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**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON**

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

School of English

**A Study in Sixteenth-Century Performance and Artistic Networks:  
British Library, Additional Manuscript 15233**

by

**Louise Ellen Elma Rayment**

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

January 2011



UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
SCHOOL OF ENGLISH

Doctor of Philosophy

A STUDY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PERFORMANCE AND ARTISTIC NETWORKS: BRITISH LIBRARY, ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT 15233

by Louise Ellen Elma Rayment

This thesis is a modern spelling edition of unedited poems and song lyrics from British Library, Additional Manuscript 15233, and a cultural and sociological study of the collection.

The manuscript contains music, poetry and fragments of drama attributed to John Redford, Organist, Almoner and Master of the Choristers at St. Paul's Cathedral c.1534–1547, as well as work by at least six other mid Tudor poets. The manuscript has systematically been cited as a 'St. Paul's miscellany' (because the main body of work within it is attributed to Redford), and despite its varied content, has been considered almost solely from the perspective of Early Modern drama. This thesis considers the manuscript anew: as a whole, rather than in parts divided along disciplinary lines, as an example of material culture, and separately from the well-researched centres of St. Paul's and John Redford.

Chapters one and two comprise a study of the physical makeup of the manuscript, demonstrating new evidence for its date, and suggesting that it is the product of an artistic network centred on the London parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill.

Chapters three and four comprise new studies of the content of the manuscript. Chapter three examines *The Play of Wit and Science*, with particular attention to its bibliographical status, and its engagement with contemporary artistic debate in performance. It also demonstrates its importance as a source for two later sixteenth-century plays. Chapter four is a case study of a single poem from the manuscript. This demonstrates the overall significance of MS 15233 as a source for verse and song, uncovers a network of printers involved in the transmission of its contents, and calls into question the long-standing theory that the Elizabethan poet George Gascoigne was a contributor to the manuscript.

The final chapter of the thesis comprises a modern spelling edition of the poems and song lyrics from MS 15233 with individual commentaries and textual apparatus.

This thesis demonstrates that to examine MS 15233 purely in relation to St. Paul's Cathedral and John Redford, and from any one perspective, is reductive, and that these approaches have caused evidence to be skewed, and scholars to miss more complex possibilities regarding its compilation and provenance.



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## **Declaration of Authorship**

I, Louise Ellen Elma Rayment declare that the thesis entitled

**A Study in Sixteenth-Century Performance and Artistic Networks:  
British Library, Additional Manuscript 15233**

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission.

**Signed:** .....

**Date:** .....



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First and foremost I would like to thank Ros King, whose enthusiastic teaching on undergraduate courses at Queen Mary, University of London, inspired my interest in the Renaissance, and whose encouragement and advice resulted in me pursuing research to MA and PhD level. She has given me the numerous benefits of her knowledge, whilst always allowing me the space to develop my own ideas, and has been unfailingly generous and supportive, both as an academic supervisor and as a friend.

I am also grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for a three year doctoral award which enabled me to carry out this research.

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## Abbreviations

<i>Arundel Harington</i>	The Arundel Harington MS, Arundel Castle
<i>BL</i>	British Library, London
<i>BL Add. MS</i>	British Library, Additional MS
<i>CLA</i>	City of London Archives, previously Corporation of London Records Office. CLA manuscripts are held at the London Metropolitan Archives
<i>CSP</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers</i>
<i>Dallis</i>	The Dallis Book (Trinity College, Dublin, MS D. 3.30, 204–7)
<i>GL</i>	Guildhall Library
<i>Grove</i>	<i>Grove Music Online</i> ( <a href="http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/">http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/</a> )
<i>Gyffard</i>	The Gyffard Partbooks (British Library, Additional MSS 17802–5)
<i>HMC</i>	Historical Manuscripts Commission
<i>LMA</i>	London Metropolitan Archives
<i>Mulliner</i>	The Mulliner Book (British Library, Additional MS 30513)
<i>MS 15233</i>	British Library, Additional MS 15233
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> ( <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com/">http://www.oxforddnb.com/</a> )
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> ( <a href="http://www.oed.com/">http://www.oed.com/</a> )
<i>Patent Rolls</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office London</i> (London, 1891–1901)
<i>Peterhouse</i>	The Peterhouse Partbooks (Cambridge University Library, Peterhouse MSS 471–4)
<i>PROB</i>	Probate court records from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1383–1858, held at The National Archives
<i>REED</i>	<i>Records of Early English Drama</i>
<i>STC</i>	A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, <i>A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, &amp; Ireland</i> , 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976–1991)
<i>Swarland</i>	The Swarland Book (British Library, Additional MS 15117)

<i>Tilley</i>	Morris Palmer Tilley, <i>A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</i> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)
<i>TNA</i>	The National Archives, previously the Public Record Office
<i>W &amp; SRO</i>	Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office
<i>Wanley</i>	<i>The Wanley Partbooks</i> (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Mus. Sch. e.420–22)

### **Note on Style**

Direct quotations from manuscripts (with the exception of poems and song lyrics from BL Add. MS 15233) and early printed books follow original spelling, capitalisation and punctuation. Quotations from poems and song lyrics in MS 15233 are taken from the modern spelling edition produced as part of this thesis. All quotations from Shakespeare are taken from *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard and Katharine Eisaman Maus (London and New York: W.W. Norton, 1997). All quotations from the Bible are taken from *The Great Bible* (1540).

## Chapter One

### A Material Study of MS 15233

British Library, Additional Manuscript 15233 is a tightly bound oblong quarto containing an apparently jumbled collection of music, poems and fragments of plays, dated to the sixteenth century. The manuscript seems to have been originally intended as a music part book, but at some point the copying of music was abandoned, and the book was rotated for the insertion of three fragments of plays, and more than thirty poems by John Redford, Richard Edwards, John Thorne, Master Knyght, John Heywood, Miles Huggarde and Thomas Pridioxe, along with a considerable number of anonymous contributions, all copied in four different hands.

Although the manuscript is frequently cited in scholarship, to date there has been no detailed systematic description of its overall physical makeup and content.<sup>1</sup> Research has tended to divide the material within the collection in terms of traditional academic disciplines, and focused on the written content of these sections, only noting the physical factors of the book where they are relevant to the specific discipline, if at all. This thesis approaches the manuscript on the basis that since all the work within it was deliberately bound together, it should be considered as a single, coherent entity, and that it should therefore also be examined as a material object whose physical aspects can provide as many clues as its written content.

This chapter thus provides an overall physical description of MS 15233, examining the binding and shape, paper, collation, signatures, hands and ownership. This comprehensive approach demonstrates the existence of new evidence which suggests a more accurate date for the manuscript, and examines the theories of ownership as they are affected by this dating.

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<sup>1</sup> The only existing published study of the composition of the manuscript is in John Redford, *Wit and Science*, ed. by Arthur Brown (Oxford: Malone Society, 1951). Brown does not detail the complete contents of the manuscript or provide any significant detail about the contributors or provenance.

## **The Contents of the Manuscript**

The following description of the content and makeup of the manuscript requires a brief methodological explanation.

*Folio* - The manuscript has been ordered and signed on three occasions. The foliation in this chart is based on the first set of signatures, occurring in the left-hand top corner of each recto. Their position is in keeping with what appears to be the original use of the manuscript as a part book bound along the shorter side, and they are almost certainly contemporary.

*Watermark position* - The watermark position has been noted for each folio, because this provides an important guide to the collation of the manuscript. ‘Nothing’ refers to a folio with no apparent watermark. Where a page is designated as ‘missing’, there is no evidence for its existence apart from a gap in foliation. ‘Stub’ refers to a number of folios which have been cut from the binding, but where some physical evidence of their presence remains.

*Item* – Poems and songs are described in the chart below by their title or first line, with the exception of Richard Edwards’s poem beginning ‘In youthful years when first my young desires began’, already widely referred to in scholarship by the refrain, *Fair Words Make Fools Fain*. Of the three interlude fragments in the manuscript, one is referred to by the title given in the colophon, and the other two simply as numbered interlude fragments.

*Attribution* - Attribution refers to the name appearing at the bottom of the work in the manuscript, unless given in square brackets, where it refers to a firm attribution made from other manuscript or print sources.

*Hand* - There are four scribal hands in the text, labelled A, B, C and D in order of their appearance in the manuscript.

<b>Folio</b>	<b>Watermark position</b>	<b>Item<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Attribution</b>	<b>Hand</b>
(1)h	Top	Glorificamus/Eterne rerum	John Redford	A
		Primo dierum	[John Redford]	A
(1)i	Bottom	Ad cenam angni provide	[John Redford]	A
		Te deum	John Redford	A
(1)k	Nothing	Te deum		A
		Te deum		A
(1)l	Nothing	Te deum		A
		Te deum		A
Stub				
(1)m	Top	Te deum		A
		Te deum		A
(1)n	Bottom	Te deum		A
		Felix namque	John Redford	A
(1)o	Nothing	Felix namque		A
		Conditor i versus	John Redford	A
(1)p	Nothing	ii versus		A
		Te Deum	[John Redford]	A
(1)q	Missing			
(1)r	Missing			
(1)s	Nothing	Tui sunt celi	John Redford	A
		Tui sunt celi		A
(1)t	Nothing	Tui sunt celi		A
		Tui sunt celi		A
(1)u	Bottom	Ruled for music but blank		
		Ruled for music but blank		
(1)x	Top	Ruled for music but blank		
		Ruled for music but blank		
(1)y	Missing			
(1)z	Missing			
(1)&	Missing			
(1)9	Nothing	The Play of Wit and Science	John Redford	A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)a	Nothing	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)b	Nothing	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A

<sup>2</sup> Music references taken from Daniel Page, 'Uniform and Catholic, Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1996), p. 351.

(2)c	Top	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)d	Bottom	The Play of Wit and Science		A/C
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)e	Top	The Play of Wit and Science		A/C
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)f	Bottom	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)g	Nothing	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)h	Nothing	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)i	Nothing	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)k	Nothing	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)l	Top	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)m	Bottom	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)n	Top	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)o	Bottom	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)p	Nothing	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)q	Nothing	The Play of Wit and Science		A
		The Play of Wit and Science		A
(2)r	Missing			
(2)s	Missing			
(2)t	Missing			
(2)u	Missing			
(3)a	Nothing	Interlude fragment two	John Redford	A
		Comfort at hand, pluck up thy heart	[Anon]	A
(3)b	Bottom	Comfort at hand, pluck up thy heart		A/B
		Of ever or never folk ever conjecture	[Anon]	A
(2)x	Stub			
(2)y	Stub			
(2)z	Stub			

(2)&	Stub			
(2)9	Stub			
(3)c	Top	How should I rock the cradle, serve the table, blow the fire and spin-O	[Anon]	A
		How should I rock the cradle, serve the table, blow the fire and spin-O		A/B
(3)d	Bottom	If virtue spring, whereas youth reigns	[Anon]	A
		I desire no number of many things for store	John Heywood	A
(3)e	Top	Of all the creatures, less and more	John Redford	A
		Of all the creatures, less and more		A
(3)f	Nothing	Of all the creatures, less and more		A
		The hunt is up	John Thorne	A
(3)g	Nothing	The hunt is up		A
		The hunt is up		A
(3)h	Top	Nolo mortem peccatoris hæc sunt verba salvatoris	John Redford	A
		Nolo mortem peccatoris hæc sunt verba salvatoris		A
(3)i	Bottom	Nolo mortem peccatoris hæc sunt verba salvatoris		B
		Nolo mortem peccatoris hæc sunt verba salvatoris		B
(3k	Nothing	Nolo mortem peccatoris hæc sunt verba salvatoris		B
		Nolo mortem peccatoris hæc sunt verba salvatoris		B
(3)l	Stub			
(3)m	Stub			
(3)n	Stub			
(3)o	Missing			
(3)p	Nothing	Interlude fragment three	[Anon]	A
		Fair words make fools fain	[Richard Edwards]	C
(3)q	Nothing	Fair words make fools fain		C
		Let not the sluggish sleep	[Anon]	C
(3)r	Nothing	Let not the sluggish sleep		C
		Blank		
(3)s	Missing			
(3)t	Top	Man for thine ill life formerly	John Heywood	B
		Man for thine ill life formerly		B
(3)u	Top	What heart can think or tongue express	John Heywood	B
		What heart can think or tongue express		B
(3)x	Bottom	Long have I been a singing man	John Redford	B
		Long have I been a singing man		B
(3)y	Top	The first song from Wit and Science	[Anon]	B
		The first song from Wit and Science/The second song from Wit and Science	[Anon]	B
(3)z	Bottom	The third song from Wit and Science	[Anon]	B

		Where power with will cannot agree	John Redford	B
(3)&	Top	All a green willow, willow, willow, willow	John Heywood	B
		All a green willow, willow, willow, willow		B
(3)9	Bottom	Behold of pensiveness the picture here in place	Thomas Pridioxe	B
		Behold of pensiveness the picture here in place		D
(4)a	Nothing	Arise, arise, arise I say	[Anon]	A
		Arise, arise, arise I say		A
(4)b	Nothing	Arise, arise, arise I say		A
		Now will you be merry	John Redford	A
(4)c	Nothing	Now will you be merry	John Redford	A
		Now will you be merry		A
(4)d	Nothing	Now will you be merry		A
		Now will you be merry		A
(4)e	Bottom	Now will you be merry		A
		Walking alone right secretly	John Redford	A
(4)f	Top	Walking alone right secretly		A
		Walking alone right secretly		A
(4)g	Top	Where righteousness does say	John Redford	A
		Where righteousness does say		A/B
(4)h	Bottom	In worldly wealth for man's relief	John Thorne	A
		In worldly wealth for man's relief		A
(4)i	Nothing	Be merry friends take you no thought	John Heywood	A
		Be merry friends take you no thought		A
(4)k	Missing			
(4)l	Nothing	If love for love of long time had	John Heywood	A
		If love for love of long time had/Oh Lord which art in Heaven on high	JohnHeywood/Miles Huggarde	A/C
(4)m	Nothing	Oh Lord which art in Heaven on high		A/B
		Men most desire as most men most times see/Who shall profoundly weigh and scan	[Anon]/John Thorne	A
(4)n	Top	Who shall profoundly weigh and scan		A
		You be welcome, you be welcome	John Heywood	A
(4)o	Bottom	You be welcome, you be welcome		A
		Gar call him down	John Heywood	A
(4)p	Nothing	Gar call him down		A
		Gar call him down		A
(4)q	Missing			
(4)r	Missing			
(4)s	Top	Man if thou mind Heaven to obtain	John Heywood	A/B
		Man if thou mind Heaven to obtain/It has been oft both said and sung	Heywood/Master Knyght	A
(4)t	Nothing	It has been oft both said and sung		A
		Pen trials	[Anon]	

## Binding

The manuscript is bound in black calf with blind tooling—a dark impression created by impressing dampened leather with a brass finishing tool—on the front and back. The tooled design consists of a standard decorative roll border, and a central ornament containing the initials ‘S B’. Daniel Page has suggested that the binding was carried out by the well known ‘H.R.’ binder of blank books, who was also responsible for the binding on the *Mulliner Book* (compiled c.1545–c.1570).<sup>3</sup> It is not clear why Page arrives at this conclusion, since the *Mulliner Book* clearly contains the initials of the binder on the leather, and there is no indication of these initials on the binding of MS 15233.<sup>4</sup> However, although ‘H.R.’ is known to have been active throughout the mid sixteenth century, the particular roll border found on MS 15233 is most commonly found in books produced during the 1550s.<sup>5</sup> The binding appears to have been repaired by the British Museum after the acquisition of the manuscript in 1844, with the edges of the original cover being reinforced with wooden board inserts.<sup>6</sup> There are no records of any conservation work having been carried out on the manuscript, and therefore the exact date and nature of the repairs remain conjecture. Other than these repairs, the binding remains in very good condition. Gold decorative tooling has been added to the shortest edge of the binding, although again, the date of this work is unclear.

Although the current binding remains extremely tight, and does not allow for close examination of the sewing method, the limited amount of stitching which can be seen at the front of the manuscript, as well as the secure presence of single sheets for which there is no corresponding stub, suggests that the entire content has been bound using overcasting, rather than the more common method of sewing through the fold. The overcasting method sews groups of single sheets together using a single length of thread, which passes through the paper and over the back edges of the leaves. The resulting stitches are diagonal, rather than the straight stitches which characterize sewing through the fold, and can be seen at the front of the manuscript. Overcasting is

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<sup>3</sup> Page, p. 350.

<sup>4</sup> Jane Flynn, *A Reconsideration of the Mulliner Book (British Library Add. MS 30513): Music Education in Sixteenth-Century England* (Duke University, 1993), p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> W.H. James Weale, *Bookbindings and Rubbings of Bindings in the National Art Library, South Kensington Museum* (now Victoria & Albert Museum) II: Catalogue (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1894) No.191, p. 141. J. Basil Oldham, *English Blind Stamped Bindings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), pp. 32, 33, 36, 37, 50, 51, 54, 55. MS 15233 is bound with Oldham’s Roll No. MWd [8], quoted in Page, p. 350.

<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Irène Campden, Deputy Head of Book Conservation at The Royal Library, Windsor, for her advice and for practical demonstrations of book binding techniques and conservation methods.

a strong form of sewing, but it results in considerable strain on the leaves and frequently cuts the paper, partly because of the diagonal at which the thread passes through the paper. In addition, when groups of leaves are overcast and then sewn on cords or tapes, unsightly gaps can often be seen between the sections. However, despite these disadvantages, the method is often used when sewing a book made up of single sheets, with the 'sections' created being sewn flexibly. It is possible that the binder of MS 15233 was aware that there were a number of single sheets, and thus considered overcasting the most appropriate method of stitching.

### **Paper Description and Watermark**

The paper is of the same type and quality throughout the manuscript, and remains in relatively good condition, although, like the binding, it has been repaired in a few very small sections, almost certainly by the British Museum. The watermark consists of a single-handled pot, surmounted by a crown and a quatrefoil, and with the letters R.A on the body of the pot, initials which almost certainly relate to the individual paper manufacturer. This particular example of the watermark appears to be damaged, and it is possible that there are other initials above the R.A. which cannot be read.

The bulk of the paper used in Britain during the sixteenth century originated from France, and this particular style of single-handled pot is typical of many Northern French mills during the mid sixteenth century. Pots with a similar design and R.A initials, but with additional lettering, have been found in use around Amiens in Northern France during the latter part of the sixteenth century, but despite intense researches in the last thirty years, no firm identity has yet been established for R.A as a maker.<sup>7</sup> Briquet's substantial catalogue of watermarks lists more than forty variants of the single-handled pot design in regular use between c.1520 and the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> In a study of MS 15233 in the 1950s, Arthur Brown suggested that the watermark looked most like the pot design of Briquet no. 12,660, dating to 1534, but this design does not include any initials. Of the designs including initials, 'R.A.' limits these possibilities further, and led Christopher Goodwin to suggest in 2004 that Briquet no. 12,807, which dates to 1568, was in fact the closest known match.<sup>9</sup> None of the

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<sup>7</sup> I am grateful to Peter Bower from the British Association of Paper Historians for this information.

<sup>8</sup> Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (1907).

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Goodwin, 'A Candidate Lyric for Byrd's *Maidens Songe*', *Annual Byrd Newsletter*, 10 (2004) 19–26 (p. 24).

examples in Briquet are an identical match, but this thesis presents new evidence in the form of a perfect watermark match, found on a warrant now held at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington.<sup>10</sup>

The warrant forms part of an original collection from Loseley Manor in Surrey belonging to Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Tents and Revels between 1544 and 1559. Signed by both Mary ‘the queene’ and her husband, Philip of Spain at Westminster, and dated 1 April 1555, the warrant orders Cawarden to deliver to John Lyndsey, an armourer, a ‘fardell of canvase to serve for the covring of our harness and steele saddles’.<sup>11</sup> It is receipted by Lyndsey, who signs with a mark, and is authorized by William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester. The Folger acquired its collection of Loseley manuscripts at five different times. The first group relating to the office of the Revels came in 1938; the second including the Blackfriars' deeds in 1939; the third consisting of the letters of John Donne in April 1940 and a little later a receipt of his; the fourth in 1941; and the fifth in 1954 after fourteen years of negotiation. They were purchased from Loseley via the bookseller William H. Robinson, Ltd. It is not clear of which group this warrant was originally a part, and no other identical watermarks can be readily found within the Loseley collection, either in the Folger or amongst the remaining documents in Surrey.<sup>12</sup>

## Date

No exact date has ever been assigned to MS 15233. In the only existing study of the physical composition of the manuscript, Arthur Brown is vague regarding the date, noting that between them the scribal hands found in the manuscript are representative of both the early and later sixteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Other scholarship has suggested that the first section of the manuscript, containing music and plays by John Redford, may be autograph, or that it was at least compiled during Redford’s period as Almoner and Master of the Boys at St. Paul’s between the mid 1530s and his death in 1547.<sup>14</sup> Daniel Page’s observation on the style of binding, dating it to the mid 1550s, has already been

<sup>10</sup> Folger MS L.b. 297.

<sup>11</sup> *OED* defines a ‘fardel’ as a bundle, little pack or parcel.

<sup>12</sup> I am grateful to Betsy Walsh at the Folger Shakespeare Library and various archivists at the Surrey History Centre for their information on the Loseley collection.

<sup>13</sup> Brown, p. x.

<sup>14</sup> George Watson, ed., *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), I, 1941. Watson states that the play is probably autograph. A number of other scholars, including John Harley and Christopher Goodwin, have assumed that the music and the play of *Wit and Science* were compiled during Redford’s time at St. Paul’s (c.1530–1547).

noted. W.J. Ringler in his detailed *Bibliography and Index of English Verse in Manuscript* also dates the collection to the 1550s, but more specifically to between 1554 and 1558.<sup>15</sup> Ringler's study cites no reason for this dating of the manuscript, but the book was completed and published after his death, which may explain the lack. However, internal evidence from *The Play of Wit and Science* (see below, chapter three) suggests that at least this part of the manuscript might have been copied during the reign of Mary I and Philip of Spain, 1554–1558, which concurs with Ringler's dating, and may have been the source for it.

The exact watermark match on a document dated to 1555 and originating at the English Court does not in itself provide concrete evidence that MS 15233 was also compiled in this year, since it is possible that either the compilers of the manuscript or those that issued the warrant, used old paper stock. However, this watermark in combination with the date of the binding and its ornamentation, the whereabouts of the named contributors in the 1550s (see below, chapter two) and the internal evidence from the *Play of Wit and Science*, suggests that to place it within the ten year time frame of 1550–1560 is not unreasonable.

### **Collation and Shape**

The manuscript is a quarto measuring 7.75 inches wide by 5.75 inches high. Chain lines run parallel with the shortest edge, and page size and watermark positions indicate that the shape was probably constructed using a method of folding whereby the original broadsheet was folded firstly lengthways in half, and then in half again crossways to form a gathering of four leaves. Two of these gatherings were then used, one inside the other, to form the eight-leaf gatherings which make up the extant manuscript, with the exception of the occasional insertion of individual sheets.

The manuscript contains sixty-five complete leaves, although (3) r<sup>v</sup> shows no signs of any writing, and appears to have been left intentionally blank. The first fourteen existing leaves consist of music, or pages ruled for music, with the staves running parallel with the longest edge of the manuscript. The shape of the manuscript suggests that it may have originally been intended as a music part book, but from leaf (1) 9, the point at which the manuscript began to be used for the interlude *Wit and*

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<sup>15</sup> William J. Ringler, *Bibliography and Index of English Verse in Manuscript, 1501–1558* (London: Cassell, 1992), pp. 18–19.

*Science* and other writing, the book was turned around and the writing runs parallel with the shortest edge.

### **Signatures**

The manuscript has been ordered and signed on three occasions. The first, almost certainly contemporary, set of signatures, are in black ink, and occur in the left-hand top corner of each recto, in keeping with the use of the manuscript as a part book. They remain in this position despite the change of use part way through, reinforcing the possibility that the paper was originally collected to form a music book, numbered, and then turned into an anthology of music, plays and poems. The position of these signatures on part of the page closest to the spine does not appear to be the easiest place to sign, or perhaps the most obvious in terms of ease of reference (the manuscript would have to be opened out fully in order to see the page reference). It may therefore be the case that the signatures were not meant for common reference, and were instead simply for use by the binder. These ink signatures were almost certainly completed after the content was bound in some format, as the ink used to paginate has transferred to the facing pages.

This first signature system consists of the Latin alphabet, running from a to z, and the sequence recurs (with omissions for the missing leaves) on four occasions, with the usual exception of 'w', with 'u' and 'v' being interchangeable and with the addition of two extra symbols, the ampersand symbol '&', and the scribal contraction for *con* '9', which occur in that order after the 'z'. The letters 'i' and 'j' are also interchangeable. In this manuscript both are used, although not in the same run of the alphabet.

Following the original ink signature system, the manuscript has been numbered in pencil twice. The first set of Arabic numerals appears in the lower left-hand corner of each recto page of the 'turned' volume from one to sixty-five, although the date of this numbering is unclear. The second set were completed by the British Museum cataloguer, in the top right hand corner of each recto of the 'untuned' volume from one to sixty-three, ignoring leaves (1) u-(1) x which are ruled for music but blank. Both numbering systems leave out the leaves which remain only as stubs.

## Hands

There are almost certainly four different hands in the manuscript, none of which have been previously identified as belonging to the authors to whom the contents are attributed.<sup>16</sup> Few examples of the handwriting of any of the named authors exist; there is a signature of Richard Edwards in a disbursement book at Christ Church, Oxford for 1547/8,<sup>17</sup> but the only poem assigned to Edwards is unsigned in MS 15233, and the hand does not appear similar. A tentatively identified example of the hand of John Redford exists in BL Add. MS 29996, which does not match any of the writing in MS 15233. Several examples of signatures by John Heywood exist (see below, chapter 2), none of which match those found in MS 15233. Signatures by Miles Huggarde appear in a teller's book of the Exchequer but again do not match the example in MS 15233.<sup>18</sup>

The different hands do not appear in straightforward chronological order of the manuscript's copying, and occasionally add to and correct one another (see table of contents). Hand A seems to have been the main force behind the writing of the manuscript. He wrote the music, *Wit and Science*, the fragment which remains of the second interlude, seven poems, and the first eight stanzas of Redford's *Nolo mortem peccatoris*, ending on (3) h<sup>v</sup>. A does not contribute to the manuscript again until (3) p<sup>f</sup>, the final page of the third interlude. If A also wrote the first part of this interlude (now missing), it would appear that for some reason, he did not complete *Nolo mortem peccatoris*, and left a space to do so at a later stage, before continuing with the interlude. In this space, Hand B later completed *Nolo mortem peccatoris*. Following the third interlude fragment, and in a gap possibly a result of an overestimation of the space needed for its completion by A, Hand C contributed Edwards's *Fair words make fools fain*, (3) p<sup>v</sup> to (3) q<sup>f</sup>, and *Let not the sluggish sleep*, (3) q<sup>v</sup> to (3) r<sup>f</sup>. One blank page remains before Hand B takes over again, contributing another five poems, part of a sixth, and the three songs from *Wit and Science*, ending on (3) 9<sup>f</sup>. This blank page suggests that five pages, (3) p<sup>v</sup> to (3) r<sup>v</sup> were originally left blank, and that B then began his writing on (3) t<sup>f</sup>, and C filled four of the blank pages after this, making C the latest contributor of the three. Hand D makes the only identifiable contribution to the manuscript on (3) 9<sup>v</sup>, completing Thomas Pridioxe's *Behold of pensiveness the picture*

<sup>16</sup> Brown, pp. viii–ix. Brown and Ringler note only three hands.

<sup>17</sup> For an image of the signature see Ros King, *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> TNA, E405/508.

*here in place*, before A continues the main body of writing up to the end of the manuscript. B also makes odd contributions to (3) b<sup>r</sup>, (4) g<sup>v</sup> and (4) s<sup>r</sup>, one stanza on (3) c<sup>v</sup> and on (4) m<sup>r</sup>. C adds the names of two characters to the stage directions in *Wit and Science* on (2) d<sup>r</sup>, apparently to indicate more clearly who speaks the lines, an interlineation on (2) e<sup>r</sup>, and marks where a stanza should be re-ordered in the poem on (4) l<sup>v</sup>.

### Losses

The first set of signatures reveals that in its current state, the manuscript is substantially defective. Brown notes that the total number of leaves in three complete sequences (a–9), combined with the final sequence which runs up to ‘t’ ought to be ninety-four. There are seven leaves missing without any physical remains at the beginning of the manuscript, and another fourteen throughout. Eight more leaves remain only as stubs. Subtracting these missing or incomplete leaves from the original total of ninety-four leaves sixty-five complete leaves. Brown goes on to explain that ‘the binding has been repaired (the leaves, having been apparently re sewn, are recased in the original cover) and is now tight, but the back may have originally been just wide enough to have taken the missing leaves, *though certainly not much more*’ (my italics).<sup>19</sup> However, the existing binding is extremely tight, and given that twenty-one leaves would be almost a third of the content of the manuscript again, it is highly doubtful that all of these omissions were originally part of the calf binding. This is further reinforced by the appearance of an unsigned stub between two consecutively signed leaves, (1) l and (1) m, not noticed by Brown, which suggests that more of the original manuscript than previously thought has been lost. MS 15233 could have been bound after a selection of work had been taken from a larger manuscript, and there is no way of knowing just how much larger the original collection may have been. The seven missing leaves at the beginning of the manuscript (what would have been signatures (1) a to (1) g) might have been combined with an unsigned frontispiece, meaning that a complete gathering of eight leaves may have been lost at this point. Leaves (1) q and (1) r are missing, which correspond with missing leaves (1) y and (1) z, representing the outer leaves of an eight-leaf gathering. Since the remaining leaves from (1) h–(1) x contain music, or are at least ruled for music, it is likely that these early missing pages also contained

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<sup>19</sup> Brown, p. viii.

music. At this stage, the musical section of the manuscript appears to come to an end. The new gathering contains the first part of *The Play of Wit and Science*. At least the first leaf of the play, which would have been on (1) &, has been lost. The play is complete from this point onwards, ending on (2) q<sup>v</sup>. Following *Wit and Science*, four leaves are missing from the signature sequence, (2) r–(2) u. (3) o and (3) s are missing entirely, as are (4) k, q and r. Based on the contents of the surrounding leaves, the missing leaves would appear to have been miscellaneous poems.

### Disorder

Following (2) u, the signature sequence is broken with leaves labelled ‘a’ and ‘b’ which have been inserted, apparently out of order. ‘a’ recto comprises what appears to be the final page of an interlude, which has been crossed through in what was originally black ink, but which now appears orange. ‘a’ verso is the anonymous poem *Comfort at hand*, ‘b’ recto contains the end of this poem, and ‘b’ verso lyrics for the song *Ever or Never*, also unattributed. The idea that leaves ‘a’ and ‘b’ are out of order is supported by three factors. Firstly, the position of the watermarks on the leaves (leaf ‘a’ has no watermark, and leaf ‘b’ has a watermark at the bottom) fits in with their being positioned as part of the beginning of the third signature sequence. Secondly, the ink marks made by the signature on fol. (3) c have transferred to ‘b’ verso, thus demonstrating that they were originally next to one another. On the final page of *Wit and Science* ((2) q<sup>v</sup>), the print made by what was originally the next page, ‘r’ (now missing) is apparent, meaning that ‘a’ was inserted at a later stage, probably as part of a repair. Thirdly, before leaf (3) c, where it is likely that these pages would have originally been placed, can be found the minuscule remains of a torn-out leaf. The most likely explanation for this is that they were mistakenly sewn back into the manuscript on the wrong side of the stubs. The signatures and the watermark positions on the leaves suggest that the original order may have been:

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| (2) q verso | Final page of <i>Wit and Science</i>  |
| (2) r–u     | Missing pages - probably containing the first part of the lost interlude    |
| (2) x–9     | Stubs - probably containing the end of the lost interlude                   |
| (3) a–b     | Final page of the lost interlude followed by miscellaneous poems and songs. |

It seems reasonable that what remains of the interlude on 'a'<sup>r</sup> was kept only in order to preserve the poem which occurs on the reverse.

### Stubs

After these insertions, the original sequence continues from (2) x to 2 (9), but these five leaves have been cut out, leaving only five stubs. Unlike most of the other missing pages in the manuscript, which have been entirely removed, these five have been roughly cut out after binding, in some cases still leaving text visible at the top of the page. It is likely that this section contained part of, if not the remainder of the interlude which appears on (3) a<sup>r</sup>. (3) l–(3) n have also been cut out leaving three stubs. These stubs appear to form what would have been the last three leaves of an eight-leaf gathering, containing Redford's lengthy poem, *Nolo mortem peccatoris*, and John Thorne's moral version of the popular ballad, *The hunt is up*. (3) o is missing entirely. (3) p<sup>r</sup> contains a fragment of a third interlude which has been crossed through in ink. Again, this final page seems to have been kept as a result of the poem *Fair words make fools fain*, by Richard Edwards which appears on the reverse. As with the earlier interlude fragment, the crossing out of the final remaining page has been completed after the play was cut out, as the ink has transferred to the final existing page before the stubs.

### Ownership

The central ornament, containing the letters 'S.B', suggests that the manuscript was originally part of a personal library, and the date of the binding places this particular owner within the mid part of the sixteenth century. These initials have previously raised several interesting possibilities for the ownership, although since no other source than St. Paul's has previously been suggested for the manuscript, all existing suggestions are limited to those connected with the Cathedral. Those who have the initials 'S.B' and are related to St. Paul's are Simon Burton, Samuell Busshe and Symond Byrd. Simon Burton was a player of the virginals, always appearing in the records placed between John Heywood and William Beeton the organ maker. Payments first begin to Burton in 1528, and the last recorded payment to him is in 1545.<sup>20</sup> His disappearance in the records before the 1550s seems to discount him as a possibility. Samuell Busshe is

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<sup>20</sup> Goodwin, p. 24.

mentioned as a chorister at St. Paul's in 1561, which conversely seems to be too late, and as a chorister, his ownership of the manuscript also raises the same difficulties as the suggestion of Simon or Symond Byrd, elder brother of the composer William Byrd. Both Christopher Goodwin and John Harley suggest that MS 15233 may have originally been purchased as a blank book to be used by Symond during his time as a pupil at St. Paul's.<sup>21</sup> However, this would indicate that the manuscript dates to the earlier part of the century, since Symond had left St. Paul's in the early part of the sixteenth century (Harley notes that an official list which names him as a chorister as late as 1554 is likely to be incorrect, as it was copied indiscriminately from an earlier list).<sup>22</sup> It would also seem highly unlikely that such an expensively bound and individualised book could have belonged to a young chorister. No other individuals with these initials can be found who are linked to any of the other contributors in MS 15233.

The later ownership of the manuscript may be inferred from the pen trials which appear on the final page, and which again, have suggested links to Byrd. This contains two names amongst various other scribbles and notes, 'Ann Chuntle(r)?' and what could either be 'Mr. Heyborne', or 'Heyborne' preceded by two initials. Arthur Brown has noted that BL Harley MS 6996 fol. 33 contains a letter dated 13 September 1593, from an Edward Heyborn to the Lord Keeper Puckering, which recommends Richard Mulcaster for the Prebend of Yatesbury, a role which he was given in April the following year. The connection of Redford and Mulcaster with St. Paul's (Mulcaster was appointed as High Master at St. Paul's in 1596) led Brown to believe that the Mr. Heyborn of this letter was the same as the Mr. Heyborne who doodled his name in the manuscript.<sup>23</sup> However, it is more likely that the doodle refers to Ferdinando Richardson (c.1558 to 1613), also intriguingly known as Ferdinando 'Heyborne'. For an unknown reason, the name Richardson appears to have been used by this courtier and musician as a regular alias—a royal warrant dated 25 April 1588 requires the 'clerks comptrollers of the household to allow payment to Ferdinando Heyborn, *alias Richardson* (my italics) [...] £5 wages quarterly as given to the grooms of the Privy Chamber.<sup>24</sup> The printed pedigree of the family reveals that Ferdinando was not the first

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<sup>21</sup> Goodwin, p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> See John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Magnates and Merchants* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010). I am grateful to John Harley for sending me an early draft of part of this book.

<sup>23</sup> Brown, p. v.

<sup>24</sup> *CSP, Domestic Series, Addenda 1580–1625*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1872), p. 250, quoted in Richard Marlow, 'Sir Ferdinando Heyborne alias Richardson', *The Musical Times*, 115 (1974), 736–739 (p. 737).

in the line to have used this alias, although the reason for its adoption remains unclear.<sup>25</sup> Heyborne appears as a contributor to the *Cantiones Sacrae*, a publication by the composers Thomas Tallis and William Byrd produced in 1575, and issued as the inaugural work under the twenty-one year printing licence newly granted to them by Elizabeth I.<sup>26</sup> Among the prefatory material is his lengthy Latin poem, *In eandem Thomae Tallisi et Guilielmi Birdi musicam*, directly following a eulogy by Richard Mulcaster (at this stage headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School, and well-known poet) which remarks on the reluctance of British composers to publish their work. Heyborne's youth (he would only have been seventeen at the time of the publication) and lack of experience might initially make it puzzling that he was included in this prestigious book along with established names such as Mulcaster, Byrd and Tallis. However, as Richard Marlow has noted, Heyborne was no ordinary youth—almost certainly a pupil of Tallis, and clearly a talented musician, he was already established as a courtier by 1575. By 1587, he was given the coveted office of groom of the Privy Chamber, a role which meant that he was in frequent and close contact with the Queen. By 1598 Heyborne was certainly in a strong position, clearly enjoying the confidence of the Queen, a position which not even Morley, Tallis or Byrd ever attained.<sup>27</sup> In 1592, Heyborne married his first wife, Ann Chandler or Candeler, the daughter of a London mercer and local justice of the peace, who died in 1615.<sup>28</sup> A monument to both their memories can be found in All Hallows Church in Tottenham, London. It is possible that it is a variation on Anne Chandler which appears with Heyborne's name on the final page of MS 15233. Despite the name Heyborne appearing in the manuscript, and the apparent connections, there is no concrete evidence to suggest that either Edward Heyborn or Ferdinando Richardson was definitely the owner, or indeed, that the name scribbled on the last page ever was the name of an owner, far less the person who commissioned the volume. The whereabouts of the manuscript between the sixteenth century and its reappearance in June 1844 (in a sale catalogue at Sotheby's as part of the library of the collector B.H. Bright) remains unknown.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Marlow, p. 737.

<sup>26</sup> Craig Monson, 'William Byrd', *ODNB*.

<sup>27</sup> Marlow, p. 736.

<sup>28</sup> *Middlesex Parish Registers*, ed. by C. Harold Ridge, William McBeath Marcham and Frank Marcham, 9 vols (London: Phillimore, 1938), IX.

<sup>29</sup> Sidney Race, 'The Moral Play of Wit and Science', *Notes and Queries*, 199 (1953), 96–99 suggests that *The Play of Wit and Science* in MS 15233 is actually a forgery by John Payne Collier, carried out c. 1844. The claim is not strong.

The manuscript appears to have changed hands extremely swiftly after its reappearance in the nineteenth century. According to an inscription at the front of the volume, the British Museum purchased the manuscript from Thomas Rodd on 19 June 1844, who had in turn purchased it from a Thomas Thorpe earlier in the same month for the sum of fifteen pounds.<sup>30</sup> The manuscript was clearly part of a larger collection purchased by the Museum from Bright's collection. *The Gentleman's Magazine* for that year lists the acquisitions of the Museum, among which appear 'thirty two volumes on vellum and paper of a miscellaneous character from the collection of the late B. H. Bright Esq'.<sup>31</sup> In the British Museum's *Additions to the MSS, 1841–1845* printed in 1850, the entry of the purchase reads:

The Organ part of various pieces of Sacred Music by John Redford, Master of the Singing Boys of St Paul's Cathedral. A Play entitled 'Wyt and Science' by the same. Songs and religious poems by John Redford, John Heywood, John Thorne, Thomas Pridioxe, Myles Haggard, and Master Knyght. Written in the first half of the 16th century. Oblong quarto.<sup>32</sup>

The well known source for sixteenth-century music, the *Mulliner Book*, which also contains work by John Redford, Richard Edwards and John Thorne, was also lost after the sixteenth century, coincidentally also reappearing in 1844, when it was known to be owned by John Stafford Smith, a musician and musical antiquary. When Smith died in September 1836, his library and estate were bequeathed to his daughter Gertrude, who was eventually declared insane, and the entire library was sold at auction on 24 April 1844 for her benefit. It was bundled into lots and inadequately described and advertised so that the larger portion of its contents, estimated at some 2,191 volumes, remains unknown.<sup>33</sup> Although the sale of MS 15233 indicates that it was the result of a private deal between booksellers, since both these manuscripts contain organ work attributed to Redford, it is not improbable that they were both at some stage in J.S. Smith's collection. However, due to the disorganised manner in which the collection was sold following his death, the provenances of his collection are no longer attainable.

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<sup>30</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *The Moral Play of Wit and Science, and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848), p. vi.

<sup>31</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1845, p. 625.

<sup>32</sup> *Additions to the MSS, 1841–1845* (London, 1850) quoted in Race, p. 97.

<sup>33</sup> Robert J Bruce, 'John Stafford Smith', *ODNB*.

## John Redford and St. Paul's School

Although a significant part of the content of MS 15233 is attributed to John Redford, since he died in 1547 his work was evidently dated by the time it was included in the 1550s manuscript, and he has, in some respects, acted as a 'red herring' for those ascertaining its origins. The final part of this chapter gives a brief overview of Redford and St. Paul's School, before the thesis advances a new theory for the provenance of the manuscript.

Although a fairly substantial body of music attributed to John Redford exists, little biographical information is known about him. Some idea of his roles at St. Paul's can, however, be ascertained through a brief study of the organisation of the teaching at the Cathedral. As far back as 1174, William Fitzstephen wrote of the three principal churches in London (including St. Paul's) being privileged by grant and ancient usage with schools, and how on feasts of the Church the masters and scholars of these schools after attending mass, held disputations:

The boys of different schools wrangle with each other in verse, contending about the principles of grammar, or the rules of preterites and supines. Others in epigrams, rhymes and metres use the old street gags, attacking their school-masters, but without mentioning names, with Fescennine licence, and, discharging their caustic sarcasm, touch the foibles of their school-fellows with true Socratic wit or else biting them with the sharp tooth of Theon. The audience, fully disposed to laugh, with wrinkled noses redouble their shrill guffaws.<sup>34</sup>

Although a school evidently existed at St. Paul's before the sixteenth century, it is clear that John Colet, by new endowments, and a complete remoulding of the organisation, was the founder of a 'new school' on the site in the early part of the sixteenth century. The building is described in Colet's will of 10 June 1514, 'my grammar house a messuage lately called Paul's Scole, and four shops under the same house or messuages constructed [...] situate near St. Austin's Gate'.<sup>35</sup> From this description, Colet's school appears to have been in several rooms above the shops in the south east corner of the churchyard. One of the first mentions of the 'new school' is in the Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, April 9 1510, where it was 'shown by Master Thomas Baldry,

<sup>34</sup> Persius III, 87, in Michael F.J. McDonnell, *A History of St. Paul's School* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1909), pp. 8–9.

<sup>35</sup> The will of John Colet, quoted in McDonnell, p. 16.

Mercer, that Master Dr. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, has desired him to show unto the company that he is disposed for the foundation of his school to mortify certain lands which he holds that the company should have, if they would be bound to maintain the said school according to the foundation'.<sup>36</sup> One of the wardens and the above named member of the company communicated with the Dean, and on April 16 reported that 'the said Master Dean was very glad that he might have with us communication thereof in whom he proposeth to put all the rule and governance of the said school'.<sup>37</sup> The Mercers' Company were foremost amongst the patrons of the school at St. Paul's, and the Mercers' Company still retain the records related to its running. The school was obviously in existence in some form in the previous year, when Colet and the company granted a certain manor in Hertfordshire to William Gerge, on condition that he and his heirs and assigns, should pay to the company forever £8 for the use of the school. In June 1510, letters patent of the King (which may be considered as the original charter of the school) gave permission to the Mercers' Company to acquire lands in mortmain to the annual value of £53 for the better support of one master and one or two ushers in the school which Colet had founded.<sup>38</sup>

According to the revised cathedral statutes which were drafted by Colet c.1505, but of which he never appears to have been able to get official confirmation, the master of the grammar school,

shall be a good and honest man and of much and well attested learning. Let him teach the boys, especially those belonging to the cathedral, grammar, and at the same time, show them an example of good living. Let him take great heed that he cause no offence to their tender minds by any pollution of word or deed. Nay, more, along with chaste literature, let him imbue them with holy morals, and be to them a master, not of grammar only, but of virtue.<sup>39</sup>

By the boys 'belonging to the cathedral', it seems likely that Colet referred to the choristers, who, whilst receiving their music lessons from the almoner, repaired to the grammar school for their literary education.<sup>40</sup> It is clear not only that the choristers received a sound literary education, but that this would also have focused on

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<sup>36</sup> Quoted in McDonnell, p. 13.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in McDonnell, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> McDonnell, pp. 13–14.

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in Joseph Hirst Lupton, *A Life of John Colet, D. D., Dean of St. Paul's and Founder of St. Paul's School* (Richardson, 2009), pp. 136–137.

<sup>40</sup> McDonnell, p. 20.

performance. The presentation of mystery plays in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was in the hands of the boys of the cathedral choir. For example, in 1378 the choristers of St. Paul's presented a petition to Richard II, asking him to prevent some ignorant and inexperienced persons from acting the history of the Old Testament to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church who had spent much money in preparing plays of that type for Christmas.<sup>41</sup> The plays produced in the mid part of the sixteenth century seem to have been acted by boys from the school, since mention is made of this in connection with the plays of John Ritwise, the high master of the school from 1522 to 1532. For example, the Calendar of State Papers reveals that on the 10th November 1527, a 'Mr Ryghtwos, master of St. Paul's School' asked to be allowed for doublets, hose, and shoes for the children who were poor men's sons, and for fire in times of learning the play to the sum of 45s, 6d, and for 6 boats for the master of St. Paul's and the children, 6s'.<sup>42</sup> The occasion was a 'godliest disguising or interlude' at Greenwich for the French nobles, although E. K. Chambers refers to this event as 'an anti-Lutheran play in Latin and French before the King and the ambassadors of Francis I'.<sup>43</sup>

So how did Redford fit into this establishment? There is no record of his having attended university, and little is known of his life before his appearance at St. Paul's in 1534, when he signed Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy.<sup>44</sup> It was almost certainly in this same year that he became Almoner and Master of the Choristers on the death of the previous holder of these posts, Thomas Hickman. When Redford's will was proved in 1547, he described himself as 'oon of the Vicars of the Cathedral Church of Saynt Paule and maister of the Almerie there'.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, ed. by James Boswell, Edmond Malone, Alexander Pope, Samuel Johnson, Edward Capell, George Steevens, Richard Farmer and Nicholas Rowe, 10 vols (London: R. C. and J. Rivington, 1821), III, 24.

<sup>42</sup> *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, ed. by J.S. Brewer, 21 vols (London, 1862–1932) IV (1875), 10 November 1527.

<sup>43</sup> E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923; repr. 2009), II, 11.

<sup>44</sup> TNA, E.25/82/1.

<sup>45</sup> PROB 11/31.

## Redford as Almoner and Master of Choristers

To understand Redford's various roles at St. Paul's it is first necessary to distinguish between three original institutions at the cathedral:

1. The grammar school, presided over first by one of the canons, the head subsequently bearing the title of chancellor, the actual schoolmaster being a vicar-choral.
2. The choir school, presided over by the Precentor or first singer, who appointed the schoolmaster.
3. The almonry, or school for poor boys, presided over originally by a canon residentiary, who was succeeded by or supplemented by the Almoner who had charge of the literary, moral, and musical education of the boys.<sup>46</sup>

During the sixteenth century the choir school and the almonry, although technically distinct, became virtually identical, the office of Almoner and Master of the Song School being regularly combined, the incumbent of the joint office being also a member of the supplementary cathedral establishment known as the College of Minor Canons. To this college had been appropriated the parish church of St. Gregory, on the south side of St. Paul's, just west of the Chapter, and here the song school was housed by the twelfth century. The college already had a common hall on the north of the cathedral, near the Pardon churchyard; and nearby was the almonry in Paternoster Row. The statutes left the almoner the option of either giving the boys their literary education himself, or sending them elsewhere. Instead of the almoner's educating his charges personally, it became customary to send them to the grammar school for their education, where they would have received their education gratis.<sup>47</sup>

The duties of the almoner of St. Paul's, as defined by the statutes, were to maintain a certain number of boys, of good disposition and respectable parentage, for the choir; to watch over their moral conduct, and to see that they attended proper masters for their education, with a view to their future ministry in the church. Although the seat of the choristers' education, the almonry was a distinctly domestic institution, where the choirmaster lived with and assumed general responsibility for his charges.

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<sup>46</sup> Chambers, II, 9.

<sup>47</sup> Chambers, II, 11.

The relationships among the house's residents became strikingly similar to kinship. Redford's will names Sebastian Westcott as his executor—a function universally reserved by married testators for surviving spouses. He makes provision for his widowed sister, Margaret Cox, to continue living and assisting in the running of the almonry, and Mrs Cox continued as Westcott's helper until her own death in 1556, when she named the choirmaster as executor of her will, and left her own daughter Elizabeth to fill her role in the almonry. Finally, in August 1562, Elizabeth married Philip, the younger brother of Sebastian Westcott.<sup>48</sup> The almoner also had the power to 'take up' boys from any collegiate church and train them as choristers. One of Redford's former pupils, Thomas Tusser, was helped to Eton where he writes of the process of being 'impressed', and of his former schoolmaster with respect and fondness.

Thence for my voice, I must (no choice)  
 Away of forse, like posting horse,  
 For sundrie men, had plagards then,  
 such childe to take:

But marke the chance, my self to vance,  
 By friendships lot, to Paules I got,  
 So found I grace, a certain space,  
 still to remain:

With Redford there, the like no where,  
 For cunning such, and virtue much;  
 By whom some part of Musicke art  
 so did I gain.<sup>49</sup>

The stipend of the almoner was derived from fifteen houses within the City of London, and two small estates at Acton.

The view that the curriculum at the choir school placed such a heavy emphasis on singing that the boys were only taught the bare minimum of grammar, and were in some way regarded as inferior to their peers at the humanist school, needs to be challenged.<sup>50</sup> The statutes at St. Paul's clearly lay out the role of the Master of Choristers,

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<sup>48</sup> Page, p. 278.

<sup>49</sup> A.W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, p. 56.

<sup>50</sup> See for example, Victor L. Scherb, 'Playing at Maturity in John Redford's *Wit and Science*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 45 (2005), 271–297.

Is octo Pueros, bonae indolis et honestae parentelae, habeat: quos alet, et educet in morum disciplinis. Videat etiam instruantur in cantu et literature, ut in omnibus apti ad Ministerium Dei in Choro esse possunt.<sup>51</sup>

*Let him have eight boys of good character and respectable kindred, whom he should maintain and educate in moral training. And also let him see that they be instructed in song and writing, and that they be able to do all things appropriate to ministers of God in the choir.*<sup>52</sup>

The education of choristers was not primarily musical; it focused on the liturgy, the performance of which demonstrated practically the way to live a virtuous Christian life. Choristers learned to read and write English and Latin, and were schooled in morals based on Christian teaching. This education prepared boys not only for musical careers, but also for many other careers, outside as well as inside the Church.<sup>53</sup> The choir school had played, and continued to play a pivotal role in the production of courtiers. The boys were employed to perform at court on a regular basis, both as singers and as actors, but this was in addition to, and not at the expense of their more formal education. Although there is no evidence that there were any performances by the St. Paul's boys between 1528 when they acted *Phormio* before Cardinal Wolsey, and their appearance in the reign of Edward in 1551, it seems likely that they were involved in dramatic presentations at court during this period, possibly even performing Redford's own *Wit and Science*.

### **Sebastian Westcott and the Boys of St. Paul's**

Performances by the boys of St. Paul's are best documented in the period following Redford's death, when the choir school came under the control of Sebastian Westcott, and it was during this period that MS 15233 seems to have been compiled. Thus, although Westcott is not a named contributor to the manuscript, the connections that he had to those associated with the manuscript make a brief examination of his life worthwhile at this point.

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<sup>51</sup> Latin text taken from Maria Hackett, *Evidences on the Office and Duties of the Magister Scholarum, or Chancellor of the Cathedral* (London, 1813), p. xii, quoted in Jane Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers in England During the Sixteenth Century', in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. by John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 180–200 (p. 180).

<sup>52</sup> Translation of Latin statutes taken from Flynn, p. 180.

<sup>53</sup> Flynn, p. 180.

Sebastian Westcott was in the King's service by 1545, and was paid a quarterly wage as Yeoman of the Chamber at Christmas.<sup>54</sup> It has been suggested that Westcott made the acquaintance of John Redford at this time, and it is also likely that he met John Heywood, who was associated with Redford, and involved in dramatic presentations.<sup>55</sup>

Westcott was originally in Holy Orders, possibly in Crediton, Devon. Although there are no records from this period, Trevor Lennam has suggested that it may have been here that Westcott acquired his musical knowledge and experience in training choristers, which would have made him acceptable for court service, and for the position of Master of the Choristers at St. Paul's. It is likely that he did not remain in Devon after about 1541,<sup>56</sup> and by 1547, he was described as one of the vicars of St. Paul's in Redford's will. It is generally assumed that following Redford's death in 1547, Westcott succeeded him in the charge of the almonry and choristers,<sup>57</sup> but despite the close connections between the two men at St. Paul's, Westcott was not officially named in Redford's role until 1 February 1553/4, six years after Redford's death. Other suggestions have been made as to who may have filled the position in the interim, including John Heywood, Philip Van Wilder and Thomas Mulliner,<sup>58</sup> but evidence suggesting that Westcott may have been acting in the capacity of Almoner and Master of the Boys from 1547–1553/4 is found in the Household expenses of Princess Elizabeth in February 1551,

to Sebastian, towards the charge of the children with the carriage of the plaiers garments, iiij li. six s.<sup>59</sup>

Certainly Westcott was closely connected to Redford, acting as his executor and residuary legatee. If indeed Westcott was performing all the duties associated with the post, his official appointment may have been held in abeyance for one of several reasons, the most highlighted in recent scholarship being his Roman Catholic sympathies. The Dean during the early part of the 1550's was William May, a reformer

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<sup>54</sup> BL Add. MS 27, 404, fols 17 and 31, quoted in Trevor Lennam, *Sebastian Westcott, the Children of Paul's and The Marriage of Wit and Science* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 13.

<sup>55</sup> Arthur Brown, 'Two Notes on John Redford', *Modern Language Review*, 43 (1948), 508–10.

<sup>56</sup> Lennam, p. 11.

<sup>57</sup> PROB 11/31, 7 October 1547.

<sup>58</sup> W. Sparrow Simpson, ed., *St. Paul's Registrum, 1536–1560*, fol. 276<sup>v</sup>, quoted in Lennam, p. 15.

<sup>59</sup> *Household Accounts of Princess Elizabeth 1551–2* (London: Camden Miscellany, 1853), II, 37, quoted in Lennam, p. 55.

who had welcomed the King's commissioners when they supervised the destruction of images, and insisted upon compliance with the new edicts aimed at ending Roman Catholic ceremonial in September 1547.<sup>60</sup> Certainly, it would seem a coincidence that his position was made official after the accession of the Catholic Mary. However, as Brown suggested as early as 1949, it may well have been simply a result of Westcott's relative inexperience. If he was a Yeoman of the Chamber in 1545, he had possibly only been a vicar at St. Paul's for less than two years by the time of Redford's death. It may be that the Dean and Chapter therefore decided to give him a trial period before appointing him officially.<sup>61</sup>

During the years of his stewardship, Sebastian probably lived in the almonry. After his appointment, the six choral vicars, including Westcott were permitted residence on 2 June 1554 in 'Curlowes house adjoining [...] the office of pentencyarys', and this house was formally leased to them on 18 November 1556. Soon after that date, Feckenham became Abbot of Westminster, and was succeeded in the deanery by Henry Cole. From the new Dean and Chapter, Westcott obtained the lease of St. Paul's Wickham Manor in Essex on 2 June 1557. In return for collecting for the cathedral the fines and perquisites of the Manor Court and maintaining the upkeep of the property, Westcott became the possessor of a considerable estate. The source of income was substantial, and had to be backed by a bond of £40. Two of Westcott's friends signed in support of it; John Heywood and Thomas Pridioxe, both contributors to MS 15233.<sup>62</sup>

Although the boys of St. Paul's almost certainly performed at court during the period of Redford's appointment, it was with Sebastian Westcott that they really seem to have achieved prominence. However, it is also evident that Redford's work was well respected even after his death, and likely that Westcott and the boys under his care achieved their success at least partially as a result of the foundations laid by Redford.

This chapter has examined the physical makeup of MS 15233 in detail. The evidence has suggested that the paper was originally collected, folded into gatherings and bound in some format; that it was used first for music, and then for plays and poems, and that some of this original manuscript was lost or discarded. The remaining content was then bound into the current calf binding, with some sections being placed

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<sup>60</sup> W.R. Matthews and W.M. Atkins, eds, *A History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (London: Phoenix, 1957), in Trevor Lennam, *Sebastian Westcott, the Children of Paul's, and The Marriage of Wit and Science* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 15.

<sup>61</sup> Arthur Brown, 'Three notes on Sebastian Westcott', *Modern Language Review*, 44 (1949), 229–232 (p. 230).

<sup>62</sup> Lennam, p. 16.

out of order, despite the foliation. This chapter has thus demonstrated that MS 15233 was not simply composed of separate items collected over a lengthy period and at random, but that it was originally intended as a single book, furthering the theory that the content should not be considered separately. This chapter has also presented new evidence which allows the existing manuscript to be dated more accurately to the 1550s. The next chapter builds on both of these theories, examining all the named contributors to establish how these individuals and their work might have been connected, with particular attention to their whereabouts during the 1550s.



## Chapter 2

### The Evidence for a London Network

Unlike print, manuscripts allow a sense of direct connection with those who authored and/or copied them, and who touched the pages on which the works appear. The content of a manuscript, although it might be extremely varied, has generally been bound together for a purpose. Often not designed for public consumption, and therefore highly personal, manuscripts frequently represent the material evidence both for individual lives, and for social and professional networks of people working together for a united purpose.

As the previous chapter established, MS 15233 contains music, drama and poetry by at least seven different contributors, John Redford, John Heywood, Richard Edwards, John Thorne, Miles Huggarde, Thomas Pridioxe and Master Knyght, and is written in four different hands. Despite its varied content and the number of different authors represented, since its discovery in the mid nineteenth century the manuscript has been considered:

1. almost solely from a literary/dramatic point of view
2. as a product of St. Paul's Cathedral - mainly because the largest part of the content is attributed to John Redford, Almoner, Organist and Master of the Choir Boys there during the 1530s and 40s and little work has therefore been carried out on the other, lesser known contributors.

These approaches are representative of the way in which manuscripts with varied content have been traditionally studied, with an emphasis on one discipline and a focus on well known figures or institutions. This thesis argues that these approaches are reductive, and that the conclusions drawn from them about MS 15233 have blinded scholars to alternative possibilities concerning the provenance and purpose of the manuscript. This chapter demonstrates that although there are links between some of the named contributors and St. Paul's, many more connections may be discovered by looking not solely at the literary output of each individual, but at their private and professional associations, and their musical links. In doing so, it shows that the

manuscript is more likely to have originated from a social network surrounding the small parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill in Billingsgate, London.

