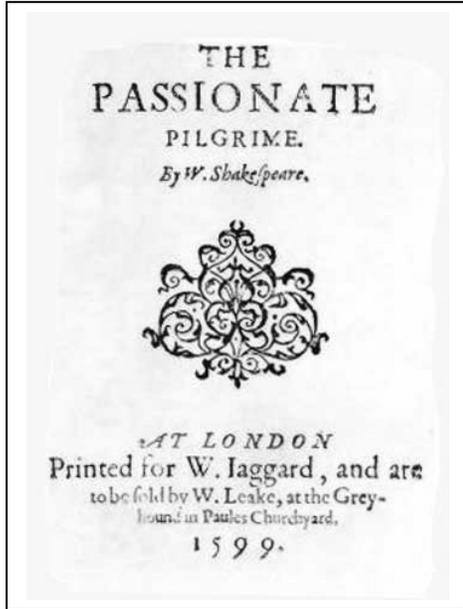


Reclaiming *The Passionate Pilgrim* for Shakespeare

Katherine Chiljan

The *Passionate Pilgrim* (1598-1599) is a hornet's nest of problems for academic Shakespeareans. This small volume is a collection of twenty poems with the name "W. Shakespeare" on the title page. Only fragments of the first edition survive; its date is reckoned as late 1598 or 1599, the same year as the second edition.



Scholars agree that the text was pirated. Why it was called *The Passionate Pilgrim* is unknown. It has been suggested that the title was publisher William Jaggard's attempt to fulfill public demand for Shakespeare's "sugar'd sonnets circulated among his private friends" that Francis Meres had recently mentioned in *Palladis Tamia, or Wit's Treasury*, also published 1598. Jaggard somehow acquired two Shakespeare sonnets (slightly different versions of 138 and 144 in Thomas Thorpe's 1609 edition), and placed them as the first and second poems in his collection. Three additional pieces (3, 5 and 16) were excerpts from Act IV of *Love's Labor's Lost*, which was also printed in 1598.

A total of five poems, therefore, were unquestionably by Shakespeare. But attribution to Shakespeare for the rest has become confused and doubted because of the inclusion of pieces supposedly by other poets. Numbers 8 and 20 were published in Richard Barnfield's *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia: or The Praise of Money* (1598); No. 11 appeared in Bartholomew Griffin's *Fidessa* (1596); and No. 19, "Live with Me and Be My Love," was later attributed to Christopher Marlowe.

None of these writers was credited in *The Passionate Pilgrim*. Since the quality of the remaining eleven poems is considered unequal to Shakespeare, academic tradition has classified their authorship as anonymous even though they were never credited to, or claimed by, anyone else. My view is that these poems were written by Shakespeare, just as Jaggard's edition implies.

Orphans

The eleven "orphan" poems of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, nos. 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12-15, 17 and 18, were long ago dismissed by scholars as not by Shakespeare even

though they contain resemblances to his other works. Three of the orphan poems are about Venus and Adonis (nos. 4, 6, 9) and could be regarded as sketches for his more mature and famous poem. Orphan No. 6 puts Cytherea (Venus) and Adonis in a setting very similar to the painting of Venus and Adonis described in *The Taming of the Shrew* (I.ii.48-53).¹ Orphan No. 4 also has links to the same play. Orphan No. 6 presents perhaps the best claim to Shakespeare's authorship on the grounds of vocabulary, subject matter and imagery, a judgment shared by C. H. Hobday.² Orphan No. 10 resembles Shakespeare's Sonnet 54, and Orphan No. 14 echoes *Romeo and Juliet* (III.v.43-47).³ Numbers 7, 10, 13, 14, 15, and 18 were written in stanzas of six lines, the same format Shakespeare used for *Venus and Adonis*.

Too-Early Dating

"Too early" dating of some orphan poems could be behind the experts' denial that they are Shakespeare's compositions because they do not fit the conventional chronology. It was noted in the New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare's poems that a line in Orphan No. 7 resembled a line in Robert Greene's *Mamillia* (1583) and *Perimedes the Blacksmith* (1588),⁴ and a line in Orphan No. 13 resembled one in Greene's *Alcida* (1588).⁵ Orphan No. 12, "Crabbed age and youth," was most likely the same one printed as a ballad, now lost, in 1591.⁶ Orphan No. 18, "When as thine eye hath chose the dame," appeared in the personal notebook of Anne Cornwallis, which contained transcriptions of poems dating to the 1580s and earlier—a time period outside the traditional dating of any Shakespeare work.

