

The First Publication of Astrophel and Stella

Thomas Newman and the Stationers

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ABSTRACT

This article is concerned with the publication history and printing of Astrophel and Stella. Building on the preceding article by John Pitcher, it explains why the standard account of Pollard and Ringler can not be sustained from a trade perspective. It outlines the career of Thomas Newman, reviews the trade records for the enforcement of the 1586 Star Chamber decree, examines what the infringement was and how it was resolved, and provides details about the organization of the printing, including how it arose that part of the text was omitted and that, significantly, there are two separate paper issues.

THE FIRST APPEARANCE IN PRINT OF SIDNEY'S SONNET SEQUENCE *ASTROPHEL* and *Stella* in 1591, and its rapid reprint that year, have led to speculation as to why its preliminaries and additional sonnets were removed in the second edition, as well as what the two nearly contiguous entries in the records of the Company of Stationers might reveal about the history of these two editions.¹ The received explanation, which assumed that they were illicit, has combined specific details of composition and presswork with a social account involving the Sidney family and other parties associated with them. This view has placed the Countess of Pembroke at the center of events as the guardian of her brother's literary estate, but there is no evidence for the claims made as to her involvement — nor can the rules that regulated the book-trade, and the evidence relating to their enforcement, sustain such a narrative upon closer scrutiny. In addition, there has been no detailed account of the career of Thomas Newman and his connections within the trade, whilst various details of the printing of *Astrophel and Stella*, its paper, and a problem that occurred while it was at the press, have been

1. STC 22536 [Q1], 22537 [Q2] (both 1591); see ARBER, *Registers*, I: 555.

overlooked. What follows seeks to place the publication of the poems in a more informed context.

The origin of the idea that the publication of *Astrophel and Stella* had not been allowed began, as Warkentin notes, with John Payne Collier.² Collier made a career of inventing the evidence to suit his view of the facts, of forging documents accordingly, and was certainly aware of what such conduct was.³ In effect, he tarred Newman with his own brush. Next, unaware that Collier's frauds may have informed his account of Newman, Grosart — while hesitant to accept that the edition was surreptitious — proposed that Samuel Daniel may have drawn attention to the poems being in an “earlier and less revised form”, whilst the Countess of Pembroke, who “shrunk [. . .] from the over-laudation of her” by Nashe, took offence at the poem attributed to “E. O.”, identified as the Earl of Oxford (the presumption, as always, being that it *had* to be an aristocrat, or writer of importance, and not just a deliberate use of false and misleading initials), prompting her to have the first edition replaced by the second.⁴ Pollard magnified this idea as the “great annoyance” of the family, who discovered that a stray manuscript had led to a text of the poems being acquired by “speculative publishers, who were with great difficulty restrained from printing them”. The inevitable having happened, Newman, “probably under pressure from Sidney's family, saw fit” to issue the second edition, less the prefatory material and poems of other gentlemen, with a revised text that combined “stupid errors” with “fresh readings” of “excellent sense” that had been emended “obviously from a different manuscript”.⁵

It was Pollard, seizing on Arber's transcript of the Stationers' Register that was then in the process of publication — with its record of Newman's books being carried to Hall, and of the Beadle, John Wolfe, being reimbursed for delivering a message to Burghley — who brought together the main elements of the story that has since shaped discussion of the 1591 editions of *Astrophel and Stella*. That account was infused with a late Victorian disdain for mere mechanicals, who were always viewed as grafting and devious, looking to line their pockets at the least opportunity. It was Pollard, as well, who was the foremost exponent of the piracy theory of play publication — another twist on the same story. If the text of anything was deemed imperfect, for Pollard and his ilk it was always the workmen who

2. For a summary, see WARKENTIN 1985), 464.

3. For a comprehensive account see FREEMAN & FREEMAN 2007.

4. GROSART 1873, I: xxv.

5. POLLARD 1888, xxxiv–vi.

had interfered with, corrupted, and faultily rendered, the words of Sidney and Shakespeare. Great art mangled in the press of the moment.

When Ringler's edition of Sidney's verse appeared in 1962, it was both remarkable for its time and a breath of fresh air in its contribution to the textual scholarship of Sidney, and of early modern poetry more broadly. It was received as an exemplary demonstration of the textual theories that had been put forward by Greg, and as an elegant resolution of the different textual witnesses upon which his edition was based. Drawing upon Lachmannian theory and a unitary vision of Sidney at work, Ringler proposed the lines of descent by which *Astrophel and Stella* had been transmitted in manuscript and print, and the social contexts of those traditions.⁶ The circulation of Sidneian texts in manuscript was subsequently enlarged on and re-examined by Woudhuysen; however, his account of *Astrophel and Stella* followed Ringler's findings and repeated those earlier assumptions. Apart from the issue of whether Sidney revised the sequence that was raised by Michael Saenger, this issue of *Textual Cultures* is the first scholarship that has revisited Ringler's work and questioned the primary textual and social assumptions underlying his edition.⁷ In many respects, what was once innovative is very obviously flawed and it is time to move the conversation on.

The problem with Ringler's account of *Astrophel and Stella* involves more than his reconstruction of the textual evidence; the issue is his acceptance of the social narrative as it had been propounded by Pollard. Problematically, he went further: Ringler introduced assumptions about the history of the first appearance of the poems in print, stating that "Newman had not obtained a licence for publication, nor had he received the authorization of Sidney's family or of the three living poets whose work was also involved", that "an ordinary author had no recourse against a piratical publisher, but persons of high position could bring pressure to bear through members of the Privy Council or other court officials", that "a government order was issued for the suppression of the remainder of the edition", that "it is likely that Sidney's friends decided that total suppression [. . .] would be useless, and that the best service to Sidney's reputation would be to insist that a corrected text of his work be issued", and that "we may suppose that after the unsold copies of Q1 had been impounded, Newman as a punishment

6. See RINGLER 1962, 447–57, stemma 455; and WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 356–65, stemma 365. Their reconstruction has been challenged in the first article in this issue.

7. See RINGLER 1962, 543–45; WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 356–84; SAENGER 1999, 417–38.

for his indiscretion was ordered to publish at his own cost a corrected text”⁸. Hence, the first edition was a “bad quarto” and “extremely corrupt”, with the moral overtones of illicitness that such words involve.⁹ None of this is either plausible or true.

What is wrong here is not just the looseness and slippages of language (suppression and impoundment are not the same thing, whilst “carryeing [. . .] to the hall” may not mean either at all), or the casual libel of Newman, or the assumptions made about agency and authority in the book-trade, but also the underlying failure to grasp the economics of it, how the businesses operated, and how the Stationers were regulated by the authorities. The idea that an offended aristocrat could sweep in and override the 1586 Star Chamber decree that enshrined privileges granted to the Company, and that established the rules of oversight as to how the book-trade would be managed, without the Stationers recording that event, or challenging it, is just one of the more obvious flaws in Ringler’s account that ignored how the City institutions protected their financial and political interests from outside encroachment.

Aside from the issues about the accuracy of the copy and that Newman published the work of Daniel and other authors without their consent, there is no evidence for any of the claims made by Ringler whatsoever — no acts of the Privy Council or order for suppression of *Astrophel and Stella* in either the Court Records or Memorandum Book (Liber A) of the Stationers, no letters in the State Papers or Lansdowne Manuscripts, and no proceedings against Newman concerning the publication of the poems; nor is there any case in Chancery of a dispute between the Countess of Pembroke and the Stationers over the scope and intent of the 1586 Star Chamber decree that regulated the allowance and licensing of books, pamphlets, and broadsides. Quite why, as well, it would be tolerated that a text should have been suppressed and then a second version printed, or why the Sidney family had a right to be involved in the allowance of texts, has ever been explained. Finally, and most crucially, it is not evident that the Sidney poems were the reason why the books were carried to Hall, as the title is used to refer to the whole book, including the other verse, and not only and specifically to the poems within it by Sidney.

8. RINGLER 1962, 543 & 545 (final two quotations).

9. RINGLER 1962, 544. Ringler’s notes describing British Library Additional MS 61822, dated 12 August 1950 and kept with it, are an earlier statement to the same effect.

It was Ringler's desire to place the Sidney family at the centre of events that has come under the most scrutiny. For Ringler, as Woudhuysen observed, "only a powerful agent like the Sidney family could take action of this kind against piracy", given that he believed that the quarto had been issued without allowance or license.¹⁰ Yet if this claim were indeed true, then that would have been a sufficient reason for Aylmer or Whitgift to have acted under the powers vested in them by the Star Chamber decree without involving Burghley. That decree was recent and was being enforced by the Company; Newman was not exempt from its strictures, or the punishments it set forth.¹¹ That he was not fined or imprisoned indicates that there was no breach of the decree: the publication of *Astrophel and Stella* involved a trade issue, not a regulatory offence; hence, the dispute fell under the scope and control of the Stationers.

What characterizes the arguments of Ringler, Warkentin, Woudhuysen, and those who have followed, is their desire to associate anything to do with Sidney with the elite.¹² Yet, as John Pitcher has elsewhere in this issue, the living poet most affected by the publication of *Astrophel and Stella* was not Sidney (who was dead), but Samuel Daniel who, prior to this, had published only a translation of *Giovio*, and a single dedicatory sonnet as "Phaëton" in *Florios Second Frutes*. Despite the patronage of Daniel by Sir Edward Dymoke, who was abroad at the time of publication, the elite had no reason to intervene on behalf of him at the outset of his career. The offended party, therefore, was not the Sidney family, or William Ponsonby who published the *Arcadia*, but Ponsonby's step brother-in-law, Simon Waterson, who published Daniel and who was that author's friend.¹³ The response to this, it must be presumed, would be that Waterson (who had been at the Crown in the Churchyard for some seven years) lacked the seniority in the trade to effect such an outcome. The flaw in that assumption will soon become apparent in what follows.

Whilst Sidney scholars have focused on the third parties who might have been complicit in, or offended by, the publication of *Astrophel and Stella*, Pitcher's insight, that this is a trade issue, requires further elaboration, for

10. WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 368; see also MASSAI 2013, 140–43; Massai fails to understand the statutory basis for allowance and licensing.

11. The decree was cited as authority to act seventeen times in the first decade: see BLAND 2020, 37.

12. More recent discussions based on the elite argument include DAVIS 2011, 79–99; KUIN 1998, 174–90; MAY 2010, 30–63; SHERMAN 2007, 67–81; and SMYTH 2018, 163–73.

13. PITCHER 2023, 74–77.

neither the conduct of Newman nor the Master and Wardens have been subject to proper scrutiny. Instead, Newman, in particular, has been subject to caricature: for Warkentin, he was driven by “daring, timidity, and greed” and “nervous profiteering”;¹⁴ for Woudhuysen, he was an opportunist who obtained an important literary manuscript through the shifting claims of association and self-advancement among those who regarded themselves as the legitimate literary heirs to Sidney.¹⁵ Yet, first and foremost, Newman was a Stationer and bookseller: with *Astrophel and Stella* he acquired a copy of a text that no one else had been allowed as copy. When he secured his right to the poems, he knew there were clear rules governing the process through which a text appeared in print, as he had entered copy on nine previous occasions — most as shared property with Thomas Gubbin.

In addition, it is from a trade perspective that the publication of the second edition of *Astrophel and Stella* needs to be addressed. Pollard’s suggestion, accepted by Ringler, that Newman issued a corrected version under pressure from the Sidney family would seem to legitimize both the original publication after the fact, and the subsequent edition. Yet, as Lavin has remarked, this involves an entirely convoluted line of reasoning “which can hardly be regarded as an instance of making the punishment fit the crime, considering the pecuniary advantage that was likely to accrue to the pirate”.¹⁶ The alternative has been to reassert that both editions were piracies. Hence Lavin speculated that “after Q1 had been printed Newman obtained a better manuscript version, that he made use of it to prepare a second edition to meet the heavy demand, and that the authorities swooped on the remainder of Q1 and Q2 also”.¹⁷ Quite why four copies and a fragment of the second edition would survive such a “swoop” is unclear, which is perhaps why Woudhuysen did not assume that it was suppressed although he did describe it as “equally illicit”.¹⁸ Yet, if it were true that Newman had printed another edition of a text that had recently been seized and suppressed, then it is quite remarkable that he avoided any form of punishment for so blatantly flouting authority.

To understand what transpired, any account must begin with the limited evidence that we have, and what we know about how the trade operated in practice, including its rules for oversight and governance. Significantly,

14. WARKENTIN 1985, 466, 487.

15. WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 371–84.

16. LAVIN 1973, 250.

17. LAVIN 1973, 251.

18. WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 378.

there is nothing to suggest Newman infringed copy, or otherwise was recalcitrant or disorderly. He lived within the structures and constraints of the book-trade as it was and knew the rules. It must be assumed, as well, that his wife knew other wives, and that they attended social events, church, and Hall. His livelihood depended on the location of his business and the relationships that he formed within the Company, as well as with his clientele. He did not live in isolation; rather, he built his business through partnerships and shared investments — as was the common practice in the trade at that time.

