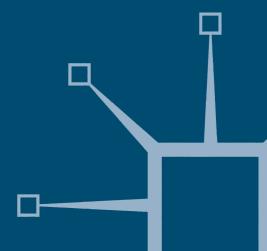


# A Sidney Chronology 1554–1654

Michael G. Brennan and Noel J. Kinnamon



# A Sidney Chronology

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# A Sidney Chronology 1554–1654

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and

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# For Christina and Alice

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# General Editor's Preface

Most biographies are ill adapted to serve as works of reference - not surprisingly so, since the biographer is likely to regard his function as the devising of a continuous and readable narrative, with excursions into interpretation and speculation, rather than a bald recital of facts. There are times, however, when anyone reading for business or pleasure needs to check a point quickly or to obtain a rapid overview of part of an author's life or career; and at such moments turning over the pages of a biography can be a time-consuming and frustrating occupation. The present series of volumes aims at providing a means whereby the chronological facts of an author's life and career, rather than needing to be prised out of the narrative in which they are (if they appear at all) securely embedded, can be seen at a glance. Moreover whereas biographies are often, and quite understandably, vague over matters of fact (since it makes for tediousness to be forever enumerating details of dates and places), a chronology can be precise whenever it is possible to be precise.

Thanks to the survival, sometimes in very large quantities, of letters, diaries, notebooks and other documents, as well as to thoroughly researched biographies and bibliographies, this material now exists in abundance for many major authors. In the case of, for example, Dickens, we can often ascertain what he was doing in each month and week, and almost on each day, of his prodigiously active working life; and the student of, say, David Copperfield is likely to find it fascinating as well as useful to know just when Dickens was at work on each part of that novel, what other literary enterprises he was engaged in at the same time, who he was meeting, what places he was visiting, and what were the relevant circumstances of his personal and professional life. Such a chronology is not, of course, a substitute for a biography; but its arrangement, in combination with its index, makes it a much more convenient tool for this kind of purpose; and it may be acceptable as a form of 'alternative' biography, with its own distinctive advantages as well as its obvious limitations.

Since information relating to an author's early years is usually scanty and chronologically imprecise, the opening section of some volumes in this series groups together the years of childhood and adolescence. Thereafter each year, and usually each month, is dealt with separately.

# x General Editor's Preface

Information not readily assignable to a specific month or day is given as a general note under the relevant year or month. Each volume also contains a bibliography of the principal sources of information. In the chronology itself, the sources of many of the more specific items, including quotations, are identified, in order that the reader who wishes to do so may consult the original contexts.

NORMAN PAGE

# **Preface**

The level of detail included in this chronology is only possible because of the remarkable range of the Sidney family's archival holdings preserved by successive generations (now at the Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone). We are grateful to both the present Viscount De L'Isle MBE, DL, and to his father, the late Viscount De L'Isle VC, KG, for generously allowing us access their unique collection of papers. For ease of reference, we have usually provided citations from either the six volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the De L'Isle and Dudley manuscripts (DD) or Arthur Collins's pioneering collection of Sidney documents selected for his Letters and Memorials of State (Collins, to which DD supplies cross-references). We have attempted to verify information from primary sources wherever possible but we have also sought to assimilate the findings of the numerous biographers, historians and literary critics who have studied the Sidneys' lives, careers, and writings. Few other English families from the Tudor and Stuart periods have generated such extensive and prolonged interest in their political and cultural activities. We hope, therefore, that this reference book will enable readers with varying needs both to identify quickly key facts and periods in the lives of the individual members of the family and to perceive broader trends and connections in their multifaceted involvements. In this chronology all quotations from primary sources have been modernized. Selected references have also sometimes been provided to secondary works in which further information or details of primary sources on the entry may be found. The place of publication for all cited items, unless otherwise stated, is London.

For help given during the compilation of this chronology, we are grateful to the staff of the British Library (London), the Bodleian Library (Oxford), the Brotherton Collection (University of Leeds), the Centre for Kentish Studies (Maidstone), and Edinburgh University Library. Our work on the Sidney family has been assisted over the years by numerous scholars but we are especially grateful to our long-term collaborator, Margaret Hannay, for her comments and additions to this chronology; and to Roger Kuin for allowing us access to his listings of Philip Sidney's correspondence. We are also grateful to Margaret Arnold for allowing us to list her discovery of a new letter by Lady Mary Wroth (19 March 1613). At Palgrave Macmillan we have received much helpful advice

from Eleanor Birne, Lucy Qureshi, Becky Mashayekh, Paula Kennedy, and especially from Emily Rosser, Commissioning Editor for Literature. Finally, we also owe a significant debt to Barbara Slater, our Editorial Services Consultant, whose meticulous handling of the final typescript has been invaluable.

# List of Abbreviations

# **Sources**

APC Acts of the Privy Council of England (46 vols: 1890–1964)

BL British Library

BN Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris Bodl. Bodleian Libary, Oxford

Buxton John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance

(1954; repr. London and New York, 1966)

CKS Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone, Sidney papers

U1475 (unless otherwise stated)

Chamberlain The Letters of John Chamberlain, ed. Norman Egbert

McClure (2 vols, (1939; repr. Westport, Conn., 1979)

CP Cecil Papers, Hatfield House

Collins Arthur Collins, Letters and Memorials of State in the Reigns

of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James (2 vols: 1746)

CSPD Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547–1603 (8 vols:

1856-72)

CSPF Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1547–1603 (25 vols:

1863–1950)

CSPI Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1509–1603 (11 vols:

1860-1912)

CSP Rome Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs

Preserved at Rome (2 vols: 1916-26)

CSPS Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, 1485–1603 (17 vols:

1862–1954)

CSPV Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to

English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of

Venice (40 vols: 1864-1947)

DD HMC Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and

*Dudley Preserved at Penshurst Place* (6 vols: 1925–66)

Duncan-Jones Katherine Duncan-Jones, Sir Philip Sidney Courtier Poet

(1991)

Hannay Margaret P. Hannay, Philip's Phoenix. Mary Sidney

Countess of Pembroke (New York and Oxford, 1990)

Hay Millicent V. Hay, The Life of Robert Sidney Earl of Leicester

(1563-1626) (Cranbury, London, and Mississauga,

1984)

HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission

Jonson The Works of Ben Jonson, ed. C.H. Herford and Percy

Simpson (11 vols: Oxford, 1925–52)

Languet Hubert Languet, Epistolae politicae et historicae. Scriptae

quondam ad illustrem, & generosum dominum Philippum Sydnaerum (Frankfurt, 1633), citing epistle numbers

Legend Sir Philip Sidney 1586 and the Creation of a Legend, ed.

Jan van Dorsten, Dominic Baker-Smith and Arthur F.

Kinney (Leiden, 1986)

Misc. Prose Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Katherine

Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten (1973)

'Memoir' 'Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of his Government of

Ireland, 1583', Ulster Journal of Archaeology 3 (1855), 32–52, 85–99, 336–57; 5 (1857), 299–323; 8 (1860),

179–95

'Nobilis' Thomas Moffet, 'Nobilis, or a View of the Life and Death

of A Sidney' and 'Lessus Lugubris', ed. V.B. Heltzel and

H.H. Hudson (San Marino, CA, 1940)

Osborn James M. Osborn, Young Philip Sidney, 1572–1577 (New

Haven, 1972)

Pears The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet,

ed. Steuart A. Pears (1845; repr. 1971)

Pembroke The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of

Pembroke, ed. Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon,

and Michael G. Brennan, 2 vols (Oxford, 1999)

PRO Public Record Office

Prose The Works of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Albert Feuillerat (4 vols:

1912-16; repr. 1963). [Volume 3] The Prose Works

Ringler The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. William A. Ringler, Jr

(Oxford, 1962)

Robertson Sir Philip Sidney. The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The

Old Arcadia), ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford, 1973)

'Sidney Psalter' Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.17.2, f.6<sup>r</sup>, A series of

Sidney family dates added to the liturgical calendar preceding the psalter, covering the period 1529 until

1584

Skretkowicz Sir Philip Sidney. The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The

New Arcadia), ed. Victor Skretkowicz (Oxford, 1987)

SP State Papers, Public Record Office, Kew

The Stationers' Register SR

STC A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England,

> Scotland, & Ireland ... 1475-1640, ed. A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave; 2nd edn, ed. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and K.F. Pantzer, Vol I, A–H (1986), Vol II, I–Z (1976)

Alan Stewart, Philip Sidney. A Double Life (2000) Stewart

Sir Philip Sidney: an Annotated Bibliography of Texts and Stump

Criticism (1554-1984), ed. Donald V. Stump, Jerome S.

Dees and C. Stuart Hunter (New York, 1994)

Malcolm William Wallace, The Life of Sir Philip Sidney Wallace

(Cambridge, 1915)

Wing Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland,

> Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700, ed, D. Wing (3 vols,

1945-51; revised edn, New York, 1972-88)

Henry R. Woudhuysen, Sir Philip Sidney and the Woudhuysen

Circulation of Manuscripts (Oxford, 1996)

# Members of the Sidney and Herbert Families

AS Algernon Sidney (1623–83), son of RS2

Barbara Gamage Sidney (1562-1621), wife of RS1 **BGS** Dorothy Percy Sidney (d.1659), wife of RS2 **DPS** 

Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Pembroke (1534?-1601), HH

husband of MSH

HS Sir Henry Sidney (1529-86), father of PS, MSH and RS1 **MDS** Lady Mary Dudley Sidney (1531-86), mother of PS,

MSH, and RS1

Herbert, **MSH** Mary Sidney Countess of Pembroke

(1561–1621), wife of HH

**MSW** Mary Sidney Wroth (c.1587–c.1653), daughter of RS1

and BGS

PH Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke (1584–1650), son

of HH and MSH

Sir Philip Sidney (1554–86), son of HS and MDS PS

Philip Sidney, Viscount L'Isle and 3rd Earl of Leicester PS3

(1619-98), son of RS2

RS<sub>1</sub> Sir Robert Sidney, Viscount L'Isle and 1st Earl of Leicester

(1563-1626), son of HS and MDS

RS2	Sir Robert Sidney, Viscount L'Isle and 2nd Earl of			
	Leicester (1595–1677), son of RS1 and BGS			
SVH	Susan Vere Herbert (1587–1619), wife of PH			
WH1	William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke (c.1506–70),			
	father of HH			
WH3	William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke (1580–1630),			

son of HH and MSH Sir William Sidney (c.1482–1554), father of HS

WS

# Introduction

# The Calendar

The Julian calendar, or Old Style (O.S.) dating, was retained in England until 1752. Most of Western continental Europe, however, eventually adopted the Gregorian calendar, known as New Style (N.S.), which ran ten days ahead of the Julian calendar. The change was initiated by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 when he decreed that 4 October should be followed by 15 October (thereby cancelling out the gradual creep backwards of the Julian calendar, due to a discrepancy of 11 minutes and 14 seconds per year between the Julian system and the solar year). However, not all areas of the continent adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1582. For example in the Low Countries - an area of particular interest to the Sidneys -Amsterdam, Leiden, and The Hague made the change in October 1582 but Utrecht retained the Julian system until 1700. Geneva did not change over until 1701 and St Gallen waited until 1724. In England the new year began (until 1752) on 25 March (the Feast of the Annunciation) while continental (and Scottish) dating of the new year from 1 January (the beginning of the Roman civil year) was widely adopted in Western Europe from 1582. English documents sometimes give dates in the form: '20 February 1610/11'. But if only one year is given, it usually means that the year was assumed to begin on 25 March. We have attempted to supply dates under the Julian system.

# Organization of A Sidney Chronology

For each year between 1554 and 1654 the first section of this chronology offers a calendar of relevant historical and family information relating to the Sidneys, along with major historical events of special relevance to their family lives and public careers. If possible, an exact day of the month is provided. When it is not possible to be so specific, an undated reference within a month (?), or period of a month (early, mid, late), or season of the year (winter, spring, summer, autumn) has been given. Events relating to a specific year, which cannot be dated more specifically, are noted under 'Undated' at the end of each year entry.

In focusing upon the dates 1554–1654, A Sidney Chronology seeks to document the century following the birth on 30 November 1554 of

Sir Philip Sidney, the most historically renowned member of the family. This period in the family's history draws to a close with the death of his niece, Lady Mary Wroth, in about 1653 and the political activities during the early 1650s of the noted republican Algernon Sidney, executed for treason on 7 December 1683. The Sidneys were also acutely aware of the social and political distinction of their ancestors. Consequently, this chronology opens with a brief survey of the family's history before 1554. In view of the importance of the Sidney family to literary affairs during this period, three other kinds of entries have been included under each year of the chronology:

- 1. Works lists selected literary works, in both manuscript and print, written by members of the Sidney family and by some of their close relatives. Short-Title Catalogue (STC) and Wing catalogue numbers are also provided so that readers may access fuller bibliographical details of a particular volume. Printed texts of the Sidneys' correspondence are included under 'Works' but references to individual manuscript letters are placed in the chronology itself. Within the period 1554–1654 the Sidneys maintained a voluminous range of official and private correspondence, encompassing many thousands of documents. A wide selection of their outgoing and incoming correspondence has been recorded in this chronology but there remains a pressing scholarly need for a detailed and comprehensive inventory of the Sidneys' complete personal and official correspondence.
- 2. *Dedications* lists selected manuscript and printed volumes dedicated to the Sidneys, although considerations of space prohibit the listing of the complete range of patrons addressed in each volume. A selection of dedications made after 1577 to members of the Herbert family, Earls of Pembroke, has also been included in these listings since the literary involvements of the Herberts and Sidneys were often closely interlinked, following the marriage of Mary Sidney Herbert to Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, in April 1577.
- 3. References provides a diverse sample of other references to literary matters pertaining to the Sidney family. Selected references to the Sidneys' purchase of books and volumes given to them as gifts are provided here, along with numerous brief references to members of the Sidney family and their literary works.

# Sidney Family History: pre-1554

During the sixteenth century the Sidneys closely matched the catalogue of 'five overlapping cultural ideals' governing aristocratic education: 'the man of war, the man of learning, the statesman, the polished cavalier, and the virtuoso' (Houston 1991, 16). Within this context, their association with the Dudleys was of paramount importance to the formulation of the Sidneys' self-image as a family at the very heart of English politics and public life. In his reply to *Leicester's Commonwealth*, Philip Sidney (1554–86) famously asserted this genealogical distinction, meticulously balancing the illustrious aristocratic rank of the Dudleys with the respectable gentry status of the Sidneys:

I am a Dudley in blood, that Duke's daughter's son, and do acknowledge, though in all truth I may justly affirm that I am by my father's side of ancient and always well esteemed and well matched gentry, yet I do acknowledge, I say, that my chiefest honour is to be a Dudley, and truly am glad to have cause to set forth the nobility of that blood whereof I am descended. (*Misc. Prose*, 134)

Philip's mother, Mary Dudley Sidney (1531–86), was the eldest daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland (1502–51), and his wife, Jane Guildford Dudley. The Dudley family traditionally claimed descent from Robert de L'Isle during the reign of King John (1199-1216). In 1265 another Robert de L'Isle followed Simon de Montfort in rebelling against Henry III. His son, Warine, was executed for opposing the power of the Spencers at the court of Edward II; but Warine's son, Gerald de L'Isle, was restored in blood, and distinguished himself in the Scottish and French wars of King Edward III. Gerald's son, also Warine, was survived by his daughter Margaret (1361-92) who married Thomas Lord Berkeley (d.1439). Their only daughter, Elizabeth (b.1388) married Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and their three daughters made especially illustrious marriages: Margaret (1404-68) became the Countess of Shrewsbury; Eleanore, the Duchess of Somerset; and Elizabeth, Lady Latimer. The L'Isle title descended to the sixteenth-century Sidneys, via the Dudleys, from the Talbot family. John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (b.c.1384), and his son John (who was created Baron L'Isle in 1444 and Viscount L'Isle in 1452) both died at the Battle of Chastillon in July 1453.

John's son, Thomas, succeeded to his titles but died without issue in 1471. The L'Isle title then passed to Sir Edward Grey, the husband of Thomas Talbot's sister, Elizabeth, who was created Baron L'Isle in 1476 and Viscount L'Isle in 1486. Their daughter, Elizabeth, married Edmund Dudley and they were the parents of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, Philip Sidney's grandfather. With good reason, then, Philip Sidney was advised by his father, Sir Henry, in spring 1566: 'Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of by your mother's side; and think that only by virtuous life and good action you may be an ornament to that illustrious family' (Collins, I.1–9).

Turning to the Sidney side of the family, in 1568 Sir Henry Sidney commissioned a detailed genealogy from the fraudulent herald, Robert Cooke, who deemed the family to be traceable back to Sir William de Sidne, supposedly a servant of Henry II before he gained the throne (1154–89) and later his chamberlain. Such a rank conveniently prefigured the position of Sir Henry's grandfather, Sir William Sidney, as chamberlain to Edward VI when Prince of Wales. It seems likely, however, that Cooke had provided various forged deeds to substantiate his claims for the Sidneys' illustrious ancestry during the reign of Henry II; and there is no other reliable evidence to confirm the existence of this Sir William de Sidne (DD, I.vi, 7-8, 304). Instead of this probably fictitious Sir William de Sidne, the verifiable history of the Sidneys seems to begin with John de Sydenie, a Surrey yeoman from the parish of Alford during the reign of Edward I (1272–1307). This John was an ancestor of the first member of the family to attain a wider prominence, namely William Sydney of Kingsham, who became head of the family on his father's death on 8 October 1449. This William married three times, and his son, Nicholas, by his third wife, Thomasyne Barrington (the widow of William Lundesford), was the great-grandfather of Philip Sidney. Nicholas married Anne, who was the aunt of Charles Brandon, Viscount L'Isle (later both Duke of Suffolk and husband of Henry VIII's sister, Mary).

This fortunate marriage significantly enhanced the prospects of the Sidney family since the career of Nicholas's son, William (c.1482–1554), was promoted at court by the Duke of Suffolk (d.1545). By 1510 William was an esquire of the King's House; and he reputedly fought with the forces of Ferdinand, King of Aragon and Castile, against the Moors in Spain. In 1512 he served with a naval command under Lord Edward Howard, High Admiral of England, in the war with France and was knighted after the besieging of the port of Le Conquet (Conquest) in Brittany by the English fleet in 1513. In the same year he was prominent at the Battle of Flodden against the Scots and was honoured as a knight

banneret for his valour in the field. Flodden proved the second key element in the rise of the Sidney family at the Tudor court. King James IV of Scotland had formed an alliance with France in 1512; and, as a distraction to the main English army then invading France under King Henry VIII, he had crossed the border on 22 August 1513 with a large force of about 30,000 soldiers and artillery. Henry VIII's commander in the north, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, rapidly assembled a smaller opposing force of about 20,000 men, with Sir William Sidney in command of the English right wing. Following a formal challenge, the rival forces engaged on the afternoon of 9 September and by nightfall, the Scottish forces were defeated with James IV himself dving as he led the last charge. Through his leadership and personal valour at Flodden, Sir William created the image of the heroic warrior courtier which was to be so central to the experiences of Philip and Robert Sidney in the Low Countries over seventy years later.

The children of Sir William Sidney and his wife, Anne Pagenham (d.1544), the widow of Thomas FitzWilliam who had died at Flodden, included Mary, who married Sir William Dormer of Ascot, Berkshire; Lucy, who married Sir James Harington of Exton, Rutland; Anne, who married Sir William FitzWilliam; and Frances (d.1589), who married Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, and founded Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (DD, I.xi). Sir William's son, Henry, was born on 20 July 1529, probably at Baynard's Castle, London. The 'Sidney Psalter', a midfifteenth-century illuminated manuscript into which various family names and dates of births, christenings, marriages, and deaths were annotated, records (f.4r) the child's godparents as King Henry VIII; Sir William FitzWilliam (who became Earl of Southampton in 1537); and Lady Kingston, wife of Sir William Kingston, the controller of the royal household. Sir William Sidney prospered and was increasingly trusted at the court of Henry VIII, becoming a Knight of the Garter, a Privy Councillor, and Lieutenant of the Tower. He also received several royal grants of land; and the young Prince Edward (1537-53) was entrusted almost entirely to the care of the Sidneys. Sir William was nominated as his tutor, chamberlain, and steward of the prince's household, while Lady Anne was his governess and her sister, Sybil Penne, the prince's dry nurse. On 1 March 1583 Sir Henry Sidney recalled how, as a ten-year-old, he had been appointed as a 'henchman' to the two-yearold prince, 'the first boy that ever he had':

As that sweet prince grew in years and discretion, so grew I in favour and liking of him, in such sort as by that time I was twenty-two

years old he made me one of the four principal gentlemen of his bedchamber. While I was present with him he would always be cheerful and pleasant with me, and in my absence gave me such words of praise as far exceeded my desert. Sundry times he bountifully rewarded me; finally he always made too much of me; once he sent me into France and once into Scotland ... Lastly not only to my own still felt grief but also to the universal woe of England he died in my arms. (SP 12/159/38)

The prince was taught by Richard Cox (formerly headmaster of Eton) and John Cheke (Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge), along with two other noted mid-Tudor humanist educators, Sir Anthony Cooke and Roger Ascham. Henry Sidney also presumably benefited from their academic instruction, as did the small group of other boys educated with Prince Edward, including Robert and Ambrose Dudley and Henry Hastings. Henry Sidney went on to hold various court offices for Edward VI, including those of chief cupbearer, chief cypherer, and chief steward of a range of royal properties and was much prized by the prince for his 'comeliness of person, gallantness and liveliness of spirit, virtue, quality, beauty and good composition of body' (Holinshed (1587), III.1548).

On 29 March 1551 Henry Sidney married Mary Dudley Sidney at Asser, with the marriage later publicly solemnized at Ely Place in Holborn. She was probably responsible for many of the family entries in the 'Sidney Psalter'; and Sir Henry and Lady Mary together penned Latin and English verses (with some French phrasing) in a copy of Grafton's Chronicle, 1548 (STC 12721; Folger copy, Rr8, 3K7). In June 1551 Henry joined the Marquis of Northampton's mission to France to present the Order of the Garter to Henri II as part of a plan to win his daughter, Elizabeth, for the young English king (CSPF, 122-3, 146). On 14 July, Henry Brandon, 2nd Duke of Suffolk, and his brother Charles Brandon, 3rd Duke of Suffolk, both died unmarried, leaving to Henry their Brandon estates in Lincolnshire (DD, I.xi). On 11 October Henry Sidney and William Cecil were knighted, on the same day as Mary Dudley Sidney's father, John Dudley, became Duke of Northumberland and William Herbert became 1st Earl of Pembroke (CSPD, 35).

On 25 April 1552 the estate of Penshurst was granted to Sir William Sidney by Edward VI. Its original manor house, incorporated into later buildings, had been erected in about 1340 by a prosperous wool merchant, Sir John de Pulteney. Later owners included two of Henry V's brothers, John, Duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (from c .1430–47), and Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham and his successors (from 1447-1521). The estate had formerly been granted to Mary Dudley Sidney's father, then John Earl of Warwick, on 24 March 1547 but on 18 July 1551 he had returned Penshurst to the king in exchange for other property. Edward VI immediately bestowed it on Sir Ralph Fane, who was beheaded on 26 February 1552 as an accomplice of the Duke of Somerset. On 28 December Sir Henry, who seems to have been able to converse in both French and Italian, was selected for another mission to France to act as a mediator in the French king's wars with the emperor. As a result of these duties, Sir William Pickering, the English Ambassador at Paris, advised the Privy Council of Sir Henry's wisdom and discreet handling of official business (APC, 196; CSPF, 238; CSPD, 284). Along with these public duties, Sir Henry and Lady Mary still found time for intellectual pursuits. Sir Thomas Hoby, when translating Castiglione's Courtier in Paris, reputedly sent to him a copy of his Epitome of the Italian Tongue, as a gift for Mary Dudley Sidney, who was a close friend of Lady Hoby. Also in 1553 Lady Mary commissioned two tracts (on the 'Configurations ... of the heavenly Asterisms' and on 'Floods & Ebbs') from the scientist John Dee (Stewart, 40).

The events of 1553 were dominated for Sir Henry and Lady Mary by the intrigues of her father, the Duke of Northumberland. In May three significant marriages to further his dynastic plans were celebrated: on 21 May, Lady Jane Grey married Mary Dudley Sidney's brother, Guildford Dudley at Durham House, London. Four days later at the same location Lady Jane's younger sister, Catherine, married the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke, Henry Herbert (who in 1577 was to marry Sir Henry Sidney's own daughter, Mary); and the seven-year-old Lady Catherine Dudley became the bride of Henry Hastings, a son of Earl of the Huntington. On 21 June Sir Henry was a witness to the will of Edward VI who died on 6 July. The Dudleys seemed to have triumphed with the proclamation of Lady Jane Grey as queen on 9 July; and she later claimed that it was Mary Dudley Sidney who had personally announced her accession: 'The person by whom this news was brought unto me was the Lady Sidney, my sisterin-law, daughter of the duchess of Northumberland' (Wallace, 10). Her deposition on 19 July at a stroke reversed the Dudleys' good fortune and less than one month later, on 16 August, Northumberland was desperately trying to claim that the marriage of Catherine Grey and Henry Herbert demonstrated that the plot had been mainly instigated by the Earl of Pembroke (CSPS, 169). On 22 August, Mary Dudley Sidney's father, the Duke of Northumberland, was beheaded. Following this lowest point in the family's history, A Sidney Chronology now begins in January 1554.

# Chronology

# 1554

# January

Spanish ambassadors arrive in London to finalize marriage terms between Queen Mary and Philip of Spain.

30–3 February Rebellion in London objecting to the Spanish match, led by Sir Thomas Wyatt, the son of the poet. Wyatt first gathered supporters in Kent, although WS and HS were uninvolved. WH1 leads military forces to suppress the rebels (*CSPD*, 58; *CSPS*, 79–122).

# February

7/10(?) WS dies at Penshurst.

Lady Jane Grey and her husband Guildford Dudley executed. MDS's four other brothers, John, Ambrose, Robert and Henry, confined to the Tower.

Burial of WS at Penshurst Church (BL Additional MS 26676/89).

# March

HS joins the entourage to Spain of John Russell, Earl of Bedford, and Thomas Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, to accompany Philip to England. WS's granddaughter, Jane Dormer was a member of Queen Mary's household (see also Stewart, 326).

18–19 May Princess Elizabeth confined to the Tower.

# April

2–5 May Queen Mary's Second Parliament accepts terms for the Spanish marriage.

# May

Queen Mary grants wardship of Robert Pakenham (Pagenham) to his cousin (?) HS.

# June

23/24 Formal audience of HS's diplomatic party at Santiago de Compostela with Philip of Spain who signs the marriage contract.

# 4 A Sidney Chronology

# July

- 13 HS's escorting party sails from La Coruña with Philip and arrives at Southampton with an English and Dutch escort on 20.
- Queen Mary marries Philip, then King of Naples and Jerusalem. Philip is never formally crowned King of England. HS befriends Philip's counsellors, the Duke of Medina Celi and Don Diego de Mendoza.

# October

- John (who is seriously ill), Ambrose, Robert, and Henry Dudley are released from the Tower, although still attainted of high treason.
- 21 John Dudley dies at Penshurst.

# November

- (early) Letters Patent and various offices previously granted to WS and HS by Edward VI are confirmed by Queen Mary. HS joins Lord Cobham's welcoming party for Cardinal Pole (who had lived in Italy since 1532), and accompanies him from Rochester to Gravesend (Collins, I. 84).
- 12–16 January 1555 Queen Mary's Third Parliament restores papal supremacy.
- Birth of PS 'on Friday the last of November being St Andrew's day, a quarter before five in the morning' ('Sidney Psalter'). Philip of Spain, is a godfather for the christening at Penshurst. When in late 1586 Philip hears of PS's death at Zutphen he annotates the message: 'He was my godson'. PS's other godparents are John Russell, Earl of Bedford (*c*.1485–1555), and Jane Dudley, Duchess of Northumberland.

#### 1555

# January

Jane Dudley, Duchess of Northumberland dies aged 46 (buried at Chelsea, 1 February).

# March

14 PS's godfather, John Russell, Earl of Bedford dies.

# April

(?) HS's sister, Frances Sidney, marries (with Philip of Spain in attendance) Thomas Radcliffe (1525?–83), Lord Fitzwalter (later Earl of Sussex).

# May

- 4 Ambrose Dudley is allowed to inherit his father's wealth, despite his attainder.
- 6 HS to undertake an embassy to the King of the Romans and King of Bohemia to announce Queen Mary's (falsely suspected) impending confinement, with an allowance of 500 marks (*CSPD*, 98; *APC*, 126).

#### October

21–9 December Queen Mary's Fourth Parliament.

Emperor Charles V resigns the Netherlands in favour of Philip of Spain.

#### November

PS's first birthday. A horoscope, cast in 1570, records that PS had been sickly during his first year (Bodl. MS Ashmole 356/5; Osborn, 518).

# 1556

# January

Queen Mary's husband, Philip, becomes King Philip II of Spain on the abdication of his father, Emperor Charles V.

# April

HS appointed Vice-Treasurer and General Governor of revenues in Ireland. He travels with the Lord Deputy (his brother-in-law) and reaches Dublin on Whitsunday (*CSPI*, 133).

# May

Thomas Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, sworn in as Lord Deputy of Ireland.

# June

HS sees active military service in Ireland, including the English defeat of James MacConnell, a Scottish captain who had invaded Ulster.

# November

30 PS's second birthday.

#### Undated

Mary (Margaret) Sidney (d.1558) born, daughter of HS and MDS, with Queen Mary as godmother.

HS speculates in New World exploration (DD, I.254).

# 1557

# **February**

17 Thomas Radcliffe becomes Earl of Sussex, following the death of his father, Henry.

# April

HS, now Lord Justice in Ireland, returns to England to seek funds for the Irish campaigns.

# May

Articles touching the state of Ireland are carried by HS from Lord Deputy Sussex to the Privy Council (*CSPI*, 137).

#### Summer

HS is sent by the Earl of Sussex to Rathlin Island (Raghlyns) in Ireland, a trouble-spot for English troops ('Memoir', 193).

# July

(early) HS returns briefly to the English court.

19 HS resident at Athlone Castle.

# August

10 (St Lawrence's Day) The combined English-Spanish victory over the French at the Battle of St Quentin in France inspires Philip II's Escorial Palace. Both WH1 and his son, HH, distinguish themselves at the battle, as do Ambrose

and Robert Dudley; but MDS learns that her brother, Henry (Harry) Dudley, is among the dead.

# November

30 PS's third birthday.

#### Dedications

Giovanni Battista Gelli, *Circes*, translated/dedicated by Henry Iden, *STC* 11708 (HH).

# References

Jean Boucher, *Les annales d'Aquitaine* (Poitiers), Bibliotheca Bodmeriana (Geneva), contains PS's only surviving autograph poem, *Certain Sonnets* 6, 'Sleep baby mine'. The volume may have belonged to PS's secretary, William Temple.

# 1558

# January

7 Calais lost to the French.

20-7 March First session of Queen Mary's Fifth Parliament.

# March

7 Attainder lifted on Ambrose and Robert Dudley (Collins, I.37).

# **April**

7/13(?) Burial of Margaret Sidney (b.1556), daughter of HS and MDS (Penshurst Church brass).

24 Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to the French Dauphin, later François II.

# November

5–17 Second session of Queen Mary's Fifth Parliament.

Death of Queen Mary and accession of Queen Elizabeth I. Cardinal Pole dies. HS's niece, Jane Dormer (later wife of the Count of Feria) exiles herself to the Spanish court.

20 Sir William Cecil appointed Secretary of State and Queen Elizabeth's principal adviser for her first Council Meeting at Hatfield.

- Queen Elizabeth arrives at court from Hatfield. MDS is appointed as Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber, allowing her considerable intimacy with the queen.
- 30 PS's fourth birthday.

#### December

HS promoted to Lord Justice in Ireland. The Earl of Sussex returns to England until August 1559.

# 1559

# January

11 Robert Dudley appointed Master of the Horse.

14/15 Queen Elizabeth received into London for her coronation.

25-8 May Queen Elizabeth's First Parliament.

# **February**

Philip II of Spain offers to marry Elizabeth but is refused. She advises Parliament that she will not marry unwisely.

# April

- 3 Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, marking the end of a 65-year struggle between France and Spain for control of Italy. It also finally surrenders Calais to the French.
- HS to the Privy Council, pleading for additional artillery and munitions in Ireland (Collins, I.6–7).
- The Spanish ambassador, Feria, reports on Robert Dudley's intimacy with Queen Elizabeth (*CSPS*, 57).

# July

- Death of Henri II of France and accession of François II, husband of Mary Queen of Scots.
- 22 HH, the future husband of MSH, repudiates his former wife, Catherine Grey Herbert (Bodl. MS Tanner 193/224–7).

# September

De Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, informs the Duchess of Parma that MDS had advised him (while conversing in Italian) to pursue a possible marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Archduke Charles of Austria, a cousin of Philip II. But by early November Robert Dudley advises MDS to drop her interest in this match (*CSPS*, 95–6).

#### November

25 Rumours that HS will be appointed Lord President of Wales

(*CSPF*, 137).

30 PS's fifth birthday.

# December

1 HS proposed by Sir Thomas Challoner as the ideal emissary to King Philip of Spain, although he wonders about HS's rudimentary Spanish (*CSPF*, 154).

# 1560

# January

(early) HS appointed Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales, holding the office for the rest of his life (*CSPD*, 152; *DD*, I.322–32). WH1 had been president, 1550–53, 1555–58; and his son, HH (husband of MSH), holds the post, 1586–1601.

# **February**

20 HS proposed by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, English ambassador to France, as his replacement (*CSPF*, 390–1).

# July

French troops withdraw from Scotland. Treaty of Edinburgh.

# September

8 Amy Robsart, Robert Dudley's wife, found dead at the foot of a staircase at Cumnor Hall, Oxfordshire.

#### October

(early) Elizabeth Sidney (d.1567) born, daughter of HS and MDS, with Queen Elizabeth as godmother.

# November

1 HS petitions the queen for levies and expenses in Wales (*CSPD*, 163).

30 PS's sixth birthday.

# December

5 Death of François II of France and accession of Charles IX.

# 1561

# January

22–May HS and MDS involved in a scheme for Robert Dudley to

marry Elizabeth, with the re-establishment of Catholicism in England.

April

25 Elizabeth orders HS to levy 200 men from Wales for service

in Ireland (CSPD, 175).

June

21 Thomas Ashton (d.1578) appointed headmaster of Shrewsbury School, where PS studies from 17 October 1564.

Ashton is headmaster until *c*.1571 and then employed as a

secretary by the earls of Essex.

# August

4 Christening of John Harington, a distant relative of the Sidneys, with Elizabeth as godmother and WH1 as godfather. Lucy Harington, Counters of Redford, (WH2)'s friend.

ther. Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford, (WH3's friend) was the daughter of John's kinsman, John, Lord Harington of Exton, whose mother was Lucy Sidney, HS's sister. A manuscript of *Old Arcadia* (BL Additional MS 38892) was owned, and partly in the hand of, Harington. It was perhaps given to him by either RS1 or MSH. He also had access to both *Astrophil and Stella* and to some of MSH's own writings, and owned a copy of PS's 'A Letter to Queen Elizabeth'. He inherited from his father the Arundel-

Harington MS, into which he added eight poems by PS (Woudhuysen, 341–8).

(mid) Return of the widowed Mary Queen of Scots from France to

Scotland. Elizabeth refuses her passage over English soil.

# October

27 Mary Sidney (MSH) born, daughter of HS and MDS, at Tickenhall (Ticknell) near Bewdley, Worcestershire ('Sidney

Psalter').

#### November

30 PS's seventh birthday.

#### December

26

PS's uncle Ambrose Dudley (1528?–90) created Earl of Warwick, following the lifting of his attainder.

# Undated

(January 1561–January 1562) Sidney accounts by Rafe Knight: clothing for HS and MDS (£269), embroiderer (£88), charges for PS, legal costs and purchase of books, including a Bible (£17), keeping the house at Penshurst (£76), for PS and his attendants (£34) (DD, I.240–1).

# References

PS's schoolboy copy of François de Belleforest's French translation of Bandello's *Histoires tragiques*, is at King's School, Canterbury (Walpole Collection) with the inscription: 'Je suis apartenant a monsieur Philipe Sidnaie qui me trouve cy me rende a qui je suis', and a jotting 'foulke grivell [Fulke Greville] is a good boy' (Robertson 1966, 326–8).

# 1562

# January

6 Shane O'Neill submits to Elizabeth at Whitehall.

# May

17 HS sent to Paris on a diplomatic mission (CSPD, 200).

26 HS's accounts show a payment made for child actors at Ludlow Castle (CKS A56(2)).

# July

15

Royal instructions for HS's mission to Edinburgh to advise Mary Queen of Scots of a postponement in her planned meeting with Elizabeth. HS stays two weeks and meets John Knox, with whom he corresponds (Haynes 1740, 391–3).

# August

HS at Shrewsbury.

# October

(mid)

Elizabeth sends English troops under Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, to assist the French Protestants in the first French religious war. HS accompanies his brother-in-law as a military adviser but returns to London within the month.

Elizabeth then falls ill with the smallpox, generating fears for the succession; and MDS contracts smallpox while nursing her. In 1583 HS recalls that she was as 'foul a lady as the small-pox could make her' (SP 12/159/38). Thomas Moffet records that PS was also stricken with the smallpox (*Nobilis*, 71). PS reworks his mother's disfigurement into the tale of Argalus and Parthenia in *New Arcadia*.

- 20 Robert Dudley admitted to the Privy Council.
- 27 MSH's first birthday.

#### November

- 2 Mary Stuart sends Elizabeth congratulations on her recovery from smallpox (Wallace, 21).
- 30 PS's eighth birthday.

#### Undated

Probable birth of Barbara Gamage (BGS), later wife of RS1.

# References

Publication of Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze, *Les Psaumes de David mis en rime Françoise* (a source for the Sidneian Psalms).

### 1563

# January

12–10 April The first session of Queen Elizabeth's Second Parliament.

The succession figures prominently in view of the queen's recent illness.

# February

(?) HH marries Katherine Talbot, and his sister, Anne Herbert, marries Francis Lord Talbot, the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury's eldest son.

# Spring-July

Warwick attempts to defend Le Havre, with HS earnestly seeking reinforcements. When Warwick is elected a Knight of the Garter while in France, HS is installed as his proxy at Windsor (Wallace, 22).

# July

20

Sir Thomas Challoner, English ambassador at Madrid, recommends HS to lead a proposed embassy to Philip of Spain (*CSPF*, 468).

# September

11 Shane O'Neill submits to Sussex.

### October

27 MSH's second birthday.

#### November

19 Robert Sidney (RS1) born, son of HS and MDS, at Penshurst.

He is named in honour of his maternal uncle and god-

father, Robert Dudley.

28 RS1 baptised.

30 PS's ninth birthday.

### 1564

### April

26 William Shakespeare baptized at Stratford-upon-Avon.

## May

6

14

PS installed as the incumbent of the parsonage of Whitford in the parish of Skyveog but names Gruff Jones as rector. PS later also installed as prebend of Llangunlo, St Davids; and as prebend of Hereford (CKS Q31/1–21, Q32/1–3).

HS installed as a Knight of the Garter, alongside King Charles IX of France (BL Additional MS 30808/24).

### September

28/29

Robert Dudley created Baron Denbigh and Earl of Leicester. Rumours circulate of a planned marriage between Dudley and Mary Queen of Scots, as well as one between her and Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley.

#### October

17

PS enters Shrewsbury School, along with Fulke Greville (1554–1628) and his first cousin, James Harington. The headmaster, Thomas Ashton, is assisted by Thomas Wylton

(resigned 1568) and Richard Atkys (d.1587). The school, situated in Ratonyslone or School Lane, was directly opposite the Council House, HS's residence at Shrewsbury as President of Wales. PS lodges in the household of George Leigh, a local wool merchant.

MSH's third birthday.

#### November

19 RS1's first birthday. 30 PS's tenth birthday.

### December

30 Earl of Leicester installed as Chancellor of Oxford University.

#### Undated

MSH's sister, Ambrosia (d.1575), probably born.

#### 1565

### January

PS inducted as prebend of Llangunlo in the diocese of St Davids (Wallace, 32).

# May

20 HS seeks the retention of the Presidency of Wales and the right to return home to England if he is appointed Lord Deputy in Ireland.

### June

22 HS confirmed as a member of the Privy Council and as Lord Deputy of Ireland.

# July

4 Instructions for HS's appointment in Ireland (revised 9 July). HS serves as Irish viceroy 1565–71 and 1575–78.

Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to Darnley (named 'King of this Kingdom'). He deeply resents her favourite, David Riccio.

#### October

13 HS reappointed as Lord President of Wales.

27 MSH's fourth birthday.

#### November

- Marriage of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, to Anne Russell.
- HS and MDS are stranded at Chester for six weeks, awaiting suitable weather to cross to Ireland.
- 19 RS1's second birthday.
- 30 PS's eleventh birthday.

#### December

- 3 HS complains to Cecil that he has no desire to go to Ireland. PS, along with his personal steward Thomas Marshall, say goodbye to him at Westchester (Wallace, 46).
- Thomas Marshall, begins 20 pages of accounts (ending Michaelmas 1566), detailing PS's expenditure. MDS's signature appears at the end of the accounts, followed by two partly legible prayers beginning 'God grant me grace ...' (CKS A35; Wallace, 405–23).
- 6 PS returns to Shrewsbury, attended by a Randal Calcott, a boy companion or servant.
- 17 HS from Beaumaris to Cecil, describing how he and MDS had been constantly on the move for a month (SP 63/15/66).
- Christmas/New Year PS visits Eyton-on-Severn near Wroxeter, the seat of Sir Richard Newport, whose daughter Magdalen became the mother of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury and George Herbert, and a close friend of John Donne. Sir Richard's son, Francis (b.1554), entered Shrewsbury School in 1569.

#### Undated

(1565–66) Sidney accounts by Rafe Knight, including payments for PS (£57) and to 'Arnold' for a portrait of HS (£4) (DD, I.241).

### 1566

# January

- 6 Elizabeth to HS about tensions between Earls of Ormonde and Desmond (Collins, I.7–8).
- 9 HS and MDS are still stranded at Holyhead, attempting to cross to Ireland.
- HS and MDS arrive at Dublin, after the loss of a ship bearing most of their household goods, MDS's clothes and jewels, and many horses (Wallace, 26, 46).

### March

9 Darnley implicated in the murder of Riccio.

## April

17 HS pleads with Cecil to be recalled from 'this purgatory' of Ireland (SP 63/17/37–40). HS formulates a plan for each of the four provinces to have a President and Council.

### (?) Spring

HS and MDS's letter of advice to PS (see '1591: Works' for printed text). HS thanks PS for his two letters, one in Latin and the other in French, commending his usage in both languages. He advises him to study diligently, to look after his health through moderation in food, drink and exercise, and to find time for relaxation. He also reminds PS of his noble Dudley blood and MDS affectionately reaffirms HS's advice in a postscript (*DD*, II.xv).

# May

Marshall's accounts record PS's residence with Sir Andrew Corbet (of Moreton Corbet, Shropshire), whose son Robert later accompanied PS at Venice. Sir Andrew was a friend of HS and a member of the Council for Wales. Another of his sons, Vincent (b.1554), was in the same year as PS at Shrewsbury. PS also stays with Sir Richard Newport during an outbreak of the plague at Shrewsbury (CKS A35).

### June

- 9 HS to Cecil on the dangerous state of Ireland (Collins, I.11–12).
- Birth of Prince James (later James VI of Scotland and James I of England), son of Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley.
- 24 HS to Cecil, hoping for a recall from this 'miserable and accursed' Ireland (Collins, I.12–14).
- 25 Marshall purchases expensive fabric for a lavish wardrobe for PS (CKS A35).
- HS from Kilmainham, pleading with Leicester to be extricated from Ireland, claiming 'this realm will ruin under my rule, haply to my shame; but undoubtedly to England's harm' (*DD*, II.2–3).

# July

- PS is godfather at the christening of Philip, son of George Leigh at Shrewsbury (CKS A35).
- PS sets out for Kenilworth (the home of his uncle, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester) in a party of ten, including Thomas Marshall and Randall Calcott, a Shrewsbury boy named Edward Onslow (the son of Richard Onslow, Solicitor General to the Queen and later Speaker of the House of Commons), George Leigh, Thomas Ashton and three servants. They pass through Shifnal and reach Wolverhampton by nightfall (Wallace, 51–3).
- A change of plan leads to their return that night to Shrewsbury.
- 29 PS treated by Marshall for his 'merrygalls' (chafing), produced by riding for three days (CKS A35/7–8).

# August

- Elizabeth expresses her severe displeasure with HS's management of Irish affairs through 'some great mist or darkness of judgement' (SP 63/18/80).
- PS again leaves Shrewsbury in a party of six, including Marshall and Calcott, along with Ashton, his servant, and one Davy Long (probably David Longdon, a local shoemaker then in Ashton's service). The party stays for the first night with Sir Richard Newport at Arcole. PS meets Robert Devereux, Viscount Hereford (later Earl of Essex), on this trip (Stewart, 50).
- PS's party proceeds, via Wolverhampton, Brumegeame and Hampton-on-the-Hill, to Coventry, where Leicester was staying.
- PS's party reaches Kenilworth where they stay until 22 August. PS probably also visits Warwick Castle, the seat of his uncle Ambrose Dudley.
- 19 HS from Drogheda to Leicester about Shane O'Neill (*DD*, II.3–4).
- PS's party sets out for Oxford in the company of Thomas Wilson (d.1586), author of *The Art of Rhetoric* (1553), a long-time dependent of the Dudley family, and stops for the night 'at one Mr Ranles beyond Warwick'.
- 23 PS stops for dinner at Tuddington and arrives at an Oxford inn for the nights of 23/24.

- PS stays at Lincoln College for the rest of his Oxford visit, having supper that evening with the rector, Mr Bridgewater (self-styled 'Aquaepontanus', later suspected of becoming a Catholic), one of Leicester's chaplains (CKS A35/8; Wallace, 57–8).
- Blizabeth arrives at Oxford, in the company of numerous nobles. Roger Marbeck (University Orator) greets her with a Latin speech; and Mayor Williams meets her on her progress down the Woodstock Road. She enters the city by the north gate (Bocardo), where Robert Deale of New College welcomes her on behalf of all scholars; and she then processes ceremonially through the streets before citizens and academics, hearing a Greek oration at Carfax from Giles Lawrence (Regius Professor of Greek). She is greeted at Christ Church, where her apartments had been prepared, with another oration by Mr Kingsmill and by prayers in the chapel led by Dean Godwin. The Spanish ambassador, Don Guzman de Silva (a friend of HS) is accommodated in the Warden's lodgings at Merton (Wallace, 60–5).

### September

(early)-12 November HS on active military service in Ireland.

- 1 Elizabeth attends an afternoon sermon at New College, given by Thomas Harris. The same evening a student Latin play, *Marcus Geminus*, is performed in her honour in the hall of Christ Church.
- 2 and 4 The two parts *Palamon and Arcite* by Richard Edwards, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, are performed at Christ Church. Three people are killed when a wall collapses during the first performance.
- A Latin tragedy, *Progne*, by James Calfhill (Canon of Christ Church), is performed. Various disputations are held, mainly in St Mary's Church, including one proposing that 'the moon is the cause of the ebb and flow of the tide', in which Edmund Campion (then a protégé of HS) was the respondent. Queen Elizabeth delivers a Latin oration at St Mary's. Others taking part in disputations include Mr Thornton (d.1629), who was later PS's tutor; and Toby Matthew, later Canon and Dean of Christ Church and Archbishop of York (Wallace, 62–5). HS from Drogheda to Leicester, pleading to be recalled from Ireland: 'help me out of this wretched land or I shall shortly die' (*HMC Pepys*, 89–90).

- A convocation ends the royal visit, with MAs awarded to members of the royal entourage. After dinner Toby Matthew bids the queen farewell in the name of the university and she leaves the city via Magdalen Bridge, with a parting oration from Roger Marbeck.
- 8 PS's party leaves Lincoln College and rides out of Oxford to Woodstock and Chipping Norton. At one of these locations PS gives 12d to a blind harper 'who is Sir William Holles' man of Nottinghamshire', perhaps the inspiration for PS's 'blind crowder'.
- 9 PS's party reach Stratford-upon-Avon for dinner and then PS rests at the home of Mr Sheldon at Belie, whose son, Greg, had travelled with him from Oxford.
- 11 PS dines with 'Mr Blunt at Kittermaster'.
- PS's party reaches Bewdley, a seat of the Council of the Marches, where they are the guests of Sir George and Lady Blount.
- PS's party reaches Shrewsbury before this date.
- With 2,000 men, HS marches out of Drogheda and enters the territory of Shane O'Neill, who plans to attack Drogheda in HS's absence and to carry off MDS (Wallace, 74; Brady 1994, 123).
- 30–2 January 1567 The second session of Queen Elizabeth's Second Parliament. Serious differences over the succession arise between the queen and Parliament. Elizabeth also refuses statutory confirmation to the Thirty-nine Articles.

#### October

27 MSH's fifth birthday.

#### November

- 19 RS1's third birthday. Birth (?) of Robert Devereux, later 2nd Earl of Essex (10 November 1567 is also sometimes cited).
- William Mostyn assigns all his rights to the benefice of Whitford to PS (Wallace, 32).
- 30 PS's twelfth birthday.

#### Undated

(1566–67) Sidney accounts record £10 given to PS's schoolmaster and the purchase of a pair of virginals and a set of viols (*DD*, I.242).

#### Works

See '1591: Works' for HS's letter to PS.

### 1567

## January

18

HS makes desperate pleas to Cecil to be recalled home but he is still obliged to set out on his Munster circuit, which lasts until April (SP 63/20/13; Brady 1994, 123–4).

## **February**

10

Darnley strangled, followed by an explosion at 2am, in an old provost's lodging called Kirk o'Field.

#### March

16

HS's problems in Ireland are compounded by critical letters from the queen, prompting MDS to fall seriously ill and in a trance for over 52 hours. HS sends her back to England to recover (see 1 March 1583). MDS probably had her children, Elizabeth, Mary, Robert and Ambrosia, with her in Ireland but seems to have been too weak to take them back to England (Wallace, 75).

# April

20

HS makes a lengthy report on the miserable state of Ireland, a 'waste and desolate land', to Elizabeth (Collins, I.18–31. Trinity College, Dublin, MS 581, describes HS's progress through Ireland).

PS pays Hugh Whitford 100 marks and (30 April) Robert Jones £100 to resign their rights to the benefice of Whitford (Wallace, 32–3).

(?) HS seeks to preserve Irish archives at Dublin Castle (Collins, I.90).

# May

15

Mary Queen of Scots marries James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell.

### June

2

Shane O'Neill assassinated and his army put to rout in Ireland, thereby alleviating HS's problems. He has O'Neill's head placed on top of Dublin Castle.

Mary Queen of Scots defeated by Scottish opposition lords at Carberry Hill (east of Edinburgh) and imprisoned.

# July

5 HS granted a licence to return to England.

Abdication of Mary Queen of Scots and accession of James VI to the Scottish throne aged 1 year. James Stewart, Earl of Moray, becomes regent.

### October

HS finally arrives back in England soon after this date, with various Irish chiefs who come voluntarily, wishing to see the queen. Seeing his party nearing Hampton Court, Elizabeth enquires who comes in such grand state. Advised that it is HS, she comments: 'It is well enough, for he hath two of the best offices in the kingdom'. HS continues to be criticized by Elizabeth. She decides to order Desmond and his brother to be sent over from Ireland and imprisoned in the Tower, where they remain for seven years – an act which is directly responsible for the later Munster Rebellion (Wallace, 77–82).

MSH's sixth birthday.

#### November

Death in Ireland at Kilmainham (the Deputy's Dublin residence) of HS and MDS's daughter, Elizabeth. She is buried in Dublin Cathedral when HS is still at the English court (BL Additional MS Egerton 2642/214).

HS dines with De Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, who reports that he is very dissatisfied with the queen's ungenerous treatment of his Irish service. He particularly resents the hostility of Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormonde, who had been educated with Prince Edward and HS and led the government's forces against the Earl of Desmond in the first stages of the Desmond Rebellion of 1579–81 (Wallace, 78).

19 RS1's fourth birthday.

30 PS's thirteenth birthday.

#### Undated

(13 November 1567–1 March 1570) Sidney accounts by William Blount include a Spanish bedstead for PS, clothing for the Sidney children in Ireland (£90), a rapier and dagger for PS, a book called 'Malando' (10s),

payments to musicians, and the huge sum of £670 for MDS (DD, I.243–5).

#### Dedications

Matteo Bandello, *Certain Tragical Discourses*, translated/dedicated Geoffrey Fenton, *STC* 1356.1 (MDS).

The [VI] Books of Xenophon, translated/dedicated by William Barker (WH1), STC 26067 (first published 1551 with the same dedication). PS was an admirer of Xenophon's Histories and made eight references to it in his Defence of Poetry (Misc. Prose, 79–89). It formed the principal Greek text in the Shrewsbury School curriculum. Xenophon's description of the education of Cyrus may have informed PS's account of the upbringing of Pyrocles and Musidorus in his Arcadia. PS refers to Xenophon in letters to Hubert Languet (15 April 1574) and RS1 (18 October 1580).

### 1568

### **February**

- PS enrols at Gray's Inn in Holborn (Stewart, 53). This is possibly also when PS begins his studies at Oxford, although he may already have been there in 1567 (Duncan-Jones, 39). Richard Carew recalls at Oxford being called to dispute with PS before the Earls of Leicester and Warwick (*Survey of Cornwall* (1602), *STC* 4615, Dd2<sup>v</sup>).
- The Spanish Ambassador, De Silva, reports how HS is being pressurized into returning to Ireland, although his crossing is delayed for six months (Wallace, 79). HS is ill with gallstones. A medical document, 'The State of Sir H. Sidney's Body', warns HS to avoid bogs, fens and marshes and advises against long periods on horseback in armour (SP 15/14/6).

#### March

after 19 HS from Dublin to the Lord Admiral, concerning Scottish forces in Ireland (*DD*, II.7).

# April

Hugh Whitford argues again about the benefice of Whitford, leading to a final settlement of £100 from HS to resign his rights to PS (Wallace, 33).

- 10–20 November Sidney accounts by Edward Waterhouse include payments to the Heralds of London for a detailed genealogy of the Sidneys, beginning with the spurious William de Sidne, commissioned by HS from Robert Cooke (*DD*, I.304, 408–9).
- 17 HS formally reappointed Lord Deputy of Ireland.
- 30 HS from Greenwich to the Duke of Feria (who had married HS's niece, Jane Dormer), commending a Mr Verney, who was about to travel into Catholic countries, including Naples (*DD*, II.8).

### May

Mary Queen of Scots escapes from captivity, repudiates her abdication, and is defeated by the Regent Moray at Langside. She flees to England.

# July

HS is reconciled with his brother-in-law, Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, who is now consoled by the Presidency of York for HS's continued holding of the Welsh Presidency.

# August

- 2 HS visits PS at Oxford, lodges with the Dean of Christ Church, and receives an MA degree. He and PS then make a trip to Wales (Wallace, 79).
- 8 HS from Shrewsbury to Leicester, thanking him for a pleasant stay at Kenilworth Castle, where he and PS had been entertained with Thomas Blount, Lord Berkeley, Greville and John Stanhope. HS spends the rest of August in Wales with PS and MDS. HS also writes to William Cecil about Irish and Welsh affairs (DD, II.8–9).
- 10 Cecil to HS, thanking him for good wishes to his wife and daughter and returning them to MDS and PS, whom he refers warmly to as 'my darling master Philip' (SP 63/25/63).

# September

3 Cecil gently complains to HS about taking PS to Wales, thereby distracting him from his studies at Oxford and preventing the pleasure that the Cecils themselves took in his company (SP 63/25/75).

6 HS arrives at Carrickfergus and finds Ulster in a generally peaceful state. But aggressive English colonization schemes and the enforced imposition of Protestantism lead to the first Desmond Rebellion of 1569.

#### October

- 27 MSH's seventh birthday.
- (?) English investigations into the conduct of Mary Queen of Scot commence (until December).

#### November

- 8, 14, 17, 30 HS to Cecil, concerning Edward Butler and other Irish affairs (*DD*, II.9–11).
- 19 RS1's fifth birthday.
- PS's fourteenth birthday. HS to Cecil, thanking him for visiting MDS and asking him to bear PS's interests in mind and to get HS home from Ireland (CKS C1/140).

#### **Dedications**

André Thevet, *The New Found World, or Antarctike, STC* 23950, dedicated by John Stell (HS).

# 1569

## January

6 Cecil to HS, warmly commending PS and expressing his love for him as though he were a son (SP 63/27/2).

# February

- 2 Cecil replies cautiously to HS's proposal for a marriage between PS and Anne Cecil (SP 63/27/17). HS draws up a statement of his assets and liabilities and sends Waterhouse, the Clerk of the Council, to negotiate with Cecil (Stewart, 82–3).
- HS from Dublin Castle to Cecil, pleading penury and severe underfunding (Collins, I.43–4).
- (?) Rumours circulated by Sir Edmund Butler suggest that Leicester was about to marry Elizabeth and that HS would be appointed 'King of Ireland' ('Memoir', 3.347).

#### March

11 Attainder of Shane O'Neill (Maley 1994, 3).

PS's first (Latin) letter from Oxford to Sir William Cecil (*Prose*, 75).

Birth of HS and MDS's son Thomas (d.1595). William Cecil and Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, are godfathers. HS comments on 30 June 1569 to Cecil that his personal wish had been ignored to have the child named William if a boy and 'Cycell' if a girl (Wallace, 85).

(? until April) Plot to marry Mary Queen of Scots to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (1538–72).

# April

- 2 Sir John Throckmorton from Denbigh to HS, concerning a dispute with William Glaseor (*DD*, I.347–8).
- 7 HS to Cecil, pursuing the marriage negotiations (until October) (*HMC Salisbury*, I.404–5).

#### Summer

(?) HS, responding to the first Desmond rebellion, marches northwards through Munster, Connaught and Ulster, ruthlessly suppressing opposition as he progresses. He then makes a progress through the whole of the south and west, holding sessions for the punishment of the numerous rebels. In 1569 the Fitzmaurice revolt begins, lasting until 1573 (Wallace, 81–5).

### June

30

HS approves the Munster plantation, led by three of his close friends, St Leger, Sir Peter Carew and Sir Humphrey Gilbert (Wallace, 83).

# July

8

PS's second (Latin) letter from Oxford to Sir William Cecil (*Prose*, 75–6).

# August

6

A formal marriage settlement for PS and Anne Cecil is drawn up, with the supportive involvement of Leicester, who negotiates with Cecil how much the respective parents should settle on PS and Anne Cecil. But Cecil still remains hesitant (*HMC Salisbury*, I.415–16; Wallace, 91).

#### October

- 2 HS to Lady Mildred Cecil, recommending a French tutor, Jean de Tessel/Tassel (*HMC Salisbury*, I.439).
- 17 HS from Dublin to William Cecil, concerning the Earl of Desmond (*DD*, II.11–12).
- HS's treasurer, John Thomas, continues to handle the financial arrangements for PS's intended marriage (SP 63/29/69).
- HS from Dublin Castle to Lady Cecil, expressing his pleasure at the match and also mentions PS's great devotion to his studies (*HMC Salisbury*, I.439).
- MSH's eighth birthday. Nicholas White, Cecil's agent, advises caution over the marriage arrangements since he doubts the value of the lands being offered by HS and is unclear as to what Anne Cecil would receive if PS broke off his engagement (SP 63/29/74). The finalized marriage contract reaches HS in Ireland at the height of the Munster Rebellion. HS delays his reply and the document is apparently (and perhaps deliberately) mislaid (CKS C1/143; Collins, I.41–3).

### November

- 19 RS1's sixth birthday.
- Lodowick Bryskett, PS's travelling companion on the continent and the son of a Genoese-born merchant settled in London, is sent on a business mission to Italy by HS (*DD*, I.413).
- 30 PS's fifteenth birthday.

#### December

Collapse of the 'Rebellion of the Northern Earls'.

#### 1570

### January

- 11 Assassination of James Stewart, Earl of Moray and Regent in Scotland.
- MDS at Kenilworth with Leicester (Kendall 1980, 127).

## **February**

HS from Dublin Castle to Cecil. The marriage negotiations for PS and Anne Cecil stall, probably because her father is now seeking a richer and higher ranking spouse (Collins, I.43–4).

- 20/26(?) PS's third letter (in English) from Oxford to Cecil (his earliest extant English correspondence), concerning Thomas Thornton being passed over for the position of Canon of Christ Church in favour of his rival, Toby Matthew, the university's recently appointed Public Orator (*Prose*, 76–7). Thornton (d.1629) tutored PS and William Camden at Oxford. PS was also taught by Thomas Cooper, Dean of Christ Church, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University (1567–70) and editor of a Latin dictionary. In his *Sir Philip Sidney's Ourania* (see '1606: Dedications'), Nathaniel Baxter claimed to have been another of PS's Oxford tutors.
- 25 Pius V issues the bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth. It is nailed to the Bishop's Palace at London by John Felton (executed in August 1570).

#### March

- 3 Leicester to Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, seeking permission on health grounds for PS to eat meat during Lent (Wallace, 102).
- Death and burial at St Paul's Cathedral of WH1 (b.1501), the father of HH (Bodl. MS Ashmole 386/197).

## May

- 4 HS requests permission from the Council for MDS to come to Dublin, although she has still not arrived by late June (SP 63/30/50).
- Renewal of 'Instructions' for HS as the Lord President of Wales (*DD*, I.332–6).
- 28 HS urges Waterhouse to speed up the arrival in Ireland of MDS (SP 63/30/55).

### June

1 MDS to Cecil, lamenting her severe shortage of ready money, constant pressure from creditors, and an apparent lack of sympathy from Elizabeth (Wallace, 86).

# August

- 19 Elizabeth declines HS's request for PS to join him in Ireland, on the grounds that the plague is prevalent there (O'Laidhin 1962, 137).
- (?) Duke of Norfolk is released from the Tower, soon afterwards triggering the beginnings of the Ridolfi Plot.

#### October

27 MSH's ninth birthday.

#### November

19 RS1's seventh birthday. There is no evidence that he attended Shrewsbury Grammar School, although its headmaster, Thomas Ashton, may have exerted some indirect influence on his education, via PS's views on his brother's programme of learning.

30 PS's sixteenth birthday.

#### **Undated**

Negotiations begin between England and France for a possible marriage between Elizabeth and (Hercule-)François (1554–84), the fourth and youngest son of Henri II of France and Catherine de Médicis. He was known as the duc d'Alençon from 1566 until 1576 and thereafter as the duc d'Anjou. His three elder brothers (François II, Charles IX and Henri III) were all kings of France, as he would have been but for his early death.

HS's accounts show payment made to Lord Sussex's Players at Ludlow Castle (CKS A56(2)). Other Sidney accounts by William Blount (1 March 1570–31 May 1571) record PS's clothing and other charges for two years (£106), his books (£2), his costs at Dr Cooper's for one year (£34), and PS's annuity for three-quarters of the year (£60) (DD, I.246).

#### Dedications

Jean de Serres, *A Discourse of the Civil Wars in France*, translated Geoffrey Fenton, *STC* 11271 (HS).

Richard Stanyhurst, Harmonia seu catena dialectica, STC 23229 (HS).

# References

Thomas Allen casts PS's horoscope (Bodl. MS Ashmole 356/5; Osborn, 517–22).

Edmund Campion praises HS at the end of his *History of Ireland*, first published (with Edmund Spenser's *A View of the Present State of Ireland*) by Sir James Ware, *Two Histories of Ireland* (1633), *STC* 25607.

### 1571

# January

The stationer William Ponsonby (the publisher of many of the Sidneys' and Spenser's works during the 1590s)

completes his apprenticeship under William Norton. His bookshop (from c.1576) in St Paul's Churchyard is described in John Ramsey's commonplace book (Strathmann 1931, 498–501).

## **February**

25 Sir William Cecil created Lord Burghley.

#### March

HS's children embark for England and he follows a week later.

End of HS's second term of office as Lord President of

End of HS's second term of office as Lord President of Ireland. At the English court HS is alienated by the lack of sympathy for his work in Ireland and is coldly received by the queen ('Memoir', 5.308). Following HS's departure, Ireland degenerates further into anarchy under the government of HS's brother-in-law, Sir William FitzWilliam. One of HS's last acts in Ireland is to save Edmund Campion from arrest by sending him a private warning, prompting his escape to the continent (Wallace, 86–7, 110–12).

### **April**

- 2–29 May Queen Elizabeth's Third Parliament. The succession, including the position of Mary Queen of Scots, is discussed. Statutory confirmation granted to the Thirty-nine Articles.
- 7 Lodowick Bryskett acts as Clerk of the Council in Ireland during Edmund Molyneux's absence in England (SP 12/32/3).
- (?)An outbreak of the plague at Oxford causes the suspension of university activities and PS leaves the city. By this time PS had probably met at Oxford the Catholic mathematician Thomas Allen (c.1542–1632), perhaps the Dr Allen who cast his horoscope; Arthur Atey, who succeeded Toby Matthew as the university's Public Orator and then became secretary to the Earl of Leicester; Thomas Bodley (1545-1613); William Camden (1551–1623); Edmund Campion (1540–81); the antiquarian Richard Carew (1555-1620) who compiled The Survey of Cornwall, began a translation of Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata; his kinsman, George Carew (1554-1629); Fulke Greville; (c.1555-1616);Richard Hakluvt Richard Hooker (c.1554-1600); Robert Parsons (1546-1610); Walter Raleigh (c.1552–1618); Henry Savile (1549–1622), who later accompanied RS1 on his continental travels; and Richard Stanyhurst

(1547–1618), the son of the Irish Speaker. There is no conclusive evidence that, during his absence from Oxford, PS ever matriculated at Cambridge, although some incidental references (in elegies by Whetstone and Humphrey) suggest that he may have spent a brief period there, perhaps meeting Spenser and Gabriel Harvey.

# **Spring**

Intelligence on the Ridolfi Plot begins to surface, including a private warning to Elizabeth from the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the arrest of Charles Bailly at Dover with incriminating documents from Roberto Ridolfi. The plot sought with Spanish aid the deposition of Elizabeth in favour of Mary Queen of Scots (who was to be married to the Duke of Norfolk) and a Spanish invasion of England from the Netherlands under the command of the Duke of Alva (who remained sceptical of the plot and dismissive of Ridolfi).

### May

HS sits on several parliamentary committees at London (Wallace, 113).

# July

28

Since midsummer, Cecil had been seeking the aristocratic but dissolute Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, as a husband for his daughter, Anne. Oxford had informed the queen at Hampton Court of his hopes to marry and had received her approval (*HMC Rutland*, I.94).

## August

(?) HS goes to Spa for his health, a trip which is probably the origin of RS1's and MSH's fondness for visits there (Wallace, 113).

# September

7 The Duke of Norfolk is placed in the Tower for his complicity in the Ridolfi Plot.

#### October

27 MSH's tenth birthday.

#### November

3 Under threat of torture, Mary's envoy, John Leslie, attributes the rising in the north to the plots of Mary and Norfolk and his machinations with the northern earls. On 8 November Leslie wrote to Mary, informing her that he had exposed everything to his interrogator, Dr Wilson, the Master of Requests (who reported directly to Cecil).

19 RS1's eighth birthday.

30 PS's seventeenth birthday.

#### December

Sir William Fitzwilliam appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland (Maley 1994, 5).

Marriage of Anne Cecil and the Earl of Oxford at Westminster Abbey with the queen present (Read 1960, 128).

#### Undated

(31 May 1571–30 April 1572) Sidney accounts by William Blount include expenses for PS while he was ill at Reading (£38) and his annuity (£60) (*DD*, I.246–7).

(12 May 1571–8 May 1572) Sidney accounts by Hercules Rainsford include a lute for MSH (DD, I.256).

MDS to John Dee, requesting him to come to court. She is sent by Elizabeth to visit him at Mortlake when he is ill (Dee 1851, 11–12; French 1972, 127).

#### 1572

### January

The Duke of Norfolk forfeits his title and is sentenced to death. HH serves as one of the peers at his trial.

Abraham Fraunce enters Shrewsbury School under the sponsorship of PS, although in his *Lawyer's Logic*, 1588, he notes that he did not personally meet PS until 1581 (Kenyon 1973, 1–6).

# April

Treaty of Blois, providing a defensive alliance between England and France, agreed in draft with signing planned for the summer.

