honour in his works; he dedicated none to him, but to the Earl of Essex, Prince Henry, and Carr, Earl of Somerset. He was unfortunate in his patrons and his praise, and in his worldly affairs. In 1614 the first twelve books of the *Odyssey* were dedicated to Carr with the touching lines —

Twelve labours of your Thespian Hercules
I now present your Lordship, do but please,
To lend life means till th' other twelve receive
Equal achievement.

In 1616 a reprint of the whole of Homer's works was issued, the *Odyssey* completed and dedicated to Carr, though then out of favour, the *Iliad* still dedicated to Prince Henry, who had died in 1612. But in addition to the dedication was prefixed a print of a tomb-stone and mourning verses, concluding,

Yet welth of soule is poore,
And so 't is kept not thy thrice sacred will,
Signed with thy deathe, moves any to fulfill,
Thy just bequests to me. Thou dead, then I
Live dead, for giving thee Eternitie.

Ad Famam.

To all tymes future, this tyme's marck extend,
Homer no patron found, nor Chapman friend.
Ignotus nimis omnibus
Sat notus moritur sibi.

The poverty in which he died seems also proved by a poem in the Ashmole papers, inscribed 'The Genius of the Stage deploring the Death of Ben Jonson':

¹⁾ At the conclusion of the 24th book of the *Iliad* he also speaks of 'that most assistful and unspeakable spirit of Homer': 1616.

²⁾ See Henslowe's Diary.

There are no more by sad affliction hurled
And friend's neglect, from this inconstant world.
Chapman alone went so; *he* that 's now gone
Commands him tomb — *he* scarce a grave or stone.

Had Pembroke at any time been a patron, he would not have left his poet to suffer 'these stings and arrows of fortune'; for, as we said, kindness and constancy were noted traits in him.

It is true that, at the close of the Iliad, Chapman addresses him in one of a group of sonnets, probably intended for those great people to whom he meant to send presentation copies, generally very liberally paid in coin. But these sonnets are, 1st, to the Duke of Lennox; 2nd, to the Lord Chancellor; 3rd, to Earl Salisbury; 4th, to the most honoured Earl Suffolk; 5th, to Earl Northampton; 6th, to Earl Arundell; 7th, to Earl Pembroke; 8th, to Earl Montgomerie; 9th, to Lord Lisle; 10th, to Countess Montgomerie; 11th, to Lady Wrothe; 12th, to Countess Bedford; 13th, to Earl Southampton &c; — so Pembroke was not made prominent.

Now each sonnet implies that the person addressed is the greatest in some way, so we need not wonder there are compliments in this, the only poem we know to have been —

Bound for the prize of all too precious you; (Son. 86)

and it was very much after the date of the sonnets, and gives no clue to them.

To the learned and most noble Patrone of learning, the Earle of Pembroke.

Above all others may your Honor shine,
As, past all others, your ingenuous beames
Exhale into your grace the forme divine
Of Godlike learning, whose exiled streams
Runne to your succour, charged with all the wracke
Of sacred virtue. Now the barbarous witch
(Foule Ignorance) sits charming of them backe
To their first fountaine, in the great and rich;
Though our great sovereigne counter-check her cbarmes
(Who in all learning reigns so past example),
Yet (with her) Turkish policie puts on armes
To raze all knowledge in man's Christian Temple.
(You following yet our King) your guard redouble;
Pure are those streames that these rimes cannot trouble.

At the end of the group of sonnets Chapman signs himself 'ever most humbly devoted to you, and all the rare Patrons of divine Homer, George Chapman'; — but he *thanks* none.

Samuel Daniel on the other hand, was connected with the Pembroke family much through life. He studied at Wilton, 'was taught' or at least encouraged, by the Countess of Pembroke (no mean poetess herself) to write verses, dedicated many works to her, and promised her immortality through his poems. The 1601 edition of his 'Defence of Rime' is dedicated 'to his patron Earl Pembroke'. His first volume of poems came out in 1582, and several editions in the same year; an edition in 1594 included 'Cleopatra' and the first four books of the 'Civil Wars' appeared in 1595. In 1599 'poetical essays' were published, and he was made Poet-Laureate that year, on the death of Spenser; groom of the Queen's Chamber, and Master of the Queen's Revels. He married Justina, sister of John Florio, and Earl Southampton also patronised him.