### **St. Mary-at-Hill: An Unusual Parish Church**

In the *Survey of London*, 1603, John Stowe describes the location of the parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill:

saint Marie hill lane, which runneth vp North from Billingsgate, to the end of S. Margaret Pattens, commonly called Roode lane, and the greatest halfe of that lane is also of Belinsgate warde. In this saint Marie hill lane is the faire parish church of saint Mary called on the hill, because of the ascent from Billingsgate.<sup>1</sup>

Ancient deeds suggest that a church was originally founded in this location in the twelfth century, when it was called St. Mary de Hull, or St. Mary de la Hulle.<sup>2</sup> The church was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, but ravaged by the Fire of London in 1666, after which, along with many other City churches, it was partially rebuilt on a model by Christopher Wren, who incorporated the old tower and parts of the walls, in a square, Dutch-like church. Although the overall plans for restoring the City churches were famously orchestrated by Wren, it may have been Robert Hooke who supervised the rebuilding of St Mary's while Wren was concentrating on St Paul's (according to the church, it is a matter of record that Hooke was responsible for building the internal wall under the tower, at the west end). The Great Fire had consumed the interior of the church leaving only parts of the walls and the brick work of the tower. Following the renovation, much of this building was then itself destroyed in a series of later fires, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and various parts rebuilt once again.<sup>3</sup>

In the absence of physical evidence for the appearance of the sixteenth-century church, the *Survey* is a useful source as it not only records facts about its location and history, but also about the community surrounding it. Several people of note were buried at the church during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and were presumably

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<sup>1</sup> 'Billingsgate warde', in *A Survey of London*, by John Stow (London, 1603; repr.1908), pp. 205–211 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=60037>> [accessed 25 November 2009].

<sup>2</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds preserved in the Public Records Office*, ed. by H.C. Maxwell Lyte, 6 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode), II (1894), A. 2445. The deeds are arranged in classes lettered A, B, C, D and numbered.

<sup>3</sup> 'St. Mary-at-Hill', in *The London Encyclopaedia*, ed. by Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 760–761.

members of the local community, including William Holstocke, Controller of the Queen's ships.<sup>4</sup> The *Survey* also notes that the immediate area surrounding the church had 'many fayre houses for Marchantes', some of which might have belonged to fishmongers working at Billingsgate harbour at the southern end of the parish.<sup>5</sup> The harbour was a thriving economic resource—so much so that Billingsgate, which had started life as a more general market, had begun to make its money exclusively from fish during the sixteenth century—and St. Mary's was a fairly wealthy parish. The parish was also advanced musically, and the church engaged a number of musicians in the first half of the sixteenth century who later became significant figures, including Thomas Tallis and William Munday. As well as Stowe's work, the best evidence for the life of the church can be found in the churchwardens' accounts, which fortunately, are particularly full from the period 1420 to 1559, one of only four London parish churches for which this is the case (the other three are St. Stephen Walbrook, St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Andrew Hubbard). Account books, by their nature, usually provide little sense of the actual details of events beyond what can be pieced together from a list of expenses. As now, it is possible to see how much an organiser may have spent on food, wine or hiring a venue for an event, but a bill would not usually provide a reader with details of what occurred at the event, or even who was present, other than (perhaps) the claimant. The accounts at St. Mary's, however, are helpful because they record payments for events which might be expected to be outside the scope of normal church activities—for example there are regular amounts listed for the entertainment of singers after services at private houses. It is partly from these records that some idea of the networks between people and places starts to emerge.

During the sixteenth century there was a strong musical association between court and community in terms of court musicians regularly performing in local churches. A study by Fiona Kisby concludes for example that,

the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, although a parish church, was the focal point of the town's musical life, and that the institution and its fraternities with which some of these men, in particular those of the Chapel Royal, were privately associated were also those with which they may have been connected in a professional capacity.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Stow, pp. 205–211.

<sup>5</sup> Stow, pp. 205–211.

<sup>6</sup> Fiona Kisby, 'Music and Musicians of Early Tudor Westminster', *Early Music*, 23 (1995), 223–242 (p. 234).

The records of St. Mary's suggest that this was also occurring outside Westminster, and reveal that this is clearly an area which deserves wider investigation. Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey have established that during the fifteenth century, St. Paul's Cathedral, parish churches and hospitals regularly borrowed singers from one another. Parish churches used singers from royal and aristocratic chapels who were resident in the metropolis as well as drawing on the large, well organised workforce of parish clerks.<sup>7</sup> At St. Mary's, the accounts show that singers were engaged from neighbouring parishes, from the Royal Household chapel, and variously from the large pool of freelance clerics supported by the metropolis.<sup>8</sup> There is also evidence that parish clerks took part in services at St. Paul's, and that chantry priests from St. Paul's were paid to sing at St. Mary's and other parish churches.<sup>9</sup> With this level of interchange, it is fairly easy to see how networks may have built up between people, even if they were in different forms of employment or separated from one another by some distance.

St. Mary's is the only parish church in which the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal were known to have performed before the Reformation. Although not immediately in its vicinity, St. Mary-at-Hill's extremely profitable association with the Chapel seems to have begun with the employment of what we might now term 'extras' at the church on feast days in the early part of the sixteenth century. Usually only one or two extra musicians were engaged on feast days, drawn from the surrounding parish. However, on St. Barnabas's Day 1510 the 'syngers of the kynges Chapell' first appear at St. Mary's.<sup>10</sup> After the service, lavish supplies of food and drink were provided for the singers at a Mr. Sidborough's.<sup>11</sup> John Sidborough was one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal; his name appears in lists of the Chapel in 1509 and 1520. In the same year St. Mary's sued a bell-founder who had failed to fulfil a contract to provide a new bell; the Lord Chief Justice and another judge presided, and 'Mr Kyght' and 'Mr Sidborowgh' were entertained to a sumptuous dinner when they assisted in the arbitration.<sup>12</sup> John Kyte was then a senior chaplain in the Chapel Royal. The following year members of the Chapel Royal sang twice in the church. On the first occasion 'Mr kytis' and 'Mr Cornysh' were entertained to (perhaps unsurprisingly given the locality)

<sup>7</sup> Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey, 'Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns 1450–1550', *Early Music History*, 19 (2000), 1–46 (p. 16).

<sup>8</sup> Burgess and Wathey, p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> *The Medieval Records of a London City Church: St Mary at Hill, 1420–1559*, ed. by Henry Littlehales (London: Early English Text Society, 1905), p. 411.

<sup>10</sup> Littlehales, p. 270.

<sup>11</sup> Littlehales, p. 270.

<sup>12</sup> Littlehales, p. 270.

a grand fish dinner ‘in Master Aldremans place’ involving the cost of ‘a pyke’, ‘a Iowle [the head and shoulders] of fresh samon’, ‘playse’, and ‘oysters’ amounting to the sum of 6s. 4d. On the second occasion, a similar repast was provided at Mr. Sidborough's for ‘Mr kyte’ and ‘harry prenttes’ amounting to 7s. 1d (William Cornish was Master of the Children of the Chapel; Henry Prentes was a Gentleman of the Chapel in 1511<sup>13</sup>).<sup>14</sup>

But how might these ‘extras’ have started to be employed from the Chapel rather than other local churches? At this point, it seems beneficial to recall Kisby’s argument about the intertwining personal and professional lives of men at the parish church of St. Margaret’s. Gentlemen of the Chapel were free to take outside engagements when they were not required by the monarch, and for a gentleman who lived in the parish of St. Mary's, it might well have seemed natural to have invited colleagues to sing in his own church. However, presumably this church would have had to have achieved some musical merit for him to avoid embarrassment. Members of the Chapel continued to sing at St. Mary's on a fairly regular basis: on Corpus Christi Day 1521; on St. Barnabas's Day 1523; and on occasions during 1525 and 1528.<sup>15</sup> There is some hiatus before their next recorded visit in the reign of Queen Mary in 1553, when they were paid for singing a mass on St. Martin's day.<sup>16</sup> The presence of the professional Chapel singers on successive occasions would seem to indicate not only the high standard of singing already practised at the church, but also that the church was on its way to becoming an established choral foundation in its own right.<sup>17</sup> This is supported to an extent by the fact that a school for boy choristers seems to have flourished there. The presence of a residential boys’ choir meant an elaboration and sophistication of liturgical music, and it may be that the church attempted to emulate the level of performance inspired by the presence of such singers at St. Paul’s, Westminster and the Chapel Royal. The school was founded by John Northfolke—Conduct, Organist and Master of the Choristers at St. Mary’s from 1522/3 to 1529/30—at some stage between 1524 and 1525. The accounts indicate that it was located in the Abbot of Waltham’s inn, which at this time was a parish rental. This building was the town house of the Abbots of Waltham, and was located on the west side of St. Mary-at-Hill, south of the

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<sup>13</sup> Hugh Baillie, ‘A London Church in Early Tudor Times’, *Music and Letters*, 36 (1955), 55–64 (pp. 55–56).

<sup>14</sup> Mary C. Erler, ed., *REED, Ecclesiastical London* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> Littlehales, pp. 309, 316, 327, 344.

<sup>16</sup> Littlehales, p. 396.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Lloyd, ‘Music at the Parish Church of St. Mary-at-Hill, London’, *Early Music*, 25 (1997), 221–226 (pp. 221–222).

church. The school paid an annual rental of 6s 8d for a chamber in the house.<sup>18</sup> The room obviously required some preparation before it could be used, and the accounts record the hauling away of a quantity of rubbish.<sup>19</sup> There is some evidence that a song school had been established at St. Mary's before 1524/5, as records for 1520/1 also note 2d for mending the lock on a chamber door that was Sir John Smith's schoolhouse. Records of the school appear regularly in the accounts until 1537/8, and in 1548 it appears in the Chantry Certificate (the reports of the royal commissioners appointed in 1546 and 1548 to survey colleges, chantries and kindred endowments), suggesting that it was still active at this point.<sup>20</sup> Peter Le Huray suggests that the school was dissolved in this year, although he does not give evidence for this assertion.<sup>21</sup> The church had a stock of theatrical costumes that were rented out, and which made the church an income during the early part of the sixteenth century,<sup>22</sup> and although there is no direct evidence to suggest that the boys of the choir school were involved in dramatic presentations, drama was a recognised part of a humanist education. The use of drama in schools may have developed as a means of educating boys in the art of rhetoric, and play-acting certainly offered students practice in language, oratory, gesticulation, public presentation and even boldness and discretion, all attributes which would have been essential in dealing with affairs of state. Mid-century statutes at Eton, for example, memorialize the practice of teaching oratory and gesture through dramatic presentation.<sup>23</sup> But the development of the dramatic form in this period suggests that plays were not simply being used as useful exercises in public speaking. As chapter 3 demonstrates, dramatic performance designed for schoolboys could also be used by schoolmaster dramatists as a comment on current affairs, educational policy and religion, and was perfectly placed to reach the most influential audiences of the period, since it was often performed for a court audience.

Bearing in mind these connections between St. Mary's and the larger musical establishments, and returning to MS 15233, the next part of this chapter demonstrates how the named contributors in the manuscript were connected to and/or by St. Mary-at-Hill, and where they were c.1555 when it was compiled.

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<sup>18</sup> Littlehales, pp. 326, 333, 376, 381.

<sup>19</sup> Littlehales, p. 321.

<sup>20</sup> REED, *Ecclesiastical London*, p. xlvi.

<sup>21</sup> Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 212.

<sup>22</sup> REED, *Ecclesiastical London*, p. xxvii.

<sup>23</sup> Kent Cartwright, *Theatre and Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 49.

## Richard Edwards

Richard Edwards is first mentioned as being in London in the Patent Rolls of July 1558, where he is listed as one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal.<sup>24</sup> Born in Somerset in c.1524, he worked his way through the university system at Oxford, studying at Corpus Christi under the composer and Greek scholar George Etherege, and supplicating for his BA in 1544. He was elected a Probationer Fellow in the same year, and then gained a lectureship at Christ Church. The last record of him at Oxford is in 1550<sup>25</sup> and the next definite record of him is as a member of the Chapel Royal in the Patent Rolls in July 1558. The exact date of Edwards's move to London is uncertain, although the evidence suggests that it occurred during the early 1550s. The cheque book for the Chapel Royal which lists the payments made to members does not begin until 1561, and there is no certain way of checking the exact point at which Edwards became a member of this body. Extant records from the 1590s imply that it was common to have to wait for a prestigious role at the Chapel, first becoming an extraordinary gentleman or substitute until a place as an ordinary gentleman became available.<sup>26</sup> Despite the delay, a post was worth the waiting, and once gained, was held until death. So Edwards may well have spent some time at court before 1558 waiting to take up this role.

Two other pieces of evidence, more circumstantial, but more specific to Edwards, suggest that he moved to London in the early part of the 1550s. British Library, Cotton MS Titus A.xxiv contains four poems by Edwards, the first of which is in praise of Queen Mary's ladies.<sup>27</sup> Assuming that the ladies concerned were not being referred to by their maiden names after their marriages, the dates of their weddings suggest that the poem might have been written before 1555, possibly by March of that year, and thus it would seem that Edwards was already very familiar in court circles by this point.<sup>28</sup> Secondly, the poem *Fair words make fools fain*, Edwards's single contribution to MS 15233, comments on the dangers to a young man of coming to court for the first time, and suggests that the author was well aware of how lengthy the period of waiting for preferment may have been. The theme is relatively commonplace, and

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<sup>24</sup> *Patent Rolls*, July 1558, quoted in Ros King, *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> King, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> King, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> The poem is printed in King, p. 187.

<sup>28</sup> See Leicester Bradner, *The Life and Poems of Richard Edwards* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 17 and King, p. 19. A discussion of the possible identities of these women is in King p. 231.

the poem may or may not therefore be autobiographical, but if it is, it suggests that Edwards had already been at court for a number of years by the time that the poem was completed and added to the manuscript c.1555. Although Edwards is not mentioned individually in the accounts for St. Mary-at-Hill, given the close connections between the church and the Chapel, it is extremely likely that he sang there with other gentlemen at some stage during the 1550s, and was quite possibly making connections with an existing network of men who were later to contribute to his career.

A network of artistic associates would have proved invaluable to Edwards in the creation of the poetic miscellany *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*. Although it was not printed until 1576, ten years after his death, the compilation of the collection is attributed to Edwards, and it must therefore have been put together between c.1550 and his death in 1566. The title page of the first edition indicates that apart from Edwards, the collection contained works by at least nine ‘learned gentlemen, both of honor and worship’.<sup>29</sup> The book therefore represents a community of poets, whose work was collected and probably exchanged and circulated in manuscript for some time before the text was ever prepared for printing. It is possible that this process was occurring during the same period as the compilation of MS 15233. Two direct connections between the printed book and the manuscript suggest that this might have been the case, and also provide further evidence that Edwards was involved in, and drew from the social circle centring on St. Mary’s during the 1550s. *The Paradise* contains both a very similar version of the Edwards’s poem *Fair words make fools fain* found in MS 15233, and a version of John Thorne’s poem, *Who shall profoundly weigh and scan*.<sup>30</sup> One further poem is attributed to Thorne (or M.T.—probably Master Thorne) in *The Paradise* and two more appear in MS 15233, a moral version of the ballad, *The hunt is up*, and *In worldly wealth for man’s relief*. It is possible that Edwards joined the social circle of which Thorne was already a part when he moved to London in the 1550s, and drew on this for *The Paradise*.

### **John Thorne**

But who was Thorne and how does he provide a link to this social circle? Thorne was appointed organist at York Minster on 24 July 1542, having received payment the

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<sup>29</sup> *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576), quoted in King, p. 41.

<sup>30</sup>References to *PDD* are to the 1576 text. The collection proved extremely popular, and was printed with additions and alterations on at least nine occasions before 1606.

previous year as ‘organist within the choir’.<sup>31</sup> By the 1550s he was already at York—and from 1550 he resided in the York parish of St Michael-le-Belfry and had lands at Clifton and leases of the tithes of two parsonages<sup>32</sup>—but Thorne had connections both with some of the other contributors to MS 15233 and with St. Mary-at-Hill. In fact, his first appearance in records is in the list of clerks and conducts at the church in 1539/40, where he was paid five pounds and sixteen shillings for the year’s work.<sup>33</sup> At this point, John Redford, the main contributor to MS 15233, was a vicar choral at St. Paul’s, and given the interchange between the two institutions, the two men may have struck up a bond. In *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597), Thomas Morley cited Thorne alongside Redford as a composer particularly skilled in writing upon plainsong, and although little of Thorne’s music has survived, it is worth mentioning another sixteenth-century manuscript that seems to contain work by both men.<sup>34</sup> BL Add. MS 29996 contains the organ score of a motet attributed to ‘Thorn of York’, and is also the largest known repository of music by Redford. Some of the music in this manuscript may be in Redford’s hand, giving those pieces a latest date of compilation of 1547, the year that the organist died.<sup>35</sup> The manuscript not only evidences a possible connection between Redford and Thorne during the late 1530s and 1540s, but is also significant in drawing more general connections between the musicians at St. Paul’s and St. Mary’s. Composed of several layers of different dates, the first section of MS 29996 appears to have centred on composers connected with St. Paul’s and St. Mary-at-Hill.<sup>36</sup> Apart from Redford and Thorne, it contains works by Philip App Rhys, who was the Welsh organist at St. Mary-at-Hill until 1547, when he took over as organist at St. Paul’s on the death of Redford.<sup>37</sup> Daniel Page has also suggested that Sebastian Westcott, Redford’s successor as Master of the Boys at St. Paul’s, was involved in the compilation. Although Westcott did not inherit the role of organist from Redford, and there is no evidence of compositions in his name, Page believes that Westcott may be identified with the otherwise unknown musician, ‘Kyrton’, whose only surviving work appears in the first layer of MS 29996. As

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<sup>31</sup> Peter Aston, ‘John Thorne’, *ODNB*.

<sup>32</sup> ‘John Thorne’, *ODNB*.

<sup>33</sup> Littlehales, pp. 381–384.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597).

<sup>35</sup> According to Joseph Warren, who owned the manuscript in 1847, ff. 6–45 of BL Add. MS 29996 are in the hand of John Redford.

<sup>36</sup> Daniel Page, ‘Uniform and Catholic: Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558)’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1996), p. 338.

<sup>37</sup> Littlehales, p. 386.

evidence for this theory, he notes that Westcott was the successor of Redford, a colleague of App Rhys and an acquaintance of Thorne (he visited York Minster to select choir boys for the London Cathedral in 1571), and as a devoted Catholic, central both to the connections between the MS 29996 composers and the forces shaping its creation.<sup>38</sup> His main evidence, however, is that Westcott was born in Devon, and maintained a life long association with the village of Crediton, a town pronounced by locals, and often spelled as ‘Kyrton’. The suggestion is certainly interesting, if the connection initially seems a little obscure.

### **John Day and his Publications**

One of Thorne’s contemporaries at St. Mary’s in the late 1530s was John Day.<sup>39</sup> That this man is also the well known Protestant printer of works such as Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* and the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter is suggested by the connections which can be made through his publications. It is worth deviating slightly to examine these publications, as they also connect members of the social and professional network that created MS 15233.

In 1536 the fourteen year old Day received his first year’s salary as a conduct at St. Mary-at-Hill.<sup>40</sup> The terms ‘clerk’ and ‘conduct’ in the records of St. Mary’s seem to be applied commonly to both adult choristers and organists,<sup>41</sup> but with reference to a child, ‘a conduct’ almost certainly indicates a member of the choir, a role in which Day continued for four years.<sup>42</sup> By the time he was eighteen in 1540, it seems that Day had made the initial steps in his printing career, and was noted in a city deposition as being the late servant of a printer named Thomas Raynald.<sup>43</sup> There may have been two printers by this name operating in London in 1540, and distinguishing the works of the two men is not straightforward. A Thomas Raynald was responsible for the printing of the midwifery manual of the period, *The Byrthe of Mankynde* (1540), in which he also described himself as a physician. Another (or perhaps the same man) was responsible for a number of religious and theological publications between 1548 and 1552, including works by John Bale, Thomas Becon, Erasmus, John Mardeley, William

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<sup>38</sup> Page, pp. 331–332.

<sup>39</sup> Littlehales, pp. 369–372.

<sup>40</sup> Littlehales, p. 371.

<sup>41</sup> Littlehales, pp. xxii–xxiii.

<sup>42</sup> Littlehales, pp. 371–384.

<sup>43</sup> Andrew Pettegree, ‘John Day’, *ODNB*.

Tyndale, and Zwingli, as well as an edition of the Matthew Bible in 1549.<sup>44</sup> Colophons from these works indicate that the printer was based in the parish of St Andrew by the Wardrobe (at least from 1548 to 1549), and then at the sign of the Star in St Paul's Churchyard (from 1549 to 1551). The parish of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe is less than a mile away from St. Mary's, and within virtually a stone's throw of the large musical institutions of St. Paul's Cathedral and the Chapel Royal. If this was where Day was based, it must have been a stimulating atmosphere for a young and musically interested boy, and the connection would go some way to explain his later specialized interest in music printing.

### *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*

By 1562 Day, by then approaching forty, had progressed to the upper echelons of his profession. He was a member of the Stationers' Company, printed from his own shop in Cheapside, and had a reputation for technical sophistication, probably arising from his reliance on the expertise of foreign workmen.<sup>45</sup> Day had made a name for himself during the Edwardian period, in which, in partnership with William Seres, he had taken advantage of the rise in the number of religious works printed to support the evangelical cause (also a personal cause for which he was briefly imprisoned in the Marian period). By 1562, however, he was connected to and supported by leading members of the church establishment and political élite.<sup>46</sup> At this point he was responsible for the printing of *The Whole Book of Psalmes*, otherwise known as the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter or, after the printer himself, Day's Psalter, a publication that was such a phenomenal success that, with the exception of the Bible, it became the most printed text in England during the Early Modern period.<sup>47</sup> It also made Day a wealthy man; it was estimated by aggrieved printing contemporaries that his profit simply from a combination of this book and one other (*The ABC with Little Catechism*), was between two and five hundred pounds a year,<sup>48</sup> a sum now equivalent to between thirty-four and

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<sup>44</sup> I. Gadd, 'Thomas Raynald', *ODNB*.

<sup>45</sup> 'John Day', *ODNB*.

<sup>46</sup> 'John Day', *ODNB*.

<sup>47</sup> Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme, Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), p. 239.

<sup>48</sup> 'John Day', *ODNB*.

eighty-five thousand pounds.<sup>49</sup> During the Edwardian period alone, approximately one hundred and thirty works were associated with the Day press, or were published with his collaboration, and with this amount it is perhaps unsurprising that he was the object of professional jealousy.

The first edition of the Psalter contained the daily services in English, some tunes, and an introduction to basic musical theory, designed to enable readers to be able to sing at sight. A year later, another edition appeared, this time containing a complete set of tunes harmonised by English composers for four voices and contained within four separate part books. This edition included an anonymous canticle entitled *The complaint of a sinner, or Where righteousness doth say*, which was printed in the after matter of the book in all editions from 1562 onwards.<sup>50</sup> This canticle (a hymn in the scriptures apart from the psalms) also appears as a poem in MS 15233, where it is attributed to John Redford.<sup>51</sup> A lute setting can also be found in the *Dallis Book*, which incidentally also contains a setting of Edwards's *Fair words make fools fain*. The new Psalter edition also included works by two Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal: a setting of the Lord's Prayer by Richard Edwards, and a large number of works by Thomas Causton. The most likely explanation for Day's connection with these two men of the Chapel is through his links with St. Mary's, but the two men also represent further links between men in the wider social network which created MS 15233.

### *Certaine Notes*

The second of the Chapel Royal's contributors to the Psalter, Thomas Causton, was also at the Chapel in the early 1550s, first as a junior singer, and later in the decade as a Gentleman, a role which he continued until his death in 1569.<sup>52</sup> Two years after his work appeared in the Psalter, he was named as a contributor to another of Day's publications, *Certaine Notes*. Although it appeared in the mid 1560s, a large part of this publication is thought to have been compiled before c.1553, around the same time as MS 15233, and contains work by a number of men who also had links to St. Mary-at-Hill. Although he was a virtual unknown at this point, Causton's work constitutes a

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<sup>49</sup> *National Archives Currency Converter* <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency>> [accessed 1 March 2010].

<sup>50</sup> Quitsland, p. 280.

<sup>51</sup> The poem appears on fol. (4) g of MS 15233.

<sup>52</sup> Magnus Williamson, 'Thomas Causton', *ODNB*.

fairly substantial section of this publication, suggesting that some collaboration may have taken place between the musician and Day, and that the Gentleman of the Chapel was more than merely a contributor. Day certainly appears to have zealously printed the work of Causton; in fact, he printed all but one of his pieces of music, and his premier collection of church music was dominated by the Chapel Royal Gentleman's work. Elizabeth Evenden has suggested that the explanation for this collaboration is likely to be that Causton acted as Day's corrector of music, and that Day promised guaranteed publication as part payment or a perk of the job; those skilled in reading music proofs were hard to come by.<sup>53</sup> At least three of the nine contributors to *Certaines Notes* had also previously sung at St. Mary-at-Hill in some capacity, suggesting that a definite circle of men existed in the 1550s from which Day was able to draw.<sup>54</sup> Thomas Tallis was a conduct in 1536–7, again at the same time as both Day and Thorne, Robert Okeland (also variously spelled as Hockland and Oclande) was Organist and Master of the Choristers between 1534 and 1535 and a Gentleman of the Chapel in 1546/7, and 'Hethe the singing man' employed at St. Mary's for twenty-one days in 1555 may well be the same man who contributed to *Certaines Notes*.<sup>55</sup>

There is a further point which might suggest Day's link to MS 15233. Day's printer's device was a waking sleeper, combined with the motto, 'Arise for it is Day', a clever pun on the printer's name. A variation on this phrase appears as the refrain for the anonymous poem in MS 15233, *Arise, arise, arise I say*, on fols. (4) a and (4) b. Although there is no evidence to confirm that this poem was intended to relate to Day, it is nonetheless an interesting coincidence.

### **Master Knyght**

There is one more possible connection between contributors to Day's publications, St. Mary-at-Hill and MS 15233. *Certaines Notes* contains two settings attributed simply to 'Knyght'. A single poem in MS 15233, *Behold with pensiveness the picture here in place*, is also attributed to a 'Master Knyght' whose first name is omitted. The two settings from *Certaines Notes* also appear anonymously among the remaining contents of *The Wanley Partbooks*. Originally a set of four part books, now held in the Bodleian

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<sup>53</sup> Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, pictures and patronage: John Day and the Tudor book trade* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 76–77.

<sup>54</sup> Baillie, p. 62.

<sup>55</sup> Littlehales. For Tallis see pp. 375, 380; for Okeland, pp. 365, 368; for Hethe, p. 398.

Library and dated to the Edwardian period, the Wanley MSS mostly contain music in four parts which seems to have been copied out for a small parish church or private chapel, where services were normally sung by clerks, as was the case in many London churches at the time.<sup>56</sup> The part books also contain work by Causton, Heathe and Okeland. So who was ‘Knyght’?

In 1536 records of Salisbury Cathedral reveal that 6s 8d was paid to a ‘Tho[ma]s. Knyght for playing the organ’ for the quarter. This stipend was a bonus for a man whose regular salary was as a vicar-choral and Master of the Choristers (a post he had held since some point between 1526 and 1529).<sup>57</sup> As at St. Paul’s, there was not at this point, a recognized organist at Salisbury, and the vicars-choral took their turns at playing the organ. In 1539, a ‘Knyght’ is again listed in the accounts of the cathedral, almost certainly Thomas, this time being paid 2s for playing the organ during the week of Pentecost. This time he is the sole organist; his deed of appointment to the office is dated 30 April 1538, for which he undertook ‘to kepe laudablie the orgeyns accordinge to good Musycke and armony’, and to teach the choristers ‘playnsonge pryckesonge Faburdon and descante’.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, owing to the imperfect state of Salisbury Cathedral’s archives, the musician cannot be traced there any later than 1543 (Roger Bowers has noted that a distinction must be drawn between this musician and another Thomas Knyght who is recorded as a prebendary at Salisbury from 1546 to 1547<sup>59</sup>). No successor is known until October 1550, but compositions by one ‘Knyght’ were still being received at nearby Winchester College up to 1545.<sup>60</sup> After this, ‘Knyght’ the musician can only be traced through the appearance of his work in various manuscripts.

*The Gyffard Partbooks*, a collection of masses and motets in separate parts for four voices, contain three settings ascribed to ‘Mr Knyght’. The collection is thought to have been copied out between 1553 and 1558, although it may contain work that was composed between the period 1540 to 1580.<sup>61</sup> Although there is no evidence of Knyght’s whereabouts during this period, the partbooks reveal that Knyght’s work was

<sup>56</sup> Le Huray, pp. 172–3. See also James Wrightson, *The ‘Wanley’ Manuscripts: A Critical Commentary* (New York: Garland, 1989).

<sup>57</sup> W.H. Grattan Flood, ‘New Light on Early Tudor Composers, XVII Thomas Knight’, *The Musical Times*, 62 (1921), 331–332 (p. 332).

<sup>58</sup> Roger Bowers, ‘Thomas Knyght’, *Grove Music Online* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>> [accessed August 2009].

<sup>59</sup> Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, D1/2/16 (Register); *Clergy of the Church of England Database* <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/>> [accessed August 2009].

<sup>60</sup> ‘Thomas Knyght’, *Grove Music Online* [accessed August 2009].

<sup>61</sup> ‘Sources’, *Grove Music Online* [accessed August 2009].

respected in the 1550s. The partbooks also contain a *Christus resurgens* by Redford, a piece possibly by Richard Edwards, as well as work by Okeland, Thomas Wright (a vicar choral at St. Paul's who died in 1558), William Whytbroke (a sub-dean at St. Paul's from 1534 and a contributor to *Certaine Notes*), and William Munday (parish clerk at St. Mary-at-Hill between 1548–1558, vicar choral at St. Paul's in the late 1550s, and also later a member of the Chapel Royal), drawing substantial links between the contributors, the cathedral and even St. Mary's.

### **John Heywood and Thomas Pridioxe**

This chapter has thus far established that a social and professional network existed from which MS 15233 seems to have emanated, with a number of members connected by St. Mary-at-Hill and their professional musical roles. Although John Heywood is well recognised as a dramatist associated with St. Paul's and the court during the sixteenth century, records suggest that he might also have fitted into both the categories of professional musician, and member of the parish of St. Mary's. Biographies are however, complicated by the number of instances of this name occurring in records during the sixteenth century. Some previous scholarship has attempted to resolve this problem by separating them into several distinct individuals,<sup>62</sup> whilst more recently there has been a move towards the idea that many of the instances of the name could in fact, represent one man.<sup>63</sup> This chapter approaches the difficulty by detailing the instances of the name John Heywood and its variants in locations and documents which are directly related to the London social circle detailed above. In doing so, it raises the possibility of at least six different individuals; a singing man at St. Thomas's Chapel, a singer and player on the virginals at court, a writer and dramatist, a member of the Mercer's Company, a minor canon at St. Paul's and a man with connections to the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill.

The birth and early years of the John Heywood recognised as the dramatist connected with St. Paul's are largely based on supposition. He is thought to have been born in 1496 or 1497, and to have been one of four sons of the Coventry lawyer William Heywood who had connections with the Rastells, a family involved in the

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<sup>62</sup>A.W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama* (London: Methuen, 1926), pp. 234–236.

<sup>63</sup> See John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010). I am grateful to John Harley for sending me a draft of his work on John Heywood and MS 15233.

London print trade, and known as staunch Catholics.<sup>64</sup> Anthony Wood suggests that he was possibly educated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, although this claim cannot be substantiated.<sup>65</sup> The first positive references to a John Heywood at court are six quarterly payments of £5 between Michaelmas 1519 and Christmas 1520 made to a singer of this name.<sup>66</sup> Concurrently, between 1513 and 1531 a John Heywood is also listed as ‘serving and singing daily’ or ‘singing and attending daily’<sup>67</sup> as a clerk or singing man under costs of the chapel for St. Thomas’s Chapel on London Bridge.<sup>68</sup> These two roles do not necessarily preclude one another, however, and could represent the same man.

By 1525 a John Heywood appears as a player of the virginals at court,<sup>69</sup> and between January 1536/7 and February 1538/9 he was still being entered as a musician and a stage player in the accounts of both Princess Mary and Thomas Cromwell.<sup>70</sup> It is known that Heywood the dramatist was also a skilled player of the virginals, as evidenced by Thomas Whythorne in the late 1540s. Whythorne lived with Heywood as his pupil and servant, and although he does not disclose the location of Heywood’s house in his autobiography, Heywood, Whythorne says, was ‘very well skilled in music, and playing on the virginals’ and was also ‘an English poet, as the like, for his wit and invention, with the quantity that he wrote, was not as then in England, nor before his time since Chaucer’s time’.<sup>71</sup> Whythorne also mentions that he learned to play the virginals and the lute while he was with Heywood, and although he does not say that Heywood performed on the lute, it seems likely that he did and that one of his jobs at

<sup>64</sup> See A. W. Reed, *Early Tudor drama*, pp. 29–35. Reed notes that in a letter of 18 April 1575 Heywood said he was seventy-eight years old (TNA, SP15/24/17, fol. 45<sup>r</sup>; *CSP, Domestic Series, Elizabeth, Addenda, 1566–1579* ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1871), p. 482).

<sup>65</sup> Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 3rd edn, with a continuation by Philip Bliss (London: Rivington, 1813), col. 348; see also Douglas Maclean, *A history of Pembroke College, Oxford, Anciently Broadgates Hall* (Oxford, 1897), pp. 96–7.

<sup>66</sup> TNA, E36/216, ff. 57<sup>v</sup>, 67<sup>r</sup>; Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993), VII, 244–5, quoted in Harley (pre-publication draft chapter on John Heywood).

<sup>67</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, Bridgemasters’ Accounts: CLA/007/FN/02/005, ff. 86<sup>r</sup>, 103<sup>v</sup>, 126<sup>r</sup>, 146<sup>v</sup>, 164<sup>r</sup>, 187<sup>v</sup>, 206<sup>r</sup>, 228<sup>r</sup>, 252<sup>v</sup>, 271<sup>r</sup>, 293<sup>v</sup>, 315<sup>r</sup>; CLA/007/FN/02/006, ff. 16<sup>v</sup>, 37<sup>r</sup>, 55<sup>v</sup>, 74<sup>r</sup>, 95<sup>v</sup>, 115<sup>r</sup>, 136<sup>r</sup> quoted in Harley (pre-publication draft chapter on John Heywood). Harley notes that since the accounting year was Michaelmas (29 September) to Michaelmas, the entries for 5 Henry VIII to 23 Henry VIII cover parts of the years 1513 and 1531, as well as all the years between.

<sup>68</sup> LMA, Bridgemasters’ Accounts: CLA/007/FN/02/005, ff. 86<sup>r</sup>, 103<sup>v</sup>, 126<sup>r</sup>, 146<sup>v</sup>, 164<sup>r</sup>, 187<sup>v</sup>, 206<sup>r</sup>, 228<sup>r</sup>, 252<sup>v</sup>, 293<sup>v</sup>, 315<sup>r</sup>; CLA/007/FN/02/006, ff. 16<sup>v</sup>, 37<sup>r</sup>, 55<sup>v</sup>, 74<sup>r</sup>, 95<sup>v</sup>, 115<sup>r</sup>, 136<sup>r</sup> quoted in Harley (pre-publication draft chapter on John Heywood).

<sup>69</sup> BL Egerton MS 2604, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>; Ashbee, *Records of English court music*, VII, 254, quoted in Harley (pre-publication draft chapter on John Heywood).

<sup>70</sup> BL Royal MS 17 B XXVIII, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>r</sup>; TNA, E36/256; Frederick Madden, *Privy purse expenses of the Princess Mary* (London: W. Pickering, 1831), 12, 62; Ashbee, *Records of English court music*, VII, 374, 376, 416, quoted in Harley (pre-publication draft chapter on John Heywood).

<sup>71</sup> Thomas Whythorne, *The Autobiography*, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), p. 13.

court was to sing songs to his own accompaniment.<sup>72</sup> Whythorne adds: ‘while I was with him, he made diverse ditties [to] be sung unto musical instruments.’ Thus far it would not seem unreasonable to suggest that we are looking at one man.

In 1523 a John Heywood was made free of the Stationers’ Company and afterwards transferred to the Mercers’ Company. In its widest sense mercery describes all merchandise, but in London the term had evolved to mean the trade specifically in luxury fabrics such as silk, linen, hemp-cloth and fustian, and in a large variety of miscellaneous goods such as bedding, ribbons, laces and purses. By 1529/30 this Heywood was Meter of Linen Cloth and Canvas for the City of London.<sup>73</sup> If this individual is the dramatist Heywood, son of William the lawyer, then his membership of this company was probably a product of his family’s earlier association with the Rastell family and Sir Thomas More (who was admitted to the Mercers’ Company in 1509). When More became a privy councillor in 1518 he already had a connection with John Heywood the dramatist, and the latter’s initial steps at court may have stemmed from his patronage and growing influence in the early 1520s.<sup>74</sup> There was already a closer family tie, as John Rastell had married More’s sister Elizabeth (probably before 1504), and Heywood himself married the Rastells’ daughter Joan at some point before 1523. John Rastell had been gaining royal favour on his own behalf: he had worked at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, and created a pageant in Cheapside for the visit of the emperor Charles V in 1522. This dramatic interest, together with his status as a stationer—his activity in the printing business went back at least as far as 1512—were doubtless of value to his son-in-law. Most of what survives of Heywood’s work as a dramatist apparently dates from the 1520s. Heywood’s connections with the Mercers would also have brought him into contact with the most important patrons of St. Paul’s School.

On 20 February 1538/9, a John Heywood signed a conventual lease regarding the manor of Brookhall, belonging to the monastery of St. Osyth in north east Essex.<sup>75</sup> The third of William Heywood’s sons (and thus possibly John’s brother), Thomas, was a canon of St. Osyth’s, a house of Austin Canons. In the Acknowledgments of

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<sup>72</sup> BL Add. MS 4900, ff. 58<sup>v</sup>–59<sup>r</sup> (latest numbering), contains a lute-song version of Heywood’s *What heart can think or tongue express*, the words of which are in MS 15233. Although the copy in BL Add. MS 4900 appears to date from the seventeenth century it may derive from Heywood’s original, since the manuscript includes lute-song transcriptions of music by Taverner, Sheppard and Tallis.

<sup>73</sup> ‘John Heywood’, *ODNB*.

<sup>74</sup> ‘John Heywood’, *ODNB*.

<sup>75</sup> TNA, E303/2 no. 46.

Supremacy of 1534, John Whederyke signed as Abbot, and Thomas Heywood's name was seventeenth on a list of twenty-one. At the Dissolution in 1539 Abbot Whederyke and the canons were pensioned, with Thomas Heywood's pension being £6 13s. 4d. The valuation of St. Osyth's and the inventory of possessions are unusually full,<sup>76</sup> and attached to the bundle (R.O. Church Goods 10/26) is an autograph letter from Abbot Whederyke to John Heywood written on 9th May, 1540. The letter is an acknowledgment of the due receipt of rent from John Heywood for the Manor of Brookhall, of which he held a lease for £14 a year, and it is endorsed,

To my lovyng herty frende John Heywode, gentylman delyver thys speedely.<sup>77</sup>

After the Dissolution, Thomas Cromwell, as Henry VIII's chief minister, seized into his own hands the abbey lands, but after his fall from favour and execution in the following year, the lease was restored under a grant dated 3rd December, 1540:

dilecto servienti nostro John Heywood of our manor of Brookhall recently in the possession of Thomas Cromwell lately attainted of high treason [. . .] for 21 years at a rent of £14.1.6. and 12d increment.<sup>78</sup>

In the same year as the conventual lease was signed, Heywood's dramatic activities may also have begun, when he presented an interlude 'with his children' before Princess Mary.<sup>79</sup> Incidentally, it is this reference which has led some scholars to believe that he may have taken charge of the boys of St. Paul's between the death of Redford in 1547 and Westcott's official appointment as his replacement in 1553, although the use of the possessive could simply refer to boys performing a play under his instruction rather than because he was their full time master. Heywood's role as a dramatist and writer may well have saved his life when he was imprisoned in 1543 on suspicion of complicity in the so-called 'Prebendaries Plot' to remove Archbishop Thomas Cranmer from office. He was pardoned, supposedly by someone who recommended his skill at writing, and as a penalty, Cranmer asked him to write the

<sup>76</sup> *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 21 vols (London, 1862–1932) XIV, Part 1: January–July 1539 (1894), 574–593. No. 1326.

<sup>77</sup> Quoted in A.W. Reed, 'John Heywood and his friends', *The Library*, s3-VIII (31), (1917) 240–270 (245–246).

<sup>78</sup> Quoted in A.W. Reed, 'John Heywood and his friends', pp. 245–246.

<sup>79</sup> BL MS Royal, 178, xxviii, fol. 42, quoted in Lennam, p. 33.

interlude upon ‘the parts of Man’ which is quoted by Thomas Whythorne.<sup>80</sup> In 1545 he recovered the pension and lands he had forfeited, and when he received his court wages at Christmas 1545 he was still a ‘player on the virgynalles’—a post he continued to hold in the reign of Edward VI.<sup>81</sup>

According to Harley, the next known signature of ‘Jhon heywood’, found at the end of Richard Bramston’s will, made on 26 May 1554, has strong resemblances to the barely legible conventual lease signature of 1538/9. The original of this will cannot currently be located for comparison, but a probate copy of the will gives other details of interest, which suggest links between this Heywood and the contributor to MS 15233.<sup>82</sup> Until 1531 Bramston was Master of the Choristers at Wells Cathedral, and is one of the composers represented in both the Peterhouse and the Gyffard part-books, which between them also contain settings ascribed to Knyght, Redford and possibly Richard Edwards, as well as various individuals from St. Paul’s and the Chapel Royal.<sup>83</sup> Bramston’s nephew John, like Heywood, was a Mercer, and so was Christopher Campion, the brother-in-law to whom John Bramston had been apprenticed.<sup>84</sup> Heywood was bequeathed Bramston’s ‘best howpe [ring] of gold’, and was evidently involved in the same musical circles responsible for producing contributions to MS 15233. Heywood was one of the overseers of Bramston’s will, while the other was Richard Day,<sup>85</sup> probably the same man who became Heywood’s landlord at some stage before 1561.<sup>86</sup> Day’s will, made in 1561, connects this Heywood to a virginal player. He first refers to ‘the tenamente wherein M<sup>r</sup> John Haywoode now dwelleth ... lyinge and beinge in the parishe of S<sup>t</sup> Bartillmewe the litle nere Smythfelde in London’, and after

<sup>80</sup> Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 321; Thomas Whythorne, *The Autobiography*, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford, 1961), pp. 13–14, 74.

<sup>81</sup> BL Add. MS 27404, fol.18<sup>r</sup>; TNA, E101/426/5, fol. 24<sup>v</sup> quoted in Ashbee, *Records of English court music*, VII, 293–4.

<sup>82</sup> John Harley references PROB 10/28 for Bramston’s original will, which was made on 26 May 1554. 10/28 contains wills for the latter part of 1554, and a search of 10/27 which covers the month of May was unsuccessful. The will was proved on 13 September 1554: probate copy PROB 11/37, ff. 60<sup>r-v</sup>; see also *Somerset Medieval Wills (Third series) 1531–1558*, ed. by F. W. Weaver (London: Somerset Record Society, 1905), pp. 153–154.

<sup>83</sup> The motet, *Terrenum sitiens*, in *The Peterhouse Partbooks*, has been tentatively assigned to Edwards. See *Grove Music Online* [accessed August 2010]; King, p. 234.

<sup>84</sup> David Mateer, ‘The “Gyffard” partbooks: composers, owners, date and provenance’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 28 (1995), 21–50 (26).

<sup>85</sup> Mateer, p. 27. Mateer identifies Richard Day as a salter who lived in the parish of St Mary-at-Hill. John Harley disputes this identification, noting that there is nothing to indicate that this Day had any connection with Heywood, and suggesting instead another individual who died shortly after the salter.

<sup>86</sup> Harley (pre-publication draft chapter on John Heywood) notes that he is not mentioned in GL MS 2859, a subsidy assessment list of 1559.

mentioning his wife, adds: ‘I will that the saide M<sup>r</sup> John Haywoode (after the death of my saide wife) shall have his dwellinge freely in the said *tenamente* wherein he now dwelleth duringe all that his naturall lyfe’.<sup>87</sup> Finally, he states, ‘I give to the said M<sup>r</sup> Haywoode my virgynalles, and a Harnesse complete, to be delyvered unto him ymmediately after my decease’.<sup>88</sup>

Although Bramston’s original will and Heywood’s signature from 1554 cannot be located, the three signatures of ‘Jhon heywood’ which appear in a teller’s book of 1556–7 also resemble the conventual lease signature of 1538.<sup>89</sup> The teller’s book records payments made by the Exchequer to various individuals, and is doubly significant because it also contains several instances of the signature of Miles Huggarde (see below), another of the MS 15233 contributors whose connection to the circle of manuscript contributors remains obscure.

Thus far, it is possible that all these instances of the name John Heywood represent the same man. However, in 1534, a John Hayward is listed as Minor Canon or Succentor at St. Paul’s Cathedral.<sup>90</sup> The notebook of Michael Shaller or Shawler, a verger acting as under-chamberlain at St. Paul’s between 1566 and 1584 contains some fragmentary accounts in various hands, relating to 1554, in which John Hayward is described several times as a petty canon and junior cardinal.<sup>91</sup> The job of a minor canon would have involved a high degree of liturgical and pastoral skill as well as considerable musical talent, and the post holder was responsible for leading the daily worship in the cathedral. The Minor Canon signed the Acknowledgements of the King’s Supremacy on 20 June 1534, along with John Redford, who was, at the time, a vicar choral.<sup>92</sup> This signature, ‘Joānes haward’ is the earliest known signature of a John Heywood who can be linked to St. Paul’s. Harley has noted that it has characteristics which recur in later signatures, although apart from the spelling of the name as ‘Haward’, the resemblances are not particularly strong.<sup>93</sup> A.W. Reed, and more recently Ian Spink, have suggested that this individual, although linked to Redford and

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<sup>87</sup> The tenement was one of a ‘set’ of tenements. Deye left his lease of them to his servant Elizabeth Andrewes, but wished Heywood to enjoy the one that he lived in.

<sup>88</sup> PROB 11/46, ff. 224<sup>r-v</sup>. Will made on 2 December 1561, and proved on 29 July 1563 (indexed under ‘Richard Deye’); quotations from a loose copy at PROB 10/52 in Harley (pre-publication draft chapter on John Heywood).

<sup>89</sup> TNA, E405/508 (dated 1556–7: one signature in Michaelmas term, two in Easter term).

<sup>90</sup> TNA, E.25/82/1.

<sup>91</sup> Michael Shaller’s Notebook is GL MS 25532. Harley notes that Heywood is mentioned on ff. 73<sup>r</sup>–89<sup>v</sup>. A cardinal was responsible for the discipline and attendance of petty canons.

<sup>92</sup> TNA, E.25/82/1.

<sup>93</sup> Harley (pre-publication draft chapter on John Heywood).

St. Paul's, is not the same person as the well known dramatist. Reed explains that the 'confusion' arises from the spelling of the canon's name as 'Hayward' being miscopied as 'Heywood' by the ecclesiastical historian Strype,<sup>94</sup> whilst Spink simply believes that the dramatist would not have also been a petty canon at St. Paul's.<sup>95</sup> On 30 September 1556, a John Heywood who signed his occupation as a 'petycanon of poule', witnessed the will of John Redford's sister, Margaret Cox.<sup>96</sup> Another witness to this document was an individual possibly trained in law, Thomas Pridioxe, who was also connected with Sir Thomas More, and whose verse occurs in MS 15233.<sup>97</sup>

Pridioxe (also variously spelled Prideaux, Predyokys, Prydieux and Prydis) is an ancient and fairly common Devonshire family name,<sup>98</sup> and this combined with the variable spellings mean that, as with John Heywood, it is extremely difficult to establish a firm identification for the witness to the will, or the contributor of the single poem, *Behold of pensiveness the picture here in place*, ascribed to a man of this name in MS 15233. Margaret Cox's will identifies Pridioxe as 'de medio Templo London generosus', indicating that he studied at Middle Temple, one of the Inns of Court, but whilst this might suggest that he read law, often the Inns of Court were simply 'finishing schools' for wealthy young men who needed to learn the skills necessary for a life at court.<sup>99</sup> It is not therefore any definite indication that he practised the profession. A study of the admissions registers reveals no record of Thomas Pridioxe being admitted to the Middle Temple, although, given the date of the will, it is likely that he was admitted during the period for which records are missing, 1525–1551.<sup>100</sup>

There were at least three known individuals with the name Thomas Pridioxe/Prideaux who were contemporary with John Heywood the dramatist; a churchwarden of Ashburton in Devon, Thomas Prideaux of Orchardton, in Modbury parish, Devon, and Thomas Prideaux, of Lewiton, in Ermington, Devon.<sup>101</sup> None of these seem to have been known for writing poetry. However, an untitled poem

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<sup>94</sup> A.W. Reed, p. 234.

<sup>95</sup> Ian Spink, 'Music, 1540–1640' in *St. Paul's, The Cathedral Church of London, 604–2004*, ed. by Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (London: Yale University Press, 2004), Note 32, p. 481.

<sup>96</sup> GL MS 25626/1, fol. 117<sup>v</sup>; will proved 3 April 1558.

<sup>97</sup> Pridioxe married Helen Clement, daughter of Thomas More's adopted daughter Margaret Giggis. His single contribution to MS 15233 is on fol. (3) 9.

<sup>98</sup> Louise Imogen Guiney, *Recusant Poets* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1938), pp. 108–114.

<sup>99</sup> Trevor Lennam, *Sebastian Westcott, the Children of St. Paul's, and The Marriage of Wit and Science* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), pp. 16, 34.

<sup>100</sup> Arthur Brown, 'Three notes on Sebastian Westcott', *Modern Language Review*, 44 (1949), 229–232 (p. 232).

<sup>101</sup> W.F. Prideaux, 'Thomas Prideaux, the Poet', *Notes and Queries*, 5, series x, no. 254 (1878), p. 367.

attributed to a ‘Mr Prideaux’ appears in *A Brief View of the State of the Church of England* by Sir John Harington (1561–1612). Although this was not printed until 1653, the poem is thought to have been composed much earlier. Halliwell suggests that the poem is an elegy on the death of Bishop Bonner, but Louise Guiney suggests that the poem instead refers to the death of Bishop Stephen Gardiner, which occurred in 1555, and that it is likely that the poem is contemporary with the event that it describes.<sup>102</sup> If it does describe Gardiner, then this would place its author in the same time frame as the compilation of MS 15233, and would indicate that he was a staunch Catholic. A Thomas Prideaux removed to the continent in order to escape religious persecution for his Catholic beliefs during the 1560s, and this man married into the More circle through Helen Clement, daughter of More’s adopted daughter Margaret Giggs, probably in Madrid.<sup>103</sup> Writing in praise of Gardiner amongst members of this circle would not be unusual, and the connection with More would strengthen the likelihood that this Pridioxe was connected to John Heywood the dramatist and the MS 15233 circle.

A Thomas Pridioxe was also present in 1557, when ‘Johannes Heywood de London’ signed a bond supporting Redford’s successor, Sebastian Westcott, in his acquisition of a lease for the St. Paul’s property of Wickham Manor in Essex (now known as Wickham Bishops).<sup>104</sup> If all the Pridioxes mentioned are the same, then this man’s connection with Redford, Westcott, Thomas More and MS 15233 would seem to support the theory that the John Heywood who signed two documents with him was the dramatist as well as the petty canon of St. Paul’s.

During Mary I’s reign, the name ‘John Haywarde’ also appears in the churchwardens’ accounts for St. Mary-at-Hill a number of times. The accounts often record payments made to him on occasions when the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal joined forces with the church’s choir.<sup>105</sup> On 18 August 1558, 3s 4d was paid ‘to the clarkes and syngynge men for a banket or Recreassion at m<sup>r</sup> haywardes one owr Lady even to macke them to dryncke’.<sup>106</sup> 1556 saw a payment of five shillings made by the parish ‘to John hayward for wyne to syngge withall’.<sup>107</sup> The accounts for 1558 record a payment of twenty-eight shillings ‘to mr heward for wyne that was ffet at [fetched

<sup>102</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *The Moral Play of Wit and Science, and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848), p. vii; Guiney, p. 110.

<sup>103</sup> Guiney, pp. 108–114.

<sup>104</sup> GL MS 25630/1, ff. 360<sup>r</sup>–361<sup>v</sup>; Brown, ‘Three notes on Sebastian Westcott’, pp. 231–2.

<sup>105</sup> David Mateer, ‘The Gyffard Partbooks’, p. 28, and Littlehales, p. 410.

<sup>106</sup> GL MS 1239/1 (part 3), fol. 811<sup>r</sup>; Littlehales, p. 410.

<sup>107</sup> GL MS 1239/1 (part 3), fol. 791<sup>r</sup>.

from] his house from crystmas tyll a monthe before michemas and for the wyne yt was fet at ye maundy'.<sup>108</sup> Another entry says that 'serten of the parishe & serten of the chappell and other syngynge men' were 'drynkyng over nyght at mr haywardes'.<sup>109</sup>

During the 1550s, John Heywood the dramatist's association with William Forrest, who wrote of him as 'my frende Heywoode', may also be significant in allowing some amalgamation of the different instances of the name.<sup>110</sup> Forrest had been a minor canon of Osney Abbey in Oxfordshire, and was (he claimed) a chaplain to Queen Mary.<sup>111</sup> He had also provided the words for William Mundy's composition *Vox patris caelestis*.<sup>112</sup> In a recent article on *Vox patris*, John Milsom discussed the various theories concerning its composition: that it was composed for the coronation pageant of Mary I in 1553; or that Munday, who was the parish clerk at St. Mary-at-Hill in the same period, wrote it for the church's celebration of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.<sup>113</sup> The first theory, which Milsom refers to as the 'coronation theory', includes a discussion of Heywood's role in the coronation pageant for Mary I, which is described by Stowe thus:

In Paules Church-yarde against the Schoole, one Maister Heywod sate in a Pageant under a Vine, and made to hir [Mary] an Oration in Latine and English.<sup>114</sup>

Another account, *The Chronicle of Queen Jane*, notes,

At the scholehouse in Palles church ther was certayn children and men sung diverse staves in gratefying the queen; ther she stayed a goode while and gave diligent ere to their song.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>108</sup> GL MS 1239/1 (part 3); fol. 818<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> GL MS 1239/1 (part 3), fol. 792<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>110</sup> BL Add. MS 34791, fol. 3<sup>f</sup> quoted in A.W. Reed, 'John Heywood and his friends', p. 267.

<sup>111</sup> Forrest's claim was added to two holographs of *Josephe the chaiste* (Bodleian Library MS Eng. Poet. d.9; Bodleian Library MS University College 88, and its companion BL Royal MS 18.C.XIII).

<sup>112</sup> Bodleian Library MSS Mus. Sch. e.376–81. See John D. Bergsagel, 'The date and provenance of the Forrest-Heyther collection of Tudor Masses', *Music & Letters*, 44 (1968), 240–8 and Hugh Benham, *John Taverner* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 21. Osney Abbey was given cathedral status in 1542 and dissolved in 1545.

<sup>113</sup> John Milsom, 'William Munday's 'Vox Patris Caelestis' and the Accession of Mary Tudor', *Music & Letters*, 91 (2010), 1–34. For the St. Mary-at-Hill theory, also see Kerry McCarthy, 'William Mundy's 'Vox Patris Caelestis' and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary', *Music & Letters*, 85 (2004), 353–367.

<sup>114</sup> John Stow, *The Chronicles of England*, 1073–1074, quoted in Milsom, p. 15.

<sup>115</sup> Nichols, John Gough, ed., *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Two Years of Mary, and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (London: J.B. Nichols, 1850) quoted in Milsom, p. 15. Milsom notes that the account in the *Chronicles of the Grey Friars* specifically states that this event took place 'in Powlles

Milsom suggests that the ‘certayn children and men’ who sang at the pageant in St. Paul’s churchyard alongside Heywood’s pageant display could not have been the choir of St. Paul’s, since such a prestigious choir would surely have been mentioned by name, and in addition, the St. Paul’s choir boys are recorded as performing further along the route.<sup>116</sup> As a dramatist, Heywood’s name is sometimes aligned (as it is in the accounts for St. Mary-at-Hill) with the appearance of the singers of the Chapel Royal, specifically for events when the Royal singers stepped away from court and monarch, and sang for reasons unconnected with their principal places of work. For example, the Revels accounts for 1552 list payment for William Baldwin’s ‘a play of the state of Ireland and another of children set out by Mr. Heywood’ and thought to have been performed at Easter or during May of 1553.<sup>117</sup> The account calls for twelve coats to be provided for the children, and as the number of Chapel children was twelve and the series of entertainments was under the control of George Ferrers and the Office of the Revels, it is probable that these were the Children of the Chapel rather than the Children of St. Paul’s. There were only ten boys under the almoner of St. Paul’s in the 1550s. The ‘certayn men’ at Mary’s coronation pageant might therefore have been from the Chapel, but there is yet another possibility. Milsom follows John Harley in suggesting that Heywood might have lived in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, and notes his possible association with the church, suggesting that because of this and his connection with Forrest, he might have been involved with the performance of Munday’s composition. Perhaps the singers might even have been those of St. Mary’s.

It seems that Heywood the dramatist associated with St. Paul’s and the Haywarde associated with the singers of the Chapel Royal and St. Mary’s could feasibly be one and the same, but a Heywood also appears in the accounts of St. Mary’s for other reasons. An entry for 1555 reads: ‘paid to mr haywood and mr Symkotes to retayne then to be our atornes — vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>’.<sup>118</sup> A counsellor was also retained, and a payment was made ‘to mr Cackes for framynge of a boke to goo to our counsell’. The cost of the counsel was ‘for and towards the sewte of our Landes

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churcheyerde at the est ende of the church’. The ‘scholehouse’ must therefore have been St. Paul’s School, rather than the building used by the choristers of the Cathedral for rehearsals and plays.

<sup>116</sup> Milsom, pp. 15–16.

<sup>117</sup> Lennam, p. 55.

<sup>118</sup> GL MS 1239/1 (part 3), fol. 769<sup>f</sup>.

belonginge to our Church of Saynte Mary at Hyll at severall tymes'.<sup>119</sup> There is a reference in the accounts for 1556 to 'sealyng the wrytt of mr haywoodes Clarcke', and in the same year payment was made 'to mr haywood[es] Clarke for the cople of the syes'.<sup>120</sup> On 26 December it was apparently as a member of the vestry (the modern day parochial church council) that Heywood put his name to an agreement between the parson and churchwardens on the one hand and 'John franke bere brewer' on the other.<sup>121</sup> The signature of 'John hawarde' is spelled differently and differs in some other respects from other examples. The above references seem to indicate that this Heywood may have also had some knowledge of the law. Although Heywood's father and one of his brothers were lawyers, there is no indication that he practised law professionally, but these occasions may be explained if he was relied upon for his experience, and was acting in the sense of representing the interests of the parish.

If the 'individuals' noted in this chapter do in fact represent the same man, Heywood's career can be briefly summarised thus:

1. He became a singer at St. Thomas's Chapel at the age of seventeen, and from the age of twenty-three worked concurrently as a singer at court.
2. At twenty-seven he was still in both these roles, and had also joined the Mercers' Company. He became Meter of Linen and Cloth by the age of thirty-three.
3. By the age of thirty-eight, he had left St. Thomas's and become a minor canon at St. Paul's, sharing his time between this role and his role as a dramatist, writer and player of the virginals at court.
4. By the 1550s, he was also appearing in the records at St. Mary-at-Hill, perhaps indicating that he lived in the parish.

It is not possible to firmly assert that all of these references to John Heywood represent one man, but I suggest that the above outline demonstrates that it is at least feasible, and this is the view taken in this thesis.

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<sup>119</sup> GL MS 1239/1 (part 3), fol. 768<sup>f</sup>; see also Littlehales, 399. On fol. 768<sup>v</sup> (1555) is: 'Recevid of John haywarde -vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>', but the reason for this payment is not given. Nor is that for a payment to 'hayewod' in 1556 (fol. 784<sup>f</sup>).

<sup>120</sup> GL MS 1239/1 (part 3), fol. 786<sup>f</sup>, 789<sup>f</sup>. 'Syas': possibly 'size', an ordinance or regulation; in particular, an ordinance fixing the amount of a payment or tax.

<sup>121</sup> GL MS 1239/2, fol. 113<sup>v</sup>.