### May

- 2 HS is embarrassed by Elizabeth's offer of a barony. MDS to Burghley, describing the offer as a 'hard choice' since she worries about the great expense involved in accepting it or, alternatively, incurring the queen's personal displeasure if her husband turns it down (SP 63/36/14).
- 8–30 June First session of Queen Elizabeth's Fourth Parliament tackles further difficulties over the succession, once more involving Mary Queen of Scots. Elizabeth personally vetoes the attempt by the Commons to pass a bill of attainder on Mary although she permits a bill excluding her from the English succession. HS serves on a parliamentary committee examining these problems.
- Elizabeth grants PS a licence to travel for two years on the continent to study languages, with three servants and four horses. He is specifically warned not to visit 'territories or countries of any prince or potentate not being with us in amity or league', that is, Italy and Spain (Oxford, New College MS 328/2/40; Buxton and Juel-Jensen 1970, 42–6). PS has regular access to funds via a letter of credit drawn up by the Italian banker Acerbo Vitello (Vetturelli/Vellutelli), who resides in England. PS's companion was Lodowick Bryskett (who had served HS in Ireland since 1565), along with three servants: Griffin Madox and Harry Whyte (both Sidney retainers), and John Fisher. The second book of the New Arcadia, in which Musidorus tells Pamela of his past adventures seems to recall PS's travels.
- Leicester to Walsingham, asking him to take care of PS during his time at Paris. He describes PS as 'young and raw and no doubt shall find those countries and the demeanours of the people somewhat strange unto him'. Leicester and HS are planning further travels for PS and seek Walsingham's advice (BL Lansdowne MS 117/167).
- PS joins the entourage of the Lord High Admiral, Edward Fiennes de Clinton, head of the English delegation to the court of Charles IX for the signing of the Treaty of Blois and for further negotiations for the proposed marriage of Queen Elizabeth (aged 39) and the duc d'Alençon (aged 18, duc d'Anjou from 1576) (HMC Salisbury, I.146). Clinton, the husband of the Earl of Surrey's Geraldine, was a close friend of HS and was created Earl of Lincoln on 4 May.

June	
2	Execution of the Duke of Norfolk, following the Ridolfi Plot.
8	PS arrives at St Denis and is welcomed by Marshal de Cossé.
	He then goes to the house in the Faubourg St-Germain of the
	English Ambassador, Sir Francis Walsingham, and is housed
	in rooms at the Louvre (Wallace, Osborn, Duncan-Jones and
	Stewart provide detailed accounts of PS's travels).
9	Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, and mother of Henri of
	Navarre, dies and the French court goes into mourning for
	several days.
13/14	King Charles IX receives the English embassy at the
	Château Madrid.
15	Ratification of Treaty of Blois, with the meetings taking
	place at the Louvre and the church of St-Germain, followed
	by supper at the Tuilleries.
16	Coligny hosts a supper for the English party.
17	Entertainments at his own lodgings provided by Alençon,
	including singing, music, an Italian comedy and gymnastics.
18	Sir Thomas Smith to Cecil, describing Clinton's embassy
	(BL MS Cotton Vespasian F.vi.93).
19	PS attends a supper party, <i>al fresco</i> , hosted by Duke of Nevers.
20	The embassy officially concludes with the exchange of gifts.
22	Francis Walsingham to Cecil about the success of the
	English mission (CSPF, 135).
23	Lincoln's delegation leaves Paris and PS is now under the
	charge of Walsingham.
July	
7	Death of Sigismund II Augustus, King of Poland.
8	Henri of Navarre's entourage reaches Paris.
10	Death of Lord Treasurer William Paulet, Marquis of
	Winchester (succeeded by Burghley).
17	Duke of Alva defeats combined French, Dutch and English
	forces at Mons, effectively marking the end of direct French
	military intervention in the Low Countries.
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# August

 $\begin{array}{ll} \mbox{(early)} & \mbox{HS's third tour of duty (until 1575) as Lord Deputy of } \\ \mbox{Ireland.} \end{array}$ 

9 PS created Baron de Sidenay and Gentleman Ordinary of the Bedchamber at the French court (*DD*, I.271).

- The Catholic/Huguenot marriage of Henri of Navarre (later Henri III) and Marguerite de Valois is performed on a stage outside Notre Dame.
- 20 PS probably attends the entertainments at the palace of the Cardinal de Bourbon, with an allegory of the defeat of Protestantism in the form of Navarre and the Huguenots as Knights Errant being repulsed by the Valois.
- Tilting at the Louvre, in which Hugenots (dressed as infidel Turks) are defeated by the Christian French royal family.
- Failed assassination by Maurevert of Admiral de Coligny, who is treated by the royal physician and visited by King Charles and the Queen Mother. In England Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, is executed.
- The St Bartholomew's Day Massacre in Paris, resulting in 24/25 the slaughter of thousands of Huguenots. Coligny is murdered and his body thrown out of the window. PS takes refuge in Walsingham's house. During his time at the embassy (both before and after the massacre) PS probably meets through Walsingham one of his closest friends, Hubert Languet, the ambassador of August of Saxony; the lawyer, Michel de l'Hôpital (d.1573); Gaspard de Schomberg, Charles IX's ambassador to the German states (that is, Languet's counterpart); and the Huguenot printer André Wechel. PS also gets to know Felix Platter, a scholar from the University of Basle; a German student called Johann Conrad Brüning; and the Strasbourg jurist Jean Lobbet (who later arranged RS1's education at Strasbourg).
- The murder of Peter Ramus, whose bravery in confronting his assassins is commemorated in Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*. He appears to have enjoyed Walsingham's hospitality at the English embassy, where PS probably met him during the summer of 1572.

# September

9 The Privy Council instructs Walsingham to ensure PS's safe return to England, with Lord Wharton, but the letter arrives at Paris just after he has already departed for Germany on or about 15 September in the company of the Dean of Winchester, Dr Francis Newton (not, as usually claimed,

John Watson; see Stewart, 93), who dies en route. Leicester also personally asks Walsingham to ensure that PS gets home safely (BL Lansdowne MS 117/198).

(after 15?) PS's route to Germany follows the Zorn River at the northern end of the Vosges and then down into the valley of the Rhine, passing through Blâmont, Strasbourg and Heidelberg and then past Mannheim and Darmstadt to Frankfurt where he stays for the winter. At Heidelberg PS meets the printer Henri Estienne (Stephens) and at Frankfurt he lodges at the house of the printer André Wechel, where Hubert Languet is also resident. Languet had somehow helped Wechel to escape from Paris.

#### October

Walsingham warns Leicester of the bad influence of PS's servants at Paris and hints at the dangers of 'a very lewd practice' which may corrupt him (BL MS Cotton Vespasian F.vi.189).

27 MSH's eleventh birthday.

#### November

19 RS1's ninth birthday.

30 PS's eighteenth birthday.

#### Undated

(1 May 1572–1 May 1573) Sidney accounts by William Blount include payments to 'Mistress Maria, the Italian' (£5), PS for his half-yearly fee (£40) and expenses in France (£100), Acerbo Vitello for payments to PS (£161), and to John Ponton 'on Mr. Philip's letter at his return from France' (£7) (CKS A54/2; DD, I.247).

(1572–1573) receipts of payments made to MDS for the provision of her household, many signed 'M. Sydney' (DD, I.260).

#### Dedications

Christopher Carlile, *A Discourse, STC* 4655 (HS, by editor). John Jones, *The Baths of Baths Aid, STC* 14724a.5 (HH).

### 1573

### **February**

1 MDS to the Earl of Sussex (Lord Chamberlain), requesting the loan of some linen hangings to hang in her room at

court for warmth. She has been very sick but has been ordered to court by the queen. She fears for her heath in 'so cold a lodging' (BL MS Cotton Vespasian F.xii.179; MS Titus B.ii.302; see also Wallace, 17, 151).

### March

- PS attends the Frankfurt book fair.
- PS from Frankfurt to Leicester, referring to 'works' being sent home to the Earl and a previously sent letter (*Prose*, 77–8).
- PS from Frankfurt to William Blunt, 'Master of the Counter in Wood Street', concerning the payment of a bill of exchange for £120 due on 1 May for a loan taken from a Frankfurt money-lender, Christian Rolgin (*Prose*, 78).
- PS from Frankfurt to Leicester (delivered to him by Mr Culverwell), detailing his meeting with the Prince of Orange's second brother, Louis of Nassau. He had also met 'one Shambourg' a German whom he had previously encountered at the French court (*HMC Third Report*, 200; *Prose*, 78–9).

# May

Leaving Frankfurt, PS seems to have doubled back on himself to go to Strasbourg, probably at the instigation of either Burghley or Leicester. He leaves Strasbourg in late May to head for the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian at Vienna.

## June

- François, comte de Chastillon (son of Admiral Coligny), Guy-Paul de Coligny, comte de Leval, and Jean Hangest, Sieur d'Argentieu from Basle to PS (Osborn, 93–5).
- (?) PS arrives at Vienna and meets up again with Languet and the printer Henri Estienne. PS had first met Estienne at Heidelberg and was with him again at Strasbourg when Estienne presented him with a now lost manuscript volume of Greek maxims.

# July

- 5 Claude Aubéry from Basle to PS (Osborn, 222–4, not 1574).
- Walter Devereux, lst Earl of Essex, sails for Ireland and arrives at Carrickfergus to plant Antrim.

- At Strasbourg PS meets the educationalist Johann Sturm, and Burghley acknowledges a letter from Sturm delivered by PS's servant. Sturm had corresponded with Roger Ascham. His school at Strasbourg was renowned for the education of those destined for state and diplomatic service. PS stays at the house of Hubert de la Rose and probably attends lectures at the Academy and classes at the Gymnasium.
- MDS to her servant John Cockeram, requesting more of the velvet from which one of her dresses had been made because the queen had demanded a similar one (CKS U1500 C1/3).

### August

MDS from Greenwich to John Cockeram, concerning urgent expenses (BL Additional MS 15914/12).

## September

- (early) PS goes to Bratislava (Pozsony or Pressburg) in Hungary. (For doubts over whether he travelled with the botanist Charles de l'Ecluse/Escluse (1526–1609), see Stewart, 337.) PS stays at Bratislava with Languet's friend, Dr Georg Purkircher. In Hungary PS is especially struck by the relevance of poetry to official affairs and patriotic nationalism.
- Languet from Vienna to Robert Beale, describing PS as 'an extraordinary young man, whom I greatly admire for his charming manners, his witty mind, and really a wisdom that generally exceeds what his age would lead one to expect' (BL Egerton MS 1693/11). PS also meets the soldier Lazarus von Schwendi, commander-in-chief against the Turks. A few years later Count Hanau sends to PS Schwendi's treatise on the defence of the Empire against the Turk.
- MDS from Limehouse to Burghley, seeking a lease of lands belonging to Nicholas Halswell (a royal ward), and mentions that she can no longer write herself due to illness (BL Lansdowne MS 117/412).
- Languet from Vienna to PS at Wiener Neustadt, concerning his disapproval of PS's trip into Hungary (Languet, I).

#### October

Plans, supported by Earl of Leicester, to marry PS to the eldest daughter of the 12th Lord Berkeley; and RS1 to a younger daughter (*HMC Third Report*, Appendix, 199).

- 27 MSH's twelfth birthday.
- (late) PS plans to visit Italy, despite Languet's reservations, accompanied by Bryskett, Griffin Madox, Harry Whyte and John Fisher.
- (?) PS is back at Vienna with Languet and meets the French king's Viennese ambassador, Jean de Vulcob, Sieur de Sassy; Jacques Bochetel, Sieur de la Forêt; the emperor's physician, Johannes Crato von Crafftheim; and the Florentine medallist Abondio (who probably made two portraits of PS). At Vienna PS is accompanied by Lodowick Bryskett and Thomas Coningsby (who later marries PS's first cousin, Philippa, daughter of Sir William FitzWilliam).

#### November

- (early)-August 1574 PS based at Venice and Padua. He meets at Venice his friends Thomas Coningsby and his Catholic cousin Richard Shelley ('Signor Conchiglia', Mr Shellfish). He also meets (often through Languet's recommendations) Philip-Ludwig, Count of Hanau-Münzenberg (1553-80), and his associates Paul von Welspurg, Jacques Le Goulx, and Matthaeus Delius (whom Languet hoped would help PS with his spoken Latin); the French ambassador to Venice, Arnaud du Ferrier; Du Ferrier's friend, Guy du Faur de Pibrac, who had come to Venice with Henri III in 1574 and had defended the Massacre of St Bartholomew; the Hugenot writer François Perrot de Messières; the political intelligencer Wolfgang Zündelin; the Protestant gentleman-poet, Cesare Carrafa; and at least one member of the Grimani family, to which two sixteenthcentury doges belonged. PS may have purchased at Venice a copy of Sannazzaro's Arcadia, Guiccardini's La Historia d'Italia (1569), and copies of Contarini's and Donato's treatises on the republic of Venice.
- A receipt signed by PS in Venice for money received from Thomaso Balbani on his letter of credit from Acerbo Vitello (CKS F26/8).
- 19 RS1's tenth birthday. Languet from Vienna to PS, scolding him for not writing and passing on political news. He encloses a copy of a letter from Pietro Bizari to Jean de Vulcob (dated 15 October) as a model for letter writing. He also mentions a letter from PS to General Lazarus von Schwendi, whose son, Hans Wilhelm, PS had met (Pears, 1–3).

- Languet from Vienna to PS (Languet, III).
- 30 PS's nineteenth birthday.

#### December

- 3 and 11 Vulcob from Vienna to PS, concerning Henri of Anjou's progress to accept the crown of Poland (Osborn, 109–15).
- 4 and 5, 12, 18 PS from Venice and Languet from Vienna correspond (Languet, IV–VI; *Prose*, 79–80).
- Jacques Bouchetel from Vienna to PS about their shared admiration for 'lovely courtesans' (Osborn, 114).
- 17 Waterhouse to HS, concerning court rumours about Irish affairs (*DD*, II.19–20).
- 19 and 25 PS from Venice to Languet, noting the elegance of Girolamo Ruscelli's *Imprese Illustri* and the complexity of his 'entanglement in many affairs' (*Prose*, 80–2).
- 21 and 24 Languet from Vienna to PS (Pears, 11–19).

#### Undated

(1 February 1573–20 May 1574) Sidney accounts by John Cockeram include payments for a silver plate, cup and tankard for 'Mistress Mary' (MSH), a portrait of HS (62s), two copies of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (46s), Grafton's *Chronicle* (21s), Froissard's *Chronicle* (27s), payment of £120 to 'Renolde Drilinge' to be delivered to PS 'beyond sea', £136 to Acerbo Vitello, expenses for RS1, Thomas Sidney, MSH (including lute strings) and Ambrosia Sidney (£46), and various payments to Robert Mantell, RS1's tutor, including a bow and arrows (*DD*, I.248–9, 257, 267–8). Penshurst accounts also include payment to 'Mistress Maria, the Italian', probably an Italian tutor for the Sidney children (CKS A10/24, 33/3).

#### **Dedications**

D.P., Certain ... Rules of Geography, STC 19060 (HS).

Richard Prise, *John Prise, Historiae Brytannicae defensio, STC* 20309 (WH1). This work was keenly studied by HS.

# 1574

# January

1 and 7 Languet to PS, expressing delight with the portrait of PS then at the house of the medallist, Abondio (Pears, 19–22).

- 2 Vulcob from Vienna to PS about Poland (Osborn, 127–8).
- (second week) PS arrives at Padua, lodging in the house of Hercole Bolognese at the Pozzo della Vacca, and returns to Venice in late February. During his time at Padua PS meets Michael de Slavata; Count Otto von Solms; Fabian, baron of Dohna; Melchior, baron von Rödern; Jacob Monau; Johannes Danus; and Albert Laski.
- PS from Padua to Languet (*Prose*, 83). Languet from Vienna to PS, warning him to take care over his health and to avoid excessive studying (Languet, X).
- 22 and 28 Languet advises PS to study that branch of moral philosophy which treats of justice and injustice. He again mentions the Abondio portrait and some verses he had written upon it (Pears, 25–34).

### **February**

- 1 MDS to the Earl of Sussex (BL MS Cotton Vespasian F.xii.179).
- 4 and 11 PS from Padua to Languet, noting that he only wishes to learn enough Greek to understand Aristotle. PS was reputed to have translated the first two books of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. He promises to have Abondio's portrait copied by either Veronese or Tintoretto (*Prose*, 82–6).
- 5 and 13, 14 Languet from Vienna to PS, complaining about not seeing enough of him (Languet, XIII–XV).
- 26 PS from Venice to Languet (Prose, 86–7); and Languet to PS (Languet, XVI). Paolo Veronese begins a portrait of PS. Tintoretto was also considered. It is then carried to Languet at Vienna by Robert Corbet (the Protestant elder brother of Vincent who had been at Shrewsbury with PS) and the Catholic Richard Shelley. Languet considers that it makes PS look too juvenile, as though he was 12 or 13 years old. Vulcob later looks, on Languet's behalf, for an artist to copy it. Before departing from Venice, Abondio makes a sketch of PS which is given to Languet. Daniel Rogers writes a Latin poem on this portrait. Nicholas Hilliard notes in his Art of Limning that he once discussed perspective in painting with PS (Duncan-Jones, 339). The Gelosi actors perform Tasso's Aminta (perhaps inspiring Arcadia's interludes of eclogues) at Venice (and again in July 1574). PS at Venice during both months.

#### March

- 5 Languet from Vienna to PS (Languet, XVII).
- 5–6 April PS briefly visits Genoa and Florence.
- 11 and 18, 26 Languet complains that PS had not consulted him about the trip to Genoa (Languet, XVIII–XX).

## April

- 1 and 9 Languet from Vienna to PS (Languet, XXI–XXII). During this month Languet requests two copies of Camillo Capilupi's (unpublished) defence of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. PS has manuscript copies made for him and Vulcob (Woudhuysen, 218).
- PS from Venice (but about to return to Padua) to Languet, mentioning his admiration for Xenophon (*Prose*, 87–90).
- (mid) PS returns to Venice and later in the month goes back to Padua.
- 16 and 18, 23 Languet from Vienna to PS (Languet, XXIII-XXV).
- Vulcob from Vienna to PS (Osborn, 166–7).
- 29 PS from Padua to Languet, beginning the letter with a reference to Machiavelli (*Prose*, 90–2).
- 29/30 PS's patent for bearing arms in Italy issued by the Venice Consiglio (Osborn, 165–6).
- (?) HS rumoured to be in discussions with the Spanish agent, Antonio de Guaras. HS is considered as Catholic by King Philip II (BL Additional MS 28263/2).

### May

- 1 and 7 Languet from Vienna to PS (Languet, XXVI–XXVII).
- 3 and 7, 10 Wolfgang Zündelin from Venice to PS, referring to Lodowick and Sebastian Bryskett; and an intelligence gatherer, Edward, 3rd Baron Windsor of Stanwell (1532–75), who lived at Venice (Osborn, 174).
- PS from Padua to Languet about the Protestant German princes (*Prose*, 92–3).
- 13 and 21 Languet from Vienna to PS (Languet, XXVIII–XXIX).
- Zündelin from Venice to PS (Osborn, 191).
- Thomas Lord Buckhurst to HS, proposing a meeting to resolve their disagreements (*DD*, II.20).
- PS from Venice to Languet (*Prose*, 94–5). Languet from Vienna to PS (Pears, 73–4).

- Death of Charles IX of France and succession of Henri III (previously the Duke of Anjou, Alençon's elder brother).
- Fabian, baron Dohna from Padua to PS (Osborn, 195–6).
- (?) RS1 matriculates at Christ Church, Oxford, but is not committed to his studies. On 25 March 1579 HS complains about his frequent departures from Oxford (Wallace, 207).

### June

- 1 Jean Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS, concerning the latter's decision to leave Venice (Osborn, 215–17).
- PS to Languet; another letter is simply dated 'June' (*Prose*, 95–8). Languet to PS (Languet, XXXI).
- PS, Griffin Madox and five others witness the *viva voce* examination of an English student at Padua University, John Hart (who later became a Jesuit priest) (Padua, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, 5007/26).
- Languet to PS, lamenting that nowadays, 'after your Italian school', vices are called virtues and 'we give to vices the names of virtues, and are not ashamed to call falsehood, treachery, and cruelty, by the names of wisdom and magnanimity'. He also acknowledges receipt of the Veronese portrait of PS (Pears, 77–8).
- PS from Venice to Languet: his last extant letter until 27 November. PS is ill at this period (*Prose*, 97–8). Languet to PS (Languet, XXXIII).
- PS buys at Padua a copy of Guicciardini's *History of Italy* (Godshalk 1964, 65). Wolfgang Zündelin from Venice to PS (Osborn, 212–13).
- 25 and 28 Languet from Vienna to PS, tempting him to attend the new French king's court at Venice (*Pears*, 78–84). HS deposits a £135 bond with Acerbo Vitello for PS's travels (CKS F26/8).

# July

- 2 and 10, 17 Languet is still keen for PS to see the new French king and is concerned about PS's illness (Languet, XXXVII–XXXVIII).
- 5 Claude Aubéry from Basle to PS (Osborn, 222–4).
- 18–25 King Henri III at Venice. PS almost certainly meets him and other French diplomats, including Paul de Foix and Pomponne de Bellièvre (Stewart, 129–30).

Languet's last letter to PS before he heads northwards from Italy, probably in the company of the Count of Hanau (Languet, XXXIX). Tommaso Galbani issues PS a credit note for 400 ducats (Lamb 1981, *Sidney Newsletter and Journal*, 7–9).

## August

- PS draws on the last of his credit at Venice and probably leaves soon afterwards, travelling via Padua and Verona, across the Brenner Pass, to Innsbruck and then down the Inn Valley to Passau and Ortenburg. PS meets Hanau's friend, the Protestant convert Joachim, Count of Ortenburg. Bryskett described this journey in his lament for PS in Spenser's *Colin Clouts* (Stewart, 131).
- 7 The widowed Lady Douglas Sheffield bears Leicester an illegitimate son, Roberto (Kendall 1980, 146).
- François Perrot de Messières from Venice to PS, describing the French king's departure and travelling with him as far as Ferrara (Osborn, 231).
- (late) PS arrives at the imperial court of Emperor Maximilian II at Vienna. He stays with Languet in his lodgings with Dr Michael Lingelsheim. He plans to go to Cracow for the installation of Prince Henri as King of Poland (but this plan collapses when Henri returns to France to secure the French throne after the death of King Charles IX).

# September

- 1 MDS from Chiswick to Edmund Molyneux, requesting news of how HS's affairs proceed at court. She also mentions letters sent to her brother and Edward Dyer (*DD*, II.20–1).
- Zündelin from Venice to PS (Osborn, 236–8), mentioning a man of breeding and education, perhaps Edward Wotton (1548–1626), who had previously been resident in the Spanish colony at Naples. He becomes a close friend of PS and they study horse-riding together with John Pietro Pugliano. In his will PS bequeathed a 'fee buck' to Wotton (*Misc. Prose*, 149). PS also meets Théophile de Banos, the future biographer of Ramus; and Charles de l'Ecluse. During this month PS suffers another serious illness (Stewart, 133).

Johann Wacker von Wackenfeld from Padua to PS (Osborn, 238–60).

#### October

- 5 Jean Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS, introducing the young Czech, Johannes Hájek, whom PS later brings to England (Osborn, 241).
- 9 François Perrot from Venice to PS (Osborn, 242–3).
- Languet pens a recommendation for PS to his friend Andreas Dudith, now Maximilian's ambassador to Poland (Osborn, 246).
- Robert Dorset from Oxford to PS about the plague and his failure to find books for PS and Greville (Christ Church, Oxford, MS 578/4).
- Vitello from London, asking HS for payment of £190 advanced to PS (BL Additional MS 17650/2).
- 21–12 November PS sets out for Cracow. The legend, repeated in 1634 by Antony Stafford and in 1641 by Sir Robert Naunton, that PS was considered for the crown of Poland probably derives from a claim made by Robert Dowe in one of the Oxford elegies on PS's death published in 1587.
- 27 MSH's thirteenth birthday.
- Andreas Paull from Dresden thanks Languet for introducing him to PS (Osborn, 247–8).

#### November

- 5 Zündelin from Venice to PS (Osborn, 248–55)
- 12 PS back in Vienna.
- 18 Waterhouse from Dublin to HS, concerning the Earl of Essex (*DD*, II.21).
- 19 RS1's eleventh birthday.
- François Perrot from Venice to PS (Osborn, 259–61).
- PS from Vienna to Leicester, describing himself as newly returned from his Polish journey (*Prose*, 98–100). Zündelin from Venice to PS, expressing concern over his health (Osborn, 261–4).
- 30 PS's twentieth birthday.

#### December

Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, sends to HS a copy of his edition of Thomas of Walsingham, knowing that he loves antiquities. In return he requests the loan of

some volumes from HS's library (*DD*, II.21). HS also owned a copy of Lydgate's *The Fall of Princes*; and HS's secretary, Edward Waterhouse, owned a copy of Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (Woudhuysen, 209).

7 Jean Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS, about his disappointment with Poland (Osborn, 266–8).

PS from Vienna to Burghley about his state of health and Polish trip (*Prose,* 100–2).

### Undated

Robert Mantell, RS's tutor, purchases Latin books (3s) and other books (20s). He also records payments to May Day singers who played 'Robin Hood' and to minstrels on Midsummer's Day (*DD*, I, 268).

### 1575

### January

6 Otto Count Solms from Padua to PS, inviting him to Frankfurt (Osborn, 269–70).

8 François Perrot from Venice to PS (Osborn, 270–2).

9 and 30 Zündelin from Venice to PS (Osborn, 272–83).

Count of Hanau from Ortenburg to PS, hoping to see him at the next Frankfurt fair (Osborn, 286–7).

### **February**

Don Caesar Carrafa to PS, concerning the death of the intelligence gatherer Edward, Baron Windsor, in whose house PS had lived at Venice (Osborn, 284). Rumours circulate that PS is showing Catholic sympathies, in part due to his family's Catholic connections. His Catholic cousin, Richard Shelley, was then the English Prior of Malta and HS had friendly contacts with the Duke and Duchess (his niece Jane Dormer) of Feria at Madrid (Pears, 92; see also 30 April 1568 and 13 June 1576).

PS leaves Vienna with Languet for Prague, joining the progress of Emperor Maximilian and travelling via Brno. From Prague Languet sends PS with a letter of introduction to Augustus, Elector of Saxony, and recommends him to Dr Ursinus, Professor of Theology at Heidelberg; Count Lewis of Wittgenstein at the court of the Elector Palatine; and Dr Glausburg.

- Thomas Wilkes is sent secretly to the Count Palatine. In his instructions from the queen it is implied that the public reason for his travels should be given as a meeting with PS (CSPF, 17).
- 20 and 27 François Perrot from Venice to PS (Osborn, 289–93).
- PS arrives at Prague, where he stays for nine days and witnesses the reception of the Turkish ambassador. PS is also personally received by the Emperor. PS's sister, Ambrosia (b.1564), dies at Ludlow Castle and is buried in Ludlow Parish Church. Ambrosia and MSH were close and sometimes dressed identically. Elizabeth invites MSH to court, assuring HS that she would take special care of her (SP 40/1/83).
- Matthäus Wacker from Padua to PS (Osborn, 293–4).

### March

- 2 PS sends from Prague anonymous Latin poems to Thomas Jordan, a Polish physician (*Prose*, 102).
- 3/4 Languet stays on at Prague in the house of the emperor's physician, Thaddeus Hájek. PS leaves with a French companion, Thomas Lenormand, and begins to head homewards via Dresden and Leipzig.
- 5 Edward Wotton arrives at Prague with a letter from Walsingham expressing concern over PS's associations with Catholics at Venice (Languet, XLI).
- PS arrives at Dresden where he meets Andreas Paull. PS also carries a letter of introduction from Languet to Count August of Saxony, describing him as 'an Englishman of high degree', whose mother is a sister of the Earl of Leicester (Osborn, 287). Edward Wotton joins PS for the homeward journey.
- 6 PS passes through Leipzig, Weimar, Eisenach and Frankfurt.
- 8 Languet from Prague drafts a letter of introduction for PS to Jean de Glaubourg (Bond 1955, 105–9).
- 10 and 12/13 Languet to PS, advising on being a courtier and suggesting that he should meet Jean-François Salvard and Théophile de Banos (Pears, 92–3; Languet, XLI).
- 17 Jean Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS (Osborn, 300–1).
- 20 Crato von Kraffheim, physician to the Emperor, requests from PS any English books he may have on medicinal plants (Osborn, 301–2).

# April

3 Languet arrives at the Frankfurt book fair and meets PS at André Wechel's house.

6 and 7 Jean Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS, detailing how Thomas Wilkes had been sent from England to fetch PS back home immediately (Osborn, 303–6; see also 16 February). PS rides to Heidelberg where he meets Wilkes and also the son of Languet's host at Prague, Johannes Hájek, whom PS had promised to educate in England.

14 and 16 De Banos from Frankfurt to PS (Osborn, 306-8).

### May

- 3 PS from Antwerp to the Count of Hanau, apologizing for having not seen him at Frankfurt in April and referring to his own illness (Osborn, 308–9).
- 15 HS under pressure to accept the Irish Deputyship once again. Walsingham assumes that the appointment is finalized (*DD*, II.22).
- Death of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, leaving his notable collection of manuscripts to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
- Abraham Fraunce is named as a pensioner at St John's College, Cambridge, under the sponsorship of PS. He stays there for eight years, becoming a fellow of his college and then enters Gray's Inn. Between 1579–83 his Latin comedy, 'Victoria', is performed at the college; and a presentation manuscript is compiled by Fraunce as a gift for PS (CKS Z15). Another (lost) manuscript by Fraunce, 'Yeeld, yeeld, O Yeeld: Omnia vincit amor. Venus est Dignissima pomo', was dedicated to PS (Woudhuysen, 339).
- Théophile de Banos to PS, advising him that he had given his edition of Ramus's commentaries and his *Rami vita* to the printer Andreas Wechel (Duncan-Jones 1986, 40).
- PS sets sail from Antwerp for England, accompanied by Edward Wotton and Griffin Madox. Jean Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS (Osborn, 317–20).

### June

(early) PS returns to court after his continental travels and is in London for most of the month.

- 3–21 Having matriculated at Christ Church, RS1 stays at Oxford (with Edward Montagu, Rowland Whyte, Griffin Madox and Johannes Hájek), rather than joining the royal progress with his parents and MSH. Robert Dorset's accounts record RS1 at Christ Church 19 June–19 August, when RS1 leaves for the court at London (*DD*, I.268–9; see also Hay, 22–4, and Osborn, 312ff for Dorset's descriptions of RS1; PS's correspondence with Dorset; RS1's studying of logic from 'Valerius and Caesarius'; and details of the academic studies probably pursued by RS1 at Oxford, including the study of German).
- 6 Languet to PS, mentioning that Vulcob is seeking an artist to copy the Veronese portrait (Pears, 93–5).
- 11 Languet from Prague to PS (Languet, XLIII).
- PS from London to the Count of Hanau, saying that he had found his family well and the 'Queen, though somewhat advanced in years, yet hitherto vigorous in her health ... She is to us a Meleager's brand; when it perishes farewell to all our quietness' (*Prose*, 103).
- Zündelin from Venice to PS (Osborn, 338–43).
- Languet from Prague to PS (Pears, 95–6). PS to Languet, referred to in Languet's letter to PS of 13 August 1576 (ibid., 104). Dorset from Oxford to PS, recording RS1's arrival there with Edward Montagu (Osborn, 316).
- Dorset purchases for RS a 'great paper book' and Cicero's *De officiis*. Sidney accounts by Hercules Rainsford also record a payment to MDS of £20 for 'riding-charges to court' and £20 for 'two coach-horses' (*DD*, I.269, 426). PS runs up a bill of over £42 with a London tailor, Richard Rodway (CKS F26/9).
- Théophile de Banos from Antwerp to PS (BL Additional MS 18675/4).

# July

- 5 Jean Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS (Osborn, 336–8).
- 9–27 Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenilworth with HS, MDS and MSH in attendance. This entertainment provides a crucial moment in the Dudley/Sidney royal relationship. Leicester seeks to enhance his marriage prospects with Elizabeth; and there is even speculation that he plans to seek the nomination of PS as Elizabeth's successor, in the event of an

Elizabeth/Leicester union proving childless. The entertainments are compiled by George Gascoigne (whose 'The Princely Pleasures' affords a close parallel to PS's 'The Lady of May'), William Hunnis, Richard Mulcaster and others.

- 16/17 Languet from Prague to PS, enclosing a letter from Jachim Möller at Prague (Languet, XLV; Osborn, 348; BL Additional MS 15914/19).
- Jean Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS (Osborn, 352–4).
- 27 Queen Elizabeth leaves Kenilworth and proceeds to Lichfield for eight days.
- 31 HS becomes a Privy Councillor.

### August

- 2/3 HS appointed Lord Deputy Governor of Ireland and attends a Privy Council meeting at Lichfield.
- 5 Elizabeth proceeds to Chartley Park, the Earl of Essex's seat. PS may still have been with the progress and could have met Penelope Devereux, the Earl's eldest daughter, at Chartley. The progress then goes to Stafford Castle, Chillington Hall and Dudley Castle.
- HS takes leave of Elizabeth at Dudley Castle to assume his duties in Ireland. PS accompanies him to Shrewsbury where the corporation entertain them and Robert Corbet, who had just returned home from abroad.
- 13 From Dudley Castle, Elizabeth moves to Hartlebury Castle and Worcester, where she stays until 20.
- 15 Languet from Prague to PS (Languet, XLIV).
- HS makes his will (*HMC 3rd Report*, Appendix, 199), signed by PS and others; and has compiled, 'A brief note of sundry payments for Mr. Philip Sidney', listing sums totalling over £1,576 during the preceding three years (Wallace, 115; *DD*, II.22–4).
- Jean Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS (Osborn, 354–5).

# September

- 2 Sir John Seton (later Lord Barns and a member of King James VI's court) to PS (Osborn, 355–6).
- 5 Jean Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS, delivered by Georg Zölcher whom PS had met at Antwerp (Osborn, 356).
- Walsingham writes from the court at Woodstock to HS about Irish affairs (*DD*, II.24).

- 8 HS lands in Ireland and proceeds to Drogheda (*DD*, II.25). He serves a second term as Irish viceroy (from 1575–78).
- Elizabeth is at Woodstock for a few days, followed by a short progress to Reading before returning to Windsor Castle. At this time PS rejoins the royal progress either at Worcester or Woodstock, meeting there MDS, MSH, RS1 and Thomas Sidney. At Woodstock the 'Tale of Hermetes the Hermit' (BL Royal MS 18.A.XLVIII) is presented by Sir Henry Lee (who may also have been its author) for the queen's entertainment and watched by PS and Dyer.
- Sidney accounts record that Captain Drake of the *Frigacie* carried HS back to Ireland (*DD*, I.427). RS1 from Christ Church, Oxford, to Robert Walker about bedding, furniture, and clothes (*DD*, II.99).
- (mid) PS returns to London (Osborn, 356).
- Languet from Prague to PS (Pears, 100–1).
- Thomas Lenormand (with whom PS had travelled from Dresden to Frankfurt) to PS. Théophile de Banos from Frankfurt to PS (Osborn, 358–62).
- Walsingham to HS, concerning Anthony Hungerford's lease (*DD*, II.24–5).
- 28 HS from Drogheda to Queen Elizabeth, concerning the Earl of Essex, with supporting letters to Burghley and the Council (*DD*, II.25).

#### October

- 3 Languet to PS (Languet, XLVIII).
- 8 Baron Slavata from Paris to PS (Osborn, 365–8).
- Giovanni de Tassis from Antwerp to PS. Dorset from Oxford to PS, reporting on Hájek and Rowland Whyte (Osborn, 365–9).
- Walsingham to HS, recommending Sir William Drury (*DD*, II.25–6).
- 17 Théophile de Banos from Frankfurt to PS (Osborn, 368).
- Walsingham from Odiam to HS, concerning relations between HS and Essex (*DD*, II.26). PS is also developing useful contacts with the Earl of Essex (Wallace, 164).
- Don Caesar Carrafa from Venice to PS (Osborn, 376–7).
- Wolfgang Zündelin from Venice to PS, delivered by Ludowick Bryskett (Osborn, 374–6).
- 24 and 31 Dorset from Oxford to PS (Osborn, 369-72).

- MSH's fourteenth birthday. PS is a godparent at the christening of Elizabeth Cooke Russell, along with Leicester, the Countess of Sussex (HS's sister), and Anne Russell Dudley, Countess of Warwick (formerly the wife of Sir Thomas Hoby and one of MDS's closest friends), at Westminster Abbey (BL Hargrave MS 497/57–9). At this period PS is residing mainly at Leicester House at London.
- Johann Brüning from Padua to PS (Osborn, 377–9).
- (?)–December Plague strikes Oxford and RS1 stays at Kellsway and in Northamptonshire, although PS would have preferred him to have come with him to court.

#### November

- Dorset from Oxford to PS. Zacharias Ursinus from Heidelberg to PS (Osborn, 373–4, 380).
- HS reports from Mellifont, near Drogheda, on Irish Affairs (*DD*, II.26–30).
- 17 PS perhaps takes part in the Accession Day tilts.
- 19 RS1's twelfth birthday. Cesare Pavese, a friend of the Tassis family, from Venice to PS (Osborn, 386).
- Jean Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS (Osborn, 382).
- Death of Sir Peter Carew, Munster planter and friend of HS, who speaks warmly of him at his funeral.
- 30 PS's twenty-first birthday.

## December

- Dorset from Oxford to PS (Osborn, 374). Wacker from Vienna to PS, enclosing a Latin poem (Osborn, 392–5).
- 2 Languet receives a letter from PS, only his second since arriving home in England. He replies from Vienna on 3 (Pears, 101–4). Cesare Carrafa from Venice to PS (Osborn, 395–6).
- 4 Charles de l'Ecluse from Vienna to PS (Osborn, 388–9).
- 9 Walsingham from Windsor, advising HS of the death of Sir Peter Carew (*DD*, II.30).
- 16 HS from Waterford to the Council (*DD*, II.30).
- 27 Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS (Osborn, 399–400).

#### Undated

(Lady Day 1575–28 February 1579) Sidney accounts by Robert Walker include a fee of £100 to PS for three years as royal cupbearer (see

Stewart, 152), RS1's costs at Oxford (£162), and a reward to 'Mr. Bust, his reader' (£13) (*DD*, I.249).

# References

January

The first known literary tribute to MSH is made at Woodstock: 'Though young in years, yet old in wit, a gest due to your race,/If you hold on as you begin, who is't you'll not deface' (printed in 1585, *STC* 7596).

In c.1575 Daniel Rogers writes a Latin poem, commending PS's European travels (Huntington Library MS HM 31188/221; Kuin and Prescott 2000, 1–35).

HS's accounts record purchases of 'printed books, bought of Tottell' (£2 4s 0d) (*DD*, I.426).

#### 1576

,	
1	Languet from Vienna to PS (Languet, XLIX).
4	Robert Mantell purchases for RS: 'two logic books, Valerius
	and Caesarius' (DD, I.269).
5 and 28	Théophile de Banos to PS about the dedication of his forth-
	coming work on Ramus (Osborn, 402–9).
6	Andreas Paull from Dresden to PS (Osborn, 404–6).
10	Cesare Pavese from Venice to PS (Osborn, 406–7).
22	Giovanni Battista de Tassis from Antwerp to PS (Osborn,
	402).

Dorset from Oxford to PS (Osborn, 407-8).

# **February**

23

28

4 HS from Dundalk about the proposed marriage between MSH and HH (Collins, I.88–9).

Walsingham to HS, concerning emendations to the terms of his service as Lord President in Ireland (*DD*, II.31).

- 8–15March Second session of Queen Elizabeth's Fourth Parliament.

  Peter Wentworth raises the issue of freedom of speech and is imprisoned for his comments about the queen.
- De Banos from Frankfurt to PS (Osborn, 408–9).
- Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS (Osborn, 409–12).
- 27 HS from Limerick to the Council, supporting the Earl of Essex (*DD*, II.32).

M	arch

- HS from Galway to Burghley (*DD*, II.32). Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS (Osborn, 413–15).
- 17 Languet from Vienna to PS, complaining about PS's silence (Languet, L).
- 19 Charles de L'Ecluse sends PS a book on the plants of Spain and also complains of PS's neglect of his correspondence (Osborn, 418). Théophile de Banos from Frankfurt to PS, concerning the dedication to his edition of Ramus's commentaries (Osborn, 416–17)
- RS1 brings a letter from his tutor, Robert Dorset, at Oxford to PS, commending his natural abilities but suggesting that his studies are still being neglected (Osborn, 415–16). Waterhouse reports to HS that the Earl of Essex was now calling PS his 'son' and that Mr Gifford and PS had presented HS's letters to Essex (DD, II.32).
- Banos from Frankfurt to PS (BL Additional 17520/8).
- 28 Languet to PS (Languet, LI).

# April

- 1 HS to Thomas Earl of Ormonde (HS's letter is known only from Ormonde's reply of 8 April), concerning the 'Lord of Upper Ossory' (see also Ormonde's subsequent letters on the matter to HS of 14 and 17 April; *DD*, II.33).
- PS to Languet, protesting that their friendship remains undiminished and that his earlier letters had either been lost or intercepted. PS also reports that Michael, Baron Slavata, whom he had met at Venice, was staying with him and that he was hoping to join Anjou in the outbreaking French hostilities (Osborn, 419–21).
- Banos from Frankfurt to PS, reporting that his edition of Ramus's commentaries is selling well at the book fair (BL Additional MS 15914/28).
- 28 HS from Dublin to the Council, Walsingham and to Queen Elizabeth (*DD*, II.36).

### May

Treaty of Beaulieu, by which (Hercule-)François, duc d'Alençon, obtains a group of territories that make him duc d'Anjou.

- Receipt for payment of £16 13s 4d to PS for six month's service as royal cupbearer (Folger Shakespeare Library, X.d.271).
- 15 and 'undated' Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS (Osborn, 426–30).
- Dorset to PS about his proposed visit to Oxford (Osborn, 425–6).
- 28 L'Ecluse from Vienna to PS. Languet from Vienna to PS (Osborn, 430–4).

### June

- 5 Lobbet from Strasbourg to PS (Osborn, 431–2).
- 8/9 L'Ecluse from Vienna to PS (Kuin 1997, 469–70).
- Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, from Madrid to HS, commending the bearer of the letter, 'the bishop of Emly' (*DD*, II.37). HS to Walsingham, recommending John Petit to be bishop of Armagh (*DD*, II.37).
- 16 HS from Dublin to the Council (*DD*, II.37).
- 20 HS from Dublin Castle to the Mayor of Dublin, concerning a shipment of French wines (*DD*, II.38).
- Dorset from Oxford, commending Christopher Buste, probably the brother of RS1's tutor, John Buste (Osborn, 438–9).
- 24 HS to Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, concerning the dispute with the Lord of Upper Ossory; and HS to the Lord of Upper Ossory (*DD*, II.38–40).
- Ormonde to HS in reply, mentioning a proposed meeting at Waterford on 10 July (*DD*, II.40).

# July

- 9 HS from Athlone to the Council, concerning 'two beggarly bastard boys', sons of the Earl of Clanrickarde, who had attacked Athenry. HS and PS set out west in pursuit of them (DD, II.41).
- Walsingham to HS, concerning Irish affairs (DD, II.41).
- Walsingham to HS, concerning Mr Wigmore's suit for the office of Clerk of Fines (*DD*, II.42).
- 23–September PS is in Ireland, perhaps crossing in the train of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, father of Penelope, who arrives at Dublin on this day. Essex had been previously resident at Durham House where PS was probably in regular contact with him. HS is on tour in the west of Ireland.

- Walsingham to HS, with encouraging news about his reputation at court (*DD*, II.42).
- 29 HS at Limerick.

### August

- 6 HS at Kilkenny.
- MDS to Burghley in pathetic tones after Elizabeth denies her suit for help with her debts. When not attending the queen, MDS lives in a house near Paul's Wharf near Baynard's Castle, HH's London home and close to the house of her sister, the Countess of Huntingdon. Other depressing letters by MDS are written from Durham House on the Strand, the residence of the Earl of Essex (Wallace, 152–3).
- 8 Essex's retinue (perhaps with PS) leaves Dublin and is entertained on 9 by the Earl of Ormonde.
- HS meets with Essex some 28 miles from Dublin. PS either meets HS at Kilcullen and Dublin or joins his father in Connaught immediately after landing and then helps HS to suppress the Earl of Clanrickarde's rebellion in the west.
- Languet from Regensberg to PS, concerning a lack of news from PS (Pears, 104–6).
- HS from Dublin to the Council (*DD*, II.44).

# September

- 4 HS and PS are at Athlone, from where HS writes to Queen Elizabeth, recommending 'Mr. Davvy Cleere' for the See of Ossory (*DD*, II.45).
- 8 Languet from Regensberg to PS (Languet, LIII).
- 9 Waterhouse from Dublin, advising HS that Essex is seriously ill with dysentery (CKS C3/3).
- HS and PS are at Galway, where they meet the renowned Grania O'Malley, a female sea-captain and wife of Sir Richard Burke (as described in HS's letter to Walsingham, 1 March 1583).
- 20 HS from Galway describes his operations to the Council and proposes to return to Dublin by a circular route, via Sligo and Carrickfergus (*DD*, II.46). He also advises Walsingham that PS would bring him in person the latest news from Ireland (Collins, I.140–2).

Death of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, in Ireland from dysentery. Negotiations stall over the marriage plans for PS and Penelope Devereux. PS, then in Mayo with HS, hurries to Dublin but finds the earl dead. HS from Galway to Ormonde and to the Lord of Upper Ossory (DD, II.47).

#### October

- Death of the moderate Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II at Regensberg. He is succeeded by his son Rudolf, a committed Catholic, who had been educated at the court of his uncle Philip II at Madrid.
- 20 and 28 HS from Dublin to Walsingham, reporting rumours that Essex had been poisoned (Collins, I.140–3).
- 27 MSH's fifteenth birthday. Death of Frederick Elector Palatine who is succeeded by his son, the strongly Catholic Ludwig VI. However, his younger brother, Johann Casimir, is seen as sympathetic to Calvinism and becomes the new focus of attention for Leicester and Walsingham.
- MDS writes to Burghley, railing against her 'monstrous vile and wicked' detractor and says that she has not been able to hold up her head to write. She also refers to Medley, an alchemist (BL Lansdowne MS 23/184).

#### November

- 1–7 Antwerp falls to Spanish mercenaries and is sacked with many more civilians dying than during the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre at Paris.
- PS is back at Greenwich, from where he writes to Robert Walker, HS's steward at Otford (the letter to be dealt with by Thomas Smallman if Walker is away), about provisions for some horses being brought over from Ireland (*Prose*, 103).
- HS writes from Dublin to the Council, concerning the reformation of disorders in Wales (*DD*, I.355).
- 19 RS1's thirteenth birthday.
- Earl of Essex is buried at Carmarthen, with Waterhouse in charge of arrangements. PS presumably attends the funeral. Essex died in severe financial difficulties and this is probably the major reason why the match for Penelope with PS has to be broken off (Collins, I.147–8).
- 27 HS writes from Tryme to Council (*DD*, II.49).
- 30 PS's twenty-second birthday.

#### December

12 Renewed rumours of a plan for MSH to marry the widowed HH (*HMC Rutland*, 1.110).

(?)–early January 1577 Most of the Sidney family, except HS, are at court for the Christmas and New Year festivities.

#### Undated

Birth of Sir Robert Wroth (d.1614), later the husband of MSW.

Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, is the chief backer of the first of Martin Frobisher's three voyages in search of a north-west passage to China. PS and MDS each invest £25 in the venture (Kuin 1998, 549–85).

Mention of a Pembroke's Men theatre company at Canterbury (Chambers 1925, II.128).

#### Dedications

Théophile de Banos, *De Vita P. Rami*, prefixed to *Petri Rami Commentariorum de Religione Christiana*, Frankfurt (PS) (see Osborn, 306, for PS's unease with the dedication).

Henri Estienne, [Greek New Testament], Geneva (PS), describing their friendship. He also recalls giving PS a (lost) autograph manuscript of Greek maxims.

# References

Thomas Drant praises PS in *Praesul: eiusdem sylva (carmine)* and probably also offers his rules on the application of quantitative metre to English verse to PS. Spenser refers to these rules in his letter to Harvey of October 1579 (see 'References: 1580'). Drant also refers (in a poem addressed to Leicester) to the high hopes with which PS had been welcomed home from his tour (Buxton, 79).

William Lambard sends a copy of his *A Perambulation of Kent, STC* 15175, to HS with an accompanying letter, asking for HS's advice and comments on the volume (Bodl. 4° Rawl. 487).

Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, Excellent discours de la vie et de la mort (1576). The first English translation appears by Edward Aggas, The Defence of Death, STC 18136 (a precursor to MSH's own translation of Mornay's Discourse of Life and Death).

#### 1577

### January

PS, accompanied by Leicester and Dyer, meets John Dee, probably at Mortlake, fuelling his interest in New World

exploration (Dee 1842, 2). Dee's Art of Navigation, STC 6459, printed in August 1577. A second north-west passage expedition is being planned and PS invests £50 (BL MS Egerton 2790/221; Pears, 119).

27 HS from Dublin to the Council, describing his recent progress through Ireland (Collins, I.149-56).

## **February**

- 4 HS from Dundalk to Walsingham and Leicester, expressing his pleasure at the proposed marriage of MSH to HH and mentioning a serious outbreak of dysentery in Ireland (DD, II.50-1).
- 7 Instructions drawn up for PS's embassy (February-June 1577) to Germany and the court of Emperor Rudolph II and his mother (BL Harley MS 36/232). PS is accompanied by Sir Henry Lee (the queen's champion and nephew of Sir Thomas Wyatt), Sir Jerome Bowes (who had been with PS on Lincoln's 1572 Paris mission), Greville, Dyer and Henry Brouncker. Their purpose is to offer formal condolences on the death of the late emperor. On route PS is also required to visit the Count Palatines Lewis and Casimir to offer condolences on the death of their father. In his copy (now in Princeton University Library) of Livy's Romanae historiae principis (Basle, 155, h5<sup>r</sup>), Gabriel Harvey records how he and PS had discussed this text just before PS's embassy to the emperor. Dyer and Edward Denny were also party to Harvey's advice (Jardine and Grafton 1990, 36).
- 8 PS from Leicester House to Burghley, making a financial request on behalf of Sir Nicholas Bagnoll/Bagnal, who enjoyed the trust of HS (Prose, 104).
- 12 HS from Newry to the Council and Elizabeth (DD, II.51–2).
- PS to Robert Walker, asking him to pay from money 22 received from HH £20 to MSH's old governess, Mrs Anne Mantell (Prose, 104).
- (?)Fulke Greville is appointed, through HS's influence, as Clerk of Council and Clerk of the Signet in Wales (Flenley 1916, 210).

#### March

At Ostend, PS posts a Latin notice outside his lodgings, (early) describing himself as: 'The most illustrious and noble man/Philip Sidney Englishman,/son of the Pro-rex of Ireland, nephew to the Earls of Warwick and Leicester,/ambassador of the most serene Queen of England to the Emperor' (Collins, I.100).

- 5 PS passes through Brussels, where the English ambassador, Dr Thomas Wilson, has made arrangements for the party's welcome (*CSPF*, 541).
- 6 PS arrives at Louvain, to meet with Don John of Austria, Governor of the Netherlands (*CSPF*, 543). He meets Justus Lipsius, and Daniel Rogers may have also been with him (but see Osborn, 452–4).
- 10 HS to PS (Levy 1969, 180).
- 17 HS from Dublin to the Council (*DD*, II.53).
- PS reports from Heidelberg to Walsingham on his visit to Ludwig, Elector Palatine (whom he did not meet), and his brother Prince Casimir (whom he did see). He writes a shorter letter to Burghley (*Prose*, 105–9).
- 22/23 PS leaves Heidelberg; and Emperor Maximilian's funeral is finally held at Prague.
- 29 PS at Nuremberg, where he learns that Languet has resigned from his diplomatic post at Prague (Osborn, 460).
- 30 PS from Nuremberg to the Count of Hanau (Osborn, 461).
- (?) HS from Dublin to Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth, and the Council (*DD*, II.52–3). HS from Dublin to PS, recommending the bearer Sir Cormock McTeigh McCarty and asking PS to look after him at court (*DD*, II.53).

# April

- (early) PS, with Greville and Languet, visits Joachim Camerarius, the younger, whose *Symbolorum et emblematum* (1593) contains several emblems similar to those used for *imprese* in *New Arcadia*. PS once attended a meal with Languet and the two Camerarius brothers, Joachim and Philip (McMahon 1947, 83–95).
- PS at Prague (*CSP Rome*, 300), where he meets Edmund Campion (whom he had known at Oxford), now Professor of Rhetoric at the Jesuit College. Campion writes a few months later to John Bavand with earnest hopes that PS might be converted to Catholicism, to the astonishment of HS, Leicester and Cecil (Osborn, 468).
- 7–13 HS's accounts show a payment made to Lord Stafford's Players at Ludlow Castle during Easter week (CKS A56(2)).

- PS from Prague to Charles de l'Ecluse, asking that its bearer, a 'near relative' of PS (probably Greville), be shown around Vienna (Kuin 1997, 469–70). PS has an audience with the new emperor, after which he is presented with a great chain. The meeting is reported in a newsletter of 13 April (*CSP Rome*, 301).
- 9 PS delivers Elizabeth's letters to the Dowager Empress Maria (sister of Philip II of Spain) and to her daughter, Elizabeth, the widow of Charles IX of France (BL MS Galba B.xi.363).
- 20 PS is homeward bound, passing through Nuremberg.
- The wedding of MSH to HH. Her dowry is fixed at £3,000, a serious problem for HS. RS1 is the eldest male member of the Sidney family in attendance (*CSPI*, 121; *DD*, I.249–50. *HMC Leeds*, 146).
- 30 PS at Heidelberg.
- (?) Philippe Duplessis-Mornay and his wife, Charlotte d'Arbaleste, come to England for eighteen months on a mission from the King of Navarre. Both he and PS had taken refuge at the English embassy with Sir Francis Walsingham during the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Walsingham and PS, according to Mornay's wife, became his two greatest confidants while in England.

# May

- Payments made by HS to minstrels, singers for May Day, and actors performing the life of Robin Hood (CKS A56/2). PS has an audience with Ludwig, Elector Palatine, at Neustadt.
- 2 PS is at Heidelberg where he is met by Dietrich Weyer, Steuerburg von Lewenstein and Peter Beutterich, all members of Casimir's retinue. He also meets with Languet who had travelled from Frankfurt.
- 3 PS sends from Heidelberg to Walsingham a second detailed report, recounting his observations at Prague and other international news (*Prose*, 109–14).
- 4 PS sets out with Languet for Kaiserslautern to visit Casimir.
- 8 Leicester suggests that PS could represent him at the christening of William of Orange's daughter, Elizabeth (BL MS Cotton Galba C.vi.1).
- PS from Frankfurt to William, Landgrave of Hesse (*Prose*, 114–15). Soon afterwards, PS is urgently recalled home (or perhaps ordered by Leicester to attend the christening of

William of Orange's daughter) and is accompanied as far as Cologne by Languet.

19 HS from Kilmainham to Leicester about the marriage of MSH and HH (*HMC Carew*, 80–3).

HS from Kilmainham to Elizabeth. He also compiles detailed instructions for Edward Waterhouse, the bearer of his letter to the queen (*DD*, II.54–6). The queen's letters are delivered to the Landgrave at Kaiserslauten by messenger. William of Hesse to PS (Levy 1969, 180).

PS leaves Antwerp, having previously travelled through Bruges and Ghent. He continues his journey, via Breda and Middelburg, where (28–30 May) he meets William of Orange and his wife Charlotte de Bourbon (see '1577: Works'). PS deputizes for Leicester as godfather to their daughter, Elizabeth. Orange proposes the union of the two provinces of Holland and Zeeland with the Crown of England. Plans to marry PS to Orange's eldest daughter, Marie of Nassau, may have also been developed and continued until late 1577. PS also meets Philips van Marnix, Count of Ste Aldegonde.

### June

- 1 Waterhouse to HS, reporting on his progress at court and noting that PS has returned to Flanders (*DD*, II.56–7).
- 2 PS probably leaves Orange on about this date. He carries with him two letters dated 2 June for Elizabeth from the Prince and Princess of Orange.
- 5 PS passes through Bruges and Dordrecht.
- 8–10 PS arrives back in England and goes to Greenwich, according to Waterhouse, to receive the queen's commendations for his services (*DD*, II.57). Walsingham also informs HS of his good opinion of PS's ambassadorial skills (Collins, I.193). Soon after his return to England, PS makes the acquaintance of Philip Duplessis-Mornay and they rapidly form a warm friendship.
- 12 John Casimir to PS (SP 70/145/126).
- Languet from Frankfurt to PS, expressing his pleasure at their journey together in May from Prague and noting PS's interest in William of Orange (Pears, 106–9).
- (mid) PS tries to bring over to England the Italian scholar, Marcantonio Nifo, whom he had probably met at Padua, where he was a professor of medicine (Buxton, 158).

- 20 HS from Dublin to the Council in England and to Queen Elizabeth (*DD*, II.58).
- 22 Elizabeth's instructions to Daniel Rogers make clear her suspicions of both PS's and HS's involvements with William of Orange (Stewart, 189–90).
- PS is on the point of visiting HS in Ireland but does not go, probably because he could be of more use to his father by staying in England to counter the Earl of Ormonde's rumours (Collins, I.199).
- 30 PS to William of Hesse-Kassel (Levy 1969, 177–81).
- (?) Leicester and Warwick visit HH and MSH at Wilton and Leicester subsequently goes privately with HH to the spa at Buxton (HMC Salisbury, II.154; Collins, I.191–3).

### July

- Spenser is in Ireland, possibly carrying letters from Leicester to HS. Spenser may have functioned for a time as HS's private secretary, as he later served Lord Grey (Maley 1994, 7).
- Languet from Frankfurt to PS, mentioning a plan for PS to marry an unnamed princess, perhaps Ursula, sister of Casimir (Pears, 109–12).
- 17 Elizabeth to HS, refusing more funds for Ireland (Lambeth Palace MS 628/275).
- Daniel Rogers from Horn to Walsingham, noting William of Orange's high opinion of PS, shared by Janus Dousa and the Count of Ste Aldegonde (*CSPF*, 22).
- 26 HS to Waterhouse, concerning military provisions in Ireland (*DD*, II.59).
- (?) In either June or July PS's most famous portrait is painted by an unknown artist, a copy of which was perhaps given to MSH as a wedding present (Woudhuysen 1990, 353–9).

# August

- Walsingham to HS, querying on the queen's behalf why a cess had been levied on the Earl of Ormonde's lands, which had previously been excluded from the tax by order of 30 June 1569. HS writes a hasty (undated) letter in reply, noting that he only received her letter of 17 July on 8 August, and insisting that he had not levied unjust taxes (*DD*, II.60–1).
- Languet from Frankfurt to PS, replying to a letter delivered by Daniel Rogers (Pears, 112–13).

- HS from Newry to the queen and the Council, noting how his enemies are making problems for him at court, as is seemingly indicated by a recent letter to him from Elizabeth. HS also writes to Leicester and Walsingham, pleading for their support (Collins, I.204–6; *DD*, II.61–3).
- Waterhouse mentions that PS and RS1, with Leicester and Warwick, are visiting Wilton House (Collins, I.209). PS is reported as still not having returned to court by 5 September. PS mentions Wilton House and the nearby Stonehenge in *Certain Sonnets* 22.
- Languet to PS, referred to in PS's letter to Languet of 1 October 1577 (Pears, 116).
- (?) An anonymous pastoral poem, 'A Dialogue Between Two Shepherds, Utter'd in a Pastoral Show, at Wilton', first printed in 1613 *Arcadia*, and sometimes attributed to PS, is probably performed at Wilton in either August/September or December 1577 (Woudhuysen, 239).

## September

- HS from Dublin Castle to the Sheriff of Devon, requesting the levying of 400 soldiers. Waterhouse reports on the generally favourable reception of HS's letters by the queen (DD, II.63–4).
- HS from Dublin Castle to Elizabeth and the Council, defending his actions (*DD*, II.67).
- Waterhouse from Oatlands informs HS of growing tensions between PS and Ormonde (HS's most outspoken opponent) (DD, II.69). HS to Walsingham about his debts over the dowry for MSH's marriage to HH (SP 63/59/15). William of Hesse to PS (Levy 1969, 180).
- Languet from Frankfurt to PS (Languet, LVII).
- Waterhouse from Windsor Castle in a letter to HS refers to PS's 'Discourse of Irish Affairs', which had presumably been written that autumn. The 'Discourse' was divided into seven parts, the first three of which are lost, and it survives only in an incomplete holograph manuscript (BL MS Cotton Titus B.xii.564). It defends HS's proposals for levying a tax on the gentlemen of the Pale and directly answers criticisms made of HS in BL Cotton MS Titus B.x.115 (DD, II.70).
- (?) PS probably returns to Wilton House.

#### October

9 and 22 Languet from Frankfurt to PS (Languet, LVIII–LIX).

PS to Languet, mentioning the latter's promise to visit England. He is also deeply impressed by Frobisher's exploits, rivalling Magellan's, along the 'northern part of America'. PS seems convinced by rumours that the ore brought back was of the purest gold but he is also concerned to protect the new Eldorado against Spanish or Danish incursions (*Prose*, 116–22). PS was an investor in each of Frobisher's three voyages (1576–78), with amounts of £25, £50 and £67 10s. HH was also a subscriber (*APC*, X.414–15).

27 MSH's sixteenth birthday.

#### November

- Elizabeth agrees that HS's operation of the cess had been legal, although it is not known if PS's tract had been influential in persuading her of this view (*HMC Carew*, II.117).
- PS participates in the queen's Accession Day tilts as 'Philisides, the shepherd good and true'. Assisted by the Earl of Arundel, Frederick Lord Windsor, and Greville, PS challenges 19 or 20 defenders, including Sir Henry Lee and Sir Thomas Perrot. These challenges later reappeared as the 'Four Foster Children of Desire' in 1581 (Woudhuysen, 275–6).
- 19 RS1's fourteenth birthday.
- 28 Languet from Frankfurt to PS (Pears, 122–30).
- 30 PS's twenty-third birthday.

#### December

- HS from Dublin to Elizabeth, thanking her for her gracious letter of October (received 5 December), reassuring him of her good opinion despite the slanders of his detractors (*DD*, II.71–2).
- PS back at Wilton House from where he writes to Leicester, requesting permission to stay away from the court at Christmas (*Prose*, 118–19). Leicester (and perhaps Warwick) then come to Wilton House.
- Leicester is back at court after revels with HH and MSH at Wilton (*CSPD Add. 1566–79*, 523–4).

- Languet from Frankfurt to PS, concerning Prince Casimir's high regard for PS (Pears, 130–2).
- (late) PS stays for the Christmas festivities at Wilton House and is probably now working on *Arcadia*, which he may have begun soon after his arrival home in June. He also enjoys the company of Duplessis-Mornay during the winter season, to whose daughter he becomes godfather in June 1578. He also sees a friend from the continent, Butrech, who was visiting London. PS probably returns to court in the last days of the month.

### Undated

(Lady Day 1575–28 February 1579) Sidney accounts by Robert Walker for 1577 include payments to MSH for her stipend (£100), her apparel and furniture (£57), Philip Williams for part of her marriage money (£500), and to Robert Mantell and his wife for attending to MSH (£31) (DD, I.249–50).

#### Works

(Attributed, PS) 'Certain notes concerning the present state of the Prince of Orange, and the provinces of Holland and Zeeland' (BL MS Cotton Galba C.vi.51).

(Attributed, PS) 'A Dialogue Between Two Shepherds, Utter'd in a Pastoral Show, at Wilton' (see 'August 1577').

#### Dedications

Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland, STC* 13568 (HS).

Lambert Daneau (ed.), *Geographiae poetica libri quatuor* (PS), an anthology of topographical Latin verse. Daneau had probably not met PS (although his father had been a patron of Henri Estienne whom PS met at Heidelberg) but did so in 1581 when he went to Leiden as Professor of Theology. He had written to Languet, sending him two copies of the work to be forwarded to PS. Languet said that he did not know Daneau but in the spring of 1577 he persuaded him against dedicating a commentary on the second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians to PS (Buxton, 90).

### References

Latin poem (printed *Melissi Schediasmata poetica*, 1586, Rv<sup>r</sup>) written by 'Melissus' (Paul Schede, librarian to the Elector Palatine) after PS's visit

to Heidelberg opens: 'Sydnee Musarum inclite cultibus', possibly making the first recorded reference to PS as a poet (Dorsten 1962, 50–1, 173; but Buxton, 91, interprets it as a reference to his patronage; Robertson, xviii, suggests 'cultus' will bear either intrepretation). Schede was interested in the musical settings for poetry and was a friend of Ronsard. In 1572 he published a translation of the Psalms in German arranged for French chants.

Thomas Churchyard, *The Worthiness of Wales, STC* 5261, I1<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>r-v</sup>, commends HS's architectural achievements and collection of historical records in Wales.

#### 1578

# January

- PS presents the queen with a 'smock of camerick' as his New Year's gift. PS from the court to the Camerarius brothers (*Prose*, 183–4).
- 8 Languet from Frankfurt to PS (Pears, 132–6).
- 18/21(?) Walsingham to HS, advising him of the queen's earlier displeasure at his governance in Ireland. Having examined his accounts more closely, the queen seems better satisfied with HS's service (*DD*, II.75–6).

# **February**

- Final payment made by HS for MSH's dowry (BL Additional MS 15552/1).
- HS from Dublin to Elizabeth. He also sends an undated letter to the Council (*DD*, II.76–7).
- 15 Languet from Frankfurt to PS (Pears, 136–8).
- Walsingham to HS, urging him to reach agreement with the Palesmen (Collins, I.240).

#### March

- PS feels under-occupied at London and tells Languet that he has been neglecting the 'use of the pen' and that he fears he will soon stagnate intellectually (*Prose*, 119–21).
- 10 PS from the court to Languet (*Prose*, 121).
- Walsingham to HS, reporting that the queen has ordered his return to court. Sir Thomas Wilson reprimands HS for his high expenditure in Ireland (*DD*, II.79).

Languet from Frankfurt to PS (Pears, 38–42).

### **April**

- 1 Languet from Frankfurt to PS (Languet, LXV).
- 20 HS from Dublin to Elizabeth (DD, II.80).
- Prince Casimir urges PS to come to the Low Countries and serve as a joint military commander with him. It is still assumed that PS might marry Orange's sister (SP 81/1/41). PS praises MDS's concern for HS's interests while he is away but he advises HS to delay his return until his friends can counter the circulation of hostile rumours about him (*Prose*, 122–3).
- PS from court to Waterhouse, asking him either to come to court or to write to him. He also asks to be commended to his cousin Harry Harington (Sir James Harington of Exton had married HS's sister, Lucy) (*Prose*, 123).
- 30 HS from Dublin to Elizabeth and her Council (*DD*, II.80).
- (?) MSH and HH visit PS at Penshurst, probably on their way to joining the queen's progress (*DD*, I.250).

## May

- 1 HS's instructions to Waterhouse, concerning the delivery of his letters and other duties at court (*DD*, II.81). PS to the Camerarius brothers (Huntington MS 20027).
- 2 Languet from Frankfurt to PS (Pears, 147–50).
- 6–16 Queen Elizabeth at Wanstead with Leicester (see also '1578/1579:Works').
- Instructions drawn up for Lord Justice Drury, HS's successor in Ireland (Lambeth Palace MS 611/351). HS is recalled, although he does not return home until September (Brady 1994, 156).
- PS sends from court a tactless and intemperate letter to HS's secretary, Edmund Molyneux, accusing him of letting others see his confidential letters to his father and threatening to stab him if his suspicions are proven (*DD*, II.83).

### June

- 5 PS called to court by the Privy Council since Elizabeth supposedly intends using him in a naval command (*APC*, 240).
- Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, reports that Elizabeth has appointed Lord Howard to be Admiral of the six ships

- which are being fitted out with 'Henry' (an error for Philip) Sidney as their vice-admiral (*CSPS*, 595).
- HS from Dublin to the Council and to the Mayor of Bristol. A briefing paper on the state of Ireland, presumably approved by HS, is also provided for Lodowick Bryskett (*DD*, II.83–4).
- John Derrick's *Image of Ireland* (see '1581: Dedications') dated from Dublin. Languet to PS (Languet, LXVII).
- 21 HS to the Council (DD, II.84).

## July

- 1 HS to the Council, advising them of the killing of Rory Oge. Molyneux replies to PS's accusations over HS's correspondence, protesting vigorously against his suspicions (*DD*, II.84).
- Waterhouse writes to HS, reporting on what he has been able to achieve at court (*DD*, II.84–5).
- Languet from Cologne to PS (Pears, 150–1).
- The queen visits Audley End at Saffron Walden and PS comes to take his leave before undertaking his mission to Holland. PS probably meets Gabriel Harvey whose *Gratulationum Valdinensium* commemorates the visit.

# August

- 1 HS from Dublin to Leicester, pleading that he needs PS back home in England and commending his intention to go into the Low Countries with Duke Casimir. HS also writes to the Council and PS (BL Cotton Titus B.xiii.25; *DD*, II.86; Levy 1969, 180).
- 7 Leicester reports PS's imminent departure to Casimir but mentions the queen's insistence that he carry a cold message from her. Elizabeth was at pains to ensure that Casimir understood that the mission was at the expense of the Dutch and did not constitute an official intervention by England (*CSPF*, 121).
- 12 and 24 HS from Dublin to the Council (DD, II.86).
- MSH in haste to Leicester, with various nervous deletions, apologizing for not letting him know that HH (whom Leicester habitually referred to as his 'son') had recovered from an illness (Longleat House, Dudley Papers II/187).
- 17 Languet to PS (Languet, LXVIII).