Now located at the Folger Shakespeare Library, the notebook (called the Cornwallis-Lysons Manuscript) gets little attention from scholars, yet it contains the earliest handwritten transcription of a work attributed to Shakespeare. The Cornwallis version of Orphan No. 18 is quite different than, and superior to, the one printed in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, noted Charles Wisner Barrell, so the poem was not merely copied from the anthology. Had it been so, surely the writer would have ascribed it to Shakespeare, but the piece is uncredited.⁷ Other manuscript transcriptions of the same poem exist, attesting to its popularity.

The notebook's owner, according to Arthur Marotti, was the daughter of Sir William Cornwallis, "a man involved in both Elizabethan and Jacobean courtly society" who "hosted visits by Queen Elizabeth on several occasions ..." ⁸ It is not surprising then that a good portion of the 34 pieces in the Cornwallis notebook were compositions by courtier poets, including Richard Edwards, Sir Edward Dyer, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Cordell and Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford.

That Shakespeare's anonymous poem was included among those of courtier poets written by the 1580s or earlier, and in a volume owned by the daughter of a courtier, is hardly the scenario traditional academics envision for the earliest manuscript version of a work attributed to the young man from Stratford. Another connection between Shakespeare and Orphan No. 18 is the fact that its subject

matter—one man’s advice to another for success with women—mirrors Canto 47 in *Willobie His Avis* (1594), a satire that was pointedly directed at Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton.

Shakespeare’s High Social Status

For his third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1612), publisher William Jaggard added poems from Thomas Heywood’s *Troia Britanica*, a work that Jaggard had issued in 1609. These extra pages doubled the size of the previous edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* but Jaggard neglected to credit Heywood. Outraged by this and other grievances, Heywood immediately protested with a letter printed in his *An Apology for Actors* (1612) expressing his fear that “the world” would think that he had stolen from Shakespeare. His own poems, said Heywood, were printed

in a less volume, in the name of another, which may put the world in opinion
I might steal them from him; and he to do himself right, hath since published
them in his own name: but as I must ...

The “less volume” was *The Passionate Pilgrim* published “in the name of” William Shakespeare. Heywood believed that people would regard its enlarged third edition as Shakespeare’s attempt to reclaim stolen property contained in *Troia Britanica*. Jaggard responded to Heywood’s complaint by replacing the title page of the remaining copies with one that omitted Shakespeare’s name.

What caused Heywood’s *angst* and why did he seemingly care more about Shakespeare’s feelings than his own? It is true that he was a Shakespeare imitator (in 1608 he wrote a play titled, *The Rape of Lucrece*), but he apparently feared more than the charge of plagiarism. An answer may be contained in his claim in the same letter that “the Author” (Shakespeare) was “much offended” with Jaggard. Below is Heywood’s retort with brackets providing the identities and subjects behind his confusing use of pronouns:

but as I must acknowledge my lines [in *Troia Britanica*] not worthy his [the Earl of Worcester’s] patronage, under whom [Worcester] he [Jaggard] hath published them [Heywood’s lines in *Troia Britanica*], so the Author [Shakespeare] I know much offended with M. Jaggard (that altogether unknown to him) presumed to make so bold with his name [for citing Shakespeare as author of *The Passionate Pilgrim*]. These, and the like dishonesties I know you [printer Nicholas Okes] to be clear of ...

What has escaped the notice of most readers is the fact that Heywood’s *Troia Britanica* was dedicated to and patronized by Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, and that Heywood is discretely referring to him to make a point about Jaggard. With this understanding, we can make sense of Heywood’s remarks: he was comparing his own boldness of including the Earl of Worcester’s name in the

dedication to his “unworthy” *Troia Britanica* with Jaggard’s boldness of putting Shakespeare’s name to *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

But the difference between them was that Heywood’s permission to use Worcester’s name was implicit because the earl had paid Jaggard for the book’s printing (“his patronage”). This was not the case with Shakespeare. Heywood’s comments can be paraphrased thus:

“Jaggard published *The Passionate Pilgrim* in Shakespeare’s name without his knowledge, and I know that Shakespeare was much offended with Jaggard for presuming to make so bold with his name. Contrast this with another book published by Jaggard, my *Troia Britanica*: in the preface, I made bold with the Earl of Worcester’s name by dedicating the work to him. While I acknowledge the work was unworthy of the Earl of Worcester, the dedication was made with his knowledge, because Jaggard printed it under Worcester’s patronage. Jaggard is dishonest.”