Newman was the son of a cloth-worker from Berkshire, indentured to Raphe Newbery on 29 August 1578 and freed on 25 August 1586.¹⁹ That October, he was assigned his first apprentice,²⁰ and following September 1587 he acquired for £150 the shop and books of Henry Middleton next to St. Dunstan in the West in Fleet Street (as he records in a deposition dated 19 October 1591), whilst the printer Robert Robinson bought the “three printing presses, with sundry sorts of letters and other necessaries, certain copies of books [i.e. the licences to print them and stock] and certain Letters Patent” for £200.²¹ Newman later worked with Robinson, who moved the presses to Holborn, a short walk up Fetter Lane. The shop was one hundred feet to the east of Inner Temple Gate, with Essex House, and Chancery Lane nearby. This part of Fleet Street was a center for the book and the legal manuscript trade.

About the time he acquired his bookshop, Newman married Elyzabeth Bannte on 15 October 1587, and they had four children between 1588 and

19. See ARBER, *Registers*, II: 87 & 698. As he was freed in 1586, he was born in 1562, not c.1564 as stated by H. R. Tedder rev. Eleri Larkum, “Newman, Thomas”, *Oxford DNB*, 40: 660–61.)

20. Thomas Chaunce had been apprenticed to Thomas Woodcock for nine years from Christmas 1578 and was transferred to Newman on 12 October 1586. Despite this, he was freed by Woodcock on 6 March 1587: see ARBER, *Registers*, II: 88 & 699. He was not, therefore, Newman’s apprentice in mid-1591 as stated by Kuin (1998, 182 & 271) and may have always worked for Woodcock as, in late 1586, Newman had not yet acquired his shop. What this might suggest is that Newman briefly worked for Woodcock after he was freed, and that the transfer was in name only.

21. STEELE 1909, 103–04. Middleton was buried 9 September and his will was granted probate four days later (PROB 11/71, f.103^v). Newman entered Bartholomew Yong’s translation of Boccaccio’s *Amorous Fiametta* five days later, on 18 September. At the time, he had not been engaged in “six years of simple bookselling” as Kuin states (1998, 176); in fact, he had only just acquired his shop.

1592.²² He was buried on 2 April 1594. If Newman made a will, it does not survive (it may have been granted probate in the Archdeaconry Court of Middlesex, for which records commence from 1608). His first publications date from 1587, his last from 1592, with two more issued by his widow in 1594. His apprentice during 1591 was John Smethwick, who had been bound from Christmas 1589; he was subsequently being presented for his freedom by Newman's widow in January 1597.²³ She remarried Robert Morgan, a scrivener, probably c.1601–02, and died in 1631 leaving the bulk of her estate to her (and Newman's) grandson, Robert Baynum.²⁴

The shop that Newman bought had a distinguished history. Known as the George, or St. George, it was acquired by Richard Pynson in 1507, and then owned by Robert Redman from 1531 until his death in 1540. Redman's widow ran it for a few months before it was acquired by William Middleton, who died in 1547. Middleton's widow married William Powell.²⁵ Her son, Henry Middleton, was freed by patrimony on 17 February 1567: he succeeded to the business, and in 1572 he married the widow of William Griffiths and acquired the Falcon printing-house across the road in

22. St. Dunstan in the West, Parish Registers: Roger (bapt. 4 August 1588; †20 July 1593), Jane (28 September 1589), Anne (13 January 1591), and Elizabeth (10 April 1592, †1 June 1603). The last entry reads "Elyzabeth Newman daughter to the wyfe of Morgon scryvener was Buried". It might also be observed that Newman's wife was pregnant with Elizabeth at the time of these events.

23. Smethwick was bound for nine years and freed after seven on the same day as William Stansby; the remission may have been a gift from Newman under his lost will. Kuin's claim (1998, 182) that Matthew Selman, Smethwick, and Chance prepared the copy for Q1 is preposterous. For Chance see footnote 20 above. Chance was replaced by Selman, bound by Newman 1 September 1587, put over to James Roberts on 1 September 1589, and later freed by Roberts on 3 September 1594. It was only Smethwick who was the apprentice of Newman at the time of the events discussed: see ARBER, *Registers*, II: 153, 163 & 714 (Selman); 166 & 717 (Smethwick).

24. Their wills are, Robert Morgan, PROB 11/115, f.230^r, probate 24 April 1610; Elizabeth Morgan, PROB 11/159, ff.470^r–71^r, probate 25 May 1631. Elizabeth asked to be buried at night.

25. BLAYNEY 2013, II: 984, 987 (187–88). Whilst Newman, Lownes, and Smethwick did not use the name in an imprint, Thomas Dring mentioned it in his will (National Archives, PROB 11/328, ff.320^v–22^r, probate 21 December 1668): "I giue and devise vnto my younger Sonne ^{Ioshua} Dring all that my mefsuage wherein I now liue called [^]or knowne by the name or signe of the George in Fleetstreete neere Saint Dunstanes Church in the parifh of Saint Dunftanes in the Weft London" (f.321^v).

addition to the bookshop.²⁶ By 1595, Newman's widow had leased the shop, and sold the stock and copies, to Matthew Lownes, including the rights to *Astrophel and Stella*. Lownes was there until 1602, when Newman's former apprentice, John Smethwick, took over with Nicholas Ling.²⁷ Smethwick remained there until his death in 1640.

With his purchase of the George, Newman came into possession of a shop with a long history in a prime location. The stock would have included material printed by Middleton and possibly by Powell, as well as from other trade relationships. After the fourteen items that Middleton printed with Thomas East between 1567 and 1572,²⁸ a further twenty-nine items were printed between 1572 and 1575, seventy-two between 1576 and 1580, and eighty-one between 1581 and his death in 1587.²⁹ In his last four years, Middleton printed eight items on his own account (four in his last year), six for Raphe Newbery (one shared with Henry Jackson), five each for Thomas Chard, George Bishop and John Harison the elder, four for William Norton, two for Christopher Barker, and single items for five other Stationers including Francis Coldock. After 1583, his prime client was Newbery, who may well have helped Newman secure the shop.

The two dozen books that Newman and his widow published catered to an anti-Catholic, Sidneian audience with literary tastes. His first publications, shared with Thomas Gubbin, were Bartholomew Yong's translation of *Amorous Fiametta* by Boccaccio, Abraham Fraunce's translation of Thomas Watson's *The lamentations of Amyntas* on the death of Sidney, and *A short declaration of the ende of traytors* by Richard Crompton.³⁰ The dedicatees, in turn, were Sir William Hatton, addressed by Newman; the Countess of Pembroke, addressed by Fraunce; and Archbishop Whitgift, addressed

26. ARBER, *Registers*, I: 344; Blayney 2013, II: 984, 986 (32); STC, III: 72 & 119.

27. STC, III: 109 & 156. The earliest imprints to state location is STC 7207 (1596) which has "at his fhop in S. Dunftons Church-yard", the last is STC 17846 (1602) which describes it as "his fhop vnder S. Dunftons Church in the Weft". This location is the same as that of the George.

28. STC 4029 (1570) & 20738 (1571) are attributed to Middleton by STC with a query; if they are his, they were printed with East and have been included in the total of fourteen.

29. STC, III: 119.

30. STC 3179 (colophon 3 April, entered 18 September 1587), 25118.4, 6055 (dedication 12 February 1587). L. G. Kelly, "Yong, Bartholomew", *Oxford DNB*, 60: 806; William Barker, "Fraunce, Abraham", *Oxford DNB*, 20: 888–89; N. G. Jones, "Crompton, Richard", *Oxford DNB*, 14: 301.

by Crompton — Hatton being the nephew and heir of Sir Christopher Hatton, and someone who had been with Sidney at Zutphen.

Newman next published James Aske's *Elizabetha Triumphans*, and four works by Fraunce: *The Arcadian rhetorike*, *The lawyers logike*, a book on insignia and emblems, and a corrected edition of *The lamentations of Amyntas*. Newman and Gubbin also entered Edmund Bunny's *A brief answere vnto those ydle and fryuolous quarelles of R. P.*, which was printed by John Charlewood without either name in the imprint.³¹ In 1589, he published John Bate's *The portraiture of hypocrisie*, Robert Greene's *Ciceronis amor*, a translation of Plutarch's *De tranquillitate animi*, a third edition of *The lamentations of Amyntas*, and a sermon by Thomas White, the subsequent founder of Sion College.³² These authors were proximate to Newman's bookshop — White literally next door as vicar of the church, Yong and Crompton across the street at the Middle Temple, and Fraunce a stroll up Chancery Lane at Gray's Inn. It was scarcely the publishing activity of a "piratical publisher" living by "daring, timidity, and greed".

Euarard Digbie his dissuasiue followed in 1590 dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton; his other publications were *Greenes mourning garment*, William Perkins *A golden chaine*, and *Tarltons neues out of purgatorie*. Newman also entered and presumably published *The life of longe Megg of Westminster*.³³ In 1591, other than *Astrophel and Stella*, he published *A pleasant commodie of faire Em and Greenes farewell to folly*.³⁴ In 1592 followed a reprint of Mathurin Cordier's *Colloquiorum scolasticorum*, a schoolbook that later became part of the English Stock, and *Greenes vision*, dedicated by Newman to Nicholas Sanders — a client of Burghley recently appointed to the bench. His last entry in 1593 was *A most strange [. . .] discoverie of the three witches of Warboys* with John Winnington, but he sold his part (and some copies of the second quarto of *Astrophel and Stella*) to Thomas Man.³⁵ Of the books

31. STC 847, 11338, 11342, 11343 & 11344–45, 25118.5; ARBER, *Registers*, II: 490.

For Aske's text, see GOLDRING ET. AL. 2014, III: 431–69. Charlewood sometimes printed other items without naming the publisher in the imprint.

32. STC 1579.5, 12224, 20059, 25118.6, 25407. Stephen Wright, "White, Thomas", *Oxford DNB*, 58: 623–24.

33. STC 6842, 12251, 19657, 23685; ARBER, *Registers*, II: 559. See also, Michael Jinkins, "Perkins, William", *Oxford DNB*, 43: 781–84, and WRIGHT 1940, 171–96; Peter Thomson, "Tarlton, Richard", *Oxford DNB*, 53: 786–89. Roger Ward entered the ballad of Long Meg nine days later.

34. STC 7675, 12241.

35. STC 5759.2, 12261 (1592), 25018.5 (1593): the latter has been excluded from the composition and sheet count. Two fragments of B2 and C2 of the second quarto

published by his widow, Richard Barnfield's *The affectionate shepherd* was dedicated to Penelope Rich, that is "Stella", with the first stanza ending "I came, I faw, I viewd, I flipped in".³⁶ The pattern is one of sustained small-scale investment: over six years, Newman invested 2.049mn pica ens in composition with 152½ sheets set or, on an annual basis, about a quarter more than the two editions of *Astrophel and Stella* combined.³⁷

If we assume that *Greenes Mourning Garment*, which was entered to Wolfe, is a shared publication, then what is notable about this catalogue is that Newman had never published on his own account before *Astrophel and Stella*.³⁸ By far and away his most common partner was Thomas Gubbin with whom he shared thirteen publications, followed by John Winnington and Robert Robinson with whom he shared two each, and then John Dalderne and John Wolfe who shared one each. In addition, he worked with a very small group of printers, Thomas Orwin, Robert Robinson, and John Charlewood, amongst them, who at that time also worked for Thomas Woodcock, William Ponsonby, and Simon Waterson at the start of his career.

Whilst the books that Newman published were focused on lighter reading, his stock must have included publications of a more serious kind. In the same period, 1587 to 1591, his former master, Newbery, published thirty-one titles including works by Bullinger, Camden, Holinshed (as one of the partners), Lambarde, and Stow in 1587 alone,³⁹ as well as liturgies, proclamations, and other items as one of the deputies of Christopher Barker with George Bishop. Newman may well have decided that his clientele would welcome *Astrophel and Stella*, which must have seemed a perfect antidote to many of the other books in his stock. The fact that he had sold through three editions of *The lamentations of Amyntas*, together with the appearance of the *Arcadia* in 1590, would likewise have convinced him that there would be a ready market for Sidney's poems.

of *Astrophel and Stella* were used by Man as endpapers in a vellum bound copy of Edward Lively's *A true chronologie of the times of the Persian monarchie* (STC; 1597: Bodleian Library, Oxford, shelfmark Juel-Jensen Sidney 173); it was not located by Adam Smyth; see SMYTH 2018, 164–69.

36. STC 1480, A3^r.

37. In addition, *The three witches of Warboys* involved 203 thousand ens of composition and 14½ sheets set; in 1594, Newman's widow invested a further 188 thousand ens and 18½ sheets set.