### September

- HS sends a final report to the Council and leaves Ireland for the last time, reputedly reciting the 114th Psalm, alluding to Moses's problems in the land of Egypt, as he embarked (*DD*, II.86; Holinshed 1587, II.150). In *A&S* 30, 8–9, PS refers to 'How Ulster likes of that same golden bit./Wherewith my father once made it half tame'.
- 18 HS finally arrives at Chester but has to rest there for ten days before feeling well enough to proceed to London (Wallace, 193).
- 20 Languet from Frankfurt to PS (Pears, 151–3).
- Leicester secretly marries Lettice (Knollys) Devereux (d.1634), the Earl of Essex's widow, at Wanstead with Warwick and HH in attendance (Kendall 1980, 176–7). She was probably already pregnant with their only son Lord Denbigh (d.1584).
- 23 Elizabeth arrives at Wanstead on the last stage of her progress before returning to London.

#### October

- MDS from Chiswick to Molyneux, concerning the unsatisfactory lodgings for herself and HS. She also writes another undated letter to Molyneux, urging him to find HS a room at Hampton Court (*DD*, II.87).
- Languet from Cologne to PS (Pears, 153–7).
- 27 MSH's seventeenth birthday. The Herberts, Sidneys and Dudleys assemble at Wilton for a protracted celebration into early November (Wright 1838, II, 95).
- HS to RS1, expressing his love and paternal blessings for him and all of his other children. He also commends RS1's study of the Dutch language. RS1 is currently living with a servant of HS's, Harry Whyte, and finding it difficult to make ends meet on his annual allowance of £100. Languet rightly suspects that it will prove difficult to hold RS1 in check (Collins, I.271; Wallace, 207–8).
- (?) Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, is appointed Governor of the Netherlands by Philip II.

#### November

- 19 RS1's fifteenth birthday.
- 30 PS's twenty-fourth birthday.

#### December

- (mid) The Anjou marriage proposals are revived and his agent, Simier, is to come to England, although the English ambassador at Paris reports that PS is to be sent to France to delay the arrival of Simier (*CSPF*, 624).
- (late) The Sidney family assembles at Hampton Court for Christmas, possibly even with RS1 in attendance (Hay, 32).

#### Works

PS, 'The Lady of May' (as first titled in the 1725 edition of PS's Works) may have either been written for the queen's visit of 6–16 May to Leicester's house at Wanstead or for her stay at Wanstead (1–2 May 1579). Its Rombus, a local schoolmaster, is the model for Shakespeare's Holofernes; and the famous Shakespearean comedian Richard Tarleton (to whose son PS was godfather) may have played him (Ringler, 362).

#### **Dedications**

Jacobus Falckenburgius, *Saxonis Brandeburgi, Britannia, STC* 10674 (HS). Gabriel Harvey, *Gratulationum Valdinensium, STC* 12901 (PS, book 4).

## References

First publication of Mercator's maps, reprinted in the 1584 Cologne edition of Ptolemy's *Geographiae Libri Octo*, perhaps consulted by PS when drafting the *Arcadia*.

Henri Estienne presents PS with a copy of his edition of Plato in three volumes (Buxton, 58).

Publication of Leicester's Commonwealth.

# 1579

#### January

- 1 HH, MSH, MSD, and PS attend the court at Richmond where they exchange gifts with the queen (Nichols 1823, II.265–77).
- 5 Arrival of Jean Simier in England as Anjou's agent.
- 13 Languet to PS (Languet, LXXI).
- Daniel Rogers addresses a Latin elegy to PS while he is at Ghent with Languet, in which he praises PS's and Dyer's skills in royal verse panegyric and recalls his discussions with PS, Dyer, and Greville on law, religion, and moral philosophy (Dorsten 1962, 175–9).

Casimir's party, including Languet, are escorted up the Thames by PS and HS to the Tower of London. They are taken to Sir Thomas Gresham's house in Bishopsgate Street (*CSPF*, 632).

### **February**

- 1 Casimir watches jousting and running at tilt at Westminster.
- 2 PS jousts with Sir Christopher Hatton (Rowse 1962, 70).
- 8 Casimir is made a Knight of the Garter.
- Casimir and his party leave for home, accompanied by RS1 and Greville, but without any firm agreements of support from Elizabeth (Nichols 1823, II.277). As a parting gift, HS presents Languet with a gold chain costing £45 which he has painted into his portrait (now at Penshurst). Due to the hasty departure of the party, Languet is unable to say goodbye to PS. They would not meet in person again (BL Additional MS 17520/12).
- 23/27(?) Languet from Flushing to PS (Languet, LXXII; Pears, 157–9).

### March

- 9–12 Thomas Golding's account of expenses incurred in carrying RS1's 'stuff and books' from Oxford to London (*DD*, I.271).
- 11 and 16 Languet from Antwerp to PS (Languet, LXXIII-LXXIV).
- (late) Privy Council begin discussions of the Anjou match and it soon becomes a matter for public discussion.

### **April**

- 1 William Davison to PS (SP 83/11/230).
- 7 and 20 Languet to PS (Languet, LXXV-LXXVI).
- The date of E.K.'s prefatory epistle to Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, dedicated to PS by 'Immerito'. Spenser had probably entered Leicester's service at about this time.
- 28 RS1 arrives at Strasbourg and is lodged by Languet in the house of the eminent Zwinglian scholar, Johann Sturm, whose pedagogical theories had influenced Roger Ascham (Pears, 160–3).
- (?) RS1 sets out for his travels on the continent, with an annual stipend of £100, in addition to his usual £20 a year. He is accompanied by his servant, Harry Whyte (*DD*, II.258). In an undated letter PS advises RS1 on making the

most of his forthcoming travels, reminding him that it is difficult to 'know England' without being able to compare it to other countries. As a gentleman, PS continues, RS1 has an obligation to acquire geographical and political information about England's continental neighbours so that he may later be of service to his country (*Prose*, 124–7). Through Languet's connections, during April RS1 meets the Prince of Orange and François de la Noue at Antwerp and Prince John of Nassau at Arnhem. His party then travels to Cologne, Frankfurt and Neustadt where he meets Prince John again (Hay, 34). PS's name is included in the list of those who have still not completed the payment of their subscriptions to Frobisher's ventures (Wallace, 196).

# May

- 1–2 Elizabeth stays at Wanstead with Leicester. PS's 'Lady of May' may have been written for this visit (see also 'Works: 1578').
- 4 Languet from Strasbourg to PS. After this date little is known about RS1's movements during the next twelve months (Pears, 160–3).
- 24 Languet to PS (Languet, LXXVIII).
- (early) Privy Council discuss the specific terms of the Anjou marriage treaty.

### June

- 4 Languet writes to Peter Hubner, who had been appointed as tutor to RS1 at the recommendation of Jean Lobbet, reminding him to be sure to see that his charge learnt German (Wallace, 210–11).
- Privy Council grant Anjou a permit for his visit to England.

# July

10 Edmund Spenser back in London (Maley, 9).

# August

- John Stubbs's *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf*, a fierce attack on the Anjou marriage proposal, delivered to the printer.
- 17 Anjou arrives at Greenwich to begin a personal courtship.
  Marriage seems increasingly likely.

- (mid) Leicester is allowed to return to London and has a personal interview with the queen.
- Mendoza reports that a meeting had been held at HH's London home, Baynard's Castle, at which PS probably agreed to write his letter against the Anjou match (*CSPS*, 693).
- 27 Anjou returns to France.
- PS to Sir Christopher Hatton, expressing his personal loyalty to him and referring to the tennis-court quarrel with the Earl of Oxford (*Prose*, 128).
- (late) PS's notorious tennis-court quarrel with the Earl of Oxford, who favoured the Anjou match. Greville compiles the best known account of their conflict. Sir Walter Raleigh is reported to have carried the challenge from PS to Oxford. Elizabeth orders them to make peace. The ever-cautious Languet warns PS of the risk of Oxford returning with a possé of Frenchmen (Greville 1986, 37–41).
- (?) Simier informs Elizabeth of Leicester's 'secret' marriage to Lettice Knollys. Leicester withdraws from court and is briefly under house arrest at Greenwich before retiring to Wanstead. Mendoza records that MDS is also obliged to withdraw from court at the same time (*CSPS*, 681–2).

# September

- Languet from Cologne to PS (Pears, 163–4).
- 27 Elizabeth issues a proclamation against all those who 'speak evil of Monsieur, the French King's brother' (*Misc. Prose,* 34).
- (?) Publication of Stubbs's *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf,* which is read alongside PS's tract.

#### October

- 5 Spenser enters Leicester's service as a confidential emissary until April 1580. This is the period most likely for Spenser to have made the personal acquaintance of PS who was also staying at Leicester House on a regular basis.
- Languet from Antwerp to PS, concerning the tennis court quarrel with Oxford. He also admires PS's courage in writing against the French match but advises him to be careful not to make himself too unpopular at court (Pears, 164–6).

- 15–16 Spenser to Harvey from Westminster, mentioning that he is in 'some use of familiarity' with PS and Dyer, discussing with them a classical reform of English metre that will bring 'a general surceasing and silence of bald rymers' (Maley, 10).
- Mendoza observes that Leicester and Hatton have been supplying Elizabeth with various tracts attempting to dissuade her from the French match (Wallace, 213). Richard Oge Burke, Earl of Clanrickarde, to PS (SP 63/69/137).
- 27 MSH's eighteenth birthday.
- (?) The Privy Council formally advises the queen against the proposed marriage with Anjou. PS advises George Buchanan of his personal reservations over the Anjou affair (*Misc. Prose*, 34).

#### November

- 3 Stubbs and William Page (an MP who had sent fifty copies of the tract to Sir Richard Greenville for circulation in Cornwall) have their right hands struck off in the market-place at Westminster (Wallace, 220).
- Languet from Antwerp to PS on the possibility of PS joining forces with William of Orange (Pears, 166–9).
- PS participates in the queen's Accession Day tilts (Duncan-Jones, 169).
- 19 RS1's sixteenth birthday.
- 21 Languet to PS (Languet, LXXXII).
- 30 PS's twenty-fifth birthday.
- (?) A preliminary treaty for the Anjou marriage is agreed (Worden 1996, 92).

### December

5 Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* entered in the SR.

#### Undated

Substantial additions are made to Penshurst Place by HS, including the gatehouse and the whole north and west façade (Wallace, 18, 320). HS also commissions a Sidney pedigree, some of which is fictitious, from Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms (*DD*, I.304).

#### Works

PS, 'The Lady of May'; see 'May 1578' and 'Works: 1578'.

(Autumn 1579-spring 1581) PS is probably writing *Arcadia*. MSH is the first recipient of his drafts and PS reminds her in the 1590 dedication:

'you desired me to do it ... it is done only for you, only to you'. 'Your dear self can best witness the manner, being done in loose sheets of paper, most of it in your presence, the rest by sheets sent unto you as fast as they were done' (Robertson, 3). John Aubrey was later told by his great-uncle, Thomas Browne: '[PS] was wont, as he was hunting on our pleasant plains, to take his Table book out of his pocket, and write down his notions as they came into his head, when he was writing his *Arcadia* ...' (Aubrey 1982, 337).

(Autumn?) PS writing'A Letter to Queen Elizabeth', which achieves a wide manuscript circulation but was not printed until 1663 (*Misc. Prose*, 37–43; Beal 1980, Pt 2, 465–6, 485–8; Beal 1998, 110). Worden (1996, 112), proposes a late-summer 1579 date.

#### Dedications

Thomas Churchyard, *A General Rehearsal of Wars, STC* 5235 (epistle to HS).

Lambertus Danaeus, *Geographiam Poeticam* (PS. Daneau also sent a personal copy, via Languet, to PS).

Stephen Gosson, *The School of Abuse*, *STC* 12097 (PS) and *The Ephemerides of Phialo*, *STC* 12093 (PS). PS's *Defence of Poetry* may have been partly prompted by Gosson's *Abuse*; and Thomas Lodge also replied to it in his *Defence of Poetry* (but see *Misc. Prose*, 62).

Philips van Marnix van Ste Aldegonde, *The Bee Hive of the Romish Church, STC* 17445, dedicated by bookseller John Stell (PS). This Puritan satire on the papists was translated by George Gilpin, English agent to the Dutch States, who carried letters from Languet to PS (see also CKS C11/23, Gilpin to RS1, 18 May 1596). PS had met Ste Aldegonde with the Prince of Orange in 1577.

Philipp Melanchthon, *Godly Prayers*, translated and dedicated by Richard Robinson, *STC* 17790.5 (PS, Folger copy). Robinson is given four angels by PS for the dedication of this book and HS gives him 10s for a printed copy (Woudhuysen, 202).

Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender, STC* 23089, 'To his Book' (PS but originally intended for Leicester). Spenser also wrote a lost work called 'Stemma Dudleiana' (Wallace, 228).

*News From the North ... by T.F. Student (not* Francis Thynne), *STC* 24062 (HS).

#### References

Pietro Bizari, Senatus populique Genuensis rerum domi forisque gestarum historiae, Bb3<sup>v</sup>, praises PS's 1577 embassy.

The imprint of a translation of Jacobus Acontius's *Una essortatione al timor di Dio*, states it was the work of John Wolfe, 'servitore de l'illustrissimo signor Filippo Sidnei' (Woudhuysen, 210).

### 1580

January	
(early)	HS goes to Wales as President and PS probably goes briefly
	to Wilton where he considers joining the Prince of Orange
	to gain military experience (Wallace, 220–2).
1	PS presents Elizabeth with a crystal cup and cover as a New
	Year's gift. To his approval, she suspends marriage negotia-
	tions with Anjou (Nichols 1823, II.289).
16	PS back in London (CSPF, 130).
30	Languet impresses upon PS the importance of not antagon-
	izing Anjou or his party (Pears, 169–70).
31	Frederich Schwartz von Ruissingen from Antwerp to
	Walsingham, referring to PS ( <i>CSPF</i> , 144).
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### February

6 and 27 Languet from Antwerp to PS. RS1 is considering service with Prince Casimir's expedition to France, an idea strongly opposed by Languet, who instead recommends that RS1 should move on to Leipzig (Pears, 171–6).

#### March

- Thomas Wilkes writes to HS, concerning the Spanish navy, the death of the King of Portugal, and political developments in Flanders (*DD*, II.91).
- Languet from Antwerp to PS, concerning his hostility towards Anjou (Pears, 176–7).
- PS is again at Wilton (where he is probably based until August 1580), from where he writes to Arthur Atey, Leicester's secretary (*Prose*, 128–9).

# April

- 2 Languet from Antwerp to PS (Pears, 178–80).
- 8 Birth of MSH's son, William Herbert (d.1630) (WH3). His godparents are Elizabeth (represented by the Countess of Warwick), and the Earls of Warwick and Leicester (the latter represented by PS) ('Sidney Psalter').

- 28 Christening of WH3.
- (?) Birth of Mary Talbot, daughter of Gilbert 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, later wife of WH3.

### May

- (early) The Dutch States send an ambassador (with Languet travelling in his party) to Anjou, offering him the sovereignty of the country (Wallace, 221).
- 20(?) HH and MSH hold a dinner for the parish at Wilton, perhaps in celebration of the birth of WH3.
- PS's letter from Wilton to Edward Denny, concerning his reading. The original has been lost but a copy, compiled by John Maunsell (who was at Cambridge with Denny's sons) has survived (Bodl. MS Don.d.152; Buxton 1972, 343–4).
- 24 HS and PS at Wilton for the christening of WH3 (HMC Laing, I.32).

### June

- Walsingham to HS, noting that the queen is unhappy about his visits to Wilton (*DD*, II.91–2).
- Campion is arrested at Dover. After his release from detention he may have been sheltered at Leicester House.

# July

- 8 Walsingham writes to HS, disagreeing with the appointment of Lord Stafford as a councillor in the Marches (*DD*, II.92).
- 15 Arthur Lord Grey de Wilton is appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Spenser is appointed as his secretary at the rate of £10 per half year and leaves London with him (Maley, 12).

## August

- 2 PS from Clarinton to Leicester, noting that he has brought his sister (MSH) home after an unspecified illness. He also apologizes for his continued absence from court because of a heavy cold and lack of money, and suggests that Elizabeth may resent his absence. He is clearly frustrated: 'my only service is speech, and that is stopped' (*Prose*, 129).
- 12 Lord Grey and Spenser arrive at Dublin.
- Obertus (Hubert) Giphanius, the philosopher and philologist, from Strasbourg to RS1 on various academic issues (DD, III.452).

- Languet from Antwerp to PS (Pears, 182–6).
- (?) Walsingham is again ordered by the queen to send a rebuking letter to HS, this time about his lack of action against recusants and rebels in Ireland. Walsingham warns that HS needs to move warily since he is under close scrutiny and Elizabeth seems willing to listen to criticisms of him (Collins, I.76).

# September

HS from Denbigh to his successor in Ireland, Lord Grey, advising a very firm line over the cess, noting that this was the most burdensome aspect of his Irish duties. He also mentions PS's ambitions to serve in Ireland (*DD*, II.93–4).

#### October

- 18 PS's long letter of advice from Leicester House, London, to RS1, recommending Tacitus and complaining about RS1's handwriting: 'you write worse than I, and I write evil enough' (Prose, 130-3; see also 4 March 1597 for RS1's handwriting). PS mentions that he will be sending by February 1581 to RS1 'My toyful book' (probably Old Arcadia) by his secretary, Stephen Le Sieur; and he commends RS's pleasure in music. PS suggests that RS1 should study Xenophon; and he advises RS1 to practise his swordsmanship every day, so as to 'make you a strong man at the Tourney and Barriers'. He should also read Federico Grisone, Claudio Corte and Pasqual Carracciolo on horsemanship. A copy of this letter (Bodl. MS Tanner 169/60) was owned by Sir Stephen Powle, who notes that he and RS1 travelled from Strasbourg to Paris together in 1581 (Woudhuysen, 222).
- Languet to PS, noting of 'A Letter to Queen Elizabeth' that PS was 'ordered to write ... by those whom you were bound to obey' (Languet, XCV).
- 27 MSH's nineteenth birthday.
- Languet to PS about affairs between the Turks and Persians, comments that may have inspired PS's survey of international conflicts in *A&S* 30 (Pears, 190–1).
- HS from Ludlow to RS1, advising him always to follow his brother's guidance (*DD*, II.94–5).

RS1 arrives at Prague, having travelled via Nuremberg, Ingolstadt, Augsberg, Munich and Regensberg (Hay, 40).

#### November

- 1 RS1 from Prague to HS, hoping that he will be able to go to Italy in the next year and then on to France. PS has also written to him, recommending that he should look out for 'any good wars' (*DD*, II.95).
- 19 RS1's seventeenth birthday.
- 20 RS1 from Prague to Joachim Camerarius (Huntington Library MS 20028).
- 29 PS mentions that he is ill in a letter to Sebastian Pardini, the Paris agent of Don Antonio of Portugal (Wallace, 224).
- 30 PS's twenty-sixth birthday.
- (? or later) A stern letter by HS from Baynard's Castle to RS1, thanking him for his letters of 17 September and 9 November (1580?), but complaining about his finances. HS advises RS1 to follow PS's advice on continental travel and to imitate his example in all respects. He approves of RS1 being at Prague and his intention of going to Vienna. But he cannot advise how to plan a trip to Italy, nor would he approve of such a journey in view of the perpetual state of hostilities between Protestant Europe and the Pope. HS also notes that Englishmen are under a prohibition against travelling in Spain, France has endless civil troubles of its own, and the Low Countries are in a state of 'irrecoverable misery'. HS leaves the final decision to RS1 as to whether he should return after seeing Vienna or spend the summer in those parts. He suggests that he should go to Moravia, Silesia and Cracovia; and from thence through Saxon, Holst and Pomerland to Denmark and Sweden, before returning home to winter with HS (DD, II.95-6).

#### Works

PS probably begins *Defence of Poetry*, although it is completed several years later. It survives in two manuscripts: Penshurst (*Pe*), which bears RS1's signature on the flyleaf; and Norwich, Norfolk County Record Office (*N*); and two printed editions (see '1595: Works'). William Temple, PS's secretary, compiled a Latin analysis (*c*.1584–6) of *Defence* (*DD*, I.304).

#### Dedications

Théodore de Bèze, *A Treatise of the Plague*, translated J. Stockwood, *STC* 2046 (HS)

Franciscus Junius, *Grammatica Hebraeae Linguae*, printed by André Wechel (PS).

### References

Edmund Spenser and Gabriel Harvey, *Three Proper, and Witty, Familiar Letters, STC* 23095 (entered SR 30 June), describing Spenser's early contact with PS and Dyer. Harvey refers humorously to an *'areopagus'* of poets and commends MSH's translations.

#### 1581

### January

- PS gives a jewel of gold, 'being a whip, garnished with small diamonds in four rows and cords of small seed pearl' to Elizabeth as a New Year's gift, signifying his absolute submission to her (Nichols 1823, II.301).
- The 'Callophisus Challenge', in which PS takes part, is disputed. It is initiated by Philip Howard, the son of the executed Duke of Norfolk, probably as a means of promoting his current attempts to lay claim to his grandfather's earldom of Arundel. The challenge is notable for the Catholicism of some of its leading participants. The Earl of Oxford appears as the 'Knight of the Tree of the Sun'; and his second (the 'White Knight') is the Catholic Edward, Lord Windsor (whose father PS had met at Venice in 1573–4). Howard (as 'Callophisus') is supported by Sir William Drury (the 'Red Knight'; see 16 October 1575) and PS (as the 'Blue Knight') (Duncan-Jones, 201–5).
- Fabianus Niphus to Dannewitz, the secretary of Archduke Matthias, describing PS as 'a young man of eminent wit and virtue' and noting his political support for them (*CSPF*, 130).
- 16–18 March Third session of Queen Elizabeth's Fourth Parliament, with PS sitting for Shrewsbury. The Catholic threat is debated and recusancy fines are increased by £20 per month. PS serves on committees considering a proposed subsidy (25 January) and slanderous practices (1 February).
- The 'Callophisus Challenge' is held. PS may have written the one surviving speech of the 'Blue Knight', which

deploys animal imagery similar to PS's usage in 'The Lady of May'. Planning for the 'Four Foster Children of Desire' probably begins almost immediately.

Anjou accepts the sovereignty of the Netherlands (Stewart, 235).

### **February**

- 6 Languet to PS (Languet, LXXXIV). PS acknowledges a letter from Jean Hotman, a French Hugenot student at Oxford, assuring him that he would be glad to help him because of his father, François Hotman. Jean is clearly keen to cultivate PS's favour and even writes to his own father, asking if he had one of his works ready to dedicate to PS (Wallace, 260).
- The Earl of Huntington to Burghley about a proposed marriage between Penelope Devereux and Lord Rich (BL Lansdowne MS 31/40). The Scottish humanist George Buchanan writes to Hubert Languet, reminding the latter that they had known each other in the 1560s (Buxton, 51).
- PS from court to Jean Hotman at Oxford (*Prose*, 134).
- 13 and 27 Languet to PS (Languet, LXXXV-LXXXVI).
- Sebastian Pardini from Paris to PS (SP 78/5/19/38).
- Walsingham to HS, concerning the proposed French marriage (Collins, I.286; *DD*, II.96).
- Death of Lord Rich, whose 20-year-old son, Robert, marries Penelope Devereux (1 November).

#### March

12 and 17 Languet to PS (Languet, LXXXVII–LXXXVIII).

- Work begins on a special banqueting house at Whitehall for the visit of Anjou, with a general view that the marriage would now be finalized (Duncan-Jones, 204).
- PS from court to Lady Kitson (formerly Elizabeth Cornwallis), in support of a known recusant (probably Sir Thomas Cornwallis) and states that a 'general mitigation' towards recusants is now intended (*Prose*, 134–5; Woudhuysen, 258).

### **April**

- 2 Languet to PS (Languet, LXXXIX).
- 6 Spanish reports note that HH and Leicester have been ordered by the queen to meet Anjou on his arrival in England (*CSPS*, 92).

- 10–11 Walsingham to Molyneux and HS, seeking an office in Wales for Greville. PS in a note from Baynard's Castle to Molyneux also supports Greville's case and seems to suspect Molyneux's actions (DD, II.96–7; Prose, 135).
- The first defiance of the challengers issued for the scripted tournament (which PS probably helps to co-write), the 'Four Foster Children of Desire', with Philip Howard, Lord Windsor, PS and Greville playing the four challengers (Wallace, 264).
- 17 Anjou's French delegation of some 500 noblemen arrives in England (stays until 14 June).
- The special banqueting house at Whitehall for Anjou's party is finished. On the same day, Philip Howard is reinstated in blood and succession to the Earldom of Arundel.
- Anne Vavasour gives birth to the Earl of Oxford's child, leading to both being imprisoned in the Tower (Duncan-Jones, 204).
- 23-8 May HS at Shrewsbury (Stewart, 38).
- Molyneux from Salop to PS in response to his letter of 10 (Collins, I.293–4).
- (?) Leicester's wife, Lettice, gives birth to a son, thereby depriving PS of his status as his uncle's heir.

# May

- Don Antonio, the base-born younger brother of John III of Portugal (an opponent of Philip II's assumption of the throne of Portugal in 1580) from Tunis to PS, hoping that he will support his cause (*DD*, II.97; *Prose*, 130–3).
- 6 and 22 Languet to PS (Languet, XC–XCI).
- The 'Four Foster Children of Desire' is performed before the queen and the French ambassadors, with Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, Frederick, Lord Windsor, PS, and Greville entering the tiltyard in that order. PS's friends, Edward Denny and Henry Brouncker also take part. Two sonnets (Ringler's PP4 and PP5) may be by PS; if so they are the only ones to be printed during his lifetime. *Astrophil and Stella* 41 and 53 may record PS's successes in this tournament. The former, with its resounding eleventh line, 'nature me a man of arms did make', seems especially relevant. This was perhaps the entertainment for which PS bore the motto, SPERAVI dashed through (Stewart, 235; but see also 17 November 1581).

(?) Astrophil and Stella 8, when 'May, then young', probably refers to this year.

### June

- Walsingham to HS on Greville's behalf (DD, II.97).
- (?) Don Antonio of Portugal unexpectedly appears in England, seeking funds to fit out his fleet. The queen refuses to see him but allows him to lodge at HH and MSH's London home, Baynard's Castle (Wallace, 268).

#### Summer

RS1 crosses to England and probably stays for the entire summer. PS visits Oxford and sees William Gager's Latin play *Meleager* performed. He also becomes interested in the candidacy of Dr Toby Matthew for the Deanery of Durham (Wallace, 267).

## July

- Henry Goldwell enters in the SR the text of the 'Four Foster Children of Desire', published soon afterwards as *A Brief Declaration of the Shows* (see '1581: References').
- 14 William Herle to PS (SP 12/149/161).
- Edward Denny, who had recently been one of the defenders of the Fortress of Beauty in the 'Four Foster Children of Desire', from Dublin to Walsingham, noting his friendship with PS, who was then helping him with his claim for a property called Powerscourt (Wallace, 274).
- 24 Languet to PS (Languet, XCII).

# August

3 Languet to PS (Languet, XCIII).

# September

- HH, PS, and the Earl of Oxford are ordered to accompany Don Antonio's departure from England (*CSPS*, 171–2).
- 24 Languet to PS (Languet, XCIV).
- PS from Dover to Sir Christopher Hatton, where he awaits the impending departure of Don Antonio while steadily running out of money (*Prose*, 135–6). On the same day RS1 leaves England for Paris and then heads back to Strasbourg (Osborn, 541).

Languet dies at Antwerp, tended by Charlotte Arbaleste, Mme du Plessis (Wallace, 278).

#### October

- Don Antonio finally reaches Gravesend and PS brings a message to him from the queen (Wallace, 269). On the same day Jean Lobbet writes to PS. Lobbet was in general charge of RS1 during his stay at the house of Dr Sturm at Strasbourg. He mentions that RS1 is in the company of Charles Zerotin, whose father, Baron Johannes Zerotin, PS had met at Brno (see 25 May 1579; Osborn, 541–2).
- 6 Edward Denny from Powerscourt to Walsingham, referring to Frances Walsingham and to 'my matchless [that is, punning on peerless and without a wife] Master Mr. Sidney' (SP 63/86/15).
- PS, back in London, writes to Burghley to support his suit with the queen for '£100 a year in impropriations' (*Prose*, 136–7). On the same day RS1 is recorded at Paris by Sir Henry Cobham, English Ambassador, in a letter to Walsingham. Cobham observes that RS1 is like his elder brother, but with much spirit and capacity for action. RS1 is also deemed to have an eye for the main chance which PS seemed to lack (*CSPF*, 336). RS1 may have remained in France, touring various locations, until PS arrived there in 1583, while accompanying Anjou to Antwerp.
- Birth of MSH's daughter, Katherine (Catherine) Herbert (d.1584). HS stands as godfather and the Countess of Huntingdon and Lady Anne Askew as godmothers ('Sidney Psalter').
- PS from court to Sir Christopher Hatton, in support of Denny's suit for Powerscourt (*Prose*, 137).
- 22 and 28 Languet to PS (Languet, XCV–XCVI)(?).
- 27 MSH's twentieth birthday.
- (?) Birth of Lucy Harington (d. 1627), later wife of Edward Russell, Earl of Bedford, and a close friend of WH3.

### November

Anjou reaches London to finalize the marriage negotiations. Discussions seem to proceed well. Elizabeth is seen to kiss him on the mouth and she gives him a ring (*CSPS*, 226). After some three weeks, in the presence of Leicester

- and Walsingham, the queen announces that she will marry Anjou (although she then demands the restitution of Calais).
- PS from Baynard's Castle to Hatton, asking him to secure Elizabeth's signature in his 'book ready drawn and prepared for her' (*Prose*, 137–8).
- Perhaps the Accession Day tilts in which PS bears the motto, SPERAVI dashed through following the birth in April of Robert Dudley (d.1584), Leicester's only legitimate son (but see 15/16 May 1581). PS tilts against Sir Henry Lee and the description of Andromana's tournament in *Arcadia* may have been inspired by this competition. But one manuscript bears the word 'not' against his name, which may indicate that PS did not tilt (Skretkowicz, xv).
- 19 RS1's eighteenth birthday.
- 30 PS's twenty-seventh birthday.

#### December

- Execution of Edmund Campion at Tyburn as a Jesuit martyr.
- PS from Wilton to Walsingham, referring to 'my exceeding like to be good friend' (probably Frances, Walsingham's daughter) and recommending the bearer of the letter who is a servant of RS1 (*Prose*, 139).
- PS from Salisbury to Sir Christopher Hatton, following the queen's offer to PS of some of the lands forfeited by Catholics (*Prose*, 139).
- PS stays at Wilton for the Christmas festivities and writes from Salisbury to Leicester from there (*Prose*, 140).
- PS from Salisbury to Leicester, requesting £3,000 and lamenting that the only source of funds offered to him by the queen was recusancy fines: 'I think my fortune very hard that my reward must be built upon other men's punishments' (*Prose*, 140–1).

#### Works

(Spring?) The first draft of *Arcadia* is probably now completed, with more time in 1581–82 devoted to its revision before PS starts his second version, *New Arcadia* (Robertson, xvii).

#### Dedications

William Blandy, The Castle, or Picture of Policy, STC 3128 (PS).

John Derrick, *The Image of Ireland* (1581), *STC* 6734 (PS), with 12 folding woodcuts of HS on his 1575 progress through Ireland, preserved only in the Edinburgh University Library copy. A 'Master Derrick', a surgeon, served RS1 in the Low Countries from 1597–1601. Its woodcuts, dedication to PS, hostility towards Catholicism and

Its woodcuts, dedication to PS, hostility towards Catholicism and support for militant Protestantism may be compared with Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*.

Henri Estienne (ed.), H. Herodiani historiae libri VIII (PS).

Scipione Gentili, Paraphrasis aliquot psalmorum Davidis, STC 11730 (PS).

William Hopkinson, *A Preparation into the Way of Life, STC* 13774 (HS). Thomas Howell, *Devises, STC* 13875 (MSH), 'this slender work of your servant, which as I did write at idle times in your house' contains  $(E4^v-F1^r)$  the first published reference to *Arcadia*. Howell was employed as a lady's servant in the Herbert and Talbot households.

### References

Henry Goldwell, *A Brief Declaration, STC* 11990, details the performance of 'Four Foster Children of Desire', including PS among the participants, and printing two poems possibly by him: 'Yield, yield, O yield' and 'Alarm, alarm, here will no yielding be' (Stump, 68).

Duplessis-Mornay's *Traité de la vérité de la religion Chrestienne*, which PS may have previously seen in manuscript and even discussed with its author.

François Perrot's *Psalmi di David* (with music; complete edition, 1603). Perrot was a friend and correspondent of PS.

Thomas Watson, *The Passionate Century of Love, STC* 25118a, 2<sup>r-v</sup>, claims that PS and Dyer are the arbiters of taste at court.

### 1582

### January

- Anjou takes part in the barriers and is led into the tiltyard on a chariot drawn by Love and Fate, bound by golden chains.
- 8 HS makes a new will (see 20 August 1575), leaving a Lincolnshire manor to RS1, a similar bequest to Thomas, and the rest to PS (Collins, I.96).
- Leicester's will (later superseded) allocates £2,000 to supporting a match between PS and Dorothy Rich (Penelope's younger sister) (Longleat, Dudley MS, 3/56).

## **February**

- Anjou's escort on his departure from London to Canterbury includes the Vice-Admiral Lord Howard, Leicester, Raleigh, Greville, Dyer and PS.
- 7 Anjou leaves England, with PS in his party, for Flushing where he is welcomed by William of Orange. Leicester meets Orange for the first time.
- Anjou is installed as Duke of Brabant at Antwerp, effectively marking the end of English marriage negotiations (Nichols 1823, II.343–50).
- 21 Sebastiano Pardini to PS (SP 78/5/38).

#### March

- (early) PS probably meets RS1 at either Flushing or Antwerp. It is possible that they then return to England together at some point during March–May.
- Joachim Camerarius from Mentz to RS1, with political news (*DD*, II.99).

### **April**

- 10 Charles de Fremyn from Antwerp to Walsingham, hoping that a contingent of cavalry might be sent from England under the command of PS (*CSPF*, 624–5, 633).
- HS is again considering service in Ireland, 'that accursed country', primarily as a means of finding some suitable career for PS. He has Molyneux draw up some specific demands in 'Certain special notes to be imparted to Mr. Philip Sidney' and proposes that PS would accompany him to Ireland and eventually succeed him (*DD*, II.97–8).

### May

- Don Antonio to PS (CKS LD/1161/20).
- Joachim Camerarius from Nuremberg to RS1, who is now back in London, with greetings to PS (*DD*, II.99).

### June

6 HS from Hereford to Thomas Sackford, Master of Requests, on behalf of two men indicted for killing a drunkard (*DD*, II.98).

# July

6 S. Scory to George Hopton about his misunderstanding with PS (*DD*, II.98).

- PS granted (for free trade, land exploitation, and colonizing) three million acres of as yet undiscovered lands in North America, along with related grants to Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard, in return for seeking approval from Elizabeth for future voyages by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. RS1 probably also becomes interested in New World speculation through PS's enthusiasm for Gilbert's 1583 voyage to Newfoundland, which he annexes but where he leaves no colonists. He drowns on the homeward voyage.
- PS and HS at Hereford, apparently seeking Burghley's support for PS's appointment to the Welsh Council. PS writes to Molyneux, seeking his assistance in securing this office (*Prose*, 141).

## September

(?) Jean Hotman to PS (BN Lat.8586/85).

#### October

27 MSH's twenty-first birthday.

#### November

- PS from court to Burghley on business for HS. He also refers to the death of his close friend William Wentworth (Burghley's son-in-law) a week earlier (*Prose*, 142).
- 19 RS1's nineteenth birthday.
- 30 PS's twenty-eighth birthday.

#### Undated

Thomas Sidney enters Shrewsbury School (Wallace, 282). (*c*.1582/83) RS1 from court to Edmund Molyneux, seeking an unnamed office (CKS C7/17).

#### Dedications

Luis Gutierrez de la Vega, *A Compendious Treatise ... De re militari*, translated/dedicated Nicholas Lichfield, *STC* 12538 (PS).

Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America* (map by Michael Lok, a London Levant merchant, separately dedicated to PS), *STC* 1624 (PS). Hakluyt praises PS's interest in voyages and argues for English colonization of North America and the continued search for a north-west passage. John Florio contributes a translation from Ramusio for the same volume.

John Leland, *Life of Prince Arthur*, translated/dedicated by Richard Robinson, *STC* 15441 (HS).

Charles de L'Ecluse, *Simplicium medicamentorum historiae* (PS), based upon Monardes's Spanish work on the flora of the New World.

#### 1583

### **January**

- PS presents the queen with 'a jewel of gold like a castle, garnished with small diamonds on the one side, being a pot to set flowers in' as a New Year's gift (Nichols 1823, II.396).
- 13(?) PS knighted so that he is of sufficient rank to stand proxy for Count Casimir's installation *in absentia* as a Knight of the Garter at Windsor on 10 January, which HS also attends (Bodl. MS Ashmole 1110/56).
- PS seeks Burghley's support for the Earl of Warwick's desire to install him as co-Master of Ordnance (*Prose*, 142–3). Walsingham requests this joint-patency from the Solicitor-General, Sir Thomas Egerton (14 February).

## **February**

Burghley from Westminster to Walsingham, commending the marriage plan for Frances with PS. Walsingham has an undesired suitor for Frances, John Wickerson, committed to the Marshalsea (*DD*, I.272–3).

#### March

- HS's 'Apologia pro vita sua' letter to Walsingham, defining his sons as 'one of excellent good proof [PS], the second of great good proof [RS1], and the third not to be despaired of but very well to be liked [Thomas]'. He also writes of his own dire financial position, stating that if he suddenly died he would leave his sons £20,000 worse off than his own father had left him and £30,000 worse off than he had been at the death of Edward VI (SP 12/159/38; pr. as 'Memoir').
- 8 Jean Hotman to PS (BN Lat.8586/101).
- 9 Birth of MSH's daugher, Anne Herbert (d.1606?). Her godparents were Lord Chandos, the Countess of Warwick and Lady Anne Talbot ('Sidney Psalter').

- 19 Walsingham describes to Hatton how Elizabeth has taken 'offence' at the marriage plans for PS and Frances (BL Additional MS 15891/4–5).
- Dyer to Walsingham, concerning PS's candidacy for the captaincy of the Isle of Wight (SP 12/159/47).
- (?) HS and MDS visit Shrewsbury and its school for about 10 days (Wallace, 282, 363).

## April

Report that Elizabeth is still displeased with the proposed marriage of PS and Frances Walsingham (*HMC Rutland*, 1.149).

### May

- 7 The queen begins to accept PS's proposed marriage (HMC Rutland, 1.150).
- 19 Lobbet from Strasbourg to Walsingham, congratulating him on the proposed union of PS and Frances and asking to be remembered to both PS and RS1 (*CSPF*, 355).
- (?) The Polish prince Albert Laski visits England and meets with Leicester (PS had met him at Venice). He then moves to Oxford with the French ambassador, Castelnau, and his guest Giordano Bruno. PS hears Bruno dispute with the rector of Lincoln College (Stewart, 253).

### June

- The French ambassador at London, Castelnau, to Mary Queen of Scots, suggesting that Elizabeth's hostility towards PS's marriage might have alienated him and thereby make him more friendly towards Mary (HMC Salisbury, III.3).
- PS accompanies Laski on a visit to John Dee (Dee 1842, 20).
- Sir John Harington of Kelston, an early collector of PS's works in manuscript, inherits his father's estate and literary papers (Woudhuysen, 343). Burghley to HS about the Otford estate (Collins, I.297).

## July

PS transfers about 30 per cent of his land rights in North America to Sir George Peckham (SP 12/165/35). Charles de

Fremyn from Antwerp to Walsingham, referring to PS (*CSPF*, 11).

- PS from the house of his sister MSH at Ramsbury to Burghley, concerning his pursuit of a joint-patency with the Earl of Warwick as Master of Ordnance. Ultimately, he only gains a subordinate role as one of Warwick's officers (*Prose*, 143). (?) Philippe Duplessis-Mornay writes to PS (Sorbonne MS 361/103).
- (?) Henry of Navarre's agent, Ségur, comes to England, hoping to persuade the queen to make an open alliance with the French and Dutch Protestants. He also has a letter of introduction from du Plessis to PS. They visit Wilton and Ramsbury towards the end of the month and PS introduces Ségur to Archibald Douglas, then representing James VI at the English court (HMC Salisbury, III.8).

## September

21 PS marries Frances Walsingham and takes up residence at Walsingham House ('Sidney Psalter').

#### October

27 MSH's twenty-second birthday.

#### November

- 19 RS1's twentieth birthday.
- 30 PS's twenty-ninth birthday.
- (?) Arrest of Francis Throckmorton for the Catholic plot to depose Elizabeth with French aid, leading to the crowning of Mary Queen of Scots and the restoration of Catholicism in England. The Earl of Northumberland is also implicated and sent to the Tower. Burghley's tract, *Execution of Justice in England*, justifies the death penalty for Catholic priests.

### December

- 5/6 Antonio da Veigua, Don Antonio's agent, to Walsingham and PS (SP 89/2/25).
- 6 Thomas Wotton sends the only known extant letter to MSH (Wotton 1960, 59–60).
- PS from Walsingham's house to the Earl of Rutland, with brief news about the queen, Northumberland, the Scottish queen, and the ambassadors of Spain and France (*Prose*, 144).

#### Dedications

Gervase Babington, *A Brief Conference Betwixt Man's Frailty and Faith, STC* 1081 (MSH); and *A Very Fruitful Exposition of the Commandments, STC* 1095 (HH). In the dedication to WH3 and PH of his *Works,* 1615, *STC* 1077, Babington recalled how he had first come to Wilton in the early 1580s when HH had sent to Cambridge for a suitable family chaplain.

#### 1584

### January

9 Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, is expelled from England for complicity in Throckmorton Plot.

### **February**

- 7 Sir Arthur Basset advises Sir Edward Stradling of PS's interest in a musician, Thomas Richards, who performed on the harp in Stradling's household (Stradling 1840, 239).
- A supper party is held at Greville's house (described in the dedication of Bruno's *Cena delle ceneri*). Guests include Giordano Bruno, John Florio, Matthew Gwinne and (possibly) PS.
- (and March) PS is embroiled in a dispute with Sir Edward Maunsell over goods saved from a shipwreck at 'Havodsporth' (Wallace, 303).

#### March

6 PS to Walsingham on behalf of a 'captain Goh' (*Prose*, 144).

# May

PS from court to William Temple, thanking him for his book and letter (*Prose*, 145; see '1584: Dedications').

#### **June**

PS is involved in matters of the Ordnance for the defence of southern England against Spanish invasion (Wallace, 306–7).

Death of Anjou, creating a succession problem in France since there was no Valois heir to succeed the childless Henri III. The Protestant Huguenot Henri de Navarre was the heirapparent raising the fear of a civil war in a predominantly Catholic country.

- François Perrot de Messières from Bièvres to Walsingham, referring to PS (*CSPF*, 559).
- Nicolo Carenzone to PS (SP 83/22/22).
- The Prince of Orange, Spain's major opponent in the Low Countries, is assassinated at Delft by Balthasar Gérard. The queen sends PS to the French court, ostensibly to offer condolences on Anjou's death but also to explore an Anglo-French alliance against Spain in the Low Countries. The deaths of Anjou and Orange lead to England's direct involvement in the Dutch wars.

### July

- 8 PS's instructions drawn up for his French embassy. He sets out on 10 for Gravesend but a messenger brings a change of plan (BL Cotton MS Galba E.vi.241; *CSPF*, 601–2).
- Death of Robert Dudley, Baron Denbigh, Leicester's only legitimate son. PS is again the heir to Leicester and Warwick.
- 21 (1584?) PS from court to Sir Edward Stafford, English Ambassador at Paris (from October 1583): 'We are half persuaded to enter into the journey of Sir Humphrey Gilbert very eagerly, whereunto your Mr Hakluyt hath served for a very good trumpet' (*Prose*, 145). Although this letter is usually dated 1584, Gilbert had drowned on 31 August (9 September) and news reached England on 22 September 1583. Wallace, 287, suggests that PS was referring to the 1584 voyage of Gerrard and Peckham.
- The ambassadors sent to France by the revolting Dutch provinces are advised at Rouen of Henri III's refusal of their offer of the sovereignty of the Netherlands (*DD*, III.v).

## August

Sir Edward Stafford from Paris expresses his concerns to Cecil over PS's intrigues with (probably) Leicester. Stafford's wife, Douglas Sheffield, had been Leicester's mistress and had borne him a son (*CSPF*, 19–20).

### Summer/Autumn?

The libellous *Leicester's Commonwealth*, so titled in the 1641 and later editions, is printed in France and smuggled into England, prompting PS's 'Defence of the Earl of Leicester' (see '1584: Works'). It is incon-

clusively attributed to the Jesuit Robert Parsons but Walsingham suspects that the author was Thomas Morgan, Mary Queen of Scots's agent at Paris, and that he was helped by Lord Paget, Charles Arundel and Sir Thomas Tresham, all Catholic exiles living in France. This fits with the design of the tract, cast as a dialogue between four gentleman. Sir Edward Stafford may also have been involved in its drafting (*Misc. Prose*, 123–5; Stewart, 160–1).

### September

- Death of John Gamage of Coity. His only daughter and heiress, Barbara (BGS), was already betrothed to Herbert Croft, the grandson of the controller of the royal household but the Sidneys received permission from her custodian, Sir Edward Stradling, to pursue RS1's suit. Barbara was a first cousin of Sir Walter Raleigh and Charles Lord Howard of Effingham. She was also related to the Careys (Kelliher and Duncan-Jones 1975, 118).
- Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur du Bartas, from Montauban to Anthony Bacon, soliciting his and PS's help in having his letters presented to the queen (BL Cotton MS Nero B.vi.288).
- 17 Sir James Croft accuses Stradling of holding Barbara as 'a prisoner' at his Glamorgan house.
- Walsingham advises Stradling that Barbara must be brought to court and that she must not 'entangle herself for marriage with any man'.
- Walsingham advises Stradling that he would personally approve of a match between RS1 and Barbara. HH was apparently involved in the negotiations, providing part of the £6,000 bond as Barbara's jointure. Charles Howard, 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord Chamberlain, writes to Stradling, warning that no marriage arrangement should be concluded without the queen's approval.
- The marriage of BGS (then aged 22) to RS1 takes place in the chapel of St Donat's Castle, Stradling's home, in the presence of HH. The queen's messenger, forbidding the marriage, arrives just too late. RS1 is then appointed as knight of the shire for Glamorgan (Hay, 42, 171).
- News of the marriage has still not reached court when Raleigh writes to Stradling about Barbara on behalf of the queen. Charles Howard writes again, complaining about Stradling's silence. He was probably acting in the interests

of Sir James Croft, the controller of the queen's household, who wanted Barbara for his own grandson, Herbert Croft (Stradling 1840, 3–42).

#### October

- Third birthday of Katherine Herbert (b.1581), daughter of HH and MSH, followed by her death on 16 and burial on 17 ('Sidney Psalter').
- Birth of Philip Herbert (PH), later 4th Earl of Pembroke, the second son of HH and MSH. MDS, PS and RS1 stand as godparents at Wilton. PS's wife, Frances, was presumably also present. Aubrey later recorded that a Mr Long of Draycot told him that old men reported that 'there was so great love' between PS and MSH that they 'lay together, and it was thought the first Philip Earl of Pembroke was begot by him'. (*Aubrey* 1982, 220). This scandalous rumour may have originated either as anti-Leicester propaganda in the 1580s or as a royalist attack upon PH during the 1640s.
- 27 MSH's twenty-third birthday.

#### November

- PS is prominent in the Accession Day tilts against Sir Henry Lee when they each broke all six lances upon one another.
- 19 RS1's twenty-first birthday.
- 23–29 March 1585 Queen Elizabeth's Fifth Parliament. PS is (probably) elected as the MP for Kent. Debates consider the succession and involve Mary Queen of Scots. Acts against Jesuits and seminary priests.
- 30 PS's thirtieth birthday.

#### December

- 6 PS, RS1 and Greville take part in a staged sword fight between ten married men and ten bachelors (Bodl. MS Ashmole 845/16).
- Edward Bannister receives a poem which he endorses: 'A ditty made by Sir Philip Sidney given me at Putney in Surrey' (*Certain Sonnets* 30, 'Ring out your bells'; BL Additional MS 28253/3).
- (?) The Treaty of Joinville between Spain and the French Catholic League is agreed, creating an alliance to prevent the succession of Henry of Navarre to the French throne.

#### Works

PS's 'A Discourse in Defence of the Earl of Leicester' is written and circulated in manuscript, in response to *The Copy of a Letter ... about ... the Earl of Leicester*. The 'Defence' ends with a forceful challenge: 'And from the date of this writing, imprinted and published, I will three months expect thine answer'.

#### **Dedications**

Timothy Bright, *In physicam Gulielmi Adolphi Scribonii* ... *Animadversiones, STC* 3745 (PS), recalling how he and PS had been caught up in the St Bartholemew's Day Massacre in Paris in 1572.

Giordano Bruno, *Lo Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* ('Paris', that is, London), *STC* 3940 (PS). A work of moral philosophy later adapted by Thomas Carew for his masque *Coelum Britannicum* (danced at court, Shrove Tuesday 1634). The dedication solicited PS's support for Henri III of France.

Caradoc of Llancarfan, *The History of Cambria*, translated Humphrey Lloyd/Lhuyd, *STC* 4606 (edited/dedicated to PS by David Powel who had been encouraged in the work and supplied with manuscript materials by HS). Languet tried to read this work in Vienna but fell asleep and knocked over his lamp which burnt the unbound book (Buxton, 97).

Scipione Gentili, Davidis psalmos epicae paraphrases, STC 11731 (PS).

Pierre de la Ramée, *Dialectica*, edited William Temple, *STC* 15243 (PS). Dedication dated 4 February, from Lincoln. PS acknowledged the dedication in a letter sent in May 1584. Temple became PS's secretary in November 1585 and held him in his arms as he died at Arnhem. He received a legacy of £30 and contributed to the Cambridge volume of elegies.

Thomas Lodge, *An Alarum Against Usurers, STC* 16653 (PS), who may have seen a manuscript of *Arcadia*. WH1 stood as godfather to one of Lodge's brothers in 1563.

Torquato Tasso, *Plutonis concilium*, translated Scipione Gentili, *STC* 23072 (PS).

## References

Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur du Bartas, Second Semaine, names PS, More, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Queen Elizabeth as the four pillars of the English language.

#### 1585

### January

The date written by RS1 in his copy of Lipsius's 1585 edition of Tacitus (BL C.142 e.13), with annotations in his hand and his personal motto: 'Fata viam invenient'.

#### March

- 3 Sir Edward Stafford, ambassador at Paris, advises Walsingham that the French had refused assistance to the revolting Dutch provinces (*DD*, III.vii).
- 7–9 Following Henri III's rejection of the sovereignty of the Low Countries, Queen Elizabeth advises William Davison (English agent in the Low Countries) that she will not abandon the revolting Dutch provinces, provided she is granted as security the cautionary towns of Flushing, Brill and Enckhuysen (DD, III.viii).
- 9–11 Leicester, Burghley and Walsingham meet with Joachim Ortel (agent for Holland) and Jacques de Grise (bailiff of Bruges) (*DD*, III.vii–ix).
- Ortel and de Grise meet Queen Elizabeth, with Walsingham and Lord Chamberlain Howard, to discuss English support. This leads to several weeks of urgent negotiations over terms among the Dutch provinces (*DD*, III.ix–x).
- Anthony Bacon informs Walsingham that Henri of Navarre has sent a (now lost) letter to PS (SP 78/3/161).
- (?) PS's last visit to Wilton (Duncan-Jones, 270).

# Spring

(?) PS is engaged in plans for hostilities against the Spanish, including the seizure of Nombre de Dios, or some other port, as a base for English fighting operations and the establishment of an English colony. Raleigh's second expedition is also being fitted out. His first of 1584 had discovered Virginia. It is rumoured that PS might command the second expedition but Sir Richard Grenville is substituted in his place. Ralph Lane, who had served HS in Ireland, is appointed Governor of the Virginia colony (Wallace, 318).

## April

- PS to Peter Beutterlich, chief councillor to John Casimir, Count Palatine (Levy 1966, 248–51)
- (?)–June PS acts as an intermediary between the queen and the exiled Scottish lords, including Mar, Angus and Glamis, who had tried unsuccessfully to seize James in the spring of 1584. He also maintains contact with Edward Wotton, who is sent as ambassador to Edinburgh in April. PS becomes a strong supporter of the proposal to grant an English pension to James (Wallace, 320–1; Woudhuysen, 301).

## May

- The revolting Dutch provinces agree a unified and positive response to Queen Elizabeth's terms for support, including the offer of sovereignty of the United Provinces (although there was some hesitancy over granting such an important military location as Flushing to her) (DD, III.x).
- PS from court to Burghley, responding to a summons from the queen for an interview at the Tower (*Prose*, 146).
- PS from court to Walsingham, in support of 'Mr John Peiton's' bill to 'Mr Nikasius' (*Prose*, 146–7).
- Edward Wotton is employed by the queen to negotiate an alliance with James VI (*Misc. Prose, 218*). Walsingham forwards a letter on the discussions from PS (Stewart, 263).
- The 'Articles of Instruction to the Delegates', detailing the requirements for English support of the revolting provinces, are finalized (*DD*, III.xiii).

## June

- PS is appointed joint (with the Earl of Warwick) Master of the Ordnance, with a salary of £200 per annum (Wallace, 290).
- Dutch delegation arrives at Margate, reaches London on 26, and is taken to the court at Greenwich on 29 for an audience with Elizabeth (*DD*, III.xiv).
- Privy Council informs the Lord Mayor of London of Elizabeth's disapproval of libels against Leicester (*CSPD*, 248).
- 30 Elizabeth agrees to help the revolting provinces but declines their offer of sovereignty (*DD*, III.xv).
- (?) PS is in negotiations with Ortel, the Dutch envoy at London, over English intervention in the Low Countries (Wallace, 329–30).

# July

For most of this month detailed negotiations take place at Walsingham's, Burghley's and Lord Lumley's London houses over English assistance for the Dutch (*DD*, III.xvi–xvii).

- 8 Philippe Duplessis-Mornay writes to PS (Sorbonne, 363/69–70; Stump, 77).
- PS is mentioned as a likely leader of military forces to the Low Countries (*HMC Rutland*, 1.177).
- The Dutch delegates meet Elizabeth at Nonsuch to begin the process of finalizing the terms of English support (*DD*, III.xx).

### August

- Treaty of Nonsuch agrees the level of English aid to be given the Dutch and their guarantees, including the English being given the cautionary towns of Brill and Flushing and the fort at Rammekins (*DD*, III.xxii).
- 12 Ralph Lane, Governor of the English planters in Virginia, writes to PS from Roanoke (PRO CO1/1/15).
- Thomas Milles reports that PS is 'little at the court' (Stewart, 263).
- Roger Williams to PS (SP 84/3/22).
- An agreement is reached for the English to send forces to the Low Countries, with the cautionary towns of Flushing and Brill to be given over in exchange. Leicester is to head the military forces, with PS as his deputy and governor of Flushing (Stewart, 265).
- 28 Stephen Le Sieur to PS (SP 84/3/73).
- (?) PS makes an unsuccessful attempt to join Drake's expedition at Plymouth. He also seeks a command for Harry Whyte who had accompanied his continental travels (Folger Shakespeare Library MS L.b.344/2).

# September

- PS is still attempting to secure an English pension for James and looking after the exiled Scottish lords. No specific meeting between PS and James is recorded but Greville suggests that a strong bond developed between them (Wallace, 321–2).
- 7 Don Antonio arrives at Plymouth and is entertained, with PS, by Lady Elizabeth Drake on her Devonshire estate.

Rumours circulate as to whether PS will accompany Drake on his West Indies and Americas voyage (*CSPS*, 550; *HMC Rutland*, I.178).

- Walsingham describes PS's thwarted attempt to join Drake's fleet at Plymouth (SP 84/3/73; CSPS, 550). PS had set out for Plymouth, on the pretext of meeting Don Antonio there, but really to join Drake. PS was interested in establishing English colonies in the West Indies and America as a means of challenging Spanish dominance.
- Drake's fleet finally sets out, with PS and Greville aboard the *Elizabeth Bonaventura*, although they were soon obliged to disembark (BL Cotton MS Otho E.viii.229).
- 21 PS assures the queen that he did not intend to sail with Drake (*HMC Rutland*, I.180).
- The Dutch write to Leicester confirming that the States of Zeeland wished to have PS appointed as their governor (*Legend*, 260).
- Roger Williams from Bergen-op-Zoom to PS, concerning PS's imminent arrival in the Low Countries (SP 84/3/201–4).

#### October

- 13 Lady Katherine Paget to PS (*HMC Salisbury*, III.70).
- William Davison to PS (SP 84/4/108).
- 27 MSH's twenty-fourth birthday.
- (?) PS's secretary, Stephen Le Sieur, is captured in the Low Countries and not released until spring 1587 (Woudhuysen, 216).

### November

- (early) PS's daughter, Elizabeth is probably born. Earlier sources give the birth as 31 January 1585 (drawing upon Hunter's 'Chorus Vatum', BL Additional MS 24490/18). In March 1600 Rowland Whyte mentions Elizabeth reaching the age of 21 'which will not be yet these 6 years', suggesting a birthdate sometime after March 1585 (Collins, II.7, 174).
- Patent signed appointing PS governor of Flushing and Rammekins (SP 84/5/4–5). RS1 also to serve under Sir John Norris, the colonel-general of the expedition. RS1's letter from Baynard's Castle to Norris, dated only 'this

- Wednesday', may date from this period (Bodl. MS St. Amand 8/69; CSPF, 130).
- PS prepares for embarkation and writes from Gravesend to Elizabeth, presenting a cipher of his own devising (*Prose*, 147).
- William Davison to PS concerning the depressing conditions at Flushing (SP 84/5/75).
- PS and RS1 sail for Flushing and arrive in Zeeland near the Rammekins fort since bad weather prevents his ship from landing at Flushing as planned (*Legend*, 28).
- 19 RS1's twenty-second birthday.
- 20 PS's daughter, Elizabeth, is christened at St Olave's, Hart Street, near Walsingham House with Elizabeth as godmother. Leicester may also have been a godparent (Stewart, 275).
- 21 PS dines at the State House at Middelburg.
- PS is sworn in as Governor at the States of Zeeland's House at Middelburg (SP 84/5/57). He also writes from Flushing a long letter to Leicester, giving his immediate analysis of the military and political situation, and highlights the gross inadequacy of the garrison (*Prose*, 147–9). RS1 from Flushing to Walsingham (SP 84/5/98–9)
- PS is at Middelburg and receives the States' oath to himself as Governor of Flushing and to Queen Elizabeth (Levy 1969, 180). He stays at Flushing, in a house rented from the local magistrate, Jacques Gelée, to muster the garrison and inspect the fortifications and sends RS1 to Ostend for the same purpose (CSPF, 177–8). PS from Flushing to Walsingham (Prose, 150).
- 27 PS from Flushing to Walsingham (*Prose*, 150).
- 29 RS1 from Ostend to Leicester and Walsingham, about the depressing state of its fortifications (SP 84/5/129–32).
- 30 PS's thirty-first birthday.

### December

- 1 PS from Flushing to Walsingham (*Prose*, 150–1).
- PS from Flushing to William Davison, concerning military units and their finance (*Prose*, 151).
- Leicester, with Thomas Sidney, sets out from Harwich and reaches Flushing, where a banquet for him is hosted by PS and Count Maurice (BL Additional MS 48014/149).

- Leicester and PS leave Flushing, inspect troops at the Rammekins Fort, and reach Middelburg (Bruce 1844, xi). PS from Middelburg to Burghley (*Prose*, 152). Leicester (perhaps with PS) then proceeds to Williamstaede, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Delft and The Hague.
- PS from Middelburg to Walsingham concerning the military situation and refers to his mother-in-law, Lady Walsingham, as 'my best mother' (*Prose*, 153–5).
- PS from Middelburg to Walsingham, recommending Monsieur Gelée, PS's host at Flushing (*Prose*, 155).
- PS from Middelberg to Walsingham, recommending another unnamed individual (*Prose*, 156).
- An English party, including PS, boards ships to sail to Dordrecht but they are held up until 20 (Monday) by fog (CSPF, 243).
- 18(?) RS1 from Flushing to Walsingham (SP 84/5/228).
- PS from Flushing to Sir Moyle Finch, requesting a horse for service in his band of horsemen (*Prose*, 156). States of Zeeland to PS (BL MS Cotton Galba C.viii.233).
- 21 PS and the English party arrive at Dordrecht (CSPF, 243, 245).
- Leicester from Delft to Walsingham, describing his progress with PS (BL Harley MS 285/171).
- PS arrives at The Hague, where Leicester is officially welcomed by the States General and the States of Holland (SP 84/5/155–7).

#### **Undated**

Various additions are made to the north and west fronts of Penshurst by HS, including a stone tablet above the great doors over the archway beneath the King's Tower, recording the gift of the house and the manor by Edward VI to 'his trusty and well-beloved servant' Sir William Sidney (Wallace, 18, 320).

#### **Dedications**

Giordano Bruno, *De Gl' Heroici Furori* ('Paris', that is, London), *STC* 3937 (PS). An anti-Petrarchan discourse on love, perhaps suggesting that Bruno knew of *Astrophil and Stella*.

Christopher Clifford, *The School of Horsemanship*, STC 5415 (PS). PS recommends to RS1 that he should practise the blow as well as the thrust with the sword daily, so as to 'make you a strong man at the Tourney and Barriers'.

Scipione Gentili, *Nereus sive de natali Elizabethae*. *P. Sydnaei filiae* (on birth of PS's daughter, Elizabeth), *STC* 11729 (PS).

Alberico Gentili, *De legationibus, libri tres, STC* 11737 (PS, who is represented as the ideal ambassador), also praising Dyer's friendship with PS (\*4).

The Declaration of the King of Navarre (Henri IV), STC 13106 (PS).

Nicolas de Nicolay, *The Navigations ... Made into Turkey*, translated T. Washington and dedicated by John Stell, *STC* 18574 (HS, PS).

Ludovicus Virunius Ponticus, *Britannicae historiae libri sex* (ed. Geoffrey of Monmouth), *STC* 20109, dedicated by editor, David Powel (HS, PS). Simon Robson, *The Choice of Change, STC* 21131.5 (PS, RS1, HH).

Tacitus, *La vita di Giulio Agricola, STC* 23649 (RS1). Dedicated by Giovanni Maria Manelli who says he has 'long known how high a place of honour the name of Sidney holds throughout Europe' (Buxton, 69).

### References

William Gager, In Guil. Parry proditorem odæ et epigrammata, STC 19340, praises PS.

Les Tragedies de Robert Garnier (Paris) (MSH translated Garnier's Antonie). The Praise of Nothing, STC 7383 (attributed to Edward Dyer), including part of the *ubi sunt* motif of Petrarch's 'Trionfo della morte', later translated by MSH.

Christopher Clifford, *The School of Horsemanship*, *STC* 5415, recalls: 'I was preferred to the service of the right noble Prince Duke Cassemerus, by the right Worshipful Sir Philip Sidney' (K2). PS had been in contact with Casimir in 1579.

Publication of French (*Discours de La Vie Abominable ... de my Lorde de Lecestre*) and Latin (*Flores Calvinitistici decerpti ex vita Roberti Dudlei*, Naples) versions of *Leicester's Commonwealth*.

### 1586

January	
1	Leicester meets with the States General at The Hague but
	then withdraws to Leiden.
2	PS comes to Leiden to meet Leicester.
6	RS1 is at The Hague.
7–10	Six deputies of the States General meet with PS at The
	Hague to negotiate the terms of Leicester's Governor-

Generalship. PS pleads for absolute power for Leicester,

- noting that under the 'Republic of Rome' in times of extreme peril, as the Netherlands now are, a dictatorship with absolute power had been allowed, without any restrictions being placed on it (Wallace, 349; Stewart, 284–8).
- Leicester accepts the Governor-Generalship of the Low Countries, contrary to the queen's instructions (Bruce 1844, xiii–iv). The commission and oath are drawn up on 16.
- Walsingham observes that Elizabeth is furious at the title of 'Excellency' granted to Leicester and that she deeply resents the authority granted to him by the States General (SP 84/6/29).
- 20 RS1's name appears on a list of Essex's cavalry paid at The Hague. RS1 then moves on to Leiden. PS may have placed RS1 in charge of the Rammekins.
- Leicester warmly commends PS to Walsingham (Bruce 1844, 70).
- 24 Engelbert Doyenbergh to PS (BL MS Cotton Galba C.ix.58).
- 25 Leicester's Oath of Commission sworn for his governorship. PS stays with his uncle until at least 9 February.
- Leicester is formally rebuked by Council for accepting the Governorship (SP 84/3/53). Davison is sent by Leicester to plead his case but only reaches London on 13 February.
- 29 PS from The Hague to Walsingham, recommending the letter's bearer to him (*Prose*, 157).

### **February**

- 1 RS1 from Berghen to Leicester, concerning his troops' delayed pay (BL MS Cotton Galba C.ix.108).
- 2 PS writes two letters from Berghen to Leicester about military plans and supplies. He also recommends Roger Williams for the post of sergeant-major (*Prose*, 157–60).
- 3 Engelbert Doyenbergh to PS (BL MS Cotton Galba C.ix.58).
- 10 Elizabeth orders Sir Thomas Heneage to deliver a stinging rebuke to Leicester (BL Cotton MS Galba C.viii.27).
- 12 PS from Rotterdam to Leicester (*Prose*, 160).
- Davison arrives at London in an attempt to explain Leicester's actions to the queen (Wallace, 351–2).
- Davison advises Leicester of Elizabeth's fury with both him and PS (Bruce 1844, 118). John Casimir to PS (Levy 1969, 180).
- 18 and 19 PS is back at Flushing. Council of Zeeland to PS (Levy 1969, 180).

- PS from Flushing to Leicester, recommending the bearer Martin Proger, with references to Roger Williams and other military matters (*Prose*, 160–2). Paulus Melissus from London to Walsingham, referring to his (now lost) correspondence with PS (*CSPD*, 307).
- PS from Flushing to William Davison, reporting the jealousy of Count Hohenlo, Paul Buys and Barneveldt over Dutch honours being bestowed on Englishmen (*Prose*, 162–3).
- 25 PS from Berghen to Leicester (*Prose*, 163).
- 27/28 PS leads 1,000 men to Steenbergen to see if he can assist in its capture (BL Additional MS 48014/153; *CSPF*, 484, 556–8).
- 28 PS returns to Leiden with Leicester.

### March

- 2 and 10 Privy Council to PS, concerning funding (SP 84/7/1–4).
- PS from Middelburg to Walsingham (*Prose*, 164). He is there to welcome Sir Thomas Heneage who had been sent by the queen to reprimand Leicester and to escort him to Haarlem (SP 84/7/3/98). At Leiden Leicester hears Lipsius deliver a lecture on Tacitus's *Agricola* (BL Additional MS 48014/153).
- 4 PS from Middelburg to Walsingham, supporting the suit of Jackes Van den Walle (*Prose*, 164). Leicester arrives at Haarlem.
- 7 Council of Zeeland to PS (Levy 1969, 180).
- 8 PS and Heneage arrive at Haarlem. PS writes to Burghley, vigorously defending Leicester's position and the Dutch cause (*CSPF*, 458–9).
- 10(?) Council to PS (Levy 1969, 180).
- 17 Leicester to Walsingham, complaining that PS had received a letter (now lost) from Antony Pointz, saying that Walsingham was sending him to Spain, contrary to Leicester's plans for him (Bruce 1844, 177).
- PS from Amsterdam to Burghley, commenting on Heneage's mission (*Prose*, 165).
- 19 PS from Amsterdam to William Davison, explaining his own difficult position over Leicester's self-promotion. He also writes to Walsingham on the same day (*Prose*, 165–6).
- PS to Walsingham from Utrecht. As usual, he is concerned over lack of funds for defences and planned military action. He also feels that Elizabeth is prone to misinterpret everything he does and that he is regarded at court as overly ambitious and proud. He mentions his earlier letter sent to

Walsingham, via 'William my Lord of Leicester's jesting player' (formerly identified as Will Kempe by Chambers 1925, I.144–5, 257–8, but refuted by Bald 1959, 112), which also contained a letter for his wife. He is unsure whether it would be wise for her to join him in the Netherlands (*Prose*, 166–8). At the end of March PS spends some time in Germany to solicit assistance for the Huguenots (Wallace, 360).

- Walsingham from court advises Leicester that Elizabeth is considering recalling PS, towards 'whom she hath put on a very hard conceit' (Bruce 1844, 192). PS from Utrecht to Christopher Plantin, requesting an up-to-date copy of Ortelius's maps and other works on continental harbours, towns, and fortifications (Levy 1969, 178).
- Lord Charles Howard of Effingham to PS (BL MS Cotton Galba C.ix.149).