Presuming to make bold with someone’s name implies a person of high social status, like the Earl of Worcester. Heywood, therefore, was implicitly placing Shakespeare and the Earl of Worcester on a similar social footing. By doing so, he added weight to his complaint against Jaggard, while tactfully avoiding naming Worcester, Shakespeare or even the title of the controversial work.

Altogether this explains why Heywood was so concerned that others would think him guilty of stealing from Shakespeare—because the property in question was a nobleman’s. Heywood’s statement also demonstrates that it was apparently well known in the London literary set that Jaggard had “much offended” the great author with *The Passionate Pilgrim*, even though he did not openly complain or take legal action. The lapse of thirteen years between the second and third editions of *The Passionate Pilgrim* implies that their author had personally confronted Jaggard or perhaps paid him to stop printing the work. He had to have been an influential person to get this result. His death no later than 1609 probably emboldened Jaggard to go ahead with his third edition in 1612.

Jaggard suffered no consequences for the 1598-99 editions, although on October 23, 1600, he and Ralph Blore were fined and nearly imprisoned for printing a pamphlet by Sir Anthony Sherley “without license and contrary to order...”⁹ Thomas Judson, printer of the first two editions of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, experienced some trouble after the work was released. His name was among those fourteen printers specifically warned on June 4, 1599 about issuing books forbidden by the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁰ The inclusion of his name was probably due to his partial printing of the “treasonous” *First Part of the Life and Reign of King Henry the Fourth* by John Hayward earlier that year, but Judson’s involvement in the unauthorized editions of *The Passionate Pilgrim* may have been a contributing factor. On February 4, 1600, Judson signed a statement with the Stationers’ company that ended his printing career.¹¹ Richard Field, the Shakes-

peare-approved printer of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, was also among those specifically warned by the Archbishop.

Why Field's name was on this list, a printer whose only recorded offense with the Stationers' Company had occurred eleven years earlier, is mysterious.¹² Only fifteen days before the list was posted, the Bishop of London, Richard Bancroft, had personally approved a religious work for Field's press. Interestingly, Field had collaborated with Jaggard on a book in early 1598, *The True Perfection of Cut Works*.¹³ Perhaps Field had supplied Jaggard with a few Shakespeare pieces and was found out; Field was certainly in contact with the great author during his printings of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*.

Who Stole from Whom?

Although *The Passionate Pilgrim* was unauthorized, it does not mean that the eleven "orphan" poems it contained were not by Shakespeare. Scholars have deemed them "orphans" due to William Jaggard's unaccredited inclusion of verses by Richard Barnfield, Bartholomew Griffin and Christopher Marlowe, attributions not as solid as asserted.

Scholars should perhaps try a different approach in analyzing *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and start with the assumption that Jaggard knew exactly whose work he was printing and that most of the text was truly Shakespeare's. It seems unlikely that the great author would get so upset with Jaggard for printing a mere two sonnets—the three other confirmed Shakespeare pieces were printed in the 1598 edition of *Love's Labor's Lost*. Beginning with Barnfield, the two verses in *The Passionate Pilgrim* (nos. 8 and 20) that first appeared in his *Lady Pecunia* (published by John Jaggard in 1598), were not part of the main work—they were placed in a separate section with a new title page, *Poems: In Diverse Humors*. Barnfield's name did not appear on this title page, leaving open the possibility that some of the nine pieces it contained were not of his composition. A poem in this section that included one of the earliest praises of Shakespeare, "A Remembrance of Some English Poets," was followed by what would become No. 20 of *The Passionate Pilgrim* ("As it fell upon a day"). Number 20 was reprinted in the anthology, *England's Helicon*, in 1600, and was attributed to "Ignoto" (i.e., unknown); two other poems in *England's Helicon*, however, were correctly credited to Barnfield (No. 8 of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, which was not featured in *England's Helicon*).