38. STC 12251, entered 2 November 1590.

39. STC 4058, 4076, 4504, 13569–9.5, 15148, 23326.

Whilst records concerning Newman are sparse, sometime between July 1589 and July 1590, he sued the Stationers in the Mayor's Court for which they paid 14s 8d in their defence. Quite what he sought to achieve is unclear; however, the Company then spent a further 12d "for drawinge and wrytinge a supplicacōn to my lord Chauncello^r againfte Newman".⁴⁰ That appeal to Sir Christopher Hatton, whose circle Newman cultivated, may indicate that he had been at least partly successful in his aims. Unfortunately, neither the record nor the supplication survives, with the regular run of material from the Mayor's Court extant only from 1592.⁴¹ What it demonstrates, however, is that Newman was familiar with the law and willing, as a young Stationer, to use it. It also shows some confidence to take on the senior members of the Company (including his former Master who was Upper Warden). Otherwise, the entries in Liber A show that he paid his contributions for corn, gunpowder, and ship money (at the same rate as Waterson) and acted as a good citizen with no record of misdemeanours. The last assessment was on 28 September 1591.⁴²

The fact that Newman was familiar with the law should guide our understanding of what happened with *Astrophel and Stella*, for he must have known what the new decree for the allowance of books required, and what the punishment for violation was. Given the location of his business, many of his clients would have been associated with the law. In this context, his actions, location, and clientele matter. Whatever else he did when publishing the poems, the one thing he is unlikely to have done is break the law; rather what he is far more likely to have used it to his advantage, and the evidence suggests that that is exactly what he did.

The records of the Company indicate that on 18 September 1591 a payment of 4d, representing at most an hour or two of labour, was paid "for carryeinge of Newmans bookes to the hall", and that soon thereafter John Wolfe, in his capacity as Beadle, was reimbursed fifteen shillings for "when he ryd wth an anfwere to my L: Treasurer beinge with her maiestie in progreffe for the takinge in of bookes intituled S^r P: S: aftrophell & ftella".⁴³ That is it; there is no record that the Company sought the permission of Burghley to act, nor prior record of an instruction to act, nor of any

40. Register A, f.254^v; ARBER, *Registers*, I: 540. It might be noted here that Francis Flower, the dedicatee of *Astrophel and Stella* was a client of Hatton; see WARKENTIN 1985, 471–81.

41. London Metropolitan Archives, MS CLA/024/02/021.

42. Stationers' Archive, MS TSC/1/A/05, ff.55^v (2s), 57^v (2s 6d), 60^r (2s), 63^r (5s), & 65^v (2s 6d).

43. Register A, f.262^r; ARBER, *Registers*, I: 555.

other payment to Wolfe as the intermediary. There are no other entries concerning the incident in the Memorandum Book, Liber A. Further, whilst the assumption has been that Burghley ordered that Newman's copies of *Astrophel and Stella* be brought to the Hall, there is no instruction for suppression or seizure as such, which is something that ought to have been entered in the Register or Court Records as precedent, and it is noticeable that there is no broader order to call in copies that might have been in the hands of other members of the trade.

It ought to be self-evident that the publication of *Astrophel and Stella* was not a matter prejudicial to Church and State that would require the attention of Burghley as a matter of urgency, especially given that he was at some remove from London at the time; nor, even if it had been reported to him, is it obvious that it would have unduly concerned him. The recent regulations had dealt specifically with the seizure of illicit material and the punishment for those concerned. In the first instance, Burghley would have expected the Stationers to do their duty, which is, after a manner, what they did.

The Star Chamber decree of 1586 established the protocols for seizing material and for the oversight of the trade, and it vested this, in the first instance, in the Master and Wardens of the Stationers. It was their job to be aware of impropriety, to take action, and to report it when appropriate.⁴⁴ From a governance point of view this was the obvious solution, with the State involved only as a matter of last resort. With all due respect to the Countess of Pembroke, she had no standing in the regulation of the book-trade and, if she had wished to intervene, would have had to seek recourse through the Master and Wardens. Ringler's assumption that publication required "the permission of Sidney's family or friends" is based on an idea of literary property that did not exist at the time.⁴⁵ What mattered for Newman and the Stationers was the due process of allowance and licence.

The Star Chamber decree was intended to protect privileges under letters patent, and to regulate publications concerning Church and State;⁴⁶ whilst the rules for allowance and license were simplified to reflect the practicalities of reading material and verifying that process. What was not required before 1637 was entry of that allowance into the Register,

44. The power of search and seizure is granted in section 6: ARBER, *Registers*, II: 811.

45. Ringler's typescript kept with British Library Additional MS 61822, f.4.

46. The Company accounts show that they initiated the new decree and were responsible for preparing the copies to the sum of £31 16s 7d: ARBER, *Registers*, I: 516 & 519.

despite its usefulness as a matter of record.⁴⁷ Hence, every Stationer knew that printing could not begin until allowance had been given and that publication could not happen before that allowance had been verified by either the Master, one of the Wardens, or a combination of them. The relevant passage of the decree is this:

Item that no person or persons shall ymprint or cawse to be ymprinted [. . .] any booke, work, coppye, matter, or thing whatsoever, Except the same [. . .] hath been heretofore allowed, or hereafter shall be allowed before the ymprintinge thereof [. . .] And been first seen and perved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London for the tyme beinge or any one of them [. . .] Nor shall ymprint or cause to be ymprinted any book, work or coppie against the fourme and meaninge of any Restraynt or ordonaunce [. . .] or contrary to any allowed ordynaunce sett Downe for the good governaunce of the Cumpany of Staconers within the Cytie of London, vpon payne to haue all such presses, letters, and instruments as in or about the pryntinge of any such books or copyes shalbe employed or vsed, to be defaced and made vnserviceable for ymprintinge forever. And vpon payne also that euery offendour and offendours contrarye to this present Artycle or ordynaunce shalbe dishabled (after any such offence) to vse or exercise or take benefytt by vsinge or exercisinge of the art or feat of ymprintinge./ And shall moreover sustayne ymprisonment Six moneths without Bayle or mayneprise/⁴⁸

Further, the decree went on to specify that any publisher or bookbinder who stitched bound and sold a book that had not been allowed “shall suffer three monethes ymprisonment for his or their offence”.⁴⁹ Put simply, if *Astrophel and Stella* had been published without allowance, Newman ought to have been imprisoned for three months, and John Charlewood, the printer, for six — as well as having his presses broken up and type melted down, with the decision entered into the Court Records. To imagine this is to believe that Charlewood was even more cavalier about his personal wellbeing and safety than Newman, and that he would commence production even

47. Section 2 (1637) states “all and euery Titles, Epistle, Prefaces, Proems, Preambles, Introductions, Tables, Dedications, and other matters and things whatsoever thereunto annexed, or therewith imprinted, shall be first lawfully licensed and authorized”: ARBER, *Registers*, IV: 529–30.

48. ARBER, *Registers*, II: 810–11, section 4.

49. ARBER, *Registers*, II: 811, section 5.

though the copy supplied lacked the requisite signatures.⁵⁰ For that there is no evidence.

As the Court Records make clear, the Stationers were keen to assert the power vested in them, and to record infractions and the decisions made. In the first ten years, seventeen decisions refer to the decree as the authority that vested in the Court their right to punish, fine, or imprison members of the trade for their failure to abide by the rules established under its auspices.⁵¹ In addition an entry in the Register on 12 August 1591 records that George Bishop and Ralph Newbery were delegated by the Master and Wardens to seize (the term used) fifty psalm books in 32°, twelve Bibles with psalms in 8°, and a further thirty-eight New Testaments in 32° “for her maiesties vse”.⁵²

Perhaps the most telling record is in the Memorandum Book. At exactly the moment that *Astrophel and Stella* was at the press, Thomas Orwin had his press and type seized. On 14 September 1591, Coldock as Master, and the Wardens Conway and Allen, recorded the outcome with Whitgift’s letter:

xiiij^{to} die Septembris 1591

Where as about ffyve weekes lafte pafte there was by the appointment of vs the mafter and wardens of this companye a preffe and certen letters belonginge to Thomas Orwin ftacioner pulled downe for fomme offence Comitted in printinge by the faid Thomas/. And whereas fince yt hath pleafed my lord of Canterburye his grace to wryte his letters vnto vs the faid m^r and wardens for the Redeliuerye of his preffe and printinge stuffe and alfoe to fuffer him hereafter to followe and exercife his trade of ymprintinge wthout ympeachment of anye decree to the contrarie foe longe as he fhall behaue himself honeftlie As appeareth by his graces letters the Copie whereof hereafter followethe/ Whiche preffe and printinge stuffe wee haue accordingelie this xiiijth of September 1591 Redeliuered vnto the faid Thomas Orwin/ w^{ch}e he confeffeth to haue likewife receaved and hath herevnto fubfcribed his name the daye and yere aboute wrytten/

Thomas Orwyn

50. Further, on 16 August 1591, Charlewood was asked to defend the Seres privilege with Robert Robinson and John Wolfe for printing the primers: Register B, f.452^v; see GREG & BOSWELL 1930, 38.

51. BLAND 2020, 37.

52. ARBER, *Registers*, II: 39.

I doo like verry well of Orwins acknowledgement of his faulte, and alfoe of that favo^r w^{ch}e in that respecte he is in good hope to Receave at yo^r handes as he informethe me-/ And yf yt be needefull to ad anye requeste of myne vnto you for him, I doo hartelie praye you not onlye to Redeliuer vnto him his preffe and printing stuffe, for the w^{ch}e I haue heretofore alreadie moved you. But alfoe to fuffer him hereafter to followe and exercife his trade of ymprintinge wthout ympeachment of anye decree to the contrarye foe longe as he shall behaue himself honestlie therein, and doo nothinge that iustlie maye breede offence-/ And foe I comytte yo^w to the tuicion of almightie god. ffrom Croydon the xxxth of Augufte 1591

Yo^r lovinge freind
Io Cantuar⁵³

While the offence that Orwin had committed is unknown, if Coldock was prepared to seize his press and type in August 1591, and to have Bishop and Newbery seize books, there is no reason he would not have had Charlewood punished in the same way, at the same time, if he had printed Sidney without allowance. It also means that, at a crucial moment, Orwin was taken out by authority and unable to work, despite having printed for Newman in the past, perhaps explaining why he turned to Charlewood.⁵⁴ In his response, Whitgift also made clear that in future Orwin should not live in fear “of anye decree to the contrarye” — the decree being that of the Star Chamber of 1586.

Both Whitgift and the Stationers knew the full force of the 1586 decree was draconian and held its full power in reserve. Yet it was not until December 1592 that the alternative of fining was employed when both Abel Jeffes and Edward White printed plays belonging to each other in a tit-for-tat spat. As well as the printers being fined ten shillings apiece, the offending books were seized and sold by the Company on behalf of its poor. Subsequently, in May 1594, White was fined five shillings for printing a ballad without licence; whilst in June 1595, Andrew Wyse was fined forty

53. Stationers Archive: Liber A, MS TSC/1/A/05, f.64^r; see also, ARBER, *Registers*, 1: 555.

54. Orwin’s output for 1589–1592 has been checked as a precaution; there is no evidence of his having used the ornaments on G3^r and I3^v, and there is no evidence he printed sheets F–L.

shillings for printing two of Thomas Playford's sermons.⁵⁵ By the same logic, if *Astrophel and Stella* had not been allowed, then there ought to have been an order, at the very least, for Charlewood's presses and type to be seized, for Newman to pay a fine, and possibly for the copies to be sold on behalf of the poor of the Company.

Thus, given how the trade was regulated, and the authority vested in the Master and Wardens under the decree, it seems unlikely that the Stationers would have waited for guidance from Burghley to suppress a book that had been published without allowance. The evidence consistently points to the Company acting first to protect its interests, with the single exception of it being asked to "procure" for the Archbishop of Canterbury, in mid-1587, "a popifhe booke w^{ch}e was in pryntinge", and then no further action was taken.⁵⁶

Before going further, it is worth bearing in mind how the licensing of books operated. First, licensing was generally undertaken by the Upper Warden, who certified and witnessed that the copy had been properly allowed by a chaplain with his countersignature to that fact. There are variations of this practice with copies licensed by the Master or Under Warden, or sometimes both Wardens and, depending on the nature of the text, other parties might be involved in the allowance. Second, every year, in July (and this remains true), the Master and Wardens were selected from the Court of Assistants becoming Under Warden, then Upper Warden, and finally Master. This meant that as the oversight of licensing changed every year, it was difficult for any Stationer to abuse the system to his own ends.

What happened in 1591 was the conjunction of several highly unusual events. Before 12 July, the Upper Warden was Newbery, to whom Newman had been apprenticed, whilst the Master was George Bishop and the Under Warden was his brother-in-law, Gabriel Cawood (Newbery and Bishop were also partners as the Deputies of Christopher Barker and ran the royal printing-house); from 12 July, the Master of the Company was Francis Coldock who was (a) the stepfather of Simon Waterson, the publisher of Daniel; (b) the father-in-law of William Ponsonby, the publisher of Sidney's *Arcadia*; and (c) the Stationer to whom Thomas Woodcock, the publisher of John Florio (and brother-in-law of Bishop and Cawood), had been apprenticed. Coldock's Wardens were Henry Conway and Peter Allen, both of whom were closely associated with the three times former Master

55. GREG & BOSWELL 1930, 44 & 49.

56. Register A, f.244^v; ARBER, *Registers*, 1: 520: the title of the book is not given.

James Goneld, and neither of whom ever published or printed a book.⁵⁷ As Conway and Allen were neither printers nor booksellers (although they may have provided trade finance), they did little by way of licensing, with Coldock responsible for some books and the bulk of the work being done by the Past Master Richard Watkins.⁵⁸

Hence, on 18 September 1591, it was the Master, Coldock (rather than the Sidney family), who with the pretext of “reasonable cause of suspicion” exercised his authority under the 1586 decree to have the unsold copies of *Astrophel and Stella* carried to the Hall, at the cost of 4*d*.⁵⁹ Having done so, he was obliged to provide “an answer” justifying his action. It is worth bearing in mind that *Astrophel and Stella* was not the kind of book the authorities were concerned about when that decree was promulgated, nor would they have anticipated that the powers might be used in this way. Hence, exactly how Coldock justified his actions would have determined the response. It is here that the physical evidence becomes relevant because the three pages of prefatory material are omitted not only from the second edition, but from two of the three surviving copies of the first that are on different paper (as discussed below).⁶⁰ This indicates that rather than the whole edition being suppressed, only the preliminaries were excised before the book went back on sale.⁶¹ The issue, therefore, was not the text of Sidney although it must have involved something had been allowed and licensed.