# April

- 5 Justus Lipsius describes a meeting with PS (Dorsten 1962, 118).
- PS to the city fathers of Veere (Stump, 81).
- PS from Flushing to the States of Zeeland (*Prose*, 168–9); (and 13, 25, 30) Council of Zeeland to PS (Levy 1969, 180–1).
- PS from Flushing to William Davison (*Prose*, 169–70).
- PS from Flushing to Walsingham; and to the States of Zeeland (*Prose*, 170–2).
- Walsingham to PS (BL MS Cotton Galba C.ix.187).
- 29 PS from Flushing to Thomas Mills, with 'Thomas Randolph, Ambassador in Scotland' (*Prose*, 172).
- (?) Louise de Coligny, William of Orange's widow, had previously enjoyed PS's company and writes to ask Jean Hotman to persuade him to visit her at Middelburg. Later she was at Flushing where she must have seen him quite frequently (Buxton, 170).

# May

- 1/5(?) Death of HS at the Bishop's Palace at Worcester, following a cold contracted during a barge trip from Bewdley to Worcester (Stow, *Annals* 1592, LIII2 = 1st; Holinshed, *Chronicles* 1587, III.1548 = 5th; Collins, I.96; Stewart, 298).
- 2 PS to the Council of Zeeland; and Council to PS (*Prose*, 173; Levy 1969, 181).

- 6 PS from Flushing to Walsingham, about four deserters (*Prose*, 173).
- PS from Middelburg to Walsingham, with the letter delivered by a recommended medical practitioner (*Prose*, 174).
- 11 and 31 Council of Zeeland to PS (Levy 1969, 181).
- On about this date, PS hears of HS's death (SP 84/8/41).
- 17 PS from the camp before Nimingen to the Master of Gray (*Prose*, 174–5).
- Obertus (Hubert) Giphanius from Strasbourg to RS1 at 'Norimbergam', with political news and thanks him for 'his courteous letter of goodwill' (CKS C35/2).
- 25/26 PS sends three letters from Arnhem to Walsingham, requesting that his father's horses be sent over to him with Wren, HS's servant. The queen, however, refuses him permission to return home to deal with HS's estate but probate is granted on his will (Collins, I.96; *Prose*, 175–6).
- Duke of Parma takes the town of Grave, the easternmost stronghold of the states on the river Meuse. Leicester is blamed for its insufficient defences (*Legend*, 31).
- 31 PS from Arnhem to Walsingham (*Prose*, 177).

### June

- 7 Surrender of Grave by its governor, Hemart, to the Spanish forces under the Duke of Parma.
- 15 HS's funeral procession sets out from Worcester, passes through Chipping Norton, Oxford and Kingston and reaches Penshurst six days later (BL Lansdowne MS 50/191).
- PS sits on Hemart's court-martial, sentencing him to death (SP 84/8/117).
- Burial of HS at Penshurst parish church, with his entrails interred in the Dean's Chapel of Worcester Cathedral and his heart in a small leaden urn in the parish church of Ludlow (Wallace, 361).
- Frances Walsingham Sidney is reported as making arrangements to join PS at Flushing where she forms a warm friendship with Louise de Coligny, widow of William of Orange (*CSPS*, 585).
- PS from Utrecht to Walsingham. His 'cousin' Richard Dyer has gone back to England to raise 500 horse; and he mentions that his wife 'is very well and merry' at Flushing (*Prose*, 177). Jacques de Ségur-Pardeilhan to PS (Levy 1969, 181).

- PS and RS1 fight with distinction alongside Count Hohenlo at Pigott and overthrow a cornet of horse. RS1 and Hohenlo capture the mercenary Captain Walsh, whose life is reputedly spared only on the intercession of PS (Stewart, 302).
- (?) MSH is ill, according to Thomas Moffet (the Herbert family physician), much to the concern of PS (*Nobilis*, 85–6).

## July

- 4 PS to Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby de Eresby (HMC Ancaster, 34).
- PS and his Zeeland regiment join Lord Willoughby at Flushing. They row up the Scheldt to about three miles from Axel where they meet Count Maurice. They storm the town in the early hours of 7 July, when PS 'with his bands had the leading and entering the town' (Greville 1986, 72), his role in the action being heavily played up by Leicester (Bruce 1844, 337–8). RS1 may also have been present for this engagement.
- 10 and 12, 30 Council of Zeeland to PS (Levy 1969, 181).
- An attempt by PS to capture Gravelines, a Spanish stronghold, by intrigue, fails with the loss of over 40 men. Contrary to fact, Greville posthumously proclaims: 'How providently, again, did he preserve the lives and honour of our English army at that enterprise of Gravelines' (Greville 1986, 72). Mary Queen of Scots writes a long (and ultimately fatal) letter in cipher to Sir Anthony Babington, giving her approval to his plot to murder Elizabeth (Fraser 1969, 532–7).
- 19 Mary Queen of Scots's letter now in Walsingham's hands.
- 20 PS from Flushing to William Davison on the Gravelines venture (*Prose*, 177–8).
- 25 PS from Flushing to Walsingham (*Prose,* 178).
- Babington receives Mary Queen of Scots's letter.
- (?) The Treaty of Berwick, a defensive alliance between England and Scotland.

# August

- Babington acknowledges receipt of Mary Queen of Scots's letter.
- 4 Neuss is captured by Parma.

- 9 The death in London of MDS, registered at St Olave's, Hart Street (near Walsingham House). Her body is then taken to Penshurst (Wallace, 363).
- 11 Mary Queen of Scots is arrested by Sir Thomas Gorges and incarcerated at Tixhall House.
- PS from Flushing to the Privy Council, Cecil and Walsingham, concerning the weakness of Flushing and the Rammekins (*Prose*, 178–81). RS1 from Flushing to Walsingham (SP 84/9/223–4). Babington is arrested, brought to the Tower, and executed in mid-September.
- 30–*c*.10 September PS joins Leicester at camp near Amerongen for a successful attack on Doesburg, led by Hohenlo and Sir John Norris. RS1 and PS serve in Leicester's attack on the Doesburg fort (Hay, 45). Justus Lipsius from Utrecht to PS, concerning one of Leicester's supporters, Paul Buys (Stewart, 306–7).
- (?) Walsingham notes the queen's continued tendency 'upon every light occasion to find fault' with his son-in-law, PS (Wallace, 372). PS recommends Henry Whyte (who had accompanied RS1 on his continental tour) to Walsingham, calling him 'as honest a servant as ever I had' (*Prose*, 180). White served as a captain in Leicester's army but was obliged to give up his commission in October 1587. He carried the 'great banner' at PS's funeral.

# September

- 10 PS from Doesburg to Walsingham (*Prose*, 181–2).
- Leicester moves his camp to within a mile of Zutphen on the right bank of the River Ijssel.
- PS from Deventer to Justus Lipsius, concerning the possibility of Lipsius moving to England (*Prose*, 182).
- PS from camp at Zutphen recommending its bearer, Richard Smith, to Walsingham (*Prose*, 183).
- The English forces, including PS and RS1, engage the enemy in an insignificant skirmish at Zutphen, triggered by the arrival of a Spanish victualling wagon-train. The battle is notable for the high number of prominent English participants: the Earls of Leicester and Essex, Sir John Norris, Sir William Stanley, Sir William Russell, Sir William Pelham, Lord Willoughby, Sir Henry Unton and Sir William

Hatton. The Spanish are driven back three times, with about 40 English losses and 200–300 Spanish, but the victualling convoy then simply drives into Zutphen. PS throws away his own cuisses, either because he met Sir William Pelham who is less fully equipped or because the current trend for English cavalrymen was to go into battle only lightly armoured. His horse is killed under him in the second charge but, while retreating from the third successful charge, he receives a musket wound in the left thigh (Wallace, 377–9; Stewart, 311–13).

Five eye-witness accounts of the battle survive: (1) three letters by Leicester (Bruce 1844, 414–17); (2) an anonymous note, 'The manner of the last scirmish' (*HMC Salisbury*, III.189–90); (3) George Whetstone's (see '1587: Elegies'); (4) Thomas Danett's in Ludovico Guicciardini, *The Description of the Low Countries* (1593), *STC* 12463, D1; and (5) Henry Archer's in John Stow's *Annals* (1592), 1251–3 (see *Legend*, 14) On the afternoon of the battle PS is sent 20 miles up river to Arnhem, to the house of Mlle Gruithuissens.

- Leicester writes to Sir Thomas Heneage, describing PS as his 'greatest comfort, next her Majesty, of all the world, and if I could buy his life with all I have to my shirt I would give it' (Stump, 248).
- Leicester informs Walsingham that, although PS had had a bad fever on 26, after a good night's rest he found him 'very well, and free from ague'. PS is dressed and feels 'much more ease than at any time since he was hurt, and his wound was very fair' (Bruce 1844, 414–15).
- Leicester to Walsingham about PS's condition, mentioning that his surgeons and physicians had been more optimistic about his chances of recovery (Bruce 1844, 415). Dr John James, a member of Leicester's household, details PS's condition in his diary (BL Additional MS 48014). Serious doubts arise over PS's recovery.
- Leicester pays a visit to Arnhem and is probably still there on 30.
- PS makes his will (see '1586: Works') and requests the presence of the preacher, George Gifford.

#### October

2 Leicester from Zutphen to Walsingham, suggesting that 'the worst days be past' since PS's doctors are more optimistic. He

is sleeping, eating and resting well, 'without fear, or any distemper at all' (Bruce 1844, 422). On the same day Ruy Lopez writes to PS, requesting royal protection for Don Antonio (Haarlem Tayler MS Leicester, 54; Stump, 80).

- 6 Leicester to Walsingham, noting that PS was improving as well as anyone could be expected to do in such a short time: 'He feeleth no grief now but his long lying, which he must suffer'. PS's wife, Frances, is at Arnhem (Bruce 1844, 429–30).
- 7 RS1 is knighted by Leicester for his valour at Zutphen. On the same day RS1 and Leicester visit PS and his wife at Arnhem. During the next week PS's condition steadily deteriorates (BL Additional MS 48014/163).
- 11 Trial opens of Mary Stuart for complicity in the Babington conspiracy.
- Leicester's messenger, Martine, having been delayed by contrary winds, finally reaches London with news of the Zutphen conflict and PS's serious injury. Elizabeth sends on the next day a personal letter to PS (now lost) (Bruce 1844, 437–8). At this stage, amputation of the leg may have been considered or even performed.
- Leicester comes to visit PS again (Bruce 1844, 423). Edmund Molyneux claims that PS wrote a long missive in Latin to 'Belerius' (perhaps Pierre Beller or Jean Beller) during these last days (Holinshed 1587, III.1555).
- Baudius arrives at Arnhem with a letter from Janus Dousa to PS but he is too ill to read it (BL Burney MS 371/123). A Dutch doctor, Gisbert Enerwitz, reports that PS is too ill to read a letter, or even to sign one. But PS manages to write a short note (in a spidery hand) from Arnhem to John Wyer, an aged physician at the court of William, Duke of Cleves, pleading for his assistance: 'Mi Weiere veni, veni, de vita periclitor et te cupio.—Nec vivus nec mortuus ero ingratus'. Enerwitz was Wyer's brother-in-law and provided a covering note for PS's. It seems likely, however, that neither note was sent (Prose, 183). Leicester returns to Arnhem.
- 17 In the morning PS has a codocil added to his will and dies at 2pm, probably of septicaemia, in the arms of Sir William Temple.
- 18 It has been suggested that MSW, the eldest daughter of RS1 and BGS may have been born on this date. It seems likely, however, that she was born on 18 October 1587, not least

because RS1 never makes any reference to what would have been a poignant coincidence of dates: the death of his brother followed on the next day by the birth of his eldest daughter.

- When Leicester withdraws his troops from Arnhem, he takes PS's body with him to Utrecht.
- Leicester expresses his grief from Utrecht at PS's death to Walsingham: 'If he had lived, I doubt not but he would have been a comfort to us both, and an ornament to his house'. He also notes that PS's widow, Frances, is with him, 'wonderfully overthrown through her long care since the beginning of her husband's hurt ... she is with child' (Bruce 1844, 445–6).
- 27 MSH's twenty-fifth birthday.
- 29–23 March 1587 Queen Elizabeth's Sixth Parliament. Both Houses petition Elizabeth for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

#### November

- The body of PS is carried from Flushing on *The Black Pinnance (Pinnace)* to England. 1,200 English soldiers and numerous Dutch citizens line the docks as it leaves. The still-imprisoned Le Sieur writes to PS (SP 77/1/215).
- 2 Confirmation of PS's death finally reaches England and is greeted by tributes from Burghley, Buckhurst, Greville, Du Plessis, Ortel and others (Wallace, 389–92).
- 5 PS's body lands at Tower Hill and is taken to the Minories Church, just outside Aldgate, where it lay until 16. Financial problems over PS's will may have contributed to the delay in the funeral (Bruce 1844, 453–6).
- Walsingham expresses to Leicester his growing concerns over PS's debts and the lavishly generous legacies of his will (Bruce 1844, 456–7).
- 7 Thomas Cadman enters in the SR, as by Arthur Golding, A Work Concerning the Trueness of the Christian Religion (title-page: 'Begun to be translated into English by Sir Philip Sidney Knight').
- 19 RS1's twenty-third birthday.
- (endorsed 'November 1586') Fulke Greville warns Walsingham of illicit plans by an unnamed stationer, brought to his attention by the stationer William Ponsonby, to publish the *Old Arcadia*.

He suggests that Walsingham might arrange for the licensers to suppress the printing of *Old Arcadia*, which was 'so common', and to allow the printing, 'with more deliberation' of *New Arcadia*. Greville notes that he had already sent to PS's widow what he regarded as the unique copy of *New Arcadia*. He also suggests that any printing of PS's translation of Duplessis-Mornay should be prohibited (SP 12/195/33).

(?) Walsingham advises Leicester that PS has left numerous creditors and that his own resources cannot hope to cover even a third of the already known debts (Bruce 1844, 453).

#### December

Frances Walsingham Sidney is ill and probably confined prematurely (Bruce 1844, 480–1).

#### Works

PS, 'Testamentum Philippi Sidney militis' (PS's will), written 30 September, with a codicil added on 17 October, the day of his death. Known only from a contemporary transcript (St) in the Register of Wills at Somerset House, although Collins's text of the will (I.109–13) suggests that he had access to another copy, perhaps even an original at Penshurst. PS leaves his books to Fulke Greville and Dyer, including the now lost manuscript of his revised Arcadia (G). The will is witnessed by Sir Henry Goodere, a captain in Leicester's guard at Zutphen and the future patron of Drayton. The will causes the financial ruin of Sidney's father-in-law, Walsingham.

#### Dedications

Janus Dousa, the elder, *Iani Dousae a Noortvviick Odarum Britannicarum liber*, Leiden, 21–2, a poem offering to dedicate his edition of Petronius's *Satyricon* to PS. The volume also contains (54–5) praise of PS by Dousa's son, Janus.

Justus Lipsius, *De recta pronunciatione Latinae linguae dialogus* (PS), dated 17 March 1586 (Stewart, 297–8).

Paulus Melissus Schedus, *Melissi Schediasmata poetica*, Paris, 161–2, a poem praising PS and RS1, asking them to accept his verses (Dorsten 1962, 180–1).

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *La clef des champs, pour trouver plusiers animaux* (flora and fauna of the New World), *STC* 15459 (PS's wife, Frances Walsingham Sidney, dated 26 March 1586).

### References

Arnoldus Eickius, *Elogium illustrissimi principis, Roberti Comitis Leycestrii*, Utrecht, B1<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>v</sup>, a poem in praise of PS, written before his death (Stump, 733).

William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetry, STC* 25172, C4<sup>v</sup>–D, refers to Spenser's dedication of *The Shepheardes Calender* to PS.

Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblems, STC* 25438 (dedicated to Leicester). Whitney celebrates (b2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>v</sup>) PS's achievement in bringing true poetry to England, both by his own writings and by his criticism of others.

### Commemorations of HS

Edward Waterhouse commends HS's role in Ireland, Bodl. MS Addit.c.39/37; see also Robert Commander, BL Egerton MS 2642/224; and Anthony Power's depiction of HS as an ideal Lord Deputy in BL Cotton MS Titus B.xii.73.

Thomas White, A Godly Sermon, STC 25404 (HS's funeral tribute).

### Commemorations of PS

Georgius Benedicti, *De rebus gestis illustriss. Principis Guilielmi, Comitis Nassonii*, Leiden, 47, 54 (Dorsten 1962, 183).

Thomas Churchyard, *The Epitaph of Sir Philip Sidney, STC* 5228 (dedicated to PS's widow, Frances Walsingham Sidney).

Angel Day, *Upon the Life and Death of Sir Philip Sidney, STC* 6409 (for R. Waldegrave; see '1598: Works' for W. Waldegrave).

John Phillips, The Life and Death of Sir Philip Sidney, STC 19871.

Other accounts of PS's last days are found in BL Cotton Vitellius C.xviii.382; a manuscript owned by Dr Juel-Jensen of Headington, Oxford (Duncan-Jones 1986, 23); two manuscript copies of 'The Manner of Sir Philip Sidney's Death', usually attributed to George Gifford (even though only the letters 'fford' are now visible on the manuscript; BL Additional MS 41499 (A) (see also Stump, 275, 725–55).

#### 1587

# January

- 13–13 March An embassy of six Dutch delegates visits England to negotiate increased assistance in the war against Spain.
- (?) Walsingham administers PS's outstanding expenses and lavishly generous will (BL Lansdowne MS 50/197, 54/88; BL Additional MS 17520/1).

(?) Philippe Duplessis-Mornay to Walsingham, lamenting PS's death (Stump, 77).

## **February**

8 Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

RS1 is the chief mourner, with Thomas Sidney as an assistant, at PS's funeral held at St Paul's Cathedral. The 700-man procession includes the Earls of Leicester, Pembroke, Huntingdon and Essex, the six Dutch delegates, 32 poor men (representing PS's age) and the Lord Mayor of London. The bier is carried by Thomas Dudley, Dyer, Greville, Edmund Wotton and others. Some of PS's costs from being Governor of Flushing are inherited by RS1 but most of the expenses were personally carried by Walsingham who was virtually ruined by the costs of PS's will. No monument was erected over PS's tomb.

## May

26

Arthur Golding dates the dedication to Leicester of his translation of Duplessis-Mornay *Traité de la vérité de la religion Chrestienne*, begun by PS but broken off because of his departure to the Low Countries. MSH completes her translation of Mornay on 13 May 1590 (see '1592: Works').

Birth of Susan Vere (SVH), daughter of Edward, 17th Earl of Oxford, and his wife Anne Cecil (daughter of Lord Burghley), later the wife of PH.

## August

Lodowick Bryskett's elegy on PS, 'The Mourning Muse of Thestylis' entered in the SR.

#### October

(probably) the birth of RS1 and BGS's eldest daughter MSW (d.1653?). In a letter of 20 April 1597, RS1 describes MSW as 'almost ten' (Collins, II.43). Before the birth BGS stays at Baynard's Castle. Records of her christening and the identity of her godparents are unknown, although, since MSW was so named in honour of her aunt (MSH), it seems likely that she was her godmother (see John 1957, 169–70, for their other children).

- 27 MSH's twenty-sixth birthday.
- (?) Leicester relinquishes command in the Netherlands.

#### November

19 RS1's twenty-fourth birthday.

#### December

10 and 20, 31 RS1 from Flushing to Leicester concerning Count Hohenlo's tract attacking Leicester (BL MS Cotton Galba D.ii.277–8, 289, 307–8).

#### Works

PS (translator), Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, *A Work Concerning the Trueness of the Christian Religion. Begun by Sir P. Sidney and Finished by A. Golding, STC* 18149. Dedication to Leicester recalls PS's 'manly wounds ... in Martial manner, the honourablest death that could be desired'.

#### Dedications

Thomas Churchyard, *The Epitaph of Sir Philip Sidney, STC* 5228 (Frances Walsingham Sidney, widow of PS).

Zacharias Ursinus, *The Sum of Christian Religion* (translated Henry Parry), *STC* 24532 (HH) *STC* 24533.

Thomas Watson, *The Lamentations of Amyntas for the Death of Phillis* (translated/dedicated Abraham Fraunce), *STC* 25118.4 (MSH). Printed by Thomas Newman, the publisher of the unauthorized *Astrophil and Stella* of 1591.

### References

John Hooker (ed.), *The First and Second Volumes of* [Holinshed's] *Chronicles* [and *Third Volume*], *STC* 13569, 1315–21, 1553–6. Edmund Molyneux commends the still-unpublished *Arcadia* (III.1554a) and recalls other aspects of PS's life, family, and reputation.

# Elegies on PS and accounts of his death

(Cambridge University), *Academiae Cantabrigiensis lachrymae ... tumula* ... *D. Philippi Sidneij*, ed. Alexander Neville, *STC* 4473, published on the day of PS's funeral. PS's secretary, William Temple, refers to '*Arcadiae docuit fabrica texta novae*', indicating that he knew of both *Old* and *New* versions of *Arcadia*. King James VI of Scotland contributes a sonnet in Latin and English (K1).

(Protestant University of Leiden and Catholic University of Louvain) *Epitaphia in Mortem Nobilissimi et Fortissimi Viri D. Philippi Sidneii Equitis* (Leiden and Louvain), ed. Georgius Benedicti (Werteloo).

(Oxford University) *Peplus. Illustrissimi viri D. Philippi Sidnaei supremis honoribus dicatus*, ed. John Lloyd, *STC* 22552 (HH). Lloyd may have been a protégé of HS. John Gifford's 'Lycidas' is devoted to PS's patronage of poets. John Hoskins contributed eight poems (see 'References: 1600'). Horace's line: 'Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori', often associated with PS, is printed on its title-page.

(Oxford University), Exequiae illustrissimi equitis, D. Philippi Sidnaei, ed. William Gager, STC 22551. Matthew Gwinne (D2<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>v</sup>) refers to PS's translations of du Bartas and Duplessis-Mornay, as well as to Arcadia. George Carleton's elegy (L1<sup>v</sup>–L2) mentions that Arcadia was written at Wilton. Robert Dowe's elegy may be the origin of the myth that PS was offered the crown of Poland.

Thomas Lant, Sequitur celebritas & pompa funeris (1587), STC 15224 (38 feet roll with 30 engravings by Theodoor de Brij, depicting more than 700 participants in PS's funeral procession). Lant had entered the service of the Sidneys in about 1582 and probably accompanied PS to the Low Countries in 1585. PS may have also known de Brij (DD, I.273). John Phillips, The Life and Death of Sir Philip Sidney, STC 19871 (for R. Waldegrave), was probably intended to accompany Lant's funeral roll; and John Stow, Annals or a General Chronicle of England (1631), STC 23340, 739–40, seems to have drawn numerous details from Lant. In 1635 John Aubrey went with his father, Richard, to visit Mr Singleton, a wool-draper at Gloucester, at whose house in the parlour over the chimney he sees displayed Lant's roll of PS's funeral (Aubrey 1982, 338). Another account of PS's funeral was drawn up for the College of Arms by Richard Lea/Lee, Richmond Herald, Bodl. MS Ashmole 818/9.

Dominicus Baudius, *Carmina*, Leiden, 28–9, 66–73, 98, contains four Latin poems in honour of PS (Dorsten 1962, 182–8). He also recalls meeting PS in June 1585 in *Epistolarum centuriae tres*, \*6<sup>v</sup>.

Angel Day, *Upon the Life and Death of Sir Philip Sidney, STC* 6409, refers (A3<sup>v</sup>) to 'the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia'.

T.D. (Thomas Digges or Danett), *A Brief Report of the Military Services Done in the Low Countries, STC* 7285, mentions PS in military engagements at Elten, Doesburg and Zutphen.

Groslotius, Hieronymus, two Latin epitaphs (BL MS Burney, 370).

George Whetstone, *Sir Philip Sidney, his Honourable Life, his Valiant Death, STC* 25349 (for Thomas Cadman, who pays his own respects to 'the worthy once hopeful gentleman of England Sir Philip Sidney', A4<sup>r</sup>). Whetstone wrongly attributes *The Shepheardes Calender* to PS (B2<sup>v</sup>) but refers to 'His Arcadia a book most excellently written' (B2). He

describes the battle at Zutphen (B4–C1) based upon information supplied by his brother, Bernard, who fought alongside PS, and who offers a 'Commemoration' (C3–C4) of PS. This battle is also described by Henry Archer in John Stow, *Annals* (1592), *STC* 23334, 1251–3.

Several other now-lost popular ballads are entered by various stationers in the SR (see Arber 1875, II.460–5), including 'A doleful ditty of the death of Sir Philip Sidney' (22 February 1587), 'A ballad of the burial of Sir Philip Sidney' (27 February 1587), and 'A mirror of the life and death and virtues of Sir Philip Sidney' (15 June 1587).

#### 1588

### **February**

(?) Abraham Fraunce called to the bar and practises as a barrister at the court of the Marches at Ludlow. He probably consults the St John's College, Cambridge, manuscript of PS's Old Arcadia and quotes extensively from it in his Arcadian Rhetoric (entered in SR, 11 June 1588).

## April

- 11 RS1 is created MA at Oxford University at the same ceremony as Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.
- 26 RS1 from Baynard's Castle to BGS (CKS C81/2), the first of over 300 surviving letters from RS1 to BGS.

## May

- Thomas Newman and Thomas Gubbin enter in the SR Fraunce's *Lawyer's Logic* and *Insignium, armorum, emblematum* and *The Arcadian Rhetoric* on 11 June (see '1588: Dedications').
- 24 and 29, 31 RS1 from London/court to BGS at MSH's house at Ivychurch (CKS C81/3–5).
- (?) RS1's suit for a licence to process skins and pelts into leather (BL MS Lansdowne 58/76).
- (?) Spanish Armada sails from Lisbon under the command of (the inexperienced) Duke of Medina-Sidonia, a fleet of some 130 ships, 8,000 sailors and 19,000 infantry.

# July

RS1 is appointed Governor of Flushing and the fort of Rammekins.

27 RS1 from London to BGS at Wilton House (CKS C81/6).

Spanish Armada first sighted off Cornwall with the English Fleet of some 197 ships and 16,000 men at Portsmouth. The English Fleet harass the Spanish Armada in three inconclusive engagements: 31 July (off Portsmouth), 2 August (off Plymouth) and 4 August (off Isle of Wight).

## August

(early) RS1 joins the English forces at Tilbury to face the Spanish Armada, with BGS staying at Wilton.

5–6 RS1 from camp to BGS at Wilton (CKS C81/7–8).

The Spanish Armada reaches the Straits of Dover and anchors off Calais. However, the planned joint invasion force from the Netherlands had not been assembled, leaving the Armada without its intended military support.

7–8 English Fleet launches six fire-ships into Calais harbour and then attacks off Gravelines. The Spanish, assisted by a change of wind, escape towards the north-west but further losses are suffered as they have to return home northwards via the Scottish coast, Ireland and the Atlantic. Only 76 ships reached their Spanish ports. During the Armada battle Lord Admiral Howard wrote in a dispatch about the wounding of one of his men: 'He was hurt, even like Sir Philip Sidney, above the knee, and the bone all broken; a very great hurt' (*Legend*, 6).

RS1 sent on a mission to Scotland, writing to Walsingham from Berwick on 27 August, from Haddington on 28, and from Edinburgh on 30 (BL Cotton Caligula D.i.259). RS1 also writes in 'August' to BGS at Wilton, referring to his sister MSH (CKS C81/9). Elizabeth describes RS1 to James VI as 'this gentleman, a rare young man and a wise'; and James thanks her for 'sending so rare a gentleman unto me, to whose brother [PS] I was so far beholden' (Marcus et al. 2000, 358–9).

William Ponsonby is granted publication rights for PS's *Arcadia* and for 'A translation of Salust De Bartas. done by the same Sir P. in the English' (Arber 1875, II.496).

RS1 has a personal audience with James VI of Scotland to discuss the Spanish threat. The pension which James was expecting from Elizabeth is still being disputed.

## September

- 1–2 RS1 from Edinburgh to Walsingham, reporting on his developing relationship with James VI (BL Cotton Caligula D.i.263); and to BGS (CKS C81/10).
- Death of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Public mourning for Leicester is sparse and Spenser laments: 'His name is worn already out of thought', *Complaints*, B4<sup>v</sup>.
- 7 RS1 from Edinburgh (11 from Berwick), making further reports to Walsingham (BL Harley MS 7004/18–19; SP 52/42/113).
- 16 and 26 RS1 from London, where he had just arrived, to BGS at Wilton (CKS C81/11, 13). William Camden notes the public rejoicing at RS1's successful embassy (Hay, 69).
- (?) Death of Richard Tarleton the jester, who had pleaded with Walsingham to look after the interests of his young son, Philip, so named after his godfather PS (Wallace, 287).

### October

- 18 MSW's first birthday.
- 27 MSH's twenty-seventh birthday.

#### November

- 19 RS1's twenty-fifth birthday.
- (?) MSH returns to London from Wilton, with her children, for the Accession Day celebrations in a magnificent procession of about 100 servants, dressed in her blue livery and wearing gold chains (CSPS, IV.488).

#### December

An inventory of 'Possessions of Sir R. Sidney which belonged to Sir P. Sidney' (*DD*, I.lvii).

#### Dedications

Gervase Babington, *A Profitable Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, STC* 1090 (HH).

Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetoric, STC* 11338 (MSH); *Insignium, armorum, emblematum, hieroglyphicorum, et symbolorum, explicatio, STC* 11342 (RS1); and *The Lawyer's Logic, STC* 11343 (HH), stating that PS had first encouraged his interest in Ramist logic. Fraunce had earlier compiled (1) Bodl. MS Rawl.D.345 containing verses, a treatise in praise of logic, 'Tractatus de usu dialectices', and a collection of

emblems, 'Emblemata varia' presented to PS (at some time between 1577 and 1586) and (2) BL MS Additional 34361 containing two treatises on logic (one dedicated to PS), and a draft of 'The Shepherd's Logic' (dedicated to Edward Dyer), quoting extensively from Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*.

John Penry, An Exhortation, STC 19605 (HH).

John Morgan, *A Short Analysis*, *STC* 18103 (PS's widow, Frances Walsingham Sidney).

### References

William Byrd, *Psalms, Sonnets and Songs of Sadness and Pity, STC* 4253, contains two elegies (24–5) for PS set to music; a version (16) of the sixth song in *Astrophil and Stella*, 'O you that hear this voice', the first of PS's poems to be printed; and (34–5) laments for PS, possibly by Edward Dyer.

D.G., A Brief Discovery of Doctor Allen's Seditious Drifts, STC 6166, 47, refers to PS's wounding at Zutphen.

#### 1589

## February

4–29 March Queen Elizabeth's Seventh Parliament.

# April

(until June) Elizabeth dispatches the Portugal expedition, with Sir John Norris, Sir Francis Drake, and the Earl of Essex, which fails to achieve any of its objectives against Spain. Thomas Sidney serves at Corunna with Drake (Wallace, 397).

### June

19 PS's will is proved, after which date Dyer and Greville presumably receive the books left to them.

# July

- 3/4 RS1 from London to Walsingham (SP 12/225/6–8).
- (?) Thomas Sidney commands some ships off Dartmouth.

# August

Henri III of France is stabbed by the fanatical Jacobin friar, Jacques Clément, at Saint-Cloud and dies on 2 August.

Henry of Navarre succeeds to the throne as King Henri IV and civil war in France ensues.

- RS1 is appointed Governor of Flushing which remains an important geographical and military focus for the English. He succeeds PS, Lord Willoughby and Sir William Russell and is the last governor of Flushing until its restoration to the Dutch in 1616 (*CSPF*, 121, 131). He does not arrive until 6/7 May 1590, leaving the direct administration in the hands of the Lieutenant Governor, Sir William Borlas. The garrison is riddled with financial corruption and gross inefficiency in the supply of clothing, equipment and victuals to the troops, a source of constant frustration and strain to RS1.
- 20 RS1 to Burghley (*HMC Salisbury*, III.327); and in 'August' in French to Elizabeth (BL Cotton MS Galba D.v.105) about problems at Flushing.
- 25 RS1 and BGS draw up an indenture for the production of timber, firewood and iron in Glamorgan (*DD*, I.29).
- (?) James VI of Scotland begins his voyage to Denmark (1589–90) where he marries Princess Anne of Denmark.

# September

Elizabeth sends English troops to assist Henri of Navarre in the French Civil War.

#### October

- 18 MSW's second birthday.
- 27 MSH's twenty-eighth birthday.

### November

- 19 RS1's twenty-sixth birthday.
- Nicholas de Blocq sends from Flushing to RS1 some unnamed writings and his discourse on Luther and Calvin (*DD*, II.103).

#### December

1 Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* entered in the SR.

#### Undated

Rowland Whyte is appointed Clerk of the Ordnance at Flushing (CSPF, 111).

Birth of RS1 and BGS's daughter, Katherine (d.1616).

Death of Frances Sidney Radcliffe (b.1531), wife of Sir Thomas Radcliffe, the sister of HS and founder of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

'this Tuesday', RS1 from Richmond to BGS (CKS C81/1, formerly dated 1587).

### References

Greville's role in the printing of PS's *Arcadia* is acknowledged in '*De Caede et Interitu Gallorum Regis, Henrici Tertii*', a manuscript compiled by three Oxford students (Hudson 1939, 213–17).

William Byrd, *Songs of Sundry Natures, STC* 4256, contains the first 18 lines from song 'x' from PS's sequence.

Robert Greene's Menaphon, STC 12272, possibly indebted to Arcadia.

George Peele, *An Eglogue Gratulatorie*, *STC* 19534, A3<sup>v</sup>, commends both PS and the Earl of Essex. His *Polyhymnia*, also depicted the Earl of Essex in mourning for PS.

George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poetry, STC* 20519, 51, recommends 'For eglogue and pastoral poesy, Sir Philip Sidney'. He also quotes extracts from *Certain Sonnets* and the *Old Arcadia*.

### 1590

## **February**

Death of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (buried 9 April at Warwick).

## April

- 6 Death of Sir Francis Walsingham. His secretaryship of state is left unfilled.
- George Gilpin, English Resident at The Hague, to RS1 with news about France (Collins, I.299–300).

## May

6/7 RS1 arrives at Flushing, where he is resident until 1 September. The administration of the garrison had been previously carried out by its deputy governor, Sir William Borlas, with whom RS1 had an uneasy relationship.

- 12 and 14–22 RS1 reports his preliminary impressions of Flushing to Burghley (SP 84/37/147–66).
- This date 'at Wilton' (E3<sup>r</sup>) is given in the preface to MSH's translation of Duplessis-Mornay's *A Discourse of Life and Death*.

- 24 RS1 takes the oath of office and immediately begins to assess the state of the Flushing fortifications.
- 26 and 30 RS1 submits to Burghley a list of problems compiled by the States General and the Council of State; and seeks advice from Sir Thomas Bodley, English Ambassador at The Hague, and Sir Thomas Wilkes, English agent in the United Provinces (SP 84/37/174–5, 189–90; Collins, I.305–6; CKS C77/5).
- 'May. 29. 1590. pr[etium]: v<sup>s</sup>. published by D. Guin, Doctor in physick, fellow of S. Iohns in Oxon' written on the flyleaf of the Huntington Library copy (69441) of the 1590 *Arcadia* (presumably after 17 July 1593 when the titles of MB and MD were conferred on Gwinne). Bodley from The Hague to RS1 (Collins, I.300).

### June

- 4 Lewis Lewkenor from Brussels appeals to RS1 for a passport back to England (*CSPD*, 307).
- 10 RS1 to the Privy Council (with a copy to Burghley on 12), concerning problems at Flushing (SP 84/37/268–72).
- RS1 is at Berghen both to act as Essex's deputy at the christening of Sir Thomas Knowles's child and also to discuss a possible siege of Sluys (SP 84/37/281).
- RS1 is back at Flushing and writes to Burghley (SP 84/37/302). MSW is probably in the Low Countries with her father until December.

The Queen's Men perform at Ludlow during HH's tenure of the Presidency of the Welsh Council (Murray 1910, II.324–5).

## July

- 2 (and 10–28) RS1 from Flushing to Burghley (SP 84/38/5–106 passim).
- 15 Count Maurice of Nassau from Nimingin to RS1 (Collins, I, 305).
- 29 RS1 from Flushing to Sir Thomas Wilkes, English agent in the United Provinces (SP 84/38/113–14).
- (late) RS1, Count Maurice, and Sir Francis Vere attempt to take Sluys but heavy rain terminates the planned action (SP 84/38/167–8).

## August

1 RS1 thanks Burghley for his help over securing extra income from the horse band at Flushing (SP 84/38/130).

- 6 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley and the Privy Council (SP 84/38/146–9).
- 12 RS1 from Middelberg to Burghley (SP 84/38/167).
- 15–29 RS1 from Flushing sends nine letters to Burghley (SP 84/38/178–228).
- (?) HH to Burghley, recommending Abraham Fraunce, then a 'pleader at the bar' at the Council of the Marches of Wales and noting that PS had supported his education at Cambridge and Gray's Inn (Kenyon 1973, 3).

## September

- 1 and 11 RS1 from Flushing to the Privy Council and Burghley (SP 84/39/1, 17).
- 9 MSH from Wilton to BGS (in a letter with the date changed from 1591 to 1590), concerning a nurse sent over to Flushing to assist with her pregnancy. The letter concludes: 'with my blessing to my pretty daughter' (MSW). This is MSH's only extant letter to a member of her immediate family and probably refers to the imminent birth of William Sidney on 10 November (BL Additional MS 15232).
- 16 RS1 at Gorcum (SP 84/39/33).
- 20 Death of Robert Garnier.
- 21–25 RS1 based at 'Buchoven', from where he writes two letters to Burghley (SP 84/39/58, 80) and one to BGS (CKS C81/12).
- 28 RS1 from Breda to BGS, concerning her imminent confinement (CKS C81/14).

### October

- 4 RS1 at The Hague (SP 84/39/109).
- 10 and 17, 23 RS1 from Flushing (based there until early December) to Burghley, keeping him informed of his (ultimately unsuccessful) plans with Prince Maurice for the taking of Dunkirk (SP 84/39/149, 163).
- 18 MSW's third birthday.
- 27 MSH's twenty-ninth birthday.
- 29 RS1 from Flushing to Sir Thomas Shirley (SP 84/39/185). He also shares his concerns with Burghley over Elizabeth's criticisms of his absences from Flushing during the attempt on Dunkirk (SP 84/39/181).

#### November

- 9 and 10 Patrick Sedgrave (Segrave), a priest and intriguer who claims to have known HS and MDS in Ireland, makes (unwelcome) contact with RS1, who immediately informs Burghley (SP 84/39/203–9).
- Birth of RS1 and BGS's eldest son, William (d.1612), at Flushing. Louise de Coligny, Princess of Orange, stands as godmother. The child is naturalized as an English citizen by parliamentary order (John 1957, 170).
- 17 Sir Henry Lee retires as the queen's champion in the Accession Day Tilt and is succeeded by George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.
- 19 RS1's twenty-seventh birthday.
- 20 RS1 from Flushing to Elizabeth, reporting on his good relationship with President Valck (SP 84/39/228).
- The preface to MSH's translation of *Antonius* gives this date and the location, 'at Ramsbury'.

### December

1 and 3–16 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley (SP 84/40/1–47).

- 8 RS1 from Middelburg to Burghley (SP 84/40/17).
- 18 RS1 from Flushing sends three letters to Burghley (SP 84/40/53–5, 98) and two to the Privy Council (SP 84/40/94–6).
- 29 Spenser's *Complaints* entered in the SR.

#### **Undated**

In about this year RS1 agrees to act as godfather for John Dowland's son, Robert (Croft 1984, 51).

The Earl of Essex marries PS's widow, Frances (Wallace, 397).

#### Works

PS, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, STC* 22539 (entered 23 August 1588 in SR for Ponsonby) (MSH). Edited by Greville, with the assistance of the Oxford physician Matthew Gwinne and John Florio. The editorial work took a considerable time probably because Greville and Gwinne were out of the country together during the winter of 1587–88; and Florio was in Cork in the spring of 1587. It was dedicated to MSH as 'a principal ornament to the family of the Sidneys'; and it ends in midsentence in the episode of Amphialus's rebellion. It is priced at 5s for an

unbound copy. MSH possessed a copy of the *Old Arcadia*; and Greville probably had a unique copy of the *New Arcadia*.

### Dedications

Abraham Fraunce, manuscript of 'Symbolicae philosophiae liber quartus' (RS1, with two emblems belonging to PS) (DD, I.lviii). Book III of Fraunce's Insignium, 1588, STC 11342, contained an expanded version of this manuscript.

Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* (Bks I–III), *STC* 23080 (dedicatory sonnet to MSH). Spenser also addresses a sonnet to the Earl of Ormonde, who had been a strident opponent of HS in Ireland. The sonnet is perhaps intended as a conciliatory gesture by Spenser but it seems unlikely that it would have impressed either RS1 or MSH.

Thomas Watson, *An Eglogue Upon the Death of Sir F. Walsingham, STC* 25121 (PS's widow, Frances Walsingham Sidney).

### References

Emanuel Forde, *Parismus, STC* 11171, adapts Cecropia's scourging of Philoclea and Adamasia's death from the *Arcadia*.

Christopher Ockland, *The Fountain and Wellspring of All Variance, STC* 18778, F1, recalls the outpouring of elegies on the death of PS, including James VI's personal sense of loss.

Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynde, STC* 16664, possibly borrows from *Arcadia*. Sir William Segar, *The Book of Honour, STC* 22163, names PS as a 'defender' in a 1580 challenge and as a performer in various Accession Day tilts.

Sir John Smythe, *Discourses ... Concerning the Forms and Effects of Divers Sorts of Weapons, STC* 22883, B3, comments on how cavalrymen were avoiding cumbersome items of protective armour, including cuisses: 'The imitating of which their unsoldierlike and fond arming, cost that noble and worthy gentleman Sir Philip Sidney his life, by not wearing his cuisses'. This volume was suppressed by Queen Elizabeth. Smythe's own annotated copy is Bodl. Douce S 227.

Thomas Watson, *Meliboeus*, *STC* 25120, translated as *An Eglogue upon the Death of ... Sir Francis Walsingham*, *STC* 25121, represents England as Arcadia and PS as Astrophil.

Thomas Watson, *The First Set of Italian Madrigals Englished, STC* 25119, items 23–4, joint elegies on PS and Walsingham.

Sir Roger Williams, *A Brief Discourse of War, STC* 25732, refers to PS and his servant 'Master Stevens', B1', D1', I2'.

#### 1591

### January

- 3 and 7, 13 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley and the Privy Council (SP 84/41/8-50).
- 17 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley, defending his deputy Sir William Borlas (SP 84/41/50).
- 22 Baptism of Robert Devereux (d.1646), the Earl of Essex's son and heir.
- 23 RS1 from The Hague to BGS at Flushing (C81/15).
- Roger Seys (RS1's lawyer) from Lincoln's Inn to RS1, concerning the post of Lord Chief Justice (Collins, I.313–15).

#### March

- 6 and 16, 22 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley, concerning a renewed attempt with Prince Maurice, Sir John Norris and Sir Thomas Morgan to take Sluys. The action fails, according to RS1, because of an inadequate provision of boats (SP 84/41/219–21, 251–2, 268).
- 26 RS1 attempts, unsuccessfully, to obtain the governorship of the Castle of Rammekins for his brother, Thomas (SP 84/41/282).

## April

4–26 RS1 from Flushing in regular contact with Burghley (SP 84/41/299–353) and Sir Thomas Bodley at The Hague (Collins, I.318–41).

### May

- 2 and 7 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley (SP 84/41/1, 27).
- Roger Seys asks RS1 to intercede on his behalf with Essex to assist his desire to be an attorney at the Marches of Wales (*DD*, II.117).
- 21 and 22, 31 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley (SP 84/41/66–8, 81).
- Privy Council investigation into the integrity of Sir William Borlas concludes with his reinstatement as a soldier.

### June

3 and 6–20 RS1 from Flushing to the Privy Council and Burghley (SP 84/42/104, 126-52).

## July

8 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley, reporting skirmishes around Damme and Bruges and the possibility of yet another attempt on Sluys. RS1 is still concerned about Elizabeth's reported displeasure over his leadership (SP 84/42/195–6).

10 and 13–20 RS1 from Flushing constantly seeking Burghley's support (SP 84/42/197-242).

## September

- 7 RS1 from Flushing writes two letters to Burghley (SP 84/42/3–7).
- 10 RS1 from Flushing to the Privy Council, concerning the death of his deputy Sir William Borlas and his replacement by Sir Edmund Uvedall (SP 84/43/24).
- 16 and 20 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley, expressing his admiration for Sir Francis Vere's military prowess (SP 84/43/39–40, 49).
- 20–23 Royal Progress stays at Elvetham, the estate of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford.
- (?) SR records a payment for a journey to Burghley while he was on progress 'for the taking in' of *Astrophil and Stella*.

#### October

- 6 and 7–13 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley, concerning the repression of corruptions within the garrisons (SP 84/43/80–101).
- 18 MSW's fourth birthday.
- 27 MSH's thirtieth birthday.

### November

- 8–December Unwelcome attempts of the fugitive Welshman (and later Gunpowder plotter) Hugh Owen to ingratiate himself with RS1, especially through gifts for BGS; see RS1 from Flushing to Owen (SP 84/43/182).
- 10 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley (SP 84/43/185–6). By this time Robert Cecil is growing more influential in state affairs as he performs much of the work of his father's office.
- 12–30 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley, concerning Owen and Patrick Sedgrave (SP 84/43/196–255).
- 19 RSI's twenty-eighth birthday

#### December

- 6 and 17 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley concerning the activity of spies (SP 84/43/266–7, 284–5).
- The marriage of RS1's younger brother, Thomas, to Margaret Dakins, the widow of Walter Devereux, the younger brother of the Earl of Essex (Hoby 1930, 9–10, 27).

### Works

HS, A Very Godly Letter Made, by ... Sir Henry Sidney. Now XXV Years Past Unto Philip Sidney His Son Then at School at Shrewsbury (with a postscript by MDS), STC 22533a.5 (unique surviving copy at Shrewsbury School), including W. Gruffith, The Epitaph of Sir H. Sidney (Collins, I.8–9).

PS (1) Astrophil and Stella [and] Sundry Other Rare Sonnets, STC 22536, dedication by the stationer, Thomas Newman, to Mr Francis Flower and a preface by Thomas Nashe to MSH. Nashe seems to have resented Nicholas Breton's 1591 elegy on PS and ridicules him as 'Pan sitting in his bower of delights'. This rapidly suppressed volume (recalled in September 1591 at Burghley's order) also contains 28 poems attributed to Daniel, one poem by Greville, and five songs by Thomas Campion. Daniel may have been complicit in the publication of this edition (Wilson 1979, 336–46). This edition lacks the 37th sonnet, with its punning on the name of 'Rich'. Nashe had previously praised PS in the dedication to Sir Charles Blount (then the lover of Penelope Rich) of The Anatomy of Absurdity (1589), STC 18364. (2) Astrophil and Stella, STC 22537 without the epistle and preface.

#### Dedications

Abraham Fraunce, *The Countess of Pembroke's Emanuel, STC* 11139 (MSH), and *The Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch, STC* 11140 (MSH), both published by William Ponsonby. The latter was named after one of MSH's houses at the village of Ivychurch, close to Wilton House. *Ivychurch* opened with a translation of Tasso's pastoral drama, *Aminta*, which PS may have seen performed in Italy. Its second item was a reworking of Fraunce's translation of Thomas Watson's *The Lamentations of Amyntas*, originally published in 1587, *STC* 25118.4. The third item was a revised version of Fraunce's translation of Virgil's second ecloque (first published in *Lawyer's Logic*). The fourth item was the first 235 lines of Heliodorus's *Aethiopian History*, the source of PS's vision of Pyrocles adrift at sea in the *Arcadia*.

Edmund Spenser, *Complaints, STC* 23078 (MSH). The first poem, 'The Ruins of Time', commemorates PS as 'the sacred brood of learning and

all honour' (line 279). In his dedication of the *Complaints* to MSH, Spenser explains how a group of influential people, mindful of how he was 'bound unto that noble house' had reprimanded him for not showing any 'thankful remembrance' towards PS or 'any of them' – that is, the deaths of Leicester (d.1588), Walsingham (d.1590) and Warwick (d.1590). Ponsonby also notes in a separate address that he has been trying 'to get into my hands such small poems of the same author's; as I heard were dispersed abroad in sundry hands, and not easily to be come by, by himself'.

### References

Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, translated by Sir John Harington, *STC* 746, refers in its preface to PS's habit in *Arcadia* of breaking off the narrative to address the reader directly.

Nicholas Breton, *Brittons Bower of Delights, STC* 3633, A1<sup>r</sup>–B2<sup>v</sup>, includes 'Amoris Lachrimae', his elegy on PS (which Breton claimed was an unauthorized printing) and five other elegies.

Janus Dousa, the elder, *Rerum caelestium liber primus*, Leiden, 54–61, an elegy for PS; with another by Janus Dousa, the younger.

Sir John Harington, 'A Preface, or Rather a Brief Apology for Poetry', in *Orlando Furioso, STC* 746, \*2<sup>r</sup>–8<sup>v</sup>, cites (four years before publication) PS's *Defence*.

Sir Edward Dymoke may have given his (now incomplete) manuscript of PS's 'Astrophil and Stella', with three sonnets praising PS and lamenting his death (Edinburgh U Library MS De.5.96), to William Fowler while they were both at Padua. Dymoke was then (c.1590/1)travelling in Italy with Samuel Daniel. After Fowler's death in 1612, the manuscript was inherited by William Drummond of Hawthornden. In an anonymous 1602 translation of Guarini's Il pastor fido, dedicated to Dymoke, Daniel mentioned in a commendatory sonnet that he and Dymoke had visited Guarini in the summer of 1591 at his villa between Padua and Venice. They may have showed 'Astrophil and Stella' to him. In return, Guarini may have presented a copy of his Il pastor fido. In summer 1591 John Wolfe published an Italian edition of the work, with Tasso's Aminta. The volume was dedicated to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, by Giacomo Castelvetro, dated 6 June 1591. In a presentation manuscript to King James VI of Scotland, dated 16 August 1592, Castelvetro mentioned that PS had been his patron (Woudhuysen, 358-61).

Sir Roger Williams, *A Particular of the Yielding of Zutphen, STC* 26134, recounts the siege at which PS lost his life.

### 1592

## January Philippe Duplessis-Mornay arrives in England. MSH's trans-1 lation of his Discours may have been completed to mark his visit (Crump 1926, 271). 9 - 22RS1 in regular correspondence with Burghley (SP 84/44/7–54). 20 Stephen Powle (see 18 October 1580) describes a melancholy young woman reading Arcadia (Bodl. MS Tanner 246). 26 RS1 is involved in the arrest and deportation of Christopher Marlowe ('Marly') at Flushing and refers to the matter in one of two letters to Burghley (SP 84/44/60-3; Wernham 1976, 334-5). 28 RS1 sends two further reports to Burghley (SP 84/44/68-9; BL Cotton MS Galba D.viii.30).

### **February**

- 2–5 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley, concerning the activities of a spy, known by code as 'M.M.', who had been in contact with Hugh Owen (SP 84/44/90–5, 100–1).
- 12–16 RS1 from Flushing with further reports to Burghley (SP 84/44/106–17).
- (late) Patrick Sedgrave offers a plan to take Antwerp by intrigue and claims that RS1 is on a list of those to be executed if a supposed Spanish invasion of England takes place later in the year.

#### March

- 3 £13 6s 8d paid by Burghley to RS1's messenger, David Lloyd, for bringing Marlowe back to England (Nicholl 1992, 239).
- RS1 advises Burghley of the urgent need to strengthen the defensive fortifications at Flushing and of the Count of Solms's failed attempt (echoing his own in July 1590 and March 1591) on Sluys (SP 84/44/133–6).
- 8–14 RS1 from Flushing to the Privy Council and Burghley (SP 84/44/141–58).

# April

Prince Maurice from The Hague, offering to lend his house to RS1 so that BGS and several of their children can stay there (*DD*, II.126–7). MSW is probably in the Low Countries with her mother until December (Roberts 1983, 8).

- 4 and 8 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley, concerning Elizabeth's displeasure (and Burghley's suspicions) over his handling of the intrigues of Owen and Sedgrave (SP 84/44/203–4, 221–2).
- Reinold Bosely reports to Burghley that an ex-servant of RS1, William Whipp, plans to renew contact with RS1 and steal an impression of the keys of Flushing (*CSPD*, 209).

18 and 24 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley (SP 84/44/246-67).

### May

- William Ponsonby enters in the SR translations by MSH of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, *A Discourse of Life and Death*, and Robert Garnier, *Antonius*, a Tragedy.
- Prince Maurice invites RS1 to join him at The Hague to participate in his attempt on Steenwyck, as part of the attempt by the States General to relieve Friesland and Groningen from the Spanish (*DD*, II.126).
- 11 and 13 RS1 at The Hague to BGS, discussing whether she returns home to England (*DD*, II.127: C81/16; BL Additional MS 15914/45).
- 25 RS1 from 'Camp before Steenwyck' to Burghley (SP 84/44/318–19).
- 28 RS1 from the camp to BGS at Flushing (C81/17).

### June

3–5 July RS1 participates in the siege of Steenwyck. 13 and 24 RS1 from Steenwyck to Burghley (SP 84/45/31–2, 41).

# July

14–15 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley, referring to his good relationship with Jacques Gelée, Burgomaster of Flushing. He also complains about Elizabeth's plan to send four companies of men from Flushing to France, leaving his own garrison depleted (SP 84/45/93–6, 104).

# August

The will of the actor Simon Jewel is proved. Jewel was probably a member of Pembroke's Men (or Queen's Men) and mentions 'my share of such money as shall be given by my lady Pembroke or by her means', suggesting that MSH took a personal interest in the running of the company. Other members of the company may have included Robert Nicholls,

William Smith, Thomas Vincent, Richard Fletcher and William Belcher (Edmond 1974, 129–36).

26–28 Elizabeth visits MSH's house at Ramsbury during her northern progress (*HMC Salisbury*, XIII.466; *APC*, XXIII.157–8)

28 Birth of George Villiers, later Duke of Buckingham (d.1628).

### September

- 21 RS1 sends from Flushing two letters to Burghley. He is still concerned about the redeployment of his soldiers to France (SP 84/45/252–4).
- 27 HH is created MA when the queen visits Oxford University and with WH3 attends a banquet at Magdalen College during the same visit (John Sanford, *Appolonis et musarum*, *STC* 21733, C1).

### October

18 MSW's fifth birthday.

27 MSH's thirty-first birthday.

(? until December) Earl of Pembroke's Men at Leicester.

### November

8 RS1 from Flushing writes two letters to Burghley (SP 84/85/341–4).

19 RS1's twenty-ninth birthday.

#### December

(early) RS1 and BGS leave Flushing. RS1 does not return there until early August 1595.

RS1 back home at Penshurst to Burghley (SP 84/45/373).

8 Following RS1's orders, Uvedall, the Lieutenant Governor of Flushing, reports that one Borchensho/Burchinshaw, who had embezzled funds from the garrison, had been arrested. His ears were severed and he was shipped back to England for the judgement of the Privy Council (DD, II.129–34).

Earl of Pembroke's Men perform at court.

29–1 February 1593 Public theatres are allowed to reopen in London.

#### **Undated**

Samuel Daniel probably begins employment at Wilton House, perhaps as a tutor for Lady Anne Herbert, working in conjunction with Hugh Sanford, who was WH3's tutor from c.1586 until c.1593.

Birth of RS1 and BGS's daughter, Elizabeth (d. 1605).

#### Works

PS (translator), Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, A Work Concerning the Trueness of the Christian Religion, STC 18150.

MSH (translator), Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, *A Discourse of Life and Death*; and Robert Garnier, *Antonius, a Tragedy, STC* 18138. BL Sloane MS 1032/1–28 is an unreliable transcript of this edition. Claudio's paradox in *Measure for Measure*: 'To sue to live, I find I seek to die,/And seeking death, find life' (I.iii.43–4) may echo the concluding motto, 'Die to live/Live to die', of MSH's *Discourse*.

#### Dedications

Nicholas Breton, *The Pilgrimage to Paradise, STC* 3683 (MSH). In his dedication Breton compares her to the 'Duchess of Urbina'; and John Case contributes some lines comparing her piety to the true love of Mary Magdalen for Jesus.

Samuel Daniel, *Delia, Containing Certain Sonnets, STC* 6253 (prose dedication to MSH). The phrasing of 'Delia 1' seems to echo the phrasing of MSH's commemoration of PS in 'To the Angel Spirit'.

Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia*, translated/dedicated Sir Robert Dallington, *STC* 5577, dedicated to PS and the Earl of Essex as his successor.

Abraham Fraunce, *The Third Part of the Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch, STC* 11341 (MSH as Pembrokiana).

William Gager, *Meleager. Tragoedia nova* (from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), *STC* 11515. (Prologue and epilogue to HH. Refers to PS who had attended its 1585 production at Christ Church, Oxford); and *Ulysses redux. Tragoedia nova* (from the *Odyssey*), *STC* 11516 (dedicated to Thomas Sackville, Earl of Buckhurst. The Bridgewater-Huntington copy contains a unique printed address to MSH).

Thomas Watson, *Amintae gaudia*, *STC* 25117 (MSH, Latin address signed by 'C.[hristopher?] M.[arlowe?]).

William Thorne, *Ducente Deo, STC* 24042 (WH3), commemorating his visit to Oxford with his father and recalling the *Peplus* volume on PS.

## References

Robert Greene, *Philomela: the Lady Fitzwater's Nightingale, STC* 12296, cites the example of Abraham Fraunce's *Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch* and *Emanuel* to justify the choice of his own title.

Gabriel Harvey, Four Letters, STC, 12900, suggests that Arcadia is growing out of fashion.

John Stow, *The Annals of England, STC* 23334, records PS's appearance in the 1581 Whitsunday joust and his activities in the Low Countries.

#### 1593

## January

- Thomas Moffet dates his 'Nobilis' on the life of PS (see '1593: Dedications').
- 6 Earl of Pembroke's Men perform at court.

## **February**

19–10 April Queen Elizabeth's Eighth Parliament.

#### March

9 HH and MSH's sons, WH3 and PH, matriculate at New College, Oxford.

## July

6 Marlowe's *Edward II* is entered in the SR and published in 1594, *STC* 17437, 'as it was sundry times publicly acted' at London by 'the Earl of Pembroke his servants' (title-page).

### August

- 27 RS1 from Windsor to BGS, noting that he is going to Wilton where he expects to find MSH very ill of an ague (CKS C81/18).
- (?) Lord Strange's Men perform at Ludlow during HH's tenure of the Presidency of the Welsh Council (Murray 1910, II.324–5).

# September

Philip Henslowe notes that Pembroke's Men had been back in London for about six weeks, after a summer provincial tour including York (June), Rye, Ludlow, Shrewsbury, Coventry, Bath and Ipswich, and were reduced to pawning their costumes. Later in 1593 the actors probably decide to break up and publish some of their plays from early 1594 onwards to recoup losses (Chambers 1925, I.128).

#### October

- 18 MSW's sixth birthday.
- RS1 from Windsor to BGS at Penshurst, explaining that he cannot put off this impending journey, even though it will prove very expensive to him. He hopes that Elizabeth will be grateful and generous to him on his return home: 'They

that live in [the] world must be subject to such employments, and however it be chargeable, it will be honourable'. RS1 had been ordered on a mission to Henri IV of France, who had announced his reconversion to Catholicism in July. He later comments in a brief note to BGS that he is still trying to negotiate over the return of Calais to England (CKS C81/19–20).

- RS1 to BGS, noting that this mission had been forced upon him and he simply cannot escape it without damaging his reputation at court: 'You are married, my dear Barbara, to a husband that is now drawn so into the world and the actions of it as there is no way to retire myself without trying fortune further'. He is also pleased that BGS and the 'little ones came so well to Penshurst' (CKS C81/21).
- 27 MSH's thirty-second birthday.

### November

19 RS1's thirtieth birthday.

#### December

13 and 17, 18, 29 RS1 from Dover to BGS at Penshurst (CKS C81/24–7). 18 and 23–29 RS1 from Dover (where he is delayed by bad weather for almost a month) to Robert Cecil and Burghley (*SPFrance* 78/32/374, 380–8).

#### Works

PS, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (edited by MSH and Hugh Sanford), *STC* 22540 (for W. Ponsonby), based upon MSH's personal copy of PS's revised manuscript, with Bks I–III taken from the 1590 edition, and Bks IV–V added from an unrevised version. Sanford acts as general editor and designs the device of the pig sniffing marjoram for the title-page. Sanford's preface also explains MSH's dissatisfaction with the 'disfigured face' of 1590 edition – with pointed criticism of John Florio's work – as her major motive in desiring this 1593 edition. MSH takes over the duties of the 'overseer of the print', performed by Greville for the 1590 edition. Samuel Daniel may have also assisted in the editing. With the publication of the *Arcadia* in 1590 and 1593, MSH's literary influence is now at its peak. John Aubrey later recalls: 'In her time Wilton House was like a College, there were so many learned and ingeniose persons. She was the greatest Patroness of wit and learning of any Lady in her time' (Aubrey 1982, 220).

An unbound copy of this edition cost 6s 6d. W. Blount's heavily annotated copy of *Arcadia*, noting parallels with classical literature and read alongside Fraunce's *Third Part of Ivychurch* is in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington. Florio retaliates to Sanford's criticisms in the preface to *A World of Words* (1598), *STC* 11098, and in the dedication to the Countess of Rutland and Lady Rich of the second book of his translations of Montaigne's *Essays* (1603), *STC* 18041.

#### Dedications

Barnabe Barnes, *Parthenophil and Parthenophe, STC* 1469 (sonnet to MSH, p. 148; 'Canzon 2', a pastoral echo poem, celebrates PS's birthday). Barnes, the son of the bishop of Durham, knew John Florio (providing verses for *A World of Words*) and the dramatist, John Ford (providing verses for *Fame's Memorial*, 1606, *STC* 11158). Thomas Nashe mocked Gabriel Harvey for recommending the publication of Barnes's poetry, perhaps because he viewed both men as rivals for the favour of MSH.

Thomas Moffet, 'Nobilis or a View of the Life and Death of a Sidney and Lessus Lugubris [on PS]', Huntington Library, California (WH3). Moffet gratefully records PS's interest in his career (f.5') and recalls knowing PS's close friends, Dyer, Greville and Henry Brounker (f.16'). He enjoyed privileged access to PS and MSH's literary works. He knew *Astrophil and Stella*, *Arcadia*, PS's translation of du Bartas, 'The Lady of May', and the Sidney Psalms. He also mentions letters in both verse and prose (now lost) from PS to MSH.

Thomas Morley, *Canzonets, STC* 18121 (MSH) (see *DD*, I.244, 256, 268, 407, for the Sidneys' payments to other musicians).

Henry Salesbury, Grammatica Britannica, STC 21611 (HH).

## References

Thomas Churchyard, *A Pleasant Conceit Presented on New-Year's Day to the Queen's Majesty, STC* 5248 (verse to MSH, along with 11 other court ladies, B1<sup>v</sup>).

Michael Drayton, *Idea. The Shepherd's Garland, STC* 7202, sixth eclogue praises MSH. He also comments that 'Virtue is not dead' since 'she lives with one who ever held her dear' and reminds MSH of her literary inheritance. The fourth eclogue contains an elegy for PS. Revised versions of these tributes were included in his *Poems Lyric and Pastoral*, 1606, *STC* 7225.5.

Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation, STC* 12903, G3<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>r</sup>, refers to MSH as 'the dearest sister of the dearest brother' and commends *Arcadia*.

Thomas Kyd's translation of Garnier's *Cornelie* has been linked with MSH's translation of *Antonie*.

Daniel Rogers, *Chronicon Saxoniae & vicinarum aliquot Gentium*, Leipzig, 826–9, poem praising PS.

The unidentified 'R.S.' opens his anthology, *The Phoenix Nest*, with three elegies on PS by Matthew Roydon, Sir Walter Raleigh and Greville, reprinted two years later with Spenser's *Astrophel*. The Phoenix is used here as a symbol for PS himself.

William Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis, STC* 22354, may have had PS in mind since Adonis, like PS, dies of a wound in the thigh.

### 1594

### January

- 6–7 RS1 from Dover to BGS (CKS C81/27, 121).
- 9 RS1 from 'before Dieppe' to BGS (CKS C81/28). RS1 on the *Tramontana* to Burghley (SP 78/33/16). RS1 from Dieppe to Sir Thomas Edmondes, English agent in France (BL MS Cotton Caligula E.ix.168). These letters describe his difficult crossing of the Channel and how at Dieppe he found that his servant, Foulkes, had managed to cross safely on an earlier passage.
- 12 and 16–19 RS1 from Dieppe to Burghley and Robert Cecil (SP 78/33/32–4, 38, 44–50).
- 18 RS1 leaves Dieppe for Henri IV's court at Nantes.
- 26 and 27 RS1 from Nantes to Burghley, explaining that he has missed the French King (SP 78/33/64, 70). RS1 then heads towards Senlis and Chartres, where he hears news of the capitulation of Lyons.

### **February**

- 4 and 8 RS1 from Chartres to Burghley and Essex, detailing his audience with Henri IV (SP 78/33/75, 83–4).
- 6 Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* entered in the SR: 'As it was played by ... the Earl of Derby, Earl of Pembroke, and Earl of Sussex their servants' (title-page).
- RS1 from Chartres to Burghley, detailing how he had gone hawking with Henri IV on Shrove Tuesday, followed by a two-hour cabinet meeting with him on the next day to discuss his desire for 3,000 English troops and Elizabeth's wish for toleration towards Protestants (SP 78/33/90–6; BL MS Cotton Caligula E.ix.69–77). During this visit RS1 also

- meets the king's mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, and maintains a friendly relationship with her (see 15 July 1598).
- 19 Birth of King James's eldest son, Prince Henry (d.1612).
- 20 RS1 from Chartres to BGS, detailing his plan to leave the French court in about ten days and to meet her at Rye on the way to court (CKS C81/31).
- 27 Elizabeth sends further instructions to RS1 for his negotiations with Henri IV (SP 78/33/114–15) to Burghley, mentioning that Henri IV had invited him to meet with the French Council at St Denis (SP 78/33/117).
- (?) Alleged plot to murder the queen by her Portuguese physician, Dr Roderigo Lopez, who is arrested and executed in June.

#### March

- 2/3 RS1 from Nantes to Burghley, mentioning that he had travelled in the company of the Duke of Monpensier and Catherine de Bourbon (SP 78/33/124).
- 6 RS1 from St Denis to Burghley, noting that Rouen had capitulated to Henri IV who wished RS1 to go with him to Senlis (SP 78/33/126).
- 7 RS1 from St Denis to BGS, where he is about to go to Senlis with Henri IV (CKS C81/32).
- RS1 from Paris (where he had arrived 'This morning' and which had just fallen to Henri IV without bloodshed) to BGS (CKS C81/33). RS1 to Burghley, noting the peaceable departure of the Spanish and the reopening of the shops (SP 78/33/136).

Shakespeare's *The First Part of the Contention of York and Lancaster* (2.3.Henry VI) is entered in the SR. It may have originally been written for Pembroke's Men (or their precursors) and the text reported for a provincial tour by a group of the players. Its sequel, *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* (1.Henry VI) was printed in 1595: 'as it was sundry times acted by the Earl of Pembroke his servants' (titlepage). Harbage (1964, 64), lists other plays thought to have been performed by Pembroke's Men in the 1590s, including Thomas Nashe's *The Isle of Dogs*, and various anonymous dramas: *Black Joan, The Cobbler of Queenhithe, Pontius Pilate, Alice Pierce, Branhowlte, Friar Spendleton, Hardicanute, Like Unto Like*, and *Roderick*.

15 and 16 RS1 from Paris to Burghley (SPFrance 78/33/138, 141).

17 The Bastille yields by capitulation to Henri IV.

## April

8 RS1 arrives back at the English court (*HMC Salisbury*, XIII.147–8; see *DD*, II.147–8 for 'Memoranda' compiled during his French embassy).

## May

- 2 The Taming of a Shrew (earlier version of The Shrew), STC 23667, entered in the SR: 'As it was sundry times acted by the Earl of Pembroke his servants' (title-page).
- 19–25 RS1 from Greenwich to BGS at Penshurst. He is confident that the extensive building works at Penshurst were proceeding well since BGS and his servant Robert Kerwin were closely supervising them (CKS C81/36–8, 40).
- RS1 from Baynard's Castle to BGS, describing how he has begun his 'sweatings' which are expected to last five or six days (CKS C81/39).

The stationer Thomas Este enters in the SR Nicholas Breton's 'The Passions of the Spirit' (BL MS Sloane 1303; Bodl. MS Tanner 221, titled 'The Countess of Pembroke's Passion'; and a third (lost) manuscript once at Plymouth Public Library). The printed version is dedicated to Mistress Mary Houghton. Although only a 1599 edition now survives, a 1594 edition was probably printed. Breton may have fallen foul of MSH for this transference of loyalty from her to Mary Houghton.

### June

RS1 to BGS at Penshurst, reporting that he is continuing his medication and suggesting that BGS join him when Elizabeth begins her a progress in a week's time (CKS C81/41).

## August

- Birth of RS1 and BGS's daughter, Philip (Philippa) (d.1620). Lord Mountjoy, Lady Essex and Lady Compton stand as godparents (Collins, I.120).
- 23–28 RS1 from Greenwich to BGS at Penshurst, complaining that he is completely weary of the court and longs to be with her at Penshurst (CKS C81/43–5, 131).

