

Daniel, Florio, and the Stationers

The Publication of *Astrophel and Stella* and *An Apologie for Poetrie*

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ABSTRACT

This essay is concerned with the printed texts of two of Sir Philip Sidney's books: the sonnet sequence *Astrophel and Stella*, published by the stationer Thomas Newman in 1591, and *An Apologie for Poetrie*, published by the stationer Henry Olney in 1595. While the current scholarly consensus is that Newman's *Astrophel and Stella* was a "pirated" text, "suppressed" when the social elite (headed by Lord Burghley) intervened to prevent the book's being read, the present essay challenges this interpretation through a new reading of the material record that offers a fuller account of the publication histories of both sets of sonnets, and of the origins of Olney's publication.

Three men and a dead knight

THIS ESSAY BEGINS WITH TWO LONDON STATIONER-BOOKSELLERS, THOMAS NEWMAN and Simon Waterson, who both inadvertently owned or had claims to own and publish the same book. It is also about two Elizabethan poets, one of them the dead knight, Sir Philip Sidney, a godson of the Queen, who died from wounds received on the battlefield fighting the Spanish in the Low Countries. The other poet, Samuel Daniel, was a younger man, a gentleman educated at Oxford, who was a close friend of Waterson.¹

In 1591, five years after Sidney's death, Newman published the collection of sonnets by Sidney and others called *Astrophel and Stella*. As we shall see, there is no direct, incontrovertible evidence that there was anything untoward or underhand about this publication; but since Victorian times,

1. Oxford DNB: "Newman, Thomas", 40: 660–x61; "Sidney, Sir Philip", 50: 556–68; "Daniel, Samuel", 15: 71–78; for Waterson (1562–1635), see McKERROW 1910, 84–5.

Newman has been castigated as a thief who misappropriated the Sidney manuscript from which his book was printed. The present essay challenges this idea and adds a complication in respect of Waterson. The final nineteen pages of the first edition include poems not by Sidney but by Daniel, Thomas Campion, and Fulke Greville. The seven short Campion and Greville poems are not identified as theirs and only take up just over four pages, but the ones by Daniel, 28 of them, are recognizable versions of Daniel's sonnets, *To Delia*, which Waterson published, as part of a larger, 50-sonnet sequence, a few months after Newman's first edition of *Astrophel and Stella*. The argument made below is that Newman had unwittingly infringed Waterson's right to his copy.²

Before we go any further, we need to remind ourselves of some of the procedures and nomenclature by which Stationers at this date came to own the rights to their books. When a Stationer (or sometimes an author) sought to have a book, pamphlet, or broadside published, he was obliged to have it first examined and "allowed" by a church authority (the Archbishop of Canterbury, or Bishop of London or one their cleric deputies). The "allowance" was made on the copy to be printed with the signature of the examiner who had seen it. The copy was then presented to one or more of the Wardens and Master of the Stationers' Company who granted the license to print it and witnessed that the allowance had been given with his signature. A further option, which was not obligatory until 1637, was for the Stationer to have his copy entered in the Stationers' Register. Entry might give him peace of mind in the event that other Stationers disputed his ownership, or if the copy became damaged, but what mattered was who had the copy with the allowance and license marked on it. Around a third of pre-1637 books were not entered in the Register, although some were later recorded when they were transferred from one Stationer to another, in many cases no doubt because of the entry fee, 6d, and because the Stationer was supposed to give the Company a copy of his book gratis. These extra expenses had to be added to the charges for reading and allowance and the Company license, ten pence and fourpence respectively.³ Both Newman and Waterson published books entered in the Register as well as ones they had not. Between 1587 and 1592, Newman entered twelve of his twenty-

2. The term "copy" as used here and throughout means document (manuscript or printed) upon which the signatures for allowance and the license to be printed were made by the appropriate authorities.

3. Peter W. M. Blayney outlines allowance, license, and entrance in the Stationers' Register; see BLAYNEY 1997, 396–405, and n.26.

five publications (two were reprints); between 1585 and 1593, Waterson entered eight out of fourteen titles, of which four were reprints. Newman published new books at a prodigious rate before his early death in 1594; Waterson published more slowly, but one title, a devotional tract, was reprinted twice (Robert Parsons, *The second parte of the booke of Christian exercise*).⁴ As Stationers, Newman and Waterson had different profiles and starts in life, but there is no evidence in either case that absence of entry in the Register marks a book of theirs as suspect or stolen.

The dispute

The current scholarly view, an old one, is that the first edition of *Astrophel and Stella* was an unauthorized, “pirated” text, “suppressed” when the social elite (headed by the Queen’s chief minister, Lord Burghley) intervened in its publication. The older model, that the elite were powerful snobs with a gross sense of social entitlement, has been superseded in part by a new proposition: we are told that the elite were aghast at the corrupted text of Sidney in Newman’s book, and they persuaded Burghley to put aside the running of the country so they could force Newman to issue a replacement text.⁵ Yet another theory has it that Newman’s book was *planned* by Lady Pembroke, Sidney’s sister, who aimed to forestall an anticipated unauthorized publication of her brother’s sonnets, but who was let down by someone who bungled the task — probably by Abraham Fraunce, her above-stairs servant at Wilton.⁶

The original hypothesis and its variants claim to explain evidence from the Stationers’ accounts, the condition of the three surviving copies of the book, and the manuscript versions of Sidney’s sonnets. The present essay challenges these interpretations and instead explains what happened in terms of a trade dispute between Newman and Waterson. It proposes that the point at issue was an infringement of Stationers’ copyright — not of

4. STC 19380 (1590) et sqq.

5. Lowenstein (2002, 102) writes that it “may be that those interested in Sidney’s reputation objected to the poor quality of Newman’s text.” May (2011, 59–60) argues that “Sidney’s relatives objected to the publication of a sub-standard text and, above all, the dilution of the book’s focus on Sir Philip through its dedication to a patron unrelated to the family, plus the inclusion of verse by writers other than Sidney.”

6. MAY 2011, 54–60. Fraunce was a gentleman servant employed by Lady Pembroke, superior in position to most of her household servants.

Astrophel and Stella but of the poems appended to the Newman edition written by Samuel Daniel, most of which Waterson published early in 1592 among the first edition of Daniel's *Delia*. These events unfolded, the essay argues, after John Florio (1553–1625), Daniel's friend and mentor, supplied Newman with the Sidney and Daniel sonnets at the time Daniel was out of England. The claim is that the Florio and Newman hypothesis, and the resulting “trade infringement”, accounts more fully for the early publication history of both sets of sonnets than those advanced by the proponents of the “elite intervention” hypotheses.

The chief protagonist of the essay is well known to students of Elizabethan society and literature. John Florio was a first-class lexicographer and translator. He served as a secretary and interpreter to the French Ambassador in London — while at the same time feeding information to the English spymaster Walsingham. He was the protector and friend of the Italian genius Giordano Bruno in Oxford and London in the early 1580s, and he helped prepare the 1590 edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* with Fulke Greville. He was a cultured and indefatigable scholar.⁷

Other people in the essay are much less well known than Florio, a small subset of booksellers in late sixteenth-century London, specifically in the period 1589 to 1592. These were four members of the Stationers' Company: Francis Coldock (1530/31–1603), sometime Master of the Company; Richard Watkins (c.1533–1599), another Master; Thomas Newman (1562–1594), who published the two editions of *Astrophel and Stella* in 1591; and Simon Waterson (1562–1635), Coldock's stepson and Daniel's life-long publisher, who also subsequently served as Master and who, after 1604, became the go-to publisher for all of Sir Philip Sidney's works.⁸ In sum, the interaction between Florio and these Stationers, and between the Stationers themselves, precipitated some kind of dispute over the ownership of the Daniel sonnets. The elite entitlement and intervention hypothesis — Burghley was protecting the dead knight Sidney from lower-class Stationers — misses the point and leaves too much unexplained and inexplicable.

7. For biographical entries for Florio, see *Oxford DNB*, “Florio, John”, 20: 165–68. For Florio's intellectual contexts, see WYATT 2005; BOUTCHER 2017, II.189–272; and GALLAGHER 2019.

8. For Coldock, see *Oxford DNB*, “Coldock, Francis”, 12: 497–98. Waterson acquired the Sidney rights in 1604 following the death of his brother-in-law, William Ponsonby.

Florio, Daniel and Dymoke

Before turning to the elite intervention model, which rests in large part on two payments among the Stationers' Company papers, we need to examine more closely the routes by which the Daniel sonnets arrived in Newman's book, which could only be via Florio. Florio was a polyglot and an outstanding tutor. He was someone that one might hire to learn Italian or French, advise on the best new English poets, or the latest fashions in continental writing and social style. His elite pupils included Fulke Greville and Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and eventually he became Reader in Italian to Anne of Denmark. While Florio was in Oxford in the early 1580s, he gathered around him a set of young students, one of whom was Daniel, a student at Magdalen Hall. Daniel only matriculated in November 1581, but within a year he was one of the small Oxford group who wrote poems in praise of Florio's scholarship.⁹ Wood claimed Florio married Daniel's sister, and if this is true, it was most likely in 1584 or thereabouts, when Florio left Oxford to take up a job as a tutor at the French embassy in London.¹⁰ The friendship between Florio and Daniel lasted the best part of forty years.¹¹

It was Florio who, in the early days, found Daniel a book to write, and a patron to support him. That patron was one of the wealthiest knights in England, Sir Edward Dymoke (c.1557–1624) of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire. Dymoke was an Italophile with sophisticated literary tastes, who owned one of the best manuscripts of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*.¹² He had friends and blood relations among the most respected and educated English families.¹³ Dymoke knew Florio by reputation and conceivably in person, through a network of Italians, perhaps financiers.¹⁴ The Dymoke family had its own *impresa*, a device and motto that celebrated their hereditary office as the monarch's champion. Here, Florio might think, was an opportunity:

9. See SELLERS 1916, 31; see also SERONSY 1967, 14.

10. See SERONSY 1967; 14 and REES 1964, 5 (especially n.16); for the job in the French embassy, see the *Oxford DNB*, "Florio. John", 20: 165–68.

11. For instance, they marched together as fellow Grooms of Queen Anne's Privy Chamber at her funeral in 1619: see SERONSY 1967, 151.

12. This is "the Drummond Manuscript", the only example of the Y tradition that was used to edit the second Newman edition of *Astrophel and Stella*: Edinburgh University Library, MS De.5.96 (see 81–82 below and Fig. 4).