## Miles Huggarde

Perhaps the most intriguing of the contributors to MS 15233, Miles Huggarde is described as a hosier dwelling in Pudding Lane and a shoemaker.<sup>122</sup> He is also known as a poet and religious polemicist, and has been recognised, both by his reformist antagonists in Queen Mary's reign, and by modern historians, as the best of Roman Catholic propagandists in the pamphlet war of 1553–8.<sup>123</sup>

There is no record of Huggarde's birth or parentage. Anthony à Wood states that Huggarde was 'the first trader [...] to appear in print for the Catholic cause that had not received any monastical or academical breeding'.<sup>124</sup> In fact he appears as a polemicist before he is mentioned as a hosier. The earliest reference to him is in 1540 when Robert Wisdom (Archdeacon of Ely under Elizabeth I) who had been imprisoned for his reformist preaching, mentions Huggarde three times as one of his persecutors in a justificatory document.<sup>125</sup> By 1548 Huggarde had either published or allowed to be circulated in manuscript at least two of his works: *De profundis*, a metrical version of the Psalms, and *Abuse of the blessed sacrament of the altar*, an answer to an anonymous ballad written against belief in transubstantiation. The ballad and Huggarde's answer were both printed in the preacher Robert Crowley's *Confutation*.<sup>126</sup> The zeal with which Huggarde persecuted non-Catholics is evident through Crowley's accusation that he was complicit in the execution of all such at Smithfield between 1533 and 1546.<sup>127</sup> He is also mentioned by name in one of the few remaining Reformers' poetical tracts from the reign of Edward VI, *a pore helpe*,

<sup>122</sup> Foxe describes Huggarde as a hosier. TNA, E405/508 describes Huggarde as a 'caligarius' (shoemaker).

<sup>123</sup> J.W. Martin, 'Miles Hogarde: Artisan and Aspiring Author in Sixteenth Century England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 34 (1981), 359–183 (p. 359). Martin notes *The lamentacion of England* (1558) (STC IOI 5), refers three times to Huggarde's attacks on Protestants and to no other Roman Catholic pamphleteer more than once; the Protestant exile writer, William Plough, wrote *An apology for Protestants* in direct response to Huggarde's main polemic tract. (This is now lost, but see Edward J. Baskerville, *A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic Published in English between 1553 and 1558* (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 82). For modern judgments see D. M. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor* (London: Ernest Benn, 1979); Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jennifer Loach, 'Pamphlets and Politics', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 48 (1975), 31–45.

<sup>124</sup> *Athenae Oxonienses*, col. 301.

<sup>125</sup> Printed in John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (London, 1816), VI, 223–239.

<sup>126</sup> Robert Crowley, *The confutation of the Misshapen Aunswer to the misnamed wicked ballade called the abuse of the blessed sacramente of the altare, wherein thou haste, gentle reader, the ryghte understandynge of al the places of scripture that Myles Hoggarde, with his learned counsell, hath wrested to make for the transubstantiation of the bread and wyne* (London: John Day and William Seres, 1548) (STC 6082), sig. A5.

<sup>127</sup> *The Confutation of the Mishapen Aunswer to the Ballade* (1548), sig. A4<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>r</sup>.

And also mayster huggarde  
 Doth shewe himselfe no sluggard  
 Nor yet no drunken drunkarde  
 But sharpeth vp hys wyt  
 And frameth it so fyt,  
 These yonkers<sup>128</sup> for to hit.<sup>129</sup>

Three copies of this tract are known to exist: one in the University Library, Cambridge, and two copies of another edition in the Bodleian, Oxford. Incidentally, the Cambridge version of this poem was almost certainly printed by the Day/Seres partnership.<sup>130</sup>

Huggarde wrote most of his anti-Reformation tracts in verse, and published, or in the case of some, republished them, in 1554. Several of his works are in a single volume, a copy of which is in the Library of Exeter College, Oxford. During the reign of Mary, Huggarde's fortunes increased, and shortly after her accession in 1553, he became hosier/shoemaker to the Queen. On 25 November 1553 he appears in the Patent Rolls,

Grant for life, in consideration of his service, to Miles Huggard, the queen's hosier, of the daily wages and fee of 12d. to be paid from Michaelmas last quarterly at the Receipt of the Exchequer.<sup>131</sup>

From this date he described himself as 'servant to the queen's most excellent majesty', and all of his subsequent works save two were dedicated to her.<sup>132</sup>

Huggarde was an extremely prolific and effective propagandist for the Catholic cause during the pamphlet war of 1553–8 between the Marian authorities and the English non-Catholic community in exile. His most influential work was *The Displaying of the Protestants* (1556), a prose satire on the religious practices of the English religious reformers. So significant were his works that in 1555 a treasonous tract falsely claiming to have been authored by Huggarde was published by his protestant antagonists in Wesel, with the intention of impugning his reputation with Mary's government. In the same year, he was also a guest at Bishop Bonner's Episcopal residence in London. Foxe in *The Book of Martyrs* relates a wonderful story regarding Huggarde's encounter there with the Essex gentleman and future martyr

<sup>128</sup> *OED* defines a yonker as 'a young nobleman or gentleman or a youth of high rank'.

<sup>129</sup> *A pore helpe The bukklar [and] defence of mother holy kyrke and weape[n] to driue he[n]ce al the against here wircke* (London, 1548).

<sup>130</sup> M. Channing Lenthicum, 'A pore helpe and its Printers', *The Library*, s4-IX (1928), 169–183.

<sup>131</sup> *Patent Rolls*, November 1553.

<sup>132</sup> C. Bradshaw, 'Miles Huggarde', *ODNB*.

Thomas Haukes, whom he engaged in disputation concerning the scriptural authority for child baptism. Upon learning of Huggarde's identity Haukes refused to discuss scriptural matters with an unlearned artisan, exclaiming 'ye can better skill to eate a pudding and make a hose than in Scripture eyther to answeere or oppose'.<sup>133</sup> In this year he also defended himself stoutly, if somewhat speciously in print, stating,

My calling is not bokes to write,  
 Nor no faultes to reprove,  
 But to folow my busynesse,  
 As wisdom would me move.  
 Before (say they) when men dyd preache  
 Whiche artificers were,  
 They were not calde therto, say you,  
 Gods word wyl them not beare.  
 But now can ye suffer a man,  
 Which no learning hath,  
 Against his calling as it were  
 To write upon our faith?  
 To them I do answeere againe,  
 My selfe for to defende,  
 If Gods precept dyd me forbyd,  
 No bookes I would have pende.  
 But God forbyds al men to preache  
 The which he hath not sent:  
 So hath he not all men to write;  
 This is most evident.<sup>134</sup>

So in 1555, at the time of the composition of MS 15233, Huggarde was at the centre of religious disputes, even visiting Bishop Bonner's palace, and also apparently working as a hosier or shoemaker to Queen Mary. In this year, as previously noted, his name also appears on several occasions in the teller's book of the Exchequer for 1556–7, which includes payments to John Heywood.<sup>135</sup> It is unclear quite how Huggarde was connected to the other contributors of MS 15233, other than simply by his evident omnipresence at the time at which it was compiled. His contribution to MS 15233 consists of a single poem entitled *Oh lord which art in heaven on high*, no copies of

<sup>133</sup> John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1576)

<sup>134</sup> *A mirroure of loue, which such light doth giue, that all men may learne, how to loue and liue. Compiled and set furth by Myles Hogarde seruaunt to the quenes highnesse* (London, 1555).

<sup>135</sup> TNA, E405/508.

which are known to exist elsewhere. In 1557 he presented Queen Mary with a manuscript of his last substantial work, *A Mirroure of Myserie*. After this date, he disappears, although the place and date of his death are unknown.<sup>136</sup>

### **The Network and its Implications for MS 15233**

The previous two chapters have demonstrated the need to examine MS 15233 as a whole, and as more than simply a product of one well known institution, or one key person who might at first appear to be involved in its compilation. This chapter has demonstrated the existence of an artistic network, of which there is evidence that all but one (Miles Huggarde) of the seven named contributors to MS 15233 was a part (or was well respected by those who were) by the 1550s. Although many of those in the network also had links to St. Paul's Cathedral, and to John Redford, more connections can be made between these men through the parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill. The repositioning of the manuscript away from St. Paul's and Redford has disallowed the theory that it might be representative of the network of Catholics which is frequently claimed to have existed at the Cathedral, centring on Redford, Heywood and later Westcott.<sup>137</sup> Examination of the less well known figures involved in the compilation of the manuscript, whose (occasionally outspoken) religious beliefs varied considerably, has demonstrated that the contributors were not in fact, bound to one another by their confessional beliefs. In wider terms, but equally importantly, the relocation of the manuscript's provenance to a parish church has suggested that those who attended such institutions did not necessarily share one belief. However, it has suggested that their attendance at the same place of worship for conformity's sake often joined those that shared other common interests. It also demonstrates that they were prepared to collaborate with one another, both professionally and socially, despite any theological variances.

Chapters 1 and 2 have examined the physical makeup of the manuscript, put forward a new theory for its date and provenance, and rejected the idea that it was compiled as a representation of Catholic belief. The next chapter begins the second part of this thesis—the study of the written content of MS 15233—by looking at the most

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<sup>136</sup> 'Miles Huggarde', *ODNB*.

<sup>137</sup> The Catholic connections between contributors are frequently noted, and have been emphasised by Daniel Page, 'Uniform and Catholic, Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1996), pp. 349–359.

complete dramatic fragment from the manuscript, *The Play of Wit and Science*, in its new context.

## Chapter 3

### *The Play of Wit and Science: Text, Theatre and Artistic Debate*

MS 15233 is the only extant source for *The Play of Wit and Science*, attributed by the colophon to John Redford. Printed on at least five occasions since its discovery in the mid nineteenth century, both as part of facsimile editions of the entire manuscript,<sup>1</sup> and singly as part of edited collections of early Tudor plays,<sup>2</sup> the incomplete text is considered as a valuable example of the Tudor interlude form. The attribution of the work to Redford has led to previous scholarship assuming that the play as it appears in MS 15233 is either Redford's autograph text, or written by a scribe for use by Redford during his time as Master of the Choir Boys at St. Paul's (c.1530–1547).<sup>3</sup> Both these arguments have been rendered invalid by the new evidence demonstrated in the two previous chapters; that none of the manuscript is in Redford's hand, that the manuscript in which the play is contained dates to the 1550s (several years after Redford's death), and that the miscellany seems to have originated not from St. Paul's, but from the parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill.

The assumption that this version of *Wit and Science* was produced in the context of the St. Paul's choir boy plays of the 1530s and 1540s has resulted in little detailed examination of the text for clues as to any other purpose. This chapter considers the play from a fresh perspective, as a section of a 1550s manuscript. It examines the play's status as a text, showing that it is in fact, a copy made from an earlier source—possibly for the purpose of performance—and by examining internal evidence tentatively puts forward a suggestion for the more accurate dating of the copy to within the four-year period of 1554–1558.

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<sup>1</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *The Moral Play of Wit and Science and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848); James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *The Moral Play of Wit and Science and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848; repr. London: Elibron, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> John Redford, *Wit and Science*, ed. by Arthur Brown (Oxford: Malone Society, 1951), David M. Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), Peter Happé, *Tudor Interludes* (London: Penguin, 1972).

<sup>3</sup> See for example, George Watson, ed., *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), I, 1905. Watson states that the play is probably autograph. Other work has assumed that the play as it appears in the manuscript is Redford's original version of the play, although not in his hand.

The second part of the chapter examines the use of music in the play, which confirms choirboys as the most suitable performers of the 1550s copy, and assesses the extensive use of properties, examining two in particular to argue that the play can be read as a defence of drama usually considered as Shakespearean.

The final part of the chapter examines the significance of *Wit and Science* as a source. It considers two plays from the later part of the sixteenth century which are based on the plot of *Wit and Science*, examining how significant aspects of the play were included, adapted or removed from later versions, and the effects of and reasons for these changes.

### ***Wit and Science: A Scribal Copy***

There is no reason to challenge the original attribution of the play in MS 15233 to Redford. However, the new dating of the paper on which the text was written to nearly a decade after the choirmaster's death, means that this must be a version of the play copied from an earlier source. Copying by hand, whether carried out by a professional scribe or an amateur, is inevitably subject to error, but such mistakes often allow an insight into the intention behind the copy. Copying mistakes fall into two main categories, mechanical errors and errors of interpretation, and both are apparent in MS 15233. The simplest form of mechanical error caused by the process of copying is an 'eye skip', where the copyist repeats all or part of the previous line of text in the process of looking between the source and his work. There are two examples of this in the text of *Wit and Science*, on fols. (2) k<sup>v</sup> and (2) l<sup>r</sup>. Errors can also be seen where a line or number of lines of text are missed out entirely. Hand A, the main copyist of *Wit and Science* missed out odd lines on fol. (2) d<sup>v</sup>, but later realised (or had his mistake pointed out to him), and returned to squeeze in his omissions. In addition to these mechanical errors, there are possible examples of A's misreading of the hand in his source text, for example the *ser* brevigraph on fol. (2) b<sup>v</sup>. Placed in context, the line makes sense as 'here *syr*' (my emphasis), but little sense as what it actually reads, 'here *of*'. There are also examples in the text which might suggest errors of interpretation possibly caused by the scribe copying from a manuscript that had already been altered, and being unsure which of the original directions to follow. Fol. (2) c<sup>v</sup> has the direction 'reson cūth in', added after the main text. This is apparently unnecessary since the character has already entered a few lines previously ('Reson cumth in'), and has already spoken ('&

sayth as folowyth'). A few lines later directions are given, 'al go out / save honest recre', which are then repeated in a different form immediately, 'here cōfort wyt / quiknes / & strength go out'.

### **The Purpose of the Copy: *Wit and Science* as a Performance Text**

As the first of the literary contents of MS 15233, inserted after the music, beginning on fol. (1) 9<sup>r</sup>, *Wit and Science* is the most complete of the three play texts contained within the manuscript.<sup>4</sup> The first part of the text is missing, but how much is more difficult to ascertain. The collation suggests that three leaves have been cut from the manuscript immediately before fol. (1) 9<sup>r</sup>, but how many of these contained the play and how many consisted of a continuation of the music or other work remains a matter of conjecture. In 1951 Arthur Brown approximated that if the missing leaves all contained the play, the loss could represent as many as 130 to 190 lines of dialogue. Brown's calculation of the average number of lines of text on a leaf is useful, but his overall conclusion remains potentially inaccurate, since it is based on the assumption that a manuscript version of the play would have included a title page and preliminaries such as dramatis personæ, items usually only present in printed works.<sup>5</sup> If the play actually began on the first page of the three cut leaves, the loss could represent as many as 230 lines of dialogue.<sup>6</sup> It is also worth noting here that since the play begins part way through, the title by which the work is known is taken from the colophon which reads 'thus endyth *the play of wyt and science* made by master Iohn redford' (my emphasis).<sup>7</sup> The reason for, and date of the cutting of the first part of the text is not clear. Neither the remainder of this play, nor the other two fragmentary interludes contained in the manuscript—which are missing all but the last page of text—appear to be sufficiently controversial to require cutting as a result of censorship, but it is of course, possible that material considered to be offensive was contained on the 'cut' leaves.

But what might the purpose of a copy of this play have been? The inclusion of the play part way through a rather jumbled miscellany does not immediately suggest that it was a final version being prepared for print, neither is there any indication in the

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<sup>4</sup> For the two other play fragments from MS 15233, see below, chapter 5 and Appendix A.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Brown, *Wit and Science* (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 1951), p. ix.

<sup>6</sup> Based on Brown's calculation of a maximum of 38 lines of dialogue on each page. Most pages of the play in MS 15233 contain c. 35 lines.

<sup>7</sup> BL Add. MS 15233, fol. (2) q<sup>v</sup>.

text itself or in the Stationers' Register that it was ever entered for print. The suggestion that the manuscript was originally designed as a boy chorister's personal part book has already been dismissed in chapter one (because it seems extremely unlikely that such an expensive, individualised book would have been produced for a student), but the format of *Wit and Science* provides further evidence to support the dismissal of this theory. The purpose of a chorister's part book would have been to provide the owner with an individual 'part', whether this was musical, or dramatic. However, *Wit and Science* was written into this manuscript in its entirety, not as a single 'part' for one actor.

Two significant possibilities remain for a play text that is clearly not an authorial draft, but which exists in almost complete form; a private copy for an individual, or a theatrical book. Distinguishing between a copy of a play text being used for performance, and an actual 'prompt book' or book holder's copy is often more difficult than might be expected, as Paul Werstine has noted in a study of the manuscript of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*.<sup>8</sup> The text of *Wit and Science* contains numerous stage directions, indicating not only entrances and exits, but directions for music, song and dancing and the use of various properties. Stage directions do not in themselves constitute evidence that the text was intended as a performance copy, since they may derive from the original produced by a theatrically aware author such as Redford. That the manuscript was not copied specifically as a 'prompt book' is indicated by the fact that the directions, whilst useful for ease of reading, would not be particularly useful to the book-holder in an acting company. They do not, for example, signal ahead for large properties, or the entrances of particular actors. Although it does not appear that the play was copied as a 'prompt book', there is further evidence which supports the idea that the copy might have been used as a performance text. Hand A, the scribe for the greater part of the play, seems to have made corrections to his text at a later stage, and these changes are almost exclusively concerned with stage directions and performance. For example, fol. (2) b<sup>f</sup> contains the direction 'tedyousnes cumeth in with a visyer over hys hed', which is clearly added in much larger text than the rest of the speech and directions on the page, but by the same scribe. Fol. (2) h<sup>v</sup> has altered stage directions concerning the exit of characters, and the following page (2) i<sup>r</sup>, contains nine lines which are extremely cramped and seem to have been written into a space left for them. The cramped text follows a direction for musicians with viols to enter, and includes the

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<sup>8</sup> Paul Werstine, 'Foul Papers' and 'Prompt-Books': Printer's Copy for Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, *Studies in Bibliography*, 41 (1988), 232–246.

directions for the second song, an indication that the title and nature of the song was added later, along with a few introductory lines in a gap left for a musical interlude. There are also a number of minor insertions and emendations by a second scribe, Hand C, throughout the text, which concern the correct assignment of speeches, the insertion of a stage direction (which is later crossed through) and the apparently arbitrary alteration of ‘ont’ to ‘on the’ on fol. (2) e<sup>r</sup>. Although it is possible that the scribes may originally have simply copied the play text into the manuscript for reference purposes, it is evident that having made a copy, at a later point they returned to it, expanded stage directions and corrected other performance related aspects, without making any substantial changes to the main body of the copied text. Such actions suggest that the later amenders were mainly concerned with making the play easier to read as a dramatic text, and possibly also to act, rather than changing the overall content.

There are no records of the staging of *Wit and Science*. However, the final folio of the play contains lines addressed ‘to our most noble kyng & queen in especiall / to ther honorable councell / & then to all the rest’, indicating that it was designed for performance at court during the reign of a married monarch.<sup>9</sup> It is of course possible that these lines are a remnant from the earlier source text, copied indiscriminately by the scribe into MS 15233. However, if the text was, in fact, adapted for performance during the 1550s, taking into consideration the fact that of the monarchs who reigned within this period, only Mary I was married, it is possible to tentatively suggest a narrower date range for this version of the text. This would place it within the four year period of the reign of Mary and Philip II of Spain, from July 1554 to November 1558.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the play has been cited as a celebration of marriage.<sup>11</sup> The opening lines discuss the material benefits as well as the romantic ideal of marriage, as the character of Reason defends himself against the charge of marrying his daughter off ‘baselye’,

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<sup>9</sup> MS 15233, fol. (2) q<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> See section on dating the manuscript in chapter one. It should be noted that 1554–1558 was also the date range suggested for MS 15233 by W.J. Ringler in 1992, although he cited no evidence for his theory.

<sup>11</sup> Reavley Gair, *The Children of St. Paul's: The Story of a Theatre Company, 1553–1608* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 78; Darryl Grantley, *Wit's Pilgrimage* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 157.

If anye man now marvell that I  
 wolde bestowe my dowghter thus baselye  
 of truth I reson am of thys mynde  
 where parties together be enclynde  
 by gyftes of grace to love ech other  
 there let them ioyne the tone with the toother <sup>12</sup>

As the play (and the manuscript in which it is contained) has previously been dated to the reign of Henry VIII, this marriage has been cited as referring to Henry's union with his fourth wife, Ann of Cleves, since the event fell within the given time frame for the play (1540), and involved the use of a flattering and apparently inaccurate portrait of a future spouse, in the same manner as *Wit and Science*.<sup>13</sup> However, placed within the new context of the 1550s, a play celebrating marriage at court could refer to the so-called 'Spanish marriage' of Mary I which took place in July 1554.

There is no firm evidence to support either the claim that Redford's text was adapted during the 1550s for a new performance, or that this performance might have been for Mary I and Philip. However, this chapter puts forward both these ideas as possibilities which have not previously been considered, and which might be useful for future research in this area.

### ***Wit and Science as a Play for Choirboys***

Although there are nineteen named characters, the plot of *Wit and Science* is not complex. The young Wit (metaphorically representative of intelligence), helped by his even younger page, Confidence, is determined to marry Science (representative of knowledge), the daughter of Reason and Experience. He is assisted in his suit first by Reason, who gives him a glass or mirror of reason with which to examine his own and others' conduct, and then by three more companions, Instruction, Study and Diligence. The young Wit is headstrong; refusing to apply himself to any long term plan, and ignoring the advice of his companions, he is defeated in combat with Science's mortal enemy, the monster Tediousness. Revived by Honest Recreation, he is then enticed by Lady Idleness who lulls him to sleep in her lap and exchanges his clothes with those of

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<sup>12</sup> *Wit and Science*, fol. (1) 9<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> See Hilary Nunn, 'It lak'th but life', Redford's *Wit and Science*, Ann of Cleves and the Politics of Interpretation', *Comparative Drama*, 33 (1999) 270–291. *Wit and Science* reverses the portrait process used by Henry VIII to select Ann of Cleves as his bride, and it is Science who decides to marry Wit because of his picture.

her son, Ignorance, the fool. Science comes across Wit and no longer recognises him, forcing him to examine himself in the glass of reason, where he sees the error of his ways. Science later forgives Wit and with the help of Confidence, Study, Instruction and Diligence, he eventually kills the monster Tediousness and is united with the object of his love.

With a few exceptions, previous studies of *Wit and Science* have concentrated on the play for two reasons. The first is the significance of its more developed story and characterisation in comparison with Medieval morality plays, and the second, the adaptation of the morality genre for a more secular pedagogical purpose.<sup>14</sup> As David Mills has noted, ‘the main protagonist [...] is no longer a “human” Every-man figure, but an aspect of the mind, Wit’.<sup>15</sup> Wit is a more developed character with whom the audience can identify in his innocence and vulnerability, even as they judge him in his wilfulness and stupidity, just as a morality audience responded to their Every-man representative. In this play, the errors of Wit not only reflect the sinfulness of human nature, but the impetuous self-assurance of youth appropriate to the school boy actor.<sup>16</sup> This chapter does not seek to challenge the idea that the play was designed as a school/choir boy play adapted from the morality form. Instead it approaches the play from an alternative angle, examining a number of elements of the play in their new context of the 1550s in order to confirm the copy’s suitability as a performance text for boys in this period, and to suggest an additional purpose concerning the use of drama and its role in the wider context of mid sixteenth-century artistic debate.

If the MS 15233 version of the play was being actively used for performance during the 1550s, it was almost certainly by those capable of playing instruments, dancing and singing as well as acting. *Wit and Science* indicates places in the dramatic action for a galliard and for four songs, two of which are accompanied by a consort of viols—‘Give place, give place to honest recreation’, ‘Exceeding measure with pains continual’, ‘Welcome mine own’ and finally, ‘Remembrance’. The lyrics to all but the

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<sup>14</sup> See for example, R.A. Duffy, ‘“Wit and Science” and Early Tudor Pageantry: A Note on Influences’, *Modern Philology*, 76 (1978), 184–189; Edgar T. Schell, ‘Scio Ergo Sum: The Structure of Wit and Science’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 16 (1976), 179–199; Victor I. Scherb, ‘Playing at Maturity in John Redford’s *Wit and Science*’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 45 (2005), 271–297. A notable exception is Hillary Nunn, ‘“It lak’th but life”, Redford’s *Wit and Science*, Ann of Cleves and the Politics of Interpretation’, which primarily examines the use of the portrait in the play, but is unconvincing in its conclusion that the play was designed as a comment on Henry VIII’s marriage to Ann of Cleves.

<sup>15</sup> David Mills, ‘Wit to Woo: The Wit Interludes’, in *Interludes and Early Modern Society*, ed. by Peter Happé and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 163–190 (p. 168).

<sup>16</sup> Mills, pp. 168–169.

last of the songs are found without musical settings, later in the manuscript (beginning at fol. (3) y<sup>r</sup>) and copied by another scribe, Hand B. To find the songs separately from the play is not unusual. As Tiffany Stern has noted, songs for plays regularly circulated in the company of prologues, epilogues and poems in manuscript miscellanies, and could be ‘temporarily not permanent residents in the play in which they featured’, resulting in composite playbooks where the dialogue represents one form of text, and a song represents another form, another authorship or another moment in time.<sup>17</sup> In fact, although the main text of the play in MS 15233 indicates where a song should be inserted, and gives its title, it gives no further clue to the lyrics. None of the lyrics which appear later in the manuscript are attributed, and it may be that they were not part of the original play, but were written specifically to accompany the version in MS 15233 during the 1550s. Whilst the majority of actors in this period would also have had at least some singing ability, not all would have been talented instrumentalists, and often extra musicians were brought in to accompany actors in the performance of a play. T.W. Craik has suggested however, that doubling was employed in the design of *Wit and Science*, which would have allowed actors who were also musicians to perform the play without the need for any extra instrumentalists. The first of these four actor-musicians represents Confidence, Honest Recreation and Fame; the second Study; Comfort and Favour; the third, Diligence, Quickness and Worship; and the fourth, Instruction, Strength and Riches.<sup>18</sup> Other combinations are of course, possible, but one is sufficient to demonstrate the point. The first sign of this doubling occurs during Wit’s first combat with Tediousness. Instruction and Confidence are already offstage, and are joined by Study and Diligence, who flee as Tediousness strikes Wit down, fol. (2) c<sup>r</sup>. During Tediousness’s soliloquy, they change costumes and reappear as Honest Recreation and her three singers, Comfort, Quickness and Strength, fol. (2) c<sup>v</sup>, for the first song. At this point they can only sing, because their hands are needed to lift the prostrate Wit. Later in the scene however, Reason enters and begins to urge Wit not to neglect his enterprise of winning Science. At this point, there occur marginal stage directions, ‘al go out save honest recre’, and ‘here comfort quiknes & strength go out’.<sup>19</sup> Soon, Honest Recreation says ‘Go to my men play’, at which point they probably

<sup>17</sup> Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 155–156.

<sup>18</sup> T.W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume and Acting* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1958), p. 47.

<sup>19</sup> MS 15233, fol. (2) c<sup>v</sup>.

accompany Wit's dance on their viols.<sup>20</sup> At the end of the dance, Wit sleeps in the lap of Idleness, and Honest Recreation abandons him. Confidence then enters, seeking Wit, whom Idleness has now left sleeping in a fool's coat and with a blackened face. Confidence exits, not seeing Wit, and then the next direction is, 'Here they come in with vyoles'.<sup>21</sup> This arrangement of characters supports the theory not only that the play was particularly suitable to be performed by actor/musicians, but that some effort was being made to introduce more music into the play than the action itself requires, and to display the talents of these musicians.<sup>22</sup> Choir boys would certainly have had the necessary singing, instrumental and dramatic skills for the performance, and would also have provided the nineteen actors needed for the cast. Furthermore, an examination of the play's concluding song, which may have been designed for the 1550s version, also suggests that it was suitable for a choir. The four part song 'Welcome mine own' seems to require eight singers, four to make up Wit's company and four for Lady Science's. The singers could either have been organised as two quartets with a line to each of the four singers, with two chorus lines (indented in the text below), or more simply, as a chorus with Wit and his company singing and then Science in turn, responding with hers.

Wit and his company	Oh lady dear, be you so near? To be known, my heart you cheer your voice to hear, welcome mine own.
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Science and her company	As you rejoice to hear my voice from me thus blown, so in my choice I show my voice to be your own. <sup>23</sup>
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The implication may be that the parts were played by the principal choristers and the deeper notes were intermingled with the boys' sopranos by the inclusion of adult

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<sup>20</sup> MS 15233, fol. (2) d<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> MS 15233, fol. (2) i<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Craik, pp. 47–48.

<sup>23</sup> The song is on fol. (3) z<sup>r</sup> of MS 15233. The quotation here is taken from the edition presented as part of this thesis.

singing men.<sup>24</sup> The song alone could appropriately be performed by choir boys, but also includes an accompaniment by four viols. Already skilled in singing, by the late 1540s, the children of the Chapel Royal and the choir schools of St. Paul's and Westminster were also beginning to take up the viol. Viols were the instruments of aristocrats, and by the mid sixteenth century, playing the viol had come to be regarded as a very important element in the education of choirboys, at least of those attending the larger institutions.<sup>25</sup> As Jane Flynn explains, choristers who could sing descant would use their skills to improvise melodies over a repeating bass.<sup>26</sup> Flynn also notes that most instrumental music in choir boy plays also comprised dances, usually galliards based on grounds,<sup>27</sup> and this appears to be the case in *Wit and Science*, where a galliard is specifically mentioned.<sup>28</sup> Thus, there is evidence to suggest that multi-talented choir boys would have been suitable performers of this version of the play, and that like the original on which it was based, it was possibly used in an educational context, with the active inclusion of music and dancing alongside acting in the play corresponding with a choirmaster's deliberate attempt to display his pupils' talents and hone their skills. In the face of moral attacks on music and dancing, *Wit and Science* also makes clear that these skills can be considered as honest recreation as distinct from idleness. This point was made by the humanist educator Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II), as early as 1450, when he noted that 'musical harmony which is neither immoderate nor sensuous greatly refreshes the spirit and cheers the mind for enduring hardship'.<sup>29</sup> In fact, the play employs Wit's stage death at the hands of Tediousness to emphasise the benefits of music, especially to those trained in the art of singing and graceful movement. Whilst on a literal level, Wit is resurrected by a combination of social and personal attributes—Honest Recreation, Comfort, Quickness and Strength, who revive him by singing and later engaging him to dance—much of the scene's dramatic power comes from its presentation of musical and physical harmony.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Gair, p. 79.

<sup>25</sup> Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 213–214. Woodfield includes a useful chart of recorded occasions on which choir boys played the viol from the 1540s through to the 1560s, demonstrating its popularity.

<sup>26</sup> Jane Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers in England', in John Morehen, *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 193.

<sup>27</sup> Flynn, p. 193.

<sup>28</sup> MS 15233, fol. (2) d<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, 'The Education of Boys', quoted in Scherb, p. 276.

<sup>30</sup> Scherb, p. 276.

This thesis has put forward the theory that the manuscript in which the play is contained originated at St. Mary-at-Hill, a parish church with an established musical presence and a choir school of its own. Although it is tempting to suggest that the play might have been copied for use in this context, there is no firm evidence to suggest that the play was ever used by the church's choir school, and there is no record of the school after 1548. Not only does the version of *Wit and Science* in MS 15233 contain a significant musical element, but it also demands an extensive visual repertoire. There are ten significant stage properties in the play; a glass mirror, a portrait, the garments of Science, an unnamed weapon, a suit of armour with a visor, a fool's coat (possibly motley) with ears, a sword of comfort, a whip, a heart of gold, and finally, a head on a sword, and the actors engage in a number of on stage battles. Despite this, the play has not often been read with reference to the visual impact that these properties might have had on the audience, for the implications that they have regarding the type of performer, or for any other message than the moral or pedagogical.

In terms of a pedagogical play which casts the quest for learning as a traditional romance quest, Wit's battles with his opponent, the monster Tediousness, in order to win Lady Science, are of obvious importance, but it is the appearance of the monster, and the visual nature of the battles that ensue which are significant here. Tediousness first appears on fol. (1) b<sup>r</sup>, in a costume which at first seems to be the traditional attire of a knight; a suit of armour and a visor over his head. The overall structure of the battle scenes is reminiscent of popular folk plays in which St. George defeats a monster in the form of a dragon. These folk play parallels are continued in the fact that St. George plays often involved the re-vivification of the hero by a doctor after his first attempt at killing the monster, as Wit is revived in this play by the music of Honest Recreation. However, in *Wit and Science*, the costumes and actions of the encounters between Wit and Tediousness both suggest that the traditional monster figure and the supposed 'hero' are being sent up for comic effect, and confirm the play's performance by boys. Far from a fearsome dragon, the monster is evidently grossly inadequate as an opponent, instead appearing as a comic giant from a children's fairytale; his armour is rusty and possibly even overtly home-made, and the visor is evidently a grotesque with a prominent nose, from whom children are expected to flee, 'what katyves be those /

that wyll not once flee / from tediousnes nose'.<sup>31</sup> All the indications are that the interlude was intended to be performed gleefully by children, and that it was performed within a school context. Within such a context, the expected chivalric action by a boy actor is of course, also potentially parodic. The performance qualities of the text are further highlighted as the monster appears to carry out a ridiculous ritual, 'I must go shake them / supple to make them'—in the belief that he can make his armour more supple by shaking it. The shaking of the armour is almost certainly intended to be conducted amongst the audience,

stand back ye wrechys / beware the fechys / of tediousnes / thes kaytyves to bles  
/ make roome I say / rownd evry way / thys way / that way / what care I what  
way / before me / behynd me / rownd abowt wynd me.<sup>32</sup>

indicating considerable audience engagement, a factor which also becomes more prominent as *Wit* turns the stage mirror on the audience later in the play. As Peter Happé has noted, the knockabout violence of the battles with Tediousness in this play seems to suggest a boy-culture with which young actors could engage.<sup>33</sup> The visual aspects of the first battle scene are therefore significant in establishing that the text was primarily designed to showcase the performance talent (whether musical or dramatic) of children, and for the comedy which comes from the contrast of the chivalric romance form with the context of the youthful performers and available costumes.

As Todd Pettigrew has recently explained, positioning *Wit and Science* only as a transformational marker in literary history needlessly limits its interpretive possibilities.

We reduce the play's potential drastically if we understand it solely in a teleology that locates Shakespeare and his contemporaries as the necessary end of earlier English drama. If we allow for an interpretation apart from that teleology, we can approach *Wit and Science* anew, in a fashion usually reserved

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<sup>31</sup> *Wit and Science*, fol. (1) b<sup>r</sup>; David Mills, 'Wit to Woo: The Wit Interludes', in *Interludes and Early Modern Society: Studies in Gender, Power and Theatricality*, ed. by Peter Happé and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 163–191 (p. 169).

<sup>32</sup> *OED* defines 'katyves' as 'captives' or 'miserable wretches', in this case, referring to the members of the audience.

<sup>33</sup> Peter Happé, 'I am a chylde as you may se, Goten in game and in grete synne': Youth Perceived by Age in English Sixteenth Century Interludes', in *Generationenkonflikte auf der Bühne: Perspektiven im antiken und mittelalterlichen Drama*, ed. by Thomas Baier (Tübingen, 2007), 237–253, quoted in Mills, p. 169.

for later plays [...] We can see the play as a literary text in its own right, participating in the social dialogue that constitutes its social moment.<sup>34</sup>

The following part of this chapter suggests that by examining two key properties, the portrait and the mirror, *Wit and Science* can be read as a text which participates in the social dialogue of the mid sixteenth century, and which is part of a wider argument about the use of drama.

### **‘A pycature of wyt’: Stage Properties and Artistic Debate**

In a discussion of the use of paintings as properties in Early Modern plays, Marguerite Tassi states that the children’s drama of the early part of the sixteenth century, including the ‘Wit plays’, was primarily pedagogical and moral, and that it was only during the later part of the century that groups such as the children of St. Paul’s began to demonstrate any serious attempt to address the value of art and drama in their plays.<sup>35</sup> The following section of this chapter argues that the specific use of two properties in *Wit and Science* enables the play to be seen as engaging with artistic debates considerably earlier than has been assumed.

*Wit and Science* is the first play in which two means of self-representation—the portrait and the mirror—are known to appear as significant properties on the English stage.<sup>36</sup> At the beginning of the play, Wit sends a portrait of himself to Science via his messenger, Confidence, by way of introducing himself to her as a suitor. In itself this is nothing unusual, and reflects the usual preliminary to a formal meeting of a courtly lady and her suitor. However, viewed within the frame of the play’s use of visual means of representation and identification, the portrait takes on a more complex role, and we need to understand the portrait’s part in contemporary artistic debate as well as its use for courtship.

Throughout the sixteenth century the artistic merits of a work of art were judged by aestheticians who sought its ability to represent a lifelike image. Its success or

<sup>34</sup> Todd H.J. Pettigrew, ‘Sex, Sin and Scarring: Syphilis in Redford’s *Wit and Science*’, in *Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare, 1485–1590*, ed. By Lloyd Kermode, Jason Scott-Warren and Martine Van Elk (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 213–227 (p. 214).

<sup>35</sup> Marguerite A. Tassi, *The Scandal of Images: Iconoclasm, Eroticism and Painting in Early Modern English Drama* (Susquehanna University Press, 2005), p. 99.

<sup>36</sup> Gair (p. 77) notes that the use of a portrait as a dramatic property established the first identifiable feature of the St. Paul’s choir school repertoire. See also Kent Cartwright, *Theatre and Humanism: English Drama in the Sixteenth Century*, new ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 63.

failure was judged by the classical ideas found in the ancient writing of Plato, and later, Aristotle, both of whom had advanced the concept of ‘mimesis’. Although there was (and has remained) considerable critical debate as to the appropriate translation of the Greek ‘mimesis’, ‘imitation’ was generally accepted as the answer to the problem.<sup>37</sup> But ‘imitation’ did not restrict the artist to the straightforward reproduction of nature in the modern sense of the word; it also involved a degree of interpretation, going beyond the copying of an external form to the representation of essential character.<sup>38</sup> In short, it involved a degree of what might now be termed as ‘poetic licence’. The Renaissance artistic ideal was thus a skilled imitation of nature, often involving illusion and perspective, which ultimately created a vision so lifelike that the viewer was deceived into thinking that the imitated subject was the real thing. The work of the ancient Greek painter Apelles provided several exemplars for the type of narrative realism admired by Greco-Roman connoisseurs, succinctly expressed in the poet Horace's words, *ut pictura poesis* (as is painting so is poetry). Apelles used elaborate allegory and personification, which he carried far in his rendering of Calumny, described by Lucian, in which an innocent youth is falsely accused by Ignorance, Envy, Treachery and Deceit. During the sixteenth century the exemplar of the poetic painting which was invariably cited whenever the art-poetry question was discussed was the *Calumny of Apelles*, known through Lucian's description. By the 1530s, artists such as Holbein the Younger were using illusory techniques in order to create more ‘realistic’ portraits of their subjects. In Holbein's portrait of Derich Born, a German merchant of the Hanseatic League, painted in 1533, the sitter leans over the edge of the frame, posed as though to challenge the viewer. Under his arm a quotation asserts ‘Derichvs si vocem addas ipsissimvs hic sit hvnc dvbites pictor fecerit an genitor’ (‘Here is Derich himself: Add voice and you might doubt if the painter or his father created him’). This ‘living art’ conceit appeared repeatedly during the sixteenth century, and includes the school of ‘mannerism’ which used extreme foreshortening in order to achieve its lifelike effects.

But what about the portrait as a stage property? The portrait fulfils the etymology of the term ‘property’ in an unusually compelling way. The Latin ‘proprius’ signifies what is one's own, or one's attribute, meaning that the portrait is the proper image of someone, not only associated metonymically with that person, but also serving

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<sup>37</sup> For a detailed discussion of the problems, see Stephen Halliwell, *The Aesthetics of Mimesis: Ancient Texts and Modern Problems* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

<sup>38</sup> Leon Golden, ‘Plato's Concept of Mimesis’, *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 15 (1975), 118–131 (p. 3.)

to conjure that person's presence with a likeness'.<sup>39</sup> Wit's portrait is described as 'a goodly picture', 'hys owne image sure face/bodye/armes/legge/ both lym and ioynt as lyke hym as can be in every point yt lakth but lyfe'.<sup>40</sup> There is no evidence in the text to enable the size of Wit's portrait to be accurately ascertained. Confidence refers to it as a 'token', and it is one which he is able to carry across the stage. Both these factors suggests a depiction in miniature.<sup>41</sup> Miniatures were originally painted to decorate and illustrate hand-written books, the word 'miniature' originating from the Latin word 'miniare', meaning 'to colour with red lead', a practice that was used for the capital letters. From the 1460s however, miniaturists such as Simon Bening also offered wealthy patrons independent miniatures. Some were for private worship, others simply desirable objects. Like medals, miniatures were portable, but they also had realistic colour. Although there are a few examples of full length miniatures, the form usually only depicted the head and shoulders of the subject, and the description of Wit's full body, including arms and legs implies that this token portrait might have been considerably larger. If it was full length, it would seem to indicate that the change in Wit's character was also marked by a change in his costume.<sup>42</sup> Whatever the size of this portrait property, it is described as the perfect example of the Renaissance aesthetic vision—it lacks only life to be the subject's double—but as a stage property it also demands to be considered alongside the art form in which it is included.

By re-positioning this version of the play in the 1550s, we can find some evidence for attitudes towards portraiture's ability to accurately represent life during this period. The autobiography of musician, gentleman, and composer Thomas Whythorne is particularly useful as a point of reference, since during the period 1545 to 1549, Whythorne had spent some time living with John Heywood, and it is very possible that he came into contact with some of those involved in producing plays for the St. Paul's boys, and possibly some of the members of the St. Mary-at-Hill circle who contributed to MS 15233. Whythorne is an interesting case study in self-representation. His manuscript, discovered in the 1950s, contains poetry and music interspersed with diary-like entries, and is considered to be the first autobiography in English. He also commissioned at least five paintings and drawings of himself during his lifetime—in 1549, 1550, 1562, 1569, and 1596—of which only the 1569 portrait

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<sup>39</sup> Tassi, p. 102.

<sup>40</sup> MS 15233, fol. (1) 9<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> MS 15233, fol. (1) 9<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Gair, p. 77.

survives, and wrote about his views on his images in portraits as a representation of himself. Whythorne's portraits were painted between the ages of twenty-one and sixty-eight, and his concern with the portrait form was evidently that it could only capture one static moment in the subject's life, and not the effects of time on this subject, hence his need to commission several over his lifetime. He also writes that 'most often it is not so much the self that is represented and conserved in portraits, but rather the office, function or dynastic authority of the sitter'.<sup>43</sup> Whythorne's concerns about the art form are that it cannot accurately represent either the interior person or the changeability of human life, a view which seems to be reflected in *Wit and Science*. The portrait in the play produces an image which Wit wishes to be projected to Science as her suitor, but it neither accurately reflects his real character, nor accounts for the changes of time, hence when Science finally sees Wit she is unable to recognise her admirer from the painted image of him which she holds. So there is some evidence to suggest that a play circulating in the 1550s may have been representing contemporary views on the inability of mimetic art such as portraiture, to portray human life in all its variability. But the portrait is only one of two self-reflective properties in the play, and the second also reveals a certain disparity between real life and certain forms of art.

In the first lines of the play as it exists in MS 15233, Wit is given a glass or mirror which he should use, as Reason tells him, 'namely when ye cum neere my dowghter science / then see that all thynges be clean and trycke abowte ye least of sum sloogyshnes she might dowte ye thys glas of reason shall show ye all'.<sup>44</sup> But what was this 'glass' property, and what was the 'all' that it was intended to show during the 1550s?

The property is referred to in all instances throughout the play as simply 'a glass'. During the sixteenth century, the term 'mirror' referred to metal mirrors as well as 'water mirrors', crystal mirrors and mirrors of glass, whilst the term 'looking glass' or less often, 'seeing glass' referred to mirrors made of glass compound. We might reasonably assume from this that the mirror in *Wit and Science* is a glass compound mirror rather than one made of metal. The specific use of the glass mirror is relevant, and the object requires some contextualisation. Glass mirrors date back to the third century AD in Egypt, Gaul, Asia Minor and Germany. Such mirrors were small, only

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<sup>43</sup> Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis and Philippa Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self Representation, 1500–1660* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 47.

<sup>44</sup> MS 15233, fol. (1) 9<sup>r</sup>.

one to three inches in diameter, and the quality of reflection was poor. Until the early sixteenth century, mirrors were generally made from metals such as bronze, the surfaces of which when highly polished revealed at least a passable means of examining oneself. Glass mirrors gradually became more common during the sixteenth century, but even so production was difficult and was kept a closely guarded secret. Producing a mirror made from glass involved blowing a globe of forest glass—a thick and slightly greenish tinted glass—and then pouring melted lead into a concave bowl, dipping the globe into it, and then removing it. The melted lead produced the reflective quality needed for the mirror. Partially as a result of its convex shape, and because of the glass used, these mirrors gave the appearance of the viewer a distorted or unclear image. However, despite this inconvenience, these glass mirrors needed no maintenance, whereas steel mirrors, because they oxidize with exposure to air, required regular polishing. Although convex mirrors were relatively inexpensive, the majority of mirrors imported and sold in England, well into the sixteenth century, were steel and silver mirrors. The high quality steel glasses seem to have been preferred over convex glass mirrors until the introduction of an innovation.<sup>45</sup>

Kent Cartwright notes not only that *Wit and Science* constitutes the first known example of a mirror as a significant physical property on the English stage, but that it is also the first appearance of the crystalline mirror.<sup>46</sup> In 1503 two glassmakers from Murano, the Del Gallos, declared that Germans were the only people who knew ‘the secret of making mirrors of crystalline glass, a most valuable and singular thing’.<sup>47</sup> The crystal glass mirror was actually the product of two distinct innovations: a perfectly clear glass and a light metal tain (a thin tinplate or tinfoil for mirrors). In 1500, Flemish mirror makers had developed a new process for silvering the glass of convex mirrors, using an alloy of quicksilver and tin rather than lead. The new tain of quick-silver and tin made for a lighter mirror, both in its weight and in the brightness of its reflection. The practice was picked up by Venetian glassmakers who used the process to silver pieces of *cristallo*. *Cristallo* glass, an absolutely colourless transparent glass, was itself a recent innovation: fifteenth-century Venetian glassmakers discovered that the addition of *barilla* soda yielded a molten glass batch that could be blown very thin. *Cristallo*

<sup>45</sup> Rayna Kalas, ‘The Technology of Reflection: Renaissance Mirrors of Steel and Glass’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32 (2002), 519–542 (pp. 519–520).

<sup>46</sup> Cartwright, p. 63. This argument has been more recently repeated by Adam Max Cohen, ‘Tudor Technology in Transition’, in *A Companion to Tudor Literature*, ed. by Kent Cartwright (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2010), pp. 95–110 (p. 108).

<sup>47</sup> Sabine Melchoir-Bonnet, *The Mirror: A History* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 18.

was used primarily for the production of delicate and ornate tableware, but it also proved an ideal recipe for sheet glass. When blown into a cylinder that was then cut open and laid flat to harden, *crystallo* offered a thin, clear, and flat surface for silvering. This silvered crystal glass, thin and light enough to be fashioned into portable mirrors, reflected a clear, undistorted image and never needed polishing. Cartwright suggests that the use of a crystalline mirror in *Wit and Science* is necessary because its virtue as a stage property depends on a trueness in the glass.<sup>48</sup> However, although crystal glass mirrors were being produced in Venice, Antwerp, and Rouen, they were not beginning to be imported by goldsmiths into England until the 1570s, and the mirror in the play was therefore more likely to be a convex glass mirror, which would have provided a distorted image of the subject.

The lack of clarity in the convex mirror might not have caused the sixteenth-century viewer as many difficulties as their modern counterparts. As Debora Schuger has argued, the mirror in the sixteenth century was not used as a means of developing self in the modern sense, but as a means of identifying one's place in society, and correcting faults.<sup>49</sup> In Francesco Mazzola Parmigianino's *Self Portrait in a Convex Mirror*, painted c.1523–1524, the artist represents himself in a convex mirror on a specially prepared convex panel. Distorted by the panel, the face has a hint of caricature, and mirrors the salient features of the artist as he sees himself. His hands, the instruments of his art, are oddly disproportionate to the room in which he is seated and to the canvas itself. Thus, the canvas, with its distorting mirror, seems to draw the viewer into the artist's private realm. As Philippa Kelly explains, as an artistic function, the mirror offers not just a flat, stable reflection of, for instance, vanity or mortality, but something else as well: in a conflation of refracted images, it invites (and facilitates, through its variety of emblematic associations) a sense of movement, shifting from a physical function to a compound of contradictory speculations.<sup>50</sup>

Signals of moral development or direction, standards of ideal conduct, and reflections of sins were the main values associated with the Early Modern mirror, and this related to metaphorical as well as actual mirrors.<sup>51</sup> In his dedication of *The Mirror*

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<sup>48</sup> Cartwright, p. 63.

<sup>49</sup> Debora Schuger, 'The 'I' of the Beholder: Renaissance Mirrors and the Reflexive Mind', *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1999), 19–36.

<sup>50</sup> *Early Modern English Lives*, pp. 106–107.

<sup>51</sup> *Early Modern English Lives*, p. 98.

for *Magistrates*, first printed in 1559, William Baldwin stated the motivating purpose of the book,

For here as in a loking glas, you shall see (if any vice be in you) howe the like hath bene punished in other heretofore, whereby admonished, I trust it will be a good occasion to move you to the soner amendment. This is the chiefest ende, whye it is set furth, which god graunt it may attayne.<sup>52</sup>

This moral didacticism is certainly one of the primary aims of the mirror in *Wit and Science*. When the character of Wit finally uses the mirror to examine himself, he initially demonstrates the childish vanity and lack of wisdom which has caused his fall from grace. His appearance in the mirror is not enough to convince him that he is at fault, and he blames the mirror itself; an ill workman quarrelling with his tools.

Hah, Goges sowle! What have we here, a divill?  
This glass, I se well, hath bene kept evill.<sup>53</sup>

Like Wit, Shakespeare's poet of Sonnet 62 finds that his looking glass reveals an unsettling disparity between the face that he imagines that he has, and the face that he owns. Eventually though, both he and Wit see not their superior worth reflected, but their ordinariness and foolhardiness.<sup>54</sup>

Methinks no face so gracious as is mine,  
No shape so true, no truth of such account,  
And for my self mine own worth do define  
As I all other in all worths surmount.  
But when my glass shows me myself indeed,  
Beaten and chopp'd with tann'd antiquity,  
Mine own self-love quite contrary I read.<sup>55</sup>

But Wit's mirror is also involved in a neat theatrical trick. In the course of his own self-examination, and under the pretext of asking whether his appearance in the mirror is how he really seems, Wit turns the mirror on the play's audience, revealing their

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<sup>52</sup> William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. by Lily Campbell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938).

<sup>53</sup> MS 15233, fol. (2) 1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> *Early Modern English Lives*, pp. 102–103.

<sup>55</sup> William Shakespeare, 'Sonnet 62', in *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Arden Shakespeare, 1997).

appearances in the stage mirror, and forcing them into complicity with his predicament.<sup>56</sup> As he begins to use the glass to examine those around him, he notes that whilst he is blackened and unrecognisable, they all appear ‘normal’ to him in the mirror.

Goges sowle, a foole! A foole, by the mas!  
 What a very vengeance ail'th this glas?  
 Other this glass is shamefully spotted,  
 Or els am I to[o] shamefully blotted.<sup>57</sup>

He reasons that what he sees must be a fool, and in this meta-theatrical moment, comprehends what everyone else in the audience has already understood. His remorse thus begins with public shame,

I knowe  
 now it is so the stark foole I playe  
 before all people now se it I maye  
 evry man I se lawhe me to scorne  
 alas / alas / that ever I was borne.<sup>58</sup>

The external shame from the audience provokes the internal shame which leads to the entry of the figure of Shame to scourge Wit literally as well as allegorically before he is restored to his portrait image.<sup>59</sup>

The Medieval mirror might have been used as a means to understanding one's proximity to godliness, but by the 1550s, although churches were still replete with references to mirrors and self-reflection, reflection generally underscored an instructional self-recognition, a pre-modern sense of structured social identity that could be renewed, recalled or striven towards, but that was frequently more secular in its outlook.<sup>60</sup> The mirror's role in the school play is evident; Wit the schoolboy recognises that he is foolish, understands what he needs to do, and alters his approach to defeating Tediousness, vowing to use the qualities of diligence, studiousness and patience to achieve his aims. But what might have been the reaction of the audience to the act of Early Modern audience participation? In the company of noble auditors, Wit appears to

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<sup>56</sup> See Sarah Carpenter, 'Masques and Mirror: Questions of Identity in Medieval Morality Drama', *Medieval English Theatre* 13 (1991), 7–17 (p. 15).

<sup>57</sup> MS 15233, fol. (2) l<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> MS 15233, fol. (2) m<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Mills, p. 185.

<sup>60</sup> *Early Modern English Lives*, p. 97.

be the only ignorant fool, and the audience is flattered by being numbered among the wise and witty, but they are also (at least by implication) encouraged to conserve their ‘fair and clear’ aspect in Reason's mirror.<sup>61</sup> Therefore as the onstage character of Wit learns to take advice and see reason, the audience to whom this play was performed might perhaps have seen that they must apply a critical eye to the interlude. If, as the dialogue on the final page of the play suggests, it was in some form performed at court, the interlude might have provided the elite audience with both an opportunity for self examination and a lesson on the importance of taking advice. The Tudor ideal of governance relied on the ability to take counsel, and *Wit and Science* provides a highly relevant lesson on the absolute necessity of the application of reason and advice for seeing past illusion, flattery and outward appearance, all the recognised attributes of sixteenth-century court culture. But there is perhaps a more significant message in this action in terms of the art of drama.

Throughout the play, the audience are repeatedly asked to compare images of Wit; initially the portrait, the physical character that they can see on the stage at the beginning of the play, and then his appearance part way through the interlude, once he has been dressed in the clothes of Ignorance, and had his face blackened by Idleness. When Wit is thus transformed, he is rejected by Science, and not understanding the reason for her lack of recognition of him, asks her to compare him with the portrait that she has received from him: ‘dooth not my pycture my parson show ye?’ Science is, perhaps understandably, incredulous—‘shall we soone se how you & your pycture agree’<sup>62</sup>—and the portrait proves useless as a means of identifying the real character of Wit. There is certainly comedy in this scene, but comedy which might have also been used to make a more serious point concerning representation.

Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* also compares and contrasts the artistic representation of a character with a living, breathing counterpart. The artist Guilio Romano is said to have created a statue of the supposed dead Hermione so lifelike that the observers feel they are being ‘mocked with art’.<sup>63</sup> However, what is at first believed to be the amazing artistry of a sculpture in which ‘the very life seems warm upon her lip’ is ruined when it is revealed that it is actually not a statue at all but a living,

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<sup>61</sup> Leah S. Marcus, ‘Dramatic Experiments: Tudor Drama 1490–1567’, in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1500–1600*, ed. by Arthur F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 132–152.

<sup>62</sup> MS 15233, fol. (2) f.

<sup>63</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, V.3.68.

breathing person—Hermione herself who is, in fact, very much alive.<sup>64</sup> Pauline Kiernan has recently argued that Shakespeare's plays were written to defend drama as an art form, and that they achieved this by demonstrating a resistance to the neoclassical verisimilitude championed in other art forms. Kiernan claims that the inadequacy of mimetic art is deliberately made apparent in *The Winter's Tale*, and explains that this is often achieved by art's onstage juxtaposition with real life. Whilst no sculptor's, painter's or poet's 'chisel' can ever 'cut breath', Shakespeare's chisel, or the art of drama, can, she argues.<sup>65</sup> In discussing *The Winter's Tale*, Jean H. Hagstrum concurs with this view, concluding that the play is a negation of art, or a negation of the mimetic concept of art, the 'speaking picture' art that destroys nature. But it is a celebration of drama, that other art which does not turn all that has life, warmth, movement and sensuous presence into a static, silent, sterile image.<sup>66</sup> Both scholars thus reiterate the commonly expressed argument that the play is an expression of the traditional debate of art versus nature. Hamlet's oft-quoted advice to the players,

Suit the action to the word, the word to the  
action, with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the  
modesty of nature: for any thing so o'erdone is from the purpose  
of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was and  
is, to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature: to show virtue her  
feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body  
of the time his form and pressure.<sup>67</sup>

is frequently cited as Shakespeare's comment on his own art form—that drama reveals the truth of nature—and is used to support the argument of art versus nature. But Hamlet is mistaken that theatre, and indeed the mirror are direct reflections of the truth, as we in turn are mistaken that this represents Shakespeare's opinion. In fact drama is demonstrably an art form in which the dramatist employs artifice as much as the painter or the sculptor. Shakespeare does not simply dismiss the artifice of the painting or the sculpture in favour of the real actor, or art in favour of drama; instead he actively employs artifice, juxtaposing this deliberately with reality. The statue of Hermione, like the overall story of *Winter's Tale*, is a fantasy, and in a second layer of artifice, Romano

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<sup>64</sup> *The Winter's Tale*, V.3.

<sup>65</sup> Pauline Kiernan, *Shakespeare's Theory of Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 70.

<sup>66</sup> Jean H. Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1958), in Kiernan, p. 71.

<sup>67</sup> William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III. 2, 16–22.

was a painter and not known to be a sculptor, although his drawings and painting are all ‘sculptural’ in form and style.<sup>68</sup> Shakespeare’s play thus deliberately uses the living, breathing body of the actor, and places it in what he recognises as being an often highly artificial onstage situation or world. It is the contrast of the artifice and the reality, which is only possible in the dramatic form, which provokes the audience to consider the real issues of the play. As B.J. Sokol notes, ‘the theatrical possibility of inspiring a double awareness of both fable and fabulation proves that an advantage is possessed by Shakespearean art over two dimensional visual arts in which [...] we can see an illusory third dimension, or the means to that illusion, but never see both at once’.<sup>69</sup>

The mirror and the portrait in *Wit and Science* work in a very similar way to Shakespeare’s fantasy statue. They both provide ‘instructional self-recognition’ because they place the body of the individual in a detached and artificial context, since even the flattest and clearest mirror will show a reversed image. It is this contrast between the ‘real’ person in the form of the actor onstage and the artificial image which is of real value.

### ***Wit and Science as a Source***

*Wit and Science* was important as a source for two later plays: *The Marriage of Wit and Science* (performed 1568/9?) and *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom* (manuscript dated to 1579). It was also the possible inspiration for another two plays between the late 1560s and the 1590s: the play within the play in *Sir Thomas More* and *Play of Pastimes or Delight*. It has been argued that the plays have little in common other than their titles, and that they are ‘all distinct plays, more obviously dissimilar in style and content than they are like in plot’.<sup>70</sup> The final part of this chapter considers the use of the main elements already discussed with regard to *Wit and Science* in the two main later versions of the play, arguing that they are useful in shedding light not only on the development of dramatic form, but also on the purpose of each of the individual plays.

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<sup>68</sup> Ros King, *The Winter’s Tale, a Guide to the Text and the Play in Performance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 108.

<sup>69</sup> B.J. Sokol, *Art and Illusion in the Winter’s Tale* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 24.

<sup>70</sup> Trevor Lennam, ed., *The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom* (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 1971), p. xi.

### *The marriage of Witte and Science*

The anonymous play (hereafter referred to as *The Marriage*) is extant in a single, undated quarto in the Bodleian Library, bequeathed by Edmund Malone on his death in 1812.<sup>71</sup> Nothing is known of the provenance of the play between the sixteenth century and its coming into the possession of Malone in the nineteenth.<sup>72</sup> The play was entered in the Register of the Stationers' Company in about August of 1569 by Thomas Marshe,

Recevyd of Thomas marshe for his lycense for pryntinge of a play intituled the mariage of Wytt and Science ... iiijd.<sup>73</sup>

and was possibly printed soon after this. Marshe was an original member of the Stationers' Company, which was incorporated by charter in 1557, but had been printing for some years before this, and in 1555 was based in Fleet Street near St. Dunstan's church, less than a mile from St. Paul's. He remained in this location until at least the mid 1570s.<sup>74</sup> Marshe is best known for printing texts such as Baldwin's *The Mirror for Magistrates* (1559), but he also later held the monopoly on printing Latin books used in schools. Given his proximity of his premises to St. Paul's, he might well have also supplied the grammar school there. It appears from an inventory of his printed material that *The Marriage* was the earliest, and one of only three publications printed by Marshe's press with dramatic content<sup>75</sup>—the other two being a collection of Senecan tragedies in translation and *The first part of Churchyard's Chips*, which included the text of an entertainment 'in the city of Bristow' (Bristol) for Elizabeth I—and also seems to have been the only one produced as an individual text rather than part of a collection.<sup>76</sup> Marshe's production of this play, unusual as it was for his press, suggests that there may have been a closer connection between the printer and the production of the play, which may be uncovered by future research in this area.