### September

8 RS1 from court to BGS, detailing his plan to go into Wiltshire and enclosing a letter from 'my Lady of Pembroke'. He also mentions MSH and HH's visit to the Earl of Essex, when Lady Essex (formerly PS's wife) was pregnant and HH was ill (CKS C81/46–7).

10 and 12(?) RS1 to BGS at Penshurst, making various plans for BGS to visit Barn Elms or Otford (neither of which took place). He also notes a serious outbreak of smallpox in London and is looking forward to the arrival of Essex at court (CKS C81/48–9).

#### October

18 MSW's seventh birthday.

26 RS1 from Richmond to BGS, noting that he will soon set out for Wilton: 'I pray you send me word if my buildings be finished and how my garden goes forwards'. He is intending to accompany Essex to the Lord Mayor's banquet (CKS C81/50).

27 MSH's thirty-third birthday.

#### November

19 RS1's thirty-first birthday.

William Ponsonby enters in the SR 'A treatise in commendation of Poetry' or 'the defence of poesy' by PS.

#### Works

(c.1594?) MSH writes to Sir Edward Wotton, referring to 'a certain idle passion which long since I left in your hands only being desirous to review what the image could be of those sad times ... Yet if your care of these follies of such a toy have chanced to keep that which my self have lost, my earnest desire is that I may again see it' (probably a reference to an elegy on PS, perhaps 'The Doleful Lay of Clorinda') (Lambeth Palace MS 650/346).

#### **Dedications**

Samuel Daniel, *Delia and Rosamond Augmented. Cleopatra, STC* 6254 (sonnet to MSH, describing his poems as 'Begotten by thy hand, and my desire'). In the dedication to her of *Cleopatra*, Daniel appears to refer to her versifications of the Psalms (lines 57–8). Harvard University Library, Widener Collection, has a copy with 'M.P.' stamped on the covers,

perhaps a presentation copy from Daniel to MSH. Daniel's *Cleopatra* has various similarities to MSH's translation of Garnier's *Antonie*.

Henry Parry, *Victoria Christiana*, *STC* 19336 (WH3). In this dedication Parry praises WH3's tutor Hugh Sanford (who had assisted MSH in editing the 1593 *Arcadia*) and refers to a completed draft of her versifications of the Psalms.

### References

Richard Barnfield, *The Affectionate Shepheard*, *STC* 1480, dedicated to Penelope Rich and elegizes PS in 'The Shepheard's Content'.

Henry Constable, *Diana*, *STC* 5638, illicitly includes some of PS's *Certain Sonnets* and Daniel's sonnets. It was published by John Charlewood who printed the first illegal quarto of PS's *Astrophil and Stella* in 1591. This *c*.1594 edition of *Diana* was printed by James Roberts who later printed Henry Olney's illegal 1595 quarto of PS's *Apology for Poetry*. Constable also wrote a sonnet, 'To the Countess of Pembroke' (MSH), beginning: 'Lady whom by report, I only know' (Constable 1960, 154).

Michael Drayton, *Idea's Mirror, STC* 7203, praises MSH as Pandora in the 'Gorbo il fidele' dedicatory sonnet; and Amor 51 praises MSH as 'Meridianis', an anagram of 'Mari Sidnei', as her name is spelt on the title-page of the 1590 *Arcadia* (Robertson 1965, 49). 'Meridian's sunbred stately strain' (line 1736) is also praised in Drayton's *Piers Gaveston* (*c*.1593–4). Drayton may also have hoped to interest MSH in his *Matilda, STC* 7205, since its plot included a visit to 'Baynards-Castell', then MSH's London residence (Drayton 1961, I.97, 107, 227). His *Mortimeriados*, praises the Sidneys in its dedication (to the Countess of Bedford); and his *Elegy to Henry Reynolds* praises PS (Buxton, 226).

Paul Greaves, *Grammatica Anglicana*, *STC* 12208 borrows from *Arcadia*. William Ponsonby publishes *Six Books of Politics or Civil Doctrine*, *STC* 157701, by PS's friend, Justus Lipsius. The publication by 'W.P.' of William Percy's *Sonnets to the Fairest Coelia*, *STC* 19618, has also been attributed to Ponsonby (although the initials are probably those of the author). Percy, however, was keen to cultivate the interest of the Sidneys and a manuscript collection of his 'Comedies and Pastorals' opens with: 'Sir Philip Sidney's Song' (Huntington Library MS 4). Ponsonby also publishes George Chapman's *The Shadow of Night*, *STC* 4990.

Thomas Kyd translates Robert Garnier's *Cornelia, STC* 11622, in imitation of MSH's translation of *Antonie* and dedicates it to the Countess of Sussex.

Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller, STC* 18380 draws upon *Arcadia* for its depictions of tournaments.

I.O., *The Lamentation of Troy for the Death of Hector*, dedicated to Lord Willoughby of Eresby, in whose rescue PS received his mortal wound. In its allegory, Hector is sometimes identified with PS.

Robert Parsons (writing as R. Doelman), *A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crown of England, STC* 19398, II.254–5, recalls the Sidney family's connection with the Earl of Huntingdon (who was married to PS's aunt).

### 1595

### **February**

5 RS1 from London to BGS at Penshurst about finding a suitable London house for the family (CKS U1500 C292/32)

### March

2–4 RS1 from London and Greenwich to BGS about accommodation and noting that the Countess of Essex has had a son (CKS C81/58–60).

## April

Henry Olney enters in the SR 'An Apologie for Poetry' (but without PS's name), despite Ponsonby's earlier licence of 29 November 1594. This entry was later struck out, with a note that Ponsonby already owned the rights.

# July

- RS1 from London to Burghley, concerning munitions and victuals (SP 84/51/6).
- Death of RS1's brother, Thomas Sidney. He is buried at Kingston-upon-Hull. His widow, Lady Margaret Dakins, had formerly been the wife of Walter Devereux. Her hand is now sought by a former suitor, Posthumus Hoby. Whyte later mentions to RS1 that Thomas's widow is taking his death very 'heavily' (DD, II.165–6).

# August

2–3 RS1 from Margate to BGS who (then five months pregnant) was distressed at his leaving. He seeks to offer some comfort by reminding her that she is 'Sweet Barbara ... one of the greatest joys of my life'. RS1 immediately begins lobbying for further leave from his post at Flushing (CKS C81/61–2).

- 8 RS1 from Flushing to Essex, concerning his attempts to suppress Dutch trade with the Spanish (*HMC Salisbury*, V.308–97). RS1 to Burghley, enclosing the expenses for his household (SP 84/51/81–3).
- 21 and 22, 25 RS1 writes from Flushing to BGS. She is planning to cross to Flushing, although she eventually agrees to stay with the children in England. She is also actively seeking leave for RS1 from Flushing (CKS C81/63–5, 125).
- 22 and 24 RS1 from Flushing to Essex, including a brief reference to PS's death (*HMC Salisbury*, V.340, 344–5). RS1 to Burghley (SP 84/51/101–2).
- 25 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley and Robert Cecil, asking both to support his pleas for leave from Flushing (SP 84/51/110, 112).

### September

- 11 and 19, 27 RS1 from Flushing to Essex (HMC Salisbury, V.372–92).
- RS1 from Flushing to BGS, concerning plans to set up a London home for the family during the coming winter season (CKS C81/66). RS1 to Burghley, concerning a scheme to lure Patrick Sedgrave (who was now using his mother's name of Fitz James) into Flushing and then capture him (SP 84/51/134).
- Whyte to RS1, noting that BGS is well and that MSW and Katherine are studying hard. Of the babies of the family, William can now dance a galliard in his doublet and hose, Bess cannot yet speak but Philip can walk unassisted (CKS C12/3).

### October

- 1 MSH from Wilton to John Thynne at Longleat, concerning Alice Blage (probably the wife of the royal chaplain Thomas Blage (May 2000, 89).
- 8 Whyte reports to RS1 that he has arranged the renting of the London house of a merchant, Richard Catcher. The family's move to London is delayed when Katherine, Philip and Bess catch the measles. Eventually, Philip is left at Penshurst as the rest of the family, including MSW and William, relocate to London (*DD*, II.171).
- RS1 from Flushing to Essex, enclosing copies of two of his letters to Sedgrave (*HMC Salisbury*, V.408–9).

- Whyte to RS1, concerning the plans to marry WH3 and Elizabeth Carey, daughter of Sir George Carey and Elizabeth Lady Hunsdon (the patroness of Spenser and Nashe). They had been secretly meeting at Wilton House, suggesting that MSH was also involved in this matchmaking. HH breaks off the negotiations in the winter. RS1's children MSW and Elizabeth have been ill (DD, II.173).
- 18 MSW's eighth birthday.
- 19 Whyte to RS1, advising him of his suspicions that Sir Edmund Uvedall was seeking preferment behind RS1's back (*DD*, II.178–80).
- 22 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley, concerning the ongoing problems with Sedgrave (SP 84/51/203–4)
- Whyte from Penshurst to RS1, noting that MSW is progressing well with her studies and is also excelling at dancing and the virginals (*DD*, II.176).
- Whyte from the Strand to RS1, reporting that Katherine has the measles but has safely come to 'Mrs Catcher's House' at London with Mary, William and Philip. HH and WH3 are also there (*DD*, II.177).
- 27 MSH's thirty-fourth birthday. RS1 writes from Middelburg to BGS at London, concerning the high expenses of the London household (CKS C81/69).

#### November

- 2 Jean Lobbet writes from Strasbourg to RS1 (DD, II.180–1).
- 6 and 8, 12–13 RS1 from Flushing to Essex and Burghley about Sedgrave (*HMC Salisbury*, V.440–57; Lambeth Palace MS 652/166; SP 84/51/231–3).
- RS1 to BGS, concerning the expenses of running their London house and complaining that they cannot maintain a staff of sixty (CKS C81/70).
- 19 RS1's thirty-second birthday.
- BGS, who had been ill 'of a swelling in the throat', takes her three eldest children to court from Baynard's Castle (CKS C12/30). Whyte advises RS1 of WH3 'not liking' Sir George Carey's daughter, Elizabeth (*DD*, II.188)
- 27–28 RS1 from Flushing to Essex and Burghley (*HMC Salisbury*, V.473–4; SP 84/51/259).
- Whyte from London to RS1, describing the success of BGS's trip to court and how MSW was noted as 'a fit maid' for the queen (*DD*, II.191).

#### December

- Birth of RS1 and BGS's son, Robert (d.1677), later second Earl of Leicester (RS2), at Baynard's Castle. Mother and baby are both suffering from the measles: 'a goodly fat boy but as full of the measles in the face as can be' (*DD*, II.193).
- 6 and 12–25 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley as the Sedgrave problem drags on. RS1 refuses to arrest him contrary to a prior promise of safe passage (SP 84/51/268–75, 290–5).
- 9 RS1 from Flushing to BGS, delighted to know that both Barbara and baby are well (CKS C81/73).
- 12 and 25 RS1 from Flushing to Essex (HMC Salisbury, V.494–5, 507).
- Death of Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntington, one of RS1's firmest supporters at court. Whyte to RS1, discussing his suit for the position of Vice-Chamberlain (*DD*, II.200).
- Christening of Robert Sidney (RS2), with Penelope Devereux Rich, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy and William Lord Compton as godparents (Collins, I, 286; *DD*, II.205).

#### Works

PS, (1) An Apology for Poetry, STC 22534 (entered SR, 12 April 1595, for Henry Olney), with an address from Olney to PS's relatives and friends, claiming he was acting as 'the first public bewrayer of Poesy's Messias'. This edition also included four sonnets supposedly written by Henry Constable to PS's soul. (2) A reissue of quires B–L of STC 22534, with the title-page of STC 22535 prefixed, STC 22534.5 (for W. Ponsonby). (3) The Defence of Poesie, STC 22535 (entered 29 November 1594, for William Ponsonby), the first authorized edition based upon the Penshurst manuscript (Pe) which bears RS1's signature on the flyleaf and a few corrections in his hand. Another manuscript now at Norwich is written in the same hand as the Cambridge manuscript of the New Arcadia. The ordering of (1) and (2) is disputed (see Stump, 52).

MSH (translation), Robert Garnier, *The Tragedy of Antony, STC* 11623 (entered 3 May 1592, for William Ponsonby).

### References

Thomas Campion, Poemata, STC 4544, E3v, epigram on PS.

Thomas Churchyard, *A Musical Consort of Heavenly Harmony, STC* 5245.5, contains a versified interpretation of PS's *Defence of Poetry*. Sir Lewis Lewkenor, *A Discourse of the Usage of the English Fugitive, by the Spaniard, STC* 15662, D2, recalls PS's involvement in the taking of Axel.

The 1596 enlarged edition of *Discourse* also recalls PS's mercy towards Captain Walsh, an English deserter, and his role at Gravelines and Zutphen (C4<sup>v</sup>, G2, Q4<sup>v</sup>).

Edmund Spenser, *Colin Clouts Come Home Again, STC* 23077, celebrates MSH as 'Urania, sister unto Astrophel,/In whose brave mind as in a golden coffer,/All heavenly gifts and riches locked are' (lines 487–9). Published with *Colin Clouts* was *Astrophel*. *A Pastoral Elegy*, dedicated to PS's widow Frances, now Countess of Essex. *Astrophel* comprises a collection of intimate elegies on PS by (probably) Spenser ('Astrophel'), MSH ('The Doleful Lay of Clorinda'), Ludovick Bryskett ('The Mourning Muse of Thestylis' and 'A Pastoral Aeglogue'), Raleigh ('An Elegy, or Friend's Passion'), Matthew Roydon ('An Epitaph'), Dyer or Greville ('Another of the Same').

### 1596

January	
3	Whyte to RS1 about RS2's christening (C12/49).
12	RS1 leaves Flushing and does not return until 29 August.
23	RS1 and his deputies are instructed by the Privy Council to
	address ongoing problems with the Dutch trading with the
	Spanish (APC XXVI.441–6).

(?) HH makes his will, with Thomas Moffet as one of the witnesses.

### March

(?) BGS is lobbying for RS1 to succeed Sir John Wooley (C81/122).

# April

4 (received) RS1 to Sir Posthumous Hoby (Bodl. MS Addit.d.109/130–1).

9 and 18 RS1 to Queen Elizabeth (SP 84/52/142, 150).

RS1 meets at Boulogne with Henri IV, who is seeking assistance from Elizabeth for the retaking of Calais from the Spanish. He refuses the queen's proposal that Calais should be returned to the English in return for military assistance. RS1 offers a compromise solution, again rejected, that Calais should revert to Elizabeth only for her lifetime.

### June

1 MSH from Wilton to Julius Caesar, Master of Requests, on behalf of a servant who was involved in a lawsuit (BL Additional MS 12506/235).

22 Seizure and sacking of Cadiz by Essex.

# July

RS1 sends two letters from London to Robert Cecil who is appointed Secretary of State (*HMC Salisbury*, VI.246).

(?)—August Departure of the Cadiz Expedition led by Howard of Effingham and Essex. Cadiz and much Spanish shipping is burnt and Spanish treasure seized. RS1 has interests in this voyage. In Robert H. Taylor Collection, Princeton University Library, there is a letter from MSH, sent on behalf of HH to the Earl of Essex, enquiring after the latter's safe arrival at Plymouth before setting out on one of his voyages (either in 1589 with Drake to Portugal; or 1591 when he commanded the English forces assisting Henri IV; or June 1596 to Cadiz; or August 1597 in an unsuccessful attempt to attack the new Spanish armada and treasure ships returning from South America). The 1596 voyage seems the most likely, especially since a 'Lord Herbert' (perhaps WH3) sailed with Essex and was knighted by him. He may even have been the messenger, described as the 'wise post', who delivered this letter to Essex.

### August

- 2 RS1 to Essex (HMC Salisbury, VI.316).
- 9 RS1 attends the marriage of Margaret Dakins Sidney (Thomas's widow) to Sir Posthumous Hoby in Lady Russell's house at Blackfriars (Hoby 1930, 32).
- 19 Birth of King James's daughter, Elizabeth (d.1662).
- 29–4 March 1598 RS1 returns to Flushing. He writes to BGS, describing how the crossing had been rough and he had landed at Rammekins on Friday. There seems nothing of importance to do there, nor does RS1 think that war is imminent (CKS C81/75). He also writes to Essex (HMC Salisbury, VI.353–4).

## September

2 RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil, mentioning his excellent relations with President Valck (SP 84/53/47).

- A request is make by Prince Maurice for RS1's horse band at Flushing to be reformed (*DD*, II.216–17).
- 12 and 18 RS1 from Flushing and The Hague to Essex (*HMC Salisbury*, VI.383–4, 391).
- 22–December A dispute arises over RS1's right to dispose of cautionary horse companies (*DD*, II.17–23).
- 24 RS1 from Flushing to Essex (*HMC Salisbury*, VI.398).
- Whyte from Penshurst to RS1, describing his 'sweet children' and his suit for Otford Park (Collins, II.4–6).
- RS1 supports Jacques Gelée's warrant for beer exporting (CSPD, 288).

### October

- 1 RS1 from Flushing to BGS. He is pleased to know that his garden is flourishing at Penshurst (CKS C81/78).
- 2–26 RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil, Burghley and Essex (SP 84/53/76–113; *HMC Salisbury*, VI.433–55).
- 18 MSW's ninth birthday.
- 22 RS1 to BGS, assuring her that she treats her children's nurses very well: 'for I know few in England useth them as you do' (CKS C81/79–80).
- 27 MSH's thirty-fifth birthday.
- (?) Four undated letters from RS1 are addressed to Lady Rich, Essex and Burghley (*HMC Salisbury*, VI.464–5), and to Henry Howard (Lambeth Palace MS 659/224).

#### November

- 3 and 23, 26 RS1 from Flushing to Essex (HMC Salisbury, VI.469–70, 498; Lambeth Palace MS 660/138–9).
- 19 RS1's thirty-third birthday.
- RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil (SP 84/53/166). RS1 to BGS, recording his pleasure that William is learning to read. He also expresses his low opinion of university men as tutors since they have seen so little of the world. A Mr Bird is eventually appointed as a tutor for William. He stays with the Sidneys until about 1605 (CKS C81/83).
- 25 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley and the Privy Council, attempting to assist John Everett (the son of a Flushing seacaptain) and his crew who had been enslaved in the Turkish galleys (SP 84/53/168–70).

#### December

- 1 and 2(?), 5, 12 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley and Essex (SP 84/53/178, 186, 202; *HMC Salisbury*, VI.501–2, 507–8, 533).
- Anonymous writer from Flushing to Thomas Philippes, referring to RS1's gift of hunting hounds for Henri IV (SP 12/261/38).
- RS1 to BGS, complaining about the slow completion of some pictures to Penshurst: 'it is a shame they should lie so long upon the painter's hands'. At about this period a large family portrait is completed by Marcus Gheeraerts the younger, dated 1596, now in the state dining room at Penshurst, depicting BGS surrounded by six of her children (CKS C81/87).

#### Dedications

Gervase Markham, *The Poem of Poems, STC* 17386 (PS's daughter, Elizabeth, later wife of Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland).

### References

Charles Fitzgeoffrey, *Sir Francis Drake*, *STC* 10943, B4<sup>v</sup>, refers to 'nectartongued Sidney, England's Mars and Muse'.

Sir John Harington, *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, STC 12779, recalls PS's dislike of hunting and hawking.

Funebria nobilissimi ac praestantissimi equitis, D. H. Untoni, STC 24520, contains various references to PS (who had known Unton).

#### 1597

### January

- 9–28 RS1 in correspondence about official business from Flushing with Essex, Henry Howard, Anthony Standen, Burghley and Robert Cecil (*HMC Salisbury*, VII.12–44; Lambeth Palace MSS 654/17–18 and 655/11–12; SP 84/54/28–41). He also writes on 9 to BGS, concerning the forthcoming christening of their soon expected baby (CKS C81/88)
- Countess of Warwick from court to RS1, offering her support (Collins, II.11).
- 23/24 RS1 is prominent, with Prince Maurice and Sir Francis Vere, at the Siege of Turnhout. RS1's reputation as a military leader is greatly enhanced and his valour on the battlefield

is vividly described in *A True Discourse of the Overthrow at Turnhaut* (1597). But RS1 then has a serious altercation with Vere, concerning the reports back home of their respective roles in the siege (with RS1 suspected of downplaying Vere).

The Privy Council grants RS1 an allowance to replace his lost horse company (*APC*, XXVI.431).

## **February**

- 1–3 RS1 with military news from Flushing to Essex and Burghley (*HMC Salisbury*, VII.54, 56; SP 84/54/53–5).
- Elizabeth writes personally to RS1, congratulating him on the action at Turnhout (SP 84/54/64). RS1 from Flushing to BGS, delighted at the safe delivery of their daughter Bridget (d.1599) but concerned that he may not be able to return home for the christening. Lady Sussex, the Earl of Southampton and Lady Bedford are invited to be godparents and the christening party is notable for its strong links with the Earl of Essex (CKS C81/92).
- 17–18 RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil, defending himself from the Privy Council's disapproval at allowing Dutch ships to sail from Flushing (*HMC Salisbury*, VII.65–9; SP 84/54/72, 78).
- Whyte to RS1, concerning his attempt to secure the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports in opposition to Henry Brooke (whose father William Lord Cobham, the incumbent of the post was terminally ill). RS1 is supported by Essex and Lady Rich (*DD*, II.239).
- Whyte to RS1, concerning the christening. Lady Bedford is unable to attend in person (*DD*, II.236–41).
- A rumour circulating that two letters sealed with the Sidney arrowhead had been delivered to two of the queen's maids. If so, RS1 may either have been seeking assistance from them (perhaps for his suit for the Cinque Ports) or conducting secret liaisons (DD, II.238–9). RS1 continues his attempts to suppress corruption among the merchants supplying the English forces at Flushing. The systematic corruption of his Treasurer, Sir Thomas Shirley (whom he inherited from his uncle, Leicester), is finally exposed (Hay, 121–2).

#### March

1 Christening of Bridget Sidney, with the Countesses of Sussex and Bedford as godmothers, the latter represented

- by a proxy. Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton (Shakespeare's patron), is godfather (DD, II.242).
- Whyte advises RS1 that he has received complaints from the Lord Treasurer about his appalling handwriting. He also reports on relations between Essex and Raleigh (Collins, II.24–5).
- Death of Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports. Essex tries to persuade Elizabeth to award the post to RS1, but when unsuccessful, becomes enraged with the queen and tries to stand himself (*DD*, II.245–50). RS1 then seeks a variety of other posts, including those of Vice-Chamberlain and the Presidency of Wales.
- 12–20 RS1 from Flushing to Essex, seeking his support (*HMC Salisbury*, VII.108–19). Whyte expresses his serious concerns over RS1's pursuit of other offices and offers his master some stern advice: 'determine to live within your compass and get out of debt, for I fear it will be long ere any advancement be laid on you for your good' (*DD*, II.246).
- 20 and 27 RS1 from Flushing to BGS, about the cost of their living expenses. RS1 is soon obliged to give up the London house and to bring BGS and the children to Flushing (CKS C81/94, 95, 128).

## April

- 4 RS1 is suggested to Essex by Whyte as the commander of troops about to go from the Netherlands into France (*DD*, II.262).
- 20 and 22, 29 RS1 from Flushing to BGS, discussing her move to Flushing and what to do with the children. RS1 feels that William should now be separated from his sisters and female attendants and have a male tutor. MSW is described as 'almost ten' (CKS C81/97–8, 132; Collins, II.43–4).
- 26–29 RS1 from Flushing about official business to Essex, Burghley and Robert Cecil (SP 84/54/202–8; *HMC Salisbury*, VII.176–81). Plague is now prevalent in the Low Countries.

### May

A Dutch gentleman is appointed as William Sidney's tutor at Flushing. He is also considered as a potentially suitable guide if William is sent on a grand tour when he is older. RS1's close friend Roels, the pensionary of Middelburg, has died (CKS C81/100).

- 12 RS1 from Flushing to Queen Elizabeth (BL MS Cotton Galba D.xii.234–7), to Essex (*HMC Salisbury*, VII.198–9) and to BGS (CKS C81/142).
- 13 and 23, 31 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley and Robert Cecil (SP 84/54/235, 253, 269).
- 16 and 21 RS1 from Flushing to Essex (HMC Salisbury, VII.201, 207–8).
- 19 Whyte advises RS1 that BGS intends bringing all the children over to Flushing unless he agrees that they should stay at Penshurst (*DD*, II.282).
- 20 Queen Elizabeth to RS1 (SP 84/54/247).
- 22 and 24 RS1 to BGS about her plans for crossing to Flushing (CKS C81/101–2).
- 24 RS1 from Flushing to Essex, expressing his regret at not being able to join the preparations for the Azores expedition (*HMC Salisbury*, VII.210–11).
- 27 and 30, 31 RS1 from The Hague to Essex (*HMC Salisbury*, VII.217, 222–5).
- A pass is issued to BGS by the Privy Council to travel to Flushing with 'her children, servants, furniture' (APC, XXVII.152).

## June

- 1–8 RS1 from Flushing to Essex (*HMC Salisbury*, VII.228–9, 243–8).
- Whyte describes how 'next Monday' the nursery and four youngest children will embark from Gravesend, and BGS and the four elder from Margate, to join RS1 at Flushing (DD, II.286).
- 8–23 RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil and Burghley (SP 84/54/285–309 *passim*).

### July

4 and 16, 22–23 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley and Robert Cecil (SP 84/55/6, 22, 37–41; *HMC Salisbury*, VII.313).

## August

- 6 and 9 RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil and Burghley (SP 84/55/58, 64).
- 14 and 17, 20 RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil, referring to his orders to detain a fleet of Dutch corn ships at Flushing. Although the order arrives after the ships have departed RS1 is still concerned over the queen's displeasure (SP 84/55/80, 89–90, 95–6).

(?) MSH to Burghley, referring to his kindnesses to herself and WH3. She seeks to promote a match between WH3 and Bridget de Vere, daughter of Anne Cecil (who had once been considered as a prospective wife for PS) and Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. The letter was probably delivered by HH's longtime servant, Arthur Massinger, the father of the dramatist Philip (CP 55/6; HMC Salisbury, VII.375). HH also writes on the same day to Burghley and to Robert Cecil about the match (SP 12/264/84–5; HMC Salisbury, VII.354). In the same month, WH3 personally thanks Robert Cecil for his consideration (HMC Salisbury, VII.374). During August MSH also writes to Robert Cecil, denying that HH had tried to block him in his attempts to secure the title Viscount Cranbourne (CP 55/6).

## September

- 3 and 5 RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil (SP 84/55/115–20).
- 3 HH to Burghley (in a letter delivered by Arthur Massinger), proposing that WH3 and Bridget de Vere should not immediately cohabit after their wedding but, instead, the bride should 'remain with my wife' (MSH) (SP 12/264/106).
- RS1 from 'the Camp before Grole' to Robert Cecil (SP 84/55/133-4).

## October

- Whyte assures RS1 that he has been pressing for his leave to return to England; and on 13 confirms that the document has been signed (*DD*, II.293–4). RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil and Burghley (SP 84/55/155–60).
- 6 and 8, 28, 31 RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil and Burghley (SP 84/55/163–6, 187–200).
- 18 MSW's tenth birthday.
- 24–9 February 1598 Queen Elizabeth's Ninth Parliament discusses issue of monopolies. Legislation is also passed on the poor and vagabonds, and on discharged soldiers and sailors. RS1 is MP for Kent and now actively seeking a peerage, as well as the post of Vice-Chamberlain. He is also in the running for the Lord Deputyship of Ireland, later awarded to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. Elizabeth also writes to him personally during October (SP 84/55/201). Thomas Moffet, the

Herbert family's physician, sits as MP for Wilton and resides at Bulbridge, to the west of Wilton House.

27 MSH's thirty-sixth birthday.

### November

8 and 9, 16–17, 24 RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil, Burghley and Essex (SP 84/55/227–8, 241–50; *HMC Salisbury*, VII.475–6, 492).

19 RS1's thirty-fourth birthday.

### December

- 4 RS1 from Flushing to Robert Cecil (SP 84/55/265–6).
- 31 RS1 from Flushing to Queen Elizabeth (BL MS Cotton Galba D.xii.152–3).

#### Undated

Pembroke's Men are reconstituted and enter into an agreement to play the Swan Theatre for a year. The players include Robert Shawe, Richard Jones, Gabriel Spencer, William Bird (alias Borne) and Thomas Downton. (Edmond 1974, 129–36). A group of Pembroke's Men are also touring the provinces at this period: Bath (1596–97, 1598–99), Bristol (1597, 1598), and Leicester, Coventry, Dover, Bewdley and Norwich (Chambers 1925, II.131–3). The scandal over the *Isle of Dogs*, performed by Pembroke's Men, leads to Ben Jonson's imprisonment in the Marshalsea with Shawe and Spencer.

John Salusbury is appointed, on the recommendation of HH, as Lord Lieutenant of Denbighshire. He had acquired a literary reputation in London during the 1590s and was probably a friend of Ben Jonson (Buxton 1980, 47).

### Works

RS1 probably writes some of the poems 'from Rosis to Lysa' contained in his autograph manuscript notebook, BL Additional MS 58435, as demonstrated by their subject matter and the similarity of the watermarks of the notebook to those in letters written from Flushing between October 1596 to April 1598. It has been suggested that some of RS1's sonnets are addressed to Elizabeth Carey, the daughter of Elizabeth Lady Hunsdon (Hay, 202; see 15 October 1595). Phrasing and thoughts in RS1's letters from 1595 to 1598 show parallels to the poetry, with a cluster of similarities around the first half of 1597. The collection includes 65 poems: 35 complete sonnets, 18 songs, 5 pastorals, 4 epigrams (or *strambotti*), 3 translations, and an elegy. The

collection is addressed 'For the Countess of Pembroke' (MSH), either as a dedication or a postal direction.

### **Dedications**

Nicholas Breton, *Auspicante Jehova*, *STC* 3652 (MSH), admitting that there is 'no greater blot of disgrace than the vile note of ingratitude' – perhaps apologising for the dedication of *The Passions of the Spirit* to Mary Houghton – and *Wit's Trenchmour*, *STC* 3713. This latter volume contains a description of what is almost certainly MSH's country residence, Wilton House, as 'a kind of little court'.

Henry Lok, *Ecclesiastes [and] Sundry Sonnets, STC* 16696 (addresses 60 patrons, including MSH (Y1<sup>v</sup>) and PS's widow, Frances Walsingham Sidney).

# References

Joseph Hall, *Virgidemiarum*, *STC* 12716, VI.255–60, praises PS's literary style in the *Arcadia*, especially his use of double epithets.

John King, *Lectures Upon Jonas*, *STC* 14976, Z2, denounces the '*Arcadia*, and *The Faerie Queene*, and *Orlando Furioso*, with such like frivolous stories' as temptations to 'commit idolatry with such books'.

Sir John Harington of Kelston's 'A Treatise on Play' specifically praises the Sidneian Psalms and expresses regret that they are not published in print (BL Additional MS 46371/3).

## 1598

# January

- BGS from the Savoy to John Stamer (Huntington MS STT 1897).
- Whyte to RS1, noting the great persuasive power of MSH's letters to the Lord Treasurer, requesting home leave for RS1: 'I never read anything that could express an earnest desire like unto this' (CKS C12/121).
- 16–29 RS1 from Flushing to Burghley, Robert Cecil and Essex with continental news (SP 84/56/21–33; *HMC Salisbury*, VIII.22–30).

# **February**

Whyte to RS1, noting that the Countess of Essex was pregnant and sends her love to RS1. Whyte also encloses a letter from MSH (*DD*, II.319).

Whyte informs RS1 that the embezzler Burchinshaw has delivered to the queen a tract, 'A Discovery of Lester and Beecher's Practices [at Flushing]', in which Whyte is also falsely implicated (*DD*, II.325).

### March

- Whyte reports to RS1 that the Earl of Essex is now in high favour. Essex had read all four of RS1's recent letters (*HMC Salisbury*, VIII.53–6) and burnt three of them. Essex then gives the remaining one to the queen, to which Whyte attributes RS1's permission to return to England (*DD*, II.329).
- 5 PS's daughter, Elizabeth, marries Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland.
- 24 RS1 from Baynard's Castle to BGS, noting that he is about to go to the court to see the queen (CKS C81/104). From sometime after 7 (until 4 August) RS1 is away from Flushing (Hay, 138).

# July

A letter to RS1 from Thomas Edmondes at Paris assures him of the personal affection of Henri IV's mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées (Croft 1984, 52, 84–5).

# August

5 Death of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, leading to the culmination of the power struggle between Essex and Robert Cecil.

# September

- Death of Philip II of Spain and accession of Philip III.
- WH3 is linked with the rich young widow, Lady Hatton, but no formal marriage negotiations develop (*CSPD*, 95).

### October

- 18 MSW's eleventh birthday.
- 20 RS1 is rumoured to be going to attend the wedding of Henri IV's sister but does not go (Chamberlain, I.49).
- 23 William Ponsonby enters PS's Astrophil and Stella in the SR.
- 27 MSH's thirty-seventh birthday.
- John Udale from Wilton to Essex, on behalf of HH and MSH, recommending their son WH3 (*HMC Salisbury*, VIII.415). This may be the same John Udall who compiled a Hebrew

grammar and, if so, he may have tutored MSH in Hebrew or offered advice on the Hebrew text of the psalms.

(?) Birth of RS1 and BGS's daughter, Alice (d.1599).

### November

19 RS1's thirty-fifth birthday.

### December

- 15 Queen Elizabeth sends instructions to RS1 (SP 84/57/191).
- Birth of King James's daughter, Margaret.

28-20 April 1604 Greville appointed Treasurer of the Navy.

#### Undated

(1597/98?) 'Statement submitted by Sir Robert Sidney to Earl Marshal the Earl of Essex, of his claim to the title of Lord Lisle, as the only heir male of John Dudley, Viscount Lisle' (SP 12/269/99).

#### Works

PS, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, STC 22541, containing Arcadia, Certain Sonnets, Defence, Astrophil and Stella (including Sonnet 37 with its punning identification of Stella as Penelope Devereux Rich) and The Lady of May (called The May Day Masque and without Rombus's epilogue). It was perhaps prepared for the press by MSH and Daniel. An unbound copy cost 8s.

(c.1598) PS, *Astrophil and Stella* (Another edition of 1591, *STC* 22536, but without epistle and preface), *STC* 22538.

### Dedications

Aristotle's Politics, or Discourses of Government, translated 'I.D.', STC 760 (RS).

Robert Barret, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Wars, STC* 1500 (HH, WH3, with reference to PS being his uncle), echoing the title of Bernardino de Mendoza, *Theory and Practice of War*, translated Sir Edward Hoby, 1597, *STC* 17819. Published by William Ponsonby. Barret has been suggested as a model for Parolles in *As You Like It*.

Samuel Brandon, *The Tragicomedy of the Virtuous Octavia, STC* 3544 (MSH). Published by William Ponsonby.

Emanuel Forde, *Parismus, the Renowned Prince of Bohemia, STC* 11171 (PS's widow, Frances Walsingham Sidney, now Countess of Essex).

Thomas Powell, *Love's Leprosy*, *STC* 20166.5 (RS1 mentioned in dedication).

# References

Richard Barnfield, *Poems: in Divers Humours, STC* 1488, E4<sup>r</sup>, an epitaph on PS.

Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, *STC* 17834, praises MSH as 'the noble sister of immortal Sir Philip Sidney'; and names PS as 'our rarest poet'.

Everard Guilpin, *Skialetheia*, *STC* 12504, E1<sup>v</sup>, notes that PS was 'not exempt from prophanation,/But censur'd for affectation'.

John Florio, *World of Words, STC* 11098, responds to Hugh Sanford's criticism of his editorial work on the 1590 *Arcadia*.

Francis Rous, *Thule, or Virtue's History, STC* 21348, A2<sup>v</sup>, links PS and King James VI of Scotland.

## 1599

# January

Death of Edmund Spenser at Westminster, buried in Westminster Abbey on 16 (at expense of Earl of Essex).

### March

- John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, commending Thomas Moffet's poem on silkworms (dedicated to MSH) (Chamberlain, I.70).
- Essex is appointed Governor-General of Ireland and arrives in Ireland in April.
- Death of RS1 and BGS's daughter, Alice, aged 6 months (Penshurst Church memorial).

# April

- 25 Birth of Oliver Cromwell (d.1658), son of Richard Cromwell and Elizabeth Steward.
- 26 RS1 requests permission from Cecil to return from Flushing because of HH's failing health (*HMC Salisbury*, IX.141–3).

# May

7–31 RS1 from Baynard's Castle/London in regular contact with Cecil about official business (*HMC Salisbury*, IX.157–88).

# June

Death of RS1 and BGS's daughter, Bridget, aged 2 years 4 months (Penshurst Church memorial).

# July

- 2 Elizabeth writes to HH, welcoming WH3 to court 'for her sake [MSH] that bare him' (HMC Petyt, 182).
- 23 RS1 from London to Cecil (HMC Salisbury, XI.243–4).
- Before 24 A proposed visit by Queen Elizabeth to MSH's Wilton House is cancelled, for which the Juel-Jensen MS of the Sidney Psalms was probably compiled, as well as MSH's 'A Dialogue between Two Shepherds'. The projected itinerary, including Wilton, is described in a letter from Sir Charles Danvers to the Earl of Southampton, dated 'Before July 24' 1599 (HMC Salisbury, IX.245–7). Elizabeth did visit Wimbledon in Surrey on 24/27(?) July but then the progress was aborted due to the threat of Spanish invasion.
- (? Endorsed '1601' but probably written in reply to the queen's letter of 2) MSH writes to Queen Elizabeth, offering thanks for her kindness to her son, WH3, and fondly recalling her own invitation to court in 1575 (CKS CP 90/147).

# August

- Whyte from Nonsuch to RS1, with information on the preparations to withstand the expected Spanish invasion. He notes that WH3 intends to 'follow the camp' and he would like to borrow some armour and pistols from RS1 (*DD*, II.380).
- Whyte from Nonsuch to RS1, noting that there is much curiosity as to why RS1 has not been given a military command. Whyte had mentioned that RS1 was still at Land's End if required. On the following day, the queen is advised of RS1's location and angrily assumes he had ignored her orders to return to the Low Countries (*DD*, II.381–2).
- 6–27 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil, concerning military manoeuvres and a small Spanish fleet gathering off Sluys for a suspected raid on Flushing (SP 84/59/7–44).
- Whyte from Nonsuch to RS1, advising him that some requested maps and books will be sent to him (*DD*, II.385).

# September

Whyte from Strand Bridge to RS1, explaining that he would have sent the new map of Ireland but it will not be available for another week. He also notes that the 'Arcadia is newly printed in Scotland; which will make them cheap,

- but is hurtful to Ponsonby, who held them at a high rate' (DD, II.387).
- 2–25 RS1 maintains a frequent correspondence about Dutch affairs with Cecil (SP 84/59/49–78).
- Whyte from Baynard's Castle to RS1, noting that HH is sick again and that MSH has stayed with him for the last three weeks. WH3 is 'a continual courtier, but does not follow his business with that care as is fit'. Everyone at Penshurst is well (DD, II.388–9).
- Whyte from Nonsuch to RS1, describing WH3 as a 'melancholy young man' and referring to RS1's desire to succeed the now very ill HH as Lord President of Wales (CKS C12/158).
- 19 Whyte from Baynard's Castle to RS1, noting that special arrangements have been made at all major ports 'to withstand the galleys' (*DD*, II.392).
- Essex returns from Ireland, having concluded a treaty with Tyrone. He indecorously enters the queen's bedchamber.
- Whyte from the Strand to RS1 on the vicissitudes of court life: 'It is a world to be here, to see the humours of the time. Blessed are they that can be away, and live contented' (Collins, II.129).
- (?) Whyte marries secretly and only tells RS1 two months later (Hay, 181).

#### October

- 1 and 3 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil, hoping that Elizabeth will write to the King of Morocco on behalf of Cornelius Jansson, a native of Flushing and now a Barbary prisoner (SP 84/59/90). On the same day the Earl of Essex is confined in seclusion at York House.
- Whyte acknowledges letters from RS1 for MSH, WH3, and Earl of Nottingham (*DD*, II.398).
- Whyte from the Strand to RS1, mentioning a letter describing 'the particularity of my Lord of Essex disgrace'. Now RS1 has confirmed that he burns all of Whyte's letters, he will keep him fully informed about court intrigues (*DD*, II.400).
- 15–31 RS1 with news from Flushing to Cecil (SP 84/59/108–24).
- 18 MSW's twelfth birthday.
- Whyte from the court at Richmond to RS1, noting that several of RS1's letters had been 'cast overboard when the

- Dunkirkers came aboard'. Queries whether RS1 has received Whyte's letters of 2–4 (in one packet), 6–13 (by post), and 16–17 (DD, II.403).
- Whyte writes from the Strand to RS1, promising to despatch his requested Spanish books, including a dictionary and grammar (*DD*, II.405).
- Whyte reports a play staged at London, celebrating RS1's heroism at Turnhout: 'all your names used that were at it' (*DD*, II.406).
- 27 MSH's thirty-eighth birthday.

### November

- Whyte to RS1, noting that the queen's litter is at Penshurst (CKS C12/179).
- Whyte to RS1, noting WH3's success at court and his desire to see RS1 back home (*DD*, II.413).
- 14–26 RS1's news from Flushing to Cecil (SP 84/59/138–68).
- There seem parallels between MSH's 'Astraea Dialogue' and Sir John Davies's *Hymns of Astraea*, 26 acrostic poems presented to the queen on this Accession Day.
- 19 RS1's thirty-sixth birthday.
- Whyte from Baynard's Castle reports BGS's visit to court 'with her great belly' (Collins, II.143).
- Birth of RS1 and BGS's daughter, Barbara (d.1643) at Baynard's Castle (*DD*, II.418).

### December

- 6 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil with news of the Spanish Infanta and Archduke (SP 84/59/193).
- Whyte from Baynard's Castle to RS1, noting that he had asked WH3 to seek out a copy of 'that Spanish *Amadis de Gaule*' requested earlier by RS1 (*DD*, II.422).
- Barbara Sidney is baptised with Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, Catherine Howard, Countess of Nottingham, and Cecily Lady Buckhurst as godparents (*DD*, II.424).
- 24 RS1 from Flushing to Queen Elizabeth, urging her to seek the retention of Flushing in her Anglo-Spanish negotiations (SP 84/59/200).
- 26 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil, assuming that the queen would discuss his letter with Cecil (SP 84/59/208).

#### Undated

Proposal to marry the eldest son of Sir Thomas Manxfeeld (Maunsell) to either Mary or Katherine Sidney (DD, II.413)

### Works

PS, (Pirated edition) *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, STC* 22542 (Edinburgh, for Robert Waldegrave, with *Arcadia* from 1593 and other texts from 1598) (Woudhuysen, 238; see 1 September 1599).

MSH, 'A Dialogue between Two Shepherds, Thenot and Piers, in Praise of Astraea'.

MSH, two poems dedicating the Sidneian Psalms to PS ('To the Angel Spirit') and Queen Elizabeth ('Even Now That Care'), surviving together only in the Tixall MS (MS J), were probably copied for the queen's proposed visit to Wilton House. They may have also once been included in the Penshurst MS (P) since it lacks its opening pages and begins with Psalm 4. An earlier draft of 'To the Angel Spirit' was found in Samuel Daniel's papers and published posthumously in the 1623 edition of his *Works*.

England's Helicon, includes the 4th song from Astrophil and Stella, other poems by PS, and 'The Countess of Pembroke's Pastoral' (perhaps by Anthony Munday).

### **Dedications**

Samuel Daniel, *The Poetical Essays* (containing *Cleopatra*), *STC* 6261 (MSH).

Thomas Moffet, *The Silkworms and Their Flies, STC* 17904 (MSH). Cf. T. Cutwoode (below). Moffet clearly knew of MSH's labours over translating Petrarch and the Psalms: 'Vouchsafe a while to lay thy task aside,/Let Petrarch sleep, give rest to sacred writ'. *Silkworms* also suggests that he knew of the writings of RS1 and PS's daughter, Elizabeth: 'Sidneian Muse: if so thou yet remain,/In brother's bowels, or in daughter's breast' (B1<sup>r</sup>). *Silkworms* has also been claimed as a source for the Pyramus and Thisbe episode in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

# References

Thomas Nashe, *Lenten Stuff, STC* 18370, dedication to Humfrey King, refers to the pig and marjoram device on the title-page of *Arcadia*, satirizes Hugh Sanford and describes MSH as his 'Empress'.

Samuel Daniel's 'A Letter from Octavia', meditates on the story of Antony and Cleopatra from the perspective of the virtuous but abandoned wife.

Richard Crompton, *The Mansion of Magnanimity*, *STC* 6054, N2, refers to PS's death at Zutphen.

Thomas Cutwoode, *Caltha poetarum: or the Bumble Bee, STC* 6151, A5, refers to PS as 'The flower of our age'.

### 1600

### **January**

- 5 and 18, 31 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil with Dutch news and hoping for guidance on the queen's intentions (SP 84/60/7–8, 21, 28).
- BGS clashes angrily with Mr Bird, her children's tutor, who had implied that her own lack of education made it difficult for her to judge the quality of his tuition (*DD*, II.434; see 24 November 1596 and August 1605).

# **February**

- 6 and 22 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil, seeking his support in gaining Elizabeth's approval (SP 84/60/37, 51).
- 9 Whyte from Baynard's Castle, assuring RS1 that his children are working hard at their books and also dance, sing and play the lute. He has also delivered some tobacco to Hugh Sanford for MSH to give to HH (Collins, II.162).
- 21 and 24 Whyte reports the Queen's admiration for RS1's 'noble blood' but also her cryptic comment that RS1 had now grown out of his 'youthful toys' and 'youthful lightness' (DD, II.440–1).

### March

- 4 and 17, 20 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil, discussing negotiations with Spain (SP 84/60/60–70).
- Whyte from court to RS1, reporting on attempts to persuade Elizabeth to grant him home leave and how the Countess of Warwick personally delivered RS1's letter to the queen (Collins, II.180).

# April

- 2 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil, seeking home leave (SP 84/60/91).
- Whyte from Baynard's Castle to RS1, noting that WH3 and PH are now staying three or four days a week with BGS.

Rumours are circulating that RS1 is to replace Sir Francis Vere as English commander in the Netherlands. Whyte considers that this post could lead to greater honours for RS1 from the Dutch government (*DD*, II.456).

Whyte takes RS1's 'three greater children' (presumably MSW, Katherine and William) and 'little Mr Robert' to the St George's Feast at court and he reports that PH is 'one of the forwardest courtiers that ere I saw' (*DD*, II.457).

# May

- 23 and 27 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil with Dutch news and professing his loyalty to Elizabeth (SP 84/60/141–3).
- until August RS1 makes various donations of books for Sir Thomas Bodley's new library at Oxford (*DD*, II.461, 477).

### June

- 5 Essex is stripped of his offices and confined at Essex House. RS1 hastily distances himself from the Earl (Collins, II.199–204).
- Whyte from Penshurst, noting that BGS takes great pleasure in the Penshurst estate, 'and surely I never saw as sweeter' (Collins, II.199).
- WH3's cousin, Lord Herbert, marries Lady Anne Russell. At this ceremony Mary Fitton (1578–1647), who shortly afterwards became WH3's mistress, performs in a masque of eight muses seeking the ninth. The masque is described in a letter to from Whyte to RS1. Fitton figures as Antissia in MSW's *Urania* (CKS C12/254; Collins, II.203).
- 25 RS1 from Ostend to Cecil, describing how he had accompanied Prince Maurice into Flanders, where Maurice routed the Spanish forces at Nieuport (although by then RS1 had already returned to Flushing) (SP 84/60/179).

# July

- 3 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil with military news (SP 84/60/205).
- 7 RS1's withdrawal from action just before the Battle of Nieuport seems to have damaged his reputation back home, although he vigorously defends his position (*DD*, II.472; SP 84/60/211–50).

15 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil, on behalf of a Mr Copley, a kinsman, who had been taken from England as a child and exposed to Catholicism (SP 84/60/231).

# August

- 4 and 5 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil, disassociating himself from Essex and pleading with Cecil to ensure that he is not implicated in the Earl's 'ill fortunes, since he did never make me take part with his good fortune' (SP 84/60, ff. 264–6). Once Essex is released from his incarceration he remains alienated and out of favour.
- 5 In the 'Gowrie Conspiracy' in Scotland, James VI is seized but later released.
- 8 Whyte writes three letters to RS1, advising him that the Earl of Nottingham had declined to support his suit to succeed Sir Anthony Paulet as Governor of Jersey. He also mentions an intended royal progress through north Wiltshire, although he notes that it seemed more likely that the queen would visit Farnham Castle (DD, II.476).
- Whyte laments that he does not find any disposition in WH3 to marry (CKS C12/68; Collins, II.211).
- 17 and 29 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil with news of Prince Maurice's activities (SP 84/60/276, 291).

# September

9 and 16, 25 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil (SP 84/60/308-18).

Whyte to RS1, noting that WH3 intends presenting himself this year as a 'man at arms' and prepares for running at tilt. Whyte, fears, however, that Hugh Sanford will dream up some ludicrous device for his emblem. He also reports on HH's seriously declining health (DD, II.484).

### October

- 4 RS1 from Flushing to Cecil with political news (SP 84/60/330).
- 18 MSW's thirteenth birthday.
- 27 MSH's thirty-ninth birthday.
- Philip Henslowe records Pembroke's Men at the Rose (Henslowe 1968, 164). During 1600 a touring company of Pembroke's Men also visit York, Bristol, Marlborough and Leicester.

30-23 March 1603 RS1 is away from Flushing.

### November

- 19 RS1's thirty-seventh birthday. Birth of King James's son, Charles, later King Charles I.
- 24 RS1 from Baynard's Castle to Cecil about 'a great alarum in Antwerp' (SP 84/60/361).

### December

- 6 RS1 from Baynard's Castle to Cecil, saying that he has now given up all hope of recovery for HH (*HMC Salisbury*, X.408).
- 19 Sir John Harington sends to Lucy, Countess of Bedford, three of MSH's psalms (51, 104, 137) and her translation of 'The Triumph of Death' (Inner Temple Petvt MS 538.43.14/286). At about this time Elizabeth perhaps visits Penshurst. BGS and her children, including MSW, entertain the queen with dancing, described in a letter from RS1 to Harington, whom he also asks to 'send me verses when you can' and thanks him for his translation of Orlando Furioso (Park 1804, I.312-16; Harington 1930, 389-90). Harington was intimate with the Sidneys' literary activities. He wrote a dedicatory epistle to MSH for an unknown work, reminding her of 'The love, I bear your noble line;/That unto me this work did first assign', concluding: 'The work as yet I wish not seen of other,/But of your self and of your noble brother' (MSH, RS1) (Hughey 1960, I.228, II.360).

#### Works

MSH (translator), Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, A Discourse of Life and Death, STC 18139.

(*c*.1600) Compilation of RS's first commonplace book (*DD*, I, items 1227–9; see *Works* 1620). See also CKS Z1/11, for notes on PS's treatment of tyranny and oligarchy in *Arcadia*, probably made by a friend or relative of RS1.

### **Dedications**

Robert Jones, The First Book of Songs or Aires, STC 14732 (RS1).

## References

The Heroical Adventures of Prince Oceander, STC 18763, a prose romance portraying a hermit named Kalendar and a lecherous king, Basileon.

John Bodenham, *Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses*, edited (Anthony Munday?), *STC* 3189, includes 6 quotations from PS's writings and ranks MSH (A4<sup>v</sup>) alongside Spenser, PS, and Shakespeare. Three quotations from MSH's translation of Antonius are also cited.

John Bodenham, *England's Helicon*, *STC* 3191, includes 14 poems by PS from the 1598 *Arcadia*.

John Dowland, *The Second Book of Songs or Airs, STC* 7095, Song 10, is a setting for four voices of 'O sweet woods' (*Old Arcadia,* 34).

(c.1600) John Hoskins, a contributor to the 1587 *Peplus* volume of elegies for PS, compiles his 'Directions for Speech and Style' (BL Harley MS 4604), borrowing extensively from the 1590 edition of *Arcadia*. It also mentions how PS had discussed Aristotle with Hoskins and claims that Sir Henry Wotton owned a manuscript of PS's translation of the first two books of *Poetics*. Hoskins also states that MDS owned a copy of Wotton's *Figures of Rhetoric*.

Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humour*, *STC* 14766, II.iii.224–6: 'she does observe as pure a phrase, and use as choice figures in her ordinary conference, as any be i'the *Arcadia*'.

(c.1600) Thomas Moffet (the Herberts' physician), *Health's Improvement*, 1655, Wing M2382, contains reminiscences of his travels with HH between Wilton, Ludlow and London.

Thomas Nashe, Summer's Last Will and Testament, STC 18376, B2<sup>v</sup>, quotes from Old Arcadia 7.166–7.

## 1601

# January

- RS1 from Wilton to Cecil, saying that he is about to lose HH, the man 'to whom of all men (my father and mine elder brother excepted) I have been most bound unto' (HMC Salisbury, XI.9).
- Death of HH. RS1 remains at Wilton with MSH and becomes close to WH3. Chamberlain's claim that HH died 'leaving his lady as bare as he could, and bestowing all on the young lord, even to her jewels' seems unfounded (Chamberlain, I.116).

# **February**

WH3 refuses to marry Mary Fitton whom he has made pregnant but acknowledges her child, which is still-born.

The queen is furious and he is committed to the Fleet Prison in March (released April) (CSPD, 19; APC, 299).

- 7/8 Essex's Revolt. RS1 is involved in the storming of Essex House and negotiating with the rebels. RS1 acts as the chief channel of communication between the court and the Earl of Essex in the immediate aftermath of his revolt, ensuring that the Countess of Essex and Lady Rich are allowed to leave Essex House safely.
- Vincent Hussey reports that RS1 asked Essex what he intended to do since the house was to be blown up with gunpowder if he did not surrender. Essex replied: 'We would sooner fly up to heaven!' (*CSPD*, 550).
- 25 Execution of Essex at the Tower of London.

# May

27 Chamberlain reports that RS1 declined to join Robert Cecil on his mission as Ambassador Ligueur to France (Chamberlain, I.222).

# August

- 9 RS1 is back at Flushing (SP 84/61/207).
- WH3 is banished to Wilton House, following his release from the Fleet Prison and asks Cecil to be allowed to go abroad in the hope that the change of climate would purge his melancholy (*HMC Salisbury*, XI.340).
- RS1 resumes his regular reports from Flushing to Cecil (SP 84/61/221-71).
- BGS from Penshurst to Cecil, signed 'Bar Sydney' (HMC Salisbury, XI.358).
- Following the execution of Essex, RS1 is careful to cultivate Cecil's good favour and supplies Penshurst stone for his building of Theobalds (SP 84/61/242, 259).

# September

3–21 RS1 maintains his correspondence from Flushing to Cecil (SP 84/61/278–317).

## October

- 2 and 5 RS1, back at Baynard's Castle, continues to seek Cecil's approval (*HMC Salisbury*, XI.402, 409).
- 18 MSW's fourteenth birthday.

27–19 December Queen Elizabeth's Tenth (and last) Parliament. MSH's fortieth birthday.

### November

- 19 RS1's thirty-eighth birthday.
- (?) The queen finally sells manor of Otford to RS1 for £2,000 (Hesketh 1915, 11–12).

### December

Dudley Carleton refers in a newsletter to RS1's amorous designs on 'Mistress Nevill', a maid of honour (SP 282/48).

#### Dedications

Nicholas Breton, A Divine Poem ... the Ravished Soul, and the Blessed Weeper, STC 3648 (MSH).

Samuel Daniel, The Works (including Cleopatra), STC 6236 (MSH).

Robert Johnson, *Essays*, *STC* 14695 (WH3). A precursor to Bacon's *Essays*.

Remigio Nannini, *Civil Considerations*, translated/dedicated by W.T[raheron?], *STC* 18348 (RS1).

### References

Sir William Cornwallis, *Essays*, *STC* 5775, 18<sup>v</sup>, praises *Arcadia* as 'The instruments of a States-man'.

Charles Fitzgeoffrey, *Affaniae*, *STC* 10934 (epigram to MSH, G7<sup>r-v</sup>). He echoes the phrasing of the dedication to MSH by 'C.[hristopher?] M.[arlowe?]' in Thomas Watson's *Amintae Gaudiae* (1592). The *Affaniae* also praises the *Arcadia* (D5<sup>r</sup>) and PS (D5<sup>r</sup>, M4<sup>v</sup>).

Thomas Powell, The Passionate Poet, STC 20167, F2<sup>v</sup> (praises PS).

### 1602

# January

Birth of King James's son, Robert, who dies on 27 May.

# April

A receipt for an allowance paid to BGS by Thomas Golding from RS1's rents is signed: 'Bar: Sydney' (Croft 1984, 74). For other examples of BGS's signature see 24 August 1601 and 23 April 1607.

### July

(?) Chamberlain comments that Francis Davison intends 'to take another course and turn poet' since he had edited *A Poetical Rhapsody* (see 1602: *Dedications*) (Chamberlain, I.156).

## August

- 3 MSH from Cardiff castle to Cecil, concerning administrative problems. Under the terms of HH's will, she held the castle and borough of Cardiff until the majority of her son, WH3 (CP 94/106).
- 4–29 RS1 reports regularly from Flushing to Cecil on official matters (SP 84/62/164–83, 184–95).

### September

- 6 RS1 is with Prince Maurice before Grave when it surrenders to the Dutch (SP 84/62/200–1).
- 8–27 RS1 from the camp at Grave and from Flushing, continuing his official reports to Cecil (SP 84/60/204–5, 292–3; 84/62/216–31).

#### October

- 1 RS1 sends a final letter from Flushing to Cecil (SP 84/62/243–4).
- 8 RS1 back at Penshurst (HMC Salisbury, XII.430).
- 16 RS1 based at Baynard's Castle (HMC Salisbury, XII.445).
- 18 MSW's fifteenth birthday.
- 27 MSH's forty-first birthday.

### November

19 RS1's thirty-ninth birthday.

#### December

MSW dances two galliards before the queen, one with a 'Mr Palmer' who was reckoned the finest dancer at court. She was warmly commended by Elizabeth (*DD*, II.618–19). RS1 at Sir John Harington's house at Exton (Collins, II.262).

#### Undated

Birth of RS1 and BGS's daughter, Vere (d.1606).

Negotiations begin, with Hugh Sanford's involvement, for the marriage of WH3 and Mary Talbot, daughter of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury. Robert Cecil begins a secret correspondence with James VI of Scotland to prepare his way to the English throne.

#### Works

MSH, 'A Dialogue Between Two Shepherds, Thenot, and Piers in Praise of Astraea' (see under 'Francis Davison', *below*).

#### Dedications

John Davies, *Mirum in Modum, STC* 6336 (RS1, WH3), borrowing heavily from Duplessis-Mornay's *The Trueness of the Christian Religion*, 1587.

Francis Davison, *A Poetical Rhapsody*, *STC* 6373 (WH3: 'Thou worthy son, unto a peerless mother, Thou nephew to great Sidney of renown'). This miscellany also contains 'Two Pastorals, made by Sir Philip Sidney, never yet published' (1–2); the first printed text of MSH's 'Astrea Dialogue' (4); and several laments for PS, including one using names from the *Arcadia* (9). Davison was also actively seeking to print the Sidneian Psalms since he compiled a list of 'Manuscripts to get', including 'Psalms by the Countess of Pembroke. Qre. If they shall not be printed' (BL Harley MS 298/159). Davison was remotely related to MSH via his maternal line's kinship with the Guildford family.

(c.1602) William Smith, 'A New Year's Gift Made Upon Certain Flowers' (BL Additional MS 35186); ed. Smith 1970, 89–96 (MSH). Smith may have presented another poetical manuscript, an allegory of time, to MSH (Van Den Berg 1976, 40–59); and he was the author of the sonnet sequence, *Chloris* (1596), *STC* 22872, probably so named after Spenser's April eclogue, in which Chloris is 'the chiefest nymph of all'.

### References

William Fulbecke, *The Pandectes of the Law of Nations, STC* 11414, R3<sup>r-v</sup>, refers to PS's personal Ovidian motto, 'vix ea nostra voco'.

Thomas Churchyard and Richard Robinson (translators), Emmanuel van Meteren, *A True Discourse Historical, of the Succeeding Governors in the Netherlands, STC* 17846, details PS's activities there; and prints the text (O2<sup>r</sup>) of an epitaph inscribed on a wooden tablet and hung on a pillar near his tomb at St Paul's.

### 1603

# January

- 4 and 21 Sir William Browne from Flushing to RS1 about Ambrogio Spinola (1569–1630), Spanish commander in the Low Countries (*DD*, III.1–2).
- RS1 from Combe to BGS, with his plans for meetings with Lord Berkeley, Sir Richard Knightley and the Earl of Bedford, before meeting up with WH3 at Baynard's Castle. RS1 longs to see BGS and their children (CKS C81/105).

# March

- 24 Death of Queen Elizabeth and accession of James VI of Scotland.
- (?) King James knights Robert Wroth, the future husband of MSW (see 27 September 1604).

# April

- 12 Chamberlain reports the wedding of PS's widow, Frances (following the death of her second husband, the Earl of Essex), to Richard Burke, 4th Earl of Clanrickarde (Chamberlain, I.193).
- Grant to RS1 of the offices of the Governor of Flushing renewed by James I (*CSPD*, 5, 'Grant Book').

# May

- RS1 created Baron Sidney of Penshurst, for which he pays a fee of £100 and other expenses of nearly £90 (SP 14/141), and is appointed Queen Anne's Lord High Chamberlain and Surveyor (Nichols 1821, I.268).
- (?) James I reaches London. RS1 and MSH attend the coronation of James I and the subsequent celebrations at Windsor (Collins, II.247; see BL Additional MS 12066 for RS1's lavish wardrobe).

# June

- Browne from Flushing to RS1, recommending a Venetian gentleman who 'speaks Tuscan as well as any' and seeks service with either RS1, WH3 or the Earl of Southampton (DD, III.32).
- 6 RS1 from Sittingbourne to Cecil, on his way to meet the French ambassador, Maximilien de Béthune, marquis de

- Rosny, who was arriving at Canterbury (*HMC Salisbury*, XV.125).
- 8 RS1 awards to Whyte a grant for life of the Office of Constable of Caernaryon Castle (*CSPD*, 14).
- 30 Plague spreads through the Low Countries (Collins, II.275).

# July

- 2 MSH and her daughter, Lady Anne Herbert, are at Windsor for the Feast of St George when WH3 is invested as a Knight of the Garter, along with Prince Henry (Nichols 1821, I.193–5).
- 4 MSH from Windsor to Sir Julius Caesar, complaining about Edmund Mathew of Cardiff, an opponent of HH (BL Additional MS 12503/150).
- Browne dines at Flushing with André de Cochefilet, baron de Vaucelas, Rosny's brother-in-law, and reports their discussions to RS1 (*DD*, III.39–42). After James's accession, RS1 governs for the most part *in absentia*. Hay, 137, calculates that RS spends 68 months at Flushing and almost 92 away from 1589 until 1603.
- 8 and 14 MSH from Burnham (north of Windsor) to Sir Julius Caesar, continuing an account of her problems with Mathew (BL Additional MS 12503/39/151).

# August

- Browne to RS1, reporting that the plague is getting worse at Flushing (*DD*, III.52). London is also hit by the plague and a western progress is arranged for the king, including Wilton House (Nichols 1821, I.250, 254).
- Browne from Flushing to RS1, reporting that the plague still rages and the town's militia and defences are seriously weakened (*DD*, III.56).

# September

- 6 MSH writes from Greenwich to Sir Julius Caesar, concerning testimonies recorded for the forthcoming Star Chamber trial of Mathew (BL Additional MS 12503/42).
- Browne from Flushing to RS1, reporting the continuation of the contagion and his fears for 'winter plague' (*DD*, III.59).
- Browne from Flushing to RS1, reporting that Dick Smith has buried his youngest son and his eldest daughter is not

likely to escape the plague. He hopes that he may move into RS1's lodgings at Flushing if his own is threatened by the spreading plague (*DD*, III.62).

27 MSH from Greenwich to Sir John Thynne at Longleat, concerning James Simpson (May 2000, 92–3).

### October

- 18 MSW's sixteenth birthday.
- 20–24 (until December) The court visits Wilton and is probably based there periodically on several occasions between October and December (Chambers 1925, IV.117).
- 27 MSH's forty-second birthday.

#### November

- 10 RS1 is nominated Surveyor-General of Queen Anne's revenues.
- 19 RS1's fortieth birthday.
- Carleton tells Chamberlain that he had heard gossip about MSH asking her son, PH, to intercede with James on the behalf of Sir Walter Raleigh, concluding: 'though she does little good, yet she is to be commended for doing her best in showing *veteris vestigia flammae*' (Carleton 1972, 45). Raleigh had been committed to the Tower in July under suspicion of complicity in the 'Main Plot' to dethrone James in favour of his cousin, Arabella Stuart. He was tried and condemned to death in November but reprieved in December.

### December

- 1 The Venetian ambassador describes an audience with James at Wilton House (*CSPV*, 116).
- The King's Men (formerly the Lord Chamberlain's Company, to which Shakespeare and Richard Burbage belonged) come from Surrey to Wilton to act before the court for a fee of £50. As You Like It has been suggested, without evidence, as the play performed. It is not clear whether Shakespeare was there. On 5 August 1865 William Cory (then a tutor at Wilton) records that there was still at the house 'a letter never printed, from Lady Pembroke to her son, telling him to bring James I from Salisbury to see As You Like It', noting 'we have the man Shakespeare with

us'. Cory commented: 'She wanted to cajole the king in Raleigh's behalf—he came'. No trace of this letter has ever been found (Chambers 1925, IV.117, 168).

(Christmas?) RS1 attends a masque at Hampton Court for which he orders another lavish set of clothes (BL Additional MS 12066).

### Dedications

George Carleton, 'Silva' (an elegy on PS included in the 1587 *Exequiae* volume), reprinted in *Heroici Characteres*, *STC* 4636, G1<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>v</sup>.

Samuel Daniel, *A Panegyric Congratulatory, including the Defence of Rhyme, STC* 6259 (WH3, G3<sup>r</sup>). WH3 is praised in Daniel's address 'to all the worthy lovers and learned professors of rhyme' (A2<sup>r-v</sup>). Daniel also recalls how MSH had 'first encouraged or framed' his compositions and that Wilton House had been his 'best school'. The Pierpont Morgan Library has a copy of *A Panegyric* with the signature 'Mary Pembroke' in the imprint panel and 'Lady Pembroke' in ink on the vellum cover (possibly James Collier forgeries).

John Davies, *Microcosmos*, *STC* 6333 (WH3, RS1, MSH, her daughter Lady Anne Herbert, PH, address to PS's widow, Frances Walsingham Sidney). It includes an elegy on PS as 'the lively image of our world's perfection' and a commendatory poem by Hugh Sanford. Verses in 'A Preface' connect RS1 with PS as 'Our little world's great paragon of fame'. Davies also offers another poem to RS1 in whom 'divine Sr Philip Sidney lives' (Mm4).

John Florio (translator), Michel de Montaigne, *The Essays, STC* 18041 (PS's daughter, Elizabeth Sidney Manners, wife of 5th Earl of Rutland, and Lady Penelope Rich). Matthew Gwinne also addresses sonnets to them (R3<sup>v</sup>–4<sup>v</sup>). Florio attacks Sanford's title-page for the 1593 *Arcadia* and his editorial work (R2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>), condemning 'that perfect-unperfect *Arcadia*'. He also attacked the 1593 *Arcadia* in *A World of Words*, 1598. Jean Hotman, *The Ambassador*, translated/dedicated by the stationer James Shawe (formerly apprenticed to William Ponsonby), *STC* 13848 (WH3).

### References

William Covell, *A Just and Temperate Defence, STC* 5881, commends PS's 'style and manner of writing' (p. 148).

Richard Robinson pays tribute to HS's generosity in his 'Eupolemia', recording rewards given to him by literary patrons; see *SP* 21 (1924, 629–48). HS and PS were 'many times benevolent unto my poor study'

(f.5°). Robinson was also the scribe of Folger MS H.b.1 (Clifford MS) of the *Arcadia* (Woudhuysen, 196, 400).

## 1604

# January

- 'mask brought in by a magician of China', by an unknown author, performed at court with WH3 prominent as a masquer. WH3 takes part in the ceremonial presentation to the king of 'an impresa in a shield with a sonnet in a paper to express his device' and a jewel, valued at £40,000, to express England's generosity and allegiance to their new king. PH makes a strong impression on James, bearing the device of 'a fair colt in a fair green field' like Bucephalus, who could be mounted only by 'one as great at least as Alexander' (SP 14/6/21; Carleton 1972, 53-6).
- 2 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, referring to the postponement of a masque until 'Sunday'. Another undated letter to BGS refers to the masque planned for 8 January (CKS C81/129–30).
- 8 'The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses' by Samuel Daniel (assisted by Hugh Sanford) is performed at court, with Queen Anne as Pallas. RS1 and WH3 are included as invited dancers and Lady Susan Vere (SVH), who marries PH in October 1604, also performs (SP 14/6/21).