Fitzgeffrey, in his Epigrams, says of him,

For in my judgment, if the God of verse
In English would heroic deeds rehearse,
No language so expressive he would choose
As that of English Daniel's lofty muse.

The edition of 'The Civil Wars', published in 1609, was dedicated to 'the Right Noble Lady, the Ladie Marie, Countesse Dowager of Pembroke', — after the many editions, I send it forthe againe*** by your goodness to whome, and to whose noble family, I hold myselfe ever bound, and will labour to doo you all the honour and service I can'. Perhaps there was, after all, a second rival poet, to whom Pembroke thus may be said to have 'given countenance'. Daniel's 'Mask of the Twelve Goddesses', introduced Night and Sleep, and he too had visions, and dreamed of spirits, from Dr. Dee downwards. Daniel's 'Delia' is no doubt the nearest approach to Shakespeare's Sonnets, in style, theme, and quality.

I do not put him forward as 'the rival poet', but as a proof that, had any real rivalry been applicable to Chapman, he would have fared better at the Pembrokes' hands. Daniel was appointed tutor to the noted Anne Clifford, born in 1589, afterwards Countess of Dorset, and for her second husband marrying Philip, Earl Montgomery, succeeded to the title of Countess of Pembroke, and again in her the same family honoured Daniel in his age, as she raised a splendid tombstone to his name and hers, 1619.

But the point on which I differ most from Mr. Tyler, is the translation of 'W. H.' in the Dedication.

Of course this form of addressing a Nobleman by a printer

was *possible*, but it was *very* improbable. Such an example is to be found nowhere else in the history of printing, and certainly not in any future relations between Thomas Thorpe and the Earl of Pembroke. And we have fortunately an example, discovered by Mr. Hazlitt in a dedication of nine years later of 'Epictetus Manuall, Cebes Table, and Theophrastus Characters. By Jo. Headley, London. Printed by George Purslowe for Edward Blount. 1616':

To the Right Honorable William, Earle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain to his Majestie, one of his most Honourable Privie Counsell, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter etc.

Right Honourable,

It may worthily seeme strange unto your Lordship, out of what frenzy one of my meannesse hath presumed to commit this Sacriledge, in the straightnesse of your Lordship's leisure, to present a peece for matter and model so unworthy, and in this scribbling age, wherein persons are so pestered daily with Dedications. All I can alleadge in extenuation of so many incongruities, is the bequest of a deceased man, who (in his lifetime) having offered some translations of his unto your Lordship, ever wisht, if these ensuing were published, they might only bee addressed unto your Lordship, as the last Testimony of his dutifull affection (to use his own termes The True and reall upholder of learned endeavours).

This therefore being left unto me, as a Legacie unto your Lordship, pardon my presumption, great Lord, from so meane a man, to so great a person, I could not without some impiety present it to any other, such a sad priviledge have the bequests of the dead, and so obligatory they are, more than the requests of the living: In the hope of this honourable pardon and acceptance I will ever rest

Your Lordship's humble devoted,

T. Th.

No one could honestly consider these cringing tones a dedication from the same publisher to the same patron. Of course Mr. Tyler may suggest that Earl Pembroke had been so indignant with the Sonnet dedication that Thorpe might have vowed never to offend again. But I cannot think the verbosity, the awe, the respect to titles could have so disproportionately accumulated in Thorpe's mind in nine years.