Whilst *The Marriage* follows the basic quest action of *Wit and Science* relatively closely, it is altogether a play with a more formal approach to entertainment and a purpose which although still pedagogical, appears to have another primary function. The cast list is slightly more limited than *Wit and Science*, with fourteen named roles as

<sup>71</sup> Bodleian Library, Malone 231.1.

<sup>72</sup> Lennam, p. 85.

<sup>73</sup> Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, 4 vols (London, 1875), I.

<sup>74</sup> STC (2nd ed.) 9972.

<sup>75</sup> Lennam and Brown note only this and one another possible text.

<sup>76</sup> *Database of Early English Playbooks* <<http://deep.sas.upenn.edu/advancedsearch.php>> [accessed 20 December 2009].

opposed to the nineteen in the original, but the youth of the performers is stressed throughout the production, and there is no indication of doubling, which seems to suggest that it was still designed with a large group of boy players in mind. The music, which is such a significant part of the earlier play, is, however, considerably reduced, and the more limited cast also requires fewer instrumentalists. There are only two specified musical items in *The Marriage*: when Wit is raised by singing after his defeat by Tediousness, it is as a lively duet, ‘Give a legge, geve an arme, aryse, aryse!’, sung by Recreation and a companion, and his call ‘for daunces, one after a nother’ suggests at least one dance with each of the two women. His request, an embedded cue, ‘Pype us up a Galliard, mynstrel, to begynne’ may indicate not only reduced musical resources from those used in the original (since there is only one minstrel), but perhaps even a professional court minstrel introduced for the purpose rather than an actor/musician from the cast.<sup>77</sup>

Although the play might still have been performed by choir boys, the reduction in music suggests that showcasing their musical talent was not primarily the aim of this version of the interlude. The difference in this version’s portrayal of one of the more striking visual aspects of *Wit and Science*—the conflict between Wit and Tediousness—demonstrates the differences between this play and its earlier source more clearly. Tediousness is no longer presented as a humorous childlike monster—in fact there is no focus on either his costume or general appearance—and instead the scenes between them are presented formally and martially, with the emphasis on the style of action. Wit begins by issuing a formal challenge to Tediousness, ‘Come, trie the quarrel in the field, and fyght with us a fitte’.<sup>78</sup> The description of the ensuing battle between them suggests that the fight was carefully stage managed—perhaps with a view to displaying the talent of the actors in such courtly activities as fencing—rather than the more farcical and apparently random attacks which occur in *Wit and Science*, in which the monster’s costume is sufficient to make the children run away. Following Wit’s initial defeat, the final conflict between monster and hero is also presented as a tournament in which Science this time observes her suitor, like a lady cheering on her champion at a joust, and which serves as a fitting end to the entertainment.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Mills, p. 165.

<sup>78</sup> *The Marriage of Wit and Science*, ed. by Arthur Brown (Oxford: Malone Society, 1961), Line 1463.

<sup>79</sup> Mills, p. 170.

here in my sight good maddam sitte and viewe:  
 That when I list, I may loke vppe on you.  
 This face this noble face, this liuely hiew,  
 Shal harden mee, shal make our enemye rue.<sup>80</sup>

The large number of stage properties found in the preceding play is vastly reduced from ten to three in *The Marriage*, and the significance of Wit's portrait and its allegory is entirely eroded, becoming merely a plot-furthering device, which Wit refers to as 'a picture of mine to be seene' by his beloved.<sup>81</sup> Such reductions and changes in both the visual and aural elements of the play alter the emphasis, and redirect the audience's focus primarily towards the language, which is correspondingly elaborate. Whilst parts of the text still adhere to a rather plodding rhyme scheme, the author(s) of this play were clearly also familiar with the language, metres and conventions of the courtly poetry of the mid sixteenth century. This play treats key moments in the earlier interlude as cues for extended rhetorical speeches, expressing high noble sentiment cast in poulter's measure.<sup>82</sup> The speeches display erudition on the part of both the author and actor, rather than enacting the internal educational process which was the focus of the earlier version of the play. Correspondingly, Wit's fall into idleness is signalled not only by the change of his costume or overall appearance, but by his descent into the low style more characteristic of his servant—now called Will rather than Confidence—and Wit's reversion to the high style at the close of the play marks his return to his true self.<sup>83</sup> The set piece speeches in this play require a prominence beyond their function within the action, predicating an audience alert to and appreciative of the techniques employed. In this way, the play seems to manifest education and learning rather than exploring it as a theme, in the manner of Redford's version. Furthermore, its starting point is not innate wickedness, but the innate sensibility of the noble mind, and the play's overall action and style are courtly. Whilst Wit is still presented as a knight seeking to prove himself to his lady, without the comic appearance and actions of Tediousness, and with the insertion of set piece speeches, the romance quest becomes more serious. The rhetorical formal style of the speeches certainly contributes to the overall courtly ethos of the play on its own,<sup>84</sup> but many of the linguistic devices also

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<sup>80</sup> *The Marriage*, Lines 1424–1427.

<sup>81</sup> Gair, p. 78.

<sup>82</sup> See Lennam, pp. 101–105.

<sup>83</sup> Mills, p. 171.

<sup>84</sup> Mills, p. 180.

appear in the anthologies of the period, including *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* and Richard Edwards's *Paradise of Dainty Devices*. In fact, there are some notable similarities with the work of Edwards. His play *Damon and Pythias* (entered in the Stationers' Register two years previously in 1567) includes a lament very similar to Wit's, as a song sung by Pythias to the accompaniment of the regals,<sup>85</sup> and as in Edwards's play, Wit's lament is written in *anticipation* of death, and not after it, a form possibly invented by Edwards.<sup>86</sup> Experience's speech at line 835 is similar to Edwards's work, both in subject matter and phrasing,<sup>87</sup> and Wit's speech beginning on line 799, is similar to the type of set piece poem found in *Damon and Pythias*.<sup>88</sup> These similarities might suggest that Edwards was one of the authors of the piece, but in some instances, Edwards's style appears to have been imitated in a deliberately comic context. For example, Wit's lament could be turned into a spoof of Eubulus's song to the muses from *Damon and Pythias*, by repeating 'O Idlenes woo worth the time, that I was ruled by thee' after every four lines.<sup>89</sup> The lament also appears to be quoting Pythias's song, 'Awake you woeful wights' in a comic context, and Idleness's song can almost, although not entirely, be sung to Edwards's 'In commendation of music'.<sup>90</sup> The mixture of regular and occasionally plodding rhyme with the more complex verbal style familiar to Edwards within the play suggests that it was written either by several authors of varying expertise, or as a deliberate hotchpotch of different styles by one culturally aware writer, perhaps in a more general parody of the older interlude form.

Although there is no obvious suggestion for the author(s) of the play, the role of Wit's assistant Confidence—which is considerably expanded as the newly named Will, and was possibly designed with a specific performer in mind—might provide some clue.<sup>91</sup> Clearly there are some parallels between the metaphorical conflict of Wit and Will and the conflict between Wit and Science, but where Wit was contrasted unfavourably with knowledge in the source, he appears as the more level-headed and reasonable character alongside Will. Another result of this alteration is that the focus of

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<sup>85</sup> A regal was a small portable organ of a type common in the 16th and 17th centuries, containing one or two sets of small reed pipes, and operated by means of a bellows worked by the player's left hand while the right hand plays the keyboard. See King, p. 137 for Pythias's lament.

<sup>86</sup> King, p. 54.

<sup>87</sup> *The Marriage* (1961), Lines 835–840.

<sup>88</sup> *The Marriage* (1961), Lines 799–816.

<sup>89</sup> *The Marriage* (1961), Lines 1276–1297. For Eubulus's song see King, p. 175.

<sup>90</sup> For 'Awake you woeful wights' in the context of *Damon and Pythias*, see King, pp. 137–138, for Idleness's song see *The Marriage*, Lines 1123–1137, and for Edwards poem 'In Commendation of Music' see King, p. 216.

<sup>91</sup> Mills, p. 181.

the play is frequently directed away from the romance plot centring on Wit's attainment of Science, and towards the more or less fraternal relationship between Wit and his younger companion Will. This relationship allows for some boyish humour to be included in the play, as Will's attitude is the perfect comic foil for the idealism of Wit. Yet again, the humour is based on word-play rather than visual effects, and several scenes are dedicated purely to repartee between the two: for example, Wit's sending of the portrait to Science via Will becomes the subject of an entire comic scene in which Will makes fun of Wit for his gawky youthful appearance ('spindle shankes' and 'spottes' on his nose) and worries about what will happen to him once Wit is married (cue various jokes about wives and how to treat them). Although *The Marriage* is a clear adaptation of *Wit and Science*, there may have been another source for the character of Will. John Heywood was certainly not unfamiliar with the wit/will conflict, which appears in several of his works. These include, the *Dialogue of Witty and Witless* (sometimes called *Wit and Folly*), *The Firste Hundred of Epigrammes* (1556) and possibly another poem, *Will and Wit*, found as one of six ballads in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 168. More interesting still, Thomas Whythorne was exposed to some of Heywood's dramatic writing whilst living with him during the mid to late 1540s. His manuscript mentions a transcription that he made of the interlude on Heywood's *The Parts of Man*, commissioned by Cranmer. Although no copy of this play is extant, Whythorne's description involves the conflict of Will and Reason, the only part of *The Marriage* which is not present in *Wit and Science*.<sup>92</sup> The similarity between a number of Heywood's works and the content of *The Marriage* has already been noted by Trevor Lennam.<sup>93</sup> These similarities, combined with the proximity of Heywood to Redford's successor Westcott, the plays of the Children of St. Paul's, and his earlier connections to Redford and to the circle at St. Mary-at-Hill make it not unreasonable to suggest that the play might have, in part, drawn on Heywood's work.

The alterations in this version of the play suggest that it was performed for a courtly audience, and that although this may have been by a group of choir boys, the purpose, as has been noted, was not specifically to display their various talents, but rather to display the talents of the writer, and to focus on the use of language and rhetoric. As Mills has noted, 'the play simplifies Redford's witty generic fusion into a

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<sup>92</sup> Tassi, p. 103 and Lennam, pp. 98–101.

<sup>93</sup> Lennam, pp. 98–101.

courtly romance'.<sup>94</sup> If the play was performed at court, the new focus on elaborate language might seem unsurprising given the taste of Elizabeth I for rhetoric. Like *Wit and Science*, there is no definite record of the performance of *The Marriage*. There is however, a reference in the Revels Accounts for 1567/8 which might provide a clue.

Inprimis for seven playes, the firste namede as playne as Canne be, The second the paynfull pillgrimage, The thirde Iacke and Iyll, The forthe six fooles, The fvyethe called witte and will, The sixte called prodigallitie.<sup>95</sup>

Sebastian Westcott was paid £13 6s 8d for the last two plays from this set of seven, entitled *Wit and Will* and *Prodigality* (possibly the interlude *Liberality and Prodigality*) which were performed at Shrovetide for Queen Elizabeth at the Palace of Whitehall, apparently by the Children of St. Paul's.<sup>96</sup> Thomas Marshe entered *The Marriage* in the Stationers' Register in 1569, only about a year after this. Given the title of the play performed in 1567/8, the expanded character of Will in *The Marriage* and the concurrence of dates, it is possible that this is the same play. It has been suggested that the production of the play by Westcott is an indication that it was also written by him, but there is no evidence that Westcott wrote plays, and in fact, he did not take over all of Redford's roles at St. Paul's, indicating perhaps that he was not as multi-talented. The play could equally have been commissioned from another writer specifically for a court performance. How Redford's earlier play, on which this is almost certainly based, might have come into Westcott's possession is fairly easy to explain, but this adaptation was only the first of a series of plays presented during the latter part of the sixteenth century on the same themes or with similar titles which can be linked to *Wit and Science*.

### ***A Contract of Mariage between Wit and Wisdome***

This play (hereafter referred to as *Wit and Wisdom*) exists in a single manuscript dated 1579, found among the playbooks of Sir Edward Dering (now housed at the British Library) and attributed to Francis Merbury or Marbury.<sup>97</sup> The manuscript is an untidy text, and the play is unusually short, indicating that it may not be a complete

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<sup>94</sup> Mills, p. 180.

<sup>95</sup> Albert Feuillerat, *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Elizabeth* (Louvain, 1908), p. 119.

<sup>96</sup> Lennam, p. 61.

<sup>97</sup> BL Add. MS 26782.

transcription of the original.<sup>98</sup> The title page of this manuscript contains the name of the play and a brief description of its content, displayed in the form of an inverted pyramid. The design matches the standard title page layout for printing, and may indicate that the manuscript was either a copy of a printed text or a copy which had been prepared for printing.<sup>99</sup> There is only one mention of a play by this title in connection with print, and the extant example has caused some considerable confusion. When the printer of *The Marriage* Thomas Marshe, died in 1591, a list of titles for which he had the license to print were transferred to his son Edward. On this list appears a play entitled *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*. *The Marriage of Wit and Science* does not appear on this list, although we know that this play was probably printed by Marshe in or around 1569. It has since been pointed out that the 1591 entry is likely to have been an error, and the title was most probably meant to read ‘The Marriage of Wit and Science’.<sup>100</sup> If this is the case, then there is no record of the printing of *Wit and Wisdom*.

Francis Marbury was probably a graduate of Christ’s College, Cambridge, and the play seems to have been a product of his student days.<sup>101</sup> Although the extant version of *Wit and Wisdom* differs vastly from both its probable sources, the content of the play indicates that Marbury knew both *Wit and Science* and *The Marriage*, and it incorporates elements from both.

Unlike Redford and his more immediate predecessor, Marbury was evidently constrained by the practical consideration of the number of actors available to perform the text. The manuscript play is prefaced by a table which demonstrates how, by doubling roles, six actors—the usual size of a professional troupe—may play the interlude with the nineteen named parts of *Wit and Science*.<sup>102</sup> The smaller cast would have meant that the structure of the play would have had to have been altered to allow players doubling characters to change costume between roles, and alternation of scenes involving Wit, and scenes involving Idleness, might explain how this worked in

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<sup>98</sup> Lennam, p. 111.

<sup>99</sup> Giorgio Melchiori, *Le forme del teatro. Contributi sulla comunicazione teatrale in Inghilterra*, III (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1984), p. 69. Melchiori suggests that the construction of the title page is the same as a number of works printed by John Alde, and that it may have been designed for or printed by his press.

<sup>100</sup> Melchiori, p. 68.

<sup>101</sup> For a brief biography of Marbury see Trevor Lennam, ‘Francis Merbury, 1555-1611’, *Studies in Philology*, 65 (1968), 207–222.

<sup>102</sup> Francis, Merbury, *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell (London: Shakespeare Society, 1846), title page.

practice.<sup>103</sup> The play also lacks the musical content of the previous two versions, since there are only three songs: Wantonness's song to the tune of 'attend the goe playe the',<sup>104</sup> Snatch and Catch's song,<sup>105</sup> and the final song celebrating the marriage of Wit and Science,<sup>106</sup> none of which indicate any instrumental accompaniment. These initial considerations indicate that the play was not designed for performance by choir boys, and the overall purpose of the text suggests that it was not an educational interlude, but an entertainment which was 'very fruitful and mixed full of pleasant mirth'.<sup>107</sup>

From the prologue, the audience might have expected another educational play, but if they did, they would have been surprised by a very different theatrical experience. In this play, Wit is the son of Severity and Indulgence, and is sent forth by his father in search of Dame Wisdom in order to marry her. Where the *The Marriage* focused on the language, this play focuses on appearance and reality, disguise and deception. The play begins with a debate between Wit's parents, and introduces a new husband-wife rivalry concerning the upbringing of children, which is clearly inserted for comic effect. The comedy begun in this opening scene is extended throughout the play, with the many major changes to the original action of *Wit and Science* intercut with a series of comic portrayals of low life. In fact, the main character of the play is no longer Wit or Science, but the Vice, Idleness. The role seems designed for the professional clown of the company, and the comic scenes allow the actor of Idleness much broader scope to play with different roles and forms of speech, and to assume a number of different names and disguises, from a rat-catcher to a physician. Part of the appeal of this version of the play is the anticipation of the character's next appearance and the form of his disguise. These entrances are separated by scenes which further the older Wit/Science story. The message of seeing through outward appearance which is prominent in *Wit and Science*, mainly as a result of the inclusion of the portrait and the mirror, is here altered to serve a more moral purpose. Wit is the only character who is deceived by Idleness, and the deception is successful on numerous occasions, but the dangers of idleness no longer simply refer to the slothful schoolboy not attending to his lessons and making poor decisions, but are instead linked with loose morality. Idleness's accomplice is a heavily pregnant whore named Wantonness, whose child has numerous

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<sup>103</sup> Mills, p. 166.

<sup>104</sup> *Wit and Wisdom*, p. 20.

<sup>105</sup> *Wit and Wisdom*, p. 25.

<sup>106</sup> *Wit and Wisdom*, p. 59.

<sup>107</sup> *Wit and Wisdom*, title page.

potential ‘fathers at large’, and who herself masquerades as Modest Mirth.<sup>108</sup> In addition, the ‘monster’ of this play is no longer the perennial school boy problem of Tediumness, but a morally dubious character named Fancy, who entraps Wit in her house and attempts to make him abandon his quest for Wisdom.

It seems that two different genres are juxtaposed within this play: the more slender educational thread set up by Marbury’s use of the Wit interludes, which it is likely that a university audience would have recognised, and the farcical side scenes, which are unconnected with the development of the plot line but serve a moral purpose. As Glynne Wickham has noted, the comic scenes draw directly on familiar secular interludes,

The gist of scenes 6 and 7, set before and within Mother Bee’s cottage, is lifted from *Gammer Gurton’s Needle*, the characters of Snatch and Catch who dominate scene 3 are developed from Huff, Ruff and Snuff in Preston’s *Cambises*; and those parts of scenes 5 and 6 where Idleness confronts the audience in the role of a beggar can be described as improvisations on Cacurgus’s antics and complaints in *Misogonus*.<sup>109</sup>

The entire play is therefore a patchwork of recognised interludes and dramatic forms, designed with the apparent purpose of moral education through entertainment. Its authorship by Marbury—at the time of writing, quite possibly a student—could explain the amalgamation of styles, as the early work of a student developing a play, and drawing on forms with which he was already familiar.

This chapter has demonstrated that the play of *Wit and Science* found in MS 15233 is not an original play by Redford, but a copy, and has tentatively suggested that it was adapted for performance during the 1550s, possibly for the marriage of Mary I and Philip II of Spain. Examination of key stage properties from the play in their new context of the 1550s has suggested that this version of the play was engaging with artistic debate concerning the role of drama considerably earlier than Shakespeare’s works. The final part of this chapter has examined the importance of *Wit and Science* as a source for two later plays. It has established that although the three versions of the ‘Wit plays’ differ considerably, a number of the basic elements of the story remain the same, and it is clear that the later playwrights valued the basic plot of *Wit and Science* sufficiently to adapt it to their individual circumstances and contexts. Whilst *The*

<sup>108</sup> *Wit and Wisdom*, p. 18.

<sup>109</sup> Glynne Wickham, *English Moral Interludes* (Dent, 1976), quoted in Mills, p. 172.

*Marriage* retained both the educational theme of *Wit and Science*, and almost certainly drew its performers from a similar source, it adapted the style of the play to suit the taste of the courtly audience of the 1560s for rhetoric, and aimed to address its message not to the schoolboy, but to the noble audience. Marbury's *Wit and Wisdom* retains enough of the educational plot to suggest that he was familiar with the earlier stories, but develops it in such a way that it becomes highly comic, whilst simultaneously addressing more serious moral issues than either of its predecessors. All of these plays do however, retain one element in common; the championing of drama as a legitimate art form which conveys a moral or educational message, in a defence of the theatre which predates the Puritan attacks.



## Chapter 4

### Poetry and Song: Networks of Transmission and Problems of Attribution

MS 15233 contains over thirty poems and song lyrics. Although it is fair to say that they generally lack literary flair, many of the poems evidently appealed to the popular taste. As the table of concordance below demonstrates, many are found during the half a century after their appearance in MS 15233 in printed verse miscellanies such as *A Paradise of Dainty Devices* (first printed in 1576), in manuscript miscellanies such as the Arundel Harington manuscript, or set to music, as ballads or in more serious works such as William Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* (1611).

Despite the manuscript's obvious value as a source, the afterlives of the poems and songs contained within it have never been fully explored. This chapter begins by taking one of the poems as a case study to determine the importance of such an exploration. *Let not the sluggish sleep* is an anonymously authored, nine stanza poem found on fol. (3) q<sup>v</sup> of MS 15233. By setting this poem alongside other extant versions in both manuscript and print, the chapter examines its transmission and circulation from the mid sixteenth through to the early seventeenth century. In doing so, it establishes this as the product of another London based network, composed of freed members of the Drapers' Company working within the book trade, and involved in the long-running feud with the Stationers over the control of print. The chapter demonstrates that recreating connections between versions of a text and those involved in its circulation can be of value for exploring theories of authorship and ownership of the manuscript in which the original work is contained. Thus it examines the extent of the links between the anonymous *Let not the sluggish sleep* and George Gascoigne's poem *Good nyghte* in versions appearing after 1580, using these links as a means of examining the long standing theory that Gascoigne was the author of the poem in MS 15233. It concludes that from existing evidence, there is no firm reason to believe that Gascoigne was the author. It also draws connections between printers of the texts and their patrons, which support the theory that Ferdinando Heybourne was the owner of MS 15233 in the later

part of the sixteenth century, and casts further doubt on the theory of the manuscript's ownership by Symond Byrd.

The case study is an introduction to the final part of this thesis, which presents a modern spelling edition of the verse and song lyrics from MS 15233, including a full textual apparatus and commentary for each piece.

### Table of Verse Content in MS 15233 and Concordance

Name of poem in MS 15233	Folio(s) in MS 15233	Musical setting	Print version	Other MS versions
Nolo mortem peccatoris	(3) h <sup>r</sup> –(3) k <sup>v</sup>	BL Add. MSS 29372–5		St. John's College Cambridge MS S.54 fol. 9 <sup>f</sup>  Cambridge University Library MS Ee.1.12 fol. 47.
Fair words make fools fain	(3) p <sup>v</sup> –(3) q <sup>f</sup>	MS D. 3.30, 204–7 (The Dallis Book)  BL Add. MS 15117 (The Swarland Book)	<i>A Paradise of Dainty Devices</i>	Arundel Harington MS
Let not the sluggish sleep	(3) q <sup>v</sup> –(3) r <sup>f</sup>	<i>Psalmes songs and sonnets</i> (1611) (STC (2nd ed.) / 4255)  Book from the Music School of Aberdeen (1666) (Wing D380)	Ballad (1580) (STC (2nd. ed.) 10627)  Pamphlet (1603) (STC (2nd. ed.) 10626.5)  <i>A Hundredth Sundrie Flowers</i> (1573) (STC (2nd ed.) 11635)  <i>A Garden of Spirituell Flowers</i> (1610) (STC (2nd ed.) 21206)  <i>Prison Pietie</i> (1677) (Wing S4902)	MS Gough (Norfolk) 43 fol. 37
What heart can think	(3) u <sup>r</sup> –(3) u <sup>v</sup>	BL Add. MS 4900		

Arise, arise, arise I say	(4) a <sup>r</sup> -(4) b <sup>r</sup>	BL Harley MS 7578 fol. 114 <sup>v</sup>	Ballad (1568/9)?	MS Ashmole 48 fol. 21 <sup>v</sup>
Where righteousness does say	(4) g <sup>r</sup> -(4) g <sup>v</sup>	<i>Whole Book of Psalms</i> (1562) (STC (2nd ed.) 2430)		MS Rawlinson Poet. 112 fol. 25 <sup>v</sup> rev.
If love for love	(4) l <sup>r</sup> -(4) l <sup>v</sup>	Trinity College, Cambridge MS 0.1.30		
Who shall profoundly weigh and scan	(4) m <sup>v</sup> -(4) n <sup>r</sup>		<i>A Paradise of Dainty Devices</i>	MS Rawlinson Poet. 185, ff. 4 <sup>v</sup> -5 <sup>v</sup>
			Ballad (1562) (STC (2nd. ed.)13290)	
Gar call him down	(4) o <sup>v</sup> -(4) p <sup>v</sup>		Ballad (1562) (STC (2nd ed.) 13290)	
Walking alone right secretly		TNA SP 1/246 fol. 23		
Comfort at hand	(3) a <sup>v</sup> -(3) b <sup>r</sup>			Trinity College, Dublin MS 160 (D.27) fol. 81
Long have I been a singing man	(3) x <sup>r</sup> -(3) x <sup>v</sup>			BL Cotton MS Vespasian A.xxv. fol. 141 <sup>v</sup>



## The Draper / Stationer Controversy

On 22 May 1600, in an elaborate ceremony at the Guildhall in London, the Stationers' Company agreed to allow twelve freemen of the Drapers' Company to be 'translated' or 'set over' to their company.<sup>1</sup> This meeting was the culmination of a controversy in which the two companies had been embroiled during the last decades of the century, and which forms the centre of the network responsible for the circulation of *Let not the sluggish sleep*. So why were Drapers being set over to the Stationers' Company, and how was this meeting the uneasy resolution of a controversy?

The Drapers' Company and the Stationers' Company represented two of the London guilds. These guilds were economic associations which had originally evolved from religious fraternities and neighbourhood groups into bodies which, by the sixteenth century were powerful regulators of training, production and commerce in individual trades. In order to trade in the city, a citizen had to have been granted the 'freedom of London'. This could be inherited by birth or purchased by 'redemption', but the principal means of enfranchisement was through seven years apprenticeship and eventual membership of one of the guilds.<sup>2</sup> Guild members therefore had the virtual monopoly over their specific area of trade within the City, and the organisations also effectively controlled citizenship by excluding foreigners, provincial craftsmen and migrants, the disabled, criminal and unemployed and all manner of labourers from their ranks.

Having undertaken seven years of specialist training, freed apprentices usually continued to work within their original trade. However, occasionally, they transferred to another occupation, and it was this that was the catalyst for the problems between the Stationers and the Drapers, as an increasing number of freed drapers began working as printers. What drew these former drapers to the book trade is unclear, although it may have been because of the affinity between their trade and the importation and sale of paper.<sup>3</sup> The Stationers, perhaps understandably, protested at the encroachment on their trade by those who were not specialist printers. In their defence, the drapers insisted

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<sup>1</sup> Drapers' Hall, Repertory Book H, fol. 51, in Gerald D. Johnson, 'The Stationers Versus the Drapers: Control of the Press in the Late Sixteenth Century', *The Library*, Sixth Series, 10 (March 1988), 2–17 (p. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Lawrence Manley, *London in the Age of Shakespeare* (Taylor and Francis, 1986) Volume 1986, Part 2, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson, p. 5.

that it was the custom of the City to grant its freemen the right to engage in the book trade. By the custom of the City of London a freeman could engage in any occupation other than that to which he was brought up. The Drapers interpreted this custom to their advantage, arguing that if a man free of their company chose to do so, he could become for example, a pewterer, woadmonger or a printer. Protected by the rights of his own company, such a man was immune from visit and search by members of another craft, although he might be making bad pewter, selling indifferent dyes or producing corrupt or poor quality prints.<sup>4</sup> However, although not exclusively, the custom generally applied to instances of buying and selling, and not an art or ‘mystery’. As William Bohun wrote in 1702, it was not that ‘one brought up as an Apprentice in the Trade of a Goldsmith, Cutler, &c. Being a Freeman of London, may by colour thereof use any Manual Trade; but one of a Trade who useth buying and selling, as Mercer, Grocer, may exercise another Trade of buying and selling’.<sup>5</sup>

In the majority of instances, individual freemen changing from one art to another may well have encountered little trouble from the authorities, but the encroachment of freemen of the Drapers’ Company on the trade of the Stationers’ Company was more serious for two reasons: because of the increasing number of drapers turning to printing, and because it was through the Stationers that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities sought to control the press. In fact, the Company of Stationers was incorporated in 1557 in a measure designed to tighten censorship.<sup>6</sup> Although neither their original Company Charter of 1557, or the 1586 Star Chamber decree which reaffirmed the Stationers’ control of the book trade, required non-printers to be members of the Company, it is clear that the Stationers were policing the publication, selling and binding of books in the latter part of the century. The Star Chamber decree states that wardens of the Company could ‘make search in all woorkhowses, shops, warehouses of printers, booksellers, bookebynders, or where they shall haue resonable cause of suspicion’, to seize any ‘bookes, Coppies, matters and thynges printed, or to be printed contrarye to thintent and meaning of theis present ordonaunces’, and to arrest

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<sup>4</sup> Cyril Bathurst Judge, *Elizabethan Book Pirates* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), pp. 112–113.

<sup>5</sup> William Bohun, *Privilegia Londini, or the rights, privileges, laws and customs of the city of London* (D. Browne, 1723), p. 180.

<sup>6</sup> Manley, p. 21.

offenders.<sup>7</sup> Thus, while the state used the Stationers' control of the book trade to their advantage, the Stationers in turn may well have been using the fears of the authorities with regard to uncontrolled printing as a useful argument to prevent the loss of their monopoly in the city. They suggested that the drapers were using custom not only to defend their right to print, but to indirectly challenge the policy of the government, and argued that it was easier to police such dissenters if all traders in books were subject to their direct supervision through membership.<sup>8</sup>

Relations between the two companies deteriorated rapidly in the last decades of the century. Of major concern to the Stationers was the alarming increase occurring as book-selling drapers indentured apprentices, trained them as stationers, and then freed them as drapers. As Gerald Johnson notes, if the growth were not checked, the Stationers felt that they would soon be rivalled by a *de facto* 'stationers' company' inside the Drapers' Guild.<sup>9</sup> The freed drapers thus formed a type of community, united in their desire to continue printing and trading in books, and between them, devised a number of tactics to avoid legal obstacles.

### **The Network and the Circulation of *Let not the sluggish sleep***

#### ***A Good Exhortation (1580)***

In the midst of this controversy in 1580, a ballad was printed for Richard Ballard, possibly by John Allde,<sup>10</sup> to be sold at Saint Magnus Corner, near London Bridge, with the title, *A good exhortation to every man what he should doo when he goeth to bed and when he riseth*, and to be sung to a 'new northern tune', now unidentifiable.<sup>11</sup> Ballard was a freed draper who had trained under Abraham Veale,<sup>12</sup> a fairly prolific trainer of draper/printers who, along with John Wight, was responsible for freeing five of the twelve drapers who translated to the Stationers' Company in 1600.<sup>13</sup> It is not clear how

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<sup>7</sup> *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640*, ed. by Edward Arber, 5 vols (1875–94; repr. Gloucester, MA: 1967), II, 807–12. The Company's charter is printed in Arber, I, xxx–xxxii.

<sup>8</sup> Johnson, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Johnson, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Allde is a conjecture in the STC.

<sup>11</sup> STC (2nd. ed.) 10627.

<sup>12</sup> Johnson, p. 6. Johnson notes that neither Arber nor McKerrow identifies Richard Ballard as a draper, but Abraham Veale freed a man of this name on 16 March 1578. Moreover, Ballard's shop was located at St Magnus Corner during 1579–85 (imprints in STC 18276, 18647, and 18648), which was also the address of another Veale apprentice, Hugh Astley.

<sup>13</sup> Johnson, p. 6.

Ballard obtained the words for *A good exhortation*, but his fifteen stanza ballad contains eight out of the nine stanzas of the poem *Let not the sluggish sleep*, which appears on fol. (3) q<sup>v</sup> of MS 15233, and another—the seventh stanza as it appears in MS 15233—which differs in wording, but is very similar in content. A comparison of this stanza is printed below.

***A Good Exhortation***

The nightly Bell which I heare sound,  
as I am laid in bed:  
Foreshowes the Bell which me to ground,  
shall ring when I am dead.

***Let not the sluggish sleep***

The nightly bell which I do hear,  
As I in bed do lie,  
the passing bell may seem t'appear  
which sounds when I must die.

In addition to the similarity in content, the 1580 ballad retains the form of *Let not the sluggish sleep* exactly, with the first stanza or verse in four lines of six syllables, and the remainder in ballad form; four-line stanzas rhyming *abab*, with the first and third lines carrying four accented syllables and the second and fourth carrying three.<sup>14</sup> It has previously been noted that MS 15233 contains a selection of song lyrics and music, and that parts of the content seem to have been designed with performance in mind. Although *Let not the sluggish sleep* is without any music or reference to a tune in the manuscript, its compatibility with the ballad form, and its appearance in 1580 set to a tune, raises the possibility that what appears at first to be a poem might originally have been designed as a ballad.

There is no information in the Stationers' Register concerning the provenance of the 1580 ballad. Ballads were usually entered into the Register before printing, and such an entry would typically include the ballad's title, the names of its owners, the licensers' names, and the fee charged for the registration.<sup>15</sup> However, in reality, only about sixty-five percent of ballads were actually entered in the Register,<sup>16</sup> and this is one of the thirty-five percent that are missing. Although it is not possible to ascertain

<sup>14</sup> William Gahan, 'Ballad Measure in Print', in *The English Broadside Ballad Archive*, <[http://emc.english.ucsb.edu/oldebba/background\\_essays/ballad\\_measure.asp](http://emc.english.ucsb.edu/oldebba/background_essays/ballad_measure.asp)> [accessed June 2010].

<sup>15</sup> Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London*, 4 vols (London, 1875) I.

<sup>16</sup> Paxton Hehmeyer, 'The Stationers' Company and the Ballad Partners', in *The English Broadside Ballad Archive* <[http://emc.english.ucsb.edu/oldebba/background\\_essays/stationer.asp](http://emc.english.ucsb.edu/oldebba/background_essays/stationer.asp)> [accessed June 2010].

how the work came into the hands of Ballard, his reasons for having it printed as a ballad are more obvious. There were extremely advantageous commercial reasons for distributing a work in this format, and the transmission of the poem from MS 15233 in this form may be in large part responsible for its wide circulation.

After 1588, the fee for registering a ballad with the Stationers was 6d, the same as that for registering a book.<sup>17</sup> However, a single sheet ballad had a retail price of somewhere between 1/2d and 1d, whereas a book (depending on many factors such as size and paper quality) could be expected to sell copies for anything from 1 1/2d for a jest book or large almanac, to 6d for a copy of the metrical psalms.<sup>18</sup> The significant difference between the retail price of a ballad and a book for the same registration fee suggests that the commercial potential of a ballad was far greater.<sup>19</sup> Apart from the accessibility provided by price, ballads, like nursery rhymes (which are often written in the same form) are popular and lasting precisely because their structure is regular, repetitive and therefore easily memorable. They also do not require advanced literary skill, and can be sung to a simple tune. Thus this ballad was likely to have increased the knowledge of the words of *Let not the sluggish sleep* significantly. But it was not just the words of the poem from MS 15233 that those buying or listening to the ballad in 1580 would have learned, because although it is the first known appearance of *Let not the sluggish sleep* after MS 15233, and the first example of it in print, it is also the first example of its amalgamation with another poem, George Gascoigne's *Good nyghte*.

*Good nyghte* first appeared in 1573 as one of a pair of poems directly attributed to Gascoigne, *Gascoigne's good morow*<sup>20</sup> and *Gascoigne's good nyghte*,<sup>21</sup> and contained within the printed miscellany, *A Hundredth Sundrie Flowers*. The miscellany was also a product of the draper/printer network, printed by Stationers Henry Bynneman and Henry Middleton for Richard Smith,<sup>22</sup> a freed draper who had entered his copy in the name of a Stationer who then printed the edition. *A good exhortation* contains three stanzas which do not appear in MS 15233, and appear to have been taken directly from

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<sup>17</sup> H. E. Rollins, in Paxton Hehmeyer, 'The Stationers' Company and the Ballad Partners', in *The English Broadside Ballad Archive* <[http://emc.english.ucsb.edu/oldebba/background\\_essays/stationer.asp](http://emc.english.ucsb.edu/oldebba/background_essays/stationer.asp)> [accessed June 2010].

<sup>18</sup> I.M. Green, *Print and Protestantism in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 39.

<sup>19</sup> Hehmeyer <[http://emc.english.ucsb.edu/oldebba/background\\_essays/stationer.asp](http://emc.english.ucsb.edu/oldebba/background_essays/stationer.asp)> [accessed June 2010].

<sup>20</sup> Pigman, p. 286.

<sup>21</sup> Pigman, p. 288.

<sup>22</sup> STC (2nd ed.) 11635

*Good nyghte*. It is not clear whether this was the first instance of this poem becoming amalgamated with *Let not the sluggish sleep*, or how the two works became linked, although it is possible that the combination was a result of both works being in circulation amongst the close knit community of draper/printers. However, the two poems continue to be combined to varying degrees in both print and manuscript sources throughout the next thirty years.

### **A Norfolk Common Place Book (1590s)**

Given that the ballad would have increased the circulation of the poem considerably, its inclusion in a common place book during the latter part of the sixteenth century is of little surprise.<sup>23</sup> Bodleian Library MS Gough, (Norfolk) 43 was owned by the Brampton family during the 1590s, and contains a selection of popular poetry from the Elizabethan period. It is difficult to date the addition of *Let not the sluggish sleep* to this manuscript, and the preceding folio, which might have allowed a clearer idea of date, has been cut from the binding. A few folios earlier, a poem added by Thomas Brampton is dated to 1594, although it is not safe to assume that the entries were added systematically in chronological order.

Like the 1580 ballad, this twenty-six line manuscript version follows the content of *Let not the sluggish sleep* almost exactly, with the only significant difference being that the order of one stanza is altered (stanza seven becomes stanza five). The Norfolk manuscript also adds content to the original: eight lines in fourteeners (and thus the equivalent of four stanzas in *Let not the sluggish sleep*), six of which also appear in *Good nyghte*. The remaining two lines are not entirely new, having also appeared in the 1580 ballad, and since the text also follows the same slight alteration of wording for the section beginning ‘the nightly bell’ as the ballad (see above), this may have been one of the sources.

Unlike MS 15233 or the 1580 ballad, this version of the poem is not divided into stanzas, and is entirely composed of fourteeners, with the exception of the first two lines, which are both twelve syllables in length. Despite the general alteration of form, this piece does in some respects reproduce the style of *Let not the sluggish sleep* and the

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<sup>23</sup> MS Gough (Norfolk) 43, fol. 37.

1580 ballad, as the first twenty-four syllables remain distinct from the form of the remainder of the poem.

### ***A Godly Exhortation (1603)***

In 1603 Simon Stafford of Hosier Lane printed *A godly exhortation necessary for this present time*.<sup>24</sup> It is not clear what the purpose of this anonymously authored single sheet of text might have been. Although it retains the ballad form of both *Let not the sluggish sleep* and *A good exhortation*, there is no indication of the tune to which the words ought to be sung, and the title suggests a more serious purpose than a ballad for entertainment.

The content is almost identical to the poem in MS 15233, both in length, form and order. The only difference occurs in the wording of what would be the seventh stanza in MS 15233, which varies to some extent in every version. Unlike the 1580 ballad or the Norfolk manuscript, *A godly exhortation* does not have any additions to the poem as it appears in MS 15233, suggesting a more direct link between the two. But how might an uncorrupted version have come into the hands of this printer? To put forward a theory, some background on Stafford is necessary.

Stafford had been apprenticed to Christopher Barker, a freed draper who had begun working as a printer, and as a consequence, Stafford had been made free of the Drapers' Company despite knowing no other trade than printing.<sup>25</sup> Stafford's position meant that his involvement in the rivalry between the Stationers and the Drapers was inevitable, and during the early 1590s, he, along with several others, became a major part of the long standing feud. Stafford appears to have begun his printing career in Addle Hill or Addle Street, just off Carter Lane in the City, and his first output—*A solemne passion of the soules loue*, printed for William Barley in 1598—was probably printed at the shop of another, already established printer, Valentine Simmes.<sup>26</sup> Barley was another draper who had switched to the print trade in 1587, and he and Stafford worked together in the early part of Stafford's career.

Within the first year of his engaging in printing, Stafford was involved in an altercation with the Stationers' Company. The Stationers sued Stafford along with Barley, Edward Venge and Barley's apprentice Thomas Pavier, for allegedly printing

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<sup>24</sup> STC (2nd. ed.) 10626.5.

<sup>25</sup> Judge, p. 115

<sup>26</sup> STC (2nd ed.) 3696

‘privileged books’, or books which were licensed to be produced by another printer. A raid on Stafford’s home on 13 March 1598 found nothing, but next door, in Barley’s former premises, they found four thousand copies of a Latin grammar book which was protected by monopoly. They seized these books, along with Stafford’s printing equipment, but this was only the beginning of the case. Stafford then joined Barley in a counter-suit against the Stationers Thomas Dawson and Cuthbert Burby, who directed the search and seizure, stating that they had ‘a wicked and malicious Inclination’ to ‘most wrongfully and Iniuriously bringe them [Stafford and Barley] in daunger of imprisonment or some other Corporall punishment’, accusing them of riot, wrongful entry, and perjury.<sup>27</sup>

In his answers to the interrogatories put to him by Court of Star Chamber on 26 June, Stafford maintained that he had complied with the decree of the Stationers by notifying them of the establishment of his press.<sup>28</sup> Barley stated that he had neither printed nor financed the printing of any privileged books and that the rooms in which the books were found were currently leased to one Roger Pavier.<sup>29</sup> Roger does not appear as one of the defendants in the case. Instead a Thomas Pavier was called to give evidence, and in his deposition he admitted that he had bound, stitched, and sold some of the copies, which he maintained had been printed by Walter Venge and John Danter.<sup>30</sup> Thomas Pavier also stated that he was Roger Pavier’s apprentice, whereas in fact he was Barley’s. He was later freed as a draper by Barley on 9 April 1600. Incidentally, Pavier does not seem to have learnt his lesson from this incident, and continued to produce suspect copies of books. He probably intended to produce a complete works of Shakespeare in quarto form in 1619, but was prevented from doing so by the King’s Men. By 1619 he had already published a number of individual plays (but with continuous signatures) correctly dated. Afterwards he published a number of others with the false date of 1608. The events in the Star Chamber look like a facade to obscure Barley’s complicity. If so, it was ineffective, for the Court ruled that Stafford and Barley, along with Edward Venge and Thomas Pavier, were guilty of printing and

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<sup>27</sup> Star Chamber, Elizabeth S7/ 22 Stafford vs. Burby and Dawson, from a transcription printed in Judge, pp. 165–169.

<sup>28</sup> Deposition of Simon Stafford, from a transcription in Judge, pp. 176–181.

<sup>29</sup> Deposition of William Barley, from a transcription in Judge, pp. 169–173.

<sup>30</sup> Deposition of Thomas Pavier, from a transcription in Judge, pp. 173–176.

selling 'great store of bookes called Accidentes' and committed them 'to the prison of the Fleete for their Contempts in that behalff'.<sup>31</sup>

However, Barley avoided prison, and Johnson believes that it was his partnership with Thomas Morley, who held a Royal Patent on music publishing, which allowed him to circumvent any legal obstacles.<sup>32</sup> The Stationers' Company could not interfere with the publication of works under royal grant. Morley had taken over the monopoly on music printing from William Byrd in 1596, but in 1598 he decided that he wanted more control, and negotiated with Robert Cecil of the Privy Council to be given Letters Patent assigning him the right to 'the sole printing of set songs &c in any tongue serving for the music either of church or chamber and also for the ruling of any paper by impression to serve for the pricking or printing or any song or songs'.<sup>33</sup> Cecil was known for his musical patronage, but in this instance, Morley played a personal card. Part of the deal was that half the benefit of the proposed enterprise would go to one of Robert Cecil's own servants, an instrumentalist by the name of Christopher Heybourne.<sup>34</sup> Heybourne is mentioned in the letter as the brother of another well known musician, Ferdinando Heybourne (alias Richardson), the courtier and possible owner of MS 15233 during the latter part of the sixteenth century.

Should Heyborne have wanted any of the work in his manuscript printed, it would have made sense for him to take it to his brother, who was partnered with Morley in a license to print. And Morley's printer, Barley, was partnered with none other than Simon Stafford. Could this explain the unusual purity of transmission between the poem in MS 15233 and the 1603 pamphlet?

### ***A Garden of Spirituall Flowers (1610)***

Returning to the other print versions of *Let not the sluggish sleep*, in 1610, the poem appeared as an anonymous contribution to *A garden of spirituall flowers*, printed for W.

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<sup>31</sup> Johnson, p. 12. Liber A at Stationers' Hall preserves a copy of the Court's determination in this case, dated 6 July 1598 (fol. 74). The Fleet was a notorious London prison, located off what is now Farringdon Street. It came to prominence for being used as a place of reception for persons committed by the Star Chamber.

<sup>32</sup> Gerald D. Johnson, 'William Barley, 'Publisher & Seller of Bookes' 1591–1614', *The Library*, sixth series, 10, No. 1 (1989), 10–46 (p. 15).

<sup>33</sup> HMC Salisbury (Cecil) MSS, vol. 6 2 / 7 7. See also Michael Chibbett, 'Dedications in Morley's Printed Music', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 13 (1977), 84–94 (pp. 87–8) and Richard Marlow, 'Sir Ferdinando Heyborne alias Richardson', *The Musical Times*, 115 (1974), 736–739 (p. 736).

<sup>34</sup> Lynn Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563–1612)', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 116 (1991), 24–40 (p. 26).

White by Thomas Pavier, the apprentice of Barley who had given evidence in the Stafford case.<sup>35</sup> *A garden* was a collection of works by several Cambridge educated theologians, William Perkins, Richard Rogers, Richard Greenham, Miles Mosse, and George Webbe, and was designed as a handbook to guide the reader towards ‘true happines’. The content of the book was intended to reinforce the messages which had been ‘handled in the course of the Ministerie’. The compilers are all recognised as religious reformers, but as Michael Jenkins notes with regard to Perkins,

the genius of his work did not lie in its originality—his theology represents a conventional recital of Calvinist scholasticism in virtually every respect. His gift lay rather in bringing to a broad audience a variety of theological and moral issues, popularizing essentially technical discussions.<sup>36</sup>

*A garden* was certainly popular, and ran to over twenty editions between 1609 and 1687.<sup>37</sup> The version of *Let not the sluggish sleep* which appears in this text has nine stanzas, which, again, are virtually identical to the poem found in MS 15233 but in a slightly different order. This seems to be the first instance of the poem being used to support a particular religious outlook, but its adaptability is evident, since during the following year it appeared in the work of a devout Catholic.

### ***Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* (1611) and Symond Byrd’s Ownership of MS 15233**

In 1611 the poem was set to music by the composer William Byrd, with the first two stanzas of *Let not the sluggish sleep* used to create a part song for four voices. The music was published as part of Byrd’s collection *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets*, and was printed by Thomas Snodham, another assign of William Barley.<sup>38</sup> This connection between *Let not the sluggish sleep* and William Byrd has been noted in previous scholarship, and has acted for some as confirmation that MS 15233 was owned by Byrd’s brother Symond (see above, chapter 1). However, this assertion is partly based on three theories: that MS 15233 is the only known text of the poem, that William must therefore have seen the manuscript before the composition of the music, and that he could have done so if it was owned by his brother.<sup>39</sup> This chapter has already noted that

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<sup>35</sup> STC (2nd ed.) 21212.7.

<sup>36</sup> Michael Jenkins, ‘William Perkins’, *ODNB*.

<sup>37</sup> Green, p. 386.

<sup>38</sup> STC (2nd ed.) 4255

<sup>39</sup> John Harley, ‘Appendix C: Symond Byrd’s Manuscript’ in *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Magnates and Merchants* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010)

*Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* was not the only later text of *Let not the sluggish sleep*, and since every one of the four versions of the poem appearing between the 1550s and 1611 included the first two stanzas, Byrd could have obtained the words from any number of sources. Another of the arguments for Symond Byrd's ownership of MS 15233 is therefore rendered invalid.

### MS 15233 and the Evidence for Gascoigne's Authorship

In 1951, Arthur Brown first suggested that *Let not the sluggish sleep* was the work of George Gascoigne.<sup>40</sup> Although he cited no evidence for his theory, Brown's original attribution has been sporadically reproduced since, and more recently explained by the fact that *Let not the sluggish sleep* appears to be 'an early draft of *Good nyghte*'.<sup>41</sup> This chapter has established that there are links between the two poems from 1580 onwards, but is there any other evidence to suggest either that the poem in MS 15233 is an early draft of *Good nyghte* or that it might be by Gascoigne?

Although *Good nyghte* was clearly attributed to Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers*—the publication in which it first appeared in 1575—was produced as an example of the type of miscellany created by a social network: an anthology of works by diverse gentlemen, assembled by one of their friends and surreptitiously published by another. The compiler and many of the contributors remained anonymous, and a Latin posie, *Meritum petere grave* (to seek a serious reward) was printed on the title page where the author's name ordinarily appeared. Unusual precautions appear to have been taken to free the compiler from appearing entirely responsible for the publication.<sup>42</sup> According to the preface of the book, the anonymous H. W. delivered for printing to the anonymous A. B. a written book given to him by his friend G. T. 'wherin he had collected divers discourses and verses, invented uppon sundrie occasions, by sundrie gentlemen'.<sup>43</sup> G. T. thus takes the place of the editor of the volume, although he protests that, after having 'with no small entreatie obeyned of Master *F. J.* and sundry other toward young gentlemen, the sundry copies of these sundry matters,' he gives

<sup>40</sup> John Redford, *Wit and Science*, ed. by Arthur Brown (Oxford: Malone Society, 1951), pp. v, ix. Brown simply states that the poem is by Gascoigne.

<sup>41</sup> See Christopher Goodwin, 'A Candidate Lyric for Byrd's *The Maidens Songe*', *Annual Byrd Newsletter*, 10 (2004), 19–26 (p. 22). Goodwin does not offer any evidence to explain his theory that the poem in MS 15233 could be an early version of *Good nyghte*.

<sup>42</sup> John W. Cunliffe, 'George Gascoigne', in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, ed. by A.W. Ward, W.P. Trent, et al., 18 vols (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1907–21; New York: Bartleby.com, 2000 ([www.bartleby.com/cambridge/](http://www.bartleby.com/cambridge/)) III.

<sup>43</sup> *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers*, ed. by W. Pigman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 141–142.

them to H. W. for his private recreation only, and not for publication.<sup>44</sup> G. T. claims that he does not know ‘who wrote the greatest part of’ the verses, ‘for they are unto me but a posie presented out of sundry gardens’.<sup>45</sup> The compiler’s elaborate attempt to distance himself from the publication appears to have been justified, and according to the book’s modern editor, W. Pigman, the book was not a success, and ‘was deemed lasciviously offensive, and written to the scandalising of some worthie personages’.<sup>46</sup>

In response to the criticisms directed at the first edition, in 1575 a second ‘reformed’ version was published. At this point, the printer A. B., the editor G. T., the reader H. W., and one of the contributors, F. J., all seem to merge into the figure of George Gascoigne. The ‘divers discourses and verses ... by sundrie gentlemen’ appear in this edition as *The Posies of George Gascoigne*, G. T.’s comment on the verses of Master F. J. is printed as from Gascoigne’s own hand, and Gascoigne ‘admits’ that the original publication was by his consent. Nineteenth-century examination of the two editions has led scholars to the conclusion that the first was prepared for the press and written from beginning to end by Gascoigne himself, including the printer’s preface.<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately for Gascoigne, his confidence in the ‘reformed edition’ seems to have been misplaced, and it was partially confiscated by Her Majesty’s Commissioners.<sup>48</sup> The evidence from both versions of this publication points to Gascoigne being the author of *Good nyghte*, but his authorship of the poem in MS 15233 is far less certain. The context in which *Good nyghte* might have been originally written needs to be examined to establish whether there might be any link between this and the composition of MS 15233.

Previous scholarship has not noted any connection between Gascoigne and the other named contributors to MS 15233, and there is no known connection between Gascoigne and St. Mary-at-Hill, the church which forms the hub of the social network which created the MS 15233. However, Gascoigne was in London when the content of the manuscript was collected and bound together in the mid 1550s, becoming a member of Gray’s Inn in 1555.<sup>49</sup> The Inns of Court were important literary communities, and although poetry was not on the official curriculum, Jessica Winston has noted that

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<sup>44</sup> Pigman, p. 144.

<sup>45</sup> Pigman, p. 216.

<sup>46</sup> Pigman, p. xxxviii

<sup>47</sup> Cunliffe.

<sup>48</sup> ‘George Gascoigne’, *ODNB*.

<sup>49</sup> Charles Tyler Prouty, *George Gascoigne: Elizabethan Courtier, Soldier and Poet* (Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 18–19 in Gillian Austen, *George Gascoigne* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), p. 22.

members of the Inns continued to write on set themes and commonplaces and practise the kind of literary exercises that they had experienced at school or university, developing their oratorical, rhetorical and linguistic skills.<sup>50</sup> Winston also explains that the type of coterie manuscript circulation which existed within the Inns, and in which Gascoigne would have participated, contributed to the circulation of ideas as well as the building of social connections between individuals.<sup>51</sup> Gillian Austen believes that many of the undated miscellaneous poems in *Sundrie Flowers* actually belong to the late 1550s and 1560s, and were circulated in manuscript in Inns of Court circles long before the decision was taken to print them in the 1570s.<sup>52</sup> Could *Let not the sluggish sleep* have been one of these poems, circulated and then adapted for the 1573 publication? There is no firm evidence to suggest that *Good nyghte* was circulated in any form in manuscript, either during the 1550s or at any other point before publication, but if *Let not the sluggish sleep* was an early version of the poem, there is no evidence in MS 15233 to suggest it.

The poem is an anonymous contribution to the manuscript, and one of only two poems copied by Hand C, who, as noted in chapter one, cannot be identified with any of the named or surmised authors whose handwriting survives. *Let not the sluggish sleep* is not of sufficient length to make reliable use of computer assisted comparison of linguistic style between this and Gascoigne's other works, and thus stylometrics are of no use in this particular authorship question. However, computer systems do not need to be employed in order to see more obvious parallels between poems. *Let not the sluggish sleep* consists of nine stanzas, which, with the exception of the first, are written in ballad form. *Good nyghte* is a much lengthier poem of thirty-eight lines in fourteeners and not divided into stanzas. The only similarity between the poems in terms of line divisions, length or form is the fact that a fourteener is the combination of 8 and 6 (usual ballad form), and so could be relineated fairly easily.

The content of the two poems shows no exact verbal links, but the similarities are laid out in the table below.

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<sup>50</sup> Jessica Winston, 'Literature and Politics at the Early Elizabethan Inns of Court' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, 2002), pp. 8, 15–18, 33–34, 62 in Austen, p. 23.

<sup>51</sup> Winston, pp. 18, 55 in Austen, p. 23.

<sup>52</sup> Austen, p. 23.

*Let not the sluggish sleep (c.1555)*

He which one sin in conscience keeps,  
 when he to quiet goes,  
 More venterous is then he that sleeps,  
 with twenty mortal foes.

My bed is like the grave so cold,  
 and sleep which shuts mine eye  
 Resemble death: clothes which me  
 fold,  
 Declare the moulds so dry.

The frisking fleas resemble well  
 the wriggling worm to me,  
 which with me in the grave shall  
 dwell  
 where I no light shall see.

*Good nyghte (1573)*

Beware and wake, for else thy bed, which soft & smoth is made  
 May heape more harm upon thy head, than blowes of enmies  
 blade.

My bed it selfe is like the grave, my sheetes the winding sheete,  
 My clothes the mould which I must have, to cover me most  
 meete:

The hungry fleas which friske so freshe, to wormes I can  
 compare,  
 Which greedily shall gnaw my fleshe, & leave the bones ful  
 bare:

In a discussion of the dangers of using verbal parallels in author attribution in 1975, David J. Lake observed that the average parallel passage cited has been 1. undefined as to objective points of similarity 2. hence uncountable for statistical purposes 3. striking in thought and diction and hence open to imitation 4. not subjected to ‘the negative check’<sup>53</sup> or the ability to prove exhaustively that it is not possible to parallel words, images and phrases as a body from other acknowledged works of the period. Lake did, however, state that verbal parallels or ‘collocations’ *could* be used, but that these should be delimited to clearly defined categories including combinations of more than one

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<sup>53</sup> David J. Lake, *The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays: Internal Evidence for the Major Problems of Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 18, in Brian Vickers, *Counterfeiting Shakespeare: Evidence, Authorship and John Ford's Funerall Elegye* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 81.

word co-occurring in the same sentence, particular grammatical or semantic patterns, and single words in special senses, the sense being established by the context.<sup>54</sup> The objective points of similarity between *Good nyghte* and *Let not the sluggish sleep* have never been fully outlined, and although no comprehensive database currently exists for sixteenth-century manuscripts, a search of printed material reveals that metaphors listed above are found in other texts, for example:

*My flesh is clothed with wormes and dust of the earth.*<sup>55</sup>

It should be noted that the order of the similar sections is the same in the two poems, but as Lake and others since have noted, although attribution where no verbal parallels exist would be unwise, where they do exist, they form contributory and not primary evidence for authorship.<sup>56</sup> Since it has not previously been discussed in scholarship, the evidence for the attribution of *Let not the sluggish sleep* to Gascoigne is summarised below:

1. There are a few verbal similarities between Gascoigne's *Good nyghte* and *Let not the sluggish sleep*, including the order in which the similar sections occur.
2. The two poems are amalgamated to varying extents in print and manuscript sources after 1580.
3. Gascoigne was in London when MS 15233 was compiled, c.1555

However, it should be noted that none of these points provide firm evidence to assign the poem to Gascoigne, and could be disallowed as follows:

1. Although the order of the verbal parallels found in the texts is the same, the phrasing is not exact, and the clichéd phrases can also be found in other printed works from the period.
2. The amalgamation of the two poems occurs after 1580, seven years after the publication of *Good nyghte* and approximately twenty-five years after the appearance of *Let not the sluggish sleep* in MS 15233. Both poems therefore

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<sup>54</sup> Lake, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> Job 7:5. MS 15233 and *Good nyghte* use the word 'moulds' with the meaning 'clods of earth, esp. rotting earth considered as the material of the human body; the human body or its substance, esp. as opposed to the soul or spirit' (*OED*).

<sup>56</sup> Further discussion of these points can be found in Vickers.

had ample opportunity to be known to others who might have amalgamated them, and both poems were also known to members of the printer/drafter network who circulated them.

3. There is no internal evidence in MS 15233 to suggest that Gascoigne authored *Let not the sluggish sleep*. He is not known to have been directly connected to any of the other named contributors, or the church at the centre of the manuscript network, St. Mary-at-Hill.

This chapter suggests that connections between the texts of *Let not the sluggish sleep* and *Good nyghte* indicate that the text in MS 15233 may have served as a partial source for Gascoigne's 1573 poem. However, despite *Let not the sluggish sleep* being regularly attributed to him, there is no firm evidence to suggest that it was an early version of *Good nyghte*.

#### **A Comparison of *Let not the sluggish sleep* with Later Versions**

The following diplomatic transcriptions are intended to reinforce the descriptions of the versions of the text discussed above, and demonstrate how the sections of each version of *Let not the sluggish sleep* relate to the poem in MS 15233 and to Gascoigne's *Good nyghte*. Sections in each poem or ballad which relate directly to MS 15233 are in bold, and sections from *Good nyghte* are highlighted. The poems are transcribed in chronological order, and the connections between them can be briefly summarised as follows:

***Let not the sluggish sleep*** – MS 15233, compiled c.1555. A nine stanza poem written mainly in ballad form. Earliest known source for the text.

**Gascoigne's *Good nyghte*** – The poem appeared as part of the miscellany, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers*, and was first printed in 1573. Some verbal parallels exist between this much lengthier poem written in fourteeners and *Let not the sluggish sleep*, although the word matches are not exact.

**A Good Exhortation** – Ballad to be sung to a northern tune, printed in 1580. Fifteen stanzas; eight stanzas with close correspondence to *Let not the sluggish sleep* and an additional three stanzas from Gascoigne's *Good nyghte*.