# March

- 8 Whyte gains leases of land and titles in Leicestershire and Caernarvonshire (*CSPD*, 87).
- 19–7 July The first session of King James's First Parliament. An act is passed in July against recusants, confirming the anti-Catholic measures of the previous reign.

# April

Restoration of Robert Devereux (b.1591) as Earl of Essex.

# May

Browne from Flushing to RS1, enclosing a 'map not worth sending', although at Middelburg he had given its drawer 30s to go to Sluys to 'take it perfectly' (*DD*, III.115).

### June

- Thomas Moffet makes his will. He is buried at Wilton on 5 June (Kite 1905, 541).
- 8 RS1 leases to Whyte for forty years, in reversion, the demesne lands of Otford (*CSPD*, 222).
- A two-page list is compiled (probably with Hugh Sanford's assistance) of WH3's objections to items in his marriage negotiations for Mary Talbot (Lambeth Palace Library, Talbot Papers, K211).

# July

- RS1 from London to BGS, via 'Jack Sidney'. He mentions Sir Robert Wroth (as the intended spouse for their daughter MSW) and notes that WH3 advised him of a letter sent by BGS to Hugh Sanford (CKS C81/106).
- 16 RS1 from London to BGS, concerning Sanford's negotiations over the marriage of MSW and his hopes that WH3 will help with the dowry (CKS C81/108).
- 23 and 24 RS1 from Whitehall to BGS, noting that the court is about to remove to Theobalds, although he plans to return to Penshurst as soon as he can. The letter concludes affectionately: 'Farewell, sweetheart, till tomorrow, and bless my children from me. I am your most loving husband, Sidney' (CKS C81/315, 109). RS1's son, William, now a member of Prince Henry's train (John 1957, 171).
- (?)-October RS1 on progress with the royal court.

# August

- 9 RS1 is nominated as a member of Queen Anne's Council.
- (?) The Treaty of London ends sixteen years of Anglo-Spanish war and leads to a proposal for the marriage of Prince Henry to the Spanish Infanta, Anne, daughter of Philip III.

# September

- 2 RS1 from Saperton, Gloucestershire, to BGS, hoping that she had 'made much of my sister' (MSH) and expressing his sorrow at not being able to see her himself (CKS C81/110).
- 9 RS1, with the rest of the Queen's Council, appointed as Surveyor of the Queen's Lands (*DD*, III.133).
- RS1 from London to BGS, noting that he had arrived with Queen Anne at Windsor and had hoped to find there letters

- from BGS. He thinks that WH3 will soon come to Penshurst, 'if his mother's being there do not stay him', implying some kind of estrangement between MSH and WH3 (CKS C81/111).
- 21 RS1 from London to BGS, referring to an intended meeting with Sir Robert Wroth and his hopes of soon being back home at Penshurst (CKS C81/112).
- Surrender of Ostend to the Spanish under Ambrogio Spinola (*DD*, III.1).
- MSW marries at Penshurst Sir Robert Wroth, King James's hunting companion. Robert was the son of Sir Robert Wroth (1540–1606) and his wife, Susan Stonard, the heiress of John Stonard of Loughton Manor, Essex, and Luxborough, Chigwell. RS1's captains at Flushing give MSW as a wedding present £200 for 'a chain of pearl' or some other gift of her choice. Jonson later comments in his *Conversations* that 'my Lady Wroth is unworthily married on a jealous husband'. WH3 (later MSW's lover) gives £1,000 to RS1 to cover part of her dowry (*DD*, III.127–30; Jonson, I.142).
- MSH from the Savoy to Gilbert Talbot and Mary Cavendish, Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, about the forthcoming marriage of WH3 to their daughter, Mary. She also mentions her problems with an unnamed opponent, probably Edmund Mathew. She also possibly refers to an alienation from WH3, 'the dearest part of me'. The Savoy was the home of MSH's aunt, Katherine Dudley Hastings, Countess of Huntington (Lambeth Palace MS 3202/259).

## October

- 2 RS1 from London to BGS, mentioning one of his (lost) letters to MSH: 'Such little news as there is I have written to my sister and desired her to show you' (CKS C81/113).
- 3 and 4 RS1 from London and court to BGS: 'I say nothing to my sister [MSH] because I assure myself that she is already come from Penshurst' (CKS C81/114–15).
- 9 and 10 RS1 from court and London to BGS, discussing some kind of marital problem between MSW and her husband (CKS C81/116–17).
- WH3 to Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, explaining how PH and Lady Susan Vere had become secretly engaged

without the knowledge of their families or friends (Lambeth Palace MS 3200/225).

- 18 MSW's seventeenth birthday.
- Royal Proclamation declares James as 'King of Great Britain, France and Ireland'. RS1 from Baynard's Castle to Cecil (HMC Salisbury, XVI.335).
- 27 MSH's forty-third birthday.

### November

- 4 Marriage at Wilton of WH3 to Mary Talbot, daughter of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury. Clarendon drily comments: 'he paid much too dear for his wife's fortune, by taking her person into the bargain'.
- 19 RS1's forty-first birthday.

### December

PH marries Susan Vere (SVH), daughter of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, and his wife, Anne Cecil, daughter of Lord Burghley, with extensive festivities, culminating in the arrival of King James in their bedroom the next morning. Carleton, in a letter of 7 January 1605, records that on the wedding day, James said: 'if he were not married he would not give her but keep her himself'. A masque is performed that night which lasts three hours with WH3 as first masquer. Hugh Sanford may also have assisted at this entertainment (SP 14/12/6; Carleton 1972, 66–9).

#### Works

PS (translator), Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, A Work Concerning the Trueness of the Christian Religion, STC 18151.

#### Dedications

William Herbert of Glamorgan, *A Prophesy of Cadwallader, STC* 12752 (WH3), includes 'The Earl of Pembroke's Oration' (F3<sup>r</sup>).

## References

(c.1604) RS1 compiles a numismatical notebook (CKS Z1/3).

Sir William Alexander, *Tragedy of Croesus* (included in *The Monarchic Tragedies*), *STC* 343, uses incidents from *Arcadia*.

Dudley Digges, Four Paradoxes, STC 6872, 74, honours PS.

Thomas Bateson, *The First Set of English Madrigals*, a setting (B2) of PS's *Certain Sonnets* 4.

### 1605

# January

- MSW (in the role of Baryte) and Lady Anne Herbert dance, along with SVH and Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford, at the Whitehall Banqueting House in Ben Jonson's Masque of Blackness, designed in collaboration with Inigo Jones. MSW, the queen, and ten others disguise themselves as black Ethiopian nymphs. This masque was staged soon after the performance of Othello at court. MSW walks with Lady Walsingham (as Periphere), carrying an urn full of wine, a symbol of fruitfulness. Dudley Carleton, who witnesses the masque, comments to Sir Ralph Winwood: 'you cannot imagine a more ugly sight, then a troop of lean-cheeked Moors'. RS1 is in the audience, in his capacity as the queen's Lord Chamberlain, perhaps with MSH (Jonson, VII.178, 218; Winwood 1725, II.44).
- 10 RS1 from Baynard's Castle to Roger Wilbraham, recommending the suit of a deserving but poor old gentleman (SP 14/12/27).
- 21 RS1 from Baynard's Castle to Viscount Cranborne, enclosing a letter which details residents at the English College, Rome (SP 14/12/43–4).

# **February**

Rumours circulate of discontent between WH3 and his new wife, Mary Talbot. Whyte writes to her father, the Earl of Shrewsbury, assuring him that his son-in-law has only entirely honourable intentions towards her (Lodge 1838, III.124).

### March

- Thomas Hopkins to BGS at Baynard's Castle about legal matters (*DD*, III.152).
- 22 RS1 from London to Golding about Penshurst affairs (BL MS Additional 15914/61).

# April

- 3 RS1 from Greenwich to Golding, about Penshurst orchards (CKS C36/6).
- 5 Whyte is granted the lordship of Knoll in Kent (*CSPD*, 210).
- 8 Birth of King James's daughter, Mary (d.1607).
- Whyte reassures Shrewsbury about his daughter's marriage to WH3, noting that she is much respected by all of his friends and denying hostile rumours about their relationship (Lodge 1838, III.151–2).

# May

- 4 RS1 created Viscount Lisle at the christening of Princess Mary. On the same day Robert Cecil is created Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Cecil as Earl of Exeter, and Philip Herbert as Earl of Montgomery (SP 14/141, 'Grants Book').
- Whyte complains that WH3's wife is 'a most worthy lady but no good courtier' (Lodge 1838, III.161).
- 23 RS1 to Thomas Lake, in support of the suit of Richard Othen, MA of Oxford University (SP 14/37/50).

# July

James visits the home of MSW's father-in-law, Sir Robert Wroth, at Loughton Hall and stays for two nights, spending most of his time hunting (Nichols 1821, I.517–18; *HMC Salisbury*, XVII.354).

## August

- 6 RS1 from London to Salisbury, and to Suffolk (*HMC Salisbury*, XVII.354–5). William Sidney, who was supposed to be a suitable companion for Prince Henry and to be tutored with him (just as HS had been raised with the young Edward VI), is reported to have stabbed his tutor Mr Bird (Blencowe 1825, xiii–xiv; Harrison 1941, 219).
- Golding from Penshurst to RS1, noting that Mr Bird has recuperated from his wound, although 'his mind and his talk is not a whit reconciled'. He also mentions the dismissal of an insolent cook. BGS, Lady Maunsell and all the children at Penshurst are well (*DD*, III.189).
- 20 RS1's boat is blown off course on his way to Flushing, forcing a landing at Gravelines in Spanish Flanders. Rumours are soon in circulation that this landing was not

- accidental and he is rapidly recalled by the Privy Council (HMC Salisbury, XVII.380; CSP Venice, 271).
- 22 RS1 from Flushing to King James I, to Salisbury and to the Council (*HMC Salisbury*, XVII.384, 392).
- RS1 to BSG, noting that he has received a letter from MSW requesting money. He asks BGS to give her some, which he will repay (CKS C81/145). Golding from Penshurst to RS1, referring to 'her Ladyship's letters' (DD, III.192).

# September

RS1 from London to Salisbury, where he is exonerated of any dealings with the Spanish but probably thereby loses his chance of a place on the Privy Council (*HMC Salisbury*, XVII.413–14).

#### October

- N. de Blocq from Flushing to RS1, sending him some books bought from 'Bernart' and portraits of 'Spinola and Boskai' (DD, III.213).
- 18 MSW's eighteenth birthday.
- 27 MSH's forty-fourth birthday.
- Guy Fawkes checks the cellar in Westminster where the gunpowder for his plot had been stored.
- (late) Death of RS1 and BGS's daughter, Elizabeth (b.1592?) is lamented in a letter from Browne of 2 November (*DD*, II.223).

### November

- 5–27 May 1606 Second session of King James I's First Parliament. The Gunpowder Plot is discovered in the early hours of the morning. The plot inevitably prompts an increase in the severity of recusancy laws. A new Oath of Allegiance is also imposed upon all Catholics.
- 19 RS1's forty-second birthday.

### December

Marriage of Lord Mountjoy, now Earl of Devonshire, to his long-term mistress, Penelope Rich.

#### Undated

Ben Jonson asks WH3 to assist him while imprisoned after *Eastward Ho* (Jonson, I.199–200).

#### Works

PS, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, STC* 22543. Lady Anne Clifford's copy, with various manuscript annotations from an informed source, is now owned by Dr B. Juel-Jensen (see 'January 1651'), who also owns a copy which belonged to John Davies of Hereford and contains a unique poem, 'Ad Stellam et Philastrum amantes' (Woudhuysen, 274).

### Dedications

Samuel Daniel, *Certain Small Poems* ... the Tragedy of Philotas, STC 6239, contains only the words 'To the Lady Mary Countess of Pembroke' as a preface to *Cleopatra*. These words may have been mistakenly included by the printer, working from an earlier copy in which the dedication, but not its title, had been struck out.

(c.1605) John Davies, *Wit's Pilgrimage*, *STC* 6344 (dedicated to PH; tributes to MSH, WH3), includes 'A Dump upon the Death of ... Henry late Earl of Pembroke'.

Thomas Hume, *The First Part of Aires, French, Polish, STC* 13958 (WH3), includes 'The Earl of Pembroke's Galliard' (C1<sup>v</sup>–C2<sup>r</sup>).

Esther Inglis, (calligraphic manuscript of quotations from the Psalms and Proverbs), Houghton Library MS Typ.428.1 (SVH).

Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, *His Divine Weeks and Works*, translated J. Sylvester, *STC* 21649 (PS).

# References

William Camden, *Remains*, 165, 174, notes PS's excellence in designing imprese.

Sir Thomas Smith's *Voyage and Entertainment in Russia, STC* 22869, D3<sup>v</sup>–4, recalls 'that learned and heroical poet Sir Philip Sidney'.

### 1606

# January

5 PH dances in Jonson's *Hymenaei*, celebrating the marriage of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk (Jonson, VII.213; X.436).

27–February Trial of the Gunpowder plotters.

30/31 Eight of the conspirators are executed.

### March

Flushing's fortifications are damaged by heavy storms, with rebuilding occupying RS1's deputy, Sir William Browne, for much of the year (*DD*, III.254).

### June

22/23 Birth and death of King James's daughter, Sophia.

(late) Visit to England of Queen Anne's brother, Christian IV of Denmark, is celebrated by riotous festivities and tournaments, some of which were probably attended by MSW. WH3 is a member of the party accompanying James by barge from Greenwich to Gravesend to meet him.

# July

(early) Tilting is held in Greenwich Park in honour of Christian IV who is himself an expert performer. WH3, PH and the Earls of Arundel and Lennox are the 'Four Knights Errant Dominated by the Fortunate Island, Servants of the Destinies' (Nichols 1821, II.49–50; CSPD, 319).

Burial of RS1 and BGS's daughter, Vere (b.1602) (*DD*, III.304. BL Additional MS 39794, contains brass rubbings of the Sidney family).

After the death of the elder Sir Robert Wroth, MSW's husband acquires Loughton Hall, Essex, and the estate of Durrants (Durrance) in the parish of Enfield. King James and his son, Prince Henry, visit Wroth's properties while out hunting (Roberts 1983, 10).

# August

RS1 from Greenwich to BGS, concerning the arrangements of James and Anne and the King of Denmark (CKS C81/316).

# September

11 N. de Blocq from Flushing to RS1, sending him some recent models made at Antwerp of battlefields and a 'portrait' of the town of Grolle (*DD*, III.313).

#### October

7 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, noting it is the last day of his physic and that he plans to see his daughter, MSW (CKS C81/146).

18 MSW's nineteenth birthday.

27 MSH's forty-fifth birthday.

#### November

- 4 RS1's son, William, is appointed, in absentia, as a commander of one of the Flushing garrisons, with Ensign Watkins as *de facto* captain (*DD*, III.321, 335).
- 18–4 July 1607 The third session of James I's First Parliament is dominated by considerations of the 'union' with Scotland, generating significant opposition from the Commons.
- 19 RS1's forty-third birthday.

### December

(?) Death of MSH's daughter, Anne Herbert (b.1583) at Cambridge(?) (Chamberlain, I.240). Moffet describes her partaking in story-telling sponsored by MSH at Wilton. She may have been a writer (Lamb 1984, 301–15).

#### Works

MSH (translator), Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, A Discourse of Life and Death, STC 18140. All known copies are bound with Six Excellent Treatises of Life and Death (collected by Mornay), 1607, STC 18155.

#### Dedications

Nathaniel Baxter, *Sir Philip Sidney's Ouránia, STC* 1598 (MSH; Mary Talbot Herbert wife of WH3; SVH; epistles to MSW, BGS).

John Davies, *Bien venu, Great Britain's Welcome to the Danes, STC* 6329 (PH).

John Ford, *Honour Triumphant, or, the Peers' Challenge, STC* 11160 (Mary Talbot Herbert; SVH), includes challenges made by WH3 and PH during the visit of Christian IV.

W.[illiam?] H.[erbert?], England's Sorrow, or a Farewell to Essex, STC 12582, includes an elegy on HH (D1 $^{v}$ ).

John Hind, Eliosto libidinoso, STC 13509 (PH).

John Owen, *Epigrammatum libri tres*, *STC* 18984.5, contains four Latin epigrams on PS (C8<sup>r-v</sup>, D3<sup>r</sup>) and one on WH3's marriage (C8<sup>v</sup>), retained in 1612 edition (B8<sup>r</sup>) but omitted in the 1618 edition in favour of a poem of general praise (A7<sup>r</sup>). The four epigrams to PS are reprinted in the 1607 edition, with an additional one on PS addressed to RS1, in *Epigrammatum Ioannis Owen* (C7<sup>v</sup>), bound with the *Libri tres*. An English translation of one of the epigrams to PS is also included in a 1619 translation. Owen had contributed to the *Peplus* volume of elegies for PS in 1587.

Henry Parry, *De regno Dei, et victoria christiana, STC* 19355, reprinting dedication to WH3 from *Victoria Christiana, STC* 19336 (1594). (*c*.1606) John Reynolds, 'Love's Laurel Garland', BL Additional MS 34782 (PS, SVH).

# References

Lodowick Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civil Life, STC* 3958, 160, recalls PS's courtly manners and skill in the French language at the French court. He also records a literary dialogue with Spenser. He may be 'Mr Lodwicke' listed in the Penshurst accounts as 'schoolmaster' for Ambrosia Sidney (CKS A54(2)).

Alexander Craig, Amorous Songs, Sonnets, and Elegies, STC 5956,  $CS^v$ , C8,  $D2^v$ , E1-2, refer to individual episodes and characters from Arcadia (see also the borrowings from Arcadia in the undated Love's Changelings' Change and 'Arcadian Lovers or Metamorphosis of Princes', Bodl. Rawl.Poet.3/1-41; Skretkowicz, xlvii-viii).

John Day, *The Isle of Gulls* (play), *STC* 6412. Repr. 1633. *STC* 6414, burlesque elements from the *Arcadia*.

# 1607

# January

Marriage of Edward Denny, Baron of Waltham's only daughter, Honora, to King James I's Scottish favourite, James Hay, Viscount Doncaster (later Earl of Carlisle). Thomas Campion's *Lord Hay's Masque* was written for this wedding. Denny clashed in 1621 with MSW over his supposed depiction in her *Urania*.

# February

- 9 Browne from Flushing to RS1, concerning his attempts to find a desk for PH and a dog for WH3 (*DD*, II.347–53).
- 27 RS1's sons, RS2 and William, matriculate at Christ Church, Oxford. Before 31 August RS2 is injured there (*DD*, III.464).

### March

Browne from Flushing to RS1, referring to the latter's correspondence with Sir John Sidney (*DD*, II.366).

# April

23

A letter to Thomas Golding is signed by BGS as 'B: LiSle', only the third known document bearing her signature (see also 24 August 1601, 21 April 1602, U1500 C1/12).

# May

8

Golding from Penshurst to RS1, concerning the painting of the gallery and other decorative features (*DD*, III.374). During 1607 the Long Gallery at Penshurst is completed, where the initials of RS1 and BGS are still visible.

## June

21

N. de Blocq from Flushing to RS1, sending him a model of Gibraltar and a picture of warships there (*DD*, III.377, 381).

# July

Golding from Penshurst to RS1 about the ongoing redecorations by 'Treswell' at Penshurst (*DD*, III.386).

27 MSH from Ditchley (the home of Sir Henry Lee, the queen's former Champion at Tilt) to Salisbury, seeking the wardship of the son of Sir John Jennings (CP 122/43).

# August

31

Thomas James from Penshurst to RS1, noting that his son, Robert, is in good spirits and recovering from his injuries. He also mentions BGS's support for some of their tenants in Wales (*DD*, III.399, 464).

# September

The King's third daughter, Mary (b.1605), dies at Stanwell, the house of Lord and Lady Knyvett who were caring for her (*DD*, III.410).

19 RS1 from Baynard's Castle to BGS, reporting that Princess Mary is to be buried on Wednesday 'without any pomp'. He is ordered by Queen Anne to attend the child's autopsy. He also notes that MSH is planning a visit to Penshurst (CKS C81/147).

25 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, concerning his financial worries (CKS C81/148).

- 27 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, noting that SVH also wishes to visit Penshurst and that WH3 will probably come as well (CKS C81/149).
- 28 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, suggesting that MSW should come to Penshurst to see SVH (CKS C81/150).

#### October

- 5 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, noting that he is due to visit MSW at Loughton Hall, where he also expects to meet WH3 (CKS C81/151).
- 14 RS1 from London to BGS: 'Believe it, sweetheart, I will bestir myself to recover again my broken fortune' (CKS C81/152).
- 18 MSW's twentieth birthday.
- 20 RS1 from London to BGS, describing the movements of SVH and MSW and his meetings with them. He also mentions his ongoing legal disputes with Robert Dudley, the illegitimate son of the Earl of Leicester (CKS C81/153).
- 22 and 24 RS1 from London to BGS, with continued worries about his debts. He asks her to look for the deeds to Otford Park (CKS C81/154–5).
- 26 RS1 to Jean Hotman (Bibliothèque Nationale MS 500 Colbert 466/373).
- 27 MSH's forty-sixth birthday.
- RS1 from London to BGS, noting that SVH is recuperating at Durham House after her physic (CKS C81/156).

### November

- 5 RS1 from London to BGS, noting that his debts are so great that urgent measures are now required (CKS C81/157).
- 10 RS1 from court to BGS, still greatly concerned about his debts and the state of his daughter Katherine's marriage to Sir Lewis Maunsell (CKS C81/158).
- 19 RS1's forty-fourth birthday.

### **Undated**

Chamberlain to Carleton, suggesting that MSH had married Dr Matthew Lister, who was then with her at Spa (Chamberlain, II.69).

### Works

MSH (translator), Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, A Discourse of Life and Death, STC 18141.

### Dedications

Samuel Daniel, *Certain Small Works, STC* 6240 (revised dedication to MSH of *Cleopatra*; additional dedication in *STC* 6241). Daniel fondly recalls 'thou, then delicious Wilton' as the 'arbour of the muses'.

Samuel Daniel, *The Tragedy of Philotas* (including *A Defence of Rhyme*), *STC* 6263 (WH3).

Lorenzo Ducci, *Ars aulica or the Courtier's Art*, translated/dedicated by the stationer Edward Blount (formerly William Ponsonby's apprentice), *STC* 7274 (WH3, PH).

Henri Estienne, *A World of Wonders*, translated/dedicated by Richard Carew, *STC* 10553 (WH3, PH). First entered in the SR 29 March 1592. As a student Carew had disputed with PS at Christ Church in 1569 and Estienne had been a friend of PS (see *The Survey of Cornwall*, 1602,  $Dd2^v$ ). Carew also recalls MSH's translation of Duplessis-Mornay.

Matthew Gwinne, Vertumnus, STC 12555 (PH).

(c.1607) Gervase Markham, *Cavelarice*, *STC* 17334 (Bk 6, PH), recalling the Herbert family's patronage of his father and grandfather.

John Stradling, *Joannis Stradlingi epigrammatum*, *STC* 23354 (epigrams jointly to WH3, PH (127, 172), PS (40), and MSH (68)); see also his 'A Politic Discourse', National Library of Wales MS 5666D (WH3).

# References

Dominicus Baudius, *Poematum nova editio*, Leiden, 603, two-line poem on PS.

James Cleland, *The Institution of a Young Noble Man, STC* 5393, p. 152, commends *Arcadia*.

Janus Dousa, the younger, Poemata, Leiden, 100, Latin poem on PS.

Thomas Hume, *Captain Hume's Poetical Works, STC* 13957, includes 'The Earl of Pembroke's Galliard' (K2<sup>v</sup>–L1<sup>r</sup>).

Gervase Markham, *The English Arcadia Alluding his Beginning from Sir Philip Sidney's Ending, STC* 17350.5.

Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts, STC* 24123, lists PS among the great English writers in its dedication.

# 1608

# January

6 MSW appears in Jonson's *The Masque of Beauty*, with the same 'twelve daughters of Niger'. WH3 and PH also attend. Her performance is praised in Antimo Galli's *Rime* (Orrel 1979, 13–23).

Whyte describes to the Earl of Shrewsbury the very harsh winter experienced by the Sidneys at Baynard's Castle: 'The frost continues here in a very strange manner; the Thames so hardly frozen that it is made a beaten highway to all places in the city, but all bridges are in great danger upon a thaw. We at Baynard Castle watch and ward to preserve ours, that was but newly built' (Lodge 1838, III.224).

# February

9 PH dances in Ben Jonson's *The Haddington Masque* (*The Hue and Cry after Cupid*) (Jonson, VII.261, X.482), for the wedding of Viscount Haddington and Lady Elizabeth Radcliffe, the Earl of Sussex's daughter. RS1 apologizes to the Earl of Shrewsbury for not being able to send verses from *The Masque of Beauty* because Jonson was busy writing more for *The Haddington Masque* (*HMC Salisbury*, XX.75–6; Jonson, X.459).

# August

8 RS1 from Holmby to BGS, referring to another of his letters to her, dated 7 August, carried by Catchmay, the Countess of Montgomery's man. He laments the loss of his daughter Katherine Maunsell's child and is pleased that his sons are keeping company with the prince (CKS C81/159).

28 RS1 from Woodstock to BGS, travelling with the queen. He is pleased to know that MSW is with BGS at Penshurst (CKS C81/160).

# September

- 8 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, weary from attending the queen (CKS C81/161).
- 18 RS1 from Baynard's Castle to BGS, advising her that Sir Robert Wroth was recovering from an illness which had previously been thought to be the plague. MSW has been with him but is now on her way to Loughton House (CKS C81/162).
- 20 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, noting that WH3 had been with MSW on the previous day (CKS C81/163).

#### October

RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, thanking her for the peaches, happily eaten by the king, queen, and Earls of Suffolk and Worcester. He is accompanying SVH to

- Durham House, where they plan to meet WH3 and PH (CKS C81/164).
- 8 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, hoping for news of their daughter Katherine (CKS C81/165).
- 10(?) RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, thanking her for the peaches. He is now almost recovered from a bout of the stone (CKS C81/168).
- RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS. He has met MSW and her husband Robert is sick again. He is concerned for his daughter's financial settlement if Wroth dies (CKS C81/166).
- 18 MSW's twenty-first birthday.
- 20 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, reporting that Wroth's health is improved and MSW has gone to Loughton. There are still fears of the plague at court and the queen is planning to leave London (CKS C81/167).
- 27 MSH's forty-seventh birthday.

#### November

- 19 RS1's forty-fifth birthday.
- Fulke Greville's play, *Mustapha*, entered in the SR.

#### December

- 6 Browne reports to RS1 on James's dealings with the Spanish agent, Don Fernando Giron (*DD*, IV.87).
- 9 John Milton born in Bread Street, London.

#### Undated

Sir Robert Wroth and MSW, respectively, to King James and Queen Anne, concerning Loughton Hall. They offer, if financially able, to carry out their building plans (which begin in 1612), to 'make the house fit for both your Majesties to rest in' (HMC Salisbury, XX.315, XXII.3).

#### Works

MSH (translator), Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, A Discourse of Life and Death, STC 18141.5.

#### Dedications

Otto van Veen, *Amorum Emblemata*, translated/dedicated by Richard Rowlands (Verstegan), *STC* 24627a.8 (WH3, PH). Van Veen had been one of Rubens's teachers.

Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, *His Divine Weeks and Works*, translated/dedicated by Joshua Sylvester, *STC* 21650 (*Second Week* prefixed by sonnet to WH3; memory of PS also praised).

# References

Ben Jonson, *The Characters of Two Royal Masques. The One of Blackness, The Other of Beauty* (1608), *STC* 14761. MSW performs as Baryte in the former (see also BL Royal MS 17.B.XXXI), and dances as a member of the audience in the latter. She may also have witnessed Jonson's *Hymenaei* (1606), *The Masque of Queens* (1609), and *Oberon* (1611). In his conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden, Jonson mentions that he also wrote a pastoral drama, 'The May Lord', in which MSW was to have a part. Drummond himself addresses a sonnet and an ode to MSW (Drummond 1913, II.271, 277). Jonson comments that PS's daughter, Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, was 'nothing inferior to her father' in poetry (although none of her verse is known to have survived) (Jonson, I.38). In the *Urania*, MSW refers directly to Thomas Campion's *Lord Hay's Masque* (1607), and probably to Samuel Daniel's *Tethys' Festival* (1610), which is perhaps indicative of her involvement in these two entertainments as well.

(c.1608) Publication of Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, *STC* 18955, which MSW may have consulted for the geographical locations in her *Urania*.

A pedigree of the Gamage family is compiled, listing the six surviving children of RS1 and BGS in 1608: William, Robert, Mary, Katherine, Philip and Barbara (CKS U1500 F13).

William Shakespeare, *King Lear, STC* 22292. The blinding of Gloucester has been compared to the story of the blinded Paphlagonian king in *Arcadia*. His *Antony and Cleopatra* (*c*.1606), printed in 1623 folio (WH3, PH), is influenced by MSH's translation of Garnier's *Antonie* in various elements of structure, theme and phrasing. Shakespeare knew Garnier via MSH's translation.

William Vaughan, *The Golden-Grove, STC* 24610, Y6, recalls how PS 'excelled all our English Poets in rareness of style and matter' and praises his 'Apology for Poetry'.

#### 1609

# February

2 SVH performs in Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Queens*, dedicated to Prince Henry (Jonson, X.459).

# May

- James I's proclamation banning foreigners from fishing in British waters from 1 August begins the Herring Fishery Dispute with Holland. RS1 is involved in the negotiations (DD, V.xi–xii).
- 29 RS1 becomes a member of the Virginia Company. He also belonged to the East India and North-West Passage Companies.

## July

- 1 RS1 from London to BGS, thanking her for cherries and apricots. Mentions a planned meeting at Penshurst of Lady Bedford with RS1, BGS and MSW, and the embossing of his arms on £300 of silverware (CKS C81/170)
- 8 RS1 from London to BGS, assuring her of the health of their children (CKS C81/171).
- 25 RS1 from Farnham to BGS, about new furnishings for Penshurst (CKS C81/172).

# September

- RS1 to BGS, concerning the suspected illness of one of their daughters (CKS C81/173).
- 13 RS1 from London to BGS, reporting on the king and queen (CKS C81/173–4).
- 24 and 26, 28, 29 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, commenting on the welfare of their children and reporting court news (CKS C81/175–8).

#### October

- RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, with court news and good wishes for the children (CKS C81/179).
- 18 MSW's twenty-second birthday.
- 27 MSH's forty-eighth birthday.

#### November

- 1 RS1 from London to BGS, with the letter carried by one of MSW's footmen. He plans to return to Penshurst with his daughter (MSW?) (CKS C81/180).
- 8 RS1 from Whitehall to BGS, reporting that their daughter, Katherine Maunsell, is pregnant again (CKS C81/181).
- 11 RS1 from London to BGS (CKS C81/320).
- 19 RS1's forty-sixth birthday.

#### Dedications

Samuel Daniel, The Civil Wars, STC 6245 (MSH).

Joseph Hall, *The Discovery of a New World*, translated/dedicated John Healey, *STC* 12686 (WH3).

(c.1609) Homer Prince of Poets (first 12 books), translated George Chapman, STC 13633. A series of dedicatory sonnets at end of the volume (Dd1<sup>r</sup>–Ff1<sup>v</sup>), including ones to WH3, PH, RS1, and a commendatory sonnet in memory of PS. The Folger copy has two extra leaves of dedicatory sonnets, to Queen Anne, MSW and SVH (probably taken from the 1611 edition of all 24 books).

John Davies of Hereford, *Humours Heav'n on Earth, STC* 6332 (DPS). Anthony Nixon, *The Wars of Swethland, STC* 18594 (PH). Samuel Rowlands, *Guy Earl of Warwick, STC* 21378 (PH).

# References

Alexander Craig, *The Poetical Recreations*, *STC* 5959, C2, refers to Plexirtus from *Arcadia*.

Antimo Galli, 'Rime di Antimo Galli all'Illustrissima Signora Elizabetta Talbot-Grey', stanza 70 describes MSW (Orrell 1979, 13–23).

Publication of Shakespeare's *Sonnets, STC* 22353. It has been suggested that MSH commissioned the sonnets as a means of persuading her son, WH3 (Mr. W.H.) to marry. Unsubstantiated theories have even been put forward that Shakespeare fathered WH3 and that MSH was the Dark Lady. Another (more feasible) conjecture proposes that sonnet 55 was written as a commendation of a collection of love poems, perhaps *Astrophil and Stella*.

Thomas Heywood, *Troia Britannica: or Great Britain's Troy, STC* 13366, 246, 359, 465. PS's death at Zutphen is lamented on behalf of all soldiers and his sister, MSH, who is compared to Cassandra, Creusa and Polyxena.

## 1610

# January

Prince Henry's Barriers. Ben Jonson writes the speeches and Inigo Jones designs the staging. The prince issues a challenge and, with his own supporters, holds the barriers against 58 challengers, including WH3 and PH, who are both awarded prizes by the prince on the following day (Jonson, X.513).

A licence is issued for William Sidney to travel for three years abroad with Benjamin Rudyerd (*CSPD*, 581).

29 Sir John Harington makes a note of 'things sent to London', including the 'Countess of Pembr[oke]: psalms: 2 copies' (BL Additional MS 27632/30).

# **February**

9–23 July The fourth session of King James I's First Parliament.

19 Prince Henry comes of age.

# April

Dutch delegation meets with James over the Herring Fishery Dispute (*DD*, V.xiv).

22 RS1 to BGS about Robert Dudley (Leicester's illegitimate son) (CKS C81/192).

# May

6 Privy Council meet Dutch delegation over the Herring Fishery Dispute, resulting in the postponement of James's proclamation for two years (*DD*, V.xiv–xv).

14 Assassination of Henri IV of France by François Ravaillac.

Browne notes William Sidney's omission from those to be admitted as a Knight of the Bath (*HMC Downshire*, II.302).

30–4 June Various court festivities mark Prince's Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales.

# June

2–5 RS1's son, Robert (RS2), is admitted as a Knight of the Bath at the creation of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales at the Parliament House. RS1, WH3 and PH also attend the ceremony. WH3 acts as the prince's server at the feast held in the Great Hall. At the tilts WH3 presents a gift to the prince. SVH performs in Samuel Daniel's *Tethys' Festival*, a queen's masque staged at Whitehall, in collaboration with Inigo Jones. Lady Anne Clifford, PH's second wife, also performs as a river nymph (Nichols 1821, III.334; Chambers 1925, III.282).

# August

1–9 RS1 from Holmby to BGS, concerning their expenses and debts. He also refers to their son meeting WH3 (CKS C81/199–201).

- 22 RS1 from Woodstock to BGS, concerning family travelling arrangements (CKS C81/202).
- 27 Sir John Throckmorton from Flushing, reporting Browne's illness (*DD*, IV.224).
- RS1 from Bisham to BGS, concerning family affairs (CKS C81/203).

# September

- 2 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, asking for his daughter (perhaps MSW) to wait for him at Penshurst (CKS C81/204).
- 5 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, concerning the departure of their son Robert for Oxford (CKS C81/205).
- 9 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, concerning a meeting with PH (CKS C81/206).
- 21 RS1 from Nonsuch to BGS, thanking her for the peaches and reporting the Countess of Montgomery's fall from her horse (CKS C81/207).

#### October

- 2 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, reporting family news and anxiety about the plague (CKS C81/209).
- 3 Browne notes the death of Sir John Sidney and seeks help from RS1 for his widow. RS2 appointed to his company command (*DD*, IV.235–53)
- 4 RS1 to BGS, reporting that he has received a letter from MSW and she is well (CKS C81/210).
- RS1 from London to BGS, concerning the welfare of their children (CKS C81/211).
- 14 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS with his plans for the coming week (CKS C81/212).
- 16–6 December The fifth session of King James I's First Parliament. N. de Blocq from Flushing to RS1, noting the high levels of illness there, including Browne (*DD*, IV.240).
- 18 MSW's twenty-third birthday.
- 19 RS1 from London to BGS (CKS C81/213).
- 27 MSH's forty-ninth birthday. RS1 from London to BGS, concerning Lady Rutland (CKS C81/214).
- RS1 from London to BGS, asking her to be especially hospitable to Lady Rutland and to invite her to Penshurst (CKS C81/215).

#### November

- Throckmorton from Flushing to RS1, thanking him for his concern during his illness: 'You will excuse my shortness, I being yet scarcely able to walk up and down my chamber' (DD, IV.244).
- 8 RS1 from London to BGS, reporting his stay at Durrants and Lady Rutland's enjoyment of her time at Penshurst (CKS C81/216).
- 19 RS1's forty-seventh birthday.

#### Dedications

St Augustine of the City of God, translated John Healey and dedicated by stationer, Thomas Thorpe (since Healey had emigrated to Virginia), STC 916 (WH3).

Robert Dowland, *A Musical Banquet, STC* 7099 (RS1), containing 'Sir Robert Sidney his Galliard'. RS1, who was Dowland's godfather, is sometimes supposed to have written some of the lyrics.

Robert Jones, *The Muses Garden ... or the Fifth Book of Ayres, STC* 14736) (MSW).

Rowland Vaughan, *Water-works*, *STC* 24603 (WH3), claiming that family had served the Herberts for generations.

# References

Two undated addresses to MSW may be from this period: an unsigned acrostic sonnet embellished with gold leaf (*HMC Rutland*, I.418); and 'Ode: To the Lady Ma[ry] Wroth' (Bodl. MS Don.b.9.35).

(*c*.1610–12) Fulke Greville is probably writing his 'Dedication' to PS. (*c*.1610) Composition of Ben Jonson's panegyrical poem, 'To Penshurst'.

#### 1611

# January WH3 perhaps performs in Ben Jonson's *Oberon, the Faery Prince*, with Prince Henry as Oberon (Jonson, X.522). RS1's son, William, is knighted.

# **February**

- Throckmorton from Flushing, reporting Browne's now serious illness (*DD*, IV.252).
- 19–May Browne himself writes to RS1, pleading for support for his wife and six children, if he should die (*DD*, IV.253–8).

# March

Throckmorton from Flushing, reporting on hopes that Browne might recover. (He dies in April) (*DD*, IV.261–2).

# May

- 3 Sir Ralph Winwood reports that RS1's son, Robert (RS2), has inherited Browne's company and William Sidney is being groomed to take over as lieutenant-governor, although Sir John Throckmorton is eventually appointed as Browne's successor (HMC Downshire, III.71).
- Golding strongly opposes RS1's plans to expand the deer park at Penshurst, perhaps as a means of attracting the hunt-loving king. He reports on an exceptionally fine fruit harvest from Penshurst orchards (*DD*, IV.265–7).

# July

- RS1 from London to BGS, detailing a meeting with SVH and (probably) MSW (CKS C81/217).
- 18 RS1 sends two letters from Hampton Court to BGS, discussing the forthcoming royal progress (CKS C81/218–19).
- RS1 from Elvetham to BGS, noting his pleasure over William Sidney's studies with a tutor, 'Mr. Johnson', probably the dramatist Ben Jonson (CKS C81/220; *DD*, IV.279 identifies him, but without supporting evidence, as the Oxford clergyman Robert Johnson). 'To Penshurst' and other poems addressed by Jonson to the Sidneys are likely to have been composed during the latter half of 1611.

# August

- 15 RS1 from Sir William Kingsmill's house, Sydmonton Court, to BGS while on the royal progress, sending his best wishes to SVH and MSW (CKS C81/222).
- 24 RS1 from Oatlands to BGS, asking for news from Penshurst (CKS C81/223).

# September

- RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS about a gift of peaches (CKS C81/319).
- RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS mentioning his duties in looking after the Danish ambassador: 'I long to see you and

- my children: and grow weary, I protest, of these tedious waitings' (CKS C81/225).
- 23 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, concerning the royal progress (CKS C81/227).
- 28 RS1 from London to BGS, thanking her for the latest supply of peaches (CKS C81/228).
- 29 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, noting that WH3 had just been sworn in as a member of the Privy Council: 'so as now I have one friend more among them, who will be both willing and able to do me good' (CKS C81/229).

#### October

- 10 RS1 sends two letters from London to BGS. He needs to stay with the queen at Hampton Court (CKS C81/230–1).
- 17 RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS about his suit for £3,000 (CKS C81/232).
- 18 MSW's twenty-fourth birthday.
- 19 RS1 from London to BGS about his duties for Queen Anne (CKS C81/233).
- 27 MSH's fiftieth birthday.

#### November

- Twenty-first birthday of RS1's eldest son, William Sidney (d.1612), commemorated by Ben Jonson's 'Ode to Sir William Sidney: on his Birthday'. This poem was probably penned during Jonson's residence at Penshurst.
- Robert Kerwin from Penshurst to RS1 about ongoing building work (*DD*, IV.302).
- Burial of Ben Jonson's son Ben at St Anne's, Blackfriars, perhaps leads to his departure from Penshurst (Riggs 1989, 180).
- 19 RS1's forty-eighth birthday.

## December

Golding from Penshurst to RS1 about the planting of new fruit trees (*DD*, IV.307–8).

#### Dedications

The Iliads of Homer (24 books), translated George Chapman, STC 13634 (sonnet to MSW, Gg4<sup>v</sup>); and a series of dedicatory sonnets at end of

volume, including ones to WH3, PH (both from the c.1609 edition), and SVH.

John Davies of Hereford, *The Scourge of Folly, STC* 6241 (WH3, MSH); epigram 79 (HS, PS), 93 (PH); and an amusing dramatic monologue to MSH in which Davies pretends to be an unknown suitor. He also seems to refer to RS1's own poetry and includes PS in an address to great English soldiers and knights (p. 88).

Ben Jonson, *Catiline His Conspiracy, STC* 14759 (WH3). Drummond of Hawthornden recorded that each New Year Jonson 'had £20 sent him from the Earl of Pembroke to buy books' (Jonson, I.140).

Aemelia Lanyer, Salve deus rex Judaeorum, STC 15227, includes 'The Author's Dream [to MSH]',  $C3^{r}$ – $D3^{v}$ .

# References

Thomas Coryat, Coryat's Crudities, STC 5808, praises PS (h2).

Anthony Stafford, *Stafford's Niobe, STC* 23130, contains various references to PS.

William Vaughan, *The Spirit of Detraction, STC* 24622, Vv2<sup>v</sup>, records PS's motto, taken from Ovid, 'vix ea nostra voco'; see William Fulbecke, '1602: References'.

# 1612

#### January

Throckmorton quarrels with Michael Everarde, the sergeant-major of Flushing (*DD*, V.6–20).

# **February**

- Throckmorton is annoyed by reports that MSW is siding with Everarde and he also notes that Browne's widow is openly hostile to him (*DD*, V.15).
- Throckmorton acknowledges receipt from RS1 of two copies of James I's printed declaration (*STC* 9229) concerning the disputed succession of Conrad Vorstius to Jacob Arminius as a professor at the University of Leiden. The king also ordered the burning of some of Vorstius's publications (*DD*, V.24, 35).

#### March

2 Robert Kerwin from Penshurst to RS1 on building work (*DD*, V.25).

7 Throckmorton from Flushing to RS1, lamenting the 'desperate and distracted state' of 'these disjointed and lacerated provinces' (*DD*, V.27).

# April

Golding from Penshurst to RS1 about building work and fishing problems which are being assessed by two of Sir Robert Wroth's men (*DD*, V.45–9, 57).

# May

Death of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. WH3 writes an elegy: 'You that read, in passing by/Robert Earl of Salisbury' (Krueger 1961, 57).

# June

Death of Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland.

MSW's home, Loughton Hall, is described as 'new built' (Waller 1903, 163).

# August

- 10 RS1 at Sir Edwin Sandys' house at Northborn to BGS, concerning the welfare of their children and apologizing for missing MSW since he 'could not spare the coach' (CKS C81/234). RS1 sails on the *Marget* at sunset and arrives at Flushing at sunset on the 11 August (*DD*, V.58).
- RS1 from Flushing to BGS. He is staying with Browne's widow, who is deeply disliked by the new lieutenant-governor, Throckmorton (CKS C81/235). RS1 to Sir Ralph Winwood (*HMC Buccleuch*, I.110).
- 14 RS1 sends reports on Vorstius to James I and emphasises the importance of Flushing to English national security (SP 84/68/297).
- 17 RS1 sends two letters from Flushing to BGS, concerning the stormy weather and Sir Robert and Lady Drury's offer to help their son, William (CKS C81/236–7).
- 19 and 23, 26 RS1 from Flushing to BGS, noting that his relative, Sir Harry Sidney, is dangerously sick (CKS C81/238–40).

# September

1 (or late August) Death of PS's only daughter, Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland.

- 5 and 7 RS1 from Flushing to BGS, longing to be back home with her and the children (CKS C81/241–2).
- 12 RS1 from Flushing to BGS, noting how expensive his latest trip to Holland has proved (C81/243).
- RS1 from Flushing to Winwood about the problematic state of the fortifications (*HMC Buccleuch*, I.112).
- RS1 from Flushing to BGS, thanking her for family correspondence (CKS C81/244).
- RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS: '[I] have been exceeding graciously used by both the King and Queen, and this afternoon am going to see the Prince [Henry]'. He also asks BGS to take care at Penshurst with the grapes in 'Bab's garden, which I like so well (but they say do taste like a fox)' so that several bunches can be sent to him (CKS C81/245).

#### October

- 18 MSW's twenty-fifth birthday.
- 27 MSH's fifty-first birthday.

#### November

- 2 Death of Sir Henry Sidney of Walsingham in Norfolk, whose properties pass to the Penshurst Sidneys (*DD*, V.59).
- Death of Prince Henry. RS1 marches in his funeral procession, bearing the prince's standard (Nichols 1821, II.153).
- 19 RS1's forty-ninth birthday.
- 20 Death of Sir John Harington of Kelston.

#### December

- Death of William Sidney (b.1590) from smallpox at Baynard's Castle, the London home of the Earls of Pembroke (buried at Penshurst on 6) (Chamberlain, I.397).
- Throckmorton from Flushing to RS1, complaining about the report that RS1 is planning to appoint Sir Thomas Roe ahead of him to a company command in the Low Countries (*DD*, V.70).

#### **Dedications**

Niccolò Balbani, *A President to the Nobility*, translated William Crashaw, *STC* 1234 (WH3, RS1); see Buxton, 2, for praise of PS by the poet Richard Crashaw (William's son).

John Davies, *The Muses Sacrifice, STC* 6338 (MSH, with Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and Elizabeth, Lady Carey, complaining that 'You press the Press with little you have made'). He also mentions his copying of the Sidneian Psalms.

Thomas de Fougasses, *The General History of Venice*, translated/dedicated by William Shute, *STC* 11207 (WH3, PH).

Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist, STC* 14755 (MSW), the only one of Jonson's plays dedicated to a woman.

Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, *STC* 19511 (an emblem addressed to WH3, E2<sup>v</sup>). Peacham also praises WH3's knowledge of paintings and PS's knowledge of imprese in *Graphice*, *STC* 19507, 27.

George Wither, *Prince Henry's Obsequies, STC* 25915 (RS1), including an elegy on Sir William Sidney.

See also 1645, Dudley North (3rd Baron North).

#### References

Paulus Melissus Schedus, *Delitiae poetarum germanorum*, Frankfurt, IV.439, 479, two epigrams on PS.

Publication of an Italian translation, *Della veritate della religione christiana*, of Duplessis-Mornay's *Discours* by PS's friend, François Perrot.

# 1613

# **February**

Marriage of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King James, celebrated by Thomas Campion's *Lords Masque*, in which PH probably performed.

#### March

- 11 Chamberlain reports the collapse of negotiations to marry RS1's son, Sir Robert (RS2), to the daughter of Sir Henry Savile; and his daughter, Philip, to Sir William Sidley (Chamberlain, I.436).
- MSW from Loughton to RS1, concerning her jointure (Kansas, Crawford MS 177).

# **April**

(?) RS1 is appointed as one of the four royal commissioners, with ambassadorial status, to attend Princess Elizabeth on her way to Germany following her marriage to the Elector. The royal party travel via Flushing, The Hague and Bacharach, and then

up the Rhine to Heidelberg. The personal costs for RS1 come to some £800.

29/30 The royal party is greeted at Flushing by military companies commanded by RS2 and then leave for The Hague.

# May

Princess Elizabeth leaves for Rotterdam with RS1 who accompanies her up the Rhine to Heidelberg (*DD*, II.V.104).

## June

- (early) The party, including RS1, arrives at Heidelberg. After about six days, instead of going directly home to England, RS1 decides to return, with his son RS2, via Cologne and Spa (*DD*, V.110).
- 18 RS1 from Cologne to Winwood, expressing his pleasure at the princess's reception on the continent and mentioning that he might even travel back to England via Spain (*HMC Buccleuch*, I.135).
- 25 RS1 from Spa to Trumbull, where he stays for about three weeks, enjoying the company of Lord Darcy, Lady Elizabeth Lumley and the Prince and Princess of Orange (BL MS Additional 72298/111–12).

## July

- 1 RS1 is at Liége (BL MS Additional 72298/113–14).
- 22 RS1 from Spa to BGS, noting that his health is good except for 'swellings in my legs' (CKS C81/247).
- 29 RS1 from Aachen to BGS, hoping to visit Antwerp and then Flushing. He notes that the Earl of Southampton is at Aachen (CKS C81/248).

# August

- RS1 and RS2 return to Flushing, having travelled there via Antwerp before crossing back to England. RS1 to BGS (CKS C81/249); and to Trumbull, complaining about the predictably bad state of the fortifications (BL MS Additional 72298/119–20).
- 15 RS1 and RS2 arrive at Bath (DD, V.118).
- 23 Death of John Lord Harington of Exton.

#### October

9 Throckmorton from Flushing to RS1, requesting Lady Browne's house for his own family (*DD*, V.125).

- 18 MSW's twenty-sixth birthday.
- Throckmorton from Flushing to RS1, sending him some books given by a Captain James Blunt, having instructed 'Dyer's widow of our garrison' to deliver them to Baynard's Castle (*DD*, V.130).
- 27 MSH's fifty-second birthday.

#### November

- 4 RS1 from London to Trumbull (BL MS Additional 72298/124–5). Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, is created Earl of Somerset. For the ceremony WH3 carries the sword of honour (*CSPD*, 205).
- 19 RS1's fiftieth birthday.

#### December

The marriage of Frances Howard and Robert Carr is celebrated. WH3 and PH perform in Campion's *Squire's Masque* at the Banqueting House, Whitehall, and WH3 also tilts in celebration of the wedding (Jonson, X.437).

#### Undated

MSH probably goes abroad from 1613 until 1616 (Carew 1860, 51).

#### Works

PS, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, STC 22544. This edition contains the anonymous 'A Dialogue Between Two Shepherds, Utter'd in a Pastoral Show, at Wilton' (included in later folio editions), which seems to have been accepted by the family as genuine and may have been performed at Wilton in August/September or December 1577. MSH possibly directed the editing of this edition. Isaac Vossius's annotated copy of this edition is in the Leiden University Library.

#### Dedications

Henry Finch, *Nomotechnia, STC* 10870. An earlier version, Bodl. MS Rawl.C.43, was dedicated to PS.

Joseph Fletcher, Christ's Bloody Sweat, STC 11076 (WH3).

The Triumphs of Nassau (Maurice Prince of Nassau), translated/dedicated by William Shute, STC 17676 (WH3, PH). Shute declared that the Leicestrian tradition of continental involvement descended from Lisle to Pembroke because 'many of their actions' were 'performed by your noble uncles [that is, PS and RS1], whose honours you are to inherit'.

Joshua Sylvester, *Lachrimae lachrimarum* (elegies for Prince Henry). *Third Edition, STC* 23578 (MSW, RS1, BGS, RS2 and the Sidney family). Thomas Spackman, *The Biting of Mad Dogs, STC* 22977. The only book known to have been dedicated to Sir Robert Wroth (husband of MSW). George Wither, *Abuses, Stript and Whipt, STC* 25891 (epigrams, WH3, MSW; epistle RS1; laments PS's death, R2).

# References

William Gamage, *Linsi-Woolsie*, *STC* 11544, E1<sup>v</sup>, includes an epigram celebrating the Wroths' hospitality to King James when hunting. Sir Robert Wroth had acted as a riding forester, guiding the king in search of game in the royal forest of Essex; and another to MSW, D3<sup>v</sup>; see also Jonson's poem, 'To Sir Robert Wroth', celebrating Wroth's participation in the king's hunting (lines 23–4). Gamage also addresses Lady Katherine Manners (PS's niece) and contains two epigrams on PS (B6<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>r</sup>). Another epigram (F6<sup>r</sup>) celebrates RS1 as both a soldier and a poet.

Gervase Markham, *The Second and Last Part of the First Book of the English Arcadia* (continuation of *Arcadia*), *STC* 17352.

Robert Anton, *Moriomachia, STC* 685, compares the comic duel between the Knights of the Sun and the Moon with the battle between Clinias and Dametas in *Arcadia*.

Richard Zouch, *The Dove: or Passages of Cosmography, STC* 26130, D4, refers to PS's role in the Low Countries campaign.

John Ward, *The First Set of English Madrigals*, A2<sup>v</sup>–B1, includes settings of four of PS's poems.

#### 1614

# **February**

- 2 RS1 from Whitehall to Lord Bruce, agreeing not to pursue a match between his son and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Lord Burghley (later 2nd Earl of Exeter) (Collins, II.330–1).
- (?) Birth of MSW's only legitimate son, James (d.1616). At his christening WH3 represents James, with the Earl of Suffolk and BGS as his other godparents (Chamberlain, I.512).

#### March

2 MSW's husband, Sir Robert Wroth, makes his will, entitling MSW to 'all her books and furniture of her study and closet' (Waller 1900, 23–5).

- Death of Wroth, followed by his burial at Enfield Church, leaves MSW in severe financial difficulties (Nichols 1821, II.756). Chamberlain notes that Sir Robert had left MSW as 'a young widow with an annual jointure of £1,200, and a young son not a month old: and his estate charged with £23,000 debt' (Chamberlain, I.519). On the same day Throckmorton sends from Flushing his good wishes for Wroth's recovery and congratulations on the birth of RS1's grandson (DD, V.162).
- 27 Throckmorton from Flushing to RS1, having just received news of Wroth's death and hoping that RS1 will obtain the wardship of his grandson (*DD*, V.164).

# April

- 5–7 June King James I's Second, 'Addled', Parliament. RS1 is MP for Wilton.
- 9 Notes on the Parliament of 1614 made by RS2 (DD, V.174–8).
- A drunken struggle is reported between Everarde and Throckmorton. In May RS1 is obliged to sack Everade, despite the dislike of BGS and MSW for Throckmorton (*DD*, V.186–99, 204, 282).
- 27 Lady Throckmorton from Flushing to RS1, offering a stout defence of her husband (CKS C9/322/256–7).

## May

- 6 Sir Michael Everarde from Flushing to RS1, noting that he has been in correspondence with MSW (*DD*, V.204).
- Everarde to RS1, informing him that he is now at London awaiting his orders (*DD*, V.211).

#### **June**

- Death of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton. In a deathbed letter to Somerset, Northampton calls WH3 and RS1 his worst enemies and begs that they should not be given any of his offices (Chamberlain, I.540–3).
- Throckmorton reports the arrival of MSH at Flushing before sailing on to Antwerp (CKS C9/346).

# July

Thomas Lorkin mentions the marriage of RS1's daughter Philip and Sir John Hobart. She resides at the Hobarts' seat, Blickling Hall (Birch, I.332).

# August

- 7 RS1 from London to BGS, saying that he feels reasonably well and hopes to attend court (CKS C81/251).
- RS1 from London to BGS, wearily complaining that he is 'not yet well, neither am I sick: for pain I have none'. He has received letters from MSH at Spa (south-east of Liège), where she is enjoying the benefits of the waters (CKS C81/250). MSH ('Poemenarcha') is mentioned at Spa, and PS ('Philisiden') praised, by William Basse (Basse 1893, 182–93, 209–12). MSH's relationship with her doctor, Sir Matthew Lister, is perhaps reflected in the courtship of Simeana and Lissius in MSW's play *Love's Victory*.
- 12 RS1 from London to BGS (CKS C81/254).

#### October

- 8 Throckmorton from Flushing to RS1, reporting that he has forwarded RS1's letter to MSH 'at Antwerp this morning', hoping that she is still there (*DD*, V.248).
- MSW writes from Penshurst (where she was staying with her son James) to RS1, concerning the wardship of her son (CKS C52).
- 18 MSW's twenty-seventh birthday.
- 27 MSH's fifty-third birthday.
- (?) Greville appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer.

#### November

- 2 RS1 from Whitehall to BGS, detained by urgent business for the Cinque Ports. He also refers to MSH at Amiens (CKS C81/253).
- 19 RS1's fifty-first birthday.

#### December

- 7 N. de Blocq reports the death of Throckmorton's wife in childbed (*DD*, V.255, 261).
- (?) MSH is at Mechelin for part of the winter 1614/15 and may even be resident there until about March 1615 (Hannay 1990, 196).

#### **Dedications**

Joshua Sylvester, *The Parliament of Virtue's Royal, STC* 23581 (MSW, RS1, BGS, RS2, SVH), reprints addresses from 1613, *STC* 23578. He

laments the death of Sir William Sidney, son and heir of RS1, and concludes with a general tribute to 'all the noble Sidneys and semi-Sidneys' (Y1<sup>r</sup>).

John Taylor, *The Nipping or Snipping of Abuses, STC* 23779 (WH3, epigram, D3<sup>r</sup>).

Griffith Williams, The Resolution of Pilate (sermon), STC 25717 (PH).

#### References

Janus Gruterus, *Delitiae C. poetarum belgicorum*, Frankfurt, 739, Latin epigram on PS which may have been written before his death.

Richard Niccols, *Virtue's Encomium*, *STC* 18521 (praise of Sir Robert Wroth, epigram 30).

Richard Carew, listing the chief English writers from Chaucer to More, concludes: 'Will you have all in all for prose and verse, take the miracle of our age, Sir Philip Sidney', in 'The Excellency of the English Tongue', Camden's *Remains*, *STC* 4522, G2<sup>v</sup>.

Augustine Taylor, *Encomiasticke Elegies, STC* 23721, A3<sup>v</sup>, praises the excellence of PS's style, along with Samuel Daniel's.

#### 1615

#### **February**

Throckmorton reports to RS1 that MSH is still at Mechelin (CKS C9/398).

#### June

- RS1 from Greenwich to BGS, asks her to tell MSW that he will not have venison to spare this season (CKS C81/255).
- 28 RS1 from London to BGS: 'I thank God myself and my son are well. And so I trust you and my daughter Wroth and Bab and little James are' (CKS C81/256).

# July

- 2 RS1 from London to BGS, with family news and reference to WH3 (CKS C81/257).
- 21 and 22, 24 RS1 from London to BGS, weary from official duties and hoping that he will be soon be able to spend more time with BGS at Penshurst (CKS C81/258–60).
- RS1 from Salisbury to BGS, promising to write to MSW (CKS C81/261).

# August

- 15 and 16 RS1 from Bath to BGS, asking her to be hospitable to SVH if she visits Penshurst (CKS C81/264–5).
- 28 RS1 from Bath to BGS, concerned about the health of their daughter, Katherine Maunsell (CKS C81/266).

# September

- 20 RS1 from London to BGS, describing problems at Flushing (CKS C81/267).
- Death in the Tower of Lady Arabella Stuart, former claimant to the throne of England.
- 27 RS1 from London to BGS, informing her that Hugh Sanford had found MSW and her son, James, very well at Loughton Hall (CKS C81/268).

#### October

- 17 Somerset and his wife, Frances Howard, are confined under house arrest on suspicion of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower.
- 18 MSW's twenty-eighth birthday.
- 27 MSH's fifty-fourth birthday.

#### November

19 RS1's fifty-second birthday.

#### December

- 11 Throckmorton from Flushing to RS1, noting that four of his letters had just arrived. He is grateful for RS1's approval of his attempts to respond to the 'financial requirements of the garrison' (*DD*, V.364–5).
- WH3 is appointed Lord Chamberlain, placing him in overall control of acting companies, including the King's Men.

#### Undated

King James makes a visit to Wilton House and WH3 is keen to have Inigo Jones there for this visit (Gotch 1928, 84).

Greville writes to Sir John Coke about a planned joint memorial to himself and PS at St Paul's which was never erected (Rees 1971, 22–5).

#### Dedications

Benjamin Agar, 'Notes of a Sermon Preached by James Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, before King James I, 1615', Bodl. MS North.e.41/141–51,with dedicatory letter from Agar to WH3.

John Andrewes, The Anatomy of Baseness, STC 587 (RS2).

Gervase Babington, *The Works, STC* 1077, dedicated by bookseller, Thomas Charde (WH3, PH). *A Very Fruitful Exposition of the Commandments* and *A Profitable Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* retain their dedications to HH (see 1583 and 1588). No dedication is included to MSH for *A Conference Betwixt Man's Frailty and Faith* (see 1583).

Henri de Feynes, Survey of the East Indies, STC 10840 (WH3).

Sir John Harington, *Epigrams Both Pleasant and Serious, STC* 12775, dedicated by the stationer John Budge (WH3, reminding him of his 'Sidneian blood').

#### References

Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Cupid's Revenge*, *STC* 1667, inspired by the episode of Plangus, Erona, Andromana and Zelmane from the *Arcadia*.

(c.1615–20) Philip Massinger, 'The Copy of a Letter Written Upon Occasion to the Earl of Pembroke Lo: Chamberlain', lamenting the poverty of contemporary playwrights (Massinger 1976, IV.386–91). John Stephens, *Satirical Essays*, *STC* 23249: 'he woos with bawdry in text, and with jests or speeches stolen from plays, or from the

#### 1616

#### March

common-helping Arcadia'.

(?) Sir Walter Raleigh is released from the Tower to prepare for his voyage to Guiana. The Spanish ambassador, Sarmiento, protests strongly against this venture.

# April

1 RS1 replies negatively to Privy Council's questions over the strength of the Flushing garrison and its paltry munitions, if the Dutch attempt to retake it. His letter is influential in the eventual handing back of Flushing to the Dutch (DD, V.xxxviii–ix).

23 Death of William Shakespeare.

# May

- 6/7 Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, dies and RS1 is created a Knight of the Garter in his place (SP 14/87/70).
- 8 Death of Katherine Sidney (b.1589?), buried at Penshurst (Collins, I.120). Croft (1984, 6) speculates that Katherine may be the author of some of the poems in BL Additional 15232, which bears the arms of Charles Montagu, first Baron Halifax. Katherine was the first wife of Sir Lewis Maunsell, whose third wife was Lady Elizabeth Montagu, aunt of Baron Halifax.
- 21 Privy Council agrees the terms for the handing back of Flushing (*APC*, 541; *DD*, V.xli).
- Beginning of the trial of the Earl and Countess of Somerset for the Overbury murder. They are found guilty, although James remits the death sentence. The life of Frances Howard seems to be figured in several elements of MSW's *Urania* (see 1621), portraying her sympathetically as a victim of passion and betrayal.
- 26 RS1 to Sir Dudley Carleton, elated at his award of the Order of the Garter by King James and about to cross to Flushing (DD, V.xlii).
- RS1 and RS2 arrive at Flushing for the formal handing over to the Dutch. RS1 is granted a lump sum of £6,000 and a pension of £12,000 per year for life, in lieu of his position as governor. RS1 then accompanies his son to The Hague to see him installed as a colonel of an English regiment staying in the Low Countries.

# July

- Death at Loughton of MSW's only son, James (b.1614) who is buried with his father in the family vault at Enfield Church. His death results in much of her deceased husband's estate passing to his uncle, John Wroth (*HMC 7th Report*, 529b).
- 7 RS1 installed as a Knight of the Garter.
- (?) RS2 secretly marries Dorothy Percy, daughter of Henry, 9th Earl of Northumberland, thereby forging a close link between him and Algernon Percy, the 10th Earl. It also leads to a violent quarrel between RS2 and James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, who had married Lucy Percy.

# August

2 Carleton reports that he has met MSH at Spa. He notes that she 'complains chiefly of a common disease and

much troublesome to fair women, *Senectus*, otherwise we see nothing amiss in her'. He also notes her friendship with the Countess of Barlemont (the wife of the Governor of Luxembourg), with whom she shot 'at marks with pistols'. Toby Matthew, his friend George Gage and the notorious financier Sir Arthur Ingram were also there (Carleton 1972, 209).

- 9 RS1 to BGS, requesting his viscount's robes for George Villier's forthcoming creation as a viscount (CKS C81/269).
- 23 and 25 RS1 from Woodstock to BGS, discussing the christening of PH's son, planned for 18 September. If MSH does not arrive home in time from abroad, the Countess of Bedford will take her place, with the king and the Lord Chamberlain as godfathers. He also notes cryptically that the queen 'promiseth to do somewhat for me' (CKS C81/271, 270).
- RS1 from Oatlands to BGS, enclosing two letters from RS2, who was then abroad on a continental tour (CKS C81/272). Sir William Alexander's supplement to PS's *Arcadia* entered in the SR and bound into remaining copies of the 1613 edition.
- (late) George Villiers created Baron Whaddon and Viscount Villiers with RS1 in attendance (Chamberlain, II.22).

# September

- 8 RS1 from Oatlands to BGS, informing her that the king and queen were delighted with the peaches from Penshurst (CKS C81/273).
- 18 Christening at Wilton of PH's first son. MSH does not arrive back in time from the continent.
- 21 and 25 RS1 from Oatlands to BGS, explaining that MSH had not been at Wilton and that Jean Hotman had sent news of RS2's continental travels (CKS C81/274–5).
- 29 RS1 from Oatlands to BGS, noting that he had received letters from his son in Paris and is expecting him home soon (CKS C81/277).
- (?) Sir Toby Matthew probably visits Mary Talbot Herbert (wife of WH3) or MSH (although she was still probably abroad) (Sainsbury 1859, 14).

#### October

1 RS1 from London to BGS, hoping that MSH is now in England since he had received a recent report that she was at Calais. She had requested Lord Zouch's pinnace to bring

her across the Channel. MSW and her sister, Philip Hobart, are due to visit RS1 (CKS C81/277).

18 MSW's twenty-ninth birthday.

27 MSH's fifty-fifth birthday.

#### November

4 Prince Charles created Prince of Wales.

19 RS1's fifty-third birthday.

#### December

(early) MSH finally crosses from Calais back to England (SP 14/89/12).

#### Undated

MSH is granted a life interest in the Houghton estate and she commissions a Palladian mansion, Houghton Conquest (1616–20).

#### **Dedications**

Thomas Adams, A Divine Herbal Together with A Forest of Thorns, STC 111 (WH3).

Robert Anton, *The Philosopher's Satyrs*, *STC* 686 (WH3), 59, refers to 'Sidney's noble fires'.

(c.1613–16) William Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals, STC* 3915 (Bk II, WH3). WH3 procures a pass for travel abroad for a 'William Brown' in 1616 (*APC* 1615–16, 638).

John Davies, A Select Second Husband for Sir T. Overbury's Wife, STC 6342 (WH3).

John Dunbar, Epigrammaton Joannis Dunbari, STC 7346, 38 (WH3).

*The Manual of Epictetus,* translated J. Sanford; dedicated by the bookseller, Thomas Thorpe, *STC* 10426 (WH3).

William Fennor, Fennor's Descriptions, STC 10784 (WH3).

The Whole Works of Homer, translated by George Chapman, STC 13624 (WH3, PH, and including an epistle to RS1 and dedication to MSW from 1611, STC 13634). This patchwork volume contains unsold sheets of the *Iliad* from the 1611 edition and does not indicate any development in Chapman's contacts with the Sidneys and Herberts.

Ben Jonson, *The Works* (including the dedications of *The Alchemist* to MSW and *Epigrams* to WH3), *STC* 14751 (WH3). This volume includes epigrams to PS's daughter, Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland (79), WH3 (102), MSW (103, 105), SVH (104), Sir Edward Herbert (106), and RS1's daughter, Philip (114); and in *The Forest*, 'To Penshurst' (2), 'To Sir

Robert Wroth' (3), 'Epistle to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland' (12), and 'Ode to Sir William Sidney, on His Birthday' (14). Ben Jonson's honorary MA from Oxford University was awarded at the recommendation of WH3.

Bartholomew Parsons, *The Barren Tree's Doom* (sermon), *STC* 19344 (WH3).

Sampson Price, *Ephesus Warning Before Her Woe* (sermon), *STC* 20350 (RS1).

Richard Sheldon, A Survey of the Miracles of the Church of Rome, STC 22399 (WH3).

John Taylor, The Books of Martyrs, STC 23731.3 (WH3, PH).

## References

William Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*. The Second Book, STC 3915.5, 36, praises PS as Astrophel.

Henri Marc Gouffier, *A Declaration Made in the Consistory of Rochelle, STC* 12108, verso of title-page reprints Du Bellay's epitaph on Bonivet and notes that 'The English whereof is the very same which we find to be the epitaph made upon the death of ... Sir Philip Sidney'.

Wilhelmus Baudartius, *Afbeeldinghe, ende beschrijvinghe van alle de Veld-slagen*, Amsterdam, contains an engraving of the siege of Zutphen and Latin verses on PS.

A portrait of PS, based upon a reversed image of van de Passe's engraving for *Herwologia* (1620), is painted for the frieze decorating the top floor rooms in the Upper Reading Room of the Old Bodleian Library, Oxford.