England's Helicon would have been the perfect vehicle for Barnfield to reassert his authorship of both nos. 8 and 20; instead, it seems to confirm Shakespeare's authorship of No. 20 by titling the poem, "Another of the Same Shepherd's," referring to the piece that immediately preceded it, "My flocks feed not," No. 17 of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. This poem was preceded by No. 16 of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, "On a day, alack the day," from *Love's Labor's Lost*, and was correctly assigned to "W. Shakespeare." Thus 16, 17 and 20 of *The Passionate*

Pilgrim appeared in a cluster in *England's Helicon*, perhaps so placed to give the impression that they were all by the same author.

In 1605, William Jaggard printed a new edition of *Lady Pecunia* without *Poems: In Diverse Humors*, constituting another lost opportunity for both author and publisher to correct the supposed misattributions. The poem from this section that had praised Shakespeare and other writers, however, was retained (“A Remembrance of Some English Poets”). Barnfield never published again.

The Shepherd's Plea

England's Helicon, which postdated *The Passionate Pilgrim*, is the sole contemporary source crediting Christopher Marlowe with his most famous lyric, “Live with Me and Be My Love,” No. 19 of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The text in *England's Helicon* was more complete and given its full title, “Come Live with Me and Be My Love.”

Scholars have unanimously accepted the anthology's crediting of this poem to Marlowe, even though at least five of its other author attributions have been proven incorrect. *England's Helicon* called the piece, “The Passionate Shepherd to his Love.” Interestingly, the only other poem ascribed to “The Passionate Shepherd” in the anthology is the excerpt from *Love's Labors' Lost* noted above. Perhaps the “Passionate” epithet was an intentional reference to *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

Another clue tying “Live With Me” to Shakespeare occurs in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, in which a character sings a few lines from this song. Marlowe also made use of it for two speeches in *Tamburlaine I and II*, and used one line in *The Jew of Malta*.¹⁴ Marlowe borrowed heavily from Shakespeare, as I show in Appendix A, *Shakespeare Suppressed*.

It is also true that songs in Marlowe's plays are scarce, if not non-existent, but are plentiful in Shakespeare. With no other contemporary source affirming Marlowe's authorship of “Live with Me,” Jaggard's prior claim for Shakespeare cannot be ignored.

Scholars have long believed that William Jaggard stole Bartholomew Griffin's “Sonnet 3” from *Fidessa, More Chaste Than Kind* (1596) for inclusion in *The Passionate Pilgrim* (No. 11). The two poems share ten lines but four are completely different. Scholars assume that both versions are by Griffin, but this is doubtful knowing that his work was full of borrowed material.

In her study of *Fidessa*, “source-hunter” Janet G. Scott concluded that Griffin had plagiarized lines from the sonnets of Sir Philip Sidney, Thomas Watson, Edmund Spenser and Samuel Daniel.¹⁵ Griffin's “Sonnet 15” in *Fidessa* also resembles a passage about sleep in *Macbeth* (II.ii.37-40).¹⁶ Griffin admitted in his preface to *Fidessa* that he was a “young beginner” and that *Fidessa* was “the first fruit of any my writings.” If No. 11 of *The Passionate Pilgrim* was Shakespeare's original composition, as Jaggard apparently believed, then it is very likely that Griffin had seen it previously in manuscript and borrowed it for *Fidessa*. To make

his Shakespeare theft less apparent, Griffin may have replaced four lines with those of his own composition. Griffin never published again.

Conclusion

The Passionate Pilgrim gets little attention by traditional academics because they believe that Shakespeare only authored five of the twenty poems. But a closer examination of the other fifteen suggests that the majority were indeed by Shakespeare, that some had circulated in manuscript in the 1580s, and that his admirers were making transcriptions and echoing his lines in their own works. Even the title of the second section, “Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Music,” was seemingly echoed in “Sundry sweet Sonnets,” the title of the second section of Thomas Lodge’s poetry work, *Scylla’s Metamorphosis*, in 1589. The eleven “orphan” poems of the collection, usually described as of unknown authorship, are in reality samplings of the great author’s early verses. This would explain their not-quite-Shakespearean quality.

The evidence that four poems were written by other writers is also dubious. The two poems supposedly authored by Richard Barnfield, nos. 8 and 20, were never reclaimed by or for him, although there was ample opportunity to do so. The poem supposedly written by the neophyte Bartholomew Griffin, No. 11, first printed in his *Fidessa*, was more than likely a Shakespeare original that Griffin borrowed and altered. In my judgment, there is also only a 50-50 chance that No. 19, “Live With Me and Be My Love,” was really penned by Marlowe.