**Untitled poem** – MS Gough (Norfolk) 43, a commonplace book owned by the Brampton family, c.1590s? Written in fourteeners but follows the content of *Let not the sluggish sleep* almost exactly, with the only significant difference being that the order of one stanza is altered. Adds eight lines, six of which also appear in *Good nyghte*. The remaining two lines also appeared in the 1580 ballad, and this may have been one of the sources. Follows the 1580 ballad and *Let not the sluggish sleep* in keeping the first twenty-four syllables distinct from the form of the remainder of the poem.

**A Godly Exhortation** – Single printed sheet (1603). Follows the form and content of MS 15233 almost exactly, and may have been taken directly from it. The only difference occurs in the wording of what would be the seventh stanza in MS 15233, which varies to some extent in every version.

**A Godly Meditation** – Part of *A garden of spirituall flowers*, printed 1610. Contains nine stanzas, which are virtually identical to *Let not the sluggish sleep*, although in a slightly different order.

*Gascoignes's Good nyghte (1573)*

When thou hast spent the lingring day in pleasure and delight,  
 Or after toyle and wearie waye, cost seeke to rest at nighte:  
 Unto thy paynes or pleasures past, adde this one labour yet,  
 Ere sleepe close up thyne eye to fast, do not thy God forget,  
 But searche within thy secret thoughts, what deeds did thee befall:  
 And if thou find amisse in ought, to God for mercy call.  
 Yea though thou find nothing amisse, which thou canst cal to mind,  
 Yet ever more remember this, there is the more behind:  
 And thinke how well so ever it be, that thou hast spent the daye,  
 It came of God, and not of thee, so to direct thy waye.  
 Thus if thou trie thy dayly deedes, and pleasure in this payee,  
 Thy life shall clense thy come from weeds, & shine shall be ye gaine:  
 But if thy sinfull sluggishe eye, will venter for to winke,  
 Before thy wading will may bye, how far thy soule maye sinke,  
 Beware and wake, for else thy bed, which soft & smoth is made  
 May heape more harm upon thy head, than blowes of enmies blade.  
 Thus if this paine procure thine ease, in bed as thou doest lye,  
 Perhaps it shall not God displease, to sing thus soberly;  
 I see that sleepe is lent me here, to ease my wearye bones,  
 As death at laste shall eke appeere, to ease my greevous grones.  
 My dayly sportes, my panch full fed, have causde my drousie eye,  
 As carelesse life in quiet led, might cause my soule to dye:  
 The stretching armes, ye yauning breath, which I to bedward use,  
 Are patternes of the pangs of death, when life will me refuse:  
 And of my bed eche sundrye part in shaddowes doth resemble,  
 The sundry shapes of deth, whose dart shal make my flesh to tremble.

My bed it selfe is like the grave, my sheetes the winding sheete,  
 My clothes the mould which I must have, to cover me most meete:  
 The hungry fleas which friske so freshe, to wormes I can compare,  
 Which greedily shall gnaw my fleshe, & leave the bones ful bare:  
 The waking Cock that early crows to weare the night awaye,  
 Puts in my minde the trumpe that blowes before the latter day.  
 And as I ryse up lustily, when sluggish sleepe is past,  
 So hope I to rise joyfully, to Judgement at the last.  
 Thus wyll I wake, thus wyll I sleepe, thus wyl I hope to ryse,  
 Thus wyll I neither waile nor weepe, but sing in godly wyse.  
 My bones shall in this bed remaine, my soule in God shall trust,  
 By whome I hope to ryse againe from death and earthly dust.

***A Good Exhortation (1580)***

A good Exhortation to euery  
 Man what he should doo when he goeth to bed and when  
 He riseth. To a new Northern tune.

At night lye down prepare to haue:  
 thy sleep, thy death, thy bed, thy graue.  
 A rise a wake think that thou hast:  
 thy life but lent, thy breth a blast.

**Let not the sluggish sleep,  
 close vp thy waking eye:  
 Until with iudgement deep,  
 thy dayly deeds thou trye.**

**He which one sinne in conscience keeps,  
 when he to quiet goes:  
 More ventrous is then he which sleepes,  
 with twentie mortall foes.**

**Wherefore at night call vnto minde,  
 <...> the day hast spent:  
 <.....> if nought amis thou finde,  
 if ought betime repent.**

**And since thy bed a pattern is,  
 of death and fatall hearse:  
 Bedward it shall not be amis,,  
 thus to record in verse.**

The stretching armes, the yawning breath,  
 that I to bedward vse:  
 Are patterns of the panges of death,  
 when life must me refuse.

**The nightly Bell which I heare sound,  
 as I am laid in bed:  
 Foreshowes the Bell which me to ground,  
 shall ring when I am dead.**

**My bed is like the graue so colde,  
 and sleep which shuts myne eye,  
 Resembleth death: Clothes which me folde,**

**declare the moules so drye.**

**The frisking fleas resemble wel,  
the wringling worme to me:  
Which with me in the graue shall dwel,  
Where I no light shall see.**

The waking Cock that early crowes,  
to weare the night away:  
Puts me in minde the trump that blowes  
Before the later day.

The splendent Sun whose golden ray,  
no eye can dure to see:  
Declares how in that dreadful day,  
God shall appeer to me.

**The rising in the morn likewise,  
When sleepy night is past:  
Puts me in minde how I shall rise  
To iudgement at the last.**

**I go to bed as to my graue,  
God knoweth when I shall wake:  
But Lord I trust thou wilt me saue,  
and me to mercy take.**

Thus wil I wake, thus wil I sleep,  
thus wil I hope to rise:  
Thus wil I neither waile nor weep,  
But sing in godly wise.

Repent, repent you sinners all,  
And call to God for grace:  
That he may graunt vnto vs all,  
in heauen a dwelling place.

FINIS

Imprinted at London for  
Richard Ballard, and are  
to be solde at Saint  
Magnus corner.

**Bold** = Sections from MS 15233

**Y** = Sections from *Good nyghte*

## MS Gough (Norfolk) 43

Let not thy sluggysse sleepe. Close up thye wakeinge eye.  
 Vntill with judgemente deepe, thye dayly dedes thow trye,  
 He that one synne in Conscience kepes, when he to quyet goes.  
 more venterous is then he, whiche slepes with twentye mortall foes  
 Whearefor at nighte call vnto mynde, how thow the daye hast spente  
 prayse god if nawght amysse thow ffynde, if owght betyme repente,  
 And synce thy bed a patterne is, of deathe and fatall herse,  
 bedwarde it shall not be amysse, thus to recorde in verse.

The stretching armes and yawning breathe, that I to bedwarde vse,  
 Are patternes of the panges of death, when lief must me refuse,  
 the nightly bell **wh**ich I heare sownde as I am layed in bed.

Foreshewes the bell whiche me to grownde shall ringe when I am deade  
 My bed is lyke the grave so cowlde, and sleepe whiche shettes myne eye  
 resemblethe deathe clothes whiche me ffould declares ye movld so drye  
 the ffriskeing fleas resemble well, the wriggelyn wormes to come  
 whiche in the grave with me shall dwell, wheare I no light shall see,  
 the wakeing Cock that earelye crowes, to weare the night awaye  
 puttes me in mynde the trumpe that blowes, before the latter daye.

The splendente sonne, whose goulden raye, no eye can <.....> to see  
 declarithe howe in that dredefull daye god shall appeare to me.

**The rysinge in the morne lykewyse when slepye night is paste.**  
**puttes me in mynde that I shall ryse, to Judgement at the laste.**  
**I go to bed as to my grave, god knowes when I shall wake.**  
**But lorde I truste thowe wilte me save, and me to mercye take.**  
 thus will I wake, thus will I sleepe, thus will I hope to ryse.  
 thus will I neyther wayle nor weepe. But singe in godlye wyse.

**B**old = Sections from MS 15233

**Y** = Sections from *Good nyghte*

*A Godly Exhortation (1603)*

A godly Exhortation, necessary  
For this present time

**Let not the dull and sluggish sleepe  
close vp thy waking eye,  
Untill aright with iudgement deep,  
thy dayly deedes thou trye.**

**He which one sinne in conscience keepes,  
when he to quyet goes,  
More ventrous is, then he that sleepes  
with twenty mortall foes  
Therefore at night call vnto minde,  
how thou the day hast spent:  
Prayse God, if nought amisse thou find;  
If ought, betime repent.**

**And since thy bed a patterne is  
of death and fatall herse,  
Toward bed it shall not be amisse,  
Thus to record in verse:  
My bed is like the grave so cold;  
and sleepe, which shuts mine eye,  
Resembles death: clothes, which me fold,  
Declare the mould so drye.**

**The byting fleas resemble well  
The wrinckling wormes to be,  
Which with me in the grave shall dwel,  
Where I no light shall see.**

**The nightly bel, which I heare towle,  
As I am layd in bed,  
Declares, the bell shall for me knowle  
and ring, when I am dead.**

**The rising in the morne likewise,  
when sleepe night is past,  
Puts mee in mind, how I shall rise  
To Judgement at the last.**

**I goe to bed as to my grave:  
God knows when I shall wake:  
But (Lord) I trust, thou wilt me saue,  
And me to mercy take.**

FINIS

**Bold** = Sections from MS 15233

*A Garden of Spirituall Flowers (1610)*

*A godly Meditation to be had in  
minde at our going to bedde.*

Beware, let not the sluggish sleepe,  
close vp thy waking eye,  
Vntill such time with iudgement deepe  
thy dayly deedes thou try.

Hee that one sinne in conscience kepes  
when he to quiet goes,  
More ventrous is, then he that sleepes  
with twentie mortall foes.

Wherefore at night, call well to minde,  
how thou the day hast spent:  
Thank God if nought amisse thou find  
if ought, betime repent.

The frisking Flea resembleth well  
the crawling Worme to mee:  
Which in the Graue with me shal dwel  
where I no light shall see.

The nightly Bell which I heare toule,  
when I am layd in Bedde,  
Declares that Bell which for my soule,  
shall sound when I am dead.

And sith my Bedde a patterne is  
of Death, and fatall Hearse,  
Beware, it shall not be amisse,  
thus to record this Verse.

My Bedde is like my Graue so cold:  
And Sleepe, which shuts mine eye,  
Resembleth Death: Cloathes which me fold,  
declares the Mould so dry.

The rising in the Morne likewise,  
when sleepe night is past,  
Puts me in minde how I shall rise

to Iudgement at the last.

**I goe to Bedde as to my Graue,  
God knows when I shall wake:  
But Lord, I trust thou wilt me saue,  
and eke to mercie take.**

**Bold** = Sections from MS 15233

The versions of *Let not the sluggish sleep* discussed in this chapter have revealed the significance of the original manuscript by citing it as a source text, demonstrated further evidence for the theory of its ownership, and suggested that the theory that George Gascoigne was a contributor to the collection is based on tenuous evidence. In doing so, it has also shown something of the networks by which poems in manuscript and print were circulated during the latter half of the sixteenth century. This chapter has demonstrated that where a contribution to a manuscript has been reproduced, revised and/or re-interpreted, its presence in the original source should not be examined as an isolated example. This case study acts as a preface to the edition which follows, which notes all significant versions of poems in MS 15233 and variations between texts.



## Chapter 5

### An Edition of Poems and Song Lyrics from MS 15233

Since its discovery in 1848, two editions of the verse from MS 15233 have been published. James Orchard Halliwell's text for the Shakespeare Society in 1848 is a diplomatic transcription of the manuscript with the addition of some punctuation (an excessive and apparently arbitrary use of both the semicolon and exclamation mark) and a limited number of textual notes, largely confined to marking large spaces in the manuscript or obvious deletions.<sup>1</sup> The Elibron Library text was published in 2004 as a facsimile reprint of Halliwell's text, but with the addition of a minimal commentary covering some of the antiquated or unusual phrases.<sup>2</sup> There has been no attempt to modernise spelling, edit or produce a detailed textual apparatus for any of the poems, and no complete concordance has been produced to explore the transmission and circulation of the verse.

#### Reading this Edition: Grace and Salvation

This thesis has already demonstrated the value of studying the lives of the less well known contributors to MS 15233, and has rejected the theory that the manuscript is representative of a Catholic network centring on Redford and Heywood at St. Paul's Cathedral. But the varying religious allegiances of the contributors revealed by their biographies are also evident in some of the poetry in MS 15233; a factor which has been missed due to the lack of a detailed study of the verse.

According to Christian theology, 'justification' is God's act of declaring or making a sinner righteous, and is a result of his grace. The issue of how justification (or salvation) was achieved became the focus of the major theological argument between the Catholic Church and religious reformers during the sixteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *The Moral Play of Wit and Science and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848).

<sup>2</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *The Moral Play of Wit and Science and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848; repr. London: Elibron, 2004).

Catholic teaching held that salvation was achievable through faith. Thus, in order to be saved, and to achieve God's grace, the individual must believe in the righteousness of Christ in giving his life for mankind. The English Church regarded itself as representing the one true Catholic faith, one stripped of man-made impurities. However, there was widespread advocacy during the early sixteenth century of the view that inner faith should be outwardly demonstrated by good works, usually acts of charity. It was the value of these works which was questioned by many, even devout Catholics, and which ultimately resulted in religious reform.

Miles Huggarde's poem, *Oh hear me Lord, and grant mercy*, on fols (4) l<sup>v</sup> and (4) m<sup>r</sup> of MS 15233, reaffirms the value of good works in a period in which they were being questioned even amongst staunch Catholics. The poem clearly demonstrates that God's grace is key to obtaining salvation—'unless thy grace I do obtain / due unto me is death endless'—but indicates that both faith and good works are valuable components of the path towards achieving this.

Alas good Lord if I contend  
by thy justice my works to try,  
then am I damned without end  
from thy presence eternally.<sup>3</sup>

Leading Reformers taught that the Bible represented the one source of truth (not the Pope or the Catholic Church) and that salvation could be achieved through faith alone (*sola fide*). Thus salvation occurred solely through faith in Christ's righteousness, was a manifestation of God's grace, and was independent of, and in no way depended on works performed. The doctrine of 'justification by faith alone' was often supported by citations from the words of the Apostle Paul (Romans 3:28; 4:5-8; Galatians 2:16; 3:10-13, 5:2-4). According to Galatians 2:16, to become right with God, a sinner must believe in Christ. God freely justifies the person who does not rely on his works and efforts, but wholly trusts in the Lord Jesus Christ. The believer is acquitted, set free and treated as righteous because of Christ:

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<sup>3</sup> The poem is in MS 15233, ff. (4) l<sup>v</sup> and (4) m<sup>r</sup>.

a man is not iustified by the dedes of the lawe, but by the fayth of Iesus Christ: And we haue beleued on Iesus Chryst, that we might be iustified by the faith of Christ, and not by the dedes of the lawe: because by the dedes of the lawe no flesshe shalbe iustified.<sup>4</sup>

Despite this religious schism, applying rigid concepts of ‘Catholic’ or ‘Protestant’ to the beliefs of individuals during the sixteenth century is too simplistic as a means of describing the many-faceted views of those living through a period of religious turmoil. Reformers had, after all, originally followed the Catholic faith, many had been driven to reform because of what they viewed as corruption within the Catholic Church rather than because of major theological differences, and the two sides of the religious debate actually shared many ideas in common. One of those responsible for the early advancement of the doctrine of ‘justification by faith alone’—and who in many ways epitomises the Catholic driven to reform by corruption and worldliness in the church rather than any doctrinal issue—was the German monk and theologian Martin Luther (1483-1546). Much of Luther’s and later reformers’ cause for complaint centred on the sale of indulgences. Indulgences could be purchased in order to relieve the temporal punishment due as a result of sin, and supposedly gave the same benefits as good works. However, professional pardoners often used the unrestricted sale of indulgences—and the promise that their purchase could bring impossible rewards such as salvation from eternal damnation—as a means to fund expensive projects. In 1517, after witnessing a Catholic priest near Wittenberg offering indulgences to any Christian who contributed money for the rebuilding of the Cathedral of St. Peter in Rome, Luther wrote ninety-five theses against indulgences, which came to general attention after they were supposedly posted on the door of Wittenberg’s All Saints Church. Luther’s ideas were quickly printed and distributed across Europe. Thesis sixty-eight offers a summary of the Lutheran view on indulgences.

[Indulgences] are in truth least of all [value] comparable with the grace of God and the piety of the cross.<sup>5</sup>

Luther thus accorded a very minimal value to indulgences, and made clear that they were insignificant in comparison with piety and the grace of God. As Michael Mullet has noted,

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<sup>4</sup> Galatians 2:16.

<sup>5</sup> Michael A. Mullett, *Martin Luther* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 75.

Luther's critique of indulgences led him to set out an alternative theology according to which sinners were saved and pardoned by the merits of Christ crucified, themselves sharing some of its anguish through their heartfelt contrition (whereas indulgences offered only a shallow and false peace and optimism).<sup>6</sup>

Although they might differ on the value of good works or the purchase of indulgences, the significance of faith in Christ and the grace of God for salvation were thus points on which both Reformers and reforming Catholics could agree. The poem *The sufficiency of grace*, on fol. (3) d<sup>v</sup> of MS 15233 demonstrates this point, and the futility of attempting to polarize the religious beliefs of individuals during the 1550s. Read out of context, the poem appears to be Lutheran in its tone, supporting the doctrine that faith and God's grace are all that are required to obtain salvation, rather than the possession of any worldly goods, and citing the Apostle Paul.

‘My grace to thee suffices’, sayeth God unto Saint Paul,  
which grace, as God promises, suffices body and soul.  
What need I number crave, to have things every one,  
if all of need to have, be had having this one? <sup>7</sup>

The poem also appears to assert the importance of the word of the Bible as the source of truth,

The text that written is, is written for our health,  
taking no text amiss, all texts may help to health.  
Faith, hope and charity—these graces with the rest—  
God's gifts of grace they be, in text this is expressed.<sup>8</sup>

However, the poem is ascribed to John Heywood, an author recognised as having been a staunch supporter of the Roman Catholic cause, and sufficiently outspoken in his defence of his religious beliefs to be forced into exile in the 1560s as a result. It is of course, possible to draw the conclusion that the ascription ‘quod Jhon Heywoode’ in MS 15233 is inaccurate. However, since the significance of the attainment of grace is actually the main doctrinal point on which both Catholic and Reformer could agree, this poem may well have

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<sup>6</sup> Mullett, p. 75.

<sup>7</sup> The poem is in MS 15233, fol. (3) d<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> The poem is in MS 15233, fol. (3) d<sup>v</sup>.

been written by Heywood, and there is no reason to doubt the ascription. Thus this poem could be read as an exercise in diplomacy, with the common point between Catholic doctrine and reformed religion being emphasised, rather than their differences. The reference to the Bible here is also slightly ambiguous; ‘*taking no text amiss*, all texts may help to health’ (my emphasis). The implication of this phrase seems to be that the word of the Bible is useful, but that like all texts, it is also capable of being mis-interpreted, whether deliberately or otherwise. These lines suggest an author who whilst accepting certain aspects of reformed religion, remains cautious about how far they should be taken.

Even the two brief examples given in this introduction indicate that the poems in MS 15233 are representative of the different levels of religious belief which were held and expressed by individuals during the 1550s. If the ascription of *The sufficiency of grace* to Heywood is correct, this poem also represents a further example of the willingness of the contributors to put their religious differences aside and work, and perhaps socialise, with one another. Some of the poems in this manuscript thus reflect human accommodations to the difficult and pressing problem of religion during the early to mid sixteenth century.

### **Reading this Edition: Metre, Rhythm and Performance**

Tudor understanding of poetry was based on the understanding of Latin and Greek poetry. In these classical languages prosody was quantitative, i.e. endowed with a natural ‘quantity’ or length of time for each syllable, depending on factors such as the position of the syllable in the word, or the number of consonants following a vowel. In poetry, however, when a vowel was followed by more than one consonant, in the same or consecutive words, it was deemed long, even if its natural prose quantity was short. The length of the poetic syllable could therefore be different from the normal prose pronunciation of the word. School children would be taught to read a poem both for how it sounded, and how it was written. English however, is an analytical language, one which distributes meaning among many words and has a grammar dependent on prepositions and word order rather than inflected endings. The modern system of prosody in English is the ‘accentual syllabic’. This is a qualitative prosody. It disregards syllable length and is instead concerned with formal

patterns of stressed and unstressed beats, the syllables on which emphatic accent is or is not placed.

The quality of the poems in MS 15233 has often been disparaged; in 1848 the scholar responsible for their publication, J.O. Halliwell Phillips, referred to them as ‘too contemptible to be patiently endured’.<sup>9</sup> Halliwell’s judgement has not been questioned since, perhaps as a result of the fact that the poems fall into the so-called ‘Drab Age’ of poetry, and on the page, many appear to conform to a fairly dull syllabic pattern. However, this thesis contends that overall, the collection demonstrates an understanding both of the written rules of poetry, and its performative elements, which would have been familiar to the Tudor schoolboy.

Many of the poems do noticeably conform to a regular syllabic pattern, for example, the song *How should I rock the cradle, serve the table, blow the fire and spin-O?*, which can be lineated to conform, more or less, to ballad metre, an iambic quatrain in the form a8b6c8b6, in which the stressed beats conform exactly to the iambic metre. Occasionally, however, poems which appear to have a regular syllabic pattern have a number of lines which contain an odd number of syllables, for example the song of *Ever or Never*, which varies from eleven syllables per line to nine. However, if this poem is read for its natural prose rhythm, i.e. if we give accent to syllables according to the prose meaning of the sentence, instead of simply trying to fit lines into a recognised and rigid metrical pattern, it reveals an even number of stressed syllables in the line (in the case of *Ever or Never* this is four). In these instances, the number of unstressed syllables between stresses will vary, in a reflection of colloquial English prose, but nonetheless, regularity can be discerned in the poem, even if the overall number of syllables in the line makes it initially seem irregular.

John Redford’s poem on the choirboys’ struggle with their cruel master (entitled *The choirboys’ lamentation* in this edition) is an even more valuable example of the potential performative qualities of some of the poems in MS 15233. The apparent lack of structure suggested by the varying number of syllables in each line of this poem is regularised by the prose meaning, which usually gives a five stress pattern to each line. The consecutive stresses, which are particularly evident in the words ‘poor, silly boys’ in

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<sup>9</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *The Moral Play of Wit and Science and Early Poetical Miscellanies* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848), p. vi.

the final line of each stanza, also encourage a speaker to slow their pace and make emphasis. In addition to this, the tone of the poem is conversational, with questions regularly being addressed to the poem's audience,

But what mind or good conscience has this man, I pray you?  
Sometime at our friends' desire he sayeth to us 'go play you'  
and by and by to school we must again, is not this a shame—how say you  
—that we poor silly boys should abide so much woe? <sup>10</sup>

The structure of the final three words in the first three lines of stanza eleven ('think-on-him', 'wink-on-him', 'link-on-him') also suggests a verbal playfulness which might be most effectively brought out through performance. Further performative aspects of the poem are suggested by the prose rhythm of line thirty-seven, 'Sometime, I shrink, and I stand behind the door', which seems to demand pauses after 'sometime' and 'shrink'. If this poem is designed for performance, these pauses might suggest space in the poem for actions which accompany the words, for example, shrinking, cowering, or hiding. Finally, the content of line fifteen, which describes how the boys are beaten so that from their buttocks they 'may pluck the stumps [splinters] thus long', seems to call for a demonstration of the length of the splinters caused by the beating.

A second poem, also ascribed to Redford, *Now will you be merry*, on folios (4) b<sup>v</sup>–(4) e<sup>r</sup>, appears to be designed for an even more theatrical display. The poem begins with an eleven-line section which is clearly separated from the main body of the text. These lines are evidently intended to be the words for a song, since following this section, the main text begins with the line 'oft has this song been put in ure'. Following this musical beginning, the poem becomes a dramatic narrative. Like *The choirboys' lamentation*, this poem has elements designed as direct speech (which this edition has emphasised), with parts shared between the characters of Man(kind), Faith, Sure Hope, Clean Conscience, and the Lord,

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<sup>10</sup> The poem is in MS 15233, ff. (3) e<sup>r</sup>–(3) f.

‘Why man’ says Faith, ‘dost thou doubt me?’  
 ‘No, no’ says man, ‘I doubt not thee’.  
 ‘What doubt thou than’ says Faith, ‘tell me’.  
 ‘Mine own unworthiness’ says he.  
 ‘Despair not man’ says Faith to man.  
 ‘No, no’ says man, Faith gone were then.<sup>11</sup>

The final line of the stanza above (‘Faith gone were then’) also appears to be an embedded stage direction, an indication of Faith’s exit at the close of the conversation with man. There are several other examples of potential stage directions throughout the poem, which, in combination with the use of direct speech in parts, suggest that it might have been intended as a part of a masque, with the actions being explicated at length by the poet-narrator. The two sample poems discussed above demonstrate Redford’s extremely theatrical poetic voice, and are evidence of the choirmaster’s understanding and use of the performative qualities of verse.

This edition considers the poems and songs in MS 15233 as representative of experimentation with accentual stress in English verse. It also contends that some of the poems were designed specifically for performance, and therefore that their natural prose rhythm is a key aspect.

A number of the poems in the collection have sixteenth or early seventeenth-century musical settings. These versions have been compared with the written poems, but have not established any new underlying rhythmic pattern which might be working in counterpoint to the written or spoken text.<sup>12</sup>

It should be noted that the works in this edition are presented in the same order as they appear in the manuscript, and that the texts of the two single-page interlude fragments are included alongside the poems and song lyrics. The edition begins with one of these fragments.

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<sup>11</sup> The poem is in MS 15233, ff. (4) b<sup>v</sup>–(4) e<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> I am grateful to Ros King for examining and performing some of the musical settings of these poems for me.

## Transcription Policy

This edition is based on the versions of the poems as they occur in MS 15233. Where any of these poems or songs exist either in print or in other manuscript sources, these have been noted both in the table of concordance (see chapter four) and in the individual commentary for each of the poems or songs in this edition. All variations between poems existing in different manuscripts are noted in the textual apparatus, but MS 15233 remains the basis for the edition. Spelling variations between versions have only been noted where there are also other substantive and accidental variants.

All references to MS 15233 appearing before the bracket in the apparatus and commentaries refer to the line numbers and spelling in this edition. Although no significant changes have been made to the wording of MS 15233 in this edition, on occasions where slight changes have been made to the text for the purposes of making this edition easier to read, these are marked in the apparatus as ‘this edn’ and the original MS 15233 text is included alongside.

Marginalia and scribal symbols have not been included in the edition, but are in the diplomatic transcriptions in Appendix A for reference. Where the scribe has clearly indicated deletions and alterations in the manuscript, these have been adhered to, and noted in the apparatus for the relevant poem/song. Common abbreviations such as *w<sup>t</sup>* for *with* and *w<sup>ch</sup>* for *which* have been expanded. Insertions above and below the line have been levelled with the main body of the text, and noted in the textual apparatus. Letters *i* and *j*, and *u* and *v* have been normalised.

Some poems in the MS contain stanzas which have been clearly marked for rearrangement. In these instances, the stanzas have been reordered, but the changes have been noted in the commentary/apparatus.

Where variant texts are clearly based on a poem from MS 15233, but the differences are so substantial as to render a complete textual apparatus impossible, differences between similar stanzas have been noted in the apparatus for the poem, and complete diplomatic transcriptions of the variant poems in manuscript have been included in Appendix C for reference purposes.

### **Spelling and Glossaries**

The purpose of this edition is to enable the reader to focus more easily on the likely rhythmic and performative qualities of the verse. In doing so, it also aims to counter the traditional verdict that the poems are ‘drab’ or incompetent. Spelling has been silently modernised throughout, unless such an alteration would affect the rhythmic pattern of the poem, in which case this has been noted in the commentary. Obsolete words, phrases and place names have been glossed where necessary.

### **Punctuation and Re-lineation**

There is virtually no punctuation in MS 15233 apart from the occasional (and sometimes apparently arbitrary) use of the virgule. Punctuation in this edition is intended for ease of reading, and to emphasise the prose meaning of lines rather than any syllabic pattern. The lineation of the poems and songs has been altered where this enables the metre, rhythm and rhyme of the work to be more easily appreciated.

### **Choruses**

Where the manuscript simply notes ‘chorus’ in a poem, but gives no further details as to the words of the refrain, this edition follows several examples from the collection which use part of the first stanza. Choruses have been italicised in the first instance and then an abbreviated form placed in square brackets after this. There are some poems in the collection which do not have a chorus marked, but which repeat certain lines with slight variants. In these instances, the lines have been italicised.

### **Diplomatic Transcriptions**

Original diplomatic transcriptions of all the poems and songs from the manuscript are included in Appendix A for reference purposes. Appendix C includes diplomatic transcriptions of later versions of poems where they appear in manuscript sources.

**A Modern Spelling Edition of Poems and Song Lyrics from  
British Library, Additional Manuscript 15233**

**[Fragment of Second Interlude]**

d       Marry Tom, such points God send him many.

T       Well, go to, mock on. Your mocks bear can I  
till we shall once be even, I trust.

G       Nay, Tom, all malice lay in the dust,  
5       and since we have drunk all of one cup,  
shake hands like friends, all quarrels give up.

d       Yea, by my soul, and since the pain is past,  
let us be merry, and care away cast.

I       What else, Tom, since we have leave to play?  
10       Let us be merry all this long day!

John Redford

[Here they sing 'Hey, nonny, nonny', and so go forth singing]

### Commentary for Fragment of Second Interlude

This fragment is attributed to John Redford, and seems to have been a fairly traditional morality play, although the character ‘T’ has been expanded to the name ‘Tom’ in the first extant line, which suggests more characterisation than usual. The number of leaves missing (four), or only remaining as stubs (five) before the final extant page, suggest that the original work may have been between five and seven-hundred lines in length.

- 1**     *Marry*] i.e. the Virgin Mary, an exclamation.
- 5**     *drunk [...] cup*] proverbial, ‘to drink of the same cup’ (Tilley, C908). I.e. to share as friends.
- SD**    *Hey [...] nonny*] often used in songs of the period as part of a refrain. C.f. John Heywood’s *The Play of the Weather* (c.1533?), sig. Diii, ‘Gyue boys wether quoth a nonny nonny’.

**[Comfort at Hand]**

“Comfort at hand, pluck up thy heart”,

thus said Grace to my thought,

“since the redress of all thy smart

so nigh at hand is wrought,

5 *pluck up thy heart.”*

“Pluck up thy heart, why doubt thou so?

See who does loose thy bands”,

and toward the heavens I looking tho,

“in the eye of faith there stands

10 *comfort at hand.”*

“Comfort at hand I say” says Grace,

“mark man what tale I tell,

and thou shall see cause in this case

all care clear to expel.

15 *Pluck up thy heart.”*

“Pluck up thy heart, and give it Him  
     that gave himself for thee,  
 in deity of whose diadem,  
     look up, I say, and see

20 *comfort at hand.*”

“Comfort at hand; thine enemies yield  
     if thou forsake thy sin,  
 a new won life, a new won field,  
     this victory to win.

25 *Pluck up thy heart.*”

“Pluck up thy heart since thou art sure  
     showers are as short as sharp,  
 the world’s conflicts cannot endure;  
     on this sweet string now harp,

30 *comfort at hand.*”

“Comfort at hand, hark now, what sounds?  
     The captain general  
 even with his bloody bleeding wounds  
     does slay thine enemies all.

35 *Pluck up thy heart.*”

“Pluck up thy heart and this short life

living in loving faith,

for endless rest at endless strife,

look where he sits that says

40 *“comfort at hand.”*

Comfort at hand to thee and me,

since God gives by his grace,

let us by grace in unity

this comfort to embrace,

45 *pluck up our hearts.*

### Commentary for Comfort at Hand

An anonymous version of this poem is found in Trinity College, Dublin MS 160 (*The Blage Manuscript*), a significant collection of verse once belonging to Sir George Blage (1512–1551), an evangelical, courtier, poet and intimate of Sir Thomas Wyatt, whose work he included in the manuscript alongside his own. *The Blage MS* was probably compiled between 1545 and 1546, about a decade before MS 15233. The poems vary significantly in overall content, but share the refrain, which alters between ‘pluck up thy heart’ and ‘comfort at hand’.

- 1** *pluck up thy heart*] proverbial (Tilley, H323). To summon up courage, strength, etc., take courage; to raise one's spirits, cheer up.
- 3** *smart*] grief, suffering.
- 7** *bands*] moral or spiritual bonds of restraint, especially the ‘shackles’ of sin or vice.
- 8** *tho*] ‘then’ or ‘thereupon’ (*OED*, *adv.* 1b).
- 12–14** *mark [...] expel*] repeated use of alliteration and consecutive stresses/long syllables emphasise the didactic nature of the stanza.
- 18** *in deity of whose diadem*] i.e. in the divine quality of whose crown; *deity* = divine quality, object of worship; *diadem* = crown.
- 27** *showers [...] sharp*] proverbial? C.f. ‘when briars shall have leaves as well as thorns / and be as sweet as sharp’ (*All’s Well that Ends Well*).
- 29** *sweet [...] harp*] proverbial ‘to harp upon one (the same) string’ (Tilley, S396).

- 32** *captain general*] chief commander, i.e. Christ.
- 33** *even*] should be elided to one syllable (ev'n) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 39** *says*] modernized from 'saythe' which rhymes with 'faith' in line 37.

**Apparatus for Comfort at Hand**

**3** thy] 15233; [my] 15233

**38** Blot between 'for' and 'endless'

**45** Blot between 'pluck' and 'up'

**[Ever or Never]**

*Of ever or never folk ever conjecture,  
that never is longer by one little letter,  
but ever or never, which ever be greater,  
where never a good is, there's never a better.*

- 5 Ever in grafting and never in growing,  
ever in ploughing and never in sowing,  
ever in reaping and never in mowing,  
ever in trowing and never in knowing.

[Of ever or never etc.]

- Ever full gorged and never from tapping,  
10 ever at silence and never from clapping,  
ever a-cold and never from wrapping,  
ever in hoping and never in happing.

[Of ever or never etc.]

[Of ever or never etc.]

Ever in travel and never at berth,  
ever in smiling and never in mirth,  
15 ever in swelling and never slack-girth,  
ever in purchase and never ought worth.

[Of ever or never etc.]

Ever at hand and never at will,  
ever stick-fast and never stand-still,  
ever come-toward and never come till,  
20 ever a clerk and never can skill,

[Of ever or never etc.]

Since ever and never shall never have end,  
good is it ever never to offend,  
for ever shall never keep faults in safe mend,  
but ever shall scourge faults that never amend.

### Commentary for Ever or Never

- 4 *never a good [...] better*] i.e. where there is no good to start with, there is never likely to be anything better.
- 5 *grafting*] the insertion of a slip or cutting from the desired or selected plant into a more robust rootstock for the purposes of propagation.
- 8 *trowing*] trusting, believing.
- 9 *ever full gorged and never from tapping*] i.e. always sated with food/drink, but always drawing more drink from the tap; *full gorged* = gluttoned, stuffed with food; *tapping* = to draw from a tap, particularly alcohol, e.g. 'a tapping of wine'.
- 10 *clapping*] chattering, talking noisily.
- 11 *wrapping*] covering oneself in layers of clothing.
- 12 *ever in hoping and never in happing*] i.e. always living in hope, but never having good fortune; *hap* = fortune.
- 15 *ever in swelling and never slack-girth*] i.e. always getting larger and never having a loose belt; *slack* = loose; *girth* = belt.
- 16 *ever in purchase and never ought worth*] i.e. always buying things but never having anything of worth; *ought* = nought, nothing.
- 17 *ever at hand and never at will*] i.e. always in attendance (at hand), and never free to do what one wishes (at will).

- 18** *ever stick-fast and never stand-still*] i.e. always firm in opinion, or stubborn, and never progressing; *stick-fast* = remaining fixed, firm; *stand-still* = unable to proceed.
- 19** *ever come-toward and never come till*] i.e. always moving towards something but never reaching it; *till* = to attain or reach.
- 20** *ever a clerk and never can skill*] i.e. always studying but never obtaining knowledge; *clerk* = a man (or woman) of book learning, one able to read and write; a scholar; *to skill* = to have knowledge, to get along.
- 23** *in safe mend*] i.e. safe from exposure.

**Apparatus for Ever or Never**

Two choruses have been marked between stanzas three and four, implying that another stanza may originally have been intended.

**[The Maiden's Lamentation]**

*How should I rock the cradle, serve the table, blow the fire and spin-O?*

But late in place,  
 a pretty lass,  
     that was both fair and young-O,  
 with weeping eye,  
 5 right secretly,  
     unto herself she sung-O.

This little foot,  
 and 'ittle toot,  
     with notes both sweet and clear-O,  
 10 she sighed full oft,  
 and sung aloft  
     in form as you shall hear-O;

[How should I rock the cradle etc.]

“Alas”, she said,  
 “I was a maid,  
 15      as other maidens be-O,  
 and though I boast,  
 in all the coast,  
     there was no more like me-O.”

“My birth right good,  
 20 of gentle blood  
         I am undoubtedly-O.  
 They called me wise,  
 I bear the price  
         of all then who but I-O?”

[How should I rock the cradle etc.]

25 “I was beloved,  
 of each man proved,  
         and long I did deny-O,  
 till at the last,  
 I have purchased  
 30          this babe that here does lye-O.”

“Alas the time  
 of such a crime  
         that I should live to see-O.  
 Now am I thrall  
 35 unto them all  
         that were thrall unto me-O.”

[How should I rock the cradle etc.]

“Clean out of sight  
 and all delight,  
         now here in servitude-O,  
 40 at the behest  
 of most and least  
         that be, God wot, full rude-O.”

“I may not swerve  
 the board to serve,  
 45           to blow the fire and spin-O,  
 my child to rock,  
 and please this flock,  
               where shall I first begin-O?”

[How should I rock the cradle etc.]

“Preserve, good God,  
 50   all maidenhood  
           that maidenly intend-O.  
 Let my defame  
 and endless shame  
           keep them from shameful end-O.”

55   “Beware, good maids,  
 of all such braids  
           before all other thing-O,  
 or all in vain,  
 as I complain,  
 60           thus weeping shall you sing-O.”

### Commentary for The Maiden's Lamentation

*My Lady Nevells Booke* (dated to 1591) contains a piece (no.28) entitled *The Maiden's Songe*. It is thought that this song is the composer William Byrd's elaborated version of a much simpler tune found in a source dating from around thirty years earlier, *The Mulliner Book* (the tune is on ff. 3–3<sup>v</sup>). The poem in MS 15233 seems to fit Mulliner's music both on musical and circumstantial grounds.<sup>1</sup> The text stands in the long tradition of young women lamenting the loss of their maidenhood. This particular ballad might have been sung by men in a rollicking style, as a direct contrast to the salaciously moral tale.

**Chorus**        -O] MS reads 'e'. 'O' is more fitting with the balladic form of the piece, and has been used throughout.

**1**        *late*] recently.

*in place*] i.e. in the position of a servant.

**7**        *foot*] possibly the refrain or chorus of the song (*OED*, 21b).

**8**        *ittle*] possibly a shortened form of 'little' (see line 7). It should be disyllabic to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

*toot*] the position of this with 'notes' on line 9, suggests the meaning as (*a*) the sound of a wind instrument accompaniment, or (*b*) a plaintive noise such as crying or whining.

**9–11**    *with [...] aloft*] C.f. Richard Edwards, *In going to my naked bed*, 'she sighed sore and sang full sweet to bring the babe to rest', which is about hearing a mother singing to her child.

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Goodwin, 'A Candidate Lyric for Byrd's *The Maiden's Songe*, *Annual Byrd Newsletter*, 10 (2004), 19–26.

- 16–18** *though I boast [...] like me*] i.e. although aware that she is boasting, she states that she was one of a kind ('in all the coast [country], there was no more like me').
- 20** *of gentle blood*] well-born.
- 23** *bear the price*] with wordplay on 'price' and 'prize', and thus, several senses of 'bear'. *Bear* = (a) the process of childbearing; (b) to bear the burden of social stigma (attached to having an illegitimate child); (c) to bear a prize (the child). Childbirth and social stigma are both the 'price' of sexual pleasure. The child is the ultimate 'prize' that she has won by bearing the reputation of well-born, wise, and one of a kind.
- 24** *of all then who but I-O?*] i.e. 'considering my reputation, of everyone, who else could have won a 'prize' but me?'.
- 26** *proved*] tested, e.g. with gifts and protestations of love.
- 27** *deny*] i.e. the men's sexual advances.
- 29** *purchased*] continuing the metaphor of the child as the price of sexual gratification.
- 34** *thrall*] in bondage to a power or influence.
- 40–42** *at the behest [...] rude*] i.e. at the command of all persons, whether upper or lower class, who, as God knows, are impolite/crude; *at the behest* = at the bidding, command of; *wot* = knows; *rude* = impolite or unsophisticated.

- 43–48** *I may not swerve [...] begin]* i.e. she needs to rock her child, but is prevented from so by her duties to others; *swerve* = (a) deviate from the (right) course of action, line of conduct (b) forsake; *board* = table.
- 56** *braids]* *OED* cites this song as an example of the sense of the word as (a) tricks or deception (II.3). Alternative and equally possible meanings here are (b) sudden assaults (c) outbursts of passion.

### Apparatus for The Maiden's Lamentation

All instances of 'e' occurring at the end of a line in the original text have been altered to read '-O'. See the commentary for this poem for further explanation.

8      ittle] *this edn*; ite *15233*

24     then who] *15233*; then [h] who *15233*

26     proved] *this edn*; prove *15233*

30     -O] *this edn*; not in *15233*

Chorus marked for deletion between stanzas five and six

**[In Praise of Virtue]**

If virtue spring whereas youth reigns  
 there, must all goodness needs ensue,  
 and contrary, where vice remains,  
 mischance does sorrow oft renew.

5           Then it is best  
 for youth always vice to refrain,  
 and give God praise, for it is plain,  
               *servire deo regnare est.*

They that in youth no virtue will use,  
 10       nor to no goodness themselves apply,  
 in age all honour will them refuse.  
 Let youth therefore then call and cry,  
               and never rest.

Who calls for grace to God above,  
 15       in time and space shall find and prove  
               *servire deo regnare est.*

They that delight in sin and vice,  
 not fearing God, nor keeping his laws,  
 let them remember, if they be wise,  
 20       that God from such his grace withdraws,  
               and them detest.

But such as dooth with heart and mind  
 love him forsooth, he shall well find  
               *servire deo regnare est.*

**Commentary for In Praise of Virtue**

**1**     *whereas*] where.

**8**     *servire [...] est*] ‘to serve God is to reign’. The Latin phrase was used as a motto by the Puritan poet William Crashaw (1572–1625). No earlier source is known.

### Apparatus for In Praise of Virtue

- 10** goodness] *this edn*; vertue [goodness] *15233* goodness is written above virtue with no erasure
- 14** to God] *15233*; to [grace] god *15233*
- 15** in] *15233*; [to god above] In *15233*

**[The Sufficiency of Grace]**

*I desire no number of many things for store,  
but I desire the grace of God, and I desire no more.*

‘My grace to thee suffices’, says God unto Saint Paul,  
which grace, as God promises, suffices body and soul.  
What need I number crave, to have things every one,  
if all of need to have, be had having this one?

[I desire no number etc.]

- 5 The grace of God well used, as Christ offers the same,  
all things are full refused, that might turn man to blame.  
Grace being such a gift, as grace by grace may sound,  
my voice with heart I lift, repeating thus this ground,

[I desire no number etc.]

- 10 The text that written is, is written for our health,  
taking no text amiss, all texts may help to health.  
Faith, hope and charity—these graces with the rest—  
God’s gifts of grace they be, in text this is expressed.

[I desire no number etc.]

- 15 Least gift of God to man, man cannot full commend,  
much less this most gift than man’s praise can comprehend  
God grant us all the grace, for grace by grace to call,  
that grace may get us place in place celestial.

[I desire no number etc.]

John Heywood

## Commentary for The Sufficiency of Grace

**Title** *I [...] store*] i.e. I have no desire for material objects.

- 1** *grace [...] suffices*] the poem seems to support the doctrine of salvation or justification by faith alone. See introduction to edition for further discussion of this point.
- 3** *number*] i.e. many things.
- 4** *if all of need [...] one*] i.e. if all that is needed is had if one has grace.
- 5** *used*] wordplay between ‘used’ and ‘refused’ in the following line.
- 6** *full refused*] completely rejected.  
*might turn [...] blame*] i.e. might turn man to do something blameworthy.
- 8** *ground*] the plain song or melody on which a descant is raised.
- 9** *text*] i.e. the Bible.  
*health*] i.e. spiritual health.
- 10** *taking [...] amiss*] i.e. not misreading the meaning of the text.
- 11** *faith [...] rest*] Faith, Hope and Charity are the three key Christian virtues. See 1 Corinthians 13:13.

**[The Choirboys' Lamentation]**

Of all the creatures less and more,  
we little poor boys abide much woe.

Lo, who must hold the candle now, but he that worst may,  
well since that I am chosen this pageant for to play,  
have at it, for out it shall, every whit by this day,  
how we poor silly boys abide much woe.

5 We have a cursèd master, I tell you all for true,  
so cruel as he is was never Turk nor Jew.  
He is the most unhappiest man that ever you knew,  
for to poor silly boys he works much woe.

Do we never so well, he can never be content,  
10 but for our good wills we ever more be shent,  
and oft times our little buttocks he dooth all to rent,  
that we poor silly boys abide much woe.

We have so many lashes to learn this pillèd song,  
that—I will not lie to you—now and then among,  
15 out of our buttocks we may pluck the stumps thus long,  
that we poor silly boys abide much woe.

Well—I tell you truth—this is no laughing game,  
 if you felt as much as we do, you would say the same,  
 for—of my poor honesty—we give him too good a name,  
 20 that to poor silly boys does work so much woe.

He plucks us by the nose, he plucks us by the jaws,  
 he plucks us by the ears, with his most unhappy paws,  
 and all for this peevish pricksong, not worth two straws,  
 that we poor silly boys abide much woe.

25 He says we sing stark nought, when we make a right good noise,  
 for I tell you he must have his knacks, yea, he must have his toys.  
 Oh the pain that we have with him, we little poor boys.  
 Truly, poor boys abide much woe.

He is in our debt many times, that is his saying,  
 30 but we would forgive him all the debt, and never take daying,  
 but give him freely twice as much, so that we might make good paying  
 to that cursed master that works so much woe.

But what mind or good conscience has this man, I pray you?  
 Sometime at our friends' desire he says to us 'go play you'  
 35 and by and by to school we must again, is not this a shame—how say you  
 —that we poor silly boys should abide so much woe?

Sometime, I shrink, and I stand behind the door,  
 I tell you, to see him, it grieves me right sore.  
 Yea, by these ten bones, I would I might never see him more,  
 40 for to poor silly boys he works much woe.

We must ever be in his sight when it grieves us sore to think-on-him.  
 God wots, full often times when we have loe but a wink-on-him,  
 we wish him full heartily in Newgate with a link-on-him  
 that to poor silly boys he works much woe.

- 45 Every day thus we complain, but for all that he mends not,  
 nor for ought that we can see, to mend he intends not.  
 He that would hang him, even up in my conscience offend not,  
 for then we poor silly boys should be rid of much woe.

- Yet for to hang him, I ween it be not best,  
 50 for if he were gone, we should have another guest  
 as ill as he, for nought they be, all the whole nest,  
 and to poor silly boys they work much woe.

- Therefore though he be stark nought, yet we must keep him still,  
 but to show our charity and to do good for ill,  
 55 we shall pray to Christ to amend him when it is his will,  
 that to poor silly boys he work no more woe.

John Redford

### Commentary for The Choirboys' Lamentation

The poem is clearly intended for performance. See the introduction to this edition for further discussion of this point.

**Title** *more*] modernised from 'moe' which rhymed with woe on the line below.

**1** *hold the candle*] literally, carry/hold the lights for the performance; figuratively, to serve or assist; play a subordinate role (hold the candle while another works), especially to an evil person, c.f. 'it is good to hold a candle before the devil' (Tilley, C42).

*he that worst may*] i.e. he that is the least suited to doing so may have the task.

*worst*] should be pronounced disyllabically (worste) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

**3** *have at it*] i.e. 'go at it'; *have at* = to go at or get at, especially in a hostile way (*OED*, vb. 20).

*every whit [...] day*] i.e. the whole day, every part of the day; *every whit* = the whole.

**4** *silly*] deserving of pity, compassion or sympathy.

**5** *cursèd*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

**7** *most unhappiest*] person who causes the most misfortune or trouble, and who is objectionable and bad tempered as a result.

**9** *never*] the first instance of the word in this line should be elided to one syllable to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

- 10** *shent*] disgraced, lost, ruined.
- 11** *to rent*] to tear in pieces.
- 13** *pillèd song*] i.e. wretched song; *pilled* = (a) poor, meagre, miserable, wretched; but with a pun on an alternative meaning; (b) stripped of skin, i.e. learning the song has caused them so many lashes that their skin is stripped.  
*pillèd*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 14** *now and then among*] *among* = from time to time, at intervals, now and then (*OED*, B2); possibly also with the sense of ‘among ourselves’, i.e. they help one another to pluck out the stumps.
- 22** *paws*] hands, implying clumsiness or roughness.
- 23** *peevish*] (a) hateful, distasteful, horrid (b) senseless, silly.  
*pricksong*] music sung from notes written or ‘pricked’, as opposed to music sung from memory or by ear.  
*not worth two straws*] proverbial ‘not worth a straw (rush)’ (Tilley, S918).
- 25** *stark nought*] not anything; *stark* = absolutely, utterly (*OED*, B2); *nought* = nothing.
- 26** *knacks*] a taunt, jibe or short repartee (*OED*, 3); also (a) an ingenious contrivance; a toy, trinket, trifle (*OED*, 3) (b) a ‘trick’ of action, speech, etc.; a personal habit of acting or speaking in a particular way (*OED*, 2b).
- 29-31** *saying [...] paying*] the final word of each line should be pronounced with a weak syllable on ‘ing’. The emphasis is on the rhyme ‘say’, ‘day’ and ‘pay’.

- 30 *daying*] give (a person) time for payment, to postpone payment (*OED*, vb. 2, 3).
- 37 *Sometime [...] door*] the prose rhythm seems to demand pauses after ‘sometime’ and ‘shrink’. If this poem is designed for performance, these pauses might suggest space in the poem for actions which accompany the words. For example, shrinking or cowering, or hiding behind the door.  
*shrink*] to cower or flinch.
- 38 *you [...] sore*] see note to line 37 above. The line needs pauses after ‘you’ and ‘him’.
- 39 *ten bones*] alluding to the fingers of the speaker. C.f. ‘By these ten bones, my lords, he did speak them to me in the garret one night, as we were scouring my lord of York’s armour’ (*Henry VI, Part II*).
- 41–43 *think-on-him [...] wink-on-him [...] link-on-him*] the three words at the end of each line suggest a verbal playfulness which would be most effectively brought out in performance.
- 41 *sore*] greatly or seriously (*OED*, 4d).
- 42 *loe but a wink-on-him*] *wink* = a very brief moment of time (*OED*, 3b).  
*wots*] knows.
- 43 *Newgate*] a notorious London prison; a general name for any prison.  
*link*] chain, fetter.

- 47 *He [...] not*] i.e. the man that hanged the schoolmaster would not offend the choirboys, neither would it bother their consciences, since they would justify his death as being a result of his cruelty towards them.
- 49 *ween*] suppose, think it possible.
- 50 *guest*] stranger, temporary lodger.
- 51 *whole nest*] company; a lair, den, or other place usually inhabited or frequented by people of a certain type or class (esp. those of an evil or criminal disposition) (*OED*, 4b) C.f. ‘a nest of traitors’ (*The Winter’s Tale*). Note the consecutive stressed syllables in ‘all [...] nest’, which calls for spoken emphasis, and highlights the strength of the speaker’s disgust.

**Apparatus for The Choirboys' Lamentation**

- 5      cursèd] *this edn*; cursyd 15233
- 13     this pillèd song] *this edn*; this [s]peelde song 15233
- 29     times, that] 15233; times [oft] that 15233

**[The Hunt is Up]**

The hunt is up,

The hunt is up,

lo, it is almost day.

For Christ our king

5 is come a hunting,

and brought his dear to stay.

When God took in hand

to make sea and land,

and compassed it round, as we see,

10 with beautiful skies,

where he did devise

the sun and moon should be.

To furnish his work,

and expulse the dark,

15 the sun should rule by day,

the moon's sober light

to enjoy the night,

and keep their course away.

Then after his mind,  
20 the fish were assigned  
to flow in seas and flood.  
The birds in the air,  
and beasts should appear  
on th'earth to seek their food.

25 And last he did frame,  
to set forth his name,  
a creature most clear,  
unto his own likeness,  
with reason and quickness,  
30 and chose them for his dear.

The most pleasant ground  
that ever was found,  
enclosed with sward defence,  
for lo, his will was  
35 his dear should not pass  
the pale of abstinence.

But that false deceiver,  
that lovèd them never,  
          came with his charming tale,  
40 and by his false will,  
did them sore beguile,  
          and caused them leap the pale.

Thus were they lost clean,  
for they by no mean  
45           could not return again,  
so that many years  
among thorns and briars  
          they sought their food with pain.

Wherefore they missed  
50 both drink there and bread,  
          became their enemies prey.

The merciful Lord  
yet would not accord  
          to cast them clear away.

55 But sent his own son,  
who strongly begun  
to hunt both hill and plain.

No one kind of pain  
but he did sustain,  
60 to win his dear again.

He chose other twelve,  
and taught them himself  
to blow so just a note,  
that every dear  
65 that list now to hear,  
may bless that happy note.

To finish his work,  
he enclosed a park,  
both pleasant, large and wide,  
70 impaling it sure  
with commandments pure,  
wherein his dear should bide.

Thus were they restored,  
but Lord how he roared,  
75           that first did work their fall  
with sundry entices,  
wherefore he devises  
                  again to make them thrall.

Now you that be keepers,  
80   take heed be no sleepers,  
                  but watch both day and hour;  
for there is no doubt,  
the thief goes about,  
                  and seeks whom to devour.

85   Wherefore you had need  
to take right good heed,  
                  among all other things,  
that is, you be sure  
their feeding be pure,  
90           and drink of wholesome springs.

For if thee do not  
they will have the rot,  
    what will the Lord then say,  
when he shall view  
95 of his dear and you,  
    at that most dreadful day?

Whereby this is clear,  
if so be his dear  
    within the park persever,  
100 then shall thee rejoice  
to hear his sweet voice,  
    and be his dear forever.

[The hunt is up etc.]

Master John Thorne

### Commentary for *The Hunt is Up*

*The Hunt is Up* appears throughout the sixteenth century as a ground, a type of song, a few pieces of instrumental music, a musical genre and a custom.<sup>1</sup> The hunt was a popular means of describing a romantic pursuit, and the origin of the ballad is most often linked to the period of Henry VIII's courtship of Anne Boleyn. Thorne's version for MS 15233 instead places a moral slant on the poem; the deer become a metaphor for mankind, protected in a beautiful garden until they are deceived into transgressing its boundaries, but ultimately redeemed.

6      *dear*] with a pun on 'deer'.

9–10   *compassed it round [...] skies*] i.e. the skies were made to encircle and enclose the earth (*OED*, vb. 1, III, 7).

14      *expulse*] expel. C.f. *Henry VI Part I*.

18      *alway*] perpetually.

19      *after his mind*] according to his wish.

25      *frame*] to shape, direct one's thoughts, actions, powers, to a certain purpose. Also with a person, to shape the action, faculties, or inclinations of; to dispose (*OED*, 5c).

27      *creàture*] should be pronounced with three syllables to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

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<sup>1</sup> John M. Ward, 'The Hunt's Up', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 106 (1979–1980), 1–25.

- 29 *reason*] intellectual power, the capacity for rational thought, and related senses.  
*quickness*] the quality or fact of being alive or living; life, vitality, vital principle.
- 30 *dear*] see note to line 6.
- 33 *enclosed with sward defence*] i.e. enclosed green sward, or *hortus conclusus* (enclosed garden); *sward land* = grass land; *defence* = fence.
- 35 *dear*] see note to line 6.
- 36 *pale*] literally, a fence; metaphorically, a limit, boundary or restriction.
- 37 *false deceiver*] i.e. the Devil.
- 38 *lovèd*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 41 *sore beguile*] greatly deceive; *sore* = greatly or seriously (*OED*, 4d); *beguile* = to delude, deceive, cheat.
- 42 *leap the pale*] literally, to jump over the fence; metaphorically, to go beyond accepted bounds, to transgress (*OED*, n.1, 5b).
- 47 *briars*] particularly prickly, thorny bushes.
- 60 *dear*] see note to line 6.

- 61 *other twelve*] i.e. the twelve disciples of Christ.
- 64 *every*] should be pronounced with three syllables to conform to the rhythmic pattern.  
*dear*] see note to line 6.
- 72 *dear*] see note to line 6.
- 78 *thrall*] servitude.
- 92 *have the rot*] literally, 'the rot' (also known as 'sheep rot' or 'liver fluke') is a parasitic disease mainly affecting cattle. As the alternative name implies, it is particularly common in sheep, but can also spread to deer and occasionally humans; metaphorically the sense here is that they will become corrupted.
- 95 *dear*] see note to line 6.
- 96 *dreadful day*] the Day of Judgement.
- 98 *dear*] see note to line 6.
- 99 *persever*] persist. Modernisation would ruin the rhythmic pattern.
- 102 *dear*] see note to line 6.

### Apparatus for *The Hunt is Up*

- 15** sun should rule by day] *15233*; sun [& moone shall be] ꝛshoolde rule by dayꝛ  
*15233*
- 16** moon's] *this edn*; moone *15233*
- 27** creàture] *this edn*; creature *15233*
- 38** lovèd] *this edn*; lovyd *15233*
- 45** could not] *15233*; w written over anticipator l *15233*
- 75** fall] *this edn*; faule *15233*; the original text could be read as 'fauld', but this is not fitting with the sense or rhyme scheme of the piece.
- 88** be sure] *15233*; be [sw] sure *15233*

**[Nolo Mortem Peccatoris]**

*Nolo mortem peccatoris, hæc sunt verba salvatoris.*

Father, I am thine only son,  
sent down from Heaven mankind to save.

Father, all things fulfilled and done,  
according to thy will I have.

5           Father, now my will is this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Father, behold my pains most smart,  
taken for man on every side,  
even from my birth to death most tart

10       no kind of pain I have denied,  
          but suffered all for love of this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Behold my birth, in what degree,  
into this wretchèd world I came,

15       taking man's vile nature on me  
with all the miseries of the same,  
          save only sin, and all for this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Behold my tender infancy,  
20 scant eight days old but that I was  
cut in my flesh most painfully  
to shed my blood for man's trespass,  
I not disdained for love of this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

25 Here dwelt I thirty years and three,  
in hunger, thirst, in cold and heat,  
in great contempt of the world at me  
for my good deeds and travails great,  
taken for man and all for this,  
30 *nolo mortem peccatoris.*

When thirty years and three were run,  
time drawing near of my most woe,  
oh Father, now behold thy son,  
my pains increasing more and more  
35 for which, oh Father, harken to this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Behold my sighs, my sorrowful heart,  
 behold my tears, my bloody sweat,  
 behold my pains in every part  
 40 had on the Mount of Olivet  
       before my death declaring this,  
       *nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Behold the Jews most fierce and wood,  
 thy son they sought with glaives and bills,  
 45 behold thy son most meek of mood,  
 given to their hands to do their wills,  
       to whom I bowed my will for this,  
       *nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Then to a post fast was I tied,  
 50 scourged and beaten on every side,  
 till no skin left but as one flayed  
 there stood thy son in blood all dyed  
       most meekly suffering all for this,  
       *nolo mortem peccatoris.*

55 Behold also then how they brought  
thy innocent lamb before their judges  
as one that had all mischief wrought  
condemned to death upon their grudges  
grown against me for preaching this,  
60 *nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Behold my head then how they crowned  
with thorns yea piercing near the brain,  
my face my neck in blood all drowned,  
my flesh all trembling in every vein  
65 for passing pain, and all for this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

To bear my cross then forth they drove me  
till the great weight threw me thereunder,  
but then hard strokes enough they gave me,  
70 beating me forth with shame and wonder,  
all which I meekly suffered for this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

My garments then to me fast cleaving  
 most violently from me they drew,  
 75 the flesh even from the bone then reaving,  
 my bloody wounds they did renew  
     with no small pain, oh Father yet this,  
     *nolo mortem peccatoris.*

But then behold those cruel folk;  
 80 one at each arm, one at each foot,  
 through flesh and bone great nails they stroke,  
 the streams of blood were set afloat  
     to wash their sin that wrought all this,  
     *nolo mortem peccatoris.*

85 Then up aloft my cross they cast,  
 the fall whereof down in the rest  
 my joints and sinews all to-brast  
 which pain of pains was not the lest  
     that I there meekly suffered for this,  
 90      *nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Upon that cross behold how I there  
hung, three long hours or life were gone  
having no stay my body to bear  
but those hard nails through flesh and bone,

95           yet I even there declarèd this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

When all my blood was throughly spent,  
my flesh dried up for lack of liquor,  
then with a spear my heart they rent  
100 to try my death for man most sicker.