13. See, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/dymoke-sir-edward-1557-1624>.

14. See BOUTCHER 1997, 73–4.

in 1584, Daniel was only just out of his second year at Oxford, but his Latin and French were good and his Italian improving. He wrote lucid English and had the makings of a scholar. At Florio's suggestion Daniel translated Giovio's fashionable book on the rules for *imprese* and added to it descriptions of images and mottos used by high-born Italians. It must also have been at Florio's suggestion that Daniel dedicated the work to Dymoke, and Florio who recommended Daniel to Dymoke as a gentleman servant and companion. This is what happened, or something like it. Daniel left Oxford without graduating and went to Scrivelsby. His book, published in 1585 as *The Worthy tract of Paulus Iouius, contayning a Discourse of rare inuentions . . . called Imprese*, was dedicated to Dymoke. The final *impresa*, at the close of the book, described Dymoke's own crest, a sword erect with a silver blade and gold hilt and pommel. Placing himself under Dymoke's "Ensign" or flag, Daniel added, "both I and these my simple labours hope to find fauour".¹⁵

Daniel's connections with Florio and Dymoke continued into 1585. In November, he was in Paris and presented himself to Michel de Castelnau, Sieur de la Mauvissière (c.1520–1592) with an autograph letter of recommendation from Dymoke written in Italian. Castelnau had been French Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth until September 1585 when he was expelled following the Throckmorton Plot. As Ambassador, he was also Florio's old boss in the French embassy in London.¹⁶ In his letter, Dymoke asked a favor:

La sua natia humanita m'inuita domandarle una gratia non volgare, la quale è questa, che l'apportator della presente mio domestico seruitore nomato Samuele Daniele, il quale se ne viene in francia per istudiare sia racomandato a V: S. Spero che ne la virtù ne la Natura vostra propria mancheranno a questo mio desiderio, anzi col' consiglio, et con l'opera aiutandolo, nel' fauore che gli fara rilucera la sua cortesia.

[Your natural kindness prompts me to ask of you a favor out of the ordinary, which is this, to recommend to your Lordship the bearer of this letter, a servant of mine from my household called Samuel Daniel, who is coming to France to study. I hope that your virtue and nature will not leave my desire unsatisfied, and that by helping him with advice

15. STC 11900 and STC 11900.5 (1585), H8^r; entered SR 26 November 1584.

16. In 1583–1585: see *Oxford DNB*, "Florio, John", 20: 165–68 and YATES 1934, 61–86.

and practical assistance, in the favor you do your courtesy will shine yet again.]¹⁷

Dymoke describes Daniel as “a servant of mine” coming to France “to study”, — which means that he, Dymoke, was paying for an extended trip abroad (it lasted nine months). A few years later, Dymoke also spent a good amount of money on his and Daniel’s journey together to northern Italy.¹⁸ This began around March 1590 and they were away for eighteen months (more on this below). Just as — it is suggested here — Florio recommended Daniel to Dymoke, so Dymoke sponsored Daniel and recommended him to Castelnau. Daniel stayed in Paris until the following year, at one point living in the English embassy, from which he wrote letters to Sir Francis Walsingham, hoping for a job.¹⁹ He returned to England in September 1586, barely days before news arrived of Sidney’s death.

Daniel’s *Delia* sonnets

By March 1590, when Daniel left for Italy with Dymoke, Florio had read the sonnets Daniel was writing for the sequence published subsequently as *Delia*.²⁰ Not only had he read the sonnets, he went out of his way to allude to them in a book of his own that he was completing, the language-learning manual *Florios Second Frutes*, which was published in May 1591.²¹

The *Second Frutes* comprises twelve dialogues between different characters, set out in parallel texts, Italian facing English. Florio peopled the dialogues with the names and personalities of real people in London.²² In the Sixth Dialogue, Master Nicholas, Florio’s name for himself, is at home with a friend Stephan when another friend, “master Daniell”, calls on him. Stephan asks, “What is he that walkes so solitarie along the streete? Doo you knowe him, master Nicholas?”, to which Nicholas responds, “O I knowe him,

17. Dymoke’s letter is Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Cinq Cents Colbert 472, p. 175; first noticed in Bossy 1991, 132. Hitherto unpublished; present author’s translation.

18. For Dymoke’s loans, probably to pay for the trip, see PITCHER and GAISFORD 2021, 856–57.

19. For Daniel’s letters from Paris, see REES 1964, 7–8.

20. The date March 1590 was established by Mark Eccles, who calculated when Dymoke and Daniel were probably out of England: see ECCLES 1937, 165–67.

21. STC 11097 (1591); the book’s colophon is dated 30 April 1591.

22. YATES 1934, 126–38.

hee is my verie friend, and does euer goe with his head downeward, as you see him now". Master Daniel explains why he has not seen Nicholas for so long. "I haue been abroad in the countrie", Daniel says, "else would I long ere this haue come, to haue done my dutie to you". In the exchange that follows, Florio identifies himself and Daniel very exactly. Nicholas says to Daniel, "As each flower from the sonne, so I receaue vertue and force from your presence" to which Daniel replies

And as each riuer to the sea, so do I run to offer my self vnto you.²³

Florio's *impresa* was a heliotrope or marigold turning to the sun, while the courteous and bookish Master Daniel, having mentioned his "dutie" to Nicholas, is identified by reference to the first lines of Sonnet I in Daniel's *Delia*, as they appear in the first edition in 1592 (emphasis added here):

Vnto the boundles Ocean of thy beautie
Runs this poore riuer, charg'd with streames of zeale:
Returning thee the tribute of my dutie.²⁴

This allusion to the opening *Delia* sonnet has been noticed before, but other references, tiny vignettes, have been missed.²⁵ When Stephan says Master Daniel "walkes so solitarie", the allusion is to poet Daniel's living "cast downe" and "Pensiue alone" in the final poem of *Delia*, Sonnet L.²⁶ And when Nicholas says of Master Daniel, "he does euer goe with his head downeward", Florio is referring to lines in Sonnet VII of *Delia*. If *Delia* had not disdained him, poet Daniel says, neither he or she would have been exposed by what he regrets he has done — an awful mistake that makes him blush — and then

had I walkt with bold erected face,
No down-cast looke had signified my mis.

23. STC 11097 (1591), L4^r and M1^r.

24. I.1–3, *Delia*, 1592 1st edition (STC 6243.2).

25. YATES 1934, 133 and 102 (where the heliotrope is identified as Florio's *impresa*); SERONSY 1967, 20.

26. *Delia*, L.10 (STC 6243.2; 1592), H1^v. Daniel was alluding to one of Petrarch's celebrated sonnets, *Rime* 35, "Solo et pensoso i più deserti campi | vo mesurando [Alone and filled with care, I go measuring the most deserted fields]": see DURLING 1976, 94–5.

The *mis* or mistake, his *blush and error*, is that he has allowed his lines to be read by other people as well as Delia. If he had not blundered,

*Then had no finger pointed at my lightnes:
The world had neuer knowne what I doe finde,
And Clowdes obscure had shaded still her brightnes.
Then had no Censors eye these lines suruaide,
Nor grauer browes haue iudg'd my Muse so vaine.*²⁷

The lines given emphasis are usually taken to mean “then no one would have noticed my gaucheness” and “no strict moralist (*Censors eye*) or serious-minded (*grauer*) people would read and judge my poetry to be so empty-headed”. However, there is more specificity in the lines than that. Daniel anticipates that a Censor has *suruaide* (inspected) his sonnets, that is, a chaplain, having had their scope and purpose explained to him, has verified this to be so and allowed the copy, the first stage of “allowance” (as we saw above) in bringing a work through to a published book.²⁸

In Sonnet VII, Daniel does in fact anticipate his sonnets in print, where his confessed *lightnes* — triviality, fickleness — will be *pointed at*, not just a physical gesture, but the mark by readers using a “manicule”, the symbol of a pointing hand with an elongated index finger, written in the margins of books to draw attention to something in the text.²⁹ In his mind’s eye, Daniel is imagining (and blushing at) the *Delia* sonnets displayed in public and marked, disapprovingly, by that pointing finger. In other sonnets, in XXXVI and XLVIII for instance, Daniel admits that Delia herself will be seen in public (in print, that is), though he swears to her his only aim was “t’eternize” her.³⁰ In terms of literary history, it is hard to think of any English poet before Daniel who admits so frankly to a beloved that he will make her immortal in a printed book.³¹ It is a highly unusual fiction — so unusual we may seriously wonder whether it is a fiction at all. Another connection between Florio and Daniel allows us to date the “master Daniell”

27. *Delia*, VII.2–10 (STC 6243.2; 1592), B4r.

28. The word “censor” could be used of the official or cleric who read manuscripts for allowance: the most famous example, cited in OED 2b, is in Milton, *Areopagitica*: an author “must appear in print like a punie with his guardian, and his censors hand on the back of his title, to be his bayl and suretye that he is no idiot, or seducer”.

29. See SHERMAN 2008, 25–52.

30. *Delia*, XLVIII.2 (STC 6243.2; 1592), G4v.

31. On this, see ALEXANDER 2006, 213–14.

exchanges in the *Second Frutes* volume. Unusually for Florio's books, *Second Frutes* has only one commendation at the beginning, a sonnet "Phaëton to his friend Florio". Phaëton, whom modern scholars believe is Daniel, praises Florio for the fruits and "flowrets" (*flores*, proverbs) he has produced.³² His book arrives with the Spring, fittingly, after the dearth of Winter; when

*all our English witts lay dead,
(Except the Laurell that is euer greene,)
Thou with thy Frutes our barrennes o're-spread,
And set thy flowrie pleasance to be seene.*³³

The phrase "the Laurell that is euer greene" most likely refers to Sidney directly, or else the *Arcadia* that Florio had helped Greville bring to print in 1590.³⁴ The indirect reference is to Petrarch, *Rime* 23, "uom vivo un lauro", but Phaëton also has in mind Sonnet 90: 5–6 of *Astrophel and Stella* ("Nor so ambitious am I, as to frame | A nest for my yong praise in Lawrell tree").³⁵ By March 1590, after yet another barren winter following the death of Sidney, the *Arcadia* had been published but, and as pointedly, *The Faerie Queene* had yet to appear — because if it had the phrase "English witts lay dead" would make no sense at all. The reference to one and not the other helps confirm the date of the Phaëton poem as written not long before Daniel's departure for Italy, as established by Eccles.

Daniel's choice of pseudonym, Phaëton, gives us an idea of his mood just before leaving England. In Ovid, Phaëton risked everything to guide the sun for a day but was scorched alive and fell into the River Po (the Eridanus), "magnis tamen excidit ausis", that is he failed with great daring and died in the attempt (*Metamorphoses*, II. 328). Daniel left for Italy with a private joke to Florio, that he would soon be sunburnt and drowning in the poetry of the Po and Petrarch. It will be useful to summarize what has been established and proposed at this stage of the argument. That Daniel received substantial help from Florio and Dymoke throughout the 1580s

32. Suggested by YATES 1934, 130–31; accepted by SERONSY 1967, 19–20.

33. STC 11097 (1591), *2^v; The *Second Frutes* has attached to it Florio's collection of 6000 Italian proverbs, entitled the *Gardine of recreation*.

34. Doubts about Florio's part in the editing of Greville's 1590 "New" *Arcadia* are groundless: see WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 227–28.