57. Goneld's first married Mary Waye, daughter of Richard, on 1 May 1553; Waye, a future Master, had married the widow of John Richardson. Conway was apprenticed to Mary's step-brother Richard Richardson and freed by Goneld after his death; Allen was Goneld's apprentice: see BLAYNEY 2013, I: 317–18, II: 710, 883 & 887–88; ARBER, *Registers*, I: 38, 41, 122 & 187.

58. During the 1591–1592 year, the Register identifies Coldock as having allowed seventeen books, Watkins fifty-three (one with John Judson, one with George Bishop, and one with Coldock), both the wardens seven, Conway one, and Allen four. The first entry of 12 July 1591 (ARBER, *Registers*, II: 590) was “vnder the hands of the wardens” recording their right to do so, and there are no entries for Coldock between 23 November and 23 March who appears to have been absent from London at that time.

59. Other instances of books carried to Hall occurred on 22 July and 2 September 1592: ARBER, *Registers*, I: 560–61.

60. WARKENTIN 1985, 470.

61. Further, the survival rate of both editions is consistent with Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, Daniel's *Delia*, and Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* for which there is no evidence of suppression.

The commonly received idea, that Newman ignored the rules of allowance established by the Star Chamber decree and the authority of the Master and Wardens, for a profit of £4–5, does not bear scrutiny.⁶² If the publication of *Astrophel and Stella* was such an event that it caused trauma at the highest levels of the Court and government, then both Newman and Charlewood ought to have faced the full wrath of authority, particularly as the Company was actively enforcing the 1586 decree. The weakness of the elite argument is both its reliance on external actors without regulatory powers of oversight, and its failure to address why Newman and Charlewood were not punished.

The copy of *Astrophel and Stella* that was submitted for allowance by a cleric could have been prepared in one of several different ways: first, the copy was a single manuscript in one hand that included everything that was to be printed including the preliminaries; second, the copy to be allowed was a single manuscript of Sidney and the other authors without the preliminaries, which were then added prior to publication, as was usual; third, that the cleric only allowed the text of *Astrophel and Stella*, and the other poems were added later, along with the preliminaries, and published without authority (i.e., the copy was enlarged); and, finally, that the copy involved two or more conjunct but separate manuscripts of Sidney and the other authors that were signed off as a single text, with the preliminaries later being inserted into that copy.⁶³

The copy seen by the cleric is least likely to have been the third with only the Sidney poems; for if it had been later enlarged, this would have exposed Newman and Charlewood to the risk of punishment under the 1586 decree. Further, if Newman had acquired the Daniel and Campion on a later occasion, he would have been entirely aware of who they were and the act of publishing them, and the association of them with Sidney, would have been deliberate; whereas if he had acquired a composite manuscript, perhaps already allowed, he may not have thought much more of it than it made for a more saleable and substantial volume that included both the work of Sidney and his literary heirs. It is also unlikely that while *Astrophel and Stella* was at the press, someone with access to Daniel's poems approached Newman separately, and that both he and Charlewood were

62. A copy of the first quarto would have cost 5*d*. Assuming Newman had printed c.480–500 copies, and placed half with the trade, his profit was in the region of £4. The “Sidney only” second quarto would have cost 3½*d*: with a greater print run, his profits would have been much the same.

63. See BLAYNEY 1997; BLAND 2010, 187.

as indifferent to the consequences, as they were to creating a miscellany out of the copy, that they simply included the new poems rather than first getting them allowed and licensed.⁶⁴ They would also have been taking that risk for the poems of Daniel and Campion, not Sidney. For this, they both ought to have been punished.

While it is possible that the copy seen by the cleric was a single manuscript, with or without the preliminaries, the underlying material could never have been, and it will be shown later that the preface by Nashe was a late addition. It is conceivable, for instance, that a scribal transcript was made of *Astrophel and Stella* while a second scribe edited the poems of Daniel, with those by Campion and Greville either added at the end or supplied from a third source. There is then every reason to suspect that what the cleric surveyed was a composite document with the additional poems by Daniel and others, that consisted of not a single manuscript but of two or three conjunct parts, quite possibly in different hands, but treated as a single item. One indication the copy looked like this is that the sonnets by Daniel are laid out in a completely different manner to those by Sidney, a detail that is suggestive of the underlying papers being supplied from different sources.⁶⁵

There is, in fact, a possible indication that the copy was read as lines 8–9 of sonnet 30, with their reference to the house of Orange and Ulster are omitted in Newman's text. Given the political situation in both the Low Countries and Ireland, these may have been considered sensitive.⁶⁶ Otherwise, given a wodge of verse, in two or even three hands, the cleric verified the contents, struck the two lines, and signed the last leaf; the copy was then countersigned by a senior Stationer who witnessed that the allowance had been given: there are several examples of how this was done, including the *Espeio, y deceplina militar* (Brussels, 1589), read in Spanish

64. As the discussion of the printing of the quarto that follows will make evident, it is highly unlikely that the text was added to during production as the copy was divided into two parts, B–E and F–L, with the additional poems beginning on 13^v. If the copy had been divided before the other texts were supplied, then the split between the teams ought first to have been B–D plus A and E–I.

65. PITCHER 2023, 62–64.

66. On 4 December 1599, Richard Bancroft wrote to Sir Robert Cecil about the instructions he gave the chaplains: “Yow know Sr, how impoffible it is for me, or for any man living to prvente such escapes: when I write vnto them, that are to supply that place, I charge them in my letters to intermeddle wth nothings, but wth matters of faith, reformation of manners or wth the common aduerfarye” (Hatfield House, MS 75, item 15).

and allowed to be translated and published by Abraham Hartwell, then countersigned by Raphe Newbery and Gabriel Cawood (see Fig. 1, below: the latter signature is cropped), and entered to John Wolfe on 6 December 1589.⁶⁷ As far as Newman was concerned, with such signatures he would have had the authority he required and, like many a Stationer, he spared himself the sixpence for entrance.⁶⁸

As Pitcher outlines above and the variants in the z^2 confirm, the presence of Daniel reveals who Newman's source for the manuscript was, and — despite the claims of Warkentin, May, and Kuin — it could not have been Abraham Fraunce, who would neither have risked ostracism from Wilton, nor was he familiar with Daniel — if anything, Fraunce would have viewed him as a rival.⁶⁹ Further, Fraunce had used in his 1588 *The Arcadian rhetorike* (published by Newman), the x tradition and, if he had passed it on, then Newman would have gained a copy of x at that time without the added poems by Daniel, Campion and Greville. Equally, and despite the attempt by Woudhuysen to place Daniel under a “harsh light”, when *Astrophel and Stella* was being allowed and printed, Daniel was crossing the Swiss Alps, making him an impossible candidate as the source of the copy for Newman; nor, given his access to the γ text, would he have supplied a copy of the z^2 variant.⁷⁰ Likewise, while there is clear evidence that Harington had access to the z^1 text of Sidney (and that he knew of Newman's forthcoming publication) there is no evidence he had access to the work of Daniel or the young Campion, nor in his translation of *Orlando Furioso* does he modify Sidney's text.⁷¹ Socially, as well, his proximity to

67. The copy is Houghton Library, Harvard University, shelfmark *SC5.V2335.586eb.

68. For an extensive and still useful account of the varying practices relating to entry at the time, see HARRISON 1927.

69. No-one who has suggested Fraunce was responsible has addressed the manuscript tradition or his access to Daniel: for instance, MAY 2010; KUIN 1998.

70. WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 377–78; ECCLES 1937; and SCHLEUTER 2012, 283–90, where an *album amicorum* demonstrates that Daniel had crossed the Alps before he signed it on 30 June 1591. For a discussion of the γ manuscript tradition, see RINGLER 1962, 449–51; WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 357–62.

71. STC 746, L4^v: at the end of Book XVI, Harington prefaces the eighteenth sonnet with the remark that it was a poem “which many I am sure haue read”. This comment was made on the thirtieth out of the 113 sheets set or, depending on when *Orlando Furioso* was entered during the printing, at least five months before *Astrophel and Stella* was published, anticipating the “many” readers to come. See also British Library Add MS. 38894; CROFT 1983; BEAL 1980, 477 [SiP 94]; WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 107–08; NELSON 1970.

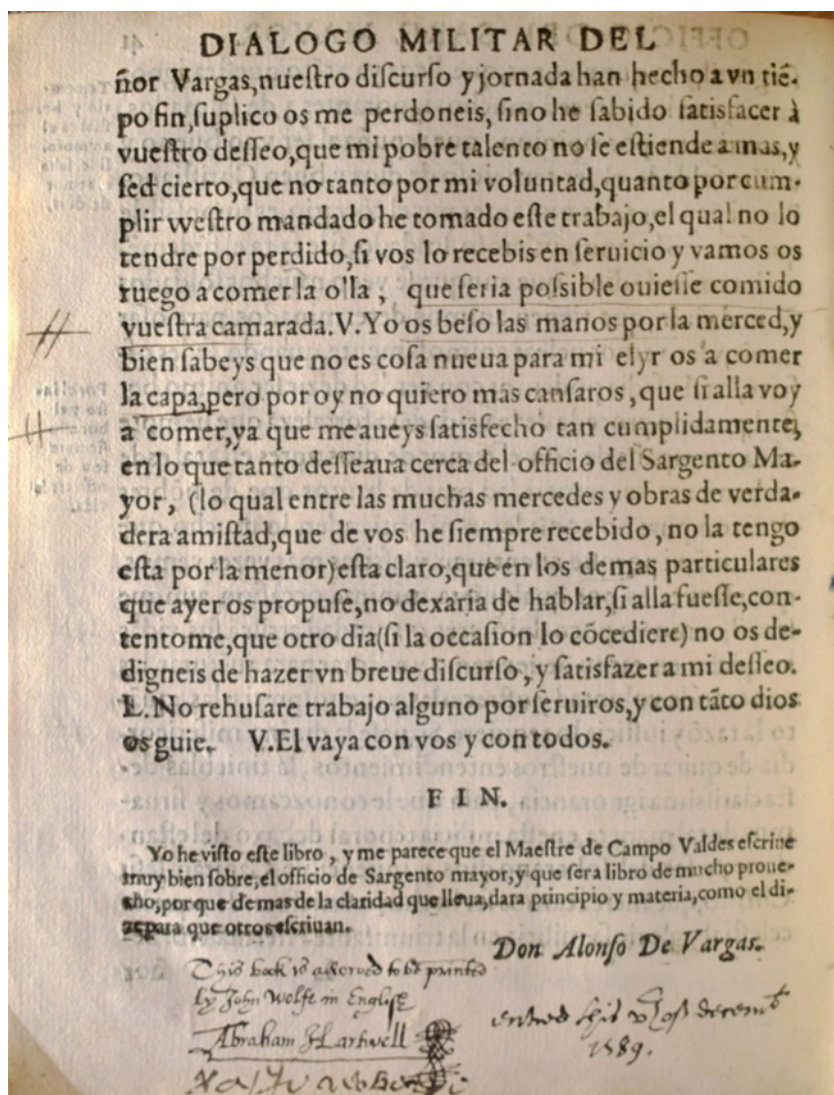


Figure 1. Francisco de Valdes, *Espejo, y deceptina militar* (Brussels: Roger Velpius, 1589): Houghton Library, Harvard University, shelfmark *SC5.V2335.586eb. This edition needs to be bibliographically re-investigated as to its origins.