Oh Father, why should I say this?  
*Nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Who may express those pains to me dealt?  
Who may bethink them to disclose?

105 In mine humanity sensibly felt  
yet is there one pain more than those,

oh Father, why should I say this?  
*Nolo mortem peccatoris.*

This my most pain, this my most care,  
 110 is for to see man's unkindness,  
 for all my death he will not spare  
 me to offend, my laws transgress,  
 and all in hope and trust of this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

115 The world, the flesh, yea, and the devil,  
 man will not spare to serve all three,  
 taking occasion of all this evil  
 of mine own words saying to me,  
 'what ever we do yet Christ says this:  
 120 *nolo mortem peccatoris*'.

But unto man I say again  
 'death of a sinner will not I',  
 if he amend and sin refrain  
 but when in sin still he will lye,  
 125 then unto him I speak not this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Oh man for thy love have I died,  
I ask no more of thee therefore  
but love for love in thy deeds tried,  
130 forsake thy sin and keep my lore,  
and then to thee I say even this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Now here an end of this our song,  
now to that lord that died for man  
135 give thanks and pray for grace among,  
to keep his laws that we may then  
enjoy his merciful words in this,  
*nolo mortem peccatoris.*

Master Redford

### Commentary for *Nolo Mortem Peccatoris*

The Latin phrase of the title is taken from the Rule of St Benedict, in his quotation of Ezekiel 33:11. Originally a macaronic poem, it dates from the fifteenth century or earlier. Two other manuscript versions exist, both now found at Cambridge University. St. John's College MS S.54 is a much briefer version at eighteen lines, and dates to the fifteenth century. This is included in a manuscript containing sixteen religious pieces. Cambridge University Library MS Ee.1.12 is the same length as the poem in MS 15233, although it differs slightly in content.<sup>1</sup> This is attributed to James Ryman and has been dated c.1492.<sup>2</sup>

The poem also became a short motet, attributed to Thomas Morley, who became organist at St. Paul's Cathedral in 1590. The text of the motet mirrors the start of the twenty-three verse poem found in MS 15233. The only musical source for this piece is a set of part books in the British Library (Add. MSS 29372–5). Written out by Thomas Myriell (his identity is contentious, but he was most likely the rector of the church of St. Stephen Walbrook in London) in 1616, they bear the title *Tristitiae remedium* (*A Cure for Sadness*). No composer's name is associated with this work in the music manuscript, but Morley is cited as the composer of the preceding piece. This omission, combined with the slightly antiquated idiom of the music, has cast doubts over its authorship.<sup>3</sup>

**Title** *Nolo mortem peccatoris haec sunt verba salvatoris*] ‘I do not desire the death of a sinner, these are the words of the Saviour’.

**9** *even*] should be pronounced monosyllabically (ev'n) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

*tart*] sharp, severe, painful.

**14** *wretchèd*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge University Library MS Ee.1.12, fol. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Leighton Greene, *The early English carols* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> John Milsom, ‘“Songs, Carols and Contrafacta” in the Early History of the Tudor Anthem’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* (1980), p. 43.

- 21 *cut [...] painfully]* i.e. circumcised.
- 23 *I not disdained]* i.e. I did not disdain or scorn.
- 27 *in great [...] at me]* i.e. treated as vile and worthless by the world; *in great contempt of* = the action of treating something/someone as vile and worthless.
- 28 *travails]* labours, toils.
- 29 *taken]* borne.
- 34 *more]* modernised from ‘moe’, which rhymed with ‘woe’ on line 32.
- 40 *Mount Olivet]* The Mount of Olives, a mountain ridge in east Jerusalem. It is frequently mentioned in the New Testament as the route from Jerusalem to Bethany, and the place where Jesus stood when he wept over Jerusalem. Jesus is said to have spent time on the mount, teaching and prophesying to his disciples (Matthew 24–25), including the *Olivet discourse*, returning after each day to rest (Luke 21:37), and also coming there on the night of his betrayal (Matthew 26:39). At the foot of the Mount of Olives lies the Garden of Gethsemane. Jesus ascended to heaven from the Mount, as recorded in the book of Acts 1:9–12. It will be the Mount of Olives to which he is to return, as stated in the book of Acts 1:11. Mount Olivet is a common form of the name in the Medieval and Early Modern periods.
- 43 *wood]* extremely fierce or violent; going beyond all reasonable bounds.
- 44 *glaives]* *glaive* = a lance, spear or broadsword.  
*bills]* *bill* = a broad bladed, often curved sword or farming implement.
- 46 *given]* should be elided to one syllable (giv’n) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

- 50 *scourged*] beaten or flogged.
- 68 *thereunder*] under it.
- 73 *cleaving*] clinging.
- 75 *even*] should be elided to one syllable (ev'n) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.  
*reaving*] being stripped away.
- 87 *to-brast*] to-burst.
- 92 *or*] until.
- 93 *stay*] support.
- 95 *declarèd*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 97 *thoroughly*] fully, completely.
- 98 *liquor*] fluid, i.e blood.
- 99 *rent*] torn.
- 100 *try*] set apart.  
*sicker*] undoubtedly, certainly.

**105** *sensibly*] keenly, intensely.

**112** *my laws transgress*] understood to mean ‘my laws *to* transgress’.

**127-31** *Oh man [...] even this*] ‘thee’ and ‘thy’ are placed in stressed positions throughout this stanza. The effect of the emphasis on these words is moving.

**130** *lore*] that which is taught, esp. religious doctrine.

**131** *even*] should be monosyllabic (ev’n), to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

### Apparatus for *Nolo Mortem Peccatoris*

Stanzas 12–16 have been re-ordered based on the numbering system in MS 15233, rather than the order in which they appear on the page.

**5** Father now my will is this] *15233*; [.] Father now  $\Gamma$ [all] $\Upsilon$  my will is this *15233*

**14** wretchèd] *this edn*; wrechid *15233*

**16** miseries of the same] *this edn*; miseries [.] of the same *15233*

**28** good] *15233*; goode[s] *15233*

**75** bone then reaving] *15233*; bone [even]  $\Gamma$ then $\Upsilon$  revyng *15233*

**95** declarèd] *this edn*; declaryd *15233*

**101** [the which I mekely suffred for this]] *15233*

**107**  $\Gamma$ now <.....> to $\Upsilon$  ] *15233*

**109** most care] *15233*; most [greffe] care *15233*

**119** ever we do] *15233*; ever [he] ^  $\Gamma$ we $\Upsilon$  do *15233*

**128** therefore] *15233*; therefore [but love] *15233*

**[Fragment of a Third Interlude]**

Courage

Shall we three join in unity  
to cheer these guests?

Kindness

By my troth yea.  
Not so my friends, hear me speak mum.

*[Cleanness comes in and Concupiscence steals away]*

5 Courage

Where is Concupiscence become?

Cleanness

My presence has put her to flight.  
Where Cleanness does in place appear,  
there is Concupiscence gone quite.

### Commentary for Fragment of a Third Interlude

The third interlude also appears to have been a traditional morality, although this is not attributed, and the number of missing leaves suggests that it was only about two hundred and fifty lines in length.

- 4 *mum*] an inarticulate sound made with closed lips, usually as an indication of inability or unwillingness to speak. C.f. 'to keep mum'.
  
- 5 *Concupiscence*] an eager or vehement desire; the coveting of 'carnal things' or a desire for 'things of the world'. Here, it is the name of a character who represents this desire.

**[Fair Words Make Fools Fain]**

In youthful years when first my young desires began  
 to prick me forth to serve in court, a slender, tall, young man,  
 my father's blessing then I asked upon my knee,  
 who blessing me with trembling hand, these words gan say to me:

- 5 'My son, God guide thy way, and shield thee from mischance,  
 and make thy just deserts in court, thy poor estate to advance:  
 But when thou art become one of the courtly train,  
 think on this proverb old,' (quod he), 'that fair words make fools fain'.

- This counsel gravely given, most strange appears to me,  
 10 till tract of time with open eyes had made me plainly see  
 what subtle sleights are wrought by painted talks' device,  
 when hollow hearts with friendly shows the simple do entice  
 to think all gold that shines, to feed their fond desire  
 whose shivering cold is warmed with smoke, instead of flaming fire.
- 15 Since talk of tickle trust does breed a hope most vain,  
 this proverb true by proof I find, that fair words make fools fain.

Fair speech always does well, whereas deeds ensue fair words,  
fair speech again always does evil, that bushes gives for birds.

Who hopes to have fair words to try his lucky lot,

20 if I may counsel, let him strike it while the iron is hot.

But them that feed on clods, instead of pleasant grapes,

and after warning given, for better luck still gapes,

full loathe I am, yet I must tell them in words plain,

this proverb old proves true in them, that fair words makes fools fain.

25 Woe worth the time that words so slowly prove to deeds,

woe worth the time that fair sweet flowers are turned to rotten weeds,

but thrice woe worth that time that truth away is fled,

wherein I see how simple hearts with words are vainly fed.

Trust not fair words therefore where no deeds do ensue,

30 trust words as skilful falconers do trust hawks that never flew.

Trust deeds, let words be words, which never wrought me gain,

let my experience make you wise, and let words make fools fain.

### Commentary for Fair Words Make Fools Fain

Attributed to Richard Edwards as a result of its appearance in other sources, the poem also appears in Edwards's *A Paradise of Dainty Devices* and in the *Arundel Harington Manuscript*, one of the largest surviving sixteenth-century collections of poetry. The relation between the *PDD* version and that of MS 15233 is very close, but some corrections in MS 15233 agree with the readings in *Arundel Harington* rather than those of the printed copy.<sup>1</sup>

The poem relates the story of a young man's journey to court, and the perils that he encounters upon his arrival. The poem may or may not be autobiographical—Edwards probably arrived at court at some stage during the early 1550s—but the theme was popular, as was Edwards's poem in particular, which was later set to music.<sup>2</sup> Lute settings exist in *The Dallis Book* (Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 410/1) (1583), and also in *The Swarland Book* (British Library Add. MS 15117) (1614–16).

2     *prick*] urge, impel.

*slender*] (*a*) tender, immature (*b*) of slim build.

*tall*] (*a*) proper, handsome, bold (*b*) tall in height.

4     *gan*] began to.

6     *to advance*] the two words should be elided (t'advance) to conform to the metre (as in *Arundel Harington* and *PDD* from 1590 onwards), but the full syllable is set to music in *The Swarland Book*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Arundel Harington MS of Tudor Poetry*, ed. by Ruth Willard Hughey, 2 vols (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960), II, 388–9.

<sup>2</sup> See Ros King, *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001)

<sup>3</sup> See King, pp. 201, 249.

- 8 *fair [...] fain]* proverbial (Tilley, W794); *fair words* = promises; *fain* = glad, pleased.
- 9 *given]* should be elided to one syllable (giv'n) to conform to the metre.
- 10 *tract]* passage, duration.
- 13 *all [...] shines]* proverbial 'all that glisters is not gold' (Tilley, A146).
- 13–14 *feed [...] fire]* proverbial 'the smoke of fair words will serve to feed fools' (Tilley, S575). C.f. 'It is no fire that gives no heat' (Tilley, F261).
- 15 *tickle]* uncertain, inconstant. C.f. 'stands on a tickle point' (*Henry VI Part II*).
- 18 *evil]* should be elided to one syllable (ev'l) to conform to the metre.  
*bushes [...] birds]* C.f. proverb 'one person beats the bush and another catches the bird' (Tilley B740); *for* = instead of.
- 20 *strike [...] hot]* proverbial (Tilley, I94).
- 21–22 *feed [...] gapes]* C.f. proverbs 'he that gapes until he be fed, well may he gape until he be dead'; 'One cannot gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles (Tilley, G31, G411).
- 22 *given]* see note to line 9 above.

- 23** *loathe [...] tell*] C.f. proverbs ‘Few words are best’, ‘Few words show men wise’ (Tilley, W798, W799); ‘A word to a wise man is enough’ (Tilley, W781).
- 25–27** *woe worth*] cursed be.
- 25** *words [...] deeds*] C.f. proverb ‘From words to deeds is great space’ (Tilley, W802).
- 26** *flowers [...] weeds*] C.f. proverb ‘The weeds overgrow the corn’ (Tilley, W242).
- 30** *trust [...] flew*] C.f. proverb ‘Try before you trust’ (Tilley, T595).  
*falconers*] should be elided to two syllables (falc’ners) to conform to the metre.
- 31** *deeds [...] words*] C.f. proverb ‘Not words but deeds’ (Tilley, W820).

**Apparatus for Fair Words Make Fools Fain**

- 6 thy] *15233, PDD; a AH*
- 7 But when] *AH; but [yet] when 15233; Yet PDD*
- 9 appears] *15233, PDD; appear'd AH*
- 10 eyes] *15233, PDD; eye AH*
- 11 talks?] *this edn; [tales] ^ ʔtalkesʔ 15233; tales AH; rales PDD*
- 14 is] *15233, PDD; not in AH*
- 16 true] *15233, PDD; olde AH*
- 17 speech] *15233, PDD; wordes AH*
- 18 always does] *15233, PDD; doth alway AH*  
 evil] *15233, PDD; ill AH*
- 19 hopes] *15233, PDD; happ AH*
- 20 it] *15233, PDD; not in AH*
- 21 them] *15233, PDD; they AH*

- 22 after warning given] *15233*; after warning [often] given *15233*; often *AH, PDD*
- 23 yet I must tell] *15233*; yet [must] I  $\wedge$   $\ulcorner$ must $\urcorner$  tell *15233*; yet must I [tell] *AH*; yet must I tell *PDD*  
in words plain] *15233, PDD*; in few wordes playne *AH*
- 24 proves true in them] *15233, PDD*; proverb olde by profe I fynde *AH*
- 25 prove] *15233*; [turne] *15233*, turne *PDD*; proves *AH*
- 26 that] *15233, AH*; y *PDD*  
turned] *15233, AH*; [growne]  $\ulcorner$ turnde $\urcorner$  *15233*; growe *PDD*
- 27 that time] *15233*; the time *AH, PDD*
- 29 not fair words] *15233*; no faire words *AH, PDD*
- 31 which] *15233, PDD*; that *AH*  
me gain] *15233, PDD*; no gayne *AH*
- 32 let my experience make you wise] *15233, PDD*; Lett myne experience make thee wise *AH*  
and let] *15233, PDD*; ffor faire *AH*

**[Let Not the Sluggish Sleep]**

Let not the sluggish sleep  
     close up thy waking eye,  
 until with judgement deep  
     thy daily deeds thou try.

5 He which one sin in conscience keeps  
     when he to quiet goes,  
 more venturous is then he that sleeps  
     with twenty mortal foes.

Wherefore at night call unto mind  
 10      how thou the day have spent,  
 praise God if nought amiss thou find,  
     if ought, in time repent.

And since thy bed a pattern is,  
     of death and fatal hearse,  
 15 bedward it shall not be amiss  
     thus to record in verse.

My bed is like the grave so cold,  
     and sleep which shuts mine eye  
 resembles death: clothes which me fold  
 20      declare the moulds so dry.

The frisking fleas resemble well  
     the wringling worm to me,  
 which with me in the grave shall dwell  
     where I no light shall see.

25 The nightly bell which I do hear  
as I in bed do lie,  
the passing bell may seem t'appear  
which sounds when I must die.

The rising in the morn likewise,  
30 when sleepy night is past,  
puts me in mind how I shall rise  
to judgement at the last.

I go to bed as to my grave,  
God knows when I shall wake,  
35 but Lord I trust thou will me save,  
and me to mercy take.

### Commentary for Let Not the Sluggish Sleep

There are eight other examples of this poem in manuscript and print between 1573 and 1677. These are listed in the table of verse content and concordance at the beginning of chapter four.

- 1**     *sluggish*] slothful, indisposed to action or exertion.
- 4**     *try*] to test the goodness or value of deeds by examination. C.f. ‘Try before you trust’ (Tilley, T595).
- 7**     *venturous*] adventurous, willing to take risks or incur danger.
- 13**    *pattern*] a model; a copy.
- 14**    *fatal hearse*] a coffin or bier, or more loosely, a tomb or grave; a (wooden) framework intended to carry lighted tapers and other decorations over the coffin or bier at a funeral (*OED*, 3).
- 17**    *bed [...]/cold*] the metaphor of the bed as a grave was frequently used during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. C.f. ‘Sleep is the image of death’ (Tilley, S527).
- 19**    *clothes*] bedclothes or sheets; also winding sheet.
- 20**    *moulds*] rotting earth considered as the material of the human body; the decayed remains of a human body (*OED*, n.1, 2c); the ground considered as a place of burial; the earth of a grave; a grave (*OED*, n.1, 3).

- 21 *frisking*] lively, frisky.
- 22 *wringling*] writhing, twisting.
- 25 *nightly bell*] bell used for giving signals of time to the inhabitants of a town or district, especially in connection with public worship.
- 27 *passing bell*] bell rung at a person's death or funeral.

### Apparatus for Let Not the Sluggish Sleep

- 1** Let] 15233, 1580, 1603, *MS Gough*, 1611, 1666; Beware, let 1610; Permit 1677  
the] 15233, 1580, 1610, 1611; the dull and 1603; thy *MS Gough*; I say the 1666; *not in 1677*
- 2** close up thy] 15233, 1580, *MS Gough*, 1603, 1610, 1611, 1666; To close your 1677
- 3** until] 15233, 1580, *MS Gough*, 1611; Untill aright 1603; Vntill such time 1610;  
Until that thou 1666; Till you 1677
- 4** thy] 15233, 1580, *MS Gough*, 1603, 1610, 1611, 1666; Your 1677  
deeds] 15233, 1580, 1603, 1610, 1611, 1666, *MS Gough*; actions 1677  
thou] 15233, 1580, *MS Gough*, 1603, 1610, 1611; do 1666; *not in 1677*
- 5** which] 15233, 1580, 1603; that *MS Gough*, 1610, 1611, 1666, 1677  
one] 15233, 1580, *MS Gough*, 1603, 1610, 1611, 1666; his 1677  
in conscience] 15233, 1580, *MS Gough*, 1603, 1610, 1611, 1666; as Darling 1677
- 6** when] 15233, 1580, 1603, *MS Gough*, 1610, 1611, 1677; while 1666
- 7** venturous] 15233, 1580, *MS Gough*, 1603, 1610, 1611, 1666; desperate 1677  
that] 15233, 1603, 1610, 1611, 1666, 1677; which 1580, *MS Gough*
- 8** with twenty] 15233, 1580, *MS Gough*, 1603, 1610, 1611, 1666; Amidst his 1677
- 9** Wherefore] 15233, 1580, *MS Gough*, 1610, 1666; Therefore 1603  
call unto mind] 15233, 1580, *MS Gough*, 1603; call well to minde 1610; call into  
mind 1666

- 10 how thou] *15233, MS Gough, 1603, 1610, 1666; <.....> 1580*
- 11 praise God] *15233, MS Gough, 1603; <.....> 1580; Thank God 1610; Praying to God 1666*  
 if nought amiss thou find] *15233, 1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1610; if ought thou find 1666*
- 12 if ought in time repent] *15233; if ought betime repent 1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1610; and then in time repent 1666*
- 14 fatal hearse] *15233, 1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1610; fatal tears 1666*
- 15 bedward] *15233, 1580, MS Gough; toward bed 1603; Beware 1610*
- 16 thus] *15233, 1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1610; this 1666*  
 in verse] *15233, 1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1666; this Verse 1610*
- 17 the] *15233, 1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1666; my 1610*
- 18 and sleep which shuts mine eye] *15233, 1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1610; and sleep which sleeks mine eye 1666*
- 19 resembles] *this edn, 1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1610, 1666; resemble 15233*
- 20 declare the moulds] *15233, 1580; declare the moules 1580; declare the mould 1603, 1666; declares ye movld MS Gough, 1610*
- 21 frisking] *15233, 1580, MS Gough, 1610, 1666; byting 1603*  
 fleas] *15233, 1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1666; Flea 1610*

- 22 wringling worm] *15233, 1580*; wriggelyn wormes *MS Gough*; wrinckling wormes *1603*; crawling Worme *1610*; wringing worm *1666*  
to me] *15233, 1580, 1610, 1666*; to come *MS Gough*; to be *1603*
- 23 which with me in the grave] *15233, 1580, 1603, 1666*; whiche in the grave with me *MS Gough, 1610*
- 24 where] *15233, 1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1610*; when *1666*
- 25 do hear] *15233*; heare sound *1580, MS Gough*; heare towle *1603, 1610*; hear knel *1666*
- 26 in bed do lie] *15233*; am laid in bed *1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1610, 1666*
- 27 the passing bell may seem t'appear] *15233*; Foreshowes the Bell which me to ground *1580, MS Gough*; Declares, the bell shall for me knowle *1603*; Declares that Bell which for my soule *1610*; Most like a bitter trumpet tell *1666*
- 28 which sounds when I must die] *15233*; shall ring when I am dead *1580, MS Gough*; And ring, when I am dead *1603*; shall sownd when I am dead *1610*; ev'r shouting in my head *1666*
- 29 The rising] *15233, 1580, MS Gough, 1603, 1610*; My *1666*
- 31 how I shall rise] *15233, 1580, 1603, 1610*; that I shall ryse *MS Gough*; that I must rise *1666*

**36** and me] *15233, 1580, MS Gough, 1603; and eke 1610*

**[Invocation to Good Actions]**

Man for thine ill life formerly,  
 and for thine ill life presently,  
 let penitence penitently  
 declare good life consequently,  
 5 as loving faith may fruitfully  
 bring hope of end mercifully,  
 by Christ whose wounds most bleedingly  
 win mercy most exceedingly,  
  
 for whose sweet love incessantly  
 10 take no hard hap displeasantly,  
 look what thou suffer rightfully,  
 that sufferance take patiently,  
 and what thou suffer wrongfully,  
 that sufferance take rejoicingly.  
 15 Take right or wrong contentedly  
 man bear thy cross consentedly.

- And if thy foes delightfully  
show ill for good most spitefully,  
show good for ill most willingly  
20 to show God's word fulfillingly.  
Thy foe faulting offendingly  
win as thou may amendingly  
but in no wise intendingly  
requite thy foe revengingly.
- 25 Bear all thine enemies quietly,  
forgive thine enemies heartily,  
and ask forgiveness humbly  
where thou offend offensively.  
Premeditate advisedly
- 30 what troubles may fall followingly,  
lest trouble touch thee terribly  
by touching thee too suddenly.

Fancy not griefs more dreadfully  
than stand with reason needfully,  
35 if mean griefs touch but tenderly  
those griefs can grieve but slenderly.  
If main griefs gripe thee greedily  
those griefs remove them speedily,  
let comfort vanquish cheerfully  
40 faint fancies falling fearfully.

Since wealth and woe abidingly  
remain not here but slidingly,  
the wealth and woe ensuingly  
remaining aye renewingly.  
45 Man pray for grace continually  
to pass from all pains finally  
both earthly and infernally  
to heavenly joys eternally.

John Heywood

**Commentary for Invocation to Good Actions**

- 10** *hard hap*] instance of bad luck.
- 14** *sufferance*] should be elided to two syllables (suff<sup>r</sup>rance) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 27** *humbly*] should be pronounced with three syllables to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 36** *slenderly*] slightly, to a small extent.
- 37** *gripe*] grasp, take hold of.
- 40** *faint fancies*] i.e. imagined and insignificant harms; *faint* = feeble, insignificant; *fancies* = delusions/fantasies.
- 42** *slidingly*] in a sliding manner, here with the meaning of transience.

**Apparatus for Invocation to Good Actions**

- 9**            whose sweet] *15233*; whose [n] sweet *15233*
- 16**            man bear thy cross consentedly] *this edn*; [man bere thi cros consentedlye]  
*15233*
- 38**            them speedily] *15233*; them [must take in] speedily *15233*

**[Against Idleness]**

What heart can think or tongue express  
 the harm that grows of idleness

This idleness in some of us  
 is seen to seem a thing but sleight,  
 but if that some the somes discuss,  
 the total sum does show us straight,

5 this idleness to weigh such weight  
     that it no tongue can well express  
     the harm that grows of idleness.

This vice I liken to a weed  
 that husbandmen have namèd tine,

10 the which in corn does root or breed,  
 the grain to ground it does incline  
 it never ripens but rots in fine

    and even a like thing is to guess  
     against all virtue idleness.

15 The proud man may be patient,  
 the ireful may be liberal,  
 the gluttonous may be continent,  
 the covetous may give alms all,  
 the lecher may to prayer fall,  
 20 each vice bides some good business  
 save only idle idleness.

As some one virtue may by grace  
 suppress of vices many one,  
 so is one vice once taken place  
 25 destroys all virtues every one.  
 Where this vice comes, all virtues are gone  
 for no kind of good business  
 can company with idleness.

An ill wind that blows no man good  
 30 the blower of which blast is she,  
 the lither lusts bred of her brood  
 can no way breed good property.  
 Wherefore, I say as we now see,  
 no heart can think or tongue express  
 35 the harm that grows of idleness.

To cleanse the corn as men at need  
weed out all weeds and tine for chaff,  
let diligence our weedhook weed  
all vice from us—for like relief  
40 as faith may faithfully show proof  
    by faithful fruitful business  
    to weed out fruitless idleness.

John Heywood

### Commentary for Against Idleness

The song is scored for voice and lute in BL Add. MS 4900, but is probably a clumsy arrangement of an all vocal original, the words of which appear in MS 15233. Both versions are attributed to John Heywood. It has recently been informally and tentatively suggested that this song may fit into Heywood's *Play of the Weather*.<sup>1</sup>

- 1–4** *some [...] sum]* with a pun on some and sum. The repeated use of alliteration highlights the word play.
- 9–12** *tine [...] rotteth]* *tine* = wild vetch or tare, a plant growing as a weed, frequently found in corn. It grows by wrapping itself around other plants, especially *Vicia hirsuta* or 'strangle tare'. The meaning here is that those who are idle survive on the benefits of another's work, and ultimately destroy their victim.
- 9** *namèd]* accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 12** *never]* should be pronounced as a monosyllable (ne'er) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.  
*in fine]* in the end, at last.
- 13** *even]* should be pronounced as a monosyllable (e'en) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 15** *patient]* should be pronounced as three syllables to conform to the rhythmic pattern, and to balance 'liberal' and 'continent' on the following two lines.
- 17** *continent]* self restraining, esp. in relation to bodily passions, appetites or indulgences.
- 20** *business]* should be pronounced as three syllables to conform to the rhythmic pattern, and to balance 'idleness' on the next line.

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Christopher Goodwin for this suggestion, which arose out of research conducted for the AHRC *Staging the Henrician Court* project.

- 27 *business*] see note to line 20.
- 29 *ill [...] good*] proverbial (Tilley, W421).
- 31 *lither*] wicked.
- 32 *property*] an attribute, characteristic, or quality.
- 36–39 *cleanse [...] us*] continuing the metaphor of idleness as a weed that needs to be noticed and removed for the general good.
- 36–42 *cleanse [...] fruitless*] repeated use of alliteration in the final stanza highlights the words ‘cleanse’, ‘weed’ and ‘faith’, and emphasises the metaphor of idleness as a weed that needs to be noticed and removed for the general good.
- 37 *chaff*] modernised from ‘chefe’ which rhymed with ‘releefe’ on line 39 and ‘preefe’ on line 40.
- 40 *proof*] modernised from ‘preefe’ which rhymed with ‘chefe’ on line 37 and ‘releefe’ on line 39.
- 41 *business*] see note to 20 above.

### Apparatus for Against Idleness

- 5 idleness to weigh] 15233; idleness ^ [doth] ʃ[to] toʃ weigh 15233
- 6 tongue can well express] 15233; tongue [who] can ^ ʃwellʃ express 15233
- 9 namèd] *this edn*; named 15233
- 22 some one virtue] 15233; some one [vyce] virtue 15233
- 23 vices many] 15233; vices <...> many 15233
- 24 one vice once] 15233; one [this] ^ ʃvyceʃ once 15233
- 42 to weed out fruitless] 15233; to [wede out] ʃwede <.> owtʃ fruitless 15233

**[Long Have I Been a Singing Man]**

Long have I been a singing man

and sundry parts oft have I sung,

but one part since I first began

I could, nor can sing, old nor young;

5 the mean I mean which part shows well  
above all parts most to excel.

The bass and treble are extremes,

the tenor standeth sturdily,

the counter ranges, then, me-seems,

10 the mean must make our melody,  
whereby the means declareth well  
above all parts most to excel.

Mark well the manner of the mean,

and thereby time and tune our song

15 unto the mean where all parts lean,

all parts are kept from singing wrong.

Though singing men take this not well,

yet does the mean in this excel.

The mean in compass is so large  
 20           that every part must join thereto,  
 it has an oar in every barge  
               to sing, to say, to think, to do.  
 Of all these parts this part shows well,  
 above all parts most to excel.

25   Too low, too high, too loud, too soft,  
           too few, too many at a part,  
 too swift, too slow, too seld, too oft,  
           where imperfection would pervert,  
 there does the mean approve right well  
 30   above all parts most to excel.

The mean is so commodious  
               that sang we but that part alone  
 the mean is more melodious  
               than all those parts lacking that one,  
 35   whereby the mean compareth well  
 among all parts most to excel.

The mean in loss, the mean in gain,  
in wealth or in adversity,  
the mean in health, the mean in pain,  
40 the mean means always equity.

This is the mean who meaneth well  
of all our parts most to excel.

To me and mine with all the rest  
good God grant grace with hearty voice  
45 to sing the mean that meaneth best  
all parts in the best to rejoice  
which mean in meaning meaneth well  
the mean of means that does excel.

John Redford

### Commentary for Long Have I Been a Singing Man

Although the piece is attributed to John Redford in MS 15233, it appears in BL Cotton MS Vespasian A. xxv. fol. 141<sup>v</sup> attributed to Heywood.

- 1**     *singing man*] a man professionally employed to sing, usually in an ecclesiastical choir.
- 2**     *sundry*] several, diverse.  
  
*parts*] in music for two or more performers, a part is the sequence of notes to be sung by a particular voice or played by a particular instrument.
- 5**     *mean*] with a pun on mean; *mean* = to intend; *mean* = the middle part; *mean* = the middle station in life/the average.
- 7**     *bass*] the lowest part.  
  
*treble*] the highest part.
- 8**     *tenor*] the adult male voice intermediate between the bass and the counter-tenor, and so called because it originally ‘held’ the tune.  
  
*standeth*] disyllabic pronunciation conforms to the the rhythmic pattern.  
  
*sturdily*] resolutely.
- 9–10**   *counter [...] melody*] i.e. the counter works in contrast to the principal melody and is therefore variable, but the mean (as the principal part) is always a constant; *counter* = counter-tenor, any voice part set in contrast to a principal melody or part. There is also an irony (social as well as musical) that the tune, without which the whole piece is pointless, is held by those in the middle.
- 11**    *declareth*] three syllable pronunciation conforms to the rhythmic pattern.

- 13 *manner*] musical mode or melody (*OED*, 13).
- 19 *compass*] extent.
- 21 *oar [...] barge*] proverbial; *to put one's oar in* = to interfere, to be (or become) involved with in a meddlesome way; *to put (also have) an oar in every man's boat* (and variants) = to have a hand in everyone's business or affairs.
- 27 *seld*] seldom.
- 28 *pervert*] modernised from 'pervart' which rhymes with 'part' on line 26.
- 29 *approve*] i.e. demonstrates that it is worthy of approval.
- 31 *commodious*] useful.
- 35 *compareth*] three syllable pronunciation conforms to the rhythmic pattern.
- 37–40 *mean in loss [...] equity*] mean with the sense of average/normal/moderate, i.e. average losses, moderate pain etc. can all be sustained where excess cannot.
- 41 *meaneth*] disyllabic pronunciation conforms to the rhythmic pattern.
- 45 *meaneth*] see note to line 41 above.
- 47 *meaneth*] see note to line 41 above.

### Apparatus for Long Have I Been a Singing Man

- 2      have I] *15233*; I have *MS Cotton*
- 3      but] *15233*; yet *MS Cotton*
- 6      above] *15233*; where *MS Cotton*
- 9      ranges] *15233*; reigne the *MS Cotton*
- 11     whereby the means declareth well] *15233*; This is the meane who meaneth it well  
*MS Cotton*
- 12     above all parts most to excel] *15233*; The parte of parts that dothe excel *MS Cotton*
- 14     our] *15233*; your *MS Cotton*
- 15     unto] *15233*; onto *MS Cotton*  
parts lean] *15233*; partes are leane *MS Cotton*
- 22     to sing, to say] *15233*; to saye ꝛto singeꝛ *MS Cotton*
- 23     of all these parts this part] *15233*; of ꝛallꝛ thes partes [w] this parts *15233*; of all  
thes partes *MS Cotton*  
this part shows well] *15233*; no partes dothe well *MS Cotton*

- 24 above all parts most to excel] *15233*; w<sup>i</sup>thoute the meane wh<sup>i</sup>ch dothe excel *MS Cotton*
- 25 too low, too high] *15233*; To highe to lowe *MS Cotton*
- 26 a part] *15233*; a p<sup>a</sup>rte alone *MS Cotton*
- 29 approve] *this edn*; approves *15233*
- 30 above all parts] *15233*; amonge all partes *MS Cotton*
- 34 than] *this edn*; then *15233*
- 41 This is the mean who meaneth well] *15233*; the meane thus ment <...> full well *MS Cotton*
- 42 of all our parts] *15233*; of all <...> partes *MS Cotton*; [above of] of all our parts *15233*
- 44 God] *15233*; Lorde *MS Cotton*
- 45 that] *15233*; [the] ye *MS Cotton*
- 46 to] *15233*; for to *MS Cotton*

**[The First Song in *The Play of Science*]**

Give place, give place to Honest Recreation,  
give place we say now for thy consolation

When travails great in matters thick  
have dulled your wits and made them sick,  
what medicine then your wits to quick?

If you will know, the best physic

5           is to give place to Honest Recreation,  
              give place we say now for thy consolation.

Where is that Wit that we seek then?

Alas, he lies here pale and wan,  
help him at once now if we can.

10    Oh Wit, how does thou look up man?  
          Oh Wit, give place to Honest Recreation,  
          give place we say now for thy consolation.

After place given let ear obey,  
give an ear, oh Wit, now we thee pray,

15    give ear to that we sing and say,  
      give an ear and help will come straight away,  
          give an ear to Honest Recreation,  
          give an ear now for thy consolation.

After ear given now give an eye,  
 20 behold thy friends about thee lie,  
 Recreation I, and Comfort I,  
 Quickness am I, and Strength hereby,  
     give an eye to Honest Recreation,  
     give an eye now for thy consolation.

25 After eye given a hand give you,  
 give a hand oh Wit, feel that you see,  
 recreation feel, feel comfort free,  
 feel quickness here, feel strength to thee,  
     give an hand to Honest Recreation,  
 30      give an hand now for thy consolation.

Upon his feet would God he were,  
 to raise him now we need not fear,  
 stay you his hands while we here bear,  
 now all at once upright him rear.

35      Oh Wit, give place to Honest Recreation,  
     give place we say now for thy consolation.

### Commentary for The First Song in *The Play of Science*

The song should be inserted in *The Play of Wit and Science* at fol. (2) c<sup>r</sup>. At this point in the play, Wit has just undertaken his first battle with the monster, Tediousness and been defeated. He lies unconscious until he is found by Honest Recreation, Comfort, Quickness and Strength, whose song revives him.

**Title** *Give place*] i.e. ‘make room in this place’; the common cry of players in interludes to be given space in which to play.

*Honest Recreation*] an educational exercise, lesson, or problem intended to be both instructive and enjoyable, as opposed to idleness or entertainment with no real constructive purpose. Here, also the name of a character embodying this.

**1** *travails*] mental labours or toils.

*thick*] excessive in a disagreeable quality; too much to manage or to stand.

**2** *dulled*] made weary, tired or listless.

**3** *medicine*] should be disyllabic to conform to the rhythmic pattern (as also suggested by the original manuscript spelling, ‘medson’).

*quick*] animate, lively.

**4** *physic*] medicine.

**7** *then*] modernised from ‘than’ which fits in with the rhyme scheme of this stanza.

**25** *you*] modernised from ‘ye’ which fits in with the rhyme scheme of this stanza.

**[The Second Song in *The Play of Science*]**

Exceeding measure with pains continual,  
languishing in absence—alas, what shall I do?

Unfortunate wretch, devoid of joys all,  
sighs upon sighs redoubling my woe,

5 and tears down falling from mine eyes too.

Beauty with truth so does me constrain  
ever to serve where I may not attain.

Truth bindeth me ever to be true,  
how so that fortune favoureth my chance?

10 During my life none other but you,  
of my true heart shall have the governance.

O good sweetheart, have you remembrance  
now of your own, which for no smart  
exile shall you from my true heart?

**Commentary for The Second Song in *The Play of Science***

The song should be inserted in *The Play of Wit and Science* at fol. (2) i<sup>r</sup>. At this point, Wit has recently been defeated by Tediousness during his quest to win Science's hand, and Science is miserable because she has not heard anything from her suitor. Fame, Favour, Riches and Worship sing to the accompaniment of viols while they wait for the entrance of Lady Science. Following the song, Science rejects all four of the 'gifts of the world' represented by the singing characters because, she says, 'beyng as I am alone wooman / neede of your servyce I nether have nor can'.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> MS 15233, fol.(2) i<sup>r</sup>.

[The Third Song in *The Play of Science*]

Welcome mine own, welcome mine own

Wit and his company

Oh lady dear,  
be you so near?

To be known,  
my heart you cheer

5

your voice to hear,  
welcome mine own.

Science and her company

As you rejoice  
to hear my voice  
from me thus blown,  
so in my choice

10

I show my voice  
to be your own.

Wit and his company

Then draw we near  
to see and hear  
my love long grown.

15

Where is my dear?  
Here I appear  
to see mine own.

20	Science and her company	To see and try your love truly till death be flown, lo here am I that you may spy, I am your own.
25	Wit and his company	Then let us meet my love so sweet half way here thrown.
30	Science and her company	I will not fleet my love to greet, welcome mine own.
	Wit and his company	Welcome mine own.

All sing welcome mine own.

**Commentary for The Third Song in *The Play of Science***

The song should be inserted in *The Play of Wit and Science* at fol. (2) p<sup>r</sup>. Wit has defeated the monster Tediousness, and thus won the hand of Lady Science. He sings a welcoming song to his future bride, along with his companions, Instruction, Study and Diligence. After the first verse, Science—along with her parents Reason and Experience and the messenger Confidence—respond, and the remaining verses alternate between Science and her company and Wit and his.

**28**     *fleet*] slip away, escape.

**Apparatus for The Third Song in *The Play of Science***

7 Science and her] 15233; Siencie & hi[s]r 15233

**[Where Power with Will Cannot Agree]**

Where power with will cannot agree,

there will cannot be satisfied,

where these two want equality,

no unity can be applied,

5 which in myself I have espied

in that that power cannot fulfil

the faithful meaning of my will.

My will is to do that I ought,

but power thereto cannot attain,

10 thus will to pass cannot be brought

as will to have it would be fain,

yet willing will shall still remain

though power be able in no wise

my willing will for to suffice.

15 Thus will I have, but power I want,  
which should to will be help at need,  
since power so far is discordant  
from will, alas, will cannot speed  
though will deserve both thank and meed  
20 that want of power then may I wail  
whereby good will cannot prevail.

John Redford

**Commentary for Where Power with Will Cannot Agree**

**4**     *unity*] harmony, agreement.

**5**     *espied*] perceived.

**11**    *fain*] glad, pleased.

**19**    *meed*] reward.

**Apparatus for Where Power with Will Cannot Agree**

17     since power so] 15233; syns [wyll] LpowerJ so 15233

**[A Green Willow]**

All a green willow, willow, willow, willow,  
all a green willow is my garland.

Alas by what mean may I make you to know  
the unkindness for kindness that to me does grow,  
that one who most kind love on me should bestow,  
most unkind unkindness to me she does show,

5 *for all a green willow is my garland.*

To have love and hold love where love is so sped  
oh delicate food to the lover so fed,  
from love won to love lost, where lovers be led,  
oh desperate dolour, the lover is dead,

10 *for all a green willow is his garland.*

She said she did love me, and would love me still,  
she swore above all men I had her good will.

She said and she swore she would my will fulfil,  
the promise all good, the performance all ill,

15 *for all a green willow is my garland.*

Now woe worth the willow, and woe worth the wight,  
 that winds willow willow garland to dight,  
 that dole dealt in allmys is all amiss quite  
 where lovers are beggars for allmys in sight  
 20 *no lover does beg for this willow garland.*

Of this willow garland the burden seems small,  
 but my break-neck burden I may it well call  
 like the sow of lead on my head it does fall  
 break head and break neck, bark, bones, brain, heart and all  
 25 all parts pressed in pieces

Too ill for her think I, best things may be had  
 too good for me thinks she, things being most bad  
 all I do present her that may make her glad,  
 all she does present me that may make me sad,  
 30 *this equity have I with this willow garland.*

Could I forget thee as thou can forget me  
 that were my sound fault which cannot nor shall be  
 though thou like the soaring hawk every way fly  
 I will be the turtle most steadfast still to thee  
 35 *and patiently wear this green willow garland.*

All ye that have had love and have my like wrong  
my like truth and patience plant still you among  
when feminine fancies for new love do long  
old love cannot hold them, new love is so strong

40 *for all a green willow is my garland.*

John Heywood

### Commentary for A Green Willow

The song which appears in MS 15233, attributed to John Heywood is the earliest known form of the enduring set of songs centring on the willow as a symbol of melancholy, and appearing most famously as Desdemona's song in *Othello*. Although the words in Heywood's and Shakespeare's versions are not the same, the traditional burden of 'a green willow shall be my garland' is common to both. The earliest musical setting of Desdemona's Willow Song is BL Add. MS 15117 (*The Swarland Book*) (1614–16) where the words of the song are recorded for voice in standard notation, and provided with an accompaniment in lute tablature. The MS is dated to c. 1600. The music in lute tablature alone survives in *The Dallis Book* (1583). Both of these lute books contain settings for Richard Edwards's *Fair words make fools fain*. Peter Seng has suggested that the earliest version of the music is actually Folger MS 448.16, fol.19, which may have been set down as early as 1572.<sup>1</sup>

6 *sped*] discharged, let go.

7 *delicate*] exquisite, delicious.

9 *dolour*] grief, distress.

16 *woe worth*] cursed be.

*wight*] a man or woman, esp. implying commiseration.

17 *dight*] to dress, clothe, adorn.

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Seng, 'The earliest known music for Desdemona's 'Willow Song'', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 9 (1958), 419–420.

- 18** *dole*] fate, destiny, lot in life.  
*allmys*] alms. Modernisation of the word would both ruin the word play with ‘all amiss’, and the word should be disyllabic to conform to the rhythmic pattern.  
*quite*] completely, entirely.
- 19** *allmys*] see note to line 18.
- 23** *sow*] an oblong mass of solidified metal as obtained from the blast or smelting-furnace, in this case, lead.
- 24** *bark*] skin.
- 32** *sound*] sure, without fault or error.
- 33** *fly*] modernised from ‘fle’ which fits in with the rhyme scheme for the stanza.
- 34** *turtle [...] thee*] proverbial ‘As true as a turtle to her mate’ (Tilley, T624).

**[Dido's Lament]**

Behold of pensiveness the picture here in place,  
 behold mine eyes whose tears do moist my palèd face,  
 behold mine ears denied of their desired solace,  
 behold my plaints of ill, my mourning heavy case.

5           I Dido Queen of Carthage coast,  
             for Aeneas' love my life have lost.

My fame, my love, myself I gave into his hand,  
 my kingdom and my wealth at his own hest did stand,  
 yet promise nor deserts could bind his heart in troth band,  
 10       but fled alas from me by night out of my land  
             forgetting all respects of troth  
             he falsed his honour and his oath.

As the white swan does sing towards her dying day,  
 and as the turtle true her moan does make alway,  
 15       so I poor Dido do my miseries here bewray,  
 and with my death my doleful destiny display.  
             O lawless love, no herb is found  
             to salve the sore where thou does wound.

O worthy women all, of high and low degree,  
 20       a mirror Dido make Aeneas' love to flee,  
 trust not men's words or tears, which most times deceitful be,  
 and are alas the baits that breed our misery.  
             Suffices for my love I die  
             that you may live and learn thereby.

- 25 O rocky ruthless hearts, your own with spite to spill,  
O cursèd cruel men how can you work such ill?  
O doleful deep despair, ring out my careful end's knell.  
Welcome to me sweet death, to me my grave, it is my will.  
I came of earth and will be thine
- 30 by train of him whom I thought mine.

Thomas Pridioxe

### Commentary for Dido's Lament

The poem appears to be a lament of Dido. It may be the first known occurrence of a ballad which proved extremely popular during the reign of Elizabeth, and beyond, most famously being set to music by Henry Purcell in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 *behold [...] place*] i.e look at this picture of misery; *pensiveness* = melancholy; *picture* = (a) a visual representation (b) a vivid or graphic description, esp. one emblematic of a concept or quality, such as misery.
- 2 *palèd*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 4 *plaints*] *plaint* = audible expression of sorrow; as expressed in verse – a lament.
- 5 *Dido*] according to Greek and Roman sources, the founder and first Queen of Carthage.  
*Carthage*] city in Northern Africa, part of modern Tunisia.
- 6 *Aeneas*] according to Virgil's *Aeneid*, Dido's lover, who later abandons her, driving her to suicide. The name should be pronounced with the stress on the first syllable.
- 8 *hest*] behest, bidding, command.
- 9 *yet*] notwithstanding that.  
*troth*] (a) solemn promise (b) in honesty or good faith.  
*band*] bond.

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<sup>1</sup> Collier Payne, *The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the time of Shakespeare* (London: G. Bell, 1879), p. 299. The author's claims have been widely called into question as a result of his many forgeries, but no earlier source for the ballad has been found to date.

- 12 *falsed [...] oath*] i.e. he counterfeited honour and his oath was not genuine.
- 13 *white [...] day*] according to classical myth, the Mute Swan was completely mute during its lifetime until the moment just before it died, when it was supposed to sing one beautiful song.
- 14 *turtle [...] alway*] proverbial ‘As true as a turtle to her mate’ (Tilley, T624); *turtle* = turtle dove.
- 15 *bewray*] expose.
- 16 *doleful*] dismal.
- 20 *a mirror [...] flee*] i.e. regard Dido as a mirror or pattern (i.e. warning) not to trust men like Aeneas.
- 22 *baits [...] misery*] i.e. the actions which cause women to be deceived by men, and which ultimately cause womens’ misery.
- 25–30 *Oh [...] mine*] these lines do not appear to follow a regular pattern in the original manuscript. They have been re-arranged in this edition to adhere to a rhyme scheme and as much of the rhythmic pattern of the rest of the poem as possible.
- 25 *rocky*] hard, unfeeling.
- 26 *cursèd*] accent added to create the disyllable needed to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

- 27** *knell*] the sound made by a bell when struck or rung, particularly the sound of a bell rung slowly and solemnly, as immediately after a death or at a funeral.
- 30** *by [...] him*] (a) as a consequence of (b) being drawn in by art or inducement, allured, enticed, led astray, deceived.

**Apparatus for Dido's Lament**

**2** palèd] *this edn*; paled 15233

**21** or] 15233; [of] 15233

**22** breed] *this edn*; breedes 15233

**26** cursèd] *this edn*; curssed 15233

**[Arise, Arise, Arise I Say]**

Arise, arise, arise I say, arise for shame, it is fair day.

After midnight when dreams do fall,  
     somewhat before the morning grey,  
 me thought a voice thus did me call,  
     “O lusty youth, arise I say”.

5    “O youth” he said, “lift up thy head,  
         awake, awake, it is fair day.  
 How can thou sleep or keep thy bed  
         this fair morning? Arise I say.”

“The sun is up with his bright beams  
 10       as though he would with thee now fray,  
 and beat thee up out of thy dreams  
         to raise thee up, arise I say.”

“Hark how the birds all with one voice  
         of one concord their chords the key,  
 15 with joyful tunes thee to rejoice  
         and cheer thee up, arise I say.”

“Behold the field now in like form,  
         furnished with flowers both sweet and gay,  
 it says to thee thou slothful worm,  
 20       come walk in me, arise I say.”

“The day, the sun, the bird, the field,  
     since all these call, thou lump of clay,  
 unless shameless now be thy shield,  
     for very shame, arise I say.”

25 With this me thought the voice rehearsed  
     his words, and said “youth, I thee pray,  
 what means this day and all the rest  
     that says to thee, arise I say?”

“Truly this day now to disclose  
 30      is Christ’s faith that long hid lay,  
 and now full fair and clear it shows  
     to raise thee up, arise I say.”

“What is this sun that shines so bright?  
     The very son of God, no nay,  
 35 whose beams of grace be bent even right  
     to beat thee up, arise I say.”

“What are these birds that so accord  
     that each sweet chord each ear would tay?  
 Truly true preachers of the Lord,  
 40      at whose sweet chords, arise I say.”

“What is this field furnished so fair  
     with flowers so sweet in their array,  
 the word of God most sweet of air  
     to walk therein, arise I say.”

45 “And see thou walk among these flowers  
       not for to pastime jest and play,  
 but reverently pressing thy powers  
       from wanton pride, arise I say.”

“For clerks there have been many a one  
 50       that in this field themselves did slay,  
 trusting too much themselves upon,  
       beware their fall, arise I say.”

“The surest way to walk is this,  
       meekly on Christ’s church to stay,  
 55 the lower thou walk in heart sure is  
       the higher thou shall arise I say.”

“Now since thou know both where to walk  
       and how to walk thou know the way,  
 let age lie still as dry as chalk,  
 60       and lusty youth, arise I say”.

To this me thought doubting the truth,  
       and lest this voice should me betray,  
 I said “O voice why more to youth  
       than unto age arise, I say.”

65 “That thing” said he, “I shall declare  
       this youth and age now to bewray,  
 the Jews and gentiles sure they are,  
       now guess to whom arise I say.”

“The Jew he is so old and worn  
70           that speak to him in vain you may,  
but thou youth art newly borne,  
              wherefore to thee arise I say.”

“Since Christ thy lord has chose thy stock,  
              and lest his own flock go astray,  
75 now show thy self a loving flock  
              and unto Christ, arise I say.”

This said I heard no more to tell,  
              but waked and seeing fair clear day,  
said to myself these words might well  
80           be said to me, “arise I say.”

### Commentary for *Arise, Arise, Arise I Say*

The text of the poem also appears in Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 48, one stanza shorter than the poem in MS 15233. J.P. Collier attempted to identify the text in MS 15233 with a ballad entitled *Awake out of your slumber*, licensed by John Alde in 1568–9.<sup>1</sup> This may well be the ballad (no known copy exists to compare), but Collier’s link to another ballad entitled *Arise and wake* is almost certainly his own invention.<sup>2</sup> Also see H.E. Rollins, *Broadside Ballad Index* – ‘After mydnyght, when dremes dothe fawll’. A musical setting for part of this poem can be found in BL Harley MS 7578.

4 *lusty*] full of youthful vigour.

10 *fray*] fight, quarrel.

30 *Christ’s*] should be pronounced disyllabically (Christis) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

34 *son of God*] with pun on sun/son.

35 *even right*] exactly, directly

*even*] should be elided to one syllable (ev’n) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

38 *tay*] meaning unclear.

43 *air*] with the sense of to be spread about, become generally known (*OED*, n1, 8).  
C.f. ‘Pursue him now; least the deuce take ayre’ (*Twelfth Night*).

<sup>1</sup> Hyder E. Rollins, ‘Concerning Bodleian Ms. Ashmole 48’, *Modern Language Notes*, 34 (1919), 340–351.

<sup>2</sup> The Broadside Ballad Index <[http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/ballads/17thc\\_index.html](http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/ballads/17thc_index.html)> [accessed August 2009].

49 *clerks*] i.e. a clerk in holy orders, i.e. deacon, priest or bishop.

54 *Christ's*] see note to line 30.

66 *bewray*] expose.

67 *gentiles*] those from any or all nations that are not Jewish.

73 *stock*] the source of a line of descent.

**Apparatus for Arise, Arise, Arise I Say**

- 10** now] *15233*; no *MS Ashmole*
- 12** to raise] *15233*; and risse *MS Ashmole*
- 14** of] *15233*; wythe *MS Ashmole*
- 22** these] *15233*; this *MS Ashmole*
- 26** his] *15233*; thes *MS Ashmole*
- 28** sayeth] *15233*; sayd *MS Ashmole*
- 30** is] *15233*; of *MS Ashmole*  
that] *15233*; yt *MS Ashmole*
- 31** full fair and clear] *15233*; fulle clear and fayr *MS Ashmole*
- 35** even right] *15233*; & avry right *MS Ashmole*
- 36** beat] *15233*; reasse *MS Ashmole*
- 37** are] *15233*; be *MS Ashmole*  
so] *15233*; thus *MS Ashmole*
- 38** each] *15233*; ther *MS Ashmole*  
chord] *15233*; cordes *MS Ashmole*  
ear] *15233*; & ar *MS Ashmole*
- 45** among] *15233*; amonst *MS Ashmole*

- 46 jest] 15233; to jeast *MS Ashmole*
- 47 pressing] 15233; suppres *MS Ashmole*
- 49 clerks] 15233; grett clarkes *MS Ashmole*
- 50 that] 15233; then *MS Ashmole*
- 54 on] 15233; [to] 15233
- 57 now since thou know] 15233, *MS Ashmole*; now syns thou [b] nowst 15233
- 65 thing] 15233, *MS Ashmole*; [thinke] 15233
- 67 they] *this edn, MS Ashmole*; yai 15233;
- 68 now] 15233; nor *MS Ashmole*
- 70 you] 15233; I *MS Ashmole*
- 71 youth] 15233; gentyllle *MS Ashmole*
- 73 thy] 15233; the *MS Ashmole*  
chose thy] 15233; chosyn ye *MS Ashmole*
- 76 and unto Christ] 15233; vnto the lord *MS Ashmole*
- 77 heard] *this edn*; hard 15233, *MS Ashmole*
- 78 waked] 15233; walk *MS Ashmole*

79 these] 15233; this *MS Ashmole*

**[Now Will You Be Merry]**

Now will you be merry,  
 and can you be merry,  
 we pray you be merry,  
 merry, merry, merry .

5 We pray you be merry,  
 merry, merry, merry,  
 merry, merry, merry, merry.

From Christmas to Easter be as merry as you can  
 so you may please both God and man.

10 From Easter to Whitsuntide let us all now joy and sing,  
 be merry all in Christ rising.

Oft has this song been put in ure,  
 that honest mirth does virtue allure,  
 but now of mirth who will be sure  
 15 he must begin at virtue pure,  
 for virtue brings these mirth to man,  
*in virtuous mirth be merry then.*

This virtuous mirth, now to begin —  
 to men of faith we speak herein —  
 20 is to fear God and flee from sin,  
 which fear of God does wisdom win,  
     which wisdom bring thee all knowledge to man,  
     *in virtue how to be merry then.*

Where wisdom reigns and rules the heart,  
 25 man knows himself in every part,  
 God and his laws with all thy heart.  
 obeyed of man sin to subvert  
     the dangerous danger unto man,  
     *how can man but be merry then?*

30 When God's word has put sin to flight  
 in comes Clean Conscience shining bright,  
 in whom, man, find thee so great delight  
 that she can neither day nor night  
     be absent from the heart of man,  
 35      *how can man but be merry then?*

When Clean Conscience in heart is set  
 Faith rises up and without let  
 says unto man ‘This house is not  
 meet to receive a guest right great.

40           What if thy Lord would visit thee, man,  
               *how can man but be merry then?’*

‘O Faith’ says man, ‘what has thou told  
 if that my house were made of gold,  
 and I much better a thousand fold,

45   yet so to think were over bold  
               my Lord to visit me, wretched man,  
               *but oh how merry should I be then’.*

‘Why man’ says Faith, ‘dost thou doubt me?’

‘No, no’ says man, ‘I doubt not thee’.

50   ‘What doubt thou than’ says Faith, ‘tell me’.

‘Mine own unworthiness’ says he.

          ‘Despair not, man’ says Faith to man.

          ‘No, no’ says man, Faith gone were then.

As man and Faith be thus talking  
 55 in comes Sure Hope to man running,  
 'O man' says he 'thy Lord and King  
 sent me to thee to give warning,  
     this day will he dine with thee, man,  
     *prepare now to be merry then*'.

60 'Make speed' says man 'fair Conscience Clear,  
 with Faith and Hope, thou messenger,  
 and Lady Love come all you near,  
 let all diligence in you appear  
     in welcoming my Lord to man,  
 65      *that we in him be merry then*'.

Clean Conscience says 'As I ever must  
 to train this house is all my lust'.  
 Love says 'My deeds shall show I trust  
 how my Lord's presence I do thirst'.  
 70      Hope says 'Then trust well, doubt not man'.  
     *'O man' says Faith 'be merry then*'.

Man having now great ghostly care  
 for his dear Lord well to prepare  
 his power too weak his will to declare,  
 75 suddenly anon, or man be ware  
     our Lord embraces the heart of man,  
     *o man how art thou merry then.*

Where man was late in careful plight  
 his Lord to see received right,  
 80 now has he lost both tongue and might,  
 ‘Welcome my Lord’ he cries in spirit,  
     for joy no word can pass from man,  
     *in heart man is so merry then.*

How may man think himself now blessed  
 85 to see his Lord become his guest,  
 to lodge and keep house in his breast,  
 no tongue can tell that joyful fest  
     that is between now God and man,  
     *man is with God so merry then.*

90 Now man with Mary take good heed  
 what from his lord does here proceed,  
 his holy words do man so feed  
 that man in wisdom is now indeed,  
     yea, more like angel than like man,  
 95      *great cause has man to be merry then.*

Man shows forth Martha's diligence  
 to cheer his guest in every sense,  
 his guest does know by his pretence  
 how glad he is of his presence,  
 100      for which him likes to dwell with man,  
     *how can man but be merry then?*

With ghostly wisdom man thus fed,  
 of ghostly strength now is she sped  
 his ghostly foes under to tread;  
 105 all ghostly mirth in him is spread,  
     no careful care can now hurt man;  
     *what man cannot be merry then?*

‘Man’ says our lord, ‘since in good quarte  
 thou art by me now as thou art,  
 110 so show thyself in outward part  
 thereby thy brother to convert,  
         one man to win another man,  
         *that man with man be merry then’.*

Man with Zacchaeus then says he,  
 115 ‘Lo Lord even half my goods from me  
 I give to the poor for love of thee’.  
 ‘Man’ says our lord ‘glad may thou be,  
         this day is health to this house of man’.  
         *O man how art thou merry then.*

120 Man hearing this man is not silent,  
 but with due thanks and heart reverent,  
 with Peter and John he does frequent  
 unto the temple with prayer fervent.  
         Man talks with God and with man  
 125          *in whom man is full merry then.*

Man now desires none other gain,  
 but as his Lord's disciples twain  
 going to Emmaus did constrain  
 their lord to tarry with them so fain,  
 130           'so tarry with me O lord', says man,  
                   *'that we alway may be merry then'.*

'Man' says our Lord 'I am with thee  
 unto the world's end I so decree,  
 walk in my ways and thou shalt be  
 135 never void of mirth but dwell with me  
                   in endless mirth prepared for man,  
                   *forever to be merry then'.*

O gracious God, what words be these  
 to steer folk of all degrees  
 140 to mirth in God whereby man sees  
 that endless mirth shall be his fees  
                   which mirth God grant us every man  
                   *that we may all be merry then.*

John Redford

### Commentary for Now Will You Be Merry

- 12** *this song*] i.e. the content of the first two stanzas. The text appears to be the accompaniment to a masque with a song as an introduction. See the introduction to the edition for discussion of this point.  
*ure*] use, practice.
- 13** *honest mirth*] religious joy.
- 17** *then*] modernised from ‘than’, which rhymed with ‘man’ on the line above. This change has been made on the last line of every stanza throughout the poem.
- 19** *herein*] in this matter.
- 27** *subvert*] modernised from ‘subvart’ which fits in with the rhyme scheme in this stanza.
- 66** *ever*] should be elided to one syllable (e’er) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 72** *ghostly*] spiritual.
- 75** *suddenly [...] be ware*] i.e. ‘anon, before man was aware’.
- 78** *late*] recently.  
*plight*] struggle.