35. In *Rime* 23: 37–40, Petrarch says love for Laura transformed him into "a living man a green laurel that loses no leaf for all the cold season [facendomi d'uom vivo un lauro verde | che per fredda stagion foglia non perde]", DURLING 1976, 60–1.

is undeniable, and it is certain Florio knew Daniel's *Delia* sonnets well enough to quote them in his *Second Frutes*. No one else alludes to Daniel's sonnets at this date. Daniel's reference to his sonnets having been prepared for publication and "suruaide" by the "Censors eye", implies that Waterson, who had published Daniel's earliest writing, would have been able to obtain the Stationers' Company license for this allowed copy prior to Daniel's leaving for eighteen months in Italy. This was an insurance policy in case (far from impossible at this date) Daniel did not return. Waterson thus had the allowed and licensed copy of *Delia*, that was not yet entered in the Stationers' Register, while Florio had a further manuscript from which he quoted Daniel's sonnets.³⁶

Newman's book, *Astrophel and Stella*: a batch of allowed papers

Fifteen months or so later, when Daniel and Dymoke were still on the continent — in July 1591 or thereabouts — Thomas Newman, in his own words, lighted upon a manuscript of "the famous deuice of *Astrophel and Stella*". This he published in early September as a book with the title, "Syr. P. S. His *Astrophel and Stella*. | wherein the excellence of sweete Poesie is concluded | To the end of which are added, sundry other rare Sonnets of diuers Noble men and Gentlemen".³⁷ The text of the first edition of *Astrophel and Stella* was printed for Newman by John Charlewood, in a quarto format signed A to L, in 11 sheets. The book had four parts: the preliminaries, printed on A1–A4, were comprised of the title leaf, Newman's dedication of the book to Francis Flower, and a preface by Thomas Nashe. The title-page refers to "other rare Sonnets of diuers Noble men and Gentlemen" added at the end of the Sidney poems, but neither Newman in the dedication nor Nashe in the preface mentions these other poets and poems. It is worth noting these details about the preliminaries, since in one surviving copy they are missing altogether, and in another, they are missing except for the title-leaf.³⁸ The other three parts of the book were distributed as follows:

36. For the delayed entrance of copies until the point of publication, see BALD 1965, 69–80.

37. STC 22536 (1591).

38. Prior to 1637, there was no formal requirement that the preliminaries had to be "allowed" and thus it cannot be claimed they were censored: see ARBER,

B1^r–I3^r “SIR P.S. HIS | ASTROPHEL AND | STELLA.” (Sidney’s sonnets and songs)

I3^v–L2^v A collection of poems headed on I4^v “Poems and Sonets of sundrie | other Noble men and Gentlemen”. Immediately beneath this title is another heading “*The Author of this Poeme, S.D.*”, followed by 28 of Samuel Daniel’s sonnets that conclude, mid L2^v, with “*Finis, Daniel.*”

L2^v–L4^v A small collection of poems, beginning on L2^v, below “*Finis, Daniel.*”, five by Thomas Campion; one by Fulke Greville (misattributed to “E.O.”, i.e., the Earl of Oxford); and an anonymous, perhaps incomplete piece of only two stanzas, below which the whole book ends with “FINIS”.

The proportions of the book suggest that Daniel and the others were, if not makeweight, only subsidiary additions: of the total 80 pages of poems, sonnets and songs (numbered from B1^r), 61 pages were Sidney, 14.5 Daniel, 4.5 the others. The Daniel sonnets were less varied in subject and treatment than Sidney’s, and they drew more directly from Petrarch and his French imitators, but it was clear that in broad terms Daniel’s poems were indebted to *Astrophel and Stella*. The connection between Sidney and the Campion and Greville scattered pieces was less obvious, but an admirer of Sidney would find things of interest in their poems too. One of the Campion songs was an experiment in the classical Asclepiadic metre Sidney had used in his poem “O sweet woods” in the *Arcadia*.³⁹ The Greville poem was also connected to Sidney, if on no other ground than Greville’s devotion to the memory of his friend, England’s dead knight.

Newman did not enter *Astrophel and Stella* in the Register; but then nor did he, for instance, enter another literary title, *The Lamentations of Amyntas* (reprinted twice).⁴⁰ On the face of it, there is no reason to suppose that Newman failed to observe the pre-publication rules prescribed by law and enforced by the Stationers’ Company. The idea that the Court

Registers, iv: 528–36, section II [529]. For the condition of the surviving copies of the first edition, STC 22536, see below, n.71.

39. See DAVIS 1970, xix.

40. The *Lamentations* was written by Thomas Watson but translated into English hexameters by Fraunce: STC 25118.4 (1587), reprinted in STC 25118.5 (1588) and STC 25118.6 (1589).

Assistants would wilfully ignore and fail to oversee the rules that they wrote is neither supported by any evidence, nor is it tenable to suggest that the generation who entered the book-trade during the Marian oppression would be so casual with their own livelihoods.⁴¹ Even as a younger Stationer, Newman must have known the rules and have respected the senior members of the trade. His master had been Raphe Newbery, Upper Warden during 1590–1591.

If Newman's allowance and license were above board, then the reason for the events that occurred had to be a dispute over the rights to Daniel's poems between Waterson and Newman. It has been suggested above that Waterson had already acquired the allowed and licensed copy of Daniel some eighteen months earlier. If this was so, then the allowance and license granted to Newman would have been in conflict with the prior grant to Waterson. Hence, by accident, Newman had infringed Waterson's copy when he published the composite edition of *Astrophel and Stella* together with the poems of Daniel and others. This could have been a quite innocent mistake if he took the Daniel sonnets in good faith, believing there were, like the Sidney, hitherto unpublished pieces, and he was not aware of Waterson's prior claim.

Who gave Newman the Sidney poems?

Modern scholars have a shortlist of three people who might have given the Sidney to Newman, in each case because they were familiar with the *Astrophel and Stella* sonnets in manuscript, prior to Newman's first printed edition. One is the Somerset courtier and upper gentry poet, Sir John Harington of Kelston, who quoted from the Sidney sonnets in the notes to his translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.⁴² Another is Abraham Fraunce, a Cambridge-educated lawyer, litterateur and translator who was in the service of Sidney's sister, Mary, Countess of Pembroke. In his *Arcadian Rhetorike*, published by Newman, Fraunce quoted extracts from Sidney's sonnets from a high-quality manuscript in the possession of Lady Pembroke, which it is assumed came directly from her brother.⁴³ The third is Samuel Daniel.

41. On this see BLAND 2020, 3–29.

42. STC 746 (1591), L4^v.

43. STC 11338 (1588).

Neither Fraunce nor Harington can be shown to have had literary or personal connections with Daniel by the date of the Newman quarto in 1591. So far as we know, Fraunce had no proven links to Daniel, and his leaking of the Sidney sonnets to Newman seems highly unlikely, given that he depended on Lady Pembroke's continuing favor for his employment at Wilton.⁴⁴ Certainly Newman published the *Arcadian Rhetorike* in 1588, and he also published Fraunce's other books for a while — until 1591, that is, when Ponsonby took over as Fraunce's publisher.⁴⁵ Moreover, the Sidney manuscript from which Fraunce quoted in 1588 was markedly different from (and much superior to) the one printed in the Newman edition.⁴⁶ Harington did have later links to Daniel, but there is no evidence of a connection between them before the second half of the 1590s. It is particularly telling that Harington makes no mention of Daniel or his sonnets in his commentary on the 1591 *Orlando Furioso* — which we might reasonably expect if he had an unpublished manuscript of an unknown, remarkable new poet from Somerset, his own county, to offer to Newman with the Sidney.⁴⁷

The third person on the shortlist is Daniel. He had the motive, so the argument runs, to launch himself as a poet, associated with Sidney's fame; and he had the means — direct access to a manuscript of *Astrophel and Stella* owned by his patron Sir Edward Dymoke. Perhaps, it is reasoned, Daniel offered a copy of Dymoke's manuscript to Newman together with an abbreviated or earlier version of his own *Delia* sonnets (28 instead of the 50 published in the first edition of *Delia*).⁴⁸ The fatal difficulty in this case is that the manuscript from which Sidney's sonnets was printed in the

44. May (2011, 54) suggests Dymoke shared Daniel's sonnets with Fraunce, and that Daniel knew Fraunce during the 1580s on account of their "shared interests in poetry and imprese". These are interesting but unsubstantiated guesses.

45. Ponsonby published Fraunce's *Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel* (STC 11338.5 and 11339) and *Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch* (STC 11340), both entered 9 February 1591.

46. The relationship between Fraunce's quotations and the manuscript owned by the Countess of Pembroke was established by William Ringler; see RINGLER 1962, 449.

47. Woudhuysen (1996, 371–76) reviews the evidence for the possible involvement of Fraunce and of Nashe (who wrote the preface for the Newman first edition); the evidence for Harington is considered on pp. 378–80. Further claims for Fraunce, in respect of the Sidney manuscript, are made by Roger Kuin; see KUIN 1998, 174–90.

48. For Daniel's possible involvement, see WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 376–78.

Newman edition differed significantly from the much superior manuscript Dymoke owned.⁴⁹ A further obstacle has appeared recently, with the discovery that Daniel was in Augsburg in Bavaria at the time Newman acquired the copy for his edition.⁵⁰ If he was involved, somehow at long distance, we must add to the shortlist some agent in London, who connived to get him published with Sidney. For that, we do not need Daniel to be involved; all that is required is that we identify someone with access both to his poems and the texts of Sidney.

Florio has never been on this shortlist, despite his proximity to Daniel, because no direct evidence has surfaced that he owned a manuscript of *Astrophel and Stella*. However, the circumstantial evidence for Florio is good in respect of Sidney, not to say compelling, and from different angles.

Florio and Greville: close to Sidney

Florio knew Greville from the early 1580s onwards. He taught him Italian and attended the famous Ash Wednesday supper in London in 1584 when Sidney and Greville invited Giordano Bruno to explain his controversial heliocentric theories and defend them against a couple of Oxford dons, confirmed Aristotelians. Bruno spoke no English and his way of pronouncing Latin sounded very odd to English ears, so Florio was a guest at the supper, with his friend, Dr Matthew Gwinne, another Oxford don, to help explain of Bruno's idiosyncratic way of thinking and speaking.⁵¹

Greville turned to Florio and Gwinne again in the late 1580s to help publish the revised but unfinished manuscript of the *Arcadia* that Sidney had left him. They helped edit the text from papers that were probably difficult to sort out and decipher; they may also have liaised with William Ponsonby who published the book, and John Windet who printed it.⁵² Florio's involvement suggests Greville had full confidence in him, as a scholar whom he could trust to take care of Sidney's reputation. There is every reason to suppose he would allow Florio access to any copy he had of *Astrophel and Stella*. One must put it like this, "any copy he had",

49. See RINGLER 1962, 449–51.

50. See SCHLUETER 2012, 283–90. Daniel signed and dated a page in a travelling companion's album amicorum, "30 June 1591" at "Augusta", after he had crossed the Alps. *Contra* Schlueter (288), this shows that Daniel, travelling home, had reached Augsburg ("Augusta") in Bavaria.