Bath and status in the second rank of wealthy citizens in the county, more readily connects him with Sir Edward Dyer rather than Daniel.⁷²

That leaves Daniel's former tutor at Oxford and one of the editors of the 1590 *Arcadia*, John Florio, whose fingerprints (as the previous articles describe) are all over the variants in both the texts of Sidney and Daniel. Florio is the only person known to have had access to Daniel's poems prior to publication: his references to *Delia* in the *Second frutes* show that he knew the poems prior to Daniel's departure to Europe in the spring of 1590. Florio's text would have to have been read and allowed (Bancroft, one of the examiners, was the rector of his parish) by the middle of 1590 as the printing was completed on 30 April 1591 and involved the setting, and correcting, of Italian as well as English. Further, the "Phaëton" who supplied the dedicatory sonnet to that publication has all the characteristics of Daniel, who would have had to have written it before he left for Europe dating the completion of the copy for the *Second frutes* earlier still.⁷³

The only part of the additions to *Astrophel and Stella* that require further explanation, therefore, are those by Thomas Campion, and how Campion gained access to a text of *Astrophel and Stella* before 1591 in order that he could write songs in the manner of Sidney. The only scholar to address fully this material has been Christopher Wilson, who was sceptical that all the poems were by Campion despite the acceptance of them by Davis — who suggested that they were written for a lost Gray's Inn masque.⁷⁴ Wilson's argument is that the poems are miscellaneous, and that only the first of the five was attributable to him. Yet, even if that were true, the presence of Campion in *Astrophel and Stella* and his access to it in manuscript before its first publication would still need to be explained. Further, Wilson's argument, that the songs may be by multiple authors, avoids addressing its obvious difficulty, for he fails to explain how the multiple unidentified people he believed involved would all have had access to Sidney's text as a model prior to appearance in 1591. With Campion, the possibility of his knowing Florio, while less demonstrable than the evidence for Florio's friendship with Daniel, is straightforward.

72. For his rank, see CRAIG 1985, 16.

73. STC 11097 (1591: not entered; L4^f-N2^f & 22A3^v "Finito di stampare in Londra, apresso Thomaso Woodcock [the publisher], l'ultimo [30] di Aprile. 1591." At 51 sheets, Florio's book is likely to have taken at least seventeen weeks to go through the press, and maybe as much as a year. For Daniel as "Phaëton" see PITCHER 2023, 52–56.

74. WILSON 1979; DAVIS 1967.

Campion was baptized in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, 13 February 1567. John, his father, was buried 4 October 1576; while his mother, Luce (who remarried Augustyne Steward 21 August 1577) was buried 17 March 1580, leaving the young Campion in the care of his step-father.⁷⁵ He was sent to Peterhouse, Cambridge, the following year. Back in London from mid-1584, he then entered Gray's Inn on 27 April 1586.⁷⁶ A year later, Florio returned from Cork to settle in the parish where his children were baptized by Richard Bancroft in 1588 and 1589, whilst Greville became a member of Gray's Inn on 11 March 1588.⁷⁷ In the late 1580s, Campion, Florio, and Greville would all have attended the same service on a Sunday morning at St. Andrew, Holborn.

This is exactly the moment that Greville and Florio were working together on the text of the *Arcadia*, and it is quite plausible that Campion may have sought out Florio as a tutor of modern languages, particularly given the contemporary vogue for Italian poetry and madrigals. If he did so, Florio could easily have given Campion access to his manuscript of the great dead Sidney as a model for composition. Given that Florio published Daniel and obscured his source, it would be entirely consistent if he did the same with the early work of another protégé, as he did with his friend, Greville, in attributing that poem to "E. O." Further, Wilson's literary argument ignores that Campion would have been writing these poems in his very early twenties, when stylistic experiments would have been part of finding his poetic voice.

Florio's motive for giving Newman access to a transcript of Sidney that incorporated his editorial emendations, is easy to discern.⁷⁸ By mid-1590, his role as a literary editor of Sidney had come to an abrupt end. He must have been aware during 1591 that matters were in hand to replace the 1590 *Arcadia* with the new version that was to appear early in 1593. The production of that edition, which had to be set from scratch, appears to have taken Windet about eighteen months, given his other output in concurrent production, and it is evident from the annual fluctuations in his printing-house activity that it must have gone to press no later than

75. London Metropolitan Archives, P82/AND/A/001/MS06667/001, ff.9^r, 336^r, & 343^r.

76. FOSTER 1889, 69.

77. His son Edward was baptised 19 June 1588 and his daughter Elizabeth, exactly a year later: London Metropolitan Archives P82/AND/A/001/MS06667/001, ff.43^r, 45^v; see FOSTER 1889, 66.

78. For the discussion of Florio's editorial involvement see above: BLAND 2023, page refs, in this issue.

August 1591.⁷⁹ Ponsonby, therefore, must have received the new copy of the *Arcadia* while the events surrounding *Astrophel and Stella* took place. We also know that Florio felt that the revised version of the *Arcadia* was “more marring that was well, then mending what was amisse”.⁸⁰ His choice of Newman, located at the far end of Fleet Street, rather than his publisher Thomas Woodcock, can be explained not only by the distance but by the fact that Woodcock was a close friend of Ponsonby.⁸¹

Once it is understood that Newman possessed a legitimate composite manuscript of *Astrophel and Stella*, and that he had not tried to falsify or sophisticate the evidence, it is possible to reconstruct a sequence of events. Sometime before or about 12 July 1591, either Florio or Newman (either were able to do so) took a manuscript of the edited z² text of *Astrophel and Stella*, with a further twenty-eight sonnets by Daniel and a handful of other poems, to a cleric examiner to have it allowed.⁸² If it was Florio, that person could well have been Bancroft, in which case he passed to Newman an allowed copy.⁸³ From the viewpoint of Church and State, which is what the cleric was required to consider, there was no reason to forbid *Astrophel and Stella*; nor would it have been viewed as of questionable morals. The examiner was not there to adjudicate issues of literary property: that was for the Company of Stationers.

In possession of a copy with the appropriate allowance, Newman would have then sought permission to have it printed, most probably either from his former master Newbery, who was Upper Warden for 1590–91 — or, on or soon after Installation Day (12 July) either from Coldock, the new Master for 1591–92, or Watkins who had a warrant to do so. Seeing the allowance of the cleric, at least one of them witnessed the signature by countersigning that fact. With permission to print granted, Newman then did not enter *Astrophel and Stella* in the Register, perhaps to avoid drawing further attention to his scoop.

The complication as to what had been allowed would have occurred when the quarto was called in and Newman was asked to present the copy.

79. See BLAND 2013, 174–75.

80. STC 18041; 1603), R3ʳ.

81. Ponsonby and Woodcock were bound (to William Norton and Francis Coldock respectively) and freed within a few months of each other (ARBER, *Registers*, 1: 148 & 149, 1: 446).

82. Warkentin (1985, 460), suggested that *Astrophel and Stella* was published “perhaps about midsummer”, but if that were so the authorities reacted with glacial slowness.

83. For Bancroft as examiner, see GREG 1962, 9.

What Newman did not know was that *Delia* had already been allowed and licensed, but similarly not entered by Waterson. As the entry of 4 February 1592 records:

Simon Waterfon	Entered for his copie by arrant from M ^r Watkins vnder his hande a booke called <i>Delia</i> conteyning divers foñets w th the complainte of Rofamond ⁸⁴	} vj ^d }
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Watkins was standing in as Master in the absence of Coldock at this moment. What “warrant” means is that he acted under an authority delegated to him. It had been first used as a term for and while Watkins was Upper Warden on 28 November 1583 and a further thirty-three times before July 1591 (once with reference to Watkins).⁸⁵ The Register then refers, and only refers, to the “warrant” granted Watkins eight times during 1591–92, and it was used again a further eleven times during 1592–93 — on five occasions with reference to Watkins. Apart from the single entry on 9 July 1586, however, the only time Watkins had licensed books before 1591–92 was while he was Upper Warden during 1583–84; he did not do so as Master during 1589–90, delegating that authority to the Wardens, Raphe Newbery and Gabriel Cawood.

In this instance, Watkins’ “warrant” seems to have meant something more than that he was acting on behalf of either the Master or the Wardens; rather, he was confirming something that happened during his tenure as Master: if the allowance of *Delia* had been signed off by Cawood and/or Newbery while Watkins was Master, then his warrant confirmed that this happened between 1 July 1589 and 15 July 1590.⁸⁶ As Daniel left for Europe in the spring of 1590, it is likely that Waterson had his copy of *Delia* allowed and licensed just before or soon after that moment. There was no need to enter the copy, which was (when it was done) often done near publication.⁸⁷ There is no reason why Newman might have been privy

84. Register B, f.284^r; ARBER, *Registers*, II: 603.

85. Register B, f.198^r; ARBER, *Registers*, II: 429. On 9 July 1586, the warrant of Watkins is specified “as deputye to master Byfhop” (Register B, f.208^r; ARBER, *Registers*, II: 449).

86. Watkins acted on Coldock’s behalf between 23 November 1591 and 23 March 1592: ARBER, *REGISTERS*, II: 599–606. During that time, Coldock was present at the Court meetings of 6 December and 6 March, but not 13 January 1592: GREG & BOSWELL 1930, 39–40.

87. PITCHER 2023, 76; BALD 1965, 76.

to this fact and, since Waterson knew that Daniel did not circulate his poems, there was no reason for him to think that another Stationer might have gained an interest in the text. Recorded as an entry upon publication, the “warrant” of Watkins served as a guarantee, both of the permission to publish and of Waterson’s right to the copy.

One should never assume that allowance, license, and entrance were simultaneous events: that may have been true for newsbooks, ballads, and shorter texts; for almost anything else it is likely to have been the exception rather than the rule. The production time involved in books of some length is only one of the issues that might cause such a separation in time; there were many reasons why a book or pamphlet may have been completed as copy, given allowance, and then held before press-work and publication — the fierce urgency of now was rarely felt by the book-trade; equally, it was a frequent practice, as with *Delia*, to enter the copy while the preliminaries were being printed but after the body of the text had gone through the press and some books, like Florio’s *Second Frutes*, were not entered at all.⁸⁸

Hence, it was only upon publication that the conflict of interest would have become apparent. What matters is that in publishing *Astrophel and Stella*, Newman followed due process. Both Newbery and Coldock would have known that Ponsonby was the publisher of the *Arcadia*, but that did not grant him an exclusive right to publish Sidney.⁸⁹ It is also notable that prior to 1591 neither Newman, nor Ponsonby, had secured the rights to *Astrophel and Stella*. The claims of piracy are based on a fundamental misconception: the fact that the book does not appear in the Register cannot be taken as evidence that it was not allowed and licensed, else we must assume that all books not so entered were not licensed and that the decree was routinely ignored.

Newman, it may be added, had his own reason to extract some revenge on Ponsonby. Abraham Fraunce had published extracts from *Astrophel and Stella* in 1588 with him, and been his author between 1587 and 1589, before moving to Ponsonby in 1590–1591. Fraunce, as well, clearly had not given Newman access to his copy of his x source. The shift of loyalty may well have caused offence. Meanwhile, Florio not only got his own revenge on the Countess of Pembroke — not least for his exclusion from the revised *Arcadia* project, and the disdain for his efforts shown by Hugh Sanford —

88. It was subsequently section 2 of the 1637 decree that required all copies “shall be also first entered into the Registers Booke of the Company of Stationers”: ARBER, *Registers*, iv: 530.

89. See, for instance, LOWENSTEIN 2002, 27–88.

by adding the other poems, he got Daniel and Campion into print and associated them with Sidney. The arrangement, in other words, suited both Newman and Florio.

As Pitcher has noticed, Newman as much as states that Florio was his editor in the preface: read without the fog of scandal, what Newman wrote is that “I haue vsed their helpe and aduice in correcting & reftoring it [*Astrophel and Stella*] to his first dignitie, that I knowe were of skill and experiance in those matters”.⁹⁰ The people with the “skill and experiance” of sorting through the papers of Sidney and preparing them for the press were precisely Greville, Florio, and Gwinne, who had done so for the 1590 *Arcadia*.⁹¹ Of those three, the one with means, motive, and inclination, to “improve” the text was Florio.

Thus, between July and early-mid September 1591, Newman had *Astrophel and Stella*, together with the other poems, allowed, licensed, and then printed by John Charlewood (who also worked for Waterson). The copy was divided between sheets B–E and F–L, with A printed last, using separate pairs of skeleton formes and type cases (*Astrophel and Stella* ends on I3^r, with the other poems beginning on the verso). The two sections, as Jackson notes, are distinguished by the variant spelling of “Sir” in B–E and “Syr” in F–L in the running-titles. The ornaments on G3^r and I3^v (together with a single ornament turned on the title-page), as well as the more identifiable ornaments (an initial and headpiece on A2^r and B1^r) all belonged to Charlewood (see Fig. 2, below).⁹²

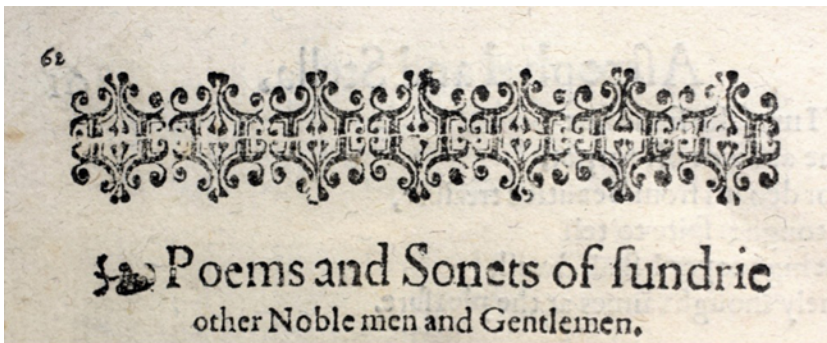


Figure 2. Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella* (STC 22936, 1591), I3^v; Trinity College, Cambridge, shelfmark VI.7.51 (with the permission of the Master and Fellows for this, and the images following).