- 81** *in spirit*] ‘spirit’ should be pronounced monosyllabically (sprite) to conform to the rhythmic pattern. Man is so overcome that he has lost the power of speech, but welcomes his guest mentally.
- 96** *Martha’s diligence*] according to the Bible (Luke 10: 38–42) Jesus visits the home of two sisters named Mary and Martha. The two sisters are contrasted: Martha was ‘combred aboute moch seruyng’ while Jesus was their guest, and complained that her sister merely sat at his feet. Jesus answered ‘Martha, Martha, thou art carefull, & troubled about many things [...] Mary hath chosen the good parte, which shall not be taken away from her’. Mary, he said, had chosen ‘the better part’; that of listening to her guest’s discourse.
- 98** *his pretence*] i.e. his efforts to present the house to his guest in a respectable manner.
- 108** *in good quarte*] in good health.
- 114** *Zacchaeus*] According to the Bible (Luke 19), Zacchaeus was a chief tax gatherer in Jericho. Moved by Jesus's unconditional love and acceptance, he publicly repented of acts of corruption and vowed to make restitution for them.
- 125** *full*] completely.
- 128** *Emmaus*] According to the Bible (Luke 24:13), a small village near Jerusalem where Jesus spoke to two of his disciples on the day of his resurrection. Its site has been much disputed, and has been identified with several modern locations, including el-Kubelbeh and Khurbet Khamasa.

### Apparatus for Now Will You Be Merry

All instances of ‘than’ occurring at the end of a stanza in the original text have been altered to read ‘then’. See the commentary for this poem for further explanation.

- 24 heart] *15233*; heart [he] e. *15233*
- 36 heart is set] *15233*; heart [h]is set *15233*
- 39 a guest right] *15233*; a ɾgestɾ [man] right *15233*
- 43 house were made] *15233*; house w[h]ere made *15233*
- 45 think were over] *15233*; think w[h]ere over *15233*
- 47 oh how] *15233*; oh[e] (space) how *15233*
- 48 why man] *15233*; ɾwhyɾ [whe] man *15233*

**[The Goodness of God's Gifts]**

Jesus

Walking alone right secretly,  
 musing on things late seen with eye,  
 all sorts of people young and old  
 sorted in sorts as shall be told;

- 5 some high, some low, some rich, some poor,  
 some learned, some unlearned, some less, some more,  
 some whole, some sick, some in such rate  
 as nothing pleased with their estate.

- Suddenly me thought I heard a sound  
 10 that from the heavens did rebound,  
 a song it seemed sentence to frame  
 to every sort that I could name,  
 which sound or song did both reprieve  
 and generally also relieve,  
 15 but singularly the sentence ran  
 as you shall hear. Thus it began:

- If gifts of grace in all time past,  
 if gifts of grace in time present,  
 if gifts of grace to come at last,  
 20 if all be gifts right excellent,  
 if all which gifts be given and meant  
 to make the mind thy lord so kind

*Oh man*

mind well my gifts and thank me then.

25 If I made thee to mine own likeness,  
 if reason, will and memory,  
 if soul and body, life and quickness,  
 if these to thee be gifts most high,  
 if all my creatures else worldly,  
 30 unlike to thee be made for thee

*Oh man*

why thank not me thy maker then?

If thou were lost by Adam's sin,  
 if righteousness condemned thee quite,  
 35 if Adam's sin damned all his kin,  
 if death were due to thee of right,  
 if I of my mere mercy pyghte,  
 bought thee from death by mine own death

*Oh man*

40 why thanks not thy redeemer then?

If thou have daily gifts of me,  
 if I give thee gifts natural,  
 if I give worldly gifts to thee,  
 if I give gifts spiritual,  
 45 if thou deserves no gift at all,  
 but given of me freely to thee

*Oh man*

why thank not me the giver then?

If divers ways my gifts I plant,  
 50 if I give thee gifts above other,  
 if I give thee that other want,  
 if I give thee gifts for thy brother,  
 if all be given won for another,  
 to help with meed where thou says need

55 *Oh man*  
 as I give thee give no other then.

If I give thee gifts great and many,  
 if I to high degree thee call,  
 if I give thee cure over any,  
 60 if I give thee cure over all,  
 if thou for all make answer shall,  
 that I set thee to keep for me

*Oh man*  
 remember where I set thee then.

65 If I set thee in low estate,  
 if I give thee least cause to boast,  
 if I give thee gifts in each rate,  
 if my least gift may make the most,  
 if patience be a gift thou knowst,  
 70 of all to win the price therein

*Oh man*  
 in patience be thou thankful then.

If I send thee sickness or health,  
 if I send thee pleasure or pain,  
 75 if I send thee scarceness or wealth,  
 if I know best what is thy gain,  
 if for the best I send all plain,  
 as thou shall see by proof to thee

*Oh man*

80 take well all that I send thee then.

Since these my gifts thou does achieve,  
 since of my gifts thou can none miss,  
 since with my gifts I thee relieve,  
 since by my gifts my love showed is,  
 85 since for my gifts I ask but this,  
 thy love for mine to live in fine

*Oh man*

now love and live forever then.

John Redford

### Commentary for The Goodness of God's Gifts

The only extant musical setting for this poem is TNA, SP 246, where the incipit only appears. The part book contains texts or incipits for English songs and dates from the mid sixteenth century.

- 24**    *then*] modernised from 'than', which rhymes with 'man' in the previous line. This has been altered throughout.
- 27**    *quickness*] the quality or fact of being alive or living; life, vitality, vital principle.
- 37**    *pyghte*] prepared. Literally, placed, fixed. C.f. 'found him pight to do it' (*King Lear, Troilus and Cressida*).
- 54**    *meed*] assistance, or reward given in return for service.
- 69**    *know*] modernised from 'knowst' which conformed to the rhyme scheme in this stanza.
- 86**    *in fine*] at last.

### Apparatus for The Goodness of God's Gifts

All instances of 'than' occurring at the end of a stanza in the original text have been altered to read 'then'. See the commentary for this poem for further explanation.

**9** thought I heard a sound] *15233*; thought [a voyce dyd] ʃI hard aʃ sownd *15233*

**14** also relieve] *15233*; also [sentens] relieve *15233*

**21** all which gifts] *15233*; all [my] ^ ʃwhichʃ gifts *15233*

**32** thank not] *15233*; thankest[y] not *15233*

**40** not thy] *15233*; not [me] thy *15233*

**68** gift may] *15233*; gift [<.>] may *15233*

**86** thy love for mine to] *15233*; thy [my] love for [thyne] ^ ʃmyneʃ to *15233*

**[The Sinfulness of Man]**

Where righteousness does say,  
 Lord, for my sinful parts  
 in wrath thou should me pay  
 vengeance for my deserts.

5 I can it not deny,  
 but needs I must confess,  
 how that continually  
 thy laws I do transgress.

But if it be thy will  
 10 with sinners to contend,  
 then all thy flock shall spill  
 and be lost without end,  
 for who lives here so right  
 that he can rightly say  
 15 he sins not in thy sight  
 full oft and every day?

Thy scripture plain tells me  
 the righteous man offends  
 seven times a day to thee  
 20 whereon thy wrath depends,  
 so that the righteous man  
 does walk in no such path  
 but he falls now or then  
 in danger of thy wrath.

25 Then since the case so stands  
that even the man righteous  
falls oft in sinful bands  
whereby thy wrath may rise,  
Lord I that am unjust  
30 and righteousness none have,  
whereto shall I then trust  
my sinful soul to save,

but only to the post  
whereto I cleave and shall,  
35 which is thy mercy most?  
Lord, let thy mercy fall  
and mitigate thy mood,  
or else we perish all,  
the price of this thy blood,  
40 wherein mercy I call.

Thy scripture does declare  
no drop of blood in thee  
but that thou did not spare  
to shed each drop for me.  
45 Now let those drops most wet  
so cleanse my heart most dry,  
that I with sin replete  
my life and sin may die.

That being mortified,  
50 this sin of mine in me,  
I may be sanctified  
by grace of thine in thee,  
so that I never fall  
into such deadly sin  
55 that my foes infernal  
rejoice my death therein,

but vouchsafe me to keep  
from those infernal foes  
and from that lake so deep  
60 whereas no mercy grows,  
and I shall sing the songs  
confirmèd with the just  
that unto thee belongs  
which art mine only trust.

Master Redford

### Commentary for The Sinfulness of Man

The poem is attributed to John Redford and also appears under the popular title *The complaynt of a sinner* amongst a collection of other religious poems in Bodleian Library MS Rawl. poet. 112, fol. 25<sup>v</sup> (reversed). The manuscript is a commonplace book, which has been turned around part way through. Much of the work, including a translation of the Psalms and personal papers, is by Edmund Sheafe, and dates to c.1592.<sup>391</sup>

The poem also appears as a canticle in Day's Psalter, in the after matter behind the psalms in all editions printed after 1562.

- 11** *spill*] be killed, slaughtered (contrasted with being saved)
- 18–20** *righteous [...] depends*] C.f. Luke 17:4: 'and yf he repent, forgeue him. And though he synne against the seuen tymes in a daye, and seuen tymes in a daye tourne agayne to the, saying: it repenteth me, thou shalt forgeue hym.'
- 19** *seven*] should be elided to one syllable (sev'n) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 26** *even*] should be elided to one syllable (ev'n) to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 23** *then*] modernised from 'than' which rhymed with 'man' two lines above.
- 27** *bands*] bonds; in this case the figurative shackles of sin.
- 59–60** *lake [...] grows*] Hell; referred to in the *Book of Revelation* as a lake of fire.

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<sup>391</sup> E. H. Rollins, 'A Recovered Elizabethan Ballad', *The Review of English Studies*, III (1927), 335–339.

- 62** *confirmèd*] accent added to create the three syllables needed for the rhythmic pattern.

## Apparatus for The Sinfulness of Man

- 2 parts] *15233*; parte *MS Rawl*; part *Psalmes*
- 4 deserts] *15233*; deserte *MS Rawl*; desert *Psalmes*
- 8 thy laws I do transgress] *15233*; *Phrase repeated in MS Rawl*
- 11 thy] *15233*; the *MS Rawl*
- 14 that he can rightly say] *15233*; yat, rightlye he can saye *MS Rawl*, *Psalmes*
- 16 oft and] *15233*; oft [the] and *15233*; *not in MS Rawl*
- 17 Thy] *15233*; the *Psalmes*  
me] *15233*; us *MS Rawl*
- 21 so that the righteous man] *15233*; but yf the righteous man *MS Rawl*
- 23 then] *this edn*; than *15233*
- 31 whereto shall I then trust] *15233*; Wherto then shall I truste *MS Rawl*
- 33 only] *15233*; trulye *MS Rawl*; truely *Psalmes*  
the] *15233*; that *MS Rawl*

- 41 Thy] *15233*; The *MS Rawl*; *Psalmes*
- 43 thou did] *15233*; thou [wy <.>] ꝛdidstꝛ *15233*
- 44 shed] *15233*; thee *MS Rawl*
- 45 wet] *15233*; sweet *Psalmes*
- 46 cleanse] *15233*; mayste *MS Rawl*; moyst *Psalmes*
- 48 my life] *15233*; may [.....] *MS Rawl*; may live *Psalmes*
- 50 in me] *15233*; in [the] me *15233*
- 52 in thee] *15233*; in [me] ꝛtheꝛ *15233*; *not in MS Rawl*
- 53 so] *15233*; But *MS Rawl*  
fall] *15233*; fail *Psalmes*
- 54 deadly] *15233*; a mortall *MS Rawl*; mortall *Psalmes*
- 62 confirmèd] *this edn*; confyrmed *15233*

**[Virtue and Learning]**

In worldly wealth for man's relief  
virtue and learning are the chief.

Well is the man that does bestow  
his time in virtue here to spend,  
for sure there is no man does know  
except the same he does attend,

5            what quietness there does ensue  
              to those that learn and trade virtue.

For sure these two the safeguard are  
whereby we pass the sturdy streams  
and the great storms of worldly care,

10          for never cities, lands nor realms  
              that can attain prosperity  
              unless these two regarded be.

To virtue yet have this respect,  
whose praise is always permanent,

15          for learning is of small effect  
              where virtue is not resident,  
              but where they both are knit in place  
              oh that man is in happy case.

Some only learn for knowledge sake,  
 20 but that is curiosity,  
 and some for praise great pains do take,  
 but that is foolish vanity,  
         some learn for gain, but lightly those  
         do leave the text and use to gloss.

25 Now all these somes and all this sort  
 have lost their labour and their work,  
 for some shot wide and some shot short,  
 yet all in fine do miss the mark,  
         wherefore let virtue first be placed  
 30 or else is learning quite disgraced.

Thus may you evidently see  
 how learning joined with virtuous life  
 should of each man regarded be,  
 for it has thy prerogative  
 35 that God himself does those embrace  
         that tread the paths of virtue's trace.

Since God and man do love that man  
 that studies to live virtuously,  
 who will not stiffly labour then  
 40 to follow virtue instantly,  
         when he thereby shall sure obtain  
         the joys that ever shall remain.

John Thorne

**Commentary for Virtue and Learning**

5      *quietness*] calmness, tranquillity.

8      *sturdy*] violent and rough.

23–24 *some [...] gloss*] i.e. they are ready to put a [false] reading on the text; *gloss* = to give a fair appearance to; veil in specious language.

39      *then*] modernised from ‘than’ which rhymed with ‘man’ two lines above.

**Apparatus for Virtue and Learning**

**35** himself does those] *15233*; hym selfe do[s]the those *15233*

**39** then] *this edn*; than *15233*

**[Be Merry, Friends]**

*Be merry friends take you no thought,  
for worldly cares care you right nought,  
for who so does when all is sought  
shall see that thought availeth nought.*

5 *Be merry friends.*

All such as have all wealth at will,  
their wills at will for to fulfil  
from grief or grudge or any ill,  
I need not sing this them until.

[Be merry friends etc.]

10 But unto such as wish and want  
of worldly wealth wrought them so scant,  
that wealth by work they cannot plant,  
to them I sing at this instant.

[Be merry friends etc.]

15 And such as when the rest seem next  
then be they straight extremely vexed,  
and such as be in storms perplexed,  
to those I sing this short sweet text.

[Be merry friends etc.]

To laugh and win each man agrees,  
 but each man cannot laugh and lose,  
 20 yet laughing in the last of these  
 has been allowed of sage decrees.

[Be merry friends etc.]

Be merry with sorrow wise men said,  
 which saying being wisely weighed  
 it seems a lesson lively laid,  
 25 in this said sense to be a need.

[Be merry friends etc.]

Make you not two sorrows of one,  
 for of one grief grafted alone  
 to graft a sorrow there upon  
 a sourer crab we can graft none.

[Be merry friends etc.]

30 Taking our sorrows sorrowfully,  
 sorrow augments our malady,  
 taking our sorrows merrily,  
 mirth salveth sorrows most soundly.

[Be merry friends etc.]

Of grieves to come standing in fray  
 35 provide defence the best we may,  
 which done, no more to do or say;  
 come what come shall, come care away.

[Be merry friends etc.]

In such things as we cannot flee  
 but needs they must abidden be,  
 40 let contentation be decree,  
 make virtue of necessity.

[Be merry friends etc.]

To lack or lose that we would win,  
 so that our fault be not therein,  
 what woe or want, end or begin,  
 45 take never sorrow but for sin.

[Be merry friends etc.]

In loss of friends, in lack of health,  
 in loss of goods, in lack of wealth,  
 where liberty restraint expels,  
 where all these lack, yet as this tells,

[Be merry friends etc.]

50 If love for love of long time had  
 may join with joy and care hence cast,  
 then may remembrance make me glad  
 days, weeks, years in sorrows past.

[Be merry friends etc.]

Man hardly hath a richer thing  
 55 than honest mirth, the which well spring  
 waters the roots of rejoicing,  
 feeding the flowers of flourishing.

[Be merry friends etc.]

Be merry in God, Saint Paul says plain,  
 and yet says he be merry again,  
 60 since whose advice is not in vain  
 the feet thereof to entertain.

[Be merry friends etc.]

Master Heywood

### Commentary for Be Merry, Friends

- 4 *availeth*] modernisation would spoil the rhythmic pattern.
- 18–19 *To [...] lose*] proverbial, ‘he laughs that wins’ (Tilley, L93). I.e. he that wins can afford to laugh at the loser.
- 20–21 *yet [...] decrees*] i.e. you are advised to try and laugh at your sorrows.
- 26 *Make [...] one*] proverbial, ‘make not two sorrows of one’ (Tilley, S663).
- 27–29 *for [...] none*] i.e. do not allow a sorrow to grow out of proportion, as it will cause you to become bitter. *Grafting* = inserting a slip or cutting from the desired or selected plant into a more robust rootstock for the purposes of propagation.
- 29 *sourer [...] none*] C.f. proverb ‘As sour as a crab’ (Tilley, C783); *crab* = crab apple, an extremely sour variety of apple which is not usually eaten raw.
- 33 *salveth*] salve. Disyllabic pronunciation conforms to the rhythmic pattern; *salve* = to anoint (a wound, wounded part) with salve or healing unguent.
- 34 *standing [...] fray*] ‘to stand at fray’ = to show fight.
- 39 *abidden*] obsolete form of the past tense of abide.
- 40 *contentation*] the state of being content, satisfied.

- 41** *make [...] necessity]* proverbial, ‘make a virtue of necessity’ (Tilley, V73). C.f. ‘Let us make virtue our friend of mere necessity’, *Damon and Pythias*.
- 45** *take [...] sin]* proverbial, ‘sorrow is good for nothing but sin’ (Tilley, S657). I.e. only be sorrowful if you have sinned.
- 55** *honest mirth]* religious joy.
- 58–61** *Be [...] entertain]* being ‘merry’ in this sense is not an emotional reaction but a state of mind, a feeling of contentment and happiness in the knowledge of God’s presence. C.f. note to line 55, ‘honest mirth’.
- 61** *feet]* *foot* = (a) unit of measurement used for verse (b) the refrain or chorus of a song (*OED*, 21b). I.e. St. Paul’s advice to be merry justifies the enjoyment of this song.

**Apparatus for Be Merry, Friends**

The final line of stanza 13 is missing in MS 15233. It has been inserted in this edition.

**47**    wealth] *15233*; [healthe] *15233*

**[If Love For Love]**

If love for love of long time had  
 may join with joy and care hence cast,  
 then may remembrance make me glad  
 days, weeks and years in all time past.

5           My love has loved me so lovingly,  
               and I will love her as truly.

And as we twain have loved and do,  
 so be we fixed to love even still,  
 the law of love has made us two

10       to work to wills in one will.  
               My love will love me so lovingly,  
               and I will love her as truly.

You lovers all in present place  
 that long for love continual,

15       I wish to you like pleasant case  
 as you perceive by me does fall,  
 and yours to love as lovingly.

Master Heywood

### Commentary for If Love For Love

The poem is attributed to John Heywood in MS 15233. The fly leaf in Cambridge, Trinity College (MS 0.1.30) contains a single inner voice part from an anonymous polyphonic setting of *yf love for love of long tyme had*, which Iain Fenlon has suggested may fit appropriately into Heywood's *A Play of Love* (1534).<sup>1</sup> The Trinity manuscript is thirteenth century, and originally belonged to a collection at the Cistercian Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire. When the monasteries were dissolved in 1539, the Abbey was sold, and presumably the manuscript came into private hands. The addition of the Heywood verse is on sixteenth-century paper which has been pasted into the front of the manuscript. Also of interest are the words which appear on the leaf separately from the music setting. These appear to be another version of the lyrics, and read:

And in tyme past as we have loved so Joy we now in tyme present  
 consernynge love nothings can be moved but streight it is as commodeus  
 and as we twayne [ys] have loved and do so we be fixed to  
 love even still ye laws of love haith wrought us twayne to worke to  
 willes in one will yowr love to love yo[.] so trewly and y[.] [.]  
 [...] [...] as trewly as trewly

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<sup>1</sup> Iain Fenlon, *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*, 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 293.

**[Oh Hear Me Lord, and Grant Mercy]**

Oh Lord which art in Heaven on high  
and sees the sins of sinners all,  
for grace, oh Lord, to thee I cry,  
without the which perish I shall.

5           *Oh hear me Lord and grant mercy.*

My sins, oh Lord, I cannot hide  
from thy presence, therefore I crave  
thy grace in earth to be my guide  
that thou my sinful soul may save.

10           *Oh hear me Lord and grant mercy.*

No righteousness in me does reign,  
but sin I know and wickedness,  
unless thy grace I do obtain,  
due unto me is death endless.

15           *Oh hear me Lord and grant mercy.*

From thy justice Lord I appeal;  
no sinner in thy sight can stand,  
but thy mercy my soul may heal,  
the which I crave, Lord, at thy hand.

20           *Oh hear me Lord and grant mercy.*

Suffer not me, thy creature,  
oh Lord, to perish in thy sight,  
thou can make clean that is unpure,  
cleanse me, oh Lord, a woeful wight.

25           *Oh hear me Lord and grant mercy.*

Alas good Lord if I contend  
 by thy justice my works to try,  
 then am I damnèd without end  
 from thy presence eternally.

30            *Oh hear me Lord and grant mercy.*

Oh Lord what would it profit thee  
 that thou made me to thine own likeness  
 if I should now condemnèd be  
 to hell for mine own wickedness.

35            *Oh hear me Lord and grant mercy.*

Oh Lord since grace so needful is  
 to me, poor wretch, with sin infect,  
 let thy mercy exceed justice  
 that I may be thine own elect.

40            *Oh hear me Lord and grant mercy.*

But yet, oh Lord, in thee I trust,  
 that as thou has created me,  
 I confessing my sin unjust,  
 thou will not cast me off from thee.

45            *Oh hear me Lord and grant mercy.*

Miles Huggarde

**Commentary for Oh Hear Me Lord, and Grant Mercy**

- 21**    *creàture*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 24**    *wight*] a man or woman, esp. implying commiseration (*OED*, *n.2a*).
- 27**    *justice [...] try*] seems to be supporting the doctrine of ‘justification by faith and works’. See introduction to the edition for further discussion of this point.
- 28**    *damnèd*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 33**    *condemnèd*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

**Apparatus for Oh Hear Me Lord, and Grant Mercy****Stanza 4**

The main body of this poem is written in Hand A, but stanza four was originally added underneath the signature by Hand B as stanza ten, and then marked for insertion as stanza four by Hand C.

21    créature] *this edn*; creature 15233

28    damnèd] *this edn*; damned 15233

30    oh hear] 15233; o [lord] hear 15233

33    condemnèd] *this edn*; condemned 15233

**[On Liberty]**

Men most desire as most men most times see  
to banish bondage, and at liberty to be.

Men take liberty to man as thing most pleasant,  
which tale to be true we agree to grant,  
5 in case that we our liberty do use  
embracing virtue, and vice clearly refuse.

But if we will abuse our liberty,  
then liberty is mean to bring captivity.

So that liberty ill used or understood  
10 is only the thing that makes free men bond  
as has been seen in folk of all degrees  
and daily is seen which sight each wise man sees.

This danger done who will learn to eschew  
mark well this lesson that after does ensue.

15 Since our liberty use makes good and ill,  
and that liberty we will desire still,  
wish we to use liberty in each thing  
as stands with the laws of God and our king.

**[This World is but a Vanity]**

Who shall profoundly weigh and scan  
 the unassurèd state of man,  
 shall well perceive by reason than  
 that where is no stability  
 5 all is subject to vanity.

[Now mortal man behold and see,  
 this world is but a vanity]

If thou be king or emperor  
 prince either lord of might and power,  
 thy poor subjects do not devour,  
 beware of pride and cruelty,  
 10 lose not thy fame for vanity.

[Now mortal man etc.]

If thou be set to do justice,  
 regard virtue and punish vice,  
 oh press no man I thee advise,  
 abuse not thine authority  
 15 to vex poor men for vanity.

[Now mortal man etc.]

Or if thou have lands and goods great store  
 consider then thy charge is more,  
 since thou must make account therefore;  
 they are not thine but lent to thee,  
 20 and yet they are but vanity.

[Now mortal man etc.]

But if thou fortune to be poor  
 so that thou go from door to door,  
 humbly give thanks to God therefore,  
 and thanks in thine adversity,  
 25 this world is but a vanity.

[Now mortal man etc.]

But if thou have men's souls in cure  
 thy charge is great, I thee ensure,  
 in word and deed thou must be pure,  
 all virtue must abound in thee,  
 30 thou must eschew all vanity.

[Now mortal man etc.]

Then since you do perceive right dear  
 that all is vain as does appear,  
 learn to bestow while art here  
 your wit, your lands, your fees,  
 35 learn to bestow these vanities.

[Now mortal man etc.]

If thou be strong or fair of face,  
sickness or age does both disgrace,  
then be not proud in any case,  
for how can there more folly be  
40 than to be proud of vanity?

[Now mortal man etc.]

Now finally, be not infect  
with worldly cares but have respect  
how God rewards his true elect  
with most perfect felicity,  
45 free from all worldly vanity.

[Now mortal etc.]

Master Thorne

### Commentary for This World is but a Vanity

The poem is written in ballad form in MS 15233 and contains nine stanzas and a chorus, inserted only after the first stanza, but probably intended to be inserted after each. It has been added after each stanza in this edition. The work is signed ‘Mr. Thorne’.

A version also exists in Edwards’s *PDD* (1578 version) where it is also ascribed to Thorne. Here the chorus is printed at the head of the ballad, but not repeated throughout.

It also appears in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson, Poet. 185, ff. 4<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>. This MS preserves an almost entirely new ballad, which is longer than the two other extant versions. The two line chorus is written as the opening lines of the first stanza. Of the eight stanzas in the *PDD*, four do not occur in either MS Rawl or MS 15233. MS 15233 omits three stanzas from MS Rawl, but adds a new stanza.

The ballad was possibly registered in 1563 by John Cherlewood under the title *Ye vanitie of this worlde and the felycite of the worlde to come*.<sup>1</sup>

2      *unassurèd*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

27      *ensure*] guarantee.

41      *be not infect*] i.e. do not be detrimentally affected.

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<sup>1</sup> Hyder E. Rollins, *Old English Ballads, 1553–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), p. 265.

**Apparatus for This World is but a Vanity**

1 and] *15233*; or *PDD*

2 unassurèd] *this edn*; unassured *15233*, *MS Rawl*; assured *PDD*

4 where] *15233*, *PDD*; there *MS Rawl*

5 all is subject to vanity] *15233*, *MS Rawl*; remaineth nought but vanitie *PDD*

**chorus** now mortal man behold and see this world is but a vanity] *15233*; *not in MS Rawl*  
or *PDD*

7 and] *15233*; or *MS Rawl*

9 and] *15233*; or *MS Rawl*

12 regard] *15233*; reward *MS Rawl*

16 Or if] *15233*; If *MS Rawl*, *PDD*

and] *15233*; or *MS Rawl*, *PDD*

17 then] *15233*, *MS Rawl*; thou *PDD*

they] *15233*; thy *MS Rawl*, *PDD*

is] *15233*, *MS Rawl*; ye *PDD*

- 18 since thou must make account therefore] *15233, PDD*; sith yt thow must accompt  
therefore *MS Rawl*
- 21 But] *15233*; and *MS Rawl*
- 24 thanks] *15233*; thinke *MS Rawl*
- 26 cure] *15233*; care *MS Rawl*
- 27 ensure] *15233*; assure *MS Rawl*
- 28 word] *15233*; wordes *MS Rawl*  
deed] *15233*; deedes *MS Rawl*
- 36 or] *15233, PDD*; & *MS Rawl*
- 37 disgrace] *15233, PDD*; deface *MS Rawl*
- 38 then] *15233, PDD*; thou *MS Rawl*
- 40 to be proud of vanity] *15233*; to be proud in vanetie *MS Rawl*; for to bost of vanitie  
*PDD*
- 42 worldly] *MS Rawl, PDD*; worly *15233*  
cares] *15233, PDD*; care *MS Rawl*

44 most perfect felicity] *15233, MS Rawl*; with glorious felicitie *PDD*

45 free from] *15233, PDD*; voide of *MS Rawl*

**chorus** now mortal man behold and see this world is but a vanity] *15233; not in MS Rawl or PDD*

**[In Praise of a Good Welcome]**

You be welcome, you be welcome,  
 you be welcome one by one,  
 you be heartily welcome,  
 you be heartily welcome every one.

- 5 When friends like friends do friendly show  
 unto each other high or low,  
 what cheer increase of love does grow,  
 what better cheer then they to know

*this is welcome.*

- 10 To bread or drink, to flesh or fish,  
 yet welcome is the best dish.

In all our fare, in all our cheer,  
 of dainty meats sought far or near,  
 most fine, most costly to appear,

- 15 what for all this if all this gear

*lack this welcome?*

This cheer, lo, is not worth one rush,  
 for welcome is the best dish.

Where welcome is, though fare be small,  
 20 yet honest hearts be pleased with all,  
 where welcome wants, though great fare fall,  
 no honest heart content it shall  
       *without welcome,*  
 for honest hearts do ever wish  
 25 to have welcome to the best dish.

Some with small fare be not pleased,  
 some with much fare be much diseased,  
 some with mean fare be scant appeased,  
 but of all some none is displeased  
 30       *to be welcome.*

Then all good cheer to accomplish,  
 welcome must be the best dish.

Yet some to this will say that they  
 without welcome with meat live may,  
 35 and with welcome without meat nay,  
 wherefore meat seems best dish they say  
       *and not welcome.*

But this vain saying to banish,  
 we will prove welcome here best dish.

40 Though in some case for man's relief  
 meat without welcome may be chief,  
 yet where men come, as here in proof,  
 much more for love than hunger's grief,  
       *here is welcome*

45 through all the cheer to furnish,  
 here is welcome the best dish.

What is this welcome now to tell?  
 You are welcome, you are come well  
 as heart can wish your coming fell,  
 50 your coming glads my heart each dell,  
     *this is welcome*  
 wherefore all doubts to relinquish,  
 your welcome is your best dish.

Now as we have in words here spent  
 55 declared the fact of welcome meant,  
 so pray we you to take th'intent  
 of this poor dish that we present  
     *to your welcome*  
 as heartily as heart can wish,  
 60 your welcome is here your best dish.

John Heywood

**Commentary for In Praise of a Good Welcome**

- 17** *rush*] proverbial ‘not worth a rush’ (Tilley, S918). Modernised from ‘ryshe’ which rhymed with ‘dish’ on the next line.
- 33-39** *Yet [...] dish*] c.f. proverb, ‘it is better to want meat than guests or company’ (Tilley, M822).
- 42** *proof*] modernised from ‘preefe’ which rhymed with conformed to the rhyme scheme in this stanza.
- 49** *fell*] eagerly, in earnest (*OED*, 4b).
- 50** *dell*] deal, part.

**Apparatus for In Praise of a Good Welcome**

**8**      to know] *15233*; to [showe] knowe *15233*

**After 30**

[wherfore all doubttes to relinquishe] *15233*

**[Against Slander]**

*Gar call him down,*

*gar call him down,*

*gar call him down down - ay.*

*God send the faction*

5 *of all detraction,*

*call down and cast away.*

Almighty God

does shake his rod

of Justice on all those

10 that unjustly,

detractively,

detract their friends or foes.

He tells each one

‘thou shall judge none,

15 and if thou judge unbidden,

thy self’, says he,

‘shall judgèd be’,

this lesson is not hidden.

To this now stirred,  
 20 this is concurred,  
       which with us in each doubt,  
 to deem the best  
 that may be guessed  
       till time the truth try out.

25 Knowing by this  
 that think amiss  
       against no man we may,  
 much more must we  
 ill language flee  
 30 and call it down down – ay.

[Gar call him down etc.]

With sword or scayne  
 to see babes slain  
       abhors to look upon,  
 attend to me  
 35 and you shall see  
       murder and slander one.

Like as a knife  
 bereaveth life  
       so slander fame has slain,  
 40 and both once done  
 both alike soon  
       may be undone again.

Then what more ill  
with knife to kill

45           then with the tongue to sting,  
with knife or tongue  
strike old or young,  
          all in effort one thing.

These words are short

50   but they import  
          sentence at length to weigh,  
of all which sense  
to flee th'offence  
          to call them down down – ay

[Gar call him down etc.]

55   When vice is sought  
all vice is nought  
          but some vice worse than some,  
and each man sees  
sundry degrees  
60           in each vice self does come.

Now since the least  
we should detest

          vice or degree in vice,  
if in the most  
65   we show our boast  
          that shows is most unwise.

If I in thee  
 such faults once see  
     as no man else does know,  
 70 to thee alone  
 and other none  
     those faults I ought to show.

Then of intent  
 if I invent  
 75      false tales and them display,  
 that is most vile  
 which to exile  
     God calls it down down – ay.

Some count no charge  
 80 to talk at large  
     such ill as they do hear,  
 but God's account  
 does not amount  
     to take such talkers clear.

85 Of work ill wrought  
 when we hear ought,  
     in telling forth the same  
 though it be true  
 the talk may brew  
 90      drink of damnable blame.

To frame excuse  
for tongue's misuse

we have no manner mean,  
so that by this  
95 no way there is  
ill tales to carry clean.

Which makes me call  
upon you all

as calling call you may  
100 tales false or true  
meet to eschew  
to call them down down – ay.

[Gar call him down etc.]

Slander to fear  
or to forbear

105 this text stands well in place  
woe be the tongue  
whereby is sprung  
slander in any case.

Christ cries out still

110 'Say good for ill',  
but we say 'harm for harm',  
the ill for good  
ill tongues do brood  
wrath is in them so warm.

115 To slake this fire  
of slander's ire  
        repentance must devise  
to set all hands  
to quench the brands  
120         with water of our eyes.

Which brands then blow  
to make them glow  
        or grace by grace may stay  
and by resort  
125 of good report  
        call slander down I say.

John Heywood

### Commentary for Against Slander

The poem is attributed to John Heywood in MS 15233, and also appears as a ballad against slander and detraction printed in 1562 by John Alde at the long shop adjoining St.

Mildred's Church in the Poultry. The ballad is also attributed to Heywood.

- 1**     *Gar call him down*] the construction is complex, but the phrase seems to be an instruction to denounce a slanderer. *Gar* = to cause or make; *call him down* = denounce or decry him (*OED*, 27c).
- 3**     *ay*] ever, always, continually. Spelling altered from 'ey' in the manuscript to 'ay' to fit with the rhyme scheme. This has been altered throughout.
- 4**     *the faction*] the doing or making of something.
- 5**     *detraction*] the act of taking away, withdrawing.
- 8**     *rod*] symbol of power / authority.
- 11**    *detraactively*] having the power to take or draw away, esp. qualities or reputation from a person.
- 17**    *judgèd*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.
- 19**    *stirred*] moved.
- 26**    *amiss*] negatively, wrongly.

- 31–36** *With [...] one*] i.e. those who cannot bear to see murder will come to understand slander as being as bad if they listen to the poem.
- 31** *scayne*] a kind of scimitar.
- 36** *murder [...] one*] i.e. slander is as abhorrent as murder.
- 37–42** *Like [...] again*] the phrasing is confusing, but the sense is evidently meant to be that both acts can be undone.
- 38** *bereaveth*] three syllable pronunciation conforms to the rhythmic pattern.
- 39** *fame*] good character attributed to a person or thing by report or generally entertained; reputation.
- 93** *mean*] moderate in amount, i.e. we have no moderate manner in which it is possible to frame an excuse for the tongue's misuse. I.e. it is not possible to excuse ourselves.
- 101** *meet*] proper, appropriate.  
*eschew*] avoid, ignore.
- 115** *slake*] to diminish the fire, make it burn less strongly.
- 119** *brands*] pieces of wood on the hearth which are or have been burning.
- 120** *water [...] eyes*] i.e. the tears of repentance.

### Apparatus for Against Slander

All instances of ‘ey’ occurring at the end of a line in the original text have been altered to read ‘ay’. See the commentary for this poem for further explanation.

- 3     ay] *this edn*; ey *15233*
- 9     on all those] *15233*; and all those *1562*
- 17    judgèd] *this edn*; judged *15233*
- 20    concurrèd] *15233*; concord *1562*
- 21    with] *15233*; wilthe *1562*
- 38    bereaveth] *15233*; by reuing *1562*
- 45    then] *15233*; or *1562*
- 48    all in effort] *15233*; bothe in effect *1562*
- 53    flee th’offence] *15233*; flee offence *1562*
- 54    to call them down down ay] *15233*; [call sklander down] *15233*; call slaunder  
downe I say *1562*
- 66    is] *15233*; vs *1562*
- 72    those] *15233*; these *1562*
- 78    it] *15233*; this *1562*

- 84** clear] 15233; heere 1562
- 86** when we hear ought] 15233; when it is sought 1562
- 92** for] 15233; of 1562
- 101** meet to eschew] 15233; me to ensue 1562
- 104** or] 15233; and 1562
- 106** be] 15233; by 1562
- 112** the] 15233; yea 1562
- 121** brands] 15233; brand 1562
- 122** them] 15233; loue 1562
- 123** or grace by grace] 15233; that love by grace 1562
- After 126** *Extra chorus in 1562.*

**[Against Malice]**

*Man if thou mind Heaven to obtain,  
bear no malice to no wight humane.*

Whoever thou hate is good or ill,  
if he be good, hate shows thee nought,  
if he be ill, and ill shall be still,  
whereby at end he has so wrought  
5 that to damnation he be brought,  
    then charity shows much more reason,  
    to pity his pain than malign his person.

[Man if thou etc.]

If he be nought to whom thou art foe,  
and shall hereafter so amend  
10 that he be saved and thou also,  
then shall he love thee time without end.  
Then why should thou this time pretend  
    in malice towards him to persevere  
    that shall here after love thee forever?

[Man if thou etc.]

15 By this thou may in reason see,  
 to hate the good is wretchedness,  
 to hate the ill lacks charity.  
 To good or ill then bear no malice,  
 but love the good for their goodness,  
 20 and for the ill continually  
 pray for amendment lovingly.

[Man if thou etc.]

Some will perchance object to this,  
 that good folk with good conscience may  
 wish harm to him that harmful is,  
 25 whereby the harmless may always  
 unharmed be in quiet stay.

But of this root the branches are  
 far over long now to declare.

[Man if thou etc.]

But for brief end, by mine assent  
 30 all such as be of mean degree  
 desire or devise of punishment,  
 let us remit to those that be  
 joined thereto by authority,  
 whose wisdoms do by grace attend  
 35 to punish the ill and the good defend.

[Man if thou etc.]

And where we suppose any man in heart  
to be any worse we would he were,  
let us, I say, set malice apart  
and lovingly fall we to prayer  
40 for his amendment in this manner,  
    as by our own fault we see indeed  
    our own amendment of prayer has need.

[Man if thou etc.]

John Heywood

### Commentary for Against Malice

**Title** *mind*] take care to remember, to bear in mind

*wight*] a man or woman, esp. implying commiseration (*OED*, n.2a).

**13** *persevere*] modernised from ‘persever’ which rhymed with ‘forever’ on the next line.

**26** *unharmèd*] accent added to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

*in quiet stay*] in a permanent state of settled calm or peacefulness (*OED*, n.1, 7b)

**27–28** *root [...] long*] i.e. the thought is an evil root which will produce many smaller sinful branches. This is a traditional image in penitential literature.

**30** *of mean degree*] low in the hierarchy.

**Apparatus for Against Malice**

**13** persevere] *15233*; perseuer <w...> *15233*

**26** unharmed] *this edn*; unharmed *15233*

**[A Faithful Heart]**

It has been oft both said and sung,  
 'Take heed what words do pass the tongue',  
 but now say we to old and young,  
 'Take heed what thoughts in heart are sprung',

5           *for of all parts, count every part,  
               no part compares to a faithful heart.*

The tongue is but an instrument  
 only to show the heart's intent,  
 except the heart do first consent,

10    what good or ill can tongue invent?  
           *Since in the tongue lies not that part,  
               be sure to keep a faithful heart.*

For as the heart is good or ill  
 so by the tongue appear it will.

15    If the heart be good, tongue good will still,  
 if the heart be ill, tongue sure will kill.  
           *Thus if the heart rule tongue each part,  
               be sure to keep a faithful heart.*

Yet sometimes tongues full fair can glide

20    when hearts full false from tongues be wide,  
 but what so ever hearts do hide,  
 by tongues at length it will be spied,  
           *then is not tongue the surest part  
               wherefore keep sure a faithful heart?*

25 How oft see we now in our days  
 tongues thought most sure prove unsure stays,  
 by wine or ire or other ways,  
 the closest heart the tongue bewrays.

30 *Since daily played we see this part,  
 be sure to keep a faithful heart.*

Then since our tongues be nothing sure,  
 except our hearts all pure endure,  
 and that our hearts being all pure  
 our tongues can put none ill in ure,

35 *then be we sure the surest part  
 is to keep sure a faithful heart.*

Which faithful hearts God grant to spring  
 in us and all the hearts living,  
 but specially now let us sing,

40 first unto God and next our king,  
*as we be borne in these our parts  
 God grant us all good faithful hearts,  
 good faithful hearts.*

Master Knyght

### Commentary for A Faithful Heart

**7–8** *The [...] intent]* proverbial, ‘What the heart thinks the tongue speaks’ (Tilley, H334).

**14** *by the tongue]* ‘the’ has been marked for deletion in the manuscript, but is necessary to conform to the rhythmic pattern.

**19–20** *tongues [...] wide]* c.f. *Fair words make fools fain* (attributed to Richard Edwards).

**27–28** *by [...] bewrays]* c.f., ‘In wine there is truth’ (Tilley, W465), ‘Wine is the glass of the mind’ (Tilley, W481) and ‘Wine keeps neither secrets nor fulfils promises’ (Tilley, W487).

**28** *bewrays]* exposes.

**34** *in ure]* in use.

**Apparatus for A Faithful Heart**

**14** by the tongue] *this edn*; by ^ [the] toong *15233*



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## Conclusion

This thesis began by contending that approaching a manuscript with such varied content as MS 15233 from any one perspective is reductive, and that such approaches have tended to skew evidence and cause scholars to miss more interesting possibilities regarding provenance and purpose. MS 15233 has previously been examined almost exclusively from the perspective of Early Modern drama, and with a focus only on the best known contributors to the manuscript, John Redford and John Heywood. As a direct result, it has previously been cited as a product of St. Paul's Cathedral and its choir school, dated over a lengthy period, beginning as early as the 1530s, and used as an example of the manuscript representation of a Catholic network. By taking a broader, more interdisciplinary approach to the makeup and content of this manuscript, this thesis has demonstrated that none of the above conclusions is accurate, and has provided a series of new theories on which future scholarship will be able to build.

Studying MS 15233 in sections, divided either along disciplinary lines, or by attributed author, has previously led scholars to date parts of the manuscript separately, and to draw the conclusion that the manuscript was compiled over a lengthy period. The new, detailed physical examination of the manuscript in this thesis worked on the basis that since all the work within MS 15233 was deliberately bound together, it should be considered as a single, coherent entity, and that it should be examined as a material object whose physical aspects can provide as many clues as its written content. It revealed two key factors that have never previously been noted: that the same paper has been used throughout the different sections of the manuscript, and that an exact watermark match for this paper can be found on a document at the Folger Library in Washington. That the paper is consistent throughout the book supports the idea that the material within it was originally compiled over a relatively short period, whilst the date of the watermark match, combined with evidence for the date of the binding, allows the entire manuscript in its current format to be dated to the 1550s.

The re-dating of the manuscript required a shift of focus, away from the 1540s and thus, also from John Redford, who died in 1547. Examination of the lives of all of the

named contributors during the early to mid part of the sixteenth century, including their personal and professional connections, demonstrated that all but one of these men had connections with the parish church of St Mary-at-Hill by the 1550s. St. Mary-at-Hill is already of interest to musicologists—both as a result of its choir school and for the part that it played in the early lives of composers such as Thomas Tallis—but has rarely been examined from any other perspective. It is now clear that the convivial evening entertainments which took place after events held at the church also encouraged the reading and writing of poetry.

The repositioning of the manuscript away from Redford and St. Paul's has resulted in a significant new theory concerning its religious outlook. Further examination of the activities and publications of all the individuals named in the manuscript has demonstrated that the contributors were not in fact, bound to one another by a single confessional belief, and were not part of a Catholic network which is cited as having existed at St. Paul's.<sup>1</sup> Examination of a number of the poems contained in the manuscript has further confirmed this, and demonstrated that some of the poems are ambiguous in their outlook. The content of these poems shows that despite the theological divide caused by the English Reformation, many ordinary people recognised that the two 'sides' actually shared many beliefs in common.

Equally importantly, the relocation of the manuscript's provenance to a parish church has suggested that those who attended such institutions did not necessarily share religious beliefs. However, it is clear that their attendance at the same place of worship for conformity's sake often joined those that shared other common interests, such as music, poetry and drama, and that they were prepared to collaborate with one another, both professionally and socially, despite often holding different religious views.

The thesis has not only suggested a new theory for the manuscript's provenance and the type of network responsible for producing it, but has also offered a reconsideration of the performative aspects of its content. The new dating of the manuscript has revealed that the version of *The Play of Wit and Science* which it contains is a later copy of Redford's play. Study of internal evidence from the text, although not conclusive, has also raised the

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<sup>1</sup> The Catholic connections between contributors are frequently noted, and are emphasised by Daniel Page, 'Uniform and Catholic, Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1996), pp. 349–359.

possibility that it was not an exact textual replica of the original, but one which might have been adapted for performance during the period of the manuscript's composition. Although much has been written regarding the pedagogical value of *Wit and Science* (and this thesis has not denied that the play is relevant for educational purposes) this thesis's new focus on the contextualisation of a number of significant properties from the play has suggested that this play might also have been operating on another level: engaging with mid century artistic debate, and commenting on the use of drama as an art form. This new approach to the play has indicated that English drama might have been developing into a more complex form at a much earlier date than has been previously suggested.

Furthermore, the study of the poetry in the manuscript has revealed that the narrative poetry familiar to Shakespeare's work was also developing during the early to mid part of the sixteenth century, and that the label of 'Drab Age' which is usually applied to work produced during this period is unhelpful. The modern spelling edition of the poems produced as part of this thesis, with its emphasis on spoken performance, has demonstrated that many of the works appear to be experimenting with accentual stress in English verse, rather than simply conforming to rigid metrical or syllabic patterns. It also contends that some of the poems, particularly those attributed to Redford, are extremely theatrical, and that at least one may have been designed specifically for performance as part of a court masque.

Examination of the lengthy afterlife of a single poem from MS 15233 has also demonstrated the value of studying versions of works in manuscript which also exist in other sources, not as isolated examples, but as part of a wider group. The study shows that the circulation and transmission of the poem after its appearance in MS 15233 was a result of yet another network of individuals, on this occasion, freed members of the Drapers' Company working as printers. The existence of this network further reinforced the theory of the manuscript's ownership by Ferdinando Heyborne in the latter part of the sixteenth century. In addition, the new connections between versions of this poem, in combination with the relocation of the manuscript original to St. Mary-at-Hill, cast doubt on the authorship of the poem in MS 15233, which has previously been attributed to the Elizabethan poet and soldier George Gascoigne.

The new approaches to this manuscript taken as part of this thesis have yielded results which suggest a new date, method and purpose for its compilation. The evidence suggests that the manuscript began life as a blank book, by the date of the paper, during the early 1550s, which was bound in some format other than the present calf covering. It was used first for music, and then for plays and poems, before some of this original manuscript was lost or discarded, and the remaining content was bound into the current binding, with some sections being placed out of order, despite the foliation. Whilst the original compiler of the manuscript (and it is still unclear who this might have been) seems to have at first intended to preserve some of the musical and dramatic work of John Redford, this initial remit was then widened to include a collection of poems and songs by members of a contemporary professional and social network, bound together by their artistic interests and their connections to St. Mary-at-Hill. This thesis has demonstrated that this manuscript is not the representation of any shared religious belief between contributors, but instead of shared artistic interests between people who may not otherwise have had any common views or even social standing.

Whilst this thesis has taken as broad an approach as possible to MS 15233, it is acknowledged that it does not provide an exhaustive study of either its content or history. Further work on this manuscript could, for example, consider the keyboard music at the beginning of the manuscript in the new context of St. Mary-at-Hill—a church known for its collaboration with the singers of the Chapel Royal and St. Paul’s Cathedral—during the 1550s. Given the obvious value of this church’s records for the study of sixteenth-century music, and the presence of a literary network demonstrated by this thesis, a cultural history of the church itself also appears to be long overdue. It is further interdisciplinary approaches to manuscripts with varied content for which this thesis aims to provide a springboard.

## **Appendix A.**

### **Diplomatic Transcriptions**

#### **Poems and Song Lyrics from BL. Add. MS 15233**

- d     marye tom such poyntes god send him mani
- T     well go to mok on your mokes bere can I  
tyll we shall once be evin I trust
- G     nay [sym] tom all malle<sup>s</sup> lay in the dust  
& syns we have droonke all of one cup  
Shake handes lyke freendes all quarelles geve vp
- d     ye be my sowle & syns the payne is past  
let vs be merye / & care away cast
- I     what els tom syns we have leve to play  
let vs be merye / all thys long daye

fynis qd master Iohn redford  
here the syng hey nony nonye / & so  
go furth syngyng

nf      Comfort at hand / pluck vp thy hart  
 thus sayde grace to my [sowle I] thowght  
 syns the redres of all [my] ⁊ thy smarte  
 so nye at hand is wrowght  
           pluck vp thy hart

Pluck vp thy harte / whye dowlst thou so  
 se who doth lose thy bandes  
 & toward the hevyns / I lokyng tho  
 in the eie of faythe ther standes  
           coomfort at hand

Comfort at hand I say sayth grace  
 marke man what tale I tell  
 & thou shalte see cawse in this case  
 all care cleere to expell  
           pluck vp thy harte

pluck vp thy harte / & gyve it hym  
 that gave hym sealfe for the  
 in deite of whose diadym  
 looke vp I say & see  
           cofort at hande

Comfort at hand thyne enmyse yealde

yf thow forsake thy syn

a new woon lyfe / a new woon feald

this victorye to wyn

pluc vp thy harte

|

Pluck vp thy harte / syns thow art sewre

showrs are as shorte as sharpe

the worlds conflyctes can not endure

on this sweete stryng now harpe

comfort at hand

Comfort at hand / hark now what sowndes

The captayne generall

evin wyth his bloody bledyng woondes

dooth sle thine enmyes all

pluck vp thy hart

pluck vp thi hart & this shorte lyfe

lyvng in lovyng fayth

for <....> endles rest at endles stryfe

looke where he sytthe that saythe

comfort at hand

Comfort at hand to the & me

since god gyvth by his grace

let vs by grace in vnitye

this cumfort to imbrace

pluck <...> Lvp our<sup>d</sup> hartes

finis

Of ever or never folke ever coniecter  
 that never is longer by wone lytle letter  
 but ever or never which ever be greter  
 where never a good is theres never a better

Ever in graffying & never in growing  
 ever in plowing / & never in sowing  
 ever in repyng / & never in mowinge  
 ever in trowing & never in knowinge

corus

ever full gorgid / & never from tappyng  
 ever at sylence / & never from clappyng  
 ever a cold & never from wrappyng  
 ever in hopyng & never in happyng

corus

1

corus

ever in travell & never at byrth

ever in smylyng & never in myrth

ever in swellyng & never slack gyrth

ever in purchace & never owght wurth

corus

ever at hand & never at wyll

ever styk fast & never stande styll

ever cum toward & never cum tyll

ever a clarke & never can skylly

corus

syns ever & never shall never have end

good is it ever never to offend

for ever shall never kepe fawtes in safe mend

but ever shall scowrg fawtes that never amend

finis

---

<sup>1</sup> Space appears to have been left in the MS for another stanza.

how showld I rock the kradle / serve the  
table / blow the fyre / & spyn e

1. But late in place                      that was both fayre & yong e  
a pretye lasse

with wepyng eie                      vntyll her sealfe she soong e  
right secretlye

2. this lytle foote                      with notes both swete & cleere e  
& ite toote

she syght full ofte                      in forme as ye shall here e  
& soong alofte

how showld I

3. Alas she sayde                      as other maydens be e  
I was a mayde

& thowgh I boste                      ther was no more lyke me e  
in all the coste

4. my byrth ryght good                      I am undowghtydly e  
of ientle blood

they calde me wyse                      of all then [h] who but I e  
I bare ye pryce

how shoalde

5. I was belovde & long I did denye e  
of ech man prove  
  
tyll at the last this babe that here dooth lye  
I have purchast  
[how showld I]

verte folium

6. Alas the tyme that I showld live to see e  
of such a cryme  
  
now am I thrall that were thrall vnto me e  
vnto them all  
how showld I

7. Clene out of syght now heere in servitude e  
& all delyght  
  
at the behest that be god wot full rude e  
of most & least

8. I may not swerue to blow the fyre & spin e  
the boord to serue  
  
my child to rock wher shall I first begin e  
& plese this flock  
how showld I

9. Preserve good god                    that maydenlye entend e  
all maydynhode
- let my defame                    kepe them from shamefull ende e  
& endless shame
10. beware good maydes            before all other thing e  
of all such braydes
- or all in vayne                    thus wepyng shall ye syng e  
as I complayne

Fynis

1. Yf vertu sprynge / wher as youth raynythe  
 there must all goodnes neades ensue  
 & contrarye where vice remayneth  
 myschance doth sorow oft renue  
 then it is best  
 for youthe alwayes / vice to refrayne  
 & geve god prayse / for it is playne  
 servire deo regnare est
  
2. The that in youth no vertu wyll vse  
 nor to no vertue [goodness] them selves applye  
 In age all honor wyll them refuse  
 let youth therfore then call & crye  
 & never rest  
 who calth for grace / to [grace] god above  
 [to god above] / In tyme & space / shall fynde & prove  
 servire deo regnare est
  
3. The that delighthyth in syn & vice  
 not feryng god nor kepyng his lawes  
 let them remember yf they be wyce  
 that god from suche / his grace wythdrawes  
 & them detest  
 but such as dooth / with hart & mynd  
 love hym forsooth / he shall well fynd  
 servire deo regnare est

Fynis

corus

I desyre no number of manye thynges for store

but I de syre the grace of god & I de syre no more

1. My grace to the suffysyth / sayth god vnto seynt powle  
whiche grace as god promiseth / suffysyth body & sowle  
what neade I number crave / to have thynges evrychone  
yf all of neade to have / be had havyng / this one

I desyre no number

2. The grace of god well vsyd / as chryst offrythe the same  
all thinges ar full refused / that myght turne man to blam  
grace being such a gyfte / as grace / by grace may sownd  
my voyce with hart I lyfte / repetyng thus this grownd

I desyre no number

3. The texte that wryten is / is wryten for our healthe  
takyng no texte amis / all textes may healpe to healthe  
fayth hope & charytee / thes graces wyth the reste  
godes gyftes of grace they be / in texte this is exprest

I desyre no number

4. Least gyft of god to man / man can not full commend  
much les this most gyfte than / mans prayse can com<sup>^</sup>prehend  
god grawnt vs all the grace / for grace by grace to kall  
that grace may get vs place / in place celestiall

I desyre no number

Fynis / quod Ihon heywoode

Of all the creatures / lesse & moe

we lytle poore boyes / abyde much woe

1. Lo who must holde the candle now but he that wurst may  
well / syns that I am chosen this pageant for to playe  
have at hyt for out it shall / evry whit by this daye  
how we poore / syllye boyes / abyde much woe
  
2. Wee have a cursyd master / I tell you all for trew  
so cruell as he is was never turke nor iue  
he is the most vnhappiest man / that ever ye knewe  
for to poore syllye boyes / he wurkyth much woe
  
3. Do wee never so well / he can never be content  
but for our good wylles we ever more be shente  
and oft tymes our lytle butokes / he dooth all to rent  
that we poore syllye boyes / abyde much woe
  
4. We have so manye lasses to lerne thys [s]peelde songe  
that I wyll not lye to yow / now & then among  
out of our buttokes we may plucke the stumpes yus<sup>396</sup> long  
that we poore syllye boyes abyde much woe

---

<sup>396</sup> y used for Þ

5. Well I tell you trothe this is no lawhyng game  
 yf ye felte as much as we doo / ye woold say / the same  
 for of mye poore honestye / we geve him to good a name  
 that to poore sylve boyes dooth wurke so much woe
6. he plokth vs by the nose / he plucth vs by the iawes  
 he plucth vs by the eares / wyth his most unhapye / pawes  
 & all for this pevysh pryksong / not wurth to strawes  
 that we poore sylve boyes abyde much woe

verte folium

|

he sayth we syng starke nowght / when we make ^ ƿa ryght good noyse ƿ  
 for I tell yow he must have his knakes ye / he must ƿhave his toyse ƿ  
 oh / the payne that we have wyth hym ƿwe lyttle poor ƿ boys  
 Trulye poore boyes abyde much wo

he is in our det manye tymes [oft] that is his saynge  
 but we woold forgeve hym all the dett & never take daynge  
 but geve hym frelye / ij as muche / so that we myght make good ^ ƿpayng ƿ  
 to that cursed master that wurkyth so much woe

but what mynd or good consyence hath this man I pray yo^ ƿu ƿ  
 sumtyme at our freendes desyre / he saythe to vs go play yow  
 & by & by to scoole we must agayne is not this a shame how say you  
 that we poore syllye boyes shuld abyde so much woe

sumtyme I shrynke & I stand behynd the doore  
 I tell yow to see hym yt grevyth me ryght sore  
 ye by thes ten bones / I woold I myght never se hym more

for to poore syllye boyes he workyth much woe

We must ever be in hys syght when yt grevyth vs sore to thinke ^ ʀon himʀ  
 god wottes full often tymes when we have loe but a wynke ^ ʀon himʀ  
 we wysh hym full hartelly in newgate with a lynke on him  
 that to pore syllye boyes he workyth much woe

evry day thus we complayne but for all that he mendth not  
 nor for owght that we can se to mend he entendth not  
 he that woold hang hym evyn vp in my consyence offend ʀnotʀ  
 for than we pore syllye boyes showld be ryd of much ʀwoeʀ

|

yet for to hang hym I wene it be not best  
 for yf he were gone we shold have another gest  
 as yll as he for nowght they be all the hole nest  
 & to poore syllye boyes the worke much wooe

Therefore though he be starke nowght yet we must kepe ^ ʀhym stillʀ  
 but to show our charytee & to do good for yll  
 we shall pray to cryst to amend hym when it is his ʀwyllʀ  
 That to poore sylly boyes he wurke no more woe

fynis quod master jhon redforde

nf

The hunt ys up	loe it is allmost daye
The hunt is up	
for chryst <u>our</u> kyng	
is <u>cum</u> a huntyng	& browght his deare to staye
when god tooke in hand	& <u>cum</u> past it ^ ¶rownd¶ as wee see
to make see & land	
<u>with</u> bewtyfull skyes	
where he dyd devyse	The soone & moone showld be
To furnysh his warke	The soone [& moone shall be] ¶shoolde rule by day¶
& expulce the darke	
the moone sober lyghte	
to enioye the nyght	& kepe there coorse allway
	verte folyv <u>um</u>
Then affter his mynde	to flowe in seas & floode
the fyshe were assynde	
The byr <u>des</u> in the ayre	
& beas <u>tes</u> showld apeere	on yearthe to seake yer foode
& last he dyd frame	a creature most cleere
to set foorth hys name	

vnto his owne lyknes  
 with reson & quycknes      & chose them for his deare  
  
 The most plesant grownde      inclosyd with swerd defence  
 that ever was fownde  
 for loe his wyll was  
 his deare showld not pas      the pale of abstynence  
  
 but that falce deseaver      came wyth his charmyng ^ ¶tayle¶  
 that lovyd them never  
 & by his falce wylle  
 dyd them sore begyle      & cawsyd them lepe ye payle  
  
 Thus were they lost clene      cowlde<sup>1</sup> not returne agayne  
 for they by no meane  
 so that many yeares  
 among thornes & breres      the sowght ther foode with ^ ¶payne¶  
  
 wherefore they myssed      becamen ther enmyse ^ ¶praye¶  
 both drynke ther & breade  
 the mercifull lord yet woold not accorde /  
  
 to cast them clere away

|

---

<sup>1</sup> w written over anticipator l

But sent his owne soone      to hunt both hill & playne  
 who strongly begoon  
 no one kynd of payne  
 but he dyd sustayne      to wyn his deare agayn  
  
 he chose other twelve      to blow so iust a note  
 & tawght them him selve  
 that every deare  
 that lyst now to heare      may blys that happye note  
  
 to fynysh his warke      both plesant large & wyde  
 he inclosyd a parke  
 in palyng it sewer  
 with commandmentes pwer      wher in his deare showld byde

Thus were they restoryd  
 but lord how he roryde  
 that fyrst dyd wurke ther faule  
 with sondrye entycys  
 wherfore he devycis      agayne to make them thrall  
  
 now yow that be keepers      but watch both daye & ¶owre¶  
 take heede be no sleepers  
 for there is no dowte  
 the thefe goth abowte      & sekyth whome to devo ^ ¶wre¶

verte folium

|

Wherefore ye had neade  
 to take ryght good heade  
 among all other thynges  
 that is ye be [sw] sure  
 ther feedyng be pure  
 & drynke of holsome sprynges

for yf the do not  
 they wyll have the rot  
 what wyll the lord then saye  
 when he shall vewe  
 of his deare & yowe  
 at that most dredefull daye

Wherby this is cleere  
 yf so be his deare  
 whythin the parke persever  
 then shall the reioyse  
 to heere his swete voyce  
 & be his deere forever

The hunt is vp & c

Fynis quod master iohn thorne

nolo mortem peccatoris hec sunt verba salvatoris

1. father I am thine onely soone  
 sent downe from hevyn / mankynd to save  
 father all thynges fullfyld & doone  
 accordyng to thy wyll / I have  
 [...] father now  $\Gamma$ [all] $\Upsilon$  my wyll is this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris
  
2. father behold / my paynes most smart  
 takyn for man / on evry syde  
 evyn from my byrth / to deth most tart  
 no kynd of payne / I have denyed  
 but suffred all / for love of this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris
  
3. Behold my byrth in what degree  
 into thys wrechid worlde I came  
 takyng mans vyle nature on mee  
 wythe all the myseris[...] of the same  
 save onely syn / & all for this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris
  
4. Beholde my tendre infancy  
 scante viij dayes old / but that I was

cut in my fleashe most paynfullye  
 to shedd my bloode for mans trespas  
 I not disdanid for love of this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

verte folium

|

5. heere dwelt I thyrtye yeares & three  
 In hoonger thyrst in cold & heate  
 in great contempt of the world at mee  
 for my goode[s] deedes & travelles greate  
 takyn for man & all for this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris
  
6. when thyrtye yeares & three were run  
 tyme drawyng neare of my most woe  
 o father now behold thy soone  
 my paynes increcyng moe & moe  
 for which o father harken to this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris
  
7. Beholde my syghes / my sorowfull hart  
 beholde my teares / my blooddye sweatt  
 behold my paynes in evry parte  
 had on the mownt of olyvete  
 before my death declaryng this

nolo mortem peccatoris

8. Beholde the Jues most fearse and woode  
 thy soone they sowght / wyth glayves & bylles  
 behold thy soone most meake of moode  
 gevyn to there handes to do there wylles  
 to whome I bowed my wyll for this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

|

9. Then to a post fast was I teyde  
 scorgyd & beten on evry syde  
 tyll no scin left but as one fleyde .b.  
 ther stode thy sonne in blode all dyde  
 most mekely suffryng all for thys  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

10. Beholde also then how the browght  
 thy innocent lambe before ther iudges .A.  
 as one that had all myschefe wrowght  
 condemd to deth vpon ther grudges  
 growen agaynst me for prechyng this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

11. Behold my hed then how they crowned  
 Wythe thornes ye percying nere the brayne  
 my face my necke in blood all drowned  
 my fleshe all tremblyng in evry vayne  
 for passing payne & all for this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

.b.