51. See GATTI 2018.

52. See WOUDEHUYSEN 1996, 227–28; see also BLAND 2013, 168–73.

because the manuscript from which the Newman edition was printed was different from the other known copies of the sequence (a sonnet alluding to Penelope Rich may have been missing, for instance, and the sonnets and songs were not integrated). The variants in Newman's edition led Ringler and others to dismiss the copy as "textually corrupt", and thereby (deliberately or not) to rule out a plausible route from Greville to Florio to publication. The assumption has been that Sidney's close friend Greville could not have had a "defective" copy, inferior to (say) the one Sidney gave his sister, Lady Pembroke. Against this, there is growing evidence, gathered recently, that the version in Newman Q1 is a *variant* text, perhaps revised in some measure by Sidney and altered by others before Florio received the manuscript — and Florio himself may have chosen to "edit" his copy, in the same way he helped edit the 1590 *Arcadia*.⁵³ Modern scholars have ignored Florio for another reason: he was on the losing side in the dispute between Greville and the Countess of Pembroke about how and when Sidney's writings should be put into print, and who should be his editor. Lady Pembroke had manuscripts of all of her brother's writings and translations except, it seems, the revised "New" *Arcadia* that Greville, with his team Florio and Gwinne, published in 1590 (to which Daniel as Phaëton alluded). The Greville edition of the *Arcadia* prompted Lady Pembroke to begin a replacement edition, to contain the text of the revised *Arcadia*, with Greville's editorial additions expunged, and with the latter part of the "unrevised" or "old" *Arcadia* added to it. To help her prepare her edition, she called on Hugh Sanford (d.1607), who was her husband's (i.e., Henry, the second Earl's) secretary and tutor to her young son, William, the future third Earl. The composite edition appeared in 1593 but work on it may have started soon after the Greville edition appeared.⁵⁴ Sanford wrote the preface to the 1593 edition, in which he was ostentatiously dismissive about the Greville team's editorial interpolations, which he said he had helped to extrude.⁵⁵ Florio hit back at Sanford personally five years later, defending the editing of the 1590 *Arcadia*: this, he suggested, had been a far greater editorial challenge than the one faced by the editor of 1593, "*Huffe Snuffe*" (one of the mocking names Florio gave Sanford from his initials

53. The question of revision was first raised by SAENGER 1999, 417–38; for an extended account of both revisions by Sidney and the further involvement of Florio, see BLAND 2023a, 1–45.

54. The 1593 *Arcadia* went to the press in late 1591: see BLAND 2013, 171–72.

55. STC 22540 (1593), ¶4^{r-v}; Yates (1934, 192–212) gives an account of the Florio *versus* Sanford disputes.

in the preface, “H.S.”).⁵⁶ Sanford and Florio became proxies in the rival claims of Lady Pembroke and Greville about which of them should oversee Sidney’s *Arcadia*, and what the timescale for publishing the rest of Sidney was to be.⁵⁷

The evidence so far only shows that Florio *could* have supplied Newman with a manuscript of *Astrophel and Stella*, not that he did so. Viewed in conjunction with the prior discussion of Florio and Daniel’s sonnets, however, the source of Newman’s copy is obvious. In 1590, Florio alluded to Sonnet I, the keynote of the *Delia* sequence, and also to Sonnet VII in which Daniel let it out that the sonnets had been read for printing. There is no evidence that Daniel’s sonnets were known to anyone other than Florio before a clutch of them appeared alongside *Astrophel and Stella*. No *Delia* sonnet has been identified by itself or with others in a manuscript or in print prior to that edition. Until a manuscript from a different source of one or more of Daniel’s sonnets is found and can be dated to 1590 or earlier, it is reasonable to conclude that — aside from Waterson — Florio, and only Florio, had a copy from which he “quoted” in his *Second Frutes*, and from which he made a selection to give to Newman, along with the Sidney manuscript, for his copy.

The Daniel sonnets in Newman

The state of the Daniel sonnets in the Newman edition tells a particular story. There are twenty-eight of them beginning on I3^v, with the heading “*The Author of this Poeme, S.D.*” and ending on L2^v with “*Finis, Daniel.*” The first sonnet is unnumbered; the others are numbered in the format “Sonnet 1.” or “Sonnet, 2” (see Fig. 2, below). The sonnets are printed consistently with a space between the first and second quatrain and the second quatrain and the final six lines (quatrain and couplet). Only the final couplet is indented. Most pages begin with the end of one sonnet, followed by a full sonnet, followed by the beginning of the next sonnet. The layout of Daniel differs, in nearly every respect, from the layout of the Sidney sonnets (see Fig. 1, below), although the stanzas within the Sidney songs (confusingly called “sonnets”) are separated consistently by spaces. Moreover, the layout of Newman’s text of Daniel is wholly unlike that of the sonnets in the first edition of *Delia* in 1592 (see Fig. 3, below).

56. See WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 227–29.

57. See DAVIS 2004, 401–30.

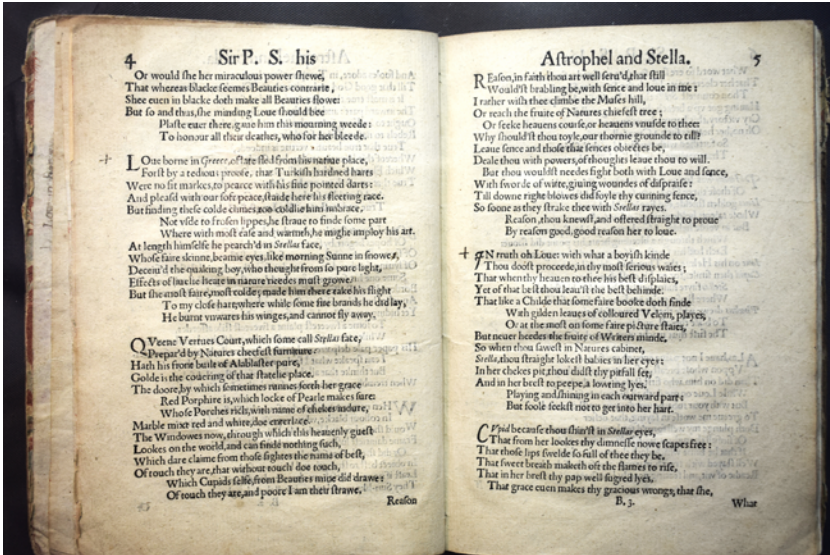


Figure 1. *Astrophel and Stella*, 1591, 1st edition (STC 22536), opening B2v–B3r, Trinity College Cambridge copy. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.

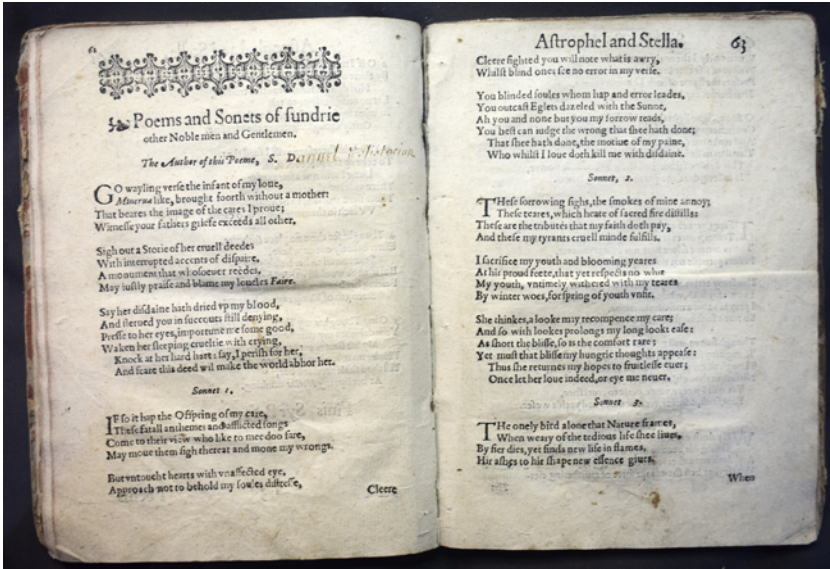


Figure 2. *Astrophel and Stella*, 1591, 1st edition (STC 22536), opening I3v–I4r, Trinity College Cambridge copy. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.

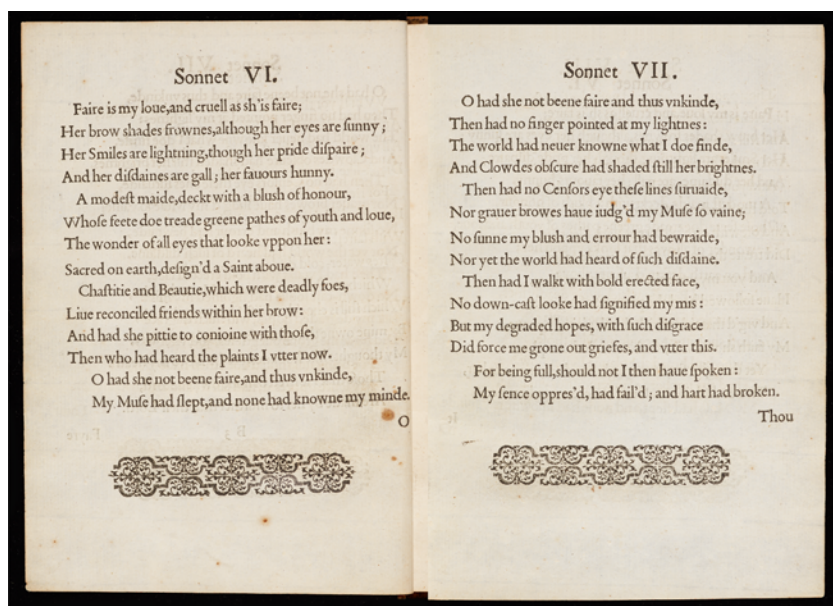


Figure 3. Daniel, *Delia and Rosamond*, 1592, 1st edition (STC 6243.2), opening B3v–B4r, Bodleian copy Mal. 276. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

The distribution of the Daniel sonnets gives us some idea about the copy that Newman possessed when compared with their counterparts in the first edition of *Delia*. Daniel published four substantive editions of *Delia*, with fifty sonnets in the first edition (1592a), fifty-four in the second (1592b), fifty-five in the third (1594), and fifty-seven in the fourth and final edition (1601). The Distribution Table (see Appendix Two) shows that Daniel added and took out sonnets at different points in the sequence.⁵⁸ He revised nearly all the sonnets at one time or another — a few words or a line or two, or even a quatrain — and he rewrote entirely more than half a dozen. Some were revised three times. Nevertheless, even with the revision and rewriting, the sonnets remain recognizably in the same positions. He does not swap them over or shuffle them about or re-order existing ones, even when he is introducing new sonnets.

58. STC 6243.2 (1592a); STC 6243.3 (1592b); STC 6243.4 (1594) and STC 6236/6237 (1601/1602). Reprint editions and the small amount of misnumbering of sonnets in the editions are ignored in the Distribution Table. There is a very accurate text and textual apparatus of the first edition (1592a) in SPRAGUE 1930.

The order of the sequence, as established in the first edition of *Delia*, is not the same in the 1591 Newman edition. There is overlap, certainly, so the unnumbered first sonnet in Newman matches Sonnet II in all *Delia* editions, and the group numbered XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX in *1592a* matches to some degree the Newman sonnets, 14, 19, 15, 11, 20, and 21. The final sonnet in *1592a* and subsequent editions of *Delia* is in the same position as the penultimate sonnet, 25, in Newman. However, in other places, the differences in order are much more pronounced, so the Newman sonnets 2, 4, 5, and 6, for instance, are XXI, XI, XXIX, and XIII in *1592a*. A good number of the Newman sonnets look as though they have been swapped around and shuffled, wholly unlike the way Daniel, in the 1590s, maintained the same order throughout the *Delia* editions. Four of the sonnets in Newman, 3, 10, 12 and 16, were dispensed with altogether by Daniel when he published *Delia*. Number 23 was not included in *Delia 1592a*, but did reappear in the second edition, *1592b*, as XXX — only to be struck out and omitted from the third edition in *1594*.