90. STC 22536, A2^v; PITCHER 2023, 66.

91. See, for instance, WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 306.

92. JACKSON 1978, 201–03.

As Jackson noted, there are further differences between B–E and F–L: the first pair of skeletons for sheet B were reused for E and a second pair for sheets C and D; whilst for sheets F–L the skeleton formes were alternated with one set used for F, H, and K, and the other for G, I, and L; further, the compositors of B–E add full points to the signature (e.g. “C./C.2.”), whereas the signatures for F–L are set without points (e.g. “F/F 2”). Some other details Jackson missed: there are two separate sets of cases of type (see Fig. 3, below): with majuscule M, the left ascender is cut at an angle, the second straight; the first serifs cut inwards, the other outwards, and with a deeper inner V; also, the compositors of B–E set the catchword at the outer right margin, whilst the compositors of F–L indented the stick, sometimes for part of a page, sometimes for all of it, shifting the catchword inwards, (see Figs. 4 and 5: C1^r & F1^r, below).⁹³

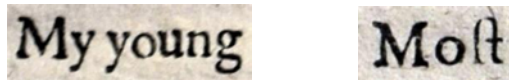


Figure 3: Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella* (STC 22936, 1591), C1^r and F1^r (detail).

Although he did not address the issue, Jackson demonstrated that all of *Astrophel and Stella* was printed by Charlewood as he noticed that the ornament stocks in both sections are to be found in other books produced by him. This matters because shared printing was common in books of the period, and it means that Charlewood had two distinct pica roman types in concurrent use.⁹⁴ However, in his analysis of the skeleton formes, Jackson put together two propositions that are not strictly compatible. On the one hand, he suggested that the division of the skeleton formes indicated the work of different compositors, and on the other he indicated that there were distinct spelling variants in the second part that also indicated different compositors. In other words, he stated that one compositor set B–E and two set F–L.⁹⁵ The problem, that he did not discuss, is that the spelling variants that he used to make that distinction do not coincide with the skeleton formes, but rather exist within them. In other words, in some

93. For the practice, see MCKENZIE 1973.

94. See BLAYNEY 1973. Blayney later supplied extensive notes to Katherine Pantzer of shared printing, not all of which were included in the *Short Title Catalogue* (Houghton Library, Harvard University: Katherine Pantzer STC files, Blayney folder). See also FERGUSON 1989. The differences in type and skeleton formes would usually indicate that this was an example of shared printing: it is only the ornament stock (shared with STC 5376) that indicates otherwise.

95. JACKSON 1978, 202.

Astrophel and Stella.

9.

For though she passe all things, yet what is all
That vnto me, that fare like him that both
Lookes to the skyes and in a ditch doth fall,
O let me proue my mind yet in his growth
And not in nature, for best fruites vnfit;
Scholler faith Loue bend hitherward thy wit.

FLy, flye my friends, I haue my deathes wound, flye ;
See there that boy, that murdering boy I say,
Who like a thiefe hid in a bush doth lye,
Tyll bloody bullet get him wrongfull pray.
So, tyrant he no fitter place could spy,
Nor so farre leuell in so secrete stay :
As that sweete blacke which walles thy heauenly eye,
There he himselfe with his shot close doth laye.
Poore passenger, passe now thereby I did,
And staid to see the prospect of the place,
While that black hue from me the bad guest hid,
But straight I saw motions of lightnings grace,
And there discried the glisterings of his dart :
But ere I could flie thence, it pearst my hart.

YOur words my freends me causelessly doe blame,
My young minde marde whō Loue doth menace so :
That my owne writings like bad seruants shew
My wits, quick in vaine thoughts, in vertue lame ;
That *Plato* I haue reade for nought, but if he tame
Such coltish yeeres; that to my birth I owe
Nobler desires : least els that to my foe
Great expectation were a trayne of shame.
For since mad *Mars* great promise made to me,
If now the May of my yeeres much decline,
What can be hop'd my haruest time will be,
Well said, your wit in vertues golden myne
Digs deepe with learnings spade: now tell me this,
Hath this world ought to faire as *Stella* is ?

C.

In

Figure 4. Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella* (STC 22936, 1591), C1^r.

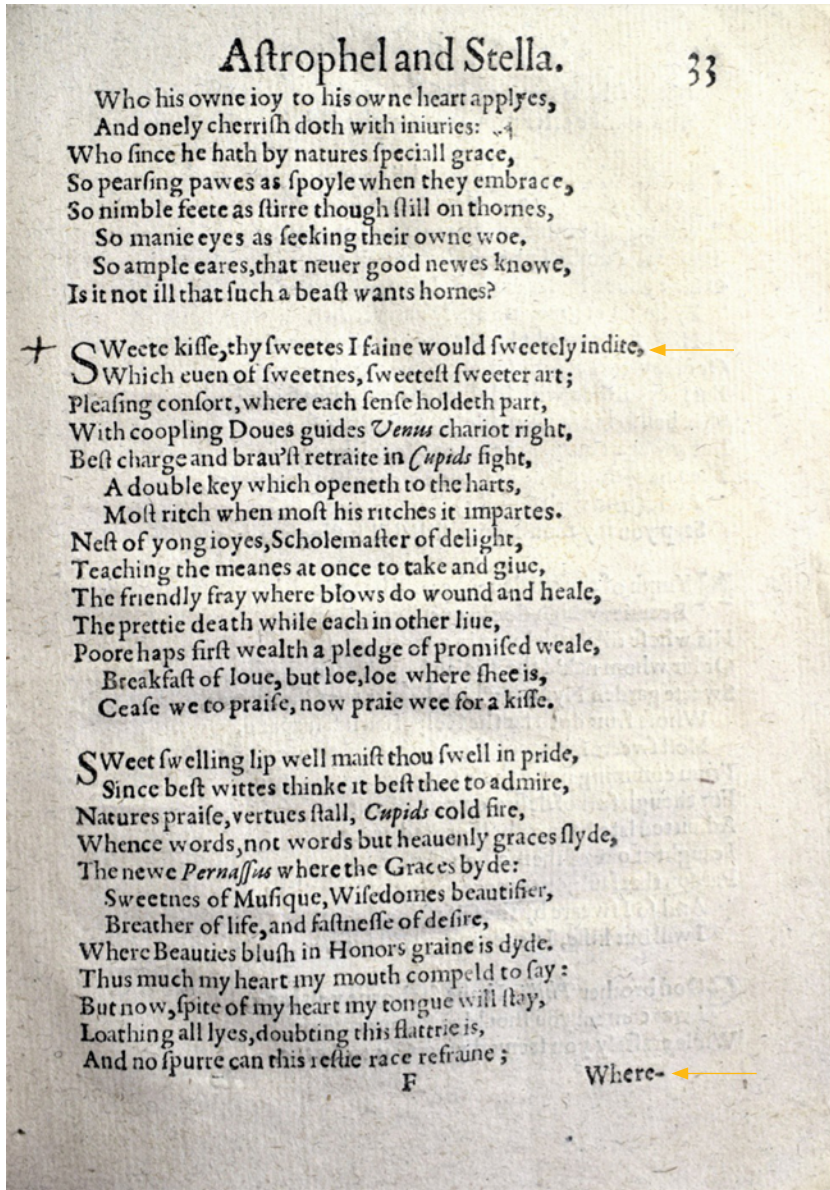


Figure 5. Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella* (STC 22936; 1591), F1r.

instances there were at least two compositors at work on each individual skeleton forme; further, that there are two separate sets of skeletons within B–E indicates that more than one compositor might be working in that section and, of course, it is possible that one or more workmen set type in both parts as the work became available.

Among the features to which he drew attention, Jackson suggested that the spelling variants of “hir/eie/-ee as in fhee” and “her/eye/-e as in fhe” in sheets F–L represented two different compositors — both are found on inner K.⁹⁶ In that forme, the “eie” compositor begins K1^v before the “eye” compositor takes over at the bottom of the page and then sets K2^v as well; the “eie” compositor then resumes on K3^v and sets K4^r (see Figs. 6a–c, below). With inner L, the “eye” compositor sets L1^v–2^r, and his colleague sets at least L3^v (the variants do not occur on L4^r). The flaw in Jackson’s logic is simply to associate the skeletons with different compositors as workmen could take over from one another at any point in the setting, including mid-line.

What the spelling variants indicate is that the compositors worked as a team, and while one may have primarily worked on one set of formes, and a second on the other, that does not mean that they did so exclusively. That flexibility, and the ability to use other resources at the same time (black letter, brevier, and english type), points to Charlewood having other work even as *Astrophel and Stella* was being printed. Further, the decision to indent the stick in sheets F–L suggests that the principal type shortage experienced in this section was not the alphabet but rather space (and — as Jackson also noticed — small capitals), perhaps owing to the text being verse rather than prose.

Apart from spelling variants, Jackson noted the consistent presence of z variants throughout the text, indicating that the compositors were not responsible for their presence.⁹⁷ As the first article in this issue has described, these variants primarily reflect the intervention of Florio in the preparation of the copy. The compositors were, nevertheless, responsible for the omission of text — they worked from marked-up copy and could therefore set the sheets in whatever order they chose. However, the order in which the formes were set varies more than might be expected. At least for F and K, the inner formes were the first printed. This is demonstrated by the presence of Sidney’s name in the running title of Inner F before

96. JACKSON 1978, 202.

97. JACKSON 1978, 203.

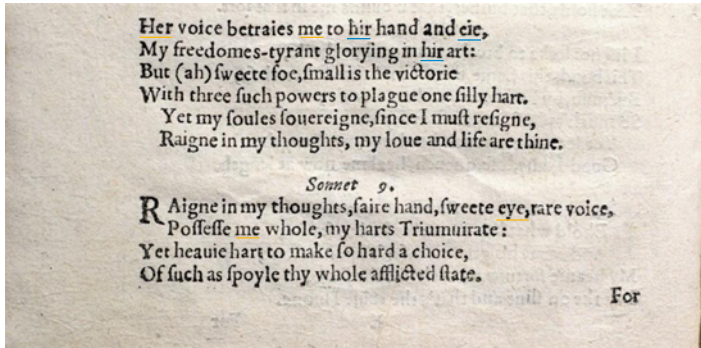


Figure 6a. Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella* (STC 22936, 1591), K1v: mixed “her/hir”.

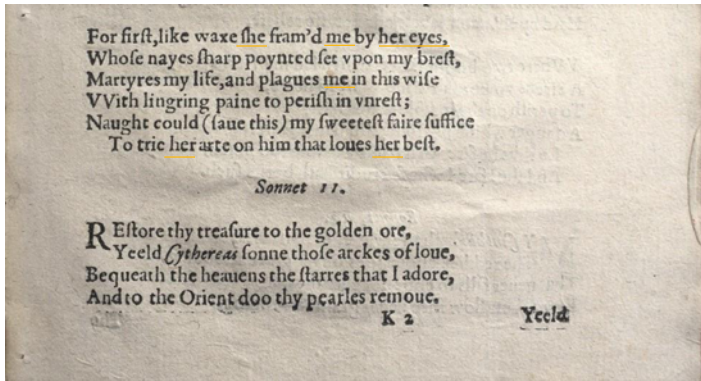


Figure 6b. Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella* (STC 22936, 1591), K2r: “her/eyes”.

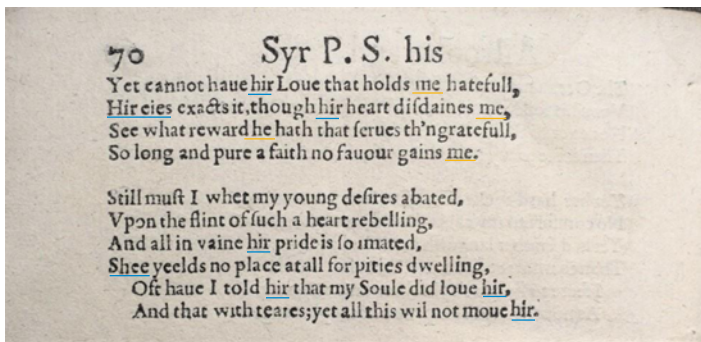


Figure 6c. Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella* (STC 22936, 1591), K3v: “hir/eies”.

its removal by stop-press correction:⁹⁸ for this to happen, inner F would have to have been in concurrent production with, or prior to B and, as the evidence indicates, C and G as well, because it was corrected before any of the others went to the press.