At the date of the publication of the Sonnets, Lord Herbert had been the Earl of Pembroke for eight years, (his father dying in 1601), he had been made knight of the Garter in 1603, and honours were continually raining on him, as 'he was the most universally beloved and honoured of all men in this reign.'¹) Furthermore he,

¹) See Clarendon's History of the Rebellion; and Sydney Papers.

being the eldest-born son of a great Earl, had *never at any time* borne the title of 'Mr. W. H.' — he had *always* been Lord Herbert, even in the register of his birth and baptism, which was carved in great letters over the south entrance of St. Mary's Church, (a rectory held in the gift of the Pembrokes from the time of Henry VIII) at Wilton. It ran thus:¹⁾

'Be it remembered that at the 8th day of Aprill 1580, on Friday, before 12 o'clock at night of the same day, was born William, Lord Herbert, of Cardiff, first child of the noble Henry Herbert, Erle of Pembroke, by his most dere wyfe Mary, daughter to the right Honourable Sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the most noble order, and the Lady Mary, daughter to the famous John, Duke of Northumberland, and was christened the 28th day of the same month, in the Mannour of Wilton. The Godmother, the mighty and most excellent Princess Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England, by her deputye the most virtuous Lady Anne, Countice of Warwick, and Robert, Erle of Lycester, both great-uncles to the infant by the Mother's side, Warwick in person, and Lycester by his deputye, Philip Sydney Esq., uncle by the Mother's side, to the fore-named young Lord Herbert of Cardiff, whom the almighty and most gracious God blesse with his Mother above-named, with prosperous life in all happiness. In the Name of God. Amen.'

Above this inscription are the arms of Herbert, Earl Pembroke, with quarterings and impalements. I thought this important to the present question, as showing the use of his title began *at once*, and the Sidney Papers and other letters prove that it was never disused.

Such a dedication could have been *dared* only by a printer in collusion with the Earl Pembroke himself; and had it been Thomas Thorpe, who had been once so honoured, he would not have been so afraid to address his Lordship in 1616, as constancy to his friends and dependents was a prominent trait in Earl Pembroke's character. We may see the friendly nature of Heminge and Condell's dedication 1623. I am perfectly well aware that it is easier to deny that it was Earl Pembroke, than to assert who 'W. H.' was. I am aware that many attempts to make a theory round the names of others have failed. Dr. Drake thought W. H. should be H. W. for Henry Wriothesley, Earl Southampton; Tyrwhit thought it William Hughes — 'A man in hew all hewes in his controlling'; B. Heywood

¹⁾ Hoare's History of Wiltshire, page 119.

Bright (1819), James Boaden (1832), and C. A. Brown thought it William Herbert, Earl Pembroke. The analogy of the use of 'Mr.' to Sackville (after he was Lord Buckhurst), in quoting from his poems, has been shown by Prof. Minto. Ellis and Hazlitt thought it might have been a William Hammond, an early patron of Middleton's 'Witch'. I have been unable to get hold of the dedication to this person, the earliest copy I can find being dedicated to Thomas Holmes, by Thomas Middleton in 'The Ancient British Drama' which professes to reprint exactly the edition of 1603.

I bring forward no theory, but I make another suggestion. Karl Elze says that, in 1873, Charles Edmonds found at Lampport Hall a copy of an unknown work of Southwell's, to which were added four poems, 'brought together' by W. H. and by him put to press, and printed in 1606 by G. Eld, the printer, three years later of Shakespeare's Sonnets. This fits into a possibility that had crossed my mind. In the 'Paradise of Dainty Devices by M. Edwardes, the rest by sundry learned Gentlemen, both of honour and worship', published in 1596, out of 102, there are 16 poems signed by a Mr. W. H. or Mr. William Hunnis. These are —

The Introduction, a translation of the Blessed St. Barnardes verses, containing the unstable felicitie of this wavering world	W. Hunnis
12. No pleasure without pain	W. Hunnis
51. If thou desire to live in quiet reste	W. Hunnis
60. Finding no joy, he desireth death	W. Hunnis
61. Hope Well and have well.	W. Hunnis
63. He complaineth his mishap.	W. Hunnis
64. No foe to a flatterer.	W. Hunnis
68. He assureth constancie;	W. Hunnis
71. He repenteth his Follie	W. Hunnis
73. The fruit of fained friends	W. H.
84. That love is requited by disdaine	W. Hunnis
85. Of a contented estate	W. Hunnis
87. Of the meane estate	W. Hunnis
93. Being in trouble, he writeth thus	W. Hunnis.