Some critics attribute these different arrangements to Daniel's wholesale rewriting and adaptation of what was an earlier version of *Delia*; that is, that the Newman edition is a prior state of the text of the first edition, *1592a*.⁵⁹ This is difficult to believe. We would need to accept that Daniel reordered the sequence and altered every sonnet to fit a new conception of *Delia* (all of the Newman sonnets differ in some measure from their counterparts in *1592a*, in rhymes, single words, phrases and full lines). We would also need to explain why the keynote Sonnet I was not included in Newman's text — although Florio had seen it and alluded to it in the *Second Frutes* — and why whole runs of sonnets had been added to *1592a*, almost the whole second half of the sequence, from XXXI to XLIX, punctuated by a couple of existing sonnets, 26 and 13. Even more important, we would have to explain why Newman's text does not mention the beloved's name, "Delia". The concept of the sequence is inextricably linked to anagrams of her name (*Delia*; ideal; ladie) and of Daniel's (*Daniel*; *Delian*; *denial*). In *1592a*, in sonnets wherever the name "*Delia*" appears, the supposed earlier version in Newman omits the sonnet altogether (IIII and XXXVI are examples) or offers an alternative wording that retains the sense:

Good <i>Delia</i> lose, quench, heale me now at length.	XIIII <i>1592a</i>
Good Ladie, lose, quench, heal me now at length.	6 1591

59. For example, "Daniel's lyric dialogue of courtship", in BELL 1998, 126–51.

O why dooth <i>Delia</i> credite so her glasse,	XXIX	1592a
Why doth my Mistres credit so hir glasse,	5	1591

There are other difficulties with the idea of a full-scale revision between the Newman edition and 1592a, including the amount of time Daniel would need to amplify the sequence after he arrived back in England in September 1591. He would have needed to make the revision fit the existing long companion poem, *The Complaint of Rosamond*, in which *Delia* is invoked and pleaded with. Such revisions, as well, would have had to have been done in short order. The alternative is that Florio curated a selection of the poems, around half, showcasing Daniel's talents and promise as a poet, and then covered his traces by removing the references to *Delia*, making some other adjustments, and shuffling the order of the poems.

What is proposed is that Florio provided Newman with an edited and re-arranged selection of Daniel's poems, along with a manuscript of *Astrophel and Stella* and a few other small non-Sidney pieces. As Florio had edited the *Arcadia* from Sidney's papers, we might surmise that he was responsible for some of the more marked variants in the text of *Astrophel and Stella* as well, if we take seriously what Newman claims in his dedication to his edition. "I haue beene very carefull in the Printing of it [*Astrophel and Stella*]", he wrote,

and where as being spread abroade in written Coppies, it had gathered much corruption by ill Writers: I haue vsed their helpe and aduice in correcting & restoring it to his first dignitie, that I knowe were of skill and experience in those matters.⁶⁰

Florio had proven skill and experience as an editor of Sidney. He might also tell Newman why he was coming forward with the Sidney poems just now — a justification that Newman in the dedication could turn into another of his own claims: "the rather was I moued to sette it forth, because I thought it pittie anie thing proceeding from so rare a man [Sidney], shoulde bee obscured, or that his fame should not still be nourisht in his works, whom the works [*sic, for 'world'*] with one vnited grieve bewailed". As for the Daniel, Campion and Greville pieces, Florio might offer them as evidence that Sidney, though peerless, had begun a fresh start in English poetry — rare "Poems and Sonets" written by rare Sidney's milieu.

60. STC 22536 (1591), A2^v.

If this is what Florio told Newman, it was only a half truth. By mid-1591, Florio almost certainly knew that Lady Pembroke and Hugh Sanford were highly critical of the Greville *Arcadia* and were preparing a replacement edition. He would realize that the Countess planned to control the pace at which Sidney's writings were to appear in print, and that they would only be published with her approval. Florio might pass this on to Newman as a hint for the dedication — yes, indeed, Sidney's esteemed sister was a great lady, but it was “pittie anie thing proceeding from so rare a man, shoulde bee obscured”.

There is a trace of this feeling elsewhere in Newman's edition, in the preface (A3 and A4) by Thomas Nashe entitled “Somewhat to reade for them *that list*” (i.e., “take it or leave it”). Nashe praises Lady Pembroke extravagantly in the latter part of this (she is the “eloquent secretary to the Muses”, a “second *Minerua*”, who keeps “the springs of *Castalia* from being dried vp”), but earlier on he writes that a jewel like *Astrophel and Stella*, “although it be oftentimes imprisoned in Ladyes casks” yet at length “it breakes foorth in spight of his keepers, and vseth some priuate penne (in steed of a picklock) to procure his violent enlargement”. Perhaps this was the endpoint of a series of conversations, from Florio to Newman to Nashe, about how the Countess was trying to keep her brother Sidney in a box, along with her other jewels.

Understood from this perspective, Florio had personal as well as social motives for offering a manuscript of *Astrophel and Stella* to Newman when he did. He may have known that *Delia* had already been allowed and licensed. If this was so, he knew that by having his selection allowed and licensed he would create a conflict in the rights to the copy that would ultimately be resolved in Waterson's favour; but he may also have feared that Daniel, diffident and always ready to doubt himself (think of his Phaëton persona), would dither and delay publishing the sonnets upon his return and, even more in awe of Italian poetry, insist on yet more rewriting, as he was prone to do. Florio must have known that Waterson, a supportive friend as well as a bookseller, would not push Daniel hard on this. By adding a selection of Daniel's poems to *Astrophel and Stella*, Florio seized the opportunity to connect Daniel to Sidney, the lamented English Petrarch. He needed to draw a line between the book Waterson owned, called *Delia*, and the sampler he had made for Newman, so he moved sonnets about, adjusted lines, and removed all reference to the name of the beloved, “*Delia*”. The pretence would not convince anyone for long, but it would carry Daniel into print.

Exonerating Newman

Modern literary scholarship owes Newman an apology over *Astrophel and Stella*. It has blackened his name and reputation on the flimsiest of grounds and refused to listen to what he said about the book in his dedication. It has described Newman's edition variously as unauthorized, stolen, surreptitious, pirated, suppressed and confiscated.⁶¹ None of this is true except in the literal sense that all texts of Sidney were "unauthorized", including those published by the Countess of Pembroke. The author was dead and it is a literary quibble to assert that the Countess had not supplied the copy or approved of its publication. In the same manner, Greville's 1590 edition of the *Arcadia* was "unauthorized". The Countess did not have any copyright in the modern sense (an author's intellectual copyright, that is, or control of a deceased author's literary estate). If, as argued here, Greville gave Florio the Sidney sonnets, then Newman's edition was in no sense "stolen". The only theft there might be with *Astrophel and Stella* was if Newman had printed the copy from another Stationer surreptitiously and passed it off as his own. For this, the Stationers' Company had rules to prevent piracy of another's copy, and penalties to enforce such infringements.

The idea that Newman never had an allowance and license for *Astrophel and Stella* but that he published it anyway — that it was clandestine, "surreptitious" — is utterly unconvincing, given the rules of the Stationers in relation to government control. A decree in Star Chamber in 1586, revising earlier Stationers' regulations, set down a range of stiff penalties for unauthorized printing and publication, including periods of imprisonment and the destruction of the printer's presses and type. Further, contraband books might be destroyed.

There is no evidence Newman or Charlewood were otherwise in trouble for offending against the 1586 decree, either before or after 1591, and it is very difficult to believe they would risk so much for so little, relatively speaking, by issuing *Astrophel and Stella* unallowed and unlicensed with the risk of imprisonment. Sidney's sonnets would certainly be vendible, but the

61. There is no point in identifying who has said what, there are so many instances. These ideas about Newman are endemic in Sidney scholarship and related fields (studies of Shakespeare's text, for instance). Even great Sidney scholars have succumbed. The excellences of the Oxford standard edition of William Ringler have made it rightly influential. However, it was Ringler who developed most fully the notion that Newman was an unscrupulous and incompetent lower-rank outsider, who was punished for his edition by being forced to publish a second (see RINGLER 1962, 542–46).

anticipated profit on the book would never have been very large (at most £7 from an outlay of £5).⁶² Newman was at the start of a promising career as a bookseller, with a high-value premises near the Inner and Middle Temples, that he had bought as soon as he was out of his apprenticeship — a forward-looking and substantial investment of £150.⁶³ For him, publishing an edition of Sidney would more likely be a matter of boosting his personal status, as a coming man, than making small slices of unsanctioned profit on the quiet. He had no reason to flout Company rules.

What is true is that there was something not quite right with the first publication of *Astrophel and Stella*. On 18 September 1591, a fee of 4d was paid “for carryeing of Newmans books” to the Stationers’ Hall, followed soon after by an undated payment of fifteen shillings to John Wolfe, the Stationers’ Beadle, “when he ryd with an answer” to Lord Burghley, who was “with her maiestie in progress for the takinge in of books intituled Sir P: S: *Astrophell and stella*”.⁶⁴ It is because of these two payments and the phrases “carryeing of Newmans books” and “takinge in” that scholars have claimed that Newman’s edition was a “suppressed” book and copies of it were “confiscated”. That two of the three surviving copies lack the preliminaries has also been cited as evidence that the edition was “suppressed”.

Steps towards Newman’s book

The suppression and confiscation narrative has held sway for a long time. The two payments, of 4d and fifteen shillings, have been taken as clinching evidence of some government or quasi-government intervention on behalf of the elite. No other substantive interpretation has been offered. To show there is a viable alternative — in terms of a trade infringement — we need to work back in time, step by step, from when *Astrophel and Stella* went on sale in September 1591 to the point, a couple of months earlier, when Newman first knew about the Sidney manuscript. The payment of 4d shows that unsold stock of *Astrophel and Stella* was removed from

62. In round terms, 500 copies would require just over eleven reams of paper. At the standard price of 3s 6d per ream, the paper would cost 40s. The compositor and presswork might cost the same again or more, so the total cost would probably be between £4 and £5. If, as likely, the book retailed at 6d, 500 copies would net £12 10s if Newman sold the entire edition at retail on his own account.

63. BLAND 2023b, 92–141; see also STEELE 1909, 103–04.

64. Stationers Company, Register A, f.262^r (ARBER 1875–1894, i: 555).

Newman's bookshop in Fleet Street on 18 September. One of the three surviving copies, in the British Library, is intact, which shows that at least some copies were bought like that. However, the interval between the book going on sale and being carried off to the Stationers' Hall cannot have been very long.

Hence, working back from 18 September, when the books were carried to the Hall, it would seem probable that *Astrophel and Stella* was on sale by the beginning of the second week of the month. From this we can make an educated guess about when the printing began. Charlewood, the printer, divided the work in two.⁶⁵

Let us suppose *Astrophel and Stella* was printed at a measured pace, so the work took *four* times the theoretical minimum (4 x 5.5 days). The whole process — setting, printing, putting the sheets together — could be done in four weeks. In this suggested timetable (with the book on sale in the second week of September), Charlewood would have begun printing by early August, once he could fit it into his production schedule. Still further back, into late July, the “Sidney plus the others” manuscript had to be examined and allowed by a cleric and then licensed by a senior Stationer. This proposed timetable for the manufacture of the book cannot be far wrong.