It appears that work not only began on inner F before sheet B, but that outer C was printed both before inner C and outer B. Hence, when setting sonnet 19 (“On *Cupids* bowe [. . .]”), the compositor setting outer C had started from line 9 of the poem, but when the compositor setting outer B arrived at the bottom of B4^v, he only had room for lines 1–7 and, in consequence, line 8 was omitted — indeed the compositor may have assumed that the Outer C had started at line 8 as the catchword on B4^v is for that line.⁹⁹ Further, at the bottom of C2^r on inner C, there is an empty line after line 11 of sonnet 26 (“Though duskie wits [. . .]”) and then the signature line. This is because the last three lines of text (12–14) start C2^v, which had already been printed. Hence outer C was printed before inner C.¹⁰⁰ The order would simply have reflected who was available to start work on their given section of the book. The order of presswork, and the number of presses used, cannot be assumed to be in direct correlation to the division of composition. That compositors could set texts concurrently or out of signature sequence was demonstrated long ago by McKenzie in “Printers of the Mind”.¹⁰¹

The problem with working out of sequence is that errors could occur because the gaps were only noticed after the text was printed off. Hence, the most significant omission of text in *Astrophel and Stella* happened because the compositors started at the wrong place on inner K from their marked-up copy. The consequence of this led not only to the removal of material from the songs, but the addition of Nashe’s preface. Demonstrably, inner K was set and printed before sheet I was set. The error occurred because the compositor — instead of setting the text from the point marked-up for K1^v — started that page from the point marked up for K3^r: the consequence of this was that the text was three pages out of sequence and the material to be set in sheet I was eleven pages, not eight. There was, in other words, too much text for the sheet.

98. WARKENTIN 1985, 468.

99. Noticed by RINGLER 1962, 544.

100. There is, on the other hand, no straightforward reason (such as eye-skip caused by related text) as to why lines 8–9 were omitted from sonnet 30, also on inner C. As suggested above, it would seem they were struck through at allowance.

101. MCKENZIE 1969, 41–2.

One option for Charlewood would have been to have the workmen print a half-sheet insert with a blank page between the Sidney and the Daniel. Instead, it was decided to cut back sheet I to its required length. To do this, the compositors had to find material to cut from the text: rather than omitting material from the Daniel sonnet section, they started that part from I3^v (rather than K1^r where it ought to have been), which meant that they had to remove material from I1^r through I3^r. The affected part involved three-quarters of the outer forme and half the inner forme of the sheet. The compositors completely omitted the eleventh song being 54 lines including title and blanks between verses, cut twenty lines from the tenth song (eighteen of verse and two blanks between), and truncated the eighth song by eight quatrain stanzas, or forty lines, removing Stella's reply — a total of one hundred and fourteen lines, or three pages set to a depth of thirty-eight lines. This, in turn, left an extra half-sheet of paper for the preliminaries that Nashe promptly filled, possibly at Charlewood's invitation. It is quite possible that Newman only knew of this once he received the finished copies.

The advantage of dividing the copy, and then dividing work again between two sets of skeleton formes in each of the sections, is that haste could be made slowly. The challenge was principally organizational. Type could be set for one forme, and then the compositors could move on to another forme, or text to be set, while the work was proofed, corrected, printed off, and distributed. Apart from the changes to the running titles on F1^v and F3^v, a full collation of the three surviving copies has yielded no further textual variants.¹⁰² Otherwise, slips such as "reoyce" for "reioyce" (H4^v, line 12) are present in all copies, and regardless of what one thinks of the underlying source, the text was set accurately from the copy except when the lines were omitted to fit the text to the forme. Of that predation, Newman was innocent.

Much has been written that reflects prejudice rather than fact, putting assertion before attention to detail. Ringler said of Newman that "it did not bother him to print nonsense". Likewise, Wilson's claim that Newman acted "without due care, and without proper attention" is devoid of any sense of

102. On G2^r, the "t" of "thee:" on G2^v is lightly visible between "loue" and "fooles" in the British Library copy, giving the misleading impression in the EEBO image that it is a punctuation mark. It is not. In the Penshurst and Trinity College Cambridge copies there is no show through, perhaps owing to their being on the better paper.

his role as a publisher and the realities of a printing-house.¹⁰³ Newman trusted Florio as a known editor of Sidney, and he trusted Charlewood as a reputable printer used by the elite of the trade. He did not have access to other manuscript sources. He took the copy provided to him by Florio and had Charlewood produce it in a timely manner over a period of four to five weeks during August and early September 1591. It is “utter nonsense” to accuse him of dereliction towards a text that, for whatever its flaws, introduced a work that would have a profound cultural impact over the following decade.

There is, in fact, further evidence that Newman knew that he was about to publish something important. The dedication to Francis Flower was linked to Flower’s friendship with Sir William Hatton, the heir and nephew of the Lord Chancellor who had been with Sidney at Zutphen. In retrospect, Newman’s dedication of his first publication to Hatton looks like an approach to find out whether he was in possession of any of Sidney’s literary material. What we can be reasonably certain of is that amongst the copies put aside for presentation, one would have been reserved for Hatton as well as Flower.¹⁰⁴ Newman was seeking to build his business through the patronage of well-connected people in the Hatton circle. It was also a group of people whose parish church was St. Andrew, Holborn, where Florio was also a parishioner.

If the division of the copy suggests that printing was expedited in a timely manner for the start of Michaelmas Term, the paper reveals that the production of the volume was carefully planned, and that it has similarities with the 1590 *Arcadia*. The Juel-Jensen copy of the *Arcadia*, now in the Bodleian Library, is on larger unwatermarked paper than the other known copies, which were printed on pot — in other words, it was a presentation copy, although the recipient is unknown.¹⁰⁵ What is less to be expected is that there are two distinct paper issues of *Astrophel and Stella*: the British Library copy is printed on pot with chainlines c.19–20mm apart, or five lines of text; meanwhile, both the Trinity Cambridge and the Penshurst copies are printed on unwatermarked paper with chainlines c.24mm or six lines of

103. RINGLER 1962, 544; WILSON 1979, 336.

104. Flower left Hatton a diamond worth £50 in his will National Archives PROB 11/89, ff.57^r–58^r, probate 16 February 1597. For an extended discussion of Flower as the dedicatee, see WARKENTIN 1985, 471–81.

105. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Juel-Jensen Sidney 5, chainlines c.28mm (seven lines apart); for an illustration of the standard pot watermarks, see BLAND 2010, 28.

text apart, similar to that used for the *Arcadia* (see Figs. 7a-b, below).¹⁰⁶ Of these, neither of the last two have their preliminaries, indicating they were given after the front matter had been removed, and thus after the copies had been carried to Hall.¹⁰⁷

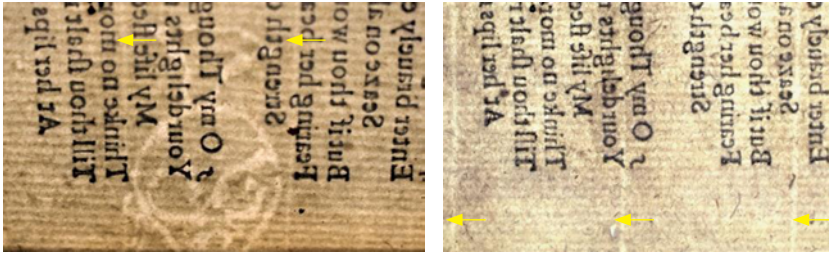


Figure 7a-b. Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella* (STC 22936, 1591), I3; (a) British Library, G.11543; (b) Trinity College, Cambridge, VI.751. with wider chainlines.

The existence of two separate paper stocks is of major importance. Before printing began, someone with a financial interest in the book took a decision that there should be some copies on paper A and some copies on paper B — that decision had to be communicated to both sets of workmen, and the paper had to be bought or allocated for that purpose. As every forme was printed, the sheets on the unwatermarked paper had to be kept in a separate pile. It is not casual or accidental, and it is not that the Trinity and Penshurst copies have one or two unwatermarked sheets with the remaining sheets on pot paper, or that the watermark is on another leaf of the sheet. All the sheets in the British Library copy are on pot watermarked paper and all the sheets of the other two copies are on wider-chainlined unwatermarked paper.

There is nothing incompatible about a decision to expedite production, and one to have a special-paper issue: both require a decision to be taken before work commenced. That done, the compositors and pressmen knew the way and order in which the work had to be organized. That the running title was corrected during the printing of the special paper copies indicates

106. I would like to thank Lord L'Isle and Philip Sidney for permission to examine the Penshurst copy. The four main compartments on I3 in the special-paper issue measure 23.5, 24, 23.5, and 25mm.

107. The Penshurst copy was acquired by J. O. Halliwell-Philips before it was bought by the Sidney family. It is without the title-page; in the Trinity copy the title-page is present. The missing title-page is not in the Halliwell-Philips scrapbooks at the Folger or Chetham libraries.

that these were either printed first, or early in the production schedule. Further, that there was a special-paper issue indicates that there was an intent to supply gift copies, and that when the edition was brought to Hall, the preliminaries of these copies were also removed before they could be given to their recipients. Perhaps most importantly, the existence of special-paper copies completely eviscerates the claim that the first edition was a piracy issued without allowance and license as it would be quite extraordinary to issue gift copies of an illicit publication among members of the elite so closely connected to the Lord Chancellor.

From the information about its production, it is possible to reconstruct a timeline for what happened with *Astrophel and Stella*. If the six sheets of F–L were printed at three formes a week, then the text was probably set over a period of four weeks, with a few extra days for the preliminaries. Having had the copy allowed in early to mid-July, and licensed soon after, Newman then approached Charlewood to expedite the printing before Michaelmas Term and the return of the young men of the Inns of Court. Charlewood may well have had to fit the production around other work in hand, such as the 456,000 pica ens equivalent of brevier sized type set in Robert Parsons, *The second parte of the booke of Christian exercise*, which involved about three times as much composition work as *Astrophel and Stella*.¹⁰⁸ At this moment as well, Orwin's press was seized; so, Charlewood may well have had more work than usual. It is true that *Astrophel and Stella* could have been printed more quickly than this, but it is not necessary. Charlewood evidently decided to make haste slowly with all formes being carefully read, although not against copy. The fact that (apart from the error at sheet K) the missing lines occur at the beginning and ends of formes would have obscured the fact of their absence to anyone reading proof as it was set. By the beginning of September, Charlewood would have had the text ready to deliver to Newman and for Nashe to read he before provided his prefatory contribution.

Sometime in early to mid-September 1591, *Astrophel and Stella* must have finally gone on sale. It could have been only a matter of hours, if that, before news of its appearance spread from St. Dunstan in the West to St. Paul's Churchyard, a walk of ten minutes up Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill. Ponsonby may well have been peeved, but he had little recourse so

108. STC 19381–82 (1591–92), printed for Waterson; as these were the second and third editions, it is unclear when they were printed and whether, for instance, the output dated 1592 stretched back into 1591. Charlewood printed at least sixteen items during 1591 and entered another.

long as there was a legitimate copy. It would have been only when the issue surrounding the sonnets of Daniel were brought to Coldock's attention — and that may not have been immediately — that matters escalated. It is possible that it was Daniel who noticed first, before Waterson raised the matter with his step-father.

Let us assume that Newman was instructed to bring his copy of *Astrophel and Stella* to Coldock's shop for the Master to peruse. Waterson would also have supplied his allowed and licensed copy of *Delia*. If the reconstruction of what the Newman manuscript looked like is correct, then what Coldock saw was an allowed and licensed manuscript of Sidney, a small insert of preliminary leaves, and a second manuscript at the back in a different hand with the Daniel miscellany. The signatures of allowance and licence may have been on the front or back, but if on the front the situation would have been even more awkward for Newman. Newman may well have protested that he submitted both parts of the copy and that he believed the signatures to have covered both documents. Thus, the issue was one of who had it allowed first.

What the entry of 18 September 1591 records is that Coldock ordered Newman's books be carried to Hall — and it matters that the terms used are “carryeinge”, and later “takinge in”, not those of seizure or suppression. What Coldock did was a temporary act.¹⁰⁹ This was, as well, his third use of these powers in two months (having imprisoned Roger Ward and seized Orwin's press and type).¹¹⁰ As Master of the Stationers, Coldock would have been mindful of the precedent he was about to set. His authority was established under the 1586 decree, although it had not been written with such an eventuality in mind. Whatever he did would therefore establish how such matters should be dealt with thereafter. As his decision enlarged the scope of the decree, he chose to refer his decision to Burghley for agreement, rather than Whitgift. Hence, the reason for the second payment to Wolfe who, in his capacity as Beadle, had to locate the Court, which was in summer progress, and deliver Coldock's account (verbal or written) both of his actions and his further suggestions as to how these matters might be handled in future. As for Newman, given that the right to the copy of Sidney would have been the most important issue for him,

109. Elsewhere, the word “seized/seised” is consistently used: ARBER, *Registers*, I: 521, 525, 530, 538; nor is there any payment for a “serche”, or for the shop being padlocked and nailed up.

110. Ward's wife received ten shillings while he was in prison: ARBER, *Registers*, I: 555.

he was bound to acquiesce and accept a temporary stay on selling the book in order to reach an amicable agreement. He may not have had anything to do with the Nashe preface at all.

It is possible to infer from what followed what the communication to Burghley must have addressed. Coldock had to explain why he had used the decree to call a book in, and the nature of the problem: namely, that there was a conflict in the allowed and licensed copies; further, if the signatures for Newman's copy were on the front, there was the issue of whether the book had been enlarged beyond the allowed manuscript by about a quarter. Coldock may have reported, as well, that when he had spoken to the young Stationer, Newman had protested that he had submitted both manuscripts and had not realised they both needed signatures, and that it appeared to be an innocent mistake for which the severity of the decree was inappropriate.