I find this William Hunnis also the author of many semi-religious poems.¹⁾ The first notice of him appears in the middle of the century.

¹⁾ The Psalmes of Davide, translated into English Metre by Sternhold, Wyat, and Willam Hunnis, 1551. — A Hive full of Hony 1578. [Notice the pun.] — Seven sobbes of a sorrowful sour for sinne 1585. — Recreations: Adams Banishment, Christ's Crib, the Lost Sheep, An Old Man's Complaint etc. 1588. — Rules or Weapons concerning the Spiritual Battle, translated by W. H., printed for John Dalberne 1589. — See Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*.

As he was Master of the Children of the Queen's Chapel in 1585, it is more than probable he is the W. H. of the poems in Southwell's volume, from the similarity of feeling. It is quite possible that Shakespeare, attracted by sacred music, might have made friends with him, and might have been advised by him to try the then new fashioned sonnet-form.

It is quite possible also, that knowing this, the publishers might have traced in 'The Paradise of Dainty Devices', some clue to those Sonnets that began to appear 'among Shakespeare's private friends' so shortly afterwards. While not comparing these verses to Shakespeare's as poetry, the subject and treatment are sometimes apparently similar, — as for instance, Poem 68:

With painted speech,
I list not prove,
my cunning for to trye;
Nor yet will use,
to fill my pen
with guilefull flatterie . . .
And sure Dame Nature hath you decked
with gifts above the rest.

Compare Sonnets 33, 20, others.

Of course this Mr. W. H. could not have been much under seventy-nine at the period of the dedication of the Sonnets, but the friendliness was quite suitable. Thorpe might have believed him to be the 'only Begetter' and that eternity, promised by our ever living Poet, might be retranslated.

I am not about to make a case of it, so will not attempt to explain more. I only bring it forward as a supposition. Another that may be considered feasible is this that, while Earl Pembroke would never be called Mr. W. H., there were many others at that time of the same name. Some retainer or secretary or friend, might have had a copy of these poems, might have indeed suggested them to Shakespeare, in the first instance on account of the Countess of Pembroke's desire to see her son early married, might, to glorify the family, have handed them over to Thorpe, and in grateful return, Thorpe may have wished him happiness, and a share in the family eternity.

There was at least one such William Herbert in the family, as gentleman usher, who attended Pembroke's grandfather's funeral from Hampton Court to St. Paul's, in 1570, following with Henry Morgan, the chief mourner, Henry, Earl Pembroke. He may have

been sent as a sort of guide, guardian or chaperon, with the young Lord when he came to London in 1598, on completing his eighteenth year.

Lord Herbert was made a nobleman of New College, Oxford, in Lent 1592; and his brother Philip was of the same College. They were made Masters of Arts of that College, on 30th August 1605, the same time that Prince Henry matriculated; the King being then in Oxford. (See Wood's *Athena Oxoniensis*, Vol. II, Page 483.) Wood expressly states, 'There are others of both his names that have been writers'. And we find another William Herbert, Knight, made Master of Arts on the same occasion. We find still another, writing, in 1603, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, Latin verses in her memory in a collection entitled, '*Oxoniensis Academiae Funebre Officium in memoriam honoratissimam Serenissimae et Beatissimae Elisabethae nuper Angliae, Franciae et Hiberniae Reginae. Oxoniae, excudebat Josephus Barnesius, Almae Academiae Typographus. 1603*'.
Luna facit solis defectus, terra labores
Lunae neutra Angli solis eclipsus erit.
Luna laboravit, lux occidit orbis Elisa:
Unde igitur nostri solis eclipsis erit?
Cynthia deseruit solium, tria regna reliquit.
His junxit quartum, qui dedit illa, Deus.
(Page 156. — Guiliel. Hubertus, Coll. Jesus, Gen.)

But as I said, I attempt to prove nothing, except that such valuable work as Mr Tyler's, tends to produce more work, that may at last lead to fuller facts, and clearer truth, regarding this most autobiographic production of our universal Poet.

January 1890.

Charlotte Stopes.