Perhaps Newman, sometime in July, heard that Florio had a Sidney manuscript. His exact words in the dedication were “It was my fortune [. . .] not many daies since, to light vpon the famous deuice of *Astrophel* and *Stella*”, by which he may have meant, or wanted it to be understood, that the manuscript had come to him by chance, unexpectedly. He also says he had the sonnets printed soon after he acquired them (“not many daies since”), which would make sense if he thought the book was a business scoop — which might put him on a par with an established bookseller like Ponsonby with his enviable Sidney connections. There was nothing “pirate” in this, or surreptitious, nor any scrambling to get the book done before the transaction was found out. Newman acquired the manuscript legitimately (and perhaps paid Florio for it), then had it licensed and printed promptly.⁶⁶

Sidney needed no introduction as the nation's hero, but here he was the nation's poet. The preface was written by Thomas Nashe, and what Newman got was a 1500-word showstopper. Nashe was a smart Cambridge

65. See BLAND 2023b, 119–26; JACKSON 1978; LAVIN 1971.

66. On payments stationers made to those selling them copy, see BLAYNEY 1997, 394–96.

The received view of this payment is that it shows that *Astrophel and Stella* was “called in”, that is, seized by order because the book was unlawful, printed without allowance and license. This notion has been argued against and rejected above, but one should also add a caveat about the phrase “carryenge of”, which only means what it says, that the copies were transported to the Hall, not that they were “called in” or “seized”, the quasi-technical language of a government ordered confiscation. The alternative view, canvassed below, is that the books were removed from Newman’s shop to the Hall to prevent any more of them being sold — because they were selling well — while Waterson’s complaint about an infringement was considered.

The second reimbursement, undated, is noted below the first, separated by a single unrelated entry: there may have been a small gap of time between their being written in, or they may have been noted at the same time. Many of the payments on the same page were reimbursements to John Wolfe (?1548–1601), recently appointed Beadle of the Stationers’ Company.

Item paid to John Wolf when he ryd *with* an answere
to my L. Treasurer beinge with her maiestie in
progresse for the takinge in of bookes intituled. *Sir*
P: S: Astrophell & Stella xv^s

This payment has been taken to mean that the action against Newman’s publication had been initiated by the Lord Treasurer, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Queen Elizabeth’s chief minister. Burghley, it is claimed, had written to the Stationers, ordering “the takinge in of” *Astrophel and Stella*, and Wolfe had ridden with a letter from the Company, in which there was confirmation that this had been done. Burghley was with the Queen on her progress, moving from one place to another. Wolfe had had to find them, which is why he spent so much: fifteen shillings on travel, provender, and overnight stays.

According to this view — again, the received one — there were two, perhaps three letters: Burghley’s first instruction, the Company’s compliance (delivered by Wolfe), and perhaps another, Burghley’s response. If true, this was a very serious action on both sides, the state and the Stationers, which would create an important precedent, yet there is no sign of the letters or memoranda of them among the Stationers’ papers, indeed there is no sign of anything relating to Newman’s publication anywhere in the Stationers’ records, except for these payments for expenses. There is nothing in the

places where an important procedural step-change like this would need to be recorded, either in the minutes of the Stationers' Court, or the Memorandum Book.

This explanation for Wolfe's journey tests our credulity. He is supposed to have ridden "with an answer" to Burghley, that he handed over in person — this handing over was so vital that he had to chase around Hampshire trying to catch up with Burghley. Such a letter could have been sent by a trusted messenger to deliver to one of Burghley's staff. Perhaps, instead, the Company never sent a letter at all, and nor did Burghley, although the Stationers did send an answer *for* something they had done:

[. .] to John Wolf when he ryd *with* an answer to my L. Treasurer [. .]
for the takinge in [. .]

Let us suppose for a moment that the "carryinge of" *Astrophel and Stella* to the Hall was nothing to do with Burghley, who perhaps was unaware of the book until he spoke with Wolfe. It was an action taken by the Stationers: specifically, by Coldock, the Master. Coldock knew he must answer for why he had exercised his powers under the 1586 decree, and *for* the action. In other words, he answered Burghley's question before it was asked. He sent Wolfe to assure him that there were no matters of state or church involved (no sedition, libels, suspect sermons); to tell Burghley in person, without writing it down, that there was nothing more in this than a small commercial issue, which the Company would settle itself. When Wolfe put in his chit for expenses, the phrase "takinge in" meant what it said, the books had been removed to the Hall by order of the Stationers, on a matter relating to the Company.

Elite intervention or infringement of copy

It is now possible to set out the arguments and evidence in terms of the two hypotheses about how *Astrophel and Stella* came to be published, the prevailing one and a new alternative. The existing hypothesis is that in 1591 Newman obtained a textually unreliable — "corrupt" — manuscript of Sidney, with a selection of unpublished texts of Daniel and other poets, from someone within a socially restricted circle — a superior servant of Lady Pembroke's (Fraunce), or an upper gentry writer and courtier (Harington). It is claimed Newman had the manuscript printed by Charlewood but did not have it allowed or licensed, as was required by the 1586 decree. The

unlawful book went on sale at an unidentified date. The publication, it is reasoned, was not approved by Sidney's family and friends who, as persons of high position, put pressure on Lord Burghley to issue a government order for suppression of the unsold copies. In the earliest version of this theory, the elite took action because of Newman's presumption, as a tradesman, in revealing Sidney's secrets. In later iterations, the claim is that it was because the text was unbearably corrupt.

As the wholesale suppression of Newman's initial publication had not been effective, or so it is assumed, this scenario imagines that the elite friends decided the best service to Sidney's reputation would be to make Newman issue a corrected replacement. As a punishment, the argument continues, Newman was ordered by the elite to publish a revised edition at his own expense. The second edition left out Daniel and the other poets, as well as the dedication and preface by Newman and Nashe. The second edition was printed from a copy of the first, corrected against a superior manuscript of Sidney's sonnets and songs that descended from a manuscript owned by Daniel's patron, Sir Edward Dymoke. Newman most likely had this copy from Daniel via Waterson. Meanwhile, the selection of Daniel's poems published by Newman (supplier unknown), had come to the attention of Lady Pembroke. The Countess invited Daniel to join her at Wilton and, in return, he dedicated the 1592 edition of *Delia* to her. This hypothesis we can call the "elite intervention" model.

The alternative hypothesis, the "trade infringement" model, begins a little earlier, sometime during the year Richard Watkins was Master, that is, 4 July 1589 to 15 July 1590. Waterson, Daniel's publisher, submitted a manuscript of *Delia* for allowance with the linked narrative poem, *The Complaint of Rosamond*. It was allowed (Daniel, in Sonnet VII, anticipates the moment that a "Censors eye" had "suruaide" the copy) and Watkins countersigned the allowance, so giving it the license to be printed. Waterson kept this copy but held back publication until Daniel's return from abroad. Daniel gave another manuscript to his friend, Florio, when he left for Italy in March 1590, accompanying his patron Dymoke.

Fifteen months or so later, Florio offered Newman a manuscript of Sidney's sonnets that had come to him from Greville. To this he had added his own selection of Daniel's sonnets in *Delia* — a selection of half of them, reassembled and edited. He did not tell Newman that Waterson owned the copy of Daniel's poems. By late July 1591, Newman had the composite manuscript of Sidney, Daniel, and other poets allowed, and the allowance then countersigned by Coldock, the Master of the Stationers. As Watkins had been Master before Coldock, the precedence of the Waterson text of

Daniel over that owned by Newman would thus have been obvious once the conflict between the copies became apparent. Charlewood printed Newman's copy in August, and Newman put it on sale a week or so into September — just around the time Daniel arrived back in London from the continent.

The Stationer with the most to gain from publishing Sidney was Ponsonby, but he was silent, a clear sign that he had no rival claim on *Astrophel and Stella* at this point. The Stationer who did have a claim was Waterson, in respect of Daniel. Waterson must have shown his manuscript of *Delia and Rosamond* — with its allowance and license from Watkins from 1590 — to Coldock and complained. Whatever license Newman had for the Sidney, Waterson said, did not extend to the Daniel sonnets; these were his alone. This may have been a tricky moment for Coldock. He was Waterson's stepfather. If it came to a formal dispute where he decided in favor of Waterson, he might be accused of nepotism. He also knew from experience that Newman would not be pushed around by the Company's hierarchy.⁷⁰ Coldock's solution was to order the removal of unsold copies of the edition to the Hall while the rival claims were examined. As Waterson and Newman evidently reached a compromise, with Newman accepting Waterson's rights to *Delia*, there was no reason for the Court of Assistants to become involved in adjudicating the matter or for a formal record to be kept. The only reference to what had happened was indirect, in the book of expenses.

As Newman had acted in good faith, not knowing of Waterson's interest, Coldock must have overseen an informal negotiated settlement. It is likely that a portion of the Newman edition (perhaps a fifth of the copies, to reflect the Daniel part in that volume) were assigned to Waterson at cost, by way of compensation for any loss, for him to sell in his bookshop. The remainder belonged to Newman who collected them from the Hall. Part of the deal was that Newman would publish a second edition, containing only *Astrophel and Stella*. With the as yet unsold copies, the preliminaries were to be cut away and they were not to be reprinted in the subsequent edition.⁷¹

70. The Company had to defend itself over an unknown matter in a case Newman brought "againste the wardens" in the Mayor's Court: Stationers' Company, Register A, f.254^v (ARBER, *Registers*, 1: 540).

71. Traces of the agreement are visible in the condition of the surviving copies of the first edition of *Astrophel and Stella*, (STC 22536). The British Library copy is complete, with the title-leaf, dedication, and preface intact, suggesting Newman sold it before the sequestration. The Trinity College Cambridge copy is almost complete, with the title but not the dedication and preface: The Penshurst copy

As a sweetener for Newman, to help with his reprint, Waterson supplied a superior manuscript of *Astrophel and Stella*, available to Daniel through Dymoke. With that agreement made, Waterson then began preparations to publish *Delia and Rosamond* in the near future.⁷² Around this time, Lady Pembroke extended an invitation to Daniel to join her at Wilton. That the events recorded in the accounts were the consequence of a trade infringement is further corroborated by Waterson's entry of Daniel's *Delia and Rosamond* in the Stationers' Register on 4 February 1592, four months after the matter was settled:⁷³

	4 ^{to} ffebruarij	
Simon Waterson	Entered for his copie by warrant from	
	Master Watkins vnder his hande a booke	
	called Delia conteyninge divers sonnetes	
	with the complainte of Rosamond	vj ^d

The important word here is “warrant”. As a Past Master, Richard Watkins had been brought in to assist with the licensing in 1591–1592 to cover for the Wardens, but he had been Master in his own right in 1589–1590.⁷⁴ In the entry, Watkins is giving a personal guarantee, a “warrant”, that he countersigned and so licensed the allowed copy of “*Delia* [. . .] *with the complainte of Rosamond*” for publication during his tenure as Master (most probably around March 1590 when Daniel departed to Italy) and that Waterson's claim to this book had precedence over any claim by Newman. With Daniel away and publication delayed until his return, Waterson had not thought to enter the copy until it was at the press, but in February 1592 he paid the sixpence to prevent any further confusion or conflict of claim. Hence, the copy that Watkins had signed must have been the one Waterson was later to show to Coldock to secure his claim to the poems of Daniel.

is complete except for the title, dedication, and preface. Information about the Penshurst copy is from WARKENTIN 1985, 461–87.