#### 1617

#### January

5 George Villiers is created Earl of Buckingham.

# February

WH3 is invested as Chancellor of Oxford University (held until his death in 1630) in a lavish ceremony at Baynard's Castle (*CSPD*, 436).

#### March

(?) Marriage of RS2 and Dorothy Percy becomes public knowledge (Chamberlain, II.57).

# June

Sir Edward Herbert, later Lord Herbert of Cherbury, writes to Sir Dudley Carleton: 'I have a good while since promised a sonnet to Madame la Princess d'Aurange, which Sir Philip Sidney made her at the camp at Zutphen, where he was slain, and which Mr Hottoman [Leicester's secretary, Jean Hotman] a French gentleman who then followed him, gave me' (Woudhuysen, 220).

# July

21 and 25, 27–28 RS1 from Oatlands and London to BGS, reporting that PH had visited his mother MSH at Houghton House, Bedfordshire, before moving on to Penshurst (CKS C81/221, 278–9, 322).

# August

- 9 and 12, 23 RS1 from London and Oatlands to BGS with court and family news (CKS C81/280–2).
- 26 RS1 from Oatlands to BGS (CKS C81/283) and to Trumbull (BL MS Additional 72298/159–60).
- (?) Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, visits Penshurst, as recorded in Lady Anne Clifford's diary, along with her meeting with MSW and DPS (Clifford 1922, 122–4).

# September

- 1 and 6 RS1 from Oatlands and Woodstock to BGS with court news (CKS C81/323, 285).
- 12 Carleton records receipt of a stag from RS2 (SP 84/79/39–42).
- 15 RS1 from Windsor to BGS with court news (CKS C81/286).
- 18 RS1 from London to BGS, reporting a visit to Syon House: 'where I found my daughter well ... and the little one also, who is a very pretty one' (Dorothy, daughter of RS2) (CKS C81/289).
- 21 and 27 RS1 from Oatlands to BGS about Dorothy's christening (CKS C81/287–8).

#### October

- 5 Dorothy Sidney (buried 25 February 1684), later Countess of Sunderland, baptized at Isleworth, Middlesex.
- 18 MSW's thirtieth birthday.

#### November

19 RS1's fifty-fourth birthday.

#### December

(?) MSH probably spends this and other winters (apart from that of 1620/1) at her London house on Aldersgate Street.

#### Works

PS, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (and Alexander's Supplement), STC 22544a.3.

PS (translator) Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, A Work Concerning the Trueness of the Christian Religion, STC 18152.

#### Dedications

John Davies, *Wits Bedlam, STC* 6343 (WH3). Davies describes himself to PH as 'an excrement not yet cut off' from 'thee and thy most noble house' (371). He also compares WH3 to PS (370).

Samuel Hieron, *David's Penitential Psalms Opened*, *STC* 13394a (WH3). Hieron notes that he had presented a MS version of this work to WH3 as thanks for an unspecified official appointment. The earl returned it to him some weeks later, accepting the dedication.

John Hitchcock, A Sanctuary for Honest Men, STC 13530 (WH3).

Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary, STC* 18205 (WH3). *HMC 4th Report*, 372b, a letter from Moryson to WH3, asking him to be patron of *An Itinerary*. George Wither, *Prince Henry's Obsequies*, included in edition of *Abuses, Stript, and Whipt, STC* 25897 (RS1).

# References

PH dances in Ben Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled (Jonson, X.575–7).

#### 1618

# January

- 1 George Villiers created Marquis of Buckingham.
- Report of RS1's daughter, Barbara, taking part, at her father's expense, in an unsuccessful masque for the king and queen (Nichols 1821, I.452).
- (?) Sir Francis Bacon is appointed as Lord Chancellor and Sir Robert Naunton as Secretary of State.

**February** 

28 RS2 admitted to Gray's Inn.

**April** 

26 RS1 appointed to a commission to examine the statutes of the Order of the Garter (BL Additional MS 6297/280).

May

The Defenestration of Prague (when Protestant throw Catholic governors out of the windows of the Hradcin Palace) initiates the Thirty Years' War within Austrian territories, spreading to the Holy Roman Empire and most of Western Europe. Spanish marriage negotiations are suspended.

June

6 Accounts of RS2's book purchases (CKS A41/1–14).

July

RS1 from London to BGS, having just been created Earl of Leicester (in a private ceremony). He had sent news of this event to his wife by MSW and he can now proudly call BGS 'Countess of Leicester' (CKS C81/292).

# August

- 2 RS1 publicly created Earl of Leicester, having previously been mooted for the Earldom of Warwick. The ceremony is performed by the king, who also visits Wilton House, in the hall of the Bishop's Palace at Salisbury; RS2 succeeds his father as Viscount Lisle (*SP* 14/141, 'Grant Book', 258).
- 3 RS1 from Salisbury to BGS, describing the previous day's ceremony and noting that WH3 is insisting upon his attendance at Wilton for the visit of the king (CKS C81/294).
- 5 RS1 from Salisbury to BGS, awaiting the king's arrival at Wilton (CKS C81/293).

# September

RS1 from London to BGS, noting receipt of a letter from MSW. He also comments: 'Sir Wal[ter]. Raleigh remains still as he did; though every day his tricks and falsehoods are more and more discovered' (CKS C81/295).

16	RS1 from Oatlands to BGS. He has been ill and the trial of
	Raleigh continues (CKS C81/296).
18	RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, hoping that he and
	Barbara can meet (CKS C81/297).
28	Death of Joshua Sylvester at Middelburg.

October	
13	RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, expressing his anxiety
	over the queen's health (CKS C81/298).
18	MSW's thirty-first birthday.
20	RS1 from Hampton Court to BGS, reassuring her that he
	has taken his physic and is feeling better (CKS C81/299).
27	MSH's fifty-seventh birthday.
29	Execution of Raleigh.

#### November

19 RS1's fifty-fifth birthday.

#### Works

(c.1618–20) MSW probably begins writing the *Urania*, soon after the publication of Munday's *Amadis de Gaule* (see below), one of her primary sources.

#### Dedications

Nicholas Byfield, *The Pattern of Wholesome Words, STC* 4226 (DPS). H.[enry?] G.[oodere?], *The Mirror of Majesty, STC* 11496 (WH3, PH; with RS1 included in the catalogue). An illegal publication of part of Ludovico

Petrucci's Apologia (see '1619: Dedications').

(c.1618–19) Anthony Munday, *Amadis de Gaule*, Pts 1–2, *STC* 544 (PH); Pts 3–4, *STC* 543 (PH). Vol. 1, A2, notes that SVH had supplied him with the 'best editions' of *Amadis de Gaule*.

# References

Sir John Harington, *Epigrams, STC* 12776, H7<sup>r</sup>, praises PS.

Ben Jonson pays tribute to WH3 and PH in For the Honour of Wales (Jonson, VII.495, X.591).

Simon van de Passe's engraving of MSH, dressed in ermine, silk, lace and pearls, holding her versification of 'David's Psalms'.

#### 1619

# January

10 Birth of RS2 and DPS's son, Philip (d.1698), later 3rd Earl of Leicester.

# **February**

John Donne preaches a sermon before PH and SVH at the Cockpit apartments, adjacent to Whitehall, and sends a copy of the sermon with a friendly covering letter to SVH (see '1651: Dedications).

#### March

- 2 Death of Queen Anne.
- 13 Death of the actor Richard Burbage.
- Death of Matthias, the Holy Roman Emperor Matthias (since 1612). His moderate policies towards Catholicism contributed to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618.

# April

- 19 RS1 from London to Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador at The Hague (SP 84/89/171). MSW also writes from Baynard's Castle to Carleton (19, 25). She seems to have developed a close friendship with him; and in the latter letter refers to some of her 'rude lines' previously given to him (*CSPD*, 108/56, 73).
- (?) RS1 and BGS's daughter, Barbara, marries Thomas Smythe (*c*.1599–1635) who becomes Viscount Strangford in 1628, and resides at Westenhanger/Ostenhanger palace. He was the son of John Smythe, the brother of Thomas Smythe, see 26 April 1626 (*CSPD*, 33).

# May

- RS1 prominent in the funeral procession of Queen Anne to Westminster Abbey, accompanying the Earl of Hertford (Anne's Lord Steward) before Prince Charles, who preceded the coffin. MSW is also a member of the official procession.
- WH3 to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, at Heidelberg, asking him to pass on his 'best love to Mr. Doctor Donne' and lamenting the death of 'my old acquaintance [the actor Richard] Burbage' (BL Egerton MS 2592/81).

#### August

(?) Frederick V, Elector Palatine, is chosen as King of Bohemia, which he accepts in September. James I is dismayed by this affront to the Habsburgs by his son-in-law.

#### October

- 3 RS1 from court to BGS, noting that his new son-in-law, Thomas Smythe, will receive £1,000 from WH3 (CKS C81/300).
- 10 RS1 from Baynard's Castle to BGS (CKS U1500 C1/15).
- RS1 from London to BGS, hoping to return soon to Penshurst (CKS C81/301).
- 18 MSW's thirty-second birthday.
- 23 (27) RS1 from London to BGS, noting that their 'son and daughter' are at Syon House and will then go to Loughton Hall (CKS C81/302–3).
- 27 MSH's fifty-eighth birthday.

#### November

- RS1 from court to BGS, complaining that he is 'extreme weary both of Court and city' (CKS C81/304). Frederick Elector Palatine and Princess Elizabeth are crowned King and Queen of Bohemia. In MSW's *Urania*, Amphilanthus is named 'King of the Romans' and is crowned at Frankfurt and successfully unifies Europe in a period of peaceful religious toleration, a counter-myth to the reality of Frederick's increasingly problematic position (Roberts 1995, xlii–xliv).
- 10 RS1 from London to BGS, detailing his travelling schedule (CKS C81/305).
- 19 RS1's fifty-sixth birthday.

#### Undated

(c.1619–20) The birth of MSW and WH3's illegitimate daughter, Katherine, who later marries a Mr Lovel of Oxfordshire. MSW and WH3 also have another child, William, who becomes a captain in the army under Sir Henry Herbert and later a colonel in the royalist forces of Prince Maurice, the son of Elector Frederick V. He dies unmarried. They are recorded in a manuscript family history of the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke, by Sir Thomas Herbert of Tintern, 'Herbertorum Prosapia', Cardiff Central Library, Phillipps MS 5/7/92 (compiled c.1681–85). Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury also wrote 'A Merry Rime

Sent to Lady Mary Wroth upon the birth of my Lord Pembroke's Child Born in the spring' (*Poems*, 42).

Birth of Charles Herbert (d.1635), son of PH. Charles later married Mary, daughter of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham

#### Works

(PS) Eglentiers Poëtens Borst-weringh (Cloppenburgh), incorporates a partial translation of PS's Defence.

#### Dedications

Ralph Brooke, *A Catalogue ... of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, STC* 3832 (WH3), pleading for the earl to intervene to prohibit the illegal printing of genealogical materials.

Samuel Crooke, *Death Subdued, or, the Death of Death, STC* 6065 (RS1). William Dickenson, *The King's Right* (sermon), *STC* 6821 (WH3).

James Maxwell, Carolanna ... a Poem in Honour of Our King (DPS).

[Second volume of] *The Treasury of Ancient and Modern Times*, translated/dedicated by Thomas Milles (PH, SVH).

# References

Thomas Campion, *Epigrammatum libri II*, *STC* 4541, C7<sup>v</sup>, epigram on PS (revised from 1595 text); and another (no. 211) refers to WH3.

Ludovico Petrucci, *Apologia equitis Ludovici Petrucci contra calumniatores suos, STC* 19812.5 (Bodl. 4º Rawl.550, contains an MS letter by Petrucci to WH3).

Alexander Gil, the elder, *Logonomia Anglicana*, *STC* 11873, borrows from *Arcadia*.

Michael Drayton, *Pastorals. Containing Eglogues, STC* 7223: 'Virtue is not dead ... But to a nymph, for succour she is fled', identifying her as a shepherdess of Wilton, sister unto 'Elphin' (PS).

#### 1620

#### March

11 Chamberlain reports the birth of WH3's son, Henry Herbert (named in honour of HS and HH), who dies three months later. MSH assists at the labour (Chamberlain, II.294).

# September

RS1 from Blackfriars to BGS, reporting on news from the Palatinate and noting that their daughter Philip (b.1594), the wife of Sir John Hobart, has been seriously ill (CKS C81/306).

RS1 to BGS on the death of their daughter, Philip, at Blickling Hall. Her death probably influences MSW's account of the death of Philistella of 'a feaver in child bed' in the second part of her *Urania* (CKS U1500 C1/20).

#### October

- 9 Birth of RS2's son Robert (d.1622).
- 18 MSW's thirty-third birthday.
- 27 MSH's fifty-ninth birthday.

#### November

- 2 and 4, 6 RS1 from London to BGS. He has been to Theobalds and Enfield where the Countess of Montgomery asked kindly after BGS (CKS C81/307–9).
- 8 Frederick Elector Palatine defeated at the Battle of the White Mountain (near Prague). He loses Bohemia, and the Palatinate is invaded by the Imperialists.
- 19 RS1's fifty-seventh birthday.
- 23 Baptism of Henry Spencer, Lord Spencer of Wormleighton, later 1st Earl of Sunderland and husband of RS2's daughter Dorothy.
- 26 RS1 from London to BGS, noting the 'pitiful news of the overthrow given to the King of Bohemia and the loss of the town of Prague'. He also notes that MSH is 'pretty well' but does not intend coming to London (CKS C81/310).

#### Undated

King James probably visits Wilton House and requests a history of nearby Stonehenge (commissioned from Inigo Jones). Jones never completes it but his pupil John Webb eventually compiles an account from his surviving notes and his own researches, *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain ... Stone-Heng* (1655), Wing J 954, dedicated to Philip 5th Earl of Pembroke. MSH perhaps commissions Jones to design alterations to her residence, Houghton Conquest in Bedfordshire. Jones makes a note in his 'Palladio Volume' for a remedy for the stone obtained from 'my la[dy] Pembroke' (Summerson 1953, 142–4; Gotch 1928, 79).

MSW's younger brother, Robert, enters into a fierce dispute, culminating in a physical brawl, with James Hay, Viscount Doncaster. This episode may have contributed to the row over the *Urania* between Denny and MSW in 1621 (Collins, I.121–7).

A secret treaty is finally agreed between England and Spain for the marriage of Prince Charles and the Infanta Maria.

At about this time a portrait of BGS and one of her daughters, assumed to be MSW, is painted (attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts, the Younger).

#### Works

(c.1620) Compilation of RS1's second commonplace book (see '1600: Works').

(c.1620) 'Orders made by Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, to be observed in his house' (DD, I.lvii).

Sir Thomas Wroth (translator), *The Destruction of Troy ... A Century of Epigrams, STC* 24810 (RS2). RS1 thanked by the author for 'the eye of judgement' in his translation of Virgil. Sir Thomas was a cousin of MSW's husband, Sir Robert Wroth.

#### Dedications

(c.1620), Ovid, 'Ars amatoria', translated by John Ansley, Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.465 (WH3).

Boccaccio, The Decameron (tr. John Florio?), STC 3172 (PH).

John Leech, *Joannis Leochaei Scoti, musae priores, STC* 15365.7, with the 'Eroticon' section inscribed to WH3, noting that the earl had looked at Leech's work some three years earlier. Enlarged (1621), *STC* 15366 (epigram 45, WH3). Leech was one of WH3's secretaries and a friend of Ben Jonson.

Robert Newton, *The Countess of Montgomery's Eusebia, STC* 18509 (MSH; WH3, Mary Talbot Herbert, PH, SVH).

Diodochus Proclus, *Procli sphaera*, translated and dedicated by John Bainbridge, *STC* 20398 (WH3).

Francis Quarles, A Feast for Worms. Set Forth in a Poem of the History of Jonah, STC 20544 (RS1).

Honoré d'Urfé, *The History of Astraea*, translated and dedicated by the stationer John Pyper, *STC* 24525 (PH, SVH).

George Wither, *Juvenilia*, STC 25911, including a 1613 dedication to MSW, STC 25891.

#### References

Henry Holland, *Herwologia anglica* (Arnhem), 71–4, includes a portrait (Simon van de Passe or perhaps a copy by one of his children, Magdalena or Willem) and brief biography of PS, and two epigrams (one on *Arcadia*) and three epitaphs.

Thomas Middleton, *The Mayor of Queensborough, or Hengist, King of Kent* (c.1620). appears to reflect the political views of RS1, WH3 and PH (Heinemann 1980, 136–50).

Thomas Scott, one of WH3's personal chaplains, publishes *Vox Populi*, *STC* 22098, against the proposed marriage of Prince Charles with the Spanish Infanta.

Joseph Webbe, translator, *The Familiar Epistles of M.T. Cicero, STC* 5305, associates PS as a prose writer with Bacon (A6).

#### 1621

#### January

30–4 June The first session of King James I's Third Parliament. RS1 serves as MP for Kent.

#### March

- Duplessis-Mornay from Saumur to RS1 (but only received 3 November 1621), recalling his friendship with PS and introducing his two grandsons who were then travelling through Holland and England (*DD*, V.422).
- Death of Philip III of Spain at Madrid and accession of Philip IV.

#### April

20 RS1 from Whitehall to BGS with court news, also mentioning that MSW has not yet taken up residence in her new house (CKS C81/311).

# May

- 4 RS1 from Whitehall to BGS about his own sickness and the fall of Sir Francis Bacon who was sentenced on 3 May (CKS C81.312).
- RS1 from Whitehall to BGS, reporting that he is beginning to be able to walk up and down his chamber. He longs to be back home with BGS at Penshurst. He also reports that the king and queen of Bohemia are still at The Hague (to where they had fled in April) and that 'war is like to grow on there very hotly' (CKS C81/313). RS1 later serves as a member of the Council of War, appointed to consider the feasibility of English intervention in the war in Germany on behalf of the Elector Palatine.
- 12 The last known letter from RS1 at Whitehall to BGS: 'I am exceeding glad to hear that you are well and I beseach God long to continue it' (CKS C81/314). She dies soon afterwards.

26 Burial of BGS (*DD*, V.424).

## June

20 RS2 an executor of the will of the mathematician, Thomas Harriott (Warkentin 1997, 339).

# July

- MSW's *Urania* entered in the SR by John Marriott and John Grismand. They had only just been freed on 10 July from the Marshalsea Prison, following their involvement in the publication of Wither's *Motto*, deemed by the Privy Council to be a subversive political commentary.
- King James visits MSH's Houghton House (Nichols 1821, IV.671).

# September

Death of MSH from smallpox at Aldersgate Street, London.

#### October

- 3(?) or 30 September RS1 from Baynard's Castle to RS2, reporting the imminent confinement of 'my daughter'. He notes that MSH is to be buried privately alongside her husband in Salisbury Cathedral, with a funeral ceremony 'according to her quality' at St Paul's (*DD*, V.424; Chamberlain, 400). PH enters probate for MSH's estate since she does not leave a will.
- 18 MSW's thirty-fourth birthday.

#### November

- 5 Birth of Henry, son of RS2 and DPS, at Penshurst.
- 19 RS1's fifty-eighth birthday.
- 20–18 December The second session of King James I's Third Parliament.
- 21 Philip Duplessis-Mornay writes to RS1, requesting safe passage for his family into England (CKS C28).

## December

- A copy of MSW's *Urania* is sold at Edinburgh for 6 Scottish pounds or about 10s (Roberts 1995, cv).
- 15 Edward Denny, Baron of Waltham (later Earl of Norwich), denounces his supposed depiction in the story of Seralius and his father-in-law in the *Urania*. Denny furiously attacks

MSW for, as he saw it, indirectly commenting upon his own involvement in the marriage of his only daughter, Honora, to James Hay, Viscount Doncaster (see January 1607). John Chamberlain also feels that MSW 'takes great liberty or rather licence to traduce whom she please, and thinks she dances in a net' (Chamberlain, II.427). Clearly disturbed by Denny's onslaught, on 15 December MSW writes 'from London' to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, seeking his help and claiming that the books 'were sold against my mind I never purposing to have had them published'. She even asks the duke to return a copy of the *Urania* which she had given him (Bodl. MS Addit. d.111/173; Roberts 1995, cv).

#### Undated

Birth of Philip Herbert (d.1669), later 5th Earl of Pembroke, son of PH. James I issues a royal warrant for MSW to receive deer from the royal park (*CSPD*, 278).

#### Works

PS, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (and Alexander's Supplement), Dublin, STC 22544a.7.

MSW, *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (and her sonnet sequence, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*), *STC* 26051; see also the Folger MS of 'Pamphilia to Amphilanthus' (MS V.a.104); the Newberry Library, Chicago, MS of 'The Second Part of the Countess of Montgomery's Urania' (Case MS fY1565.W95); and MSW's own copy, with her handwritten corrections, of the *Urania* (Roberts 1995, ix–x). Another copy, owned by Dr Bent Juel-Jensen, contains contemporary annotations by William Davenporte (Roberts 1983, 29–30).

The *Urania* is so named in honour of SVH. Among its many autobiographical elements, it traces the lives of a father (Detareus) and an eldest daughter (Bellamira) who have 24 years between them (as did RS1 and MSW); another character, Bersindor, is an approximate anagram for Robert Sidney. Various elements of MSW's own life figure also in the story of Pamphilia. MSH is described as the Queen of Naples (371), the mother of Amphilanthus (WH3); and as the mother of Laurimello, and as Clorina in the Newberry MS continuation. Simon van de Passe, who at about this time produces a portrait of MSH, engraves the title-page of the *Urania*. The poem, 'O That I might but now as senseless be' has been viewed as a collaborative work between

MSH and MSW (or the latter reworked a poem by the former) (Roberts 1995, xxxvii, lxxxiv–vi, cvi).

#### **Dedications**

Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, *His Divine Weeks and Works*, translated J. Sylvester, 1620/1621, *STC* 21653 (MSW, RS1, BGS, RS2, and Sidney family).

(*c*.1621) William Browne, epitaph and elegy on MSH (Browne 1894, II.248–55, 294). This poem was perhaps written later in the 1620s (when Browne became a Herbert family retainer (BL Lansdowne MS 777/44). Robert Bruen, *The Pilgrim's Practice, STC* 3930.5 (WH3). Joseph Hall, *A Recollection, STC* 12708 (PH).

# References

Posthumous publication of the Latin *Argenis*, a satirical *roman à clef* by the Scottish author, John Barclay. Printed copies circulated with manuscript 'keys', identifying the figures satirized. The popularity of *Argenis* triggered suspicions that MSW's *Urania* was also intended as a satiric *roman à clef*. King James was an admirer of Barclay's writings and ordered an English translation, *STC* 1392, which included a '*clavis*' (or 'key') for its readers (Roberts 1983, 28).

Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmus*, *STC* 13276, 137, recalls PS as the first Governor of Flushing.

William Slatyer, *The History of Great Britain, STC* 22634, recalls PS's role in Leicester's Dutch campaign, 278–81.

The Catholic author of *Observations Concerning the Present Affairs of Holland* (St Omer), STC 13576, 85, recalls PS's death.

# 1622

# **February**

Denny continues his attack on the *Urania* and sends a verse satire on MSW, 'to Pamphilia from the father-in-law of Seralius', beginning: 'Hermophrodite in show, in deed a monster'. MSW writes to Denny about his verses ('such vile, railing and scandalous things'), and includes an inversion of his rhymes entitled 'Railing Rimes Returned Upon the Author by Mistress Mary Wroth'.

Denny angrily replies to MSW's letter of 15 February and advises her to 'repent of so many ill spent years of so vain a book'. Instead he thinks that she should pen religious works 'that at the last you may follow the example of your

virtuous and learned aunt' (MSH) (Nottingham University Library C1/LM/85/1–5) (see Roberts 1983, 32–4, 237, for other copies).

MSW writes another defiant letter to Denny: 'be assured you shall find me; what my blood calls me to be, and what my words have said me to be' (*HMC Denbigh*, V.3). Denny makes an undated defiant reply to this letter. MSW also writes for support in an undated letter to Sir William Feilding, 1st Earl of Denbigh (Roberts 1983, 241–2).

# July

- Burial of RS2's son, Robert (b.1620), at Penshurst.
- 24 RS1 from London to Carleton, pleading for his son, RS2, not to leave him for service in the Low Countries: 'He is my only son and since his mother's death my chiefest comfort' (SP 84/107/187–8).

# September

(?) James Hay, Viscount Doncaster (husband of Lucy Percy, DPS's sister), created Earl of Carlisle.

#### October

- 11 RS1 from London to RS2, commenting wearily on his indifferent health and diet (Collins, II.354–5).
- 18 MSW's thirty-fifth birthday.
- 24 RS1 from London to RS2 concerning the latter's dealings with Carlisle (Collins, II.355).

#### November

19 RS1's fifty-ninth birthday.

#### Works

PS, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (with Alexander's Supplement), STC 22545.5.

(c.1622) MSW is probably writing her pastoral drama, *Love's Victory*. Her characters, Philisses and his sister, Simena, appear to be anagrams for PS and MSH. Several of the characters in the play also appear in the Newberry MS of the second part of the *Urania*.

#### Dedications

G. de y Maneses Cespedes, *Gerardo, the Unfortunate Spaniard*, translated/dedicated by Leonard Digges, *STC* 4919 (WH3, PH). Digges

(whose stepfather acted as overseer to Shakepeare's will) also contributes a commendatory verse to the Shakespeare First Folio in 1623. Abraham Darcie, *The Honour of Ladies, STC* 6271 (SVH, Lady Anne Sophia Herbert).

Joseph Hall, Contemplations. The Sixth Volume, STC 12657a (WH3). Ultima linea Savilii sive in obitum H. Savilii. (Oratio funebris A.T. Goffe), STC 19025 (WH3).

Walter Sweeper, *A Brief Treatise Declaring the True Christian Nobleman, STC* 23526 (WH3, PH), describing Wilton House as 'like a little University' and an excellent 'nursery for learning and piety'; *Israel's Redemption by Christ, STC* 23527 (RS1, and refers to MSH).

Thomas Tomkins, *Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts, STC* 24099 (WH3). George Wither, *Prince Henry's Obsequies,* included in *Juvenilia, STC* 25911 (WH3, RS1).

# References

(c.1622) Sir Aston Cockayne, *Poems*, Wing C4897, 20, refers to MSW's *Urania* in his poem, 'A Remedy for Love': 'The Lady Wroth's *Urania* is replete / With elegancies, but too full of heat'.

Henry Peacham, *The Complete Gentleman*, *STC* 19502, 161, includes an illustration of MSH and MSW's coat of arms (an arrowhead or pheon in a lozenge). Peacham claims that the 'late-published *Urania*' demonstrates MSW to be the 'inheritrix of the divine wit of her immortal uncle'. He also praises (199) PS's knowledge of imprese, and lists PS among 'those authors in prose, who speak the best and purest English'. Samuel Buggs, *The Mid-land Soldier. A Sermon, STC* 4023, 37, refers to PS's funeral.

Wilhelmus Baudartius, *Polemographia Avraico-Belgica*, Amsterdam, describes PS at Zutphen and includes an engraving of PS with Prince Maurice attacking Axel.

# 1623

# January

- Payment of £20 recorded in the Penshurst accounts to a midwife, Mrs Stephens, following birth of Algernon Sidney (AS) for six week's work (14/15 is, therefore, usually suggested as AS's date of birth.
- 30 RS1 from London to Carleton, hoping that his son, RS2, would renounce his regiment in the Low Countries (SP 14/137/63).

# **February**

- 1 RS1 from London in Italian to the Duke of Feria (CKS C80A/2/22).
- 9 RS1 from his house in 'Little Britain' (London) to Robert Cotton (BL MS Cotton Julius C.iii.364).
- (?)-October Prince Charles and George Villiers undertake a trip to Madrid but return offended and resolve on war with Spain.

#### March

- 7 MSW writes from Loughton to Sir Edward Conway, pleading for a temporary protection from her debts (*CSPD*, 139, 53).
- MSW is granted a warrant of protection for a year against her debts (*CSPD* (1619–23), 596, 599; see also (1623–25), 155, 473; (1628), 136; (1628–29), 44; (1635–36), 43, for similar documents).

# May

- George Villiers (1592–1623) created Earl of Coventry and Duke of Buckingham.
- Mortgage transfer of RS1's best furniture and books to RS2 (CKS U1500 C292/79; DD, I.lvi). At about this time an inventory of Penshurst is also compiled (U1500 E120). It is especially informative on family portraits, listing a group portrait of the children of RS1 and BGS; a full-length portrait of MSW; one of MSW as a child; one of MSW's son, James (both no longer at Penshurst); and a portrait (then in the bedroom to the parlour) of 'the Countess of Leicester and my Lady Mary Wroth in a frame' (DD, VI, 547–54). Henceforth, RS1 resides mainly at his house in Little Britain.

# June

- 3 Conway to RS1, concerning a debt of two year's rent owed by MSW to Ellis Rothwell, a page of the bedchamber, for a house which she had rented for 21 years (SP 14/146/4).
- 6 RS1 from London to Conway, concerning MSW's debts (SP 14/146/27).

# August

6 Visit by King James to Wilton House planned.

# September

22 RS2 buys a copy of Joseph d'Acosta's *De natura novi orbis* from PS's friend, Jean Hotman (CKS A4116/10).

#### October

- 18 MSW's thirty-sixth birthday.
- (?) RS1 to Charles, Prince of Wales (Collins, II.356–7).

#### November

- 17 RS1 to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (Collins, II.358).
- 19 RS1's sixtieth birthday.
- (?) Fire destroys Ben Jonson's library, including many of his unpublished writings and possibly literary and personal documents relating to his dealings with the Sidneys and Herberts.

## December

7 RS1 from the Old Bailey to Conway (SP 14/155/39).

#### Works

PS, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (with Alexander's Supplement), STC 22546a.

#### **Dedications**

Edward Chaloner, Six Sermons, STC 4936 (WH3).

Samuel Daniel, *The Whole Works, STC* 6238 (*Civil Wars* and *Cleopatra* still dedicated to MSH).

Pierre Du Moulin, A Preparation to Suffer for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, STC 7336, dedicated by translator, Abraham Darcie (WH3, RS1. Ten Lords are specifically named in an address, followed on the next page (A2<sup>r</sup>) with a printed address: 'To the Illustrious and ...' with a space for a specific name to be added). Du Moulin had been the chaplain to Duplessis-Mornay's brother.

Joseph Hall, *The Best Bargain* (sermon), *STC* 12646–12646a (WH3). John Reynolds, *The Triumphs of God's Revenge* (Bk 3), *STC* 20943.5 (WH3).

Thomas Scott, *Vox dei: injustice cast and condemned, STC* 21873.5 (WH3). Scott's *Vox populi* pamphlets are a source for Middleton's *A Game at Chess*.

*Mr William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (First Folio), *STC* 22273, dedicated by the actors Heming and Condell (WH3, PH): 'But since your L.L. have been pleased to think these trifles something,

heretofore; and have prosecuted both them, and their author living, with so much favour'.

Augustine Taylor, Divine Epistles, STC 23720 (WH3, SVH).

# References

Thomas Powell, *Wheresoever You See Mee, STC* 20171, A4, seeks to 'sing as sweet as ere did Sidney'.

## 1624

## January

- 8 RS1 from Penshurst to Conway (SP 14/158/18).
- MSW from Loughton to Conway asking for another year's protection from her debts, which was granted (*CSPD*, 158, 65).

# **February**

12–29 May King James I's Fourth Parliament resolves on war with Spain. RS1 is MP for Monmouthshire.

24 (or 1625?) Burial of RS2's daughter Lucy at Penshurst (Collins, I.147).

# September

- 10 RS1 from Loughton to Conway (SP 14/172/38).
- Conway writes to MSW on behalf one his son's former tutor, Mr Harding, who was claiming an unsettled debt from MSW (*CSPD*, 172, 59).

#### October

- 18 MSW's thirty-seventh birthday.
- (?) Thomas Nevitt, steward to RS1, draws up a detailed financial 'memorial', including payments made out of income from land to beneficiaries of PS's will. The memorial also shows that RS1 was in litigation with PS's widow and her third husband, the Earl of Clanrickarde (BL MSS Additional 12066 and 17520; Lichfield 1837, 83–103).

#### November

- A marriage is agreed between Prince Charles and the French Princess Henrietta Maria, resulting in the controversial performance (and early closure) of Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, satirizing the proposals.
- 19 RS1's sixty-first birthday.

#### Undated

Broadgates Hall, Oxford, changes its name to Pembroke College, in honour of WH3.

#### **Dedications**

Anonymous, A Gag for the Pope and the Jesuits, STC 20111 (WH3).

George Goodwin, *Babel's Balm*, translated/dedicated by John Vicars, *STC* 12030 (WH3).

Philip Massinger, *The Bond-man, STC* 17632 (PH). In the dedication, Massinger recalls how his father, Arthur, had been a long-term employee of HH (see under '1587: August').

Jean Paul Perrin, *The Bloody Rage of that Great Antichrist of Rome*, translated/dedicated by Samson Lennard, *STC* 19760.5 (WH3). Lennard recalls how he had served in the Low Countries with PS in 1586.

Francis Quarles, Sion's Elegies Wept by Jeremy, STC 2782 (WH3).

Griffith Williams, Seven Golden Candlesticks, STC 25719 (PH, Charles Lord Herbert).

# References

Anonymous, *A Pleasant and Delightful Poem of Two Lovers, Philos and Licia, STC* 19886, A4<sup>r-v</sup>, describes Fame 'Bearing a laurel, on which sweet Sidney's name / In golden letters'.

Richard Beling, A Sixth Book to the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, STC 1805 (Dublin).

Thomas Heywood, *Gynaikeion: or Nine Books ... Concerning Women, STC* 13326, 398, refers to MSW as 'the ingenious lady, the late composer of our extant *Urania'*. He says that he will bestow on MSH the character which Horace bequeathed to Sappho; and he compares MSH to Vittoria Colonna  $(Mm1^v)$ .

Francis Pilkington, *The Second Set of Madrigals and Pastorals, STC* 19923, no.14, is a setting for five voices of lines 5–10 of 'Come shepherd's weeds' (*OA4*).

John Webster, *Monuments of Honour, STC* 25175, B1<sup>r</sup>–B2<sup>r</sup>, commemorates PS as both 'soldier and scholar'.

#### 1625

#### March

27 Death of King James and accession of King Charles I.

April

Death of Maurice, Prince of Orange, after failing to lift the

siege of Breda.

21 RS1 to Sir James Fullerton (Collins, II.358–9).

May

1 RS1 acts as one of the 14 assistants to James's chief mourner, Charles I, who is married by proxy to Princess Henrietta Maria, daughter of King Henri IV of France (Nichols 1821, III.1047–8).

7 King James is buried in Westminster Abbey.

RS1 from London to RS2 about the family's debts (CKS C80A/4).

# June

4 RS1 from London to RS2 (CKS C80A/3).

5 Breda falls to the Spanish, led by Ambrogio Spinola, after an 11 month siege. Henry de Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford (whom it was once thought that MSW might marry; see Roberts 1983, 27), and Sir Walter Devereux, are among English losses during this siege.

18–11 July The first session of King Charles I's First Parliament openly attacks Buckingham. Two subsidies are granted for tonnage and poundage for one year only by the Commons (rejected by the Lords); and Charles continues to collect customs revenue without parliamentary authorization throughout his reign. The king's sympathy with Catholics is criticized. RS1 continues as MP for Monmouthshire.

# July

(early) A plague epidemic spreads in London.

7 Christening at Penshurst of a daughter of RS2 and DPS, also called Lucy (Collins, I.147).

# August

1–12 The second session of King Charles I's First Parliament. Plague has now spread as far as Cambridge and Parliament adjourns from Westminster to Oxford in an attempt to avoid it.

# September

29 Sir John North from Wilton to RS1, concerning the king's visit, noting that the king and queen are both expected at Wilton (*DD*, V.440); and WH3 from Wilton to RS1 (Collins, II.360–1).

#### October

8 Buckingham leads a fruitless expedition to Cadiz.

North from Salisbury to RS1, complaining about the factious court: 'the times being so penurious that every man complains. No wages, pensions or debts paid, and hardly money to furnish the King's diet'. He notes that Charles will leave the court on 26 and meet the queen at Hampton Court on 29 (*DD*, V.440).

18 MSW's thirty-eighth birthday.

#### November

4 and 16 WH3 from Hampton Court to RS1, sympathizing with his gout and stone (Collins, II.366).

19 RS1's sixty-second birthday.

Treaty of The Hague. England, the Palatinate, and the United Provinces agree to support King Christian IV of Denmark in his Lower Saxony campaigns.

#### Works

RS1/RS2(?), 'Orders appointed by the Right. Honorable Robert, Earl of Leicester, to be observed hereafter in his Honor's house' (at Penshurst in 1625–26) (*DD*, VI.1–2).

French translations of PS's *Arcadia* by Jean Baudoin and D. Geneviève Chappelain (who depended upon Baudoin's version). Jean Loiseau de Tourval had earlier begun a French version of *Arcadia* (Bodl. MS Rawl.D.920/365–82).

#### **Dedications**

Thomas Adams, Three Sermons, STC 130 (WH3).

G. Burges, The Fire of the Sanctuary, STC 4111 (WH3).

Nathaniel Carpenter, *Geography Delineated Forth into Two Books, STC* 4676 (WH, PH).

Richard Chaloner, Credo ecclesiam sanctam catholicam, STC 4934 (WH3).

Thomas Godwin, Moses and Aaron, STC 11951 (WH3).

Joseph Hall, The Works, STC 12635 (WH3, PH).

Francis Markham, *The Book of Honour, STC* 17331 (WH3, PH, reference to RS1). Markham recalls how WH1 and HH had employed members of the Markham family.

*The Spanish Pilgrim*, translated/dedicated by I.D. Dralymont, *STC* 19838.5 (WH3, some copies only). William Ponsonby had published an earlier translation of this work, *A Treatise ... to Resist the Castilian King, STC* 19838, and dedicated it to Fulke Greville.

William Vaughan, Cambrensium Caroleia, STC 24604 (WH3, PH).

Diggory Whear, De ratione et methodo legendi historias dissertatio, STC 25326 (WH3).

Georg Witnell, *Georgii Wicelii methodus concordiae ecclesiasticae*, edited/dedicated by Thomas James, *STC* 25935 (WH3).

## References

George Chapman, *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Biron*, 1625 (BL #C45.b9) contains annotations, corrections, and textual emendations made by PH in about 1633 (Tricomi 1986, 332–45).

Thomas Hastler, *An Antidote Against the Plague* (sermon), *STC* 12930. The author bluntly informs his patron, Sir Francis Wortley, that if the book had been more important he would have dedicated it to WH3.

James Caldwell, *The Countess of Mar's Arcadia, STC* 4366, dedication by M.P. Anderson stating: *'The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* is for the body; but the *Countess of Mar's Arcadia* is for the soul' (\*3–4).

Hugh Holland links PS as 'Astrophil' with Chaucer and Jonson in a poem addressed to Sir Thomas Hawkins' translation of the *Odes of Horace, STC* 13800, A3<sup>v</sup>.

*Epithalamia Oxoniensia* (on marriage of Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria), *STC* 19031, L1, a poem linking PS with Chaucer.

## 1626

#### January

The coronation procession from the Tower is postponed because of the plague. RS1 is summoned to attend the coronation itself at Westminster on 2 February (*DD*, V.442).

# **February**

2 King Charles I crowned at Westminster Abbey.

6–15 June Charles's Second Parliament. An attempt is made to impeach Buckingham. The Commons continue to complain about the royal collection of tonnage and poundage

without parliamentary consent. The Treaty of La Rochelle is signed by Richelieu and the Huguenot rebels.

The impeachment of Buckingham begins.

# April

RS1 marries Sarah Blount Smythe (d.c.1656), the widow of Sir Thomas Smythe (d.1625), former Ambassador to Russia and Governor of the East India Company. She was the aunt of Philip Smythe, 2nd Viscount Strangford (see July 1646). Her son, John, married Isabella Rich, daughter of PS's 'Stella', Penelope Devereux Rich. His son, Robert, became the second husband of Dorothy Sidney Spencer, Countess of Sunderland (see July 1639).

# May

Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot are sent to the Tower for managing the impeachment of Buckingham.

## June

- RS1 from Baynard's Castle to James Ley, Earl of Marlborough (Collins, II.368–9).
- 13 A warm letter from WH3 to RS2 (Collins, II.369).
- 15 Charles dissolves Parliament and refuses to dismiss Buckingham.

# July

- Death of RS1 after returning by water from court to his lodgings at Baynard's Castle (Collins, I.120). His only surviving son, Robert (RS2), succeeds as Earl of Leicester (*DD*, I.lvii, VI.4–5, RS1's funeral accounts), whom Clarendon describes as: 'a man of great parts, very conversant in books, and much addicted to the mathematics ... in truth rather a speculative than a practical man'.
- 16 RS1 buried at Penshurst (Clarendon 1888, II.531).
- Whyte from Baynard's Castle to RS2 at Penshurst, with news of WH3 and PH (Collins, II.369–70).

# September

- Baptism at Penshurst of Robert (d.1668), son of RS2 and DPS (Collins, I.161).
- Thomas Nevitt to RS2 about the debts and bequests of RS1 (*DD*, VI.5); see also his 'Memorial' (October 1624).

#### October

4 Birth of Oliver Cromwell's son, Richard (d.1712), later Lord

Protector.

18 MSW's thirty-ninth birthday.

#### Undated

WH3 designates his 7-year-old nephew, Philip (son of PH), as his heir, thereby negating the hopes of his natural son by MSW (Roberts 1995, xviii).

WH3 turns down a bequest of books from John Florio, who had assisted in the editing of the 1590 edition of PS's *Arcadia* (Yates 1934, 312–17, 322).

WH3 is appointed Lord Steward and PH to his elder brother's former position as Lord Chamberlain.

#### Dedications

George Jenney, A Catholic Conference, Between a Protestant and a Papist, STC 14497 (WH3).

Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, *Lucan's Pharsalia*, translated and dedicated by Thomas May, *STC* 16886 (WH3).

John Norden, The Pathway to Patience, STC 18615 (WH3, PH).

John Prideaux, Orationes novem inauguralis, STC 20358 (WH3).

John Roberts, *Compendium belli: or the Touchstone of Martial Discipline, STC* 21091 (WH3).

William Vaughan, *Natural and Artificial Directions for Health, STC* 24617 (WH3).

#### 1627

#### April

(?) MSW is granted another year's protection against her debts (Roberts 1983, 39).

#### July

Buckingham's expedition lands on the Isle de Rhé, intending to liberate the Huguenots of La Rochelle.

## August

1 Richelieu besieges La Rochelle.

#### October

Return to England of the remnants of Buckingham's failed Isle de Rhé expedition.

# 18 MSW's fortieth birthday.

#### Works

PS, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (with Alexander's *Supplement* and Sir Richard Beling's *Sixth Book*), *STC* 22547.

#### **Dedications**

Richard Bruch, *Epigrammatum hecatontades duae*, STC 3926 (WH3, epigram 97).

Henry Leslie, *A Sermon Preached Before His Majesty at Wokin, STC* 15945 (PH).

# References

Michael Drayton, *The Battle of Agincourt, STC*, 7190, Dd1<sup>v</sup>, refers to PS as 'that hero for numbers, and for prose'.

George Hakewill, *An Apology of the Power and Providence of God, STC* 12611, b2<sup>v</sup>, recalls the foreign renown of PS.

## 1628

#### March

- 17–26 June First session of King Charles I's Third Parliament. Oliver Cromwell returned as MP for Huntingdon. Funds are sought for a second La Rochelle expedition. The Petition of Right is developed and five subsidies granted.
- (?) MSW is granted another year's protection against her debts (*CSPD*, 136).

# April

24 Sir Edward Coke introduces a bill detailing Parliament's reservations over the king's behaviour, leading to the Petition of Right.

# June

7 Charles is obliged to accept the Petition of Right, denying him the option of making forced loans and imprisonment at his personal command.

# July

17 Thomas Smythe (*c*.1599–1635), created Viscount Strangford (see April 1619).

# August

23

Assassination by John Felton of the Duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth, as he sets out for another expedition to La Rochelle.

# September

1

Stabbing by Ralph Haywood, a personal servant, of Fulke Greville (dies 30). His tomb memorial in the Chapter House of the Collegiate Church of St Mary, Warwick, reads: 'Fulke Greville, Servant to Queen Elizabeth, Councillor to King James, and Friend to Sir Philip Sidney'.

#### October

18

MSW's forty-first birthday. La Rochelle finally surrenders to the forces of King Louis XIII after an 18-month siege.

#### December

17

Thomas Wentworth is appointed President of the Council in the North.

#### Works

PS, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (with Alexander's *Supplement* and Beling's *Sixth Book*), *STC* 22547.

#### Dedications

Thomas Jackson, A Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes, STC 14318 (WH3).

Alexander Udny, *The Voice of the Crier* (sermons), *STC* 24513 (WH3). *Degorei Wheari prael. hist. Camdeniani, STC* 25326.5 (WH3).

## References

Henry Oxinder creates a 'key' to *Arcadia*, suggesting it depicts various prominent members of the Sidney and Devereux families (Dean 1993, 14–21).

## 1629

#### January

20–10 March Second session of King Charles I's Third Parliament. Resolutions are passed against the collection of tonnage and poundage.

# **February**

(?) RS2 has copied at Penshurst by Thomas Ludwell Sir Francis Knowles, 'A Discourse of Exchange' (written 1587) (*DD*, I.lix, 303).

## March

10 Charles dissolves Parliament and begins 'Personal Rule'.

## May

WH3 donates to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Barocci Manuscripts, a noted collection of Greek manuscripts collected by the Venetian, Giacomo Barocci. At the instigation of Archbishop Laud, WH3 had purchased them for £700.

# August

Sir Edward Dering's autograph letterbook contains a letter to Sir John Hobart (the husband of Philip Sidney), who is asked to deliver a second invitation to RS2 for this date. The volume also contains a letter to Viscount Strangford, the husband of Barbara Sidney (MSW's sister) (BL Additional MS 52798/27). Dering was MSW's brother-in-law and, as an avid theatre-goer, was once thought to have been the owner of an MS of *Love's Victory*. His sister, Margaret, married Sir Peter Wroth of Blenden Hall in Bexley, a cousin of Sir Robert Wroth (Roberts 1983, 37).

#### October

18 MSW's forty-second birthday.

#### November

3 Christening at Penshurst of Mary (d.1648), daughter of RS2 and DPS (Collins, I.147).

#### **Undated**

SVH dies from smallpox. William Browne writes an elegy (Browne 1894, II.294-5).

#### Works

PS, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (with Alexander's Supplement and Beling's Sixth Book), STC 22548.

A German translation of PS's *Arcadia*, with 20 engravings of scenes from the story, is produced at Frankfurt by 'Valentinus Theocritus von Hirschberg' (perhaps a pseudonym and wrongly attributed to Martin Opitz), based upon Chappelain's 1625 French text. It is reworked by Martin Opitz for the 1638 edition onwards.

#### Dedications

Thomas Adams, Works, STC 104 (WH3).

Edward Chaloner, *Six Sermons*, dedicated by stationer, Abraham Sherman, *STC* 4937 (WH3).

(*c*.1629) Richard Thornton, 'A Happy Shipwreck ... the Failure of an Expedition to Settle a Colony on the River of Amazons' (in the *Exchange*, sent by the Guiana Company, 1629), Bodl. MS Ashmole 749/2 (WH3).

James Wadsworth, the younger, *The English Spanish Pilgrim, STC* 24926 (WH3), recalling how the earl had provided him with a recommendation for the printing of the volume by Oxford University Press.

William Walker, *A Sermon Preached in St. Paul's Church* (28 Nov 1628), *STC* 24965 (WH3), commemorating the renaming of Broadgates Hall as Pembroke College.

Griffith Williams, *The True Church* (6 bks), *STC* 25721 (WH3, PH). Richard Zouch, *Elementa juris prudentiae*, *STC* 26131a (WH3).

# References

Francis Quarles, *Argalus and Parthenia*, *STC* 20526, based upon their story in *Arcadia*; see *Legend*, 232, for other references to Argalus and Parthenia. Their story is also illustrated in Emanuel de Critz's paintings of scenes from *Arcadia* in the Double Cube Room at Wilton House.

Samuel Austin, *Austin's Urania*, *STC* 971, A7, describes PS as 'the Prince of English Poesie'.

#### 1630

# April 9 WH3 dines with Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford, and Christiana Cavendish, Countess of Devonshire. Many of his poems had been written for the latter's enjoyment and the 1660 edition of them is dedicated to her.

Death of WH3 intestate, leaving debts of £80,000.

# May

29 Birth of Prince Charles, later King Charles II (d.1685).

# September

21 MSW is still resident at Loughton Hall (Roberts 1983, 39).

## October

18 MSW's forty-third birthday.

#### November

5 Treaty of Madrid, leading to peace with Spain.

#### December

18 Christening at Penshurst of Frances (d.1651), daughter of RS2 and DPS (Collins, I.147).

## **Dedications**

Thomas Chaffinge, *The Just Man's Memorial* (funeral sermon for WH3, also praises PH), *STC* 4931 (PH).

John Dowle, The True Friend, or, a Bill of Exchange, STC 7101 (WH3).

Daniel Featley, *The Grand Sacrilege of the Church of Rome, STC* 10733 (WH3).

Sir James Perrott, *Certain Short Prayers, STC* 19772 (WH3). Anthony Wood described another (lost) manuscript work by Perrott: 'A book of the birth, education, life and death, and singular good parts of Sir Philip Sidney' (Woudhuysen, 207).

John Smith, The True Travels ... of Captain J. Smith [and his] General History of Virginia, STC 22796 (WH3).

John Taylor, Works, STC 23725 (WH3, PH).

John Thornborough, *The Last Will and Testament of Jesus Christ, STC* 24037 (WH3), recalling how WH1 and HH had provided him with a church living.

# References

William Camden, *History of Princess Elizabeth*, Bbbb4v, denotes MSH 'a friend to the Muses, and a Lady most addicted to delightful studies'.

(*c*.1621–30), George Owen (son of author), 'A catalogue of all the Earls of Pembroke', formerly Wilton House Archives, now Wiltshire Record Office. A presentation volume with a dedicatory address to WH3 (*HMC 5th Report*, 366, 108).

Robert Naunton's *Fragmentia Regalia* is written at about this period, describing PS and others.

(c.1630) John Earles, (elegy on WH3), Bodl. MS Rawl.Poet. 142/35. Another elegy on WH3 is in MS Rawl.Poet.147/151.

## 1631

# **February**

17 Frances Walsingham Sidney, PS's widow, buried at Tonbridge Church.

# July

6 RS2 purchases numerous books from the London stationer, Richard Whittaker (CKS A63/5).

## October

18 MSW's forty-fourth birthday.

#### November

4 Birth of Charles I's daughter, Mary (d.1660).

## References

Tom Powell, *Tom of All Trades, STC* 20618, suggests: 'instead of reading Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, let them read the ground of good huswifery. I like not a female poetess at any hand'.

Wye Saltonstall, *Picturae Loquentes, STC* 21645, criticizes the kind of maid who 'reads now love's histories, as *Amadis de Gaule* and the *Arcadia*, and in them courts the shadow of love, till she know the substance'.

John Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, *STC* 25223, 320–2, describes various monuments at Penshurst.

#### 1632

# August

Instructions drawn up for RS2's mission to Denmark (*DD*, VI.xiii).

# September

14–November RS2 takes PS3, AS and his secretary, James Howell (the traveller, linguist and author of *Familiar Letters or Epistolae Ho-elianae*), to Denmark, for a three-month mission to the court of King Christian IV (Queen Anne's

brother) and the Duke of Holstein. His ostensible purpose is to offer condolences for the death of the Dowager Queen Sophia but he is also instructed to discuss English debts to the Danes. RS2 keeps an autograph journal of the embassy (CKS F25/1). He arranges for a Frankfurt publisher to mark this diplomatic mission by printing the Sidney/Languet correspondence. During this embassy AS first meets Harry Vane, then an attaché in RS2's suite (DD, I.lvi; VI.xiii, 12–38).

#### October

- 1 RS2, attended by 55 black-clad followers, eventually secures an audience with Christian IV at Rensburg. Following this encounter, Christian seems to be deliberately offensive and unhelpful to RS2 (*DD*, VI.xiv).
- RS2 has another unproductive audience with the Danish king (DD, VI.21).
- 8 RS2 from Rensburg to Algernon Percy, expressing his affection and quoting *Arcadia*: 'No service is so good as his that serves because he loves' (Collins, II.371).
- 9 RS2 attends a feast with the king but again makes little progress with his negotiations (*DD*, VI.25).
- 18 MSW's forty-fifth birthday.
- 25 RS2 crosses the Danish frontier and arrives at Hamburg (DD, VI.xvi).

#### November

5 RS2 writes in his journal: 'We kept the remembrance of the Gunpowder treason, which the English at Hamburg yearly do and have a sermon' (*DD*, VI.34). Algernon Percy becomes Duke of Northumberland.

#### December

3 RS2 returns to England from his Danish embassy and submits unavoidably high expenses to the Treasury. His mission is judged to have achieved very little, largely due to the intransigence of Christian IV (*DD*, VI.xvi).

#### Works

All the French Psalm Tunes with English Words, STC 2734, contains possible adaptations of three of PS's psalms (40–2) and part of one by MSH (97). Drummond of Hawthornden mentions this edition of 'some

psalms of David' composed 'to the French tunes, in metre' by PS and others, National Library of Scotland MS 2060/150.

#### Dedications

(Second impression) *Mr William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (First Folio), *STC* 22274–22274e (WH3, PH).

# References

PH performs in *Love's Triumphs* (Jonson, X.676).

Martin Parker, An Abstract of the History of Queen Elizabeth, STC 19217.5, E4–4<sup>v</sup>, recalls PS.

Van Dyck begins painting various members of the Sidney family at Penshurst and Eltham Palace.

## 1633

## **February**

William Prynne is imprisoned in the Tower of London for libelling King Charles and Henrietta Maria in his *Histriomastix*. For PH's reference to Prynne in his annotated copy of Chapman's *Byron*, see '1625: References'.

## June

18 King Charles's Scottish coronation at Edinburgh.

# August

6 William Laud appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.

## October

Birth of King Charles's son, James, later King James II (d.1701).

18 MSW's forty-sixth birthday.

#### November

Following the death of the Infanta Archduchess Isabella at Brussels, the Belgic provinces (henceforth known as the Spanish Netherlands) fall under the direct control of Spain.

#### Undated

Dr Henry Hammond, a Greek scholar and Platonic theologian, is appointed rector of Penshurst. His wife is the daughter of PS's secretary, William Temple.

#### Works

PS, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (with Alexander's Supplement and Beling's Sixth Book), STC 22549.

(PS), *Huberti Langueti* ... *epistolae politicae et historicae* ... *ad* ... *Philippum Sydnaeum*, Frankfurt. Includes 96 Latin letters from Languet to PS, collected by Stephen Le Sieur (PS's secretary), who then gave either the originals or copies to the English printer, William Fitzer, who published them at Frankfurt (see also under 'September 1632').

*Profitable Instructions [for] Travellers* (by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, PS, and William Davison), *STC* 6789 (PS's undated letter of advice on travel to RS1).

#### Dedications

(c.1633) A. Kemp, 'A Sermon Preached ... the 5th Jan. 1633', Bodl. MS Rawl.E.149 (PH).

John Preston, *The Saint's Qualification, STC* 20262 (PH). For PH's reference to Preston in his annotated copy of Chapman's *Byron*, see '1625: References'.

# References

Poems by John Donne and George Herbert published.

William Prynne, *Histriomastix*, an attack on the theatre as a source of immorality (with an implied rebuke to the royal family).

John Ford, *Love's Sacrifice, STC* 11164, uses characters and phrasings from *Arcadia*.

Fulke Greville, Certain Learned and Elegant Works (including his sequence Caelica), STC 12361.

Henry Isaacson's *Saturni ephemerides sive tabula historica-chronologica, STC* 14269, Kk4<sup>v</sup>, recalls PS's death.

#### 1634

# February

Prynne is sentenced to life imprisonment, fined £5,000, and condemned to lose his ears in the pillory (7 May).

#### March

Birth of Philip Smythe (d.1708), later 2nd Viscount Strangford (grandson of RS2).

# September

30

Christening at Penshurst of Isabella (d.1663), daughter of RS2 and DPS (Collins, I.147).

## October

18

MSW's forty-seventh birthday.

## **Dedications**

Sir Thomas Herbert, *A Relation of Some Years' Travel into Afrique and the Greater Asia, STC* 13190 (PH, with verses by his son, Charles Lord Herbert).

John Reynolds, *The Triumphs* (Bks 1–6), *STC* 20944 (PH). The first book is a source for *The Changeling*.

Alice Sutcliffe, Meditations of Man's Mortality, STC 23447 (PH).

Henry Tozer, Christus: sive dicta & facta Christi, STC 24160 (PH).

## References

Anthony Stafford, *The Guide of Honour, STC* 23124, A6<sup>v</sup>–A8, refers to the legend that PS was once offered the crown of Poland.

John Taylor, *The Needle's Excellency* (10th edition), *STC* 23776, refers to MSH's Wilton House as an Arcadian ideal.

(c.1633–34) Van Dyck paints his famous portrait of the children of PH and SVH, showing their five surviving sons (Charles, Philip, William, James and John) and their daughter (Anna-Sophia with her husband, Robert Earl of Caernarvon). SVH died in 1619 and the portrait shows PH's second wife, Lady Anne Clifford. The picture was commissioned for the Double Cube Room at Wilton where it is still displayed.

George Wither, *A Collection of Emblems, STC* 25900 (with 1635 imprint), tells PH how Wither is still grateful to WH3 for interceding on his behalf when imprisoned after the publication of *Abuses, Stript and Whipt* in 1613.

## 1635

## March

15 Archbishop Laud is appointed as First Lord of the Treasury.

## May

9 France formally declares war on Spain.

20 Peace of Prague signed by Ferdinand II and the Elector of Saxony ends military conflicts on German lands. The rest of the Thirty Years' War revolves around conflicts between France, Holland and Sweden against Spain and the Emperor.

# June

- Death of Thomas Smythe, 1st Viscount Strangford, at Hungerford House, Strand.
- (?) Unsuccessful embassy of John Viscount Scudamore to Paris to seek assistance for reclaiming the Palatinate (*DD*, VI.xviii).

#### October

18 MSW's forty-eighth birthday.

## December

Birth of King Charles's daughter, Elizabeth (d.1650).

#### **Undated**

John Aubrey goes with his father, Richard, to visit Mr Singleton, a wooldraper at Gloucester, at whose house in the parlour over the chimney he sees displayed Lant's roll of PS's funeral (Aubrey 1982, 338).

#### Works

Sir Thomas Wroth, His Sad Encomion, Upon His Dearest Consort, STC 26053.

#### **Dedications**

Francis Cevolus, *An Occasional Discourse upon an Accident Which Befell His Majesty, STC* 4922 (Charles Lord Herbert, son of PH).

Thomas Palmer, Bristol's Military Garden (sermon), STC 19155 (PH).

Griffith Williams, The Right Way to the Best Religion, STC 25718 (PH).

George Wither, A Collection of Emblems, (see References: 1634) (PH).

# References

James Heyward's address to the reader before his translation of G.F. Biondi's *Donzella desterrada*, *STC* 3074, praises PS's style but pokes fun at his fondness for compound epithets.

John Donne, *Poems*, *STC* 7045, 2A5<sup>v</sup>–2A6<sup>r</sup>, Donne's poetic commemoration of the Sidneian Psalms.

(c.1635–38?) Edmund Waller, after the death of his wife (d.1634), courts AS's sister, Dorothy, as 'Sacharissa' in a series of some 20 poems

and in his 'Go lovely rose' (Cartwright 1893, 30–46; Chernaik 1968, 53–4).

## 1636

# **January**

PH's son, Charles Lord Herbert, catches smallpox at Florence and dies there. News of his death does not reach London until about 5 March. Philip Massinger writes an elegy 'Sero, sed serio' (Massinger 1976, IV.417–20). Other elegies include William Browne's (Browne 1894, II.256–7) and John Edw[ards?] (Bodl. MS Addit.b.109/111).

# April

25 Death of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle.

1602 (Collins, II.374-577).

# May

(late) In the hope of more successful negotiations than the June 1635 embassy, RS2 is sent as ambassador to France to seek assistance in reclaiming the Palatinate. RS2 is chosen by Charles I because of his prior experience in diplomatic negotiations (DD, VI.xix, 554). He travels to Paris, bringing PS3 and AS with him, where they mainly stay for the next six years until May 1641 (with five months in England in 1639). Both sons perhaps study at the Huguenot Academy

# August

Mark Duncan (d.1640), Professor of Philosophy at Saumur, to RS2, offering his teaching and guidance to PS3 (*DD*, VI.46–7).

at Saumur, founded by PS's friend Duplessis-Mornay in

# September

- DPS requests a statement of RS2's accounts from his solicitor William Hawkins in view of his bills from Paris. Hawkins writes to RS2 on 7 September about his pressurized finances (*DD*, VI.47–8).
- DPS from Penshurst to RS2 about expenses, the management of Penshurst, building work at their London house, and reminding RS2 to write to the king regularly. She is effectively (and, it seems, ruthlessly) managing all of RS2's personal and business interests while he is abroad (*DD*, VI.51–2).

## October

- 9 Charles issues the third writs for Ship Money.
- 18 MSW's forty-ninth birthday.
- DPS from Penshurst, thanking RS2 for the pictures, mirror and coffer recently received from France (*DD*, VI.58).

#### November

- DPS from Penshurst to RS2 about her family's contacts with the royal court and an outbreak of the plague: 'All your girls are well and so was Robin a week ago. To Algernon I do send a blessing whom I hear much commended by all that comes from you' (DD, VI.63–4).
- DPS to Archbishop Laud, asking him to exert pressure on the king to release funds to RS2. She also writes to RS2, requesting a cipher so that she can give him more confidential reports (*DD*, VI.66–7, 74).

#### Works

'De deughdelycke Parthenia' (Dutch version of a story in *Arcadia*), in *De volstandige Eudoxe*, Amsterdam.

#### Dedications

Anonymous translation of Jean Desmarets, Ariana, STC 6779 (PH).

# References

Henry Peacham, *Coach and Sedan, STC* 19501, C4, refers to the 'courage and valour' of PS, and to his comic character, Rombus (A2<sup>v</sup>).

# 1637

# January

- 2 Sir Thomas Roe describes RS2 as a gallant 'cavalier' (*CSPD*, 336).
- DPS from Penshurst to RS2, reporting her delivery of a new year's gift to the king and recounting court gossip (*DD*, VI.77–8).
- 6 RS2 from Paris to Hawkins, requesting copies of Selden's *Mare Clausum*, and '*Philaster or Love lies a Bleeding, King and no King*, and the third, the *Maid's Tragedy*, all plays made by Mr. Beaumont' (*DD*, VI.78).

(late) RS1 and BGS's daughter, Barbara (1599–1643), the widow of Viscount Strangford, marries Sir Thomas Culpeper as her second husband, supposedly becoming engaged only ten days after meeting him (*DD*, VI.82).

# **February**

- 5 Ferdinand III succeeds as Holy Roman Emperor on the death of Ferdinand II.
- 7 DPS from Penshurst to RS2 about a proposed present for the 'Queen' (of France). She sends a kiss for Algernon, who had written to her in French. The letter ends with a passionate declaration of her love for RS2 (*DD*, VI.82–3).

#### March

- 9 DPS from Leicester House to RS2 with news of court and her family. She is worried about the plague and does not plan to stay much longer in London (*DD*, VI.92–3).
- DPS from Leicester House to RS2, continuing discussions over their intended gift for the queen with other court news (*DD*, VI.94).

# April

- DPS from Leicester House to RS2, reporting her friendly conversations with Henrietta Maria and advising how her husband might best secure the king's trust (*DD*, VI.100).
- Hawkins from Westminster to RS2 on the publication of François de Sales' *Introduction to a Devout Life*, translated by 'one Yaxely, an English Jesuit' and dedicated to 'one Mrs Roper, a Papist'; and Dr Pocklington's *Altare Christianum* (ordered to be burnt in 1641) (DD, VI.102).
- DPS from Leicester House to RS2 on court gossip, the queen's good favour of him, and marriage plans for their daughter Dorothy with Lord Lovelace (Cartwright 1893, 57–60). She also mentions that the king considers RS2 to have an adequate allowance for his ambassadorial duties. She therefore advises him to be as frugal as possible (*DD*, VI.102–4).
- Hawkins from Westminster to RS2 about William Prynne and seditious pamphlets (*DD*, VI.105, 108).

# May

- 5 DPS from Leicester House to RS2, enclosing a song about 'all our young ladies that are to be married'. He does not know the identity of the author (*DD*, VI.106).
- DPS from Leicester House to RS2, concerning news of Philip and AS (*DD*, VI.106–7).

## June

- Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, concerning the purchase of books. He has found 'Valdesius *De Dignitate Regnum Hispaniae*' and bought it, for 6s 8d, but is still looking for others (*DD*, VI.110, 113).
- 8 Sir Kenelm Digby from London to RS2, hoping to visit him at Paris before setting out for Italy (*DD*, VI.110–11).
- Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, noting that DPS is moving from Leicester House back to Penshurst. He also reports on the sentencing of Prynne and his associates (see 17 February 1634), involving a £5,000 fine, the loss of their ears, and Prynne to be branded on the face (carried out 30 June) (DD, VI.112).
- (late) Plague forces a mass exodus from London (DD, VI.114).

# July

- 6 Sir Kenelm Digby from London to RS2, thanking him for his favour and support (*DD*, VI.114–15).
- 27 Hawkins from Leicester House to RS2, reporting that the royal progress was being altered because of an outbreak of smallpox at Salisbury (*DD*, VI.118).

# August

Hawkins from Leicester House to RS2, reporting the death of 'Our great Poet, Ben Johnson' and his burial at Westminster. The plague is beginning to subside in London but is still prevalent in other parts of the country (*DD*, VI.122).

# September

Account of RS2's expenditure in France from 28 July 1636 (DD, VI.126).

#### October

Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, concerning the recent printing of an anonymous and unlicensed book called

'God's Goodwill towards Mankind'. He also remarks: 'The new building I mentioned in my last goeth on so fast that everyone thinketh his Majesty will have a mask in it at

Christmas' (DD, VI.128).

18 MSW's fiftieth birthday.

30 Breda falls to a Dutch army under Frederick Henry.

(late) RS2 is ill (*DD*, VI.130)

#### Undated

RS2 is left property and land at Walsingham in Norfolk by a rich relative, Sir Henry Sidney (*DD*, VI.554).

#### Dedications

Mary Fage, Fame's Roule, STC 10677 (PH, 23; Philip Lord Herbert, 86; RS2, 120).

Arthur Johnson, *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum*, Amsterdam, 546–8 (PH). Henry Vertue, *A Plea for Peace* (sermon), *STC* 24691 (dedicated to RS1's second wife, Sarah Blount Sidney).

#### References

Henry Hexham, *The Principles of the Art Military, STC* 13264, \*2, refers to PS's involvement in the Low Countries campaign.

Nathaniel Whiting, *Le hore di recreatione, STC* 25436, 10, praises PS as the English Cicero.

# 1638

# **February**

19 Charles issues a proclamation defending the Scottish prayer book, in effect declaring war on Scotland.

#### March

1 The Scottish National Covenant signed at Edinburgh.

Sir Thomas Aylesbury to RS2 about plans to edit the works of the mathematician, Thomas Herriott (*DD*, VI.142).

# May

John Milton leaves England for Paris on a continental tour of about 15 months. At the English embassy at Paris Milton meets the ambassador, John Scudamore, Viscount Sligo, later a prominent royalist. Scudamore introduces Milton to the Dutch scholar Hugo Grotius, then acting as Queen Christina of Sweden's ambassador to France.

His contact, if any, with RS2 and AS is unknown. AS may have already left for Rome since he later spoke of being there during the time of Pope Urban (1623–44). Milton then travels from Paris to Nice and Genoa, from there by boat to Livorno, and via Pisa to Florence.

## June

- 8 RS2 from Paris to Henrietta Maria concerning his discussions about court etiquette (over which ladies should stand and sit in the queen's presence) with Claude de Bullion, marquis de Gallardon, Keeper of the Seals to Louis XIII (*DD*, VI.143–5).
- (mid) Milton arrives at Florence and meets members of two of the city's academies, the Apatisti ('Indifferent' ones) and the Svogliati ('Will-less' ones). He meets Galileo, probably through a friendship with his illegitimate son, Vincenzo Galilei.
- 29 and 24 August RS1 from Paris to Queen Henrietta Maria, carrying on the discussion of 8 June (*DD*, VI.145–8).

# September

14 RS2 from Paris to Charles I, firmly expressing his views on military assistance in Flanders (Collins, II.570–1).

#### October

- 14 RS2 from Paris to Henrietta Maria about the proposed marriage of Mme de Rohan (Collins, II.572).
- 18 MSW's fifty-first birthday.
- (?) Milton travels via Siena to Rome, where he stays for about two months, meeting other English travellers at the English College. Again, it is not known if he met with AS.

# November

- 2 RS2 from Paris to Henrietta Maria, expressing thanks for her continuing good opinion and friendly support (*DD*, VI.148–9).
- 21 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland meets without Charles's permission. The Marquis of Hamilton abolishes it on 28 November but it continues to sit until 20 December.