That the majority of poems in *The Passionate Pilgrim* were indeed by Shakespeare would explain the great author’s ire at publisher William Jaggard for printing his work without his authority. Thomas Heywood’s letter of complaint about Jaggard indirectly revealed that the author of *The Passionate Pilgrim* was a man of high rank. Such people were protective of their names, especially when it came to printing verses.

Although the name Jaggard had abused was only a pseudonym, evidently the literary world knew exactly whom it represented. The Jaggard affair shows that the great author would not openly protest the piracy of his work because it would expose his identity as Shakespeare. It also shows that he had enough clout to privately influence Jaggard to keep the work out of print for over a decade. This picture is at odds with the experts’ belief that the great author was an untitled person who started writing circa 1590 and strictly for profit. With this scenario, there would be no reason for the Stratford Man to be offended by publication of his poetry or usage of his name—rather he would be pleased to take some of the profits. Based upon the Stratford Man’s propensity to sue, had he really been “much offended” by Jaggard, he would have undoubtedly seen him in the law courts.

Notes

This essay is excerpted from *Shakespeare Suppressed: The Uncensored Truth About Shakespeare and His Works*, by Katherine Chiljan © 2011.

¹*The Poems*, A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare (vol. 22), ed. Hyder E. Rollins, Philadelphia, 1938, p. 278.

²C.H. Hobday, "Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis Sonnets," *Shakespeare Survey* 26, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1973, pp. 103-09.

³*The Poems*, Variorum Edition, ed. Rollins, p. 296.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 281.

⁵*Ibid*, p. 292.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 547. The anthology, *The Garland of Goodwill* (first surviving edition, 1631), featured this poem as the first stanza of a longer poem titled "A maiden's choice twixt age and youth." A ballad called "The maiden's choice," was registered for publication on August 26, 1591. *The Garden of Goodwill*, presumably *The Garland of Goodwill*, was registered on March 5, 1593; Thomas Nashe mentioned *Garland* in 1596.

⁷Charles Wisner Barrell, "Early Authenticated 'Shakespeare' Transcript Found with Oxford's Personal Poems," *The Shakespeare Fellowship Quarterly*, April 1945, p. 24.

⁸Arthur F. Marotti, "The Cultural and Textual Importance of Folger MS V.a.89," *English Manuscript Studies (1100-1700)*, eds. Peter Beal and Grace Ioppolo, London, 2002, vol. 11, p. 71.

⁹Edwin E. Willoughby, *A Printer of Shakespeare: The Books and Times of William Jaggard*, London, 1934, p. 59; *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London (1554-1640)*, ed. Edward Arber, London, 1876, vol. 2, p. 831.

¹⁰*DNB*, 1888 edition. The fourteen printers named on the list: John Windet, Gabriel Simpson, Richard Braddock, Felix Kingston, William White, Ralph Blore, Thomas Judson, Peter Short, Adam Islip, Richard Field, Edmund Bollifant, Thomas Creed, Edward Allde, Valentine Simmes (Arber, vol. 3, p. 678). The printers were ordered to take "especial" notice of the Archbishop's "Commandments."

¹¹*The Passionate Pilgrim*, ed. Joseph Quincy Adams, New York, 1939, intro., p. 25. John Wolfe, publisher of Hayward's book, was questioned and briefly imprisoned for his part. The names of both printers of Hayward's book, Edward Allde and Thomas Judson, were included on the Archbishop's list.

¹²A.E.M. Kirwood, "Richard Field, Printer, 1589-1624," *The Library*, 4th series, vol. 12, no. 1 (June 1931), p. 8.

¹³*The Sacred Shield of All Christian Soldiers* by John Gibson; Arber, vol. 3, p. 145.

¹⁴John Bakeless, *The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe*, Westport, CT, 1942, vol. 2, p. 153; Frederick W. Steinfeld and Mary Joiner Chan, "Come Live With Me and Be My Love," *Comparative Literature*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Spring 1970), p. 174.

¹⁵Janet G. Scott, "Minor Elizabethan Sonneteers and their Great Predecessors," *Review of English Studies*, vol. 2, no. 8 (October 1926), pp. 424-25. Griffin evidently borrowed from Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (see Appendix A, No. 83, in *Shakespeare Suppressed*).

¹⁶C.J. Rawson, "Macbeth on Sleep: Two Parallels," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 4 (Autumn 1963), pp. 484-85.