72. During his time in Italy, Daniel made some revisions to the sonnets as he had left them with Florio and Waterson. It is likely that he then made such “corrections” to Waterson's copy, into which he may have inserted a few new sonnets. If such adjustments were relatively minor in nature, they may not have required further allowance and license and have been covered by Coldock's (or Watkins's) authority.

73. Stationers' Company, Register B, f.284^r (ARBER, *Registers*, II: 603).

74. ARBER, *Registers*, II: 591–614.

Coldock's action had a good outcome, but the use of his powers was not strictly within the scope of the 1586 Star Chamber decree, which vested power in the Master and Wardens to take action (impound copies, destroy a press, punish offenders) in the interests of church and state. In the Newman case, where Coldock had to resolve a commercial dispute, he needed to explain ("answer for") his action to Burghley — hence Wolfe's commission to speak to the Treasurer in person — which was recorded, but only indirectly in the equivalent of a chit for expenses. Burghley apparently accepted the use of Coldock's authority in this instance (there is certainly no evidence to suggest otherwise).

Sidney and Daniel

In 1594, when Newman died early, the rights to *Astrophel and Stella* passed to his widow. She apparently sold these to another stationer, Matthew Lownes, who c.1597 published the third edition, a straightforward undated reprint of the first, that lacked Newman's dedication and Nashe's preface, but included the sundry poems by Daniel and the others.⁷⁵ Lownes' authority for this reprint must have been Newman's allowed and licensed copy of July 1591. Then, in 1598, when Ponsonby (by now the *de facto* Wilton publisher) issued the *Arcadia* expanded with other works, he included a text of *Astrophel and Stella* based on Lady Pembroke's manuscript — the one that Fraunce had quoted from ten years earlier. Ponsonby entered the book as his in the Stationers' Register on 23 October 1598.⁷⁶ We can be sure that to do this he had acquired the rights to *Astrophel and Stella* from Lownes after the third edition had appeared.

As well as *Astrophel and Stella*, the 1598 *Arcadia* included Sidney's critical essay, *A Defence of Poesie*, again owned by Ponsonby. The history of how the essay came to be his is an instructive parallel with the Newman and Waterson case. On 12 April 1595, another stationer, Henry Olney, entered in the Stationers' Register a book very similar to the *Defence* but with a slightly different title, *An Apologie for Poetrie*. Olney published his edition, knowing it had been allowed, licensed, and entered. However, Ponsonby had already entered the book, with two titles, several months earlier, on 29 November 1594,

75. See BUXTON 1960, 614–16.

76. STC 22541; ARBER, *Registers*, III: 128.

A booke entituled A Treatise in commendacon of Poetrie or the defence of posey.⁷⁷

Ponsonby must have complained when he saw the Olney edition on sale. The duplicate entries were the Stationers' mistake, not Olney's, but the 12 April Olney entry was crossed through, and a note added beneath it:⁷⁸

This belongeth to Master Ponsonby by a former entrance And an agreement is made between them [i.e., Olney and Ponsonby] whereby Master Ponsonby is to enioy the copie according to the former entrance.

Ponsonby's claim was the stronger, because earlier, but there was evidently some behind the scenes agreement, so that Olney had a share of the profits from the two editions (the first sheet and title of the Olney edition were adjusted, and copies of Olney and Ponsonby were evidently sold alongside each other).⁷⁹

The Olney edition was not pirated or surreptitious, but it did have a striking and argumentative preface, "*To the Reader*", apparently written by Olney himself (printed in Appendix 1). He published his edition, he wrote, knowing that "great ones", members of the elite, would disapprove of his making Sidney's "Apologie" public. Olney went as far as he could in criticizing the "great ones" for burying Sidney "in themselves". His own "daring aduventure" had "deliuered from Obliuions wombe, this euer-to-be-admired wits miracle". In 1591 Newman had been milder than Olney but still critical: he, Newman, "was moued" to publish Sidney because he "thought it pittie anie thing proceeding from so rare a man, shoulde bee obscured, or that his fame should not still be nourisht in his works", a broad hint that there were other Sidney pieces that ought to be in print.⁸⁰ Both Newman in 1591 and Olney in 1595 were published from manuscripts that had got past Lady Pembroke's embargo. Whether there was common factor in their "enlargement" (Nashe's word for it in *Astrophel and Stella*) is considered below.

Before then, however, we must turn back to Daniel and to the dedication he addressed to Lady Pembroke in the first and second editions of *Delia*. On the surface, Daniel's dedication appears to support the "elite intervention"

77. Stationers' Company, Register B, f.315^v (ARBER, *Registers*, II: 666).

78. Stationers' Company, Register B, f.131^r (ARBER, *Registers*, II: 295).

79. STC 22534–35 (1595).

80. STC 22536 (1595), A2^v.

idea that Newman, although he is not named, did something improper, though Daniel does not say that it was unlawful. He claims he had not intended to publish the *Delia* sonnets (they were “*priuete passions*” of his youth, “*consecrated to silence*”); “*yet seeing*”, he continues,

*I was betraide by the indiscretion of a greedie Printer, and had some of my secrets bewraide to the world, vncorrected: doubting the like of the rest, I am forced to publish that which I neuer ment.*⁸¹

It is impossible to square this with what he says in the sonnets (e.g., in VII.5–8 and XXXVI.1–2, where he tells *Delia* “O be not grieu’d that these my papers should, | Bewray vnto the world howe faire thou art”), and we must accept that the dedication is not true in all respects. Daniel had probably just joined the Wilton establishment when he wrote it, around the end of 1591.⁸² He needed to distance himself from the money and trade aspects of the first Newman edition of *Astrophel and Stella*, so he emphasized the “*wrong*” done Sidney’s “*vnmatchable lines*” (he described it as “*Ignorance sparing not to commit sacriledge vpon so holy Reliques*”); and Lady Pembroke’s role as the “*iudiciall*” (i.e. judicious, discerning)

*Patronesse of the Muses, (a glory hereditary to your house) to preserue them from those hidious Beastes, Obliuion, and Barbarisme. Wherbey [sic] you doe not onely possesse the honour of the present, but also do bind posterity to an euer gratefull memorie of your vertues, wherein you must suruiue your selfe.*⁸³

If what he writes in the future should “*purchase grace in the world*”, he says, it will be a monument to the Countess’ “*honourable fauour*” (patronage code for sponsorship and benefits).

Daniel was doing what all middling sort dependents had to do — create a necessary fiction. A dozen years later, he would do so again, when he was in a jam over his tragedy *Philotas*. He wrote to Robert Cecil, who was investigating him, that he, Daniel, to avoid a scandal, would “*finde the meanes*” to let the play, printed but not yet on sale,

81. STC 6243.2 (1592), A2^r.

82. One aspect of his move to Wilton remains unexplained. Dymoke said Daniel was in his employ in March 1592 (see REES 1964, 8–9), just when the first edition of *Delia* was about to appear, dedicated to Lady Pembroke as a new patron. What did Dymoke, Daniel’s sponsor of many years, think of this?

83. STC 6243.2 (1592), A2^v.

fall of it self, by w'drawing the booke & mee to my pore home, p'tending some other occasion, so y^t the suppressing it by autoritie might not make the world to ymagin, other matters in it then there is.⁸⁴

Daniel prized his public reputation for integrity and honesty (even his arch enemy Ben Jonson acknowledged he was a good, honest man), but circumstances might compel him, as they might anyone of his rank, to make up a story to protect Florio, his mentor and well-wisher.⁸⁵ Florio's friendship and energetic support could be a mixed blessing, and Daniel may have been genuinely taken aback when he read his sonnets in Newman's publication, especially if he blushed at some of them (one suggestion is that the pieces he dropped from the first edition of *Delia* were spicier and less inhibited than others).⁸⁶

Daniel did blame Newman, but in an intriguingly nuanced way. He had been betrayed “*by the indiscretion of a greedie Printer*”, he said (by “*Printer*”, he meant publisher and bookseller). Newman's motive for publishing Daniel's “*private passions*” was of course a weakness for money — what else could a tradesman be but “*greedie*”? — yet what Newman was guilty of was not so much a crime as a social and personal fault. It was “*indiscretion*”, a lack of moral discernment and understanding (see OED, “*indiscretion*”, n.1). Daniel was soft-peddling — he was willing to pass on his high-quality copy of Sidney to this same greedy bookseller to improve the second edition of *Astrophel and Stella* — but he was also diverting attention from how Newman obtained Sidney's manuscript in the first place. Ignorant of how to behave, Newman had blundered, but a social better like Florio, an informed gentleman teacher of the elite, had no such excuse and his actions must be kept hidden, out of the picture.

84. The letter is undated, but Daniel wrote it in March or April 1605; quoted here from SELLERS 1927–1930, 51. For further discussion, see PITCHER 2022, especially 60–64.

85. It is a measure of Daniel's subtlety that the dedication to Lady Pembroke was modelled on the well-known preface to Joachim Du Bellay's 1549 collection of sonnets, *L'Olive*. Jason Lawrence argues that one function of Daniel's dedication was to compliment Lady Pembroke's learning through the allusion to Du Bellay; see LAWRENCE 2005, 67–69.

86. See “Daniel's lyric dialogue” in BELL 1998, 142–43.

Homage to Sidney

One aspect of the first edition of *Delia* shows that Daniel had thought about how his sonnets might be represented in print. He persuaded Waterson to have the sonnets laid out in a new way, a single sonnet per page, with reglet between the lines and spacing around the text. This made the type, great primer, seem ever so slightly overlarge for the quarto page (see Fig. 3), but the total effect, across the openings, was of proportion and delicacy — and regularity, with Roman numerals at the head of each page and the same arabesque ornament repeated at the foot. This formal regularity complemented the (in 1592) surprising uniformity in Daniel's rhymes, the same pattern in almost every sonnet. *Delia* was an innovation in mise-en-page, unparalleled in printed verse at this date, but Daniel took the idea for it from the layout of a particular manuscript, the copy of *Astrophel and Stella* that Dymoke owned (“the Drummond Manuscript”), a copy of which Daniel passed on to improve the text of Newman's second edition (see above and Fig. 4).⁸⁷

The design and appearance of the first edition of *Delia* made it appreciably more expensive than it needed to be, from a pure cost and selling viewpoint. Waterson, advised by Daniel and acting against the

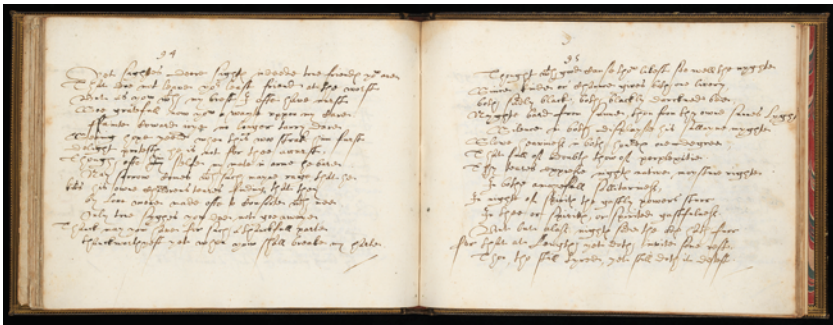


Figure 4. The “Drummond Manuscript” of *Astrophel and Stella*, Edinburgh University Library, MS De.5.96, fos.44^v–45^r. Reproduced by permission of Edinburgh University Library.