#### December

- DPS from Penshurst to RS2, passing on a request from a 'Mr. Gomeldon' to recommend his wife's son to RS2. DPS advises: 'I have never seen the man and presume that he would not expect more than a "little kind usage" at your hands' (DD, VI.152).
- DPS from Penshurst to RS2, complaining about his treatment of her: 'for though you are pleased to give me much of your affection and to desire mine, yet will you not allow me the liberty of a friend, which I am sure may be prejudicial to you, but if you will have me to say nothing but what I am sure agrees with your humour, I can conform myself to it' (DD, VI.153).
- DPS from Penshurst to RS2, detailing her structural repairs to the house, grounds, and estate properties at Penshurst. She is also concerned that PS3 should either come back to England, live in Paris, or go to Italy (*DD*, VI.153–4).
- 14 RS2 from Paris to Charles I, concerning a treaty with the house of Austria (Collins, II.579–81).
- DPS from Penshurst to RS2, expressing a wish to visit Paris next summer since it seems unlikely that RS2 will be able to return home in the near future (*DD*, VI.156).

#### Works

PS, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (with supplements, reprinted until 1674 edition, by Alexander and 'Mr. Ja[mes] Johnstoun, Scoto-Bri't'), *STC* 22550.

[PS], Stories from the *Arcadia* translated into Dutch (probably from French versions) by J. van Heemskerck.

#### Dedications

Alexander Read, The First Part of Chirurgery, STC 20786 (PH).

George Rivers, *The Heroinae: or the Lives of Arria, Paulina, Lucrecia, Dido, STC* 21063 (Dorothy Sidney Spencer, wife of Henry, later 1st Earl of Sunderland).

Francis Lenton, *Great Britain's Beauties*, *STC* 15465 (epistle to Dorothy Sidney Spencer).

William Davenant, *Madagascar; with Other Poems, STC* 6304, refers to 'the God-like Sidney'.

Richard Young, *The Drunkard's Character*, *STC* 26111, 121, criticized PS's ironic tone as an influence for the bad.

#### 1639

# January

- DPS from Penshurst to RS2, assuring him that he has a good chance of securing an unnamed post at court for which Sir Henry Vane had already offered £4,000 (DD, VI.158).
- DPS from Penshurst to RS2, complaining that all the beds at Penshurst are old, out of fashion or rotten (*DD*, VI.159).
- 18 RS2 from Paris to Charles about negotiations with the Prince Elector of Austria (Collins, II.584–5).

## **February**

- RS2 from Paris to Charles I, concerned about a Catholic plot to forge an alliance between the Pope and the kings of France, Spain and Hungary (Collins, II.596).
- 27 Charles issues a declaration against the Scots.

# May

- A record of the fees paid at the swearing in of RS2 as a Privy Councillor (*DD*, VI.163).
- 8 and 10 Temple from Newcastle reporting to RS2 news of Charles's activities in the north of England and Scotland and his plans for the levying of troops (*DD*, VI.163–5).
- Temple from Berwick to RS2 with more news about military manoeuvres and the Covenanters (*DD*, VI.166–7).

## June

18 Charles signs the Pacification of Berwick, to avoid a direct confrontation with the Scottish army.

# July

- 8 Birth of King Charles's son, Henry (d.1660).
- 11 (20 'consummated at Penshurst', Collins, I.129, 147) Dorothy Sidney marries Lord Spencer, soon to be Earl of Sunderland. He is killed in a cavalry charge in 1643 and his widow resides at Penshurst. RS2 comes home for a visit from Paris. In his diary RS2 records for 1639 that the king sent for him from France and made him a Privy Councillor. He was commanded to follow Charles to York but he notes that the king rejected his advice to make peace with the Scots

(DD, VI.169, 554). He then returns to his embassy with his wife, Dorothy Sidney, his daughter Dorothy and her new husband, and Robert (his third son). Philip and AS stay at Penshurst.

(?) Milton returns to England through France.

# August

- 1 RS2 at Canterbury on his way back to Paris where he arrives on 7 (*DD*, VI.171).
- 15 Hawkins from Leicester house, reporting that Dorothy Sidney Spencer and her new husband had arrived there on the previous evening and DPS was expected shortly (*DD*, VI.173–4).
- RS2 from Paris to Countess of Carlisle, sending a cipher to her which she had requested (*DD*, VI.176).
- John Mills from Christ Church, Oxford, confirming that RS2 has the right to name two scholars at University College (*DD*, VI.176–7).
- Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, advising him that DPS has arrived in London and Lord and Lady Spencer were expected. The plague breaks out again in the capital (*DD*, VI.179–80).

# September

- Earl of Northumberland from Sion to RS2, reporting the queen's good opinion of him and that Sir Kenelm Digby may be appointed English Resident at Rome and Walter Montagu the queen's Vice-Chamberlain (*DD*, VI.182).
- An inventory of RS2's furniture and clothes sent via the *Mary of Dover*, captained by Thomas White, to France (*DD*, VI.185–6).
- Hawkins from Whitehall to RS2 about his request for some books, including an augmentation of the *Alveary* called Barrett's *Dictionary* (1580), Sir Henry Spelman's *Glossary* and *Continuation, The Councils of England,* and two volumes of his *Consilia,* Thomas Walkley's *Catalogue of Nobility,* along with other language and constitutional texts (*DD*, VI.186–7, 189).
- 19 Hawkins sends to RS2 another list of books obtained, including: Elsing's Modus tenendi Parliamentum, Selden's The Privileges of the Barons in Parliament, The Manner of Holding a

Parliament, The Form of the Coronation of King Charles, The Nobility of Scotland, and The Nobility of Ireland (DD, VI.190–1).

- Wentworth reaches London from Ireland and becomes one of the king's chief advisers.
- News of DPS leaving aboard the *Antelope* for Boulogne (*DD*, VI.191).

#### October

- 4 Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, hoping that DPS has arrived safely at Paris. He has also sent to him, by Sir Oliver Fleming, a copy of James Usher's *Britanicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (DD, VI.193).
- Battle of the Downs. The Spanish fleet is defeated in English waters by the Dutch, under Van Tromp (who violates English territorial waters). Hawkins sends a report of the action to RS2 on 24 October (*DD*, VI.198–9).
- 18 MSW's fifty-second birthday.
- 31 The Scottish Parliament is dissolved.

#### November

27 G.J. Peblitz, a Swedish colonel in the service of the Palatinate, from Zurich to RS2, hoping for his assistance in securing the release of his master, the Prince Palatine (*DD*, VI.205–6, 222–3).

#### December

RS2 sends a sharp letter from Paris to Sir John Hobart, the husband of his sister Philip (d.1620), about financial affairs, implicitly condemning Hobart's prodigality 'at ordinaries [tavern company] or bowling greens'. Hobart sends a pathetic reply on 29 December (DD, VI.209–11, 217–18).

#### Undated

Sir Henry Vane's son, Harry, returns from two years in America where he had been elected governor of Massachusetts, aged 23.

## Works

A Dutch translation of PS's *Arcadia* by Felix van Sambix de Jonghe, based upon Chappelain's 1625 French text.

## References

Thomas Bancroft, *Two Books of Epigrams and Epitaphs, STC* 1354, C4, 'On Sir Philip Sidney'.

Henry Glapthorne, *Argalus and Parthenia* (a play, perhaps produced in 1632, inspired by the *Arcadia*), *STC* 11908.

*The Life and Death of Queen Elizabeth, STC* 7587, B6<sup>v</sup>, PS is linked with 34 other distinguished military commanders.

## 1640

# January

- 2 RS2 from Paris to Charles, on behalf of the Bishop of Chalcedon (Collins, II.632). Earl of Northumberland from London to RS2, detailing the estimates for equipping the king with an army and navy. He estimates that anything less than £1,000,000 will not meet these expenses: 'If the Parliament supply not the King, God only knows how this money will be gotten' (*DD*, VI.219–20).
- 9 Hawkins from Westminster to RS2 with further plans for the levying of an army (*DD*, VI.220–1).
- Wentworth is created Earl of Strafford and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
- Hawkins from Westminster to RS2 with court news, mentioning that the French ambassador is returning home (*DD*, VI.213–14).

# **February**

- (early) RS2 and AS involved in a public dispute with Lord John Scudamore, ambassador in ordinary at Paris.
- 3 Sir Henry Vane is appointed Secretary of State. He sits as MP for Wilton (a Pembroke seat). His son, Harry, is later knighted and nominated as MP for Hull. He is also appointed to the office of Joint Treasurer of the Navy and marries.
- Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, reporting that the preparations for war are progressing rapidly, with fresh men sent to Edinburgh Castle and Berwick. He also notes that a 'masque was danced again last Tuesday', but few people attended and the room was very empty' (DD, VI.232–3).

#### March

- Hawkins from Westminster to RS2 with news of the Prince of Palatine's liberty and other London gossip (*DD*, VI.237).
- Earl of Northumberland from London to RS2, congratulating him on the birth of his last daughter, Frances (*DD*, VI.238).

# **April**

13-5 May The 'Short Parliament'.

## May

- 1 RS2 from Paris to Hawkins, concerning his request to the king and queen for arrears in his allowances to be paid. he has also heard that Parliment is 'not like to continue' (DD, VI.258)
- 5 Charles I dissolves Parliament because it refuses to vote money and on account of its hostility towards his ecclesiastical plans.
- RS2 from Paris to Hawkins, ordering him to find another secretary for him who must be of 'good and honest parents'. He would like a scholar, preferably from the Inns of Court, who will be paid £30 p.a., with food and lodgings. If found satisfactory, he may be offered a similar family post on RS2's return to England. He concludes by insisting that the chosen person must be 'indifferently handsome, that is to say, not ill favoured', and he must be able to write in a good, legible hand (*DD*, VI.265).
- Earl of Northumberland from London to RS2, assuring him that 'My Lord Lisle' (PS3 who had returned from Paris to take up a command in Northumberland's own regiment) is well and unlikely to waste his time in frivolous city pursuits: 'I never saw a young man freer from indiscretion or vice than I believe him to be' (DD, VI.270).
- RS2 from Paris to Hawkins, growing more concerned about his allowances still unpaid by the king. He also mentions various books to be acquired from Spain (*DD*, VI.273).
- 29 RS2 from Paris to Hawkins, concerning Secretary Vane's enquiries about money owed to him (*DD*, VI.276–7).
- George Manners, 7th Earl of Rutland, writes to his 'noble cousin' (probably MSW), referring to a manuscript which he had examined at Baynard's Castle 'in your study'. He

then asks her to complete a 'key' of identifications for the *Urania* (*HMC Rutland*, Appendix IV, I.520). In this year John Leeke, a friend of MSW, mentions that her natural son, William (by WH3), has 'a brave living in Ireland', thanks to the mediation of PH (*HMC Seventh Report*, 434b–435).

### June

- 4 Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, noting the sudden death (on 3) of Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, and the possibility that RS2 may be considered for the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports (*DD*, VI.279).
- Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, noting that PS3 is about to set out for the north of England with the other military commanders. The plague is spreading and war seems unavoidable (*DD*, VI.282).
- Earl of Northumberland from Syon to RS2, apologizing for the king who still cannot pay RS2's debts. He is also depressed by the poor state of the ill-equipped and almost mutinous army (*DD*, VI.285).

# July

- Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, describing the masses of soldiers from every county in London about to leave for the northern expedition (*DD*, VI.301).
- Hawkins compiles an account of RS2's income and expenditure from March 1638–July 1640, detailing £14,270 income (including £8,049 from the king) and £14,539 outgoings (DD, VI.304–5).

# August

- RS2 from Paris to Hawkins, asking him to send the titles and volumes of the books ordered from Spain. He also describes his friendship with a Carthusian friar who supplies him with good fruit for his family (DD, VI.312).
- 20–October The Second Bishops' War begins as the Scottish army invades England and Charles I heads north to York. Hawkins reports from Westminster to RS2 that PS3 left the previous night for the north with Henry Vane. The king had decided to go personally to York (*DD*, VI.316–17).
- 27 Charles leaves York to relieve Newcastle but his forces are defeated by the Scots at Newburn-on-Tyne and the Scots

enter Newcastle on 29 August. Henry Percy reports on the king's movements to RS2 (*DD*, VI.319).

## September

- 3 Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, detailing his closing of Leicester House and the king's movements in Yorkshire (DD, VI.322–3).
- 11 RS2 from Paris replying to Hawkins about the move of valuables from London to Penshurst. He dismisses the rumour that the Scots may march on London (*DD*, VI.327).
- In response to pressure to recall Parliament, Charles I opens a Great Council at York (sits for five weeks).
- Hawkins to RS2 from York, where he had taken a house for the duration of the Council (*DD*, VI.330).

## October

- 1 Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, sending him details of the Council at York (*DD*, VI.330–1).
- 18 MSW's fifty-third birthday.
- Charles signs the Treaty of Ripon, ending the Second Bishops' War. The Scots retain Northumberland and Durham. Charles I agrees to pay their army £850 a day until a settlement is reached.

#### November

- Hawkins from Westminster to RS2 about his book purchases and loans (*DD*, VI.341).
- 30–20 April 1653 The Long Parliament, leading to attacks on the judges, the expulsion of monopolists, and the impeachments of Laud and Strafford. Hawkins keeps RS2 regularly informed of political and local news (*DD*, VI.331–44). The poet Edmund Waller (the admirer of Dorothy Sidney Spencer as 'Sacharissa') owes his seat to RS2's patronage.

#### December

- 7 House of Commons declares Ship Money to be an illegal tax. Hawkins writes to RS2 about the matter on 17 December (*DD*, VI.348–9).
- 10 Earl of Northumberland to RS2, noting that he has raised with Charles the possibility of RS2 becoming Secretary of State; but Charles considered RS2 'too great for that place'

(Collins, II.664). He is also trying to procure military employment for AS under the Prince of Orange (CKS C85/7, 9).

- 11 Root and Branch Petition (to abolish the episcopacy).
- 18 Impeachment of Archbishop Laud.
- (?) RS2 to Charles, vigorously defending himself against Sir Kenelm Digby's claim that he was a 'puritan' and also condemning the use of this 'new' and 'barbarous' word (DD, VI.355–8).

#### Dedications

John Finch, *A Letter Sent to the Lord Chamberlain, STC* 10875 (PH). Henry Jeanes, *A Treatise Concerning a Christian's Careful Abstinence, STC* 14480 (PH)

(1639–40) Ben Jonson, (Second Folio of) *The Works, STC* 14754, including dedications and poems addressed to the Sidneys in the *First Folio* of 1616 and in *The Underwood* (posthumously collected by Sir Kenelm Digby). Gilbert Saulnier, Sieur du Verdier, *The Love and Arms of the Greek Princes, STC* 21775 (PH).

### References

James Shirley, A Pastoral Called the Arcadia, STC 22453, based upon the Arcadia.

James Shirley's play, *Rosania* or *Love's Victory* is entered in the SR (and later published in 1652 as *The Doubtful Heir*) but it is not clear whether Shirley knew MSW's pastoral drama, *Love's Victory*. He was, however, familiar with her *Urania* and borrowed extensively from it for his play *The Politician* (1655).

André Mareschal, *La cour bergère ou l'Arcadie*, based upon Chappelain's 1625 French translation of PS's *Arcadia*.

### 1641

## January

Hawkins from Westminster to RS2, detailing books sent to Paris for him and DPS, and supplying transcripts of debates from the Upper House. Sir John Temple also writes to RS2 from Blackfriars about the Commons' debates. He notes the great political power of the queen and how she holds RS2 in good favour (DD, VI.358–60).

14 and 21 Hawkins from Westminster to RS2 about political news and further book purchases, including William Lambard's *Saxon* 

*Laws* (1568). He recommends that RS2 waits to purchase a proposed new edition (*DD*, VI.363–5).

## **February**

18

Temple from Blackfriars to RS2, partly in cipher, referring to the possibility of RS2 becoming Governor of Ireland, a position which Temple had been been pursuing for RS2 for several months (*DD*, VI.382–4).

### March

22

Trial of Strafford. Temple supplies RS2 with regular reports (*DD*, VI.390ff).

## **Spring**

AS visits his father at Paris.

Birth of RS2 and DPS's last son, Henry (d.1704), later Earl of Romney and favourite of King William III. The pregnancy is mentioned in a letter (4 February 1641) from Countess of Carlisle to DPS (*DD*, VI.374).

# April

- 1
- Temple from Blackfriars, advising RS2 that an unannounced trip to London could well assist his pursuit of royal preferment to Ireland. He also provides a shrewd analysis of Strafford's increasingly hopeless position. On 15 Temple reports the mounting hatred towards Strafford which he suspects will only be satisfied with his life (*DD*, VI.394–400).
- Parliament votes Bill of Attainder for the execution of Strafford.

# May

- 2 Charles's daughter, Princess Mary, marries William, son of the Prince of Orange.
- 11/12(?) Execution of Strafford by Bill of Attainder. In this month an act against dissolving the Long Parliament without its own consent is passed. RS2 replaces Strafford as (an absentee) Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Hull 1993, 49–50).

RS2 is still based at the Paris embassy but briefly returns home during this month, recording in his diary that he had been summoned by 'the King's special commandment'. DPS writes to him about an accident in the gardens of the embassy when a Mr Sudbury, walking with AS, is inadvertently shot in the foot by Will the butler (*DD*, VI.403, 555).

### June

14 RS2 appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (CSPD, 164).

## July

5 Star Chamber and High Commission courts are abolished.

22 and 29 Temple writes to RS2 about Irish affairs (*DD*, VI.xxxix, 404–6).

## August

9 The English Parliament is prorogued.

11 RS2 makes a brief return to France (*DD*, VI.556). Sir John Temple from Battersea to RS2 at Paris, noting that he is about to depart for Ireland to find some suitable accommodation. He arrives at Dublin on 17 (*DD*, VI.409–10).

Treaty of Pacification between England and Scotland. Charles makes a trip to Scotland but achieves little for the royalist cause.

30 RS2 endorses a letter of 22 April 1641 from Temple about Strafford's fate as only just received at Rouen while on his way back to England (*DD*, VI.401).

## September

(mid) RS2 ends his French embassy and leaves Paris since Charles now needs him more in Ireland (*DD*, VI.xxix).

#### October

5/6 RS2 and his family arrive back in England (DD, VI.556).

18 MSW's fifty-fourth birthday.

The second session of the Long Parliament.

A Catholic rebellion in Ireland, leading to the massacre of Ulster Protestant settlers in June 1642.

#### November

The Grand Remonstrance, formulating Parliament's opposition to Charles's authoritarian rule, is passed by 159 votes to 148.

### December

The popular press begins to focus on the Sidneys, listing regiments raised by RS2 and even reports that he was being poisoned. PS3 and AS are involved with him in raising a regiment of infantry under the experienced command of Lieutenant-Colonel George Monk who had previously served in Scotland. PS3 is appointed commander of his father's own regiment of horse in Ireland, and AS and his younger brother Robert are troop commanders. The brothers are in Ireland for 18 months. AS goes to the north to fortify Drogheda and Dundalk and serves with Sir John Temple, son of PS's secretary, Sir William Temple. RS2 is still owed arrears of his salary as Lord Lieutenant and is also required at London.

### **Undated**

Birth of Henry and Dorothy Sidney Spencer's son, Robert (d.1702), later 2nd Earl of Sunderland and adviser to King James II.

### References

Leicester's Commonwealth, Wing L968–969A.

Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmentia Regalia*, Wing N249, 21–22, repeats the legend that PS was once in the running for the crown of Poland.

#### 1642

## January

(early) RS2 attempts to set out for Ireland and gets as far as Chester but is then recalled by the king. RS2 is rendered largely ineffectual as Lord Lieutenant with the Earl of Ormonde (who had expected to succeed Strafford) still exerting considerable power.

4 Charles attempts to arrest five MPs for communicating with the Scots but they seek refuge in the Guildhall. The Long Parliament continues as Charles leaves London.

10 Charles and his family take refuge at Hampton Court.

(late) Milton's Reason of Church Government published.

# **February**

- Henrietta Maria crosses to Holland where she remains during 1642.
- (?) PS3 and AS depart for Ireland without their father. Philip is in overall command of the horse and AS is a cavalry captain.

### March

31 'Lord Sidney', presumably a younger son of RS2, is listed in the Pilgrim Book of the English College at Rome (Stoye 1989, 215).

### June

Nineteen propositions are presented by Parliament to Charles but he rejects them, leading to the outbreak of the Civil War.

## July

A military skirmish at Manchester occasions the first engagement of the Civil War. The navy declares for Parliament.

# August

(mid) William Hammond, the rector of Penshurst, refuses to attend a parliamentary committee for the deprivation of scandalous ministers, and raises a troop of cavalry for the king. His nephew (later Charles's gaoler at Carisbrooke) and his brother-in-law, Revd Thomas Temple, ally themselves with Parliament.

In this month AS is stationed at Bishops Court, Leinster, Trim and Rathmines but his military forces are steadily depleted by desertion, illness and wastage.

- The Civil War formally begins at Nottingham.
- 25 RS2 from Nottingham to Countess of Carlisle, describing himself as 'environed by such contradictions'. Parliament and the king are giving him contrary orders, and since he needs the supplies of the one and the authority of the other, he does not know how to retain the good favour of both (Blencowe 1825, xxi–xxii).

# September

- RS2 from Nottingham to Countess of Carlisle, wondering whether they will continue to live in a 'pleasant peace' or a 'hideous war' (Blencowe 1825, xxii–xxiv).
- Prince Rupert defeats Essex's parliamentarian forces at Powicke Bridge, Worcester.

### October

- 18 MSW's fifty-fifth birthday.
- 23 Battle of Edgehill (with both sides claiming victory), the first major battle of the Civil War. The royalists are personally led by Charles and Prince Rupert.

#### November

- After Edgehill, the parliamentary army under Essex retreats to Warwick, allowing the royalist forces to advance as far as Turnham Green (parliamentary victory). Charles marches on London but turns back at Brentford and retreats to Oxford when he is faced by Essex's forces.
- 25 Cardinal Richelieu dies and is succeeded as Chief Minister by Cardinal Mazarin.

In this month the Sidneys' problems and hopes in Ireland both escalate. Ormonde complains to Charles that PS3 is unreliable but, in response, PS3 insists upon his rights as a Lieutenant-General of cavalry. Two representatives of the English Parliament, Reynolds and Goodwin, cross to Dublin and attempt to secure the allegiance of the English army in Ireland with PS3 as its intended overall commander.

### December

- 5 Royalist forces capture Marlborough and Winchester (13).
- PS3 from Dublin to RS2 (who receives the letter at Chester) describing military manoeuvres in Ireland and mentioning that the Earl of Ormonde is sick (*DD*, VI.414).

#### Works

RS2, A Letter From The Lord Of Leicester To The Right Honourable Earl Of Northumberland ... Sep. 26 1642, Wing L967.

PS3, An Army For Ireland, Conducted By The Lord Lithe [Lisle], Wing L965.

# References

Sir W. Saintleger, *True And Happy News From Ireland April 25 1642* (Letter to RS2), Wing S338.

(1636-42) Documents relating to the embassy of RS2 to France (DD, I.lvii).

#### 1643

# January

- 6 and 14 PS3 from Dublin to RS2 (received at Oxford), with further reports of military actions in Ireland (*DD*, VI.414–15).
- Temple from Dublin to RS2, concerning the latter's return to the court and the activities of PS3 and AS in Ireland (*DD*, VI.416–17).

19 and 25 PS3 from Dublin to RS2, with news of military activities and their brother Robert's company (*DD*, VI.417–18).

23 Parliamentary forces under Fairfax take Leeds.

#### March

(mid) Charles writes in cipher to Ormonde (but without informing RS2) ordering him to broker some sort of rapid agreement with the Irish and then to return to England with his urgently required troops. This is a key moment in the Sidneys' attitude towards the royalist cause since RS2, DPS, PS3 and AS all regard it as a covert act of personal betrayal and an overt insult to their family's name (see also Skretkowicz, xlviii, for 'A Draught of Sir Philip Sidney's

Before Charles's secret message arrives, Ormonde himself decides upon military action in Ireland. He clashes successfully with the rebels at New Rosse, about 20 miles north of Wexford, with PS3 in command of the cavalry and AS also fighting. During the encounter PS3 is reported as having his horse shot from under him and 'possessed by a panic fear, ran away from the flying and pursed enemy ... loudly offering ten pounds for a guide to Dungannon'.

Arcadia', proposing that the events leading to the Civil War could have been foreseen by an astute reader of *Arcadia*).

# April

18

A court martial accuses PS3 and AS of cowardice and finds that PS3's troops were rallied by the wounded Major Norris. Accusers suggest that PS3 either lost his nerve or was deliberately attempting to lose the battle out of pique (since he had expected to command the action himself). However, a James Pickering states that he saw PS3 rally his troops and pursue the enemy. A record of the enquiry, with the findings removed, survives (CKS C126/1, O142; *DD*, VI.419–28).

Parliamentary forces under the Earl of Essex besiege Reading which falls on 27 April.

# May

16

4 Louis XIII dies and is succeeded by Louis XIV, aged 4. The Queen Mother (Anne of Austria) is invested with supreme power in France (8).

Parliamentary forces under Cromwell win at Grantham.

Royalist forces win at Stratton. PS3 from Dublin to DPS, noting that Sir John Temple has been accused of defrauding the king over profits from the Kilmainham Mills, an accusation which he suspects is part of a broader plot to discredit the Sidneys in Ireland (*DD*, VI.431).

Fairfax captures Wakefield.

## June

- 6 Henry Lord Spencer, husband of Dorothy Sidney, becomes 1st Earl of Sunderland.
- MSW is now living at Woodford where she is described as 'Dame Mary Wroth of Woodford' in a conveyancing document. She was also preparing to profit from a transfer of Luxborough for the term of her life. The purchase money for this estate and some lands in Enfield was set at £10,000 (Roberts 1983, 39–40).
- AS from Dublin to DPS, seeking permission to come home, noting that Ireland was 'no fit place for me to stay in' and that he needed to find a career. With Ormonde's recall to Ireland now known, it is also probable that AS wishes to align himself with Parliament.
- 30 Battle of Atherton (royalist victory).

## July

- 13 Battle of Roundway Down (royalist victory).
- 26 Prince Rupert captures Bristol.
- 28 Cromwell captures Gainsborough.

# August

- 3 Royalists besiege Gloucester.
- 18 RS2 from Oxford to Hawkins, noting that PS3 and AS have landed back from Ireland and that Philip has been summoned to see the king personally at Gloucester before returning to London (*DD*, VI.432). The brothers have their horses stolen at at Manchester. AS writes an indignant letter to Orlando Bridgman, the royalist commander at Chester, and proposes joining RS2 at Oxford (where Charles also was). PS3 and AS are arrested by the controlling parliamentary forces and when the letter to Bridgman is found, they are taken into custody. But when it was discovered that PS3 was an MP, making his arrest a breach of privilege, he and AS are packed

off to London for the House to determine their fate. They are both freed in September (CKS C132/78, 133/31, 162/1).

#### Autumn

Ormonde's troops are recalled from Ireland and begin to arrive at Minehead and Bristol to join the king's army.

## September

- 5 The relief of Gloucester (parliamentary victory) by the Earl of Essex. Speaker William Lenthall from London to Sir William Brereton, noting that PS3, AS and Sir Richard Grenville have been ordered to Liverpool, from where they will be taken to London (*DD*, VI.433).
- 15 'First Cessation' concludes the Irish rebellion.
- The first Battle of Newbury (drawn). Dorothy Sidney's husband, Henry Lord Spencer, 1st Earl of Sunderland, is killed in a cavalry charge (see *DD*, VI.434–6 for the Sidney family's responses to his death).
- Parliament agrees a Solemn League and Covenant with the Scots, thereby adopting Presbyterianism.
- The Sidneys are shocked by an order directing the sequestration of their Leicester estates. It is successfully opposed by DPS (with considerable help from her brother the Earl of Northumberland), who argues that RS2 was neither a delinquent nor a papist and was only away from his post in Ireland because he had been personally summoned to the court by Charles I. The order was quashed by Parliament (DD, VI.436).

#### October

- 4 Baptism of Harry Spencer (d.1649), Dorothy's son, at Penshurst.
- 10 RS2 from Oxford to Dorothy Sidney Spencer on the death of her husband (Collins, II.671–3).
- 18 MSW's fifty-sixth birthday.

### December

8 Death of John Pym, along with that of Hampden (18 June) opens up the parliamentary organization of the war to Harry Vane, who later visits Penshurst to discuss political plans with RS2 and AS.

(mid) RS2 withdraws to Penshurst, furious at his dismissal by Charles from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland in favour of Ormonde. He angrily writes to Henrietta Maria (Blencowe 1825, xxiv–xxviii). The king's behaviour alienates the whole Sidney family. During the Christmas/New Year period, DPS and AS effectively decide for Parliament, although RS2 publicly adopts a studied neutrality.

### **Undated**

Between 1643 and 1648 John Langley, an official licenser for printed books, approves the printing of the Trinity College, Cambridge, manuscript of the Sidneian Psalms, R.3.16 (MS *G*), although no printed version is known.

### References

Brief life of PS is included in a reprint of Opitz's revision of the 1638 German translation of *Arcadia*.

## 1644

## January

18 RS2 to Lord Digby, protesting his loyalty to the king (*DD*, VI.436–7).

19 Scottish army crosses the border to assist the Long Parliament.

22 Royalist Parliament is summoned at Oxford.

colonel commanding a regiment.

(until April) AS finalizes his commitment to the Parliamentary cause.

# April

AS appointed captain in the parliamentary regiment of horse commanded by his cousin, the Earl of Manchester in the Eastern Association (CKS O101/1). Manchester's was one of the four cavalry regiments in the army raised by the Eastern Association, of which Manchester himself was general. Cromwell was his deputy and commander of the Eastern Association cavalry as a whole. At the time of his commission as a captain, AS was already serving as a

# May

The Commons approve AS's military appointment in the Eastern Association and award him £400 back pay. AS chooses as his personal motto: 'Sanctus amor patriae dat

animum' (Sacred love of country gives one spirit). PS3 is also awarded formal thanks for his 'great and faithful service', a political gesture against Ormonde rather than a recognition of his success

## June

- Birth of King Charles's daughter, Henrietta Maria (d.1670).
- 29 Battle of Cropredy Bridge (royalist victory).

## July

Victory at Marston Moor gives Parliament effective control of most of northern England. AS commands 1,000 men on the left flank of the parliamentary army, opposing the royalists' main cavalry force under Prince Rupert, including some Irish regiments, alongside which AS had fought in Ireland only 15 months earlier. At 7.30pm Cromwell's four regiments attack Prince Rupert's. AS rides within a success-

- regiments attack Prince Rupert's. AS rides within a successful 4,000-man cavalry charge. As Rupert's men are driven back, Cromwell's troopers then sweep around their rear to rescue their own right wing which was under severe royalist pressure. This manoeuvre wins the battle and makes Cromwell's military reputation. Over 4,000 royalists are killed but parliamentary losses are light, although AS is severely wounded in the leg, leaving him with a permanent limp. He is rescued by an anonymous trooper.
- Henrietta Maria flees to France, remaining there until after the Restoration.
- 16 York surrenders to Parliament.

# September

2 Earl of Essex's army surrenders to Charles.

#### October

- 18 MSW's fifty-seventh birthday.
- 19 Newcastle taken by the Scottish army.
- The second Battle of Newbury (drawn), the first manoeuvrebattle (as opposed to pitched battle) of the Civil War.

#### December

- 9 Self-Denying Ordinance proposed.
- Queen Christina comes of age and begins to rule in Sweden.

#### Undated

Death of RS1 and BGS's daughter, Barbara (b.1599), wife of Thomas, Viscount Strangford, and Sir Thomas Culpeper.

#### Works

(c.1644) AS, 'Essay on Love' (BL MS Additional 34000; pr. *A Collection of Rare and Valuable Tracts ... of Lord Somers*, ed. Walter Scott, 1809–15, Vol. 8) written perhaps in response to an infatuation with Lucy Walter (Walters/Waters), later mistress of Charles II and mother of the illegitimate James, Duke of Monmouth. She was also the mistress of AS's younger brother, Robert, sometimes rumoured to be the true father of the Duke of Monmouth (although she was probably already pregnant by Charles II when she met Robert Sidney in 1648 at The Hague).

## 1645

	-	
10		Execution of Archbishop Laud for treason.
13		House of Lords rejects Self-Denying Ordinance.
29		Truce is declared in the Civil War.
(?)-Ap	ril	A period of severe financial crisis for the Sidneys. RS2 is still
_		unpaid for his Paris embassy and awaiting two years' salary
		and expenses for the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.

# **February**

**January** 

The Uxbridge negotiations (begun in January) between king and Parliament fail, ending the military armistice.

### March

AS is appointed as colonel of one of the 11 cavalry regiments of the New Model Army commanded by Fairfax. His immediate superior is Cromwell.

# April

3 Self-Denying Ordinance passed by the House of Lords, requiring all MPs (except Cromwell) to resign their commission within 40 days.

(mid) AS is ordered to join his regiment in the southern midlands where the Parliamentary army is gathering for the engagement at Naseby. But his still-unhealed wounds prevent his participation.

# May

AS appointed as Governor of Chichester, close to the residence at Petworth of his uncle Northumberland (who was also Lord Lieutenant of the county and its MP in the 1620s), where the four younger royal children (James, Elizabeth, Henry and Henrietta) had been sent by the House of Lords as hostages. Later, two of the children are moved to Penshurst.

Reference to a Colonel William Herbert serving under Sir Thomas Fairfax, possibly the natural son of MSW and WH3 (*HMC Portland*, I.222). A commission of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, appoints AS as Governor of Chichester (*DD*, VI.440).

Marriage of PS3 to Catherine Cecil, a daughter of the Earl of Salisbury (Northumberland's brother-in-law), with a £6,100 dowry. The Cecils' London House is on the eastern boundary of the Sidneys' Leicester House (*DD*, VI.443, 613).

## June

10 Cromwell appointed Lieutenant-General of the New Model Army.

Battle of Naseby (parliamentary victory). Cromwell and Fairfax defeat Charles and Prince Rupert.

- 17 Cromwell captures Leicester.
- 28 Parliament takes Carlisle.

# July

10 Battle of Langport (parliamentary victory).

# September

10 Prince Rupert surrenders Bristol to Fairfax.

#### October

MSW's fifty-eighth birthday. Her name appears in a list of owners' yearly revenues and personal estates of the parishioners of East Wickham (Roberts 1983, 40).

#### December

RS2's diary records his financial and marital problems. It appears that DPS was managing the finances of Penshurst and, since RS2 was rarely there, she resented handing money over to him as and when he required. At one point, she threatened to pass the running of the

household entirely over to him, a move which he considered both inconsiderate and impossible considering his other duties (*DD*, VI.557).

#### **Dedications**

Dudley North, 3rd Baron North, *A Forest of Varieties*, Wing N1283, includes an earlier address to MSW of his 'Preludium to the first Verses', an attack on metaphysical poets in favour of older Petrarchan forms. Bodl. MS North.e.41 is a (pre-1612?) manuscript copy of this work.

## References

(c.1645) Isaac de Caus, Wilton Garden, Wing C 1530. PH reputedly commissioned designs for the south front and formal gardens of Wilton House from Inigo Jones but he was too busy and passed the work on to Isaac de Caus.

Publication of Waller's *Poems*, including 'At Penshurst' and other poems to 'Sacharissa', Lady Dorothy Sidney Spencer.

### 1646

## January

AS is elected as MP for Cardiff. He joins the 'Independents', who consider a compromise with the king to be no longer possible. PS3 and John Temple serve as members of the Parliamentary Committee for Irish Affairs. PS3 is appointed as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. AS is his deputy, with the rank of Lieutenant-General and the command of the cavalry.

# April

- 13 Exeter surrenders to Fairfax.
- Parliament formally approves PS3's appointment as Lord
  - Lieutenant of Ireland.
- Parish Book of Woodford records MSW's taxation payments (Roberts 1983, 40).
- 27 King Charles escapes to the Scots at Newark and surrenders on 5 May.

# June

- Permission is granted to PS3 and AS to raise troops for Ireland but it does not prove a popular recruiting ground for members of the New Model Army.
- 24/25 Oxford surrenders to Parliament, ending the First Civil War.

# July

RS2 to Sir Thomas Fotherly, inviting his nephew Philip Smythe, 2nd Viscount Strangford (1634–1708), to stay at Penshurst. Fotherly had purchased his wardship for £2,000. Strangford was the son of Thomas Smythe, first Viscount Strangford, and his wife Barbara Sidney (RS2's sister; see April 1619). He proves a blight on the Sidney family for the next two decades (*DD*, VI.440–1).

17 AS elected as MP.

Newcastle Propositions are presented by Parliament to Charles, requiring him to accept the Covenant, abolish episcopacy and relinquish control of the army.

Parliament decides, by one vote, not to send six New Model regiments to Ireland. Philip and AS are now faced with raising an army from scratch.

## September

Death of Robert Devereux (b.1591), Earl of Essex. PS3 and AS carry a banner at his funeral (SP 16/514/149).

#### October

17 Charles's offer to accept Scottish Presbyterianism for five years and yield control of the army for ten years is rejected. The offices of bishop and archbishop are formally abolished.

MSW's fifty-ninth birthday.

#### November

Commission from PS3, Lieutenant Governor of Ireland, appointing AS as Governor of Dublin (*DD*, VI.441).

#### Works

[PS], *Huberti Langueti ... ad Philippum Sydnaeum*, Frankfurt, ed. Claude Sarrau (from 1633 edition).

Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, *The Souls Own Evidence* [from] *The Trueness of Christian Religion ... now republished by John Bachiler*, Wing M2802 (Chapters 14–15 of PS's translation).

RS2 begins his journal of political events (31 December–8 September 1661), collected mainly from newspaper accounts, parliamentary papers, letters from friends and relations, and conversations with AS (*DD*, VI.559–624).

## References

January

Sir John Temple, *The History of the Rebellion in Ireland*, detailing the 1641 rebellion.

### 1647

(mid)	PS3 and AS preparing for a second military expedition to Ireland.
21	PS3's son, Algernon, born at Salisbury House and christened on 24 with the Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury and
30	DPS as godparents ( <i>DD</i> , VI.560). RS2 records in his diary how the Scots have agreed to hand over Charles I to Parliament for £400,000 (the amount owed to their army in back pay) ( <i>DD</i> , VI.561).
February	
1	RS2's diary records PS3's departure from London to Bristol, and from thence to his command in Ireland ( <i>DD</i> , VI.561).
19	PS3 and AS finally set out for Ireland.
21	PS3 and AS land near Cork, with 15,000 infantry but only 120 cavalry. They have immediate disagreements with the Lord President of Munster (Murrough O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin), the rival of the king's Lord Lieutenant, Ormonde (DD, VI.564).
April	
8	A successful motion is proposed in the Commons to replace AS as Governor of Dublin with his deputy, Colonel Jones ( <i>DD</i> , VI.565).
15	PS3's one-year commission in Ireland runs out and Inchiquin

# May

17

21

7 AS is appointed Governor of Dover Castle.

deprived of his Governorship of Dublin. PS3 and AS arrive back in England.

Parliament orders the army to disband without arrears of pay.

seizes total power as the only lawful Commander-in-Chief.

PS3, AS and Temple sail for England, with their expensively assembled army and supplies left for Inchiquin. AS is also

AS votes against the discharge of men who refused to serve in Ireland; and is a teller for the business of George Mynne.

### June

- 3 Cromwell joins the army at Triploe Heath.
- 4 King Charles I is seized by Cornet Joyce at Holmby (*DD*, VI.567). Dorothy Sidney Spencer, widow of the Earl of Sunderland, signs an acquittance of all properties from her husband's estate (*DD*, VI.441).
- AS is named as Commissioner for Glamorgan.

## July

Under pressure from the discontented army, 57 MPs secede from the House, including PS3 (but not AS).

### August

The army's proposals are presented to the king but rejected. It then marches into London (6/7) to insist upon fair treatment for its troops from Parliament.

## October

18 MSW's sixtieth birthday.

### November

- AS joins the permanent committee for the Affairs of Ireland. For the rest of AS's parliamentary career, Irish and foreign affairs remain his speciality.
- 11 Charles I escapes but is recaptured.
- Charles I is imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight under the charge of the parliamentary governor, Colonel Hammond (the brother-in-law of the Sidneys' political associate, Sir John Temple, and brother of the royalist ex-rector of Penshurst, Henry Hammond, who is also now with Charles on the Isle of Wight). AS's maternal aunt, Lucy Percy Hay, Countess of Carlisle (a confidant of Henrietta Maria), is implicated in the king's removal to the Isle of Wight and her lover, the Earl of Holland, becomes commander of the royalist forces in England.
- AS is involved with the Lords' four propositions for negotiations with the king; and is a teller for propositions for treating with the king.

#### December

- 24 'Four Bills' are presented to Charles I by Parliament (rejected 28 December).
- The king's 'Engagement' with the Scots is agreed, restoring Presbyterianism and abolishing episcopacy in Scotland. In return, the Scots promise to assist the king's restoration.

## References

Folio collection of Beaumont and Fletcher, Wing B1581 (PH), recalls the dedication of the Shakespeare First Folio to WH3 and PH in 1623.

Robert Baron, *The Cyprian Academy*, Wing B889, lifts passages from *Arcadia*. Baron also borrows heavily from PS's writings in his *Apology for Paris* (1649), *Pocula Castalia* (1650), and *Mirza* (1655).

### 1648

## January

- Wote of 'No Addresses' passed by Parliament.
- 8 Parish Book of Woodford records MSW's taxation payments (Roberts 1983, 40).
- 20 RS2's daughter, Lucy, marries Sir John Pelham (*DD*, VI.441–3, 576).

# **February**

- Parliamentary Declaration sets out the king's misdeeds.
- AS is a commissioner for Glamorgan.
- 21 Christian IV of Denmark dies and is succeeded by Frederick III.

### March

AS's deed on sale of stock in East India Company (BL Additional Charters 70777).

# **Spring**

Dover Castle is besieged but its defences are organized by AS's deputy, Major Boys, since AS is not present until July when the fighting ceases.

# April

Date of 'An Owl at Athens. A Relation of the Earl of Pembroke's Entrance into Oxford' (satire) (Bodl. MS Eng.Poet.e.4/142).

30-August Outbreak of the Second Civil War.

### May

- 1 Scots begin the Second Civil War.
- 3 AS on the committee of both houses for Irish affairs. Cromwell leaves London for Wales.
- AS on the committee for Glamorgan for settling militia.
- AS appointed to liaise with the Derby House Committee to suppress all tumults in Kent.

### June

- 2 RS2 records in his diary the death of his daughter Mary (b.1629) at Leicester House, with her body sent to Penshurst on 4 and buried there the same night. He also describes the rebellion in Kent of May/June (*DD*, VI.572; see also VI.558 for Lucy Sidney's death).
- Burial at Penshurst of Algernon, son of PS3 (Collins, I.149).
- AS appointed Governor of Dover Castle (DD, VI.443).

## August

- 20 RS2's diary describes the Battle of Preston at which Cromwell defeats the Scots, ending the Second Civil War (*DD*, VI.574)
- 28 RS2's diary records the fall of Colchester to Lord Fairfax (DD, VI.575).

# September

- 18 Treaty of Newport. Negotiations continue between the king and Parliament.
- (?) Lucy Waters/Walter probably becomes the mistress of Robert Sidney at The Hague (while already pregnant with the future Duke of Monmouth).

#### October

- 17 Charles I answers the Proposals of Parliament (*DD*, VI.443–4).
- 18 MSW's sixty-first birthday.
- Peace of Westphalia, encompassing the Holy Roman Empire, France and Sweden, effectively ends the Thirty Years' War.

#### November

9 RS2 from Penshurst to the Earl of Kent, angrily noting that he has been summoned by a Bill of Chancery issued by Sir

- RS2 from Penshurst to the Earl of Salisbury, concerning a dispute over the jointure of PS3's wife, Catherine (*DD*, VI.445).
- 20 'The Remonstrance of the Army' presented to the Commons, including demands for the trial of the king. AS attends the debates.
- The army begins its second march on London.

### December

- Parliament debates the king's replies to the proposals for reconciliation made at Newcastle.
- 2 AS a teller for the king's response to the Newmarket Treaty and a commissioner for Kent for the militia.
- 6 Colonel Pride removes Presbyterians from the House of Commons ('Pride's Purge'). The remaining members are known as the 'Rump' and terminate negotiations with Charles I. Cromwell returns to London.
- RS2's diary records the birth of Lucy Sidney Pelham's daughter, Dorothy, who dies two days later (*DD*, VI.576).
- 20/23 The Commons form a committee (including PS3) for arranging the king's trial.
- 21 RS2's dispute with the Earl of Salisbury escalates since the latter has not replied to his letter of 12 November. Another sharp letter finally elicits a positive response from Salisbury dated 27 December (*DD*, VI.446–7).
- 29 RS2's diary notes that the ordinance for the trial of the king was read for a second time (*DD*, VI.577).

#### **Undated**

(c.1647–48) John Aubrey recalls that the south side of Wilton House, built by Monsieur de Caus, was burnt in either 1647 or 1648 'by airing of the rooms'. He notes that PH rebuilt it with the advice of Inigo Jones, but since the designer was then very old he left the plans to his assistant, Mr Webb (Aubrey 1969, 83–4).

### 1649

## January

- 1 RS2's diary records the arrangements and judges from the Upper and Low Houses for the trial of the king (*DD*, VI.577).
- A court of 136 commissioners is set up to try the king, including AS who attends its meetings on 15 and 19. AS later claims to have questioned the powers of the court, eliciting from Cromwell: 'I tell you we will cut off his head with the crown upon it'. AS insists that he replied to Cromwell: 'I cannot stop you, but I will keep myself clean from having any hand in this business' (Carswell 1989, 66–7).
- 11 and 29 RS2's acrimonious financial dispute with the Earl of Salisbury continues (*DD*, VI.450–1).
- 19/20 Trial of King Charles I opens. RS2's diary: 'The King was brought from Windsor to St. James's, where he lay that night strongly guarded [and then] from St James's in the Earl of Pembroke's chair ... into Westminster Hall' (*DD*, VI.579).
- RS2's diary pointedly notes: 'my two sons Philip and Algernon came unexpectedly to Penshurst Monday 22, and stayed there till Monday 29 January, so as neither of them was at the condemnation of the King, nor was Philip at any time at the High Court, though a Commissioner, but Algernon, a Commissioner also, was there sometimes in the Painted Chamber, but never in Westminster hall' (*DD*, VI.580). Clarendon later describes RS2 as 'a man of honour and fidelity to the king' (Clarendon 1888, II.531).
- AS is at Penshurst until this day and then returns to London. Between 15 and 29 January John Milton writes the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, providing a possible model for AS's 'Court Maxims'.
- Execution of King Charles I. PH watches incognito from a window and perhaps supplies RS2 with his vivid account of the execution in his diary (*DD*, VI.582–3). AS and his brother, Philip, are probably at the House of Commons as the axe falls for a resolution to abolish both the Monarchy and the House of Lords. The 'Rump' of the Commons assumes supreme power in the nation by resolution. The Interregnum (until 8 May 1660)

## **February**

- Charles II is proclaimed king in Edinburgh. At Penshurst AS and Philip are with their aunt, the Countess of Carlisle, then awaiting the fate of her lover, the Earl of Holland, along with the other captured leaders of the Second Civil War. AS's sister, Dorothy, the widow of the royalist Earl of Sunderland, is also there, with her dangerously ill eldest son and heir, Harry. DPS joins them at Penshurst on 28.
- 6/7 AS on committees to abolish House of Lords and the Monarchy.
- 9 Hasty publication of *Eikon Basilike*. It is not entered in the SR until 16 March.
- 13 Milton's Tenure of Kings and Magistrates published.
- Government by a Council of State established (dissolved 20 April 1653).
- AS opposes the Oath of Engagement.

#### March

- 5 AS is teller for the pardon of John Lord Paulett.
- 6 Earl of Holland and his fellow leaders are sentenced to death and executed on 9 (*DD*, VI.586–7).
- 14 RS2's diary: 'The sweet boy, little Harry Spencer [b. 1643, son of Dorothy], my grandchild, 5 year old from October last, died at Leicester House' (*DD*, VI.587).
- Major-General Harrison arrives at Leicester House with a warrant for the arrest of Lucy Percy Hay, Countess of Carlisle, who is lodged in the Tower from 21 for the next 18 months (*DD*, VI.587).
- 16 Kingship abolished.
- 17 Abolition of House of Lords and the Monarchy (19).
- 23 RS2's diary records his departure from Penshurst to London, where DPS had already been from 28 February (*DD*, VI.588).
- Council of State orders John Milton 'to make some observations' on Irish affairs (SP 25/62/125).

# **April**

- The irregular delivery of Sir Richard Wynn's suit against RS2 is confirmed by a signed affidavit (see 9 November 1648; *DD*, VI.452).
- 7 AS is commissioner for Kent and Glamorgan in the Assessment Bill.

- 9 Birth of Charles II's illegitimate son, James, later Duke of Monmouth (executed 15 July 1685); see '1644: Undated' for the rumour that AS's younger brother, Robert, was his true father.
- RS2's diary records that PH had become MP for Berkshire (DD, VI.588).

## May

- AS reports for the Committee on Irish Affairs.
- AS sits on a twice-weekly parliamentary committee of eight, chaired by Harry Vane, to consider a more rational distribution of seats at a future general election. AS proposes that his home county of Kent should have more seats than any other county.
- Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels are published with John Milton's *Observations*.
- 19 Parliament declares England to be a free Commonwealth.

### June

14–9 August 1650 Following the execution of Charles I, Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester are brought by order of Parliament to stay at Penshurst (*DD*, VI.558).

# July

- 2 RS2 is obliged to respond to the land dispute initiated by Sir Richard Wynn; see 9 November 1648 (*DD*, VI.453).
- Solution 15 RS2's diary records his return from London to Penshurst, where DPS and the children had already been resident, with the Duke of Gloucester and Princess Elizabeth, for three weeks (*DD*, VI.589).

# August

- 12 Cromwell embarks for Ireland, landing there on 15 (*DD*, VI.589–92).
- John Lilburne publishes *An Outcry of the Young Men and Apprentices of London,* influenced by *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.*

# September

11 Drogheda is stormed by Cromwell and sacked.

- PS3 from London to RS2 about Irish affairs (DD, VI.455).
- AS appointed governor of the school and almshouses of Westminster. PS3 from London to RS2, with parliamentary news, concerning the delegation of powers to the Council (*DD*, VI.456).

#### Autumn

Captain Henry Cannon openly attacks AS's absentee governorship of Dover Castle

#### October

- 6(?) Milton's *Eikonoklastes* is published.
- AS a teller at the disputed election of Neville. Siege of Wexford.
- 18 MSW's sixty-second birthday.

## November

2–29 PS3 writes regularly from London to RS2, with news about parliamentary affairs and Irish situation (*DD*, VI.462–5).

#### December

- PS3 from London reports to RS2 that the Assessment Bill (for which AS is a commissioner for Kent and Glamorgan) is 'upon all England and Wales of £90,000 a month for the first three months and £60,000 for the three following'. He also remains very suspicious of Sir Kenelm Digby (*DD*, VI.465).
- PS3 informs RS2 of the birth of 'a fat boy', Robert (d.1702), later 4th Earl of Leciester, and notes that AS is on his way to Dover. RS2's diary records this birth at Carlisle House, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and that Robert was christened on 26 (DD, VI.466, 596).
- (?) Death of Sir Thomas Fotherly, who held Viscount's Strangford's wardship. Still a minor, Strangford elects RS2 to be his guardian and to assume his wardship.

## References

Later editions of John Gauden's *Eikon Basilike* include Pamela's prayer from *Arcadia* as one of those read by Charles I the night before his execution. Milton's *Eikonoklastes* fulminated: 'a prayer stolen word for word from the mouth of a heathen fiction praying to a heathen God, & that no serious book, but the vain amatorious poem of Sr Philip

Sidney's *Arcadia*; a book in that kind full of worth and wit, but among religious thoughts and duties not worthy to be named; nor to be read at any time without good caution, much less in time of trouble and affliction to be a Christian's prayer-book'. Milton's commonplace book (1642–45), however, makes four more positive citations of *Arcadia* (Duncan-Jones 1986, 53).

Richard Lovelace, *Lucasta*, Wing L3240, 80–2, poem on love in 'Celestial Sydney's Arcady'.

### 1650

### January

- 4 PS3 keeps RS2 informed of the progress of the Act of Engagement through Parliament. He also notes that Admiral Blake is about to set sail in pursuit of Prince Rupert who had been reported off Lisbon in December (*DD*, VI.467).
- PS3 from London to RS2 about the progress of negotiations between England and Scotland. He also notes that PH is seriously ill and probably has 'not many hours to live' (*DD*, VI.470).
- Death of PH at his lodgings in the Cockpit 'of a fever and gangrene' (*DD*, VI.472, 596).
- RS2's diary records that this is the day that 'the late King was beheaded at Whitehall gate' and notes that PH did not live a year beyond this event: 'He told me himself that out of his chamber window he looked upon the King as he went up the stairs from the part to the gallery in the way to the place of his death, which was quickly after. That he should not have done, but have retired himself to pray for him and to lament his misfortune, to whom he had so great obligations' (DD, VI.597).

## **February**

- 1 PS3 from London to RS2 with further news of the preparation of Blake's fleet (*DD*, VI.471).
- 8–27 PS3 from London to RS2 about parliamentary affairs (*DD*, VI.472–4).

# **Spring**

While a case is compiled against him for a possible court-martial over his governorship of Dover Castle, AS spends more time at Penshurst, with his parents, five unmarried sisters (Ann, Diana, Frances, Elizabeth, Isabella), his youngest brother (Henry), and RS2's nephew and ward (Philip, Viscount Strangford). AS receives an allowance of £2,000 pa. Between 1650–55 he also periodically resides with the family of his mother DPS at Petworth House.

## April

Copy of RS2's Oath of Allegiance to the Commonwealth of England, 'as it is now established without a King or House of Lords' (DD, VI.478, 598).

# May

Philip, Viscount Strangford, to RS2 seeking his support in his desire to marry Isabella (*DD*, VI.479).

26 Cromwell leaves Ireland for England. The conquest of Ireland continues in his absence.

## Summer (?)

Parliament abolishes the Sidney family's rights of church patronage and imposes upon the Penshurst living John Maudit, previously Sub-Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, where he had been prominent in the purging of royalists. RS2 loathes Maudit and avoids him at all times by transferring his family's devotions to the neighbouring parish.

# June

- 1 RS2's diary records that in this month Cromwell was appointed 'General in his room by the Parliament' and named as Commander-in-Chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth, in succession to Fairfax (*DD*, VI.599).
- 24 Charles II lands at Speymouth and swears to the Covenants.

# July

Cromwell invades Scotland. Captain Cannon is appointed deputy governor of Dover Castle and takes effective control there (in rivalry with AS, the governor).

# August

9 The king's children, Princess Elizabeth (who is already dying) and the Duke of Gloucester, are removed from Penshurst into the custody of the Mildmays (*DD*, VI.559, 599).

- Isabella Sidney marries the feckless Philip Viscount Strangford, with Mr Antrobus officiating. Strangford uses Isabella's £3,000 p.a. to finance a lavish Covent Garden lifestyle. AS remains friendly with them for his sister's sake but soon becomes ensnared in Strangford's financial debts and legal actions against his estate trustees (*DD*, VI.479).
- (?) RS2 purchases a substantial range of books from George Thomason (CKS A65; Warkentin 1997, 337).

## September

- 3 RS2 records in his diary Cromwell's defeat of the Scots at the Battle of Dunbar (*DD*, VI.600).
- 8 Princess Elizabeth dies at Carisbrooke Castle (DD, VI.600).
- 24 RS2's diary records that his daughter, the widowed Countess of Sunderland, left Penshurst to live alone at Althorpe (*DD*, VI.600).

#### October

- RS2's daughter, Elizabeth, dies at Penshurst. Her father mournfully records in his diary: 'She had to the last the most angelical countenance and beauty, and the most heavenly disposition and temper of mind that I think hath been seen in so young a creature'. Her funeral is conducted on 7 by Mr Antrobus, the incumbent from the next parish (DD, VI.600).
- A sworn record of a memorandum made by the dying Princess Elizabeth about some of her jewels still in the possession of RS2 (*DD*, VI.484).
- 10 AS a teller on Hutchinson as treasurer of navy.
- 18 MSW's sixty-third birthday.
- (?) Council of War assesses complaints about AS's governorship of Dover Castle and find in his favour. But his deputy, Captain Cannon, continues to make accusations.

#### November

21 and 26 AS a teller for supply bill for hospitals; and a commissioner for Kent and Glamorgan in the Assessment Bill.

#### December

23 Milton's *Defensio pro populo Anglicano* authorized by the Council of State (entered SR 31 December).

- 24 Cromwell defeats the Scots and Edinburgh Castle surrenders (*DD*, VI.600).
- 27 PS3 from London to RS2 about the defeat by Blake of Prince Rupert's fleet (*DD*, VI.485).

#### Works

RS2 compiles a diary of events from 1636 until 1650, detailing his increasingly acrimonious financial dealings with DPS (CKS F25/2; *DD*, VI.554–8).

PS has been considered as the author of 'Valour Anatomized in a Fancy', printed in *Cottoni Posthuma*, 1651, Wing C6485, 323-7 (but see *Misc. Prose*, 159).

## References

Anne Bradstreet, *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America*, Wing B4167, 191–6 (elegy on PS).

'Michael Oldisworth'(?), *The Last Will and Testament of Philip Herbert,* Wing L524 (satire); see also BL Additional MS 47112, 'Earl of Pembroke's Speech in the House of Peers'.

Heinrich Schalvius, 'Philippsen von Sidney Arcadia' (play).

## 1651

## January

- 1 Charles II crowned King of Scotland at Scone Palace.
- AS personally raises the matter of Dover Castle in the Commons and demands protection, as a Member, from court martial. Ultimately, AS resigns as governor and his deputy, Cannon, returns to his regiment.
- (late) Lady Anne Clifford (wife of PH) notes in her copy of *Arcadia* (1605): 'This book did I begin to read over at Skipton in Craven about the latter end of January and I made an end of reading it all over in Appleby Castle in Westmorland the 19 day of March following, in 1651'.

## **February**

24 Milton's Defensio pro populo Anglicano published.

# May

AS on a committee to investigate the king's property.

## June

AS a teller for sale of delinquent estates. During this year (and until 1658) he is also heavily involved in Viscount Strangford's chancery action against the estate of Sir Thomas Fotherly.

## July

8 AS a teller for the naming of the surveyor general.

## August

2 Cromwell captures Perth, and Stirling Castle afterwards surrenders to the English. The Scottish army then crosses the border into England.

## September

- Battle of Worcester. Cromwell defeats Charles II and a Scottish Army in England (news reaches London on 5).
- 17 Charles II escapes to France.

### October

- 1 AS on a committee to draft a bill to end the Rump.
- Burial at Penshurst of Frances (b.1630), daughter of RS2 (Collins, I.147).
- 9 RS2's diary records the death of his daughter Frances and her burial on 13: 'between or very near her two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, who, I hope, are all together in heaven' (DD, VI.607).
- 18 MSW's sixty-fourth birthday.
- AS named as a JP for Kent (CKS, Q/JC 4).
- 31 Greville's 'Life' of PS entered in SR by Henry Seile (the publisher of John Gauden's *Eikon Basilike*).

#### November

- AS is a teller/scrutineer at the elections for the Council of State and increasingly active in parliamentary sittings and meetings.
- AS a teller (3 divisions) for tenure of committee chairs.

#### December

23 and 26 AS on committees to consider a private petition and for bills for treasurers, the army, and law reform.

### AS a teller for the election of treasurers.

#### Dedications

John Donne, Letters to Several Persons of Honour, Wing D1864, 24–6, including a letter to SVH (c.February 1619), sent with a copy of a sermon which she had heard.

## References

Anna Weamys, A Continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, Wing W1189.

Samuel Sheppard, *Epigrams*, Wing S3161, E8<sup>v</sup>, F7<sup>v</sup>, on PS's demise and *Arcadia*.

## 1652

### January

6 AS a teller for naming commissioners of excise.

AS on a committee regulating foreign affairs. 'The Countess of Leicester's Case' is drawn up (in response to claims that the Sidneys still possessed some of the late Princess Elizabeth's jewels), arguing that they were lawfully bequeathed to DPS and should, therefore, not be regarded as 'royal property' fit for confiscation (see 5 October 1650; DD, VI.488–90).

## **February**

AS serves on a committee to consider ministers' petitions. Britain is now entirely under parliamentary control.

17 RS2 notes a discussion with AS about the appalling conditions of Negro slaves in the West Indies (CKS Z1/9).

#### March

RS2 describes in his diary a great eclipse of the sun which he observed from Leicester House. He notes that almanacs had prophesied 'terrible things'. During the morning, 'every vulgar body kept at home, as the Egyptians did during their darkness' (DD, VI.613).

30 AS a teller for the disposal of Crown/Church lands.

# April

6 and 9 AS a teller for disposal of Dover Pier and for fen drainage.

# May

19

War breaks out with the United Provinces, a result of trade disputes and English claims to sovereignty over British seas. The English Fleet under Robert Blake and the Dutch under Marteen van Tromp engage at the Battle of the Downs. RS2 notes that this is probably the beginning of another war which will be to the detriment of both nations (*DD*, VI.613).

## July

8

RS2's diary records the marriage at Penshurst of his daughter, the widowed Countess of Sunderland, to Robert Smythe of Bidborough, Kent, grandson of Thomas Smythe, Governor of the East India Company (whose widow married RS1). DPS was present, with her daughters 'Strangford and Lucy Pelham', along with AS and his brother Robert, but RS2 was himself detained in London (*DD*, VI.613). Smythe was a friend of John Evelyn, who visited Penshurst on 9 (Cartwright 1893, 130–9; see April 1626 for the intermarriages of the Sidneys and Smythes).

AS on committees for the sale of delinquent papist estates and reform of Treasury.

## August

6

AS on a committee to resolve the Irish Problem. An Act 'for the Settling of Ireland' begins the Cromwellian land confiscations there.

18

Catherine (wife of PS3) dies of puerperal fever, after giving birth on 13 to a daughter, Elizabeth. Mr Antrobus officiates at the Penshurst funeral on 22, delayed because a plumber could not be found to lead the coffin. PS3's children are offered a home at Penshurst but PS3's allowance is to be reduced from £800 to £600 if his wife predeceases him (*DD*, VI.613–14).

AS serves on a committee to receive petitions for relief.

# September

AS on the committee for the Irish estate of Lord Loftus.

#### October

- 7 AS on the committee for uniting England and Scotland.
- 8 English victory over the Dutch at the Battle of Kentish Knock.
- AS a teller for the sale of the manor of The Maze.
- 18 MSW's sixty-fifth birthday.

#### November

- AS and Philip are both members of the Republican Government. AS elected to the Council of State.
- AS a teller for the election of judges of admiralty and for the sale of Somerset House.
- Dutch victory under van Tromp over the English fleet off Dungeness.

#### December

- AS on committees for Ireland and Scotland, trade and plantations. He is prominent in Council of State affairs, acting as its unofficial foreign minister. He has regular contacts with John Milton's Secretariat.
- 4 and 10 AS a commissioner to the Portuguese ambassador; and for Kent and Glamorgan in the Assessment Bill.
- RS2 and his son Philip row over the reduction of the latter's annual allowance and the argument results in the son striking his father. They have to be physically separated by DPS and Philip's brother, Robert, then briefly home from the Netherlands where he serves until 1659 as a lieutenant-colonel in the Dutch army. Henceforth AS supersedes Philip in his father's affections (DD, VI.614).
- 18–30 AS on a committee for the fleet; and is a teller for acts at sea against allies and for the sale of Wallingford House.
- (?) Birth of Thomas, son of Lucy Sidney Pelham (RS2's daughter) (DD, VI.614).

#### Works

Fulke Greville, *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney* (AS's sister, Dorothy), omits all reference to Penelope Rich and to PS's wife and child. Its publication (perhaps in late 1651) may be linked to AS's increasing political prominence in politics.

## 1653

## January

3–28 AS reports to Parliament on the Portuguese treaty, operations in Ireland, a paper from Louis XIV and the Spanish ambassador, and English answers to the Spanish and Swedish ambassadors.

# **February**

1–10 AS confers with Cromwell on the fleet and examines the

supply of rope, pitch, and tar.

- AS on a committee to examine four ministers.
- 17 AS a teller (2 divisions) for the Poor Law.

### March

- 1 AS on a committee to examine Mr Denham.
- 4 AS examines funding for ambassador to Sweden.
- AS to report on private petitions, letters from Ireland, John Dury, the ambassador to Sweden and messages from Holland.

## April

- 1–4 AS to report on John Dury.
- 13 AS on committee on abuses of officers and clerks.
- The detailed account in RS2's diary of Cromwell's expulsion of the Rump of the Long Parliament (for attempting to pass the Perpetuation Bill) probably came directly from AS who was involved in the plans on the previous evening. RS2 records Cromwell's words: 'You are no Parliament, I say you are no Parliament'. When AS refuses to leave his place to the right of the Speaker he waits until Cromwell's 'Put him out' before exiting (DD, VI.615).

# May

2 RS2 petitions Parliament for permission to keep the jewel bequeathed to DPS by Princess Elizabeth, see 8 January 1652 (*DD*, VI.491).

#### Mid-1653

Viscount Strangford leaves Penshurst to live in his own estate house at Sterry in Kent (Scott 1988, 64).

# July

4–12 December The 'Barebones' or 'Nominated' Parliament votes for the abolition of Chancery, the abolition of lay patronage of clerical livings, and also mounts an assault on tithes (*DD*, VI.617–18). Cromwell is Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland.

Battle of the Texel. The English under Monck defeat the Dutch under Van Tromp, who is killed in action (*DD*, VI.621).

#### September

Viscount Strangford terminates RS2's guardianship in favour of that of his tutor, John Smith. He then instigates legal action in chancery against RS2. AS obliged to construct his father's defence against charges which echoed those he had himself drawn up against Fotherly (*DD*, VI.491–3).

#### October

- RS2 from Penshurst to Viscount Strangford, condemning his behaviour and ungratefulness (*DD*, VI.494–5).
- MSW's sixty-sixth birthday (if she lived until October of this year). Her death is referred to in a Chancery Deposition of 1668, stating that it occurred in either 1651 or 1653 (PRO C10, 110/89).

#### December

- Barebones Parliament dissolved. MPs resign their powers to Cromwell.
- 16–3 September 1658 Cromwell installed as Lord Protector. Responsibility for foreign affairs passes from the Council to Cromwell and his Secretary of State, John Thurloe.

#### References

François Boisrobert, *La folle gageure ou les divertissements de la comtesse de Pembroc* (Paris), e1<sup>v</sup>, refers to MSH's reputation in France as a patroness of poetry.

Sir John Harington, *A Brief View of the State of the Church of England*, Wing H770, G5<sup>v</sup>, suggests that MSH was helped with her versifications of the psalms by the Wilton chaplain, Gervase Babington.

(?) Catalogue of RS2's library by Gilbert Spencer (CKS Z42/2).

#### 1654

#### April

- 5 Treaty of Westminster concludes the First Anglo-Dutch War.
- 12 The Union of Scotland and Ireland with England.

## May

(mid) The royalist colonel John Gerard plots to kill Cromwell.

Publication of John Milton's *Defensio Secunda*, supporting Cromwell's regime, including a tribute to AS: 'Sidney (an illustrious name, which I rejoice has steadily adhered to our side)' (see Scott 1988, 106, for other literary connections between AS and Milton).

#### June

6 Queen Christina of Sweden abdicates and later converts to Roman Catholicism.

### July

- 10 John Gerard executed.
- 25 Anglo-Portuguese treaty ratified.
- AS at The Hague where he stays until September. The Grand Pensionary of Holland, Jan de Witt, records: 'Saak van Sidney' (the business of Sidney).

## September

- 3–22 January 1655 The First Protectorate Parliament attempts to restrict religious toleration and attacks the Instrument of Government.
- 12 Cromwell excludes 100 republican MPs from Parliament (readmitted on 15).
- 27 R. Worsley from Dublin sends to DPS a semi-religious meditation upon the form of government (probably prompted by Cromwell's exclusions) (*DD*, VI.496–8).

#### December

- 6 Viscount Strangford pleads with RS2 for a reconciliation, taking the precaution of having Isabella deliver the letter (DD, VI.498).
- First anniversary of Cromwell's government (see Marvell's poem 'The First Anniversary', 17 January 1655).

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Thomas Blount, *Academy of Eloquence*, Wing B3321, prints much of John Hoskins's 'Directions for Speech and Style' (*c*.1600), including its quotations from PS's *Arcadia*. Blount's volume is itself plagiarized for

its quotations from *Arcadia* by John Smith, *Mystery of Rhetoric Unveil'ed* (1657), Wing W4116A.

John Davies of Kidwelly (ed. Charles Sorel), *The Extravagant Shepherd*, Wing S4703, 3H4<sup>r</sup> and 3K2<sup>r</sup>, criticizes PS's style and language in *Arcadia*.

26 panels of scenes from *Arcadia* completed by Emanuel de Critz in the Singe Cube, Wilton House.

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