There are two other issues that Coldock's answer to Burghley are likely to have covered. First, that he had ordered the prefatory material excised — a decision that, if heavy-handed, at least gave him some cover for his actions. Second, he may have suggested that the penalties of the 1586 decree were too severe when it came to the infringement of allowance for such minor texts as ballads, poems, plays, and the sermons of reputable men, and that in future such matters might be dealt with by granting the Company the right to fine members who failed to follow the proper procedures, unless there was reason to enforce the strictures of the decree. In all of this, he would have been seeking Burghley's consent and approval for what he had done. From a Company perspective, the most important issue was the right to substitute fines as a means of regulation, which is exactly what happened when the treatment of Abel Jeffes and White was adjudicated the following year.

Armed with that message, Wolfe had to locate the Court which was, at this point, moving from Basing (just outside modern Basingstoke), via Odiham, to Farnham, southwest of London before turning north towards Oatlands, near Weybridge.¹¹¹ Without modern conveniences of communication, Wolfe must have set off in pursuit of the Court only to find it had moved on, hence the quite large sum of fifteen shillings paid for his time and expenses covering a horse, provender, and his food, board and services. By the time that Wolfe got an audience, even he might have wondered why all this was of such importance. As for Burghley, far from

111. The movement of the Court throughout the period can be tracked via J. R. Dasent's *Acts of the Privy Council of England*; see especially, *xxi*: 357–474 & *xxii*: 5–64.

the interventionist narrative of his demanding excision and action, he might well have been perplexed as to why his time was being required to resolve a trade dispute. What would have mattered to the Stationers was his approval that thenceforth they could use fines as a means of enforcement rather than having to pay for the presses to be broken and the type melted down.¹¹²

If Wolfe had set off on 20 September, he may not have got back with an answer until the 24 or 25 September. The Quarter Day that year, when all Stationers were required in Hall, was Tuesday 28 September. This is the obvious date for Coldock to have convened a meeting with Waterson and Newman, after formal business, to resolve their conflict of copies. The logical way for the parties to reach agreement was to share the costs and copies on a pro-rata basis of the proportion of the text owned and agree thereafter not to infringe upon each other. The extra material formed c.25% of the edition once the excised preliminaries were removed. If Waterson paid for a quarter of the copies at cost, he could then have sold the unnamed “Ladie” sonnets to advertise the forthcoming edition of the *Delia*, and he may have offered Newman an allocation of *Delia* to sell. Further, Waterson then presumably secured a manuscript of the γ tradition of *Astrophel and Stella* on Newman’s behalf. That Daniel was the source for Newman’s access to the γ tradition is confirmed by the fact the origin of that tradition flowed through Dymoke, Daniel’s patron.¹¹³ Such access to a γ manuscript must have been part of the deal even if Newman’s use of it for corrections was piecemeal.

The kind of agreement outlined should not have been difficult to achieve and have been in place by late September when *Astrophel and Stella* would then have gone back on sale — less the preliminaries. There is no need to assume any animosity here between Newman and Waterson. As fellow Stationers of the same age (they were both 29),¹¹⁴ who already had their own businesses, and who used the same printer, they must have known each other quite well, and were probably friends: they would have attended events at Hall, services at St Faith the Virgin, and possibly associated

112. The accounts record payments for presses and type being made unusable: ARBER, *Registers*, I: 541, 548 (both Roger Ward), whilst Orwin’s press was carted to the Hall (I: 555).

113. See PITCHER 2023, 76. Ringler (1962, 451) notes that the source manuscript supplied to Newman was of a better quality than the Drummond manuscript and that it descended “directly from γ itself”.

114. Waterson was freed my patrimony, aged 21, 14 August 1583; Newman by indenture, 25 August 1586, aged 24 (ARBER, *Registers*, II: 690 & 698).

outside of the Company. Newman may not even have connected the “S.D.” of the first sonnet, and the “Daniel” at the end of the sequence that followed, with Waterson’s interests. For Newman, what mattered was that he secured his right to the most important text of Sidney after the *Arcadia*; the other poems were a bonus. For Waterson, what mattered was that twenty-eight poems by Daniel had appeared in print as part of *Astrophel and Stella* that were his literary property. It was nothing for Newman to forgo the extra poems and, in return, he improved his text of Sidney. The agreement appears to have been amicable.

With the trade issue resolved, it was dependent upon Daniel to supply a copy of *Astrophel and Stella* that Waterson could pass to Newman, and the corrections to *Delia with the Complaint of Rosamond* as he wished the printer to set it, for Waterson to give to Charlewood.¹¹⁵ If Daniel had undertaken or commissioned a copy of *Astrophel and Stella* for Newman, that, itself, would have taken some time, especially if done at leisure hours. Once Newman received the γ copy, then either he, or someone on his behalf, had to sit down and compare the manuscript with his printed copy of Q1 and decide to emend what he felt appropriate (and, in this respect, he was not a modern textual scholar with a training in the analysis of variants, or a specialist in the manuscript history of Sidney, but rather someone who was making a literary judgment based on his preferences).¹¹⁶ It is therefore unlikely that Newman would have had printer’s copy ready before mid-October, and there is a sense in which he may have given up on the task as emendations stop at sonnet 95.¹¹⁷ At that point, Newman would have passed the copy to John Danter to print, perhaps because Charlewood was to print *Delia*. If Danter had printed at a rate of 1–2 sheets a week, the second edition would have been finished by Christmas and ready for the New Year, perhaps earlier.

Three other details remain to be noted. First, on 19 October 1591, Newman was giving evidence by deposition in Chancery in *Brown v the executors of Henry Middleton* about the terms of Middleton’s lease that he had acquired.¹¹⁸ That he was free to do so indicates that he was not in

115. For the typography of *Delia*, see BLAND 1998, 114–16.

116. In this respect, Ringler (1962, 451 & 545) is particularly brutal calling Newman “exceedingly haphazard and slipshod”, correcting at “something under 50 per cent efficiency”, and that Newman “deliberately scanted editorial duties” — a view that assumes that Newman shared the same textual insight into Sidney as Ringler himself.

117. RINGLER 1962, 451 & 545.

118. STEELE 1909, 103–04.

prison or in any kind of personal trouble with respect to *Astrophel and Stella* at this time. Second, Matthew Lownes subsequently issued a further edition of the sonnets in 1596–1597. His right to the copy was a result of his acquisition of the stock and copies of Newman’s business in 1595, which must have included both a copy of the first edition, and the manuscript copy (perhaps without the preliminaries) with the allowance and license.¹¹⁹ Third, when Ponsonby issued the collected *Arcadia* of 1598, the fifteen sheets of *Astrophel and Stella* constituted just over 10% of the one hundred and forty-five sheets. It is reasonable to suspect that Lownes and Ponsonby came to an agreement with Lownes taking a 10% interest in that edition (a level low enough for him not to share a joint imprint), in return for his allowing Ponsonby to acquire, enter, and print the copy of *Astrophel and Stella*, which Ponsonby then replaced with a newly allowed copy of the x tradition of the poems.¹²⁰ This would help explain why, following Ponsonby’s death in 1604, Waterson transferred Ponsonby’s copies and stock to Lownes and agreed to share the publication of the *Arcadia* with him thereafter.¹²¹

There are several larger points to be made from such a reconstruction of events surrounding the publication of *Astrophel and Stella*. First, while it may be pleasing to imagine a distraught countess, a duplicitous bookseller, some well-meaning friends of the late author trying to squirrel his work into print, and an aghast brother receiving the news in Flushing, such an approach has more to do with the literary imagination than the mundane circumstances of how books were produced and published in London in the 1590s. This is not to say that a social dimension was not involved, only that it was a matter of trade relationships and not aristocratic intervention. We know as well that Newman must have had a motive in dedicating the poems to Francis Flower, who was perhaps a customer that he knew well, and he would have been aware of Flower’s fierce defence of his rights to his literary property as well as his connection to the Hatton family.¹²² That may well have been the message that, by dedicating the volume to him, Newman intended to convey to other parties who might claim an interest in *Astrophel and Stella*.

119. See also BUXTON 1960, 614–16.

120. The copy was entered to Ponsonby on 23 October 1598 with the license of Isaac Bing (who would subsequently marry Coldock’s widow, and hence Ponsonby’s mother-in-law). Bing was the Upper Warden at the time and Ponsonby the Under Warden; see ARBER, *Registers*, III: 128.

121. ARBER, *Registers*, III: 269 & 274; STC 22543–43a et sqq.

122. Warkentin (1985, 471–82) has written at length on Flower.

Second, far too much of what passes as book history treats members of the trade such as Newman as autonomous quarks in an existential void without a connection to anything else. It matters that Newman's master was Upper Warden at a crucial moment; it matters that Newman paid £150 for what was once Pynson's premises opposite the Inner and Middle Temple, and where his shop was; it matters that he was prepared to take the Company to the Mayor's Court; it matters that Coldock was Master when the calling in took place, and that he was active in enforcing the 1586 decree at that time; and, in a broader sense, it matters that members of the trade were connected to one another through friendship and sometimes marriage, that they may have been born into the trade (as Waterson was), that they had wives and children, business associates, and apprentices. That social, geographical, trade-oriented analysis, with strict regard for the rules and regulations under which the trade operated, and the bonds between the members of it, is almost wholly missing from accounts not only of *Astrophel and Stella*, but the printing and publication of the early modern drama and other literature.

Third, literary discussion of early modern texts has rested too easily on the lazy and defamatory language of the "bad quarto", the "piratical publisher", and "surreptitious" activities — accusations used to slander Newman — as if this explains all textual deficiencies and the economics of the trade.¹²³ There is a failure to understand that footfall through the door was as significant for a bookseller, if not more so, than the profit on any given book; and that the importance of a text like *Astrophel and Stella* was that it brought customers through the door. By establishing himself as the other publisher of Sidney, with his shop where it was, Newman was looking to build his business not on the profit from that publication, but on the status that it gave his business; that when people were in his shop, they would browse the stock and buy other, more expensive, items that required ancillary services such as binding.

Finally, Newman's profile is of someone who shared risks, not took risks. It is fair to say that when he was presented with an opportunity to publish *Astrophel and Stella*, he took suitable precautions as he knew that it was imperative that his right to publish was secure. There is not a scintilla of evidence that he was, in any way, the kind of person that Collier and all who have since written about him have portrayed. Like Waterson, he may well have been destined to have reached the most senior ranks of the

123. RINGLER 1962, 544 & 543; see also, WARKENTIN 1985, 466 & 487; WOULDHUYSEN 1996, 371–84; WILSON 1979, 36–37.

Company if he had lived, and in 1591 he was not to know that he would be dead within three years. It was the lottery of survival in the 1590s that meant that he was never to establish the career that might otherwise have reshaped later perceptions of him. The casual and uncritical defamation of Newman — because it served a literary turn — is no less egregious simply because he died long ago. Whatever faults he had as a man are not recorded and not known.

Far from doing Sidney a disservice, Newman created a market for sonnet publications in the 1590s of which Daniel was the principal beneficiary, and which led to the release of a better text of *Astrophel and Stella* within a few years. He would have been aware that his copy had been supplied by someone other than the Countess of Pembroke, but he had no reason to expect that he would ever have access to her, nor would he necessarily associate Sidney's literary rights with her; nor was Sidney alive to negotiate with members of the trade, or to enforce his wishes, and from a trade perspective the Countess of Pembroke had, at best, only a moral claim to oversight (one that Ponsonby clearly exploited): if she had wished to claim publication as her privilege, then she ought to have had the texts allowed, licensed, and entered in her name, or through an agent, such as Ponsonby, acting on her behalf. What Newman exploited was precisely the legality of that process, and the privilege it gave him. There was nothing that Ponsonby, or Coldock, could do about it.

For both Newman and Coldock, the author, and hence the author made manifest as a book and the book's legal status as property, was more important than its text or its accuracy. It was the right to possession of the property that was the key issue, and Newman could not have done what he did unless he was in possession of that right. He had, after all, published Fraunce's *The Lawyers Logike*, many of his customers were lawyers or those learning the law, and he understood (with some precision) his right to literary property as established by the practices of the Company and the decree of 1586. He could certainly have sought advice if he needed it. He was also demonstrably willing to take on the Company if he thought he could succeed in doing so.

Perhaps the wish to look at the past through the prism of the author is inevitable; but if that perception over-rides our understanding of how the book-trade operated, if it pre-determines the analysis of events, then it will distort assumptions and lead to accounts that are deeply flawed. The way in which *Astrophel and Stella* has been treated as a piracy demonstrates this process at work. Assumptions are just that. In order to recover the history of the book, it is necessary to engage with all the contexts in which they

were produced, published, consumed, and preserved: books, and the people associated with them, were not abstractions, but physical artefacts and sentient beings whose histories in various ways interconnect; our analysis of them, and of the records that survive concerning them, is a kind of archaeology of what they represent — located, as that understanding is, in the sedimentary layers of the past.¹²⁴

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