87. See NORTH 2007, 207–08. For a follow-up contribution, see MCCARTHY 2020, 60–76. Both Mark Bland and Rémi Vuillemin have also emphasized the importance of the mis-en-page and design of the 1592 editions of *Delia*, although the latter attributes these chiefly to the printer Charlewood rather than to Waterson, prompted by Daniel; see BLAND 1998, 114–16 and VUILLEMIN 2022, 41.

stereotype of a “greedie Printer”, invested in something associated with Sidney’s genius that was intangible, a memory, a trace of his greatness, passing into his disciple, Daniel. *Delia* communicated a touch, however small or indiscernible to those who bought it, of the immortality of Sidney. This also reminds us, obliquely, of why Florio took Sidney’s sonnets to Newman in the first place. Florio thought his own understanding of Sidney was better than Lady Pembroke’s, and he was irked at the pace she chose to go at in publishing his works. Florio’s Anglophile zeal for Sidney went into overdrive. He thought Sidney had shown that poetry in English could match the Italian and French masters, Petrarch, Tasso and Ronsard: the sub-title on the title-page of Newman’s first edition said it all, “Wherein the excellence of sweete Poesie is concluded” (i.e., achieved, accomplished). Put simply, Sidney was the nation’s poet.

No-one has identified who gave Olney the *Apologie for Poetrie*, the second book that broke Lady Pembroke’s embargo, but perhaps this is one occasion when the first thing to do is to round up the usual suspect. The reconstruction is different but somehow the story is the same. When Daniel arrived in Wilton, Lady Pembroke invited him to write a tragedy. Naturally she lent him her copy of her brother’s *Apologie for Poetrie*, in which one subject was the state of English tragedy in the public theatres. Daniel copied the *Apologie*, and at some point, lent the copy to his friend and guide, Florio. Over the following eighteen months or so, Daniel wrote *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, as a companion to Lady Pembroke’s *Antonie*, a translation of the Garnier tragedy. Daniel’s *Cleopatra* was published early in 1594, but he left Wilton soon after, in troubled circumstances. He described himself at that point as a survivor of a tempest, taken up, or rather rescued by Charles, Baron Mountjoy, on the *shore* (i.e., in Mountjoy’s London home on the *Strand*).⁸⁸

It is not certain how and why Daniel parted company with Lady Pembroke, but Florio chose not to keep out of it. No doubt he was smarting at the Wilton attacks on the editing of the 1590 *Arcadia*, which he had had a hand in. He probably objected strenuously to the dismissal of Daniel who, he thought, would continue what Sidney the master had begun; not so much as a successor or imitator but as a scholar-poet whose erudition, inventiveness, and pellucid style would enlarge the literary project started

88. In *The First Fowre Bookes of the Ciuile Warres*, 1595 (STC 6244), I.5.1–4, Daniel wrote: “And thou *Charles Mountioly*, borne the worldes delight, | That hast receiud into thy quiet shore | Me tempest-driuen fortune-tossed wight, | Tir’d with expecting, and could hope no more [. . .]”

by Sidney to overmatch the Italians and drive philistinism and poor writing out of England (this is what Daniel told Lady Pembroke he was trying to do, alongside others, in Sidney's wake).⁸⁹ To Florio's mind, who else but Daniel could answer properly the challenge, "Why poetry?"

The next step relies on educated guesses. At the close of 1594, Florio's resentment and impatience with Lady Pembroke got the better of him. He offered the *Apologie* manuscript to Olney, a young Stationer just out of his apprenticeship, who published the book and entered it in the Register on 12 April 1595 (perhaps urged to enter it by Florio, mindful of the fuss over Newman's *Astrophel and Stella*).⁹⁰ The news that Ponsonby had a rival and better claim to the book must have come as a complete surprise. The hostile preface to the *Apologie* was signed by Olney (see Appendix 1), but it has all the hallmarks of Florio, in argument and sentiment, and some aspects of style, and it is unlike the outlook and style in Olney's two other later prefaces.⁹¹

Modern scholars point to the paradox that Olney's *Apologie* has a better text than Ponsonby's *Defence*, which Lady Pembroke approved for release.⁹² The variation in what the work was called may be the clue here. Ponsonby entered his version in the Register with two titles, "A Treatise in commendacon of Poetrie or the defence of posey". Perhaps the Wilton manuscript that Daniel read and copied in 1592 had the original title, "An Apologie for Poetrie", which passed to Florio and Olney. In 1593 or later, buoyed up with his part in Lady Pembroke's *Arcadia*, Hugh Sanford went on to "edit" the Wilton manuscript of the "Apologie".⁹³ He fiddled and made

89. *Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra*, 1594 (STC 6243.4), verse dedication of *Tragedy of Cleopatra* to Lady Pembroke (stanza [5].1–5): "Now when so many pennes (like Speares) are charg'd, | To chase away this tyrant of the North: | Grosse Barbarism, whose powre growne far inlarg'd, | Was lately by thy valiant brothers worth, | First found, encountred, and provoked forth . . ."

90. Olney was freed on 4 February 1594 (ARBER, *Registers*, II: 713).

91. The first is the preface to a book Olney published by Richard Lynch, *Diella, Certaine Sonnets*, 1596 (STC 17091). The second is the preface to Sir William Cornwallis, *The Essayes*, 1601 (STC 5775). Olney did not publish Cornwallis, but he claimed the book appeared because of him. He had supplied a "perfect Copy", he said, because he wanted to prevent any mercenary printer issuing the work "vnpolished" and uncorrected.

92. See *A Defence of Poetry*, ed. Jan van Dorsten, in DUNCAN-JONES and VAN DORSTEN 1973, 66–9.

93. Some of Daniel's comments in *Musophilus*, written post-Wilton c.1597, are probably about Sanford and his intellectual snobbery.

small adjustments, and came up with new titles, one a commendation of poetry, the other a defence of poesy — as though he was unable to decide which was the key element in Sidney's thinking.

Once again, as with Newman and Florio, it is impossible to prove this related hypothesis about Daniel, Florio, and Olney. We can only test it to see if it fits the available evidence, in particular the credibility of personal motives (those of Daniel and Lady Pembroke as well as Florio) and the likelihood that during the 1590s there was a half-hidden but robust contest between different layers in society over the use of Sidney's literary remains. These were not just for the elite and their retinues, Florio thought, but for the many, or at least for the many in the middling sort. It is time for a new narrative, in which Florio is hero and villain as well as champion of Sidney, and in which members of the Stationers' Company are more than fall guys and "greedie", thieving mechanicals.⁹⁴

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94. I am grateful for the help I received with this essay, from Mark Bland, Michael Brennan, Lizzy Emerson, and Marta Werner. I owe special thanks to the anonymous reviewer of *Textual Cultures* for reading my original submission assiduously and acutely, and for repairing my argument and writing in many places. Errors and misunderstandings that remain are mine.

Appendix 1

Olney's preface to Sidney's *An Apologie for Poetrie*, 1595, STC 22534, sig. A3, "To the Reader" (punctuation lightly edited):

The stormie Winter (deere Chyldren of the Muses), which hath so long held backe the glorious Sun-shine of diuine Poesie, is heere by the sacred pen-breathing words of diuine Sir *Phillip Sidney*, not onely chased from our fame-inuiting Clyme, but vtterly for euer banisht eternitie: then graciously regreet the perpetuall spring of euer-growing inuention, and like kinde Babes, either enabled by wit or power, help to support me poore Mid-wife, whose daring aduventure, hath deliuered from Obliuions wombe, this euer-to-be admired wits miracle. Those great ones, who in themselues haue interr'd this blessed innocent, wil with *Aesculapius* condemne me as a detractor from their Deities: those who Prophet-like haue but heard presage of his comming, wil (if they wil doe wel) not onely defend, but praise mee, as the first publique bewrayer of Poesies *Musaeus*. Those who neither haue seene, thereby to interre, nor heard, by which they might be inflamed with desire to see, let them (of duty) plead to be my Champions, sith both theyr sight and hearing, by mine incurring blame is seasoned. Excellent Poesie, (so created by this Apologie,) be thou my Defendresse; and if any wound mee, let thy beautie (my soules Adamant) recure mee: if anie commend mine endeuored hardiment, to them commend thy most diuine fury as a winged encouragement; so shalt thou haue deuoted to thee, and to them obliged *Henry Olney*.

Appendix 2

TABLE OF DANIEL'S SONNETS 1591–1601					
1591	1592a	1592b	1594	1601	Use of the name “Delia” in 1592a
	I	I	I	I	
Unnumbered	II	II	II	II	
1	III	III	III	III	
	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII.7
	V	V	V	V	
	VI	VI	VI	VI	
	VII	VII	VII	VII	
	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	
22	IX	IX	IX	IX	
	X	X	X	X	
4	XI	XI	XI	XI	
	XII	XII	XII	XII	
7	XIII	XIII	XIII	XIII	
6	XIIII	XIIII	XIIII	XIIII	XIIII.14 (“Ladie” in 1591)
14	XV	XV	XV	XV	
19	XVI	XVI	XVI	XVI	
			XVII	XVII	
15	XVII	XVII	XVIII	XVIII	
11	XVIII	XVIII	XIX	XIX	
				XX	
20	XIX	XIX	XX	XXI	
21	XX	XX	XXI		
				XXII	
				XXIII	
2	XXI	XXI	XXII	XVIII	
	XXII	XXII	XXIII	XXV	XXII.10
18	XXIII	XXIII	XXIIII	XXVI	
8	XXIIII	XXIIII			
9	XXV	XXV	XXV	XXVII	
17	XXVI	XXVI	XXVI	XXVIII	
		XXVII	XXVII	XXIX	
		XXVIII	XXVIII	XXX	
		XXIX			
23		XXX			
24	XVII	XXXI	XXIX	XXXI	
			XXX	XXXII	
27	XXVIII	XXXII	XXXI	XXXIII	

Appendix 2. Continued

5	XXIX	XXXIII	XXXII	XXXIII	XXIX.1 (“my Mistres” in 1591)
26	XXX	XXXIII	XXXIII	XXXV	
	XXXI	XXXV	XXXIII	XXXVI	XXXI.1
	XXXII	XXXVI	XXXV	XXXVII	XXXII.8
	XXXIII	XXXVII	XXXVI	XXXVIII	
	XXXIII	XXXVIII	XXXVII	XXXVIII	
	XXXV	XXXIX	XXXVIII	XL	
	XXXVI	XL	XXXIX	XLI	XXXVI.5
	XXXVII	XLI	XL	XLII	XXXVII.1, 9
	XXXVIII	XLII	XLI	XLIII	
	XXXIX	XLIII	XLII	XLIII	
13	XL	XLIII	XLIII	XLV	XL.1, “Cynthia” (also in 1591)
	XLI	XLV	XLIII	XLVI	
	XLII	XLVI	XLV	XLVII	
	XLIII	XLVII	XLVI	XLVIII	
			XLVII	XLVIII	
	XLIII	XLVIII	XLVIII	L	XLIII.5
	XLV	XLIX	XLIX	LI	
	XLVI	L	L	LII	
			LI	LIII	
	XLVII	LI	LII	LIII	
	XLVIII	LII	LIII	LV	XLVIII.12
	XLIX	LIII	LIII	LV	
25	L	LIII	LV	LVII	L.13 (not in 1591)
3					
10					
12					
16					

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