12. my garmentes then to me fast clevyng  
 most violently fro me they drew  
 the fleshe evyn from the bone [even] | then ryvvyng  
 my bloody woondes the dyd renew  
 with no small payne oh father yet this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

|

.A.

12. To bere my crosse then forth they drave me  
 tyll the grete wayte threw me ther vnder  
 but then hard strokes inowe they gave me  
 betyng me forth wyth shame & wunder  
 all whych I mekely suffred for this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

.b.

13. then vp aloft my crosse they cast

the fall wherof downe in the rest  
 my ioyntes & sinewes all to brast  
 whych payne of paynes was not the lest  
 that I ther mekely suffryd for this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

.A.

14. But then behold those cruell folke  
 one at ech arme wone at ech fote  
 thorow flesh and bone grete nayles they stroke  
 the stremes of blod were set aflote  
 to washe ther syn that wrowght all this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

16. Upon that cros behold how I there  
 hong thre long howres or lyfe wer gon  
 havyng no stay my body to bere  
 but those hard nayles thorow fleshe & bone  
 yet I evyn ther declaryd this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

|

17. When all my blode was thorowly spent  
 my flesh dried vp for lack of lycker

then wyth a spere my hart they rent  
 to trye my dethe for man most sycker  
 [the which I mekely suffred for this]  
 o father why showld I say this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

18. Who may expres those paynes to me delt  
 who may bethynk them to dysclose  
 in myne humanite sensyblye felt  
 yet is ther one payne more then those  
 ¶now ..... to¶  
 o father why showld I say this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

19. This my most payne this my most [greffe] care  
 is for to see mans vnkyndnes  
 for all my deth he wyll not spare  
 me to offend my lawes transgres  
 & all in hope and trust of this  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

20. The world the flesh ye and the devyll  
 man wyll not spare to serve all three  
 takyng occasion of all this evyll  
 of myne owne wurdes sayng to me

what euer [he] ^ ʃweʃ do yet cryst sayth this

nolo mortem peccatoris

|

21. But [unto] ʃvntoʃ man I say agayne

deth of a sinner wyll not I

yf he amend & sin refrayne

but when in syn styll he wyll lye

then vnto him I speak not this

nolo mortem peccatoris

22. O man for thy loue haue I dyede

I ax no more of the therfore [but love]

but loue for loue in thy dedes tryed

forsake thy syn & kepe my lore

& then to the I say evyn this

nolo mortem peccatoris

23. Now here an end of this our song

now to that lord that dyed for man

geue thankes & pray for grace among

to kepe his lawes that we may then

enioy his mercyfull woordes in thys

nolo mortem peccatoris

finis quod master redford

corage /

kyndnes /

clennes cumth in /

& con/ stelyth a

way

Corage/

clennes/

shall we three ioyne in vnitee

to cheere these gestes

by my trothe ye

not so my freendes here me speake / mum

where is concupiscence be cum

my presens hath put her to flyght

where clennes doth in place apeere

ther is concupiscence gone quighte

In youthfull yeares when first my yonge desiers beganne;  
 To pricke me foorth to serve in court a sclender tall yonge manne:  
 My fathers blessinge then I asked vppon my knee,  
 who blessinge me w<sup>i</sup>th trembling hand, these woordes gan say to me:  
 My sonne, god guide thy waye, & shielde thee from mischaunce,  
 And make thy iust desartes in Court, thy poore estate to aduance:  
 But [yet] when thou art become one of ye courtlie trayne,  
 Thinke on this proverbe olde (qd he) yat faire woordes make fooles faine.

This counsell gravelie geven, most straunge appeares to me  
 Till tract of time w<sup>i</sup>th open eyes had made me plainelie see:  
 what subtill sleites are wrought by painted [tales] ^ [talkes] devise,  
 when hollowe hartes w<sup>i</sup>th frendlie showes ye simple dooe entise:  
 To thinke all golde yat shines to fede their fonde desier,  
 whose shivering coulde is warmde w<sup>i</sup>th smoke, in stede of flainge fier:  
 Sith talke of tickle trust, dooth breede a hope most vaine,  
 This proverbe true by profe I finde, that faire woordes make fooles faine.

faire speache alwaye doth well, wheares deedes insue faire woordes,  
 faire speach againe, alwaye dooth evill, that bushes geues for birdes.  
 who hopes to have faire woordes to trie his luckie lott,  
 If I maye counsell, let him strike it while ye iron is whot,  
 But them yat feede on cloddes, in stede of pleasaunt grapes,  
 And after warninge [often] geven, for better lucke still gapes  
 full loth I am yet [must] I ^ [must] tell them in woordes plaine,

This proverbe olde proves true in them yat faire woordes u makes fooles faine:

|

wo worth ye time yat woordes so slowelye [turne] ʃproveʃ to deedes,  
 wo worth ye time yat faire swete flowers, are [growne] ʃturndeʃ to rotten u weedes,  
 But thrise woo worth yat time, yat truth awaye is fled,  
 wherein I see howe simple hartes, with woordes are vainelie fed  
 Trust not faire woordes u therefore, where no deedes dooe ensue,  
 Trust woordes u as skilfull falkeners dooe trust haukes yat never flewe,  
 Trust dedes, let wordes bee woordes, which never wrought me gaine,  
 Let my experience make you wise, & let woordes u make fooles faine./.

finis.

- 1: Lett not the sluggish sleape,  
 Close vp thy wakinge eye,  
 Vntill w<sup>i</sup>th iudgment deepe,  
 Thy daylie deedes thou trie.
- 2: He which one sinne in conscience kepes,  
 when hee to quiet goes,  
 More venterous is then hee yat sleepes,  
 w<sup>i</sup>th twentie mortall foes.
- 3: wherefore at night call vnto minde,  
 howe thou the daye hast spent,  
 Praise god if nought amisse thou finde  
 If ought in time repent.
- 4: And sith thy bedde a paterne is,  
 of death & fatall hearse,  
 Bedward it shall not be amisse,  
 Thus to record in verse
- 5: My bedd is like ye grave so coulde,  
 & sleape which shutes mine eye  
 Resemble death: clothes which me folde,  
 Declare ye mouldes so drie.
- 6: The friskinge fleas resemble well  
 ye wringlinge worme to me,  
which with me in ye grave shall dwell  
 wheare I no light shall see:

|  
 7: The nightlie bell which I dooe heare,  
 As I in bed dooe lye,  
 ye passinge bell may seme tapere  
which soundes when I must dye.

8 The risinge in ye morne likewise,  
 when slepie night is past,  
 Puttes me in minde howe I shall rise  
 to iudgment at the last

9: I gooe to bed as to my grave,  
 God knowes when I shall wake,  
 But lord I trust thou wilt me save,  
 And me to mercie take

Finis

Man for thyne yll lyfe formerly  
 & for thine ill lyfe presently  
 let penitence penitently  
 declare good liffe consequently  
 as loving faythe may frutfully  
 bringe hope of end mercifully  
 by Chryst whose woundes most bledingly  
 wyne mercye most excedingly

For whose [n] sweate loue incessantly  
 tak no hard happe displeasantly  
 loke what thou sufferist rightfully  
 that sufferance take paciently //ito  
 and what thou sufferest wrongfully  
 that suffrance take reioycyngly  
 take ryght or wrong contentidlye  
 [man bere thi cros consentedlye]

And yf thy foes delyghtfully  
 show yll for good most spightfullye  
 show good for yll most wylllynglye  
 to showe godes woord fulfylynglye  
 thy foe fautyng offendynglye  
 wyn as thow mayst amendynglye  
 but in no wyse intenynglye

requite thy foe reuenglye

|

Bere all thyne enmyes quietlye  
 forgeue thyne enmyes hartelye  
 & axe forgeuenes humblye  
 where thou offendst offensyvelye  
 premeditate aduysedly  
 what troobles may fall folowynglye  
 lest troble towch the terreblye  
 by towchyng the to sodenly

Fancy not greues more dredfullye  
 then standth wyth reson nedefullye  
 yf mene greues towch but tenderlye  
 those greues can greve but slenderlye  
 yf mayne greues grype the gredelye  
 those greues ^ remoue them [must take in] spedylye  
 let comfort vanquysh cherefullye  
 faynt fancyes fallyng ferefullye

Syns welth & wo abydynglye  
 remayne not here but slydynglye  
 the wealth & wo ensuenglye

remaynyng aye renewynglye  
man pray for grace continuallye  
to pas from all paynes fynallye  
both erthly & infernally  
to heuenly ioyes eternallye

Finis quod Jhon heywood

nf

What hart can thynk or toong expres  
the harme that groweth of idlenes

This idleness in sum of vs  
is sene to seme a thyng but sleyght  
but yf that sum the summs disc [cvs] cus  
the totall sum doth show vs streyght  
this idlenes ^ [doth] ʃ[to] toʃ way such wayght  
that if no tounge [who] can ^ ʃwellʃ expres  
the harme that growght of idlenes

This vice I lyken to a weede  
that husband men haue named tyne  
the whych in corne doth roote or brede  
the grayne to grownd yt doth inclyne  
yt never rypyth but rottyth in fyne  
and euyne a lyke thing is to gesse  
agaynst all vertu idellnes

The proude man may be pacyent  
the irefull may be lyberall  
the glotonus may be continent  
the covetous may geve almes all  
the lecher may to prayer fall

ech vyce bydyth sum good busynes  
 saue only idle idlenes

|

As sum one [vyce] vertu may by grace  
 supresse of vyces <....> many one  
 so yis one [this] ^ [vyce] once taken place  
 distroyeth all vertues evrychone  
 Where this vyce cumth all vertues ar gone  
 for noe kynd of good busynes  
 can cumpany with idlenes

An yll wynd that blowth no man good  
 the blower of whych blast is she  
 the lyther lustes bred of her broode  
 can no way brede good propertye  
 wherfore I say as we now se  
 no hart can thynke or toong expres  
 the harme that growgth of idlenes

To clense the corne as men at nede  
 wede out all wedes & tyne for chefe  
 let dilygence our wedehooke weede  
 all vice from vs --- for lyke releefe

as fayth may faythfully show preefe

by faythfull frutefull busynes

to [wede out] ꝛwede <.> owtꝛ frutles idlenes

finis qd Jhon heywood

Long haue I bene a singyng man  
 & sondry partes oft haue I soong  
 but one part sins I fyrst began  
 I cowlde nor can syng old nor yong  
 the meane I mene whych part showth well  
 above all partes most to excell

The base & treble are extremes  
 the tenor standyth sturdely  
 the cownter rangyth then mesems  
 the mene must make our melodye  
 wherby the menes declaryth well  
 above all partes most to excell

Marke well the maner of the mene  
 & therby tyme & tune our songe  
 vnto the meane where all partes lene  
 all partes ar kept from syngyng wrong  
 thowghe syngyng men take this not well  
 yet doth the mene in thys excell

The mene in cumpas is so large  
 that evry parte must ioyne therto  
 yt hath an ore in evry barge  
 to syng to say to thynke to doe

of fall thes partes [w] this partes showth well  
 above all partes most to excell

|

To low to hye to lowde to softe  
 to few to many at a part  
 to swyft to slowe to sealde to oft  
 where imperfection woold pervart  
 there doth the mene approve ryght well  
 above all partes most to excell

The mene is so commodious  
 that sang we but that part alone  
 the mene is more melodious  
 then all those partes lackyng that one  
 wherby the mene comparyth well  
 among all partes most to excell

the mene in losse the mene in gayne  
 in welth or in adversytye  
 the mene in helth the mene in payne  
 the mene menyth allwayes equitye  
 this is the mene who menyth well

[above of] ^ of all ^ our partes most to excell

To me and myne with all the rest  
good god grant grace with hearty voyce  
to syng the mene that menyth best  
all partesin the best to reioyce  
whych mene in menyng menyth well  
the mene of menes that doth excell

John Redford

the fyrst song in the play of sience

Gyue place gyue place to honest recreacion  
 gyue place we say now for thy consolacion

When trauelles grete in matters thycke  
 haue duld your wyttes & made them sycke  
 what medson than your wyttes to quycke  
 yf ye wyll know the best phisycke  
 is to geue place to honest recreacion  
 gyue place we say now for thy consolacion

Where is that wyt that we seeke than  
 alas he lyeth here pale & wan  
 helpe hym at once now yf we can  
 o wyt how doost thou looke vp man  
 O wyt geue place to honest recreacion  
 gyue place we say now for thy consolacion

After place gyuyn let eare obay  
 gyue an eare o wyt now we the pray  
 gyue eare to that we syng & say  
 gyue an eare & healp wyll cum strayght away  
 gyue an eare to honest recreacion  
 gyue an ere now for thy consolacion

After eare gyuyn now gyue an eye  
 behold thy freendes abowte the lye  
 recreacion I / & comfort I  
 quicknes am I / & strength herebye  
 gyue an eye to honest recreacion  
 gyue an eye now for thy consolacion

|

After eye gyuyn an hand gyue ye  
 gyue an hand o wyt feele that ye see  
 recreacion feele feele comfort fre  
 feele quicknes here feale strength to the  
 gyue an hand to honest recreacion  
 gyue an hand now for thy consolacion

Vpon his feate woold god he were  
 to rayse hym now we neede not fere  
 stay you hys handes whyle we here bere  
 now all at once vpryght him rere  
 O wyt gyue place to honest recreacion  
 gyue place we say now for thy consolacion

finis

## the ij song

Exceedyng mesure wyth paynes continewall  
 Langueshyng in absens alas what shall I doe  
 infortunate wretch devoyde of ioyes all  
 syghes vpon syghes redooblyng my woe  
 & teres downe fallyng fro myne eyes toe  
 Bewty wyth truth so doth me constrayne  
 ever to serve where I may not attayne

Truth byndeth me ever to be true  
 how so that fortune faverth my chance  
 duryng my lyfe none other but [yow] yowe  
 of my tru hart shall have the gouernance  
 O good swete hart haue you remembrance  
 Now of yowr owne whych for no smart  
 Exyle shall yow fro my tru hart

finis

**b**

The thyrd song

Welcumu myne owne / Wellcumu myne owne

Wyt & his cum <u>u</u> panye	O ladye deere be ye so neere my hart yow cheere your <u>r</u> voyce to here	to be knowne  welcum <u>u</u> myne owne
Sience & hir cum <u>u</u> panye	As ye reioyse to here my voyce so in my choyce I show my voyce	fro me thus blowne  to be your <u>r</u> owne
Wyt & his com <u>u</u> panye	Then drawe we neere to see & heere where is my deere here I apeere	my love long growne  to see myne owne
Sience & hi[s]r cum <u>u</u> panye	To se & try your <u>r</u> love truly Lo here am I that ye may spie	till deth be flowne  I am your <u>r</u> owne
Wyt & his	Then let vs meete	halfe way heere throwne

cumpanye

my love so sweete

Siens & hir

I wyll not fleete

welcum myne owne

cumpanye

my love to greete

Wyt & his

welcum myne owne

cumpanye

All sing / welcum myne owne

finis

Where power with wyll can not agre  
 there wyll can not be satysfied  
 where thes too want equalytye  
 no vnytye can be aplyed  
 which in my sealf I haue espied  
 in that that power cannot fulfill  
 the faythfull menyng of my wyll

My wyll is to do that I owght  
 but powere therto cannot attayne  
 thus wyll to pas cannot be browght  
 as wyll to haue yt woold be fayne  
 yet wylling wyll shall styll remayne  
 thowhg powre be able in no wyse  
 my wylling wyll for to suffyse

Thus wyll I haue but powre I want  
 whych showld to wyll be healp at nede  
 syns [wyll] LpowerJ so far is discordante  
 from wyll) alas wyll can not speede  
 thowghe wyll deserue both thanke & meede

that want of powre then may I wa<sup>^</sup> 〔y〕 le

wherby good wyll can not prevayle

Finis quod John Redforde

All a grene wyllow.wyllow.w. w.

all a grene wyllow is my garland

Alas by what mene may I make ye to know

the vnkyndnes for kyndnes that to me doth growe

that wone who most kynd love on me shoold  $\lrcorner$ bestow $\lrcorner$

most vnkynd vnkyndnes to me. she doth show

for all a grene wyllow is my garland

To haue loue and hold loue wher loue is so sped

oh delycate foode to the louer so fed

from loue woon to loue lost wher louers be led

oh desperate dolor the louer is deade

for all a grene wyllow is his garland

She sayde she dyd loue me & woold loue me still

she sware above all men I had her good wyll

She sayde and she sware she woold my will fulfill

the promyse all good the performans all yll

for all a grene wyllow is my garland

Now wo wurth the wyllow & wo wurth the wyght

that wyndyth wyllow (space) wyllow garland to dyght

that dole delt in allmys is all amys quyght

wher lovers ar begers for all mys in syght

no lover doth beg for this wyllow garland

|

Of this wyllow garland the burden semth smale  
 but my brecke neck burden I may yt well call  
 lyke the sow of lede on my hed it doth fall  
 breke hed & breke necke / bark. bones. brayn. hart & all  
 all partes prest in peces

to yll for her thynk I best thinges may be had  
 to good for me thynkthe she thynges beyng most bad  
 all I do present her that may make her glad  
 all she dothe present me that may make me sad  
 this equyte have I with this wyllowe garland

Cowld I forget thee as thow canst forget ^ ʃmeʃ  
 that were my sownde fawlte which cannot nor shalbe  
 thowghe thow lyke the soryng hawlke evry way fle  
 I wylbe the turtle most stedfast ^ ʃstillʃ to the  
 & paciently were this grene wyllow garlan ʃdʃ

All ye that have had love & have my lyke ʃwongeʃ  
 my lyke truthe & paciens plante ^ ʃstillʃ yow among  
 when femynyne fancis for new love do long

old love can not howld themu new love is so strong

for all

finis quod Jhon heywood

Behowlde of pensyfnes the picture here in place  
 beholde myne eyes whose teres do moyst my paled face  
 beholde myne eres denyde of there desyrid solas  
 beholde my playntes of yll my morning hevy case  
 I dido quene of carthage cooste  
 for eneas love my lyfe hawe lost

my fame my love my sealf I gave into his hand  
 my kingdome & my welth at his owne heast did stand  
 yet promis nor desartes cowld binde his hart in trothe <sup>band</sup>  
 but fled alas fro me by nyght out of my land  
 forgettyng all respectes of trothe  
 he falste his honor & his othe

as the whyte swan dothe singe towardes her dieng day  
 & as the turtle tru her mone doth make alwaye  
 so I pore dido do my myseries here bewraye  
 & with my death my dolefull destiny display  
 o lawless love no hearbe is fownd  
 to salve the sore where thow dost woond

|

O worthy women all of hye and lowe degre  
 A merror / Dido make eneas love to fflee  
 trust not mens wordes [of] <sup>for</sup> teares  
 which most tymes deceptfull be  
 And ar alas the baytes that breedes our misserie  
 sufficeth ffor my love I die  
 that you may live and learne thereby

O rockie ruthlesse harte  
your owne withe spite to spill  
O curssed crewell men ^ how can you worke such ill  
^ O dolfull deepe dispaier  
ringe out my carefull ende knill  
welcome to me sweete death  
to me my grave / yt is my wyll  
I came of earth and wilbe thyne  
by trayne of hym whom I thought myne

ffinis Thomas Pridioxe

Aryse / Aryse / Aryse I say  
 aryse for shame yt ys fayre day

1. After mydnyght when dremes do fall  
 sumwhat before ye morning graye  
 me thowght a voyce yus dyd me kall  
 o lusty yowth aryse I say
  
2. O youth he sayd lyft vp yi hed  
 awake awake yt ys feyre day  
 how canst thow slepe or kepe thy bed  
 thys feyre morning aryse I say
  
3. The sonne is vp with hys bryght beames  
 as thoughe he wolde with the now fraye  
 & beate the vp out of thy dreames  
 to rayse the vp aryse I say
  
4. Hark how the byrdes all with wone voyce  
 of one concorde there cordes the kay  
 wythe joyfull tewnes the to Reiose  
 and chere the vp Arise I say
  
5. Beholde the fealde now in lyke foorme  
 ffurnisht with flowres both swete and gay  
 it saythe to thee thow slothfull woorme  
 cumw walke in me arise I say
  
6. The day the soone the byrd the fealde  
 syns all thes call thow lumpe of clay  
 unles shameles now be thy sheelde  
 for very shame aryse I say

## verte folium

|

7. with this me thowghte the voice reherste  
 hys wordes & sayde youthe I the praye  
 what meanth thys day and all the rest  
 that saythe to the arise I say
8. Truly thys day now to dysclose  
 is cristis fayth that long hyd lay  
 and now full fayre & clere it shouse  
 to rayse the vp Aryse I say
9. what is this sunn that shynith so brighte  
 the veri sunn of god no nay  
 whoose beames of grace be bent even /<sup>1</sup> ryghte  
 to beate the vp aryse I say
10. What are thes byrdes that so accorde  
 that eche swete corde eche ere woolde tay  
 truly tru prechers of the lord  
 at whos swete cordes Aryse I say
11. what is this fealde furnisht so fayre  
 with floweres so swet in ther araye  
 the word of god most swete of ayre  
 to walke therin Aryse I say
12. And se thow walk among thes flowres

---

<sup>1</sup> / appears to have been used to separate mistakenly joined words

not for to pastime jest and play  
 but reverently pressyng thy powres  
 from wanton pryde aryse I say

13. for [klarkes] ƿclarkesƿ ther hath bene many a wone  
 that in this feald them selves did slay  
 trusting to mucche them selves vpon  
 beware ther fall aryse I say

|

14. The surest way to walke is thys  
 meakely [to] ƿonƿ cristys church to stay  
 the lower thow walkest in hart sure is  
 the hyer thow shalt Aryse I saye
15. Now syns thow [b] nowst ƿbothƿ wher too walke  
 and how to walke thow knowst the waye  
 let age lye still as drye as chalke  
 and lustye iouthe arise I say
16. To this me thought doubting (space) the truthe  
 and lest this voice shoulde me betraye  
 I saide O voyce why more to youthe  
 than vnto age arise I saye
17. That [thinke] ƿthyngesƿ saide he I shall declare  
 this youthe & age now to bewraye  
 the Jwes and gentills suer yai are  
 now gese to whome arise I saye

18. The Jwe he is so olde & worne  
that speke to him in vaigne ye maye  
but thow youthe art newlye borne  
wherfore to the arise I saye
19. Sins christ thy lorde hathe chose thy stocke  
and lest his owne flocke go astraye  
now shew thy selfe a lovinge flocke  
and vnto christ arise I say
20. This saide I harde no more to tell  
but waked and seinge faire clere daye  
saide to my selfe these words might well  
be saide to me arise I saye

finis

verte folium

/ Now will you be merye(  
 and can you be merye  
 we praye you be merye  
 Merye, merye, merye ....  
 we praye you be merye.  
 merye, merye, . merye.  
 merye, merye, merye, merye

from christmas            Be as merye as you can  
 to ester                    so you maye please bothe god & man

from ester                Let us all now Joye & singe  
 to whytsontide            be merye all in christ risinge

1. Ofte hathe this songe bene put in vre  
 That honest myrthe dothe vertew allure  
 but now of mirthe who will be suer  
 he must begine at verture pure  
 for vertu bringithe these mirthe to man  
 In vertuouse mirthe be merye than
  
2. This vertuouse mirthe now to be gine  
 to men of faithe we speake here in  
 Is to feare god & fle frome sinne  
 which feare of god dothe wisdom wine

which wisdome bringe the all knowlage to / manu

In vertwe how to be merye than

3. Where wisdome ^ ƿrayneth & rulleth the hart [he] e.

man knowithe him selfe in everye parte.

God and his lawes with all thy harte.

Obyed of man syn to subvarte.

the daungerous dawnger vnto manu.

how can manu but be merye thanu.

|

4. Whan gods worde hathe put syne to flyght

In commethe cleane consyence shyninge bright

In whome manu fynde the so greate delyght

that she can naythar daye nor night

be absent frome the harte of man

how can manu but be merye than

5. Whan cleane consyence in harte [h]is sett

faith e ryseth vp & with owte let

saieth vnto man this howse is net

met to receyve a ƿgest [manu] reyght greate

what yf thy lorde whoulde ^ ƿvisett the manu

how ^ ƿcan man but be merye than

6. O faithe saithe manu what haste thow tolde  
 yf yat my howse w[h]ere made of golde.  
 and I mucche bettar a thowsande folde  
 yet so to thinke w[h]ere overu bolde  
 my lorde to vysett me wretched manu  
 but oh[e] (space) how mery showld I be than
7. ¶why<sup>7</sup> [whe] manu saithe faithe dost thow dowte me  
 no no saithe man I dowte not the  
 what dowghtest thow than saith faithe tell me  
 myne owne vn worthynes saithe he  
 despayre not manu saithe faithe to manu  
 no no saithe manu faithe gone were than

verte foliumu

|

8. As man and faythe be thus talkinge  
 in commethe suar hope to manu runnynge  
 O manu sayethe he thy lorde and kinge  
 senthe me to the to gyve warninge  
 this daye will he dyne with the manu  
 prepare now to be merye than
9. Make spede sayethe manu fayre consyence clere

with faythe & hope thow messingere  
 and ladye love cum all you nere  
 let all dylygence in you appere,  
 In welcummynge my lorde to man.  
 that we in hym be merye than.

10. Cleane conscyence saithe as I ever must  
 to trayne this howse is all my lust  
 Love saithe my dedes shall shew I trust  
 how my lordes presence I do thurste.  
 hope saithe then trust well dowte not man.  
 O man saythe faythe be merye than.

11. Man havinge now greate gostlye care  
 for his deare lorde well to prepare  
 his power to weake his wyll to declare  
 sodanlye a none or man be ware  
 oure lorde imbrasethe the harte of man  
 O man how arte thow merye than

|

12. Where man was late in carefull plighte  
 his lorde to see receyved ryght  
 now hathe he lost bothe tounge & myght

welcum my lorde he cryethe in sprite  
 for ioye no worde can pase fro man  
 In harte man is so merye than-----

13. How maye man thinke him selfe now blest

to se his Lorde becomme his gest  
 to lodge & kepe howse in hys brest  
 noe townge can tell that joyfull fest  
 that is betwene now god & man   
 man ys with god so mery than

14. Now man with mary takth good hede

what from hys lorde dothe here procede  
 hys holly woordes doo man so fede  
 that man in wysedome is now in dede  
 ye more lyke angell then lyke man  
 gret cawse hath man to be mery than

15. Man showth furth marthase dylygens

to chere hys gest in evry sens  
 hys gest dothe know by hys pretens  
 how glad he is of hys presens  
 for whych hym lykth to dwell with man  
 how can man but be mery than

verte folium

|

16. With gostly wysedome man thus fedde  
of gostly strength now is she spedd  
hys gostly foes vnder to treadd  
all gostly myrthe in hym is spredd  
no carefull care can now hurt man  
what man can not be mery than
17. Man sayth our lorde synce in good quarte  
thow art by me now, as thow art  
so show thy selfe in outward part  
therby thy brother to (space) conuart  
won man to wyn an other man  
that man wythe man be mery than
18. Man with zacheus then sayth he  
Lo lord even halfe my goodes fro me  
I geve to the pore for love of the  
man saythe our lord glad mayst thow be  
thys day is helth to thys howse of man  
o man how art thow merye than
19. man heryng this man is not scilent  
But with dew thankes and hart reverent

with peter & jhon he doth frequent  
 vnto the temple with prayer fervent  
 man talkthe with god & with man  
 In whom man is full merye than

|

20. Man now desyrth none other gayne  
 But as hys lordes dyscyples twayne  
 going to emawce dyd constrayne  
 ther lord to tary with them so fayne  
 so tary with me o lord sayth man  
 that we allway may be merye than

21. man sayth our lorde I am with the  
 vnto the worldes end I so decre  
 walke in my wayes & thow shalt be  
 never voyde of myrth but dwell with me  
 In endles myrth prepard for man  
 for ever to be merye (space) than

22. O gracious god what wordes be these  
 to [steere] [stere] folke of all degrees  
 to myrth in god wherby man sees  
 that endles myrthe shalbe hys fees

which myrth god grawnt vs every man

That we may all be merye than

finis quod Jhon redford

verte folium

## Jesus

1. Walkyng alone Ryght secretly  
 musyng on thynges late sene with eye  
 all sortes of peple yong & olde  
 sortyd in sortes as shalbe tolde  
 sum hye sum low sum ryche sum poore  
 sum lernd sum unlernd sum lesse sum more  
 sum hole sum sycke sum in such rate  
 as nothyng plesde with there estate
  
2. sodaynly me thowgte [a voyce dyd] ¶I hard a<sup>7</sup> sownd  
 that from the hevens dyd rebownde  
 a song yt semd sentens to frame  
 to evry sort that I cowld ame  
 which sownd or songe dyd both repreve  
 & generally allso [sentens] releve  
 but syngulerly the sentens ran  
 as ye shall here thus yt began
  
1. yf gyftes of grace in all tyme past  
 yf gyftes of grace in tyme present  
 yf gyftes of grace to cum at last  
 yf albe gyftes ryght excelent  
 yf all [my] ^ ¶which gyftes be geven and ment  
 to make the mynd thy lord so kynde / O man  
 Mynd well my gyftes & thanke me than  
  
 |
2. yf I made the to myne owne lyknes

yf reson wyll & (space) memorye  
 yf sowle & bodye lyfe & quiknes  
 yf thes to the be gyftes most hye  
 yf all my creatures els worldlye  
 vnlyke to the be made for the - O man  
 why thankst[y] not me thy maker than

3. yf thow were lost by adams syn  
 yf Ryghtwysenes condemd the quyte  
 yf adams syn damd all hys kyn  
 yf dethe were dew to the of ryghte  
 yf I of my mere mercye pyghte  
 bowghte the from deth by myne / owne / deth - O man  
 why thankse not [me] thy redemer than

4. yf thow hast (space) dayly gyftes of me  
 yf I geve thee gyftes naturall  
 yf I geve worldlye gyftes to the  
 yf I geve gyftes spyrytuall  
 yf thow deservest no gyfte at all  
 but geven of me frelye to the—O man  
 why thankst not me the gyver than

5. yf dyvers wayes my gyftes I plant  
 yf I geve the gyftes above other  
 yf I geve the that other want  
 yf I geve the gyftes for thy brother  
 yf all be gyvyn won for another  
 to helpe wyth mede where thow seyst nede - O man  
 as I geve the geve no other than

verte folium

|

6. yf I geve the gyftes grete & manye  
yf I to hy degree the kall  
yf I geve the cure over anye  
yf I geve the cure over all  
yf thow for all make / answer shall  
that I set the to kepe for mee—O man  
Remember where I set the than
  
7. yf I set the in low estate  
yf I geve the lest cause to boste  
yf I geve the gyftes in ech rate  
yf my lest gyfte [<.>] may make the moste  
yf paciens be a gyfte thow knowste  
of all to wyn the pryce therin—O man  
In / pacience be thow thankfull than
  
8. If I send the sycknes or healthe  
yf I send the plesure or payne  
yf I send the scarcnes or welthe  
yf I knowe best what is thy gayne  
yf for / the best I send all playne  
as thow shallt see by profe to thee / - O man  
take well all that I send the than
  
9. Synce these my gyftes thow dost achyve  
Synce of my gyftes thow canst none mysse  
Synce wyth my gyftes I the releve

Synce by my gyftes my love showde is

Synce for my gyftes I axe but thys

Thy<sup>1</sup> [my] love for [thyne] ^ [myne] to lyve in fyne—O man  
now love & lyve for ever than

fynis qd jhon redforde

---

<sup>1</sup> In left margin

1. Wher Ryghtwysnes doth say  
 Lorde for my synffull partes  
 In wrath thow showldest me paye  
 vengeance for my deseartes  
 I can it not denye  
 but nedes I must confes  
 how that contynuallye  
 thy lawes I doo transgres
  
2. But yf yt be thy wyll  
 with synners to contende  
 then all thy flok shall spyll  
 & be lost wyth out ende  
 for whoo lyvthe here so ryghte  
 that he can ryghtly saye  
 he synthe not in thy syghte  
 full oft [the] and evry day
  
3. Thy scrypture playne telth me  
 the ryghtwyse man offendes  
 seven tymes a day to the  
 wheron thy wrath depends  
 so that the ryghtwyse man  
 doth walke in no such pathe  
 But he falth now or than  
 In danger of thy wrath
  
4. Then synce the cace so standes  
 that even the man ryghtwyse  
 falth off in synful bandes  
 wherby thy wrath may ryse

Lorde I that am vnjust  
 & ryghtwysenes none have  
 wher to shall I then trust  
 my synfull sowle to save

verte folium

|

5. But only to the poste  
 wherto I cleve & shall  
 whyche is thy mercye moste  
 Lord let thy mercye fall  
 & mytygate thy moode  
 or els we peryshe all  
 the pryce of thys thy bloode  
 wherin mercye I call
  
6. Thy scrypture doth declare  
 no droppe of bloodd in the  
 but that thou [wy <.>] Ɔdydst Ɔ not spare  
 to shedd ech droppe for me  
 now let thos dropps most weete  
 so clense my hart most drye  
 that I wyth syn replete  
 my lyve & syn may dye
  
7. that being mortyfied  
 thys syn of myne in [the] me  
 I may be sanctyfied  
 by grace of thyne in [me] Ɔthe Ɔ  
 so that I never fall

into such dedlye syn  
 that my foes infernall  
 Reiose my dethe therin

8. But voutsafe me to kepe  
 from thos infernall foes  
 & from that lake so depe  
 wheras no mercye growes  
 & I shall syng the songes  
 confyrmed with the juste  
 that vnto the belonges  
 whyche art myne onlye truste

fynys qd master Redforde

In worldlye welthe for mans releafe

vertu & lernyng are the cheafe

1. well ys the man that dothe bestowe  
hys tyme in vertu here to spende  
for sure ther is no man dothe knowe  
exep<sup>t</sup>e the same he do attende  
what quietnes ther doth ensue  
to those that lerne & trade vertue
  
2. for sure these too the safegarde are  
wherby we pas the sturdye stremes  
& the grete stormes of worldly care  
for never cytees landes nor remes  
that can atayne prosperyte  
vnles these too regarded be
  
3. To vertu yet have thys respecte  
whos prayse is allway permanente  
for lerninge is of small effecte  
wher vertu is not resydent  
but wher they both are knit in place  
oh that man ys in happye case
  
4. sum onlye lerne for knowledge sake  
but that is kewriositye  
& sum for prayse grete paynes do take  
but that is foolyshe vanite  
sum lerne for gayne but lyghtly those  
do leve the texte & vse to glose

verte folium

|

5. Now all these sumes & all thys sorte  
 have lost ther labor & ther warke  
 for sum shotte wyde & sum shotte shorte  
 yet all in fyne do mys the marke  
 wherfore let vertue furst be plaste  
 or els is lernyng quighte dysgraste
  
6. thus maye ye evydentlye see  
 how lerninge joynde with vertuous lyfe  
 showld of ech man regardyd bee  
 for hyt hath thy prerogatyve  
 that god hym selfe do[s]the those imbrace  
 that trede the pathes of vertuse trace
  
7. Synce god & man dothe love that man  
 that studyeth to lyve vertuouslye  
 who wyll not styfflye labor than  
 to folowe vertue instantlye  
 When he therby shall sure obtayne  
 the joyes that ever shall remayne

fynys qd Jhon thorne

1. Be merye friendes take ye no thowghte  
for worldlye cares care ye ryght nowghte  
for who so dothe when all ys sowghte  
shall see that thowghte avaylethe nowghte  
be mery friendes
  
2. All suche as have all wealthe at wyll  
ther wylles at wyll for to fullfyll  
from greafe or grudge or anye yll  
I nede not syng thys them vntyll  
be merye friendes
  
3. but vnto suche as wyshe & wante  
of worldlye welthe wroghte them so scante  
thatwelthe by wurke they can not plante  
to them I syng at thys instante  
be mery friendes
  
4. And suche as when the rest seme nexte  
then by they strayte extremlye vexte  
& suche as be in stormes perplexe  
to those I syng thys shorte swete texte  
be mery friendes
  
5. To lawghe and wyn ech man agrees  
but eche man can not lawhe & lose  
yet lawhyng in the laste of these  
hathe bene alowde of sage decrees  
be merye friendes
  
6. Be merye wi<sup>th</sup> sorowe wyse men sayde

whyche saynge beynge wyselye wayde  
 yt seamyth a lesson lyvelye layde  
 In thys sayde sens to bee aneyde  
 Be merye friendes

verte folium

|

7. Make ye not too sorowes of wone  
 for of wone greefe graffedd alone  
 to graffe a sorowe ther vpon  
 a sowrer crabbe we canu graffe none  
 be merye friendes
  
8. Takyng our sorowes sorowfullye  
 Sorowe augmentythe our maladye  
 takyng our sorowes merylye  
 myrthe salvythe sorowes moste sowndlye  
 be merye friendes
  
9. Of greves to cum standyng in fraye  
 provyde defence the best we maye  
 whyche done no more to doo or saye  
 cum what cum shall cum care awaye  
 be merye friendes
  
10. In suche thynges as wee cannot flee  
 But neades they must abydden bee  
 Let contentashyn be decree  
 make vertue of nessesytee

be merye frendes

11. To lakke or lose that we woolde wyn  
 so that our fawte be not therein  
 what wo or wante end or begynne  
 take never sorowe but for syne  
 be merye frendes

12. In los of freendes In lakke of healthe  
 in los of goodes in lakke of [healthe] welthe  
 wher lybertee restraynte expelthe  
 wher all thes lake yet as thys telthe  
 be mery frendes

|

yf love for love of longe tyme had  
 may joyne with joy & care hence cast  
 then may remembrance make me glade  
 dayes weekes yeeres in sorrowes past

13. Man hardly hath a rycher thyng  
 then honest myrth the whyche well spryng  
 watryth thee rootes of reioysyng  
 feedyng the flowers of flooryshyng  
 be mery frendes

14. Bee meery in god / saynt powle sayth playne  
 & yet saythe he be mery agayne  
 synce whose advyce is not in vayne  
 the feet therof to entertayne

be mery freendes

fynis qd master haywood

1. yf love for love / of long tyme had  
 may joyne with joy & care hens cast  
 then may remembrans / make me glad  
 dayes / weekes / & yeares in all tyme past  
 my love hath lovyd me so loovyngly  
 & I wyll love her as trewlye

2. And as we twayne have lovd & doo  
 so be we fyxyd to love evyn styll  
 the lawe of love hath made vs too  
 to wurk to wylles in wone wyll  
 my love wyll love me so loovyngly  
 & I wyll love her as trewlye

verte folium

|

3. ye lovers all in present place  
 that long for love contynuall  
 I wysh to you lyke plesant case  
 as ye perseve by me doth fall  
 & yours to love as lovyngly

Fynis qd master haywood

1. O lord whych art in hevyn on hye  
 & seest the synnes of synners all  
 for grace o lord to the I crye  
 withowt the whych perysh I shall  
 o here me lord & grawnt mercye
  
2. my syns o lord I can not hyde  
 from thy presens therefore I crave  
 thy grace in erth to be my guide  
 that thow my synfull sowle mayst save  
 o here my lord & grant mercye
  
3. no ryghtwysenes in mee doth rayne  
 but synne I knowe & wyckednes  
 vnles thy grace I doo obtayne  
 dew vnto mee is deth endles  
 o here me lord & grant mercye
  
4. from thy justis /
5. suffer not me thy creature  
 o lord to peryshe in thy syghte  
 thowe canst make clene that is vnpure  
 clense me o lord a wofull wyght  
 o here me lord & grant mercye
  
6. alas good lord yf I contende  
 by thy justyce my wurkes to trye  
 then am I damned wythout end  
 fro thy presence eternallye  
 o [lord] heere me lord & grant mercye

|

7. O lord what would it profyt the  
 that thou made me to thyne owne lyknes  
 yf I shoold now condemned be  
 to hell for myne owne wyckednes  
 o here me lord & grante mercye

8. o lord syth grace so needfull ys  
 to mee poore wretch with syn infect  
 Let thy mercye excede justyce  
 that I may be thyne owne elect  
 o here me lord & grant mercye

9. But yet o lord in thye I trust  
 that as thou hast created mee  
 I confessyng my synne vniust  
 thou wylt not cast me of from the  
 o here me lord & grant mercye

finis quod myles huggard

10. from thi iustice Lord I apele  
 no sinner in thy syght can stand  
 but thy mercy my sowle may hele  
 the whych I craue lord at thy hand  
 o here

verte folium

1. Men most desyre / as most men most tymes see  
to banyshe bondage / & at lybertee to bee
  
2. men take lybertee to man as thyng most plesant /  
whych tale to bee true / wee agree to grante  
in case that wee our lyberte do vse  
embracyng vertu & vyce cleerly refuse
  
3. But yf wee wyll / abuse our lybertee  
then lybertee is meane to bryng captyvytee
  
4. So that lybertee yll vsyd or vnderstonde  
is onlye the thyng that makthe free men bonde  
/ as hath bene seene in folke of all degrees  
and dayly is seene / whych syghte ech wyse man sees
  
5. Thys danger done / who wyll lerne to eshewe  
marke well thys lesson / that after doth ensue
  
6. synce our lyberte vse / makthe good & yll  
& that lybertee wee wyll desyre styll  
wysh we to vse lyberte in eche thyng  
as standeth with the lawes of god & our kyng

fynis

1. who shall profoundlye way & scan  
the vnassured / state of man  
shall well perseve by reson than  
that where is no stablytee  
all is subiect to vanitee  
  
now mortall man behold & see  
this world is but a vanite
  
2. yf thow be kyng or emperowre  
prynce ether lord / of myghte & powre  
thy poore subiectes doo not devowre  
beware of pryde & cruelte  
lose not thy fame for vanite
  
3. yf thow be set to do justice                    a  
regard vertu & poonysh vyce                    tat ABBR  
o pres no man I the advyce  
abuse not thyne auctorytee  
to vexe poore men for vanite
  
4. r yf thow have landes and goodes grete store  
consider then they charge is more  
synce thow must make acownt therefore  
they are not thyne but lent to the  
& yet they are but vanitee
  
5. but yf thow fortune to be poore  
so that thow go fro dore to dore

humbly geve thankes to god therefore  
 & thankes in thine aduersite  
 this world & c

6. but yf thow have mens sowles in cure  
 thy charge is grete I the ensure  
 in word & deed thow must be pure  
 all vertu must abownd in the  
 thow must exchew all vanyte
  
7. then since ye do perseve right dere  
 that all is vayne as doth apeere  
 lerne to bestow while art here  
 your wyt your landes your fees  
 lerne to bestow thes vanitees
  
8. yf thow be stronge or fayre of face  
 syknes or age doth both disgrace  
 then be not prowde in any case  
 for how can ther more foly bee  
 then to be prowde of vanite
  
9. now fynallye be not infect  
 with worly cares but have respecte  
 how god rewardth hys tru electe  
with most perfyt felycytee  
 fre from all worldly vanite  
 now mortall man behold & see  
 thys world is but a vanytee

fynis qd mr thorne

ye be welcum / ye be wellcum

ye be wellcum won by wone ://:

ye be hartely wellcum /://:

ye be hartely wellcum evrychone /://

1. When freendes lyke freendes / do frendlye showe  
vnto ech other hye or low  
what cheere encrece of love doth growe  
what better cheere then they to [showe] knowe  
    thys is welcum  
to bread or drynke / to flesh or fyshe  
yet wellcum is the best dyshh
  
2. In all our faree / in all our cheere  
of deintye metes sowght far or nere  
most fyne most costyle to apeere  
what for all thys yf all thys geere  
    lak thys welcum  
thys cheere lo is not wurth won ryshe  
for welcum is the best dyshe
  
3. where welcum is thowgh fare be smalle  
yet honest hartes be plese with all  
where wellcum wanthe thowghe grete fare fall  
no honest hart content it shall  
    wythout wellcum  
for honest hartes do ever wyshe  
to have wellcum to the best dyshe
  
4. sum with small fare be not plesde

sum with much fare be much dyssesde  
sum with mene fare be scant apesde  
 but of all sums none is dysplesde  
     to be wellcum  
 [wherfore all doubtes to relinquishe]  
 then all good chere to acomplyshe  
 wellcum must be the best dyshe

|

5. yet sum to thys wyll say that they  
     without wellcum with mete <.....> maye  
     & wyth welcum without meate naye  
     wherfore mete seemth best dysh thay saye  
         & not wellcum  
     but thys vayne sayng to banishe  
     we wyll proove wellcum here best dyshe
  
6. Thowgh in sum case for mannes releafe  
     meate without wellcum may be cheafe  
     yet where men cum as here in preefe  
     much more for love then hoongers greafe  
         here is wellcum  
     thorowhe all the chere to furnyshe  
     here is wellcum the best dyshe
  
7. what is thys wellcum now to tell  
     ye are wellcum ye are cum well  
     as hart can wysh youre cummyng fell  
     your cummyng gladth my hart ech dell  
         thys is wellcum

wherfore all dowtes to relynquishe  
 youre wellcum is ^ [your] best dyshe

8. Now as we have in woordes here spent  
 declard the fecte of wellcum ment  
 so pray we you to take thentent  
 of thys poore dyshe that wee present  
 to youre wellcum  
 as hartely as hart can wysh  
 your wellcum ys here youre best dyshe

fynis qd jhon haywood

verte folium

Gar call hym downe	gar kall hym downe downe ey
gar kall hym downe	
god send the faccion	kall downe & cast away
of all detraccion	

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Allmyghty god      | of Justys on all those                    |
| doth shake hys rod    |   |
| that vniustlye        | detract ther freendes or foes             |
| detractively          |   |
| 2. he telth ech wone  | & yf thow judge vnbydden                  |
| thow shalt judge none |   |
| thy selfe sayth he    | thys lesson is not hydden                 |
| shall judged be       |   |
| 3. To thys now sturd  | wh <sup>ic</sup> h wyth vs in ech dowghte |
| thys is concurde      |   |
| to deme the best      | tyll tyme the trothe trye out             |
| that may be gest /    |   |
| 4. knowyng by thys    | agaynst no man we may                     |
| that thynke amys      |   |
| much more must we     | & call hyt downe downe ey                 |
| ill language flee     |   |
| gar call hym downe    |   |



we show our bost

11. If I in the as no man els doth knowe  
 such fawtes once see  
 to the alone those fawtes I owght to showe  
 & other none

12. Then of intent falce tales & them dysplaye  
 yf I invent  
 that is most vyle god kalthe yt downe downe eye  
 whyche to excyle

verte folium

|

13. sum cownt no charge such yll as they doo here  
 to talk at large  
 but godes accownt to take such talkers cleere  
 doth not amownt

14. of work ill wrowghte in tellyng foorth the same  
 when we here owghte  
 though it be true drynke of damnable blame  
 the talke may brue

15. to frame excuse we have no maner meane  
 for toonges mysuse  
 so that by this yll tales to cary cleene  
 no way ther is

16. whych makth me call as calyng call you may

vpon you all  
 tales falce or trew                      to kall them downe downe ey  
 meete to eschewe

gar call hym

17. sklander to feare                      thys text standth well in place  
 or to forbear  
 wo be the toong                      sklander in any case  
 whereby is sproong
18. Cryst cryth owt styll                      but we say harne for harne  
 say good for yll  
 ye yll for good                      wrath is in them so warme  
 yll toonges do brood
19. to sleke thys fyre                      repentance must devyse  
 of sklanders yre  
 to set all handes                      wyth water of our eies  
 to quench the brandes
20. whych brandes then blowe                      or grace by grace may stay  
 to make them glowe  
 & by resort                      call sklander downe I say  
 of good report

fynis qd jhon heywood

Man yf thow mynd heven to obtayne  
 bere no males to no wyghte humayne

1. who ever thow hate is good or yll  
 yf he be good hate showth the nowght  
 yf he be yll & yll shalbe styll  
 wherby at end he hath so wrowght  
 that to damnacion he bee browght  
 then charyte showth much more reson  
 to pitye hys payne then malyngne hys parson  
 man yf thow
  
2. If he be nowght to whom thow art foe  
 & shall here after so amend  
 that he be savid & thow allso  
 then shall he love the tyme without end  
 then why showldes thow thys tyme pretend  
 in mallys towardes his to <perseuer...w>  
 that shall here affter love the for ever  
 man yf thow
  
3. By this thow mayst in reson see  
 to hate the good is wrechednes  
 to hate the yll lakkyth charite  
 to good or yll then bere no malles  
 but love the good for ther goodnes  
 & for the ill continuallye  
 pray for amendment lovyngly  
 man yf

4. Sum wyll perchans obiecte to thys  
 that good folke wyth good consciens may  
 wyssh harme to hym that harmfull is  
 wherby the harm (space) les may allway  
 vnharmed be in quiet stay  
 but of this roote the branches are  
 far over long now to declare  
 man yf thow

verte folium

|

5. But for breafe end by myne assent  
 all such as be of mene degree  
 desyre or devise of ponishment  
 let vs remyt to those that be  
 joyned therto by auctorytee  
 whos wysdooms do by grace attend  
 to poonysh the yll & the good defend  
 man yf thow

6. And where we suppose ani man in hart  
 to bee any wurse wee woold he were  
 let vs I say set malles apart  
 & loovynly fall we to prayer  
 for hys amendment in thys maner  
 as by our owne fawte we see in deede  
 our owne amendment of prayer hath neade  
 man yf thow fynis qd jhon haywoode

1. yt hath beene oft both sayde & soonge  
 take heede what woordes do pas the toonge  
 but now say we / to olde & yonge  
 take heede what thowghtes in harte ar sproonge  
 for of all partes cownt every parte  
 no parte comparth to a faythfull harte
  
2. The toong is but an Instrument  
 onlye to show the hartes entent  
 except the hart doo fyrst consent  
 what good or yll can toong invent  
 synce in the toonge lyth not that parte  
 be sure to keepe a faythfull hart
  
3. for as the harte is good or yll  
 so by ^ [the] toong apeere yt wyll  
 yf the hart be good tong good wyll styll  
 yf the hart be yll toong sure wyll kyll  
 thus yf the hart rule toong ech parte  
 be sure to keepe a faythfull harte  
  
 |
  
4. yet sumtyme toonges full fayre can glyde  
 when hartes full falce from toonges be wyde  
 but what so ever hartes do hyde  
 by toonges at length it wylbe spyed  
 then is not toong the surest part  
 wherefore keepe sure a faythfull hart
  
5. how oft see wee now in our dayes  
 toonges thowght most sure prove vnsure stayes

by wyne or yre or other wayes  
 the clocest hart the toong bewrayes  
 synce dayle playde we see thys parte  
 be sure to keepe a faythfull hart

6. then synce our toonges be nothyng sure  
 except our hartes all pure endure  
 and that our hartes beeing all pure  
 our toonges can put none yll in vre  
 then be wee sure the surest parte  
 ys to keepe sure a faythfull hart
7. whych faythfull hartes god grawnt to spryng  
 in vs and all the hartes lyvyng  
 but specialy now let vs syng  
 fyrst vnto god & next our kynge  
 as we be bowne in thes owr partes  
 god grawnt vs all good faythfull hartes  
     good faythfull hartes  
     fynis qd master knyght

## **Appendix B.**

### **Musical Contents of BL Add. MS 15233**

## Music

MS 15233 contains twenty pages of music, all of which has been identified as the work of John Redford by reference to other manuscript sources. The music contains few titles and a number of deletions, and is not easy to identify. The notation of the music shows that the scribe almost certainly drew from at least two earlier collections, since folios 1–8 have four seven line staves per page, whilst folios 9–10<sup>v</sup> have two twelve line staves per page.<sup>1</sup> In 1934, Carl Pfatteicher produced a brief biographical study of Redford and an edition of his music.<sup>2</sup> Pfatteicher's work contains a table of pieces from MS 15233, but his foliation is confusing, and slightly misleading. The work as a whole has also been discredited to some extent.<sup>3</sup> This chapter therefore contains a revised table of the musical content of MS 15233, and where other manuscript versions of these pieces may be found.

### Contents

Folio no. in MS 15233	Item <sup>4</sup>	Appearance in Other MSS <sup>5</sup>
(1) h <sup>r</sup>	Glorificamus Eterne rerum conditor	Mulliner fol. 58 <sup>v</sup>
(1) h <sup>v</sup>	Eterne rerum conditor Primo dierum	BL Add. MS 29996 ff.11 <sup>v</sup> , 18
(1) i <sup>r</sup>	Ad cenam agni provide	
(1) i <sup>v</sup>	Ad cenam agni provide Te Deum	Mulliner fol. .61 <sup>v</sup>
(1) k <sup>r</sup>	Sanctus (Te Deum)	

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Page, 'Uniform and Catholic, Church Music in the Reign of Mary Tudor (1553–1558)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1996), p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> Carl Pfatteicher, *John Redford: Organist and Almoner of St. Paul's Cathedral in the Reign of Henry VIII*, 2 vols (1934).

<sup>3</sup> Willi Apel and Hans Tischler, *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700*, repr. (Indiana University Press, 1997), p. 787.

<sup>4</sup> My own examination.

<sup>5</sup> References taken from Page, p. 352.

(1) k<sup>v</sup> Te Deum

(1) l<sup>r</sup> Te Deum

(1) l<sup>v</sup> Te Deum

Stub

(1) m<sup>r</sup> Te Deum

(1) m<sup>v</sup> Te Deum

(1) n<sup>r</sup> Te Deum

Felix namque

BL Add. MS 29996  
fol. 42

(1) n<sup>v</sup> Felix namque

(1) o<sup>r</sup> Felix namque

Conditor alme siderum

(1) o<sup>v</sup> Conditor alme siderum

(1) p<sup>r</sup> Conditor alme siderum

(1) p<sup>v</sup> Te Deum; Sanctus

BL Add. MS 29996  
fol. 20<sup>v</sup>

Tui sunt celi

(1) q<sup>r</sup> Missing

(1) q<sup>v</sup> Missing

(1) r<sup>r</sup> Missing

(1) r<sup>v</sup> Missing

(1) s<sup>r</sup> Tui sunt celi

Christ Church MS  
1034 A fol. 3

(1) s<sup>v</sup> Tui sunt celi

(1) t<sup>r</sup> Tui sunt celi

## Significant Musical MSS Related to MS 15233

### The Mulliner Book (BL Add. MS 30513)

The Mulliner Book (hereafter M) is one of the most important sources of sixteenth-century music. Almost nothing is known about Thomas Mulliner. A Mulliner or Mullyner was employed as a clerk in the choir of Magdalen College, Oxford, during 1557–8, while a Thomas Mulliner held a similar position at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, during 1563–4, having been appointed as ‘organorum modulator’ on 3 March 1563. It is very likely that the latter musician (if the two were not in fact identical) was also the owner and copyist of MS 30513.<sup>6</sup> The contents of M was most probably copied at some stage between the late 1540’s and the mid 1560’s, and its content reflects an unrivalled range of types of music from the period.<sup>7</sup> Apart from BL Add. MS 29996 (see below), M contains the most complete collection of John Redford’s organ work, a total of twenty-three pieces definitely attributed, and another twelve which are thought to be his. M54 (*Glorificamus*) and M59–62 (*Tibi omnes, Te per orbem terrarium, Tu ad liberandum and Salvum fac*) are also found in the opening sections of MS 15233, the last group forming part of the setting of the *Te Deum*.<sup>8</sup> M also contains the music to three songs attributed to Richard Edwards; *In going to my naked bed, Where griping grief* and *O the silly man*.

### BL Add. MS 29996

This manuscript is also a composite volume, containing works ranging from the early part of the sixteenth century through to Byrd and Tomkins. Only the music contained in ff.1–69 has concordances with the early Tudor group to which Redford belonged.<sup>9</sup> This early section of the volume contains the largest collection of organ music by Redford, as well as music by John Thorne. The manuscript also contains music which occurs in M; 7, 31, 47, 53, 66.

<sup>6</sup> John Caldwell, ‘Thomas Mulliner’, *ODNB*.

<sup>7</sup> Denis Stevens, *The Mulliner Book: A Commentary* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1952), p. 18. Stevens lists the various dates assigned to the MS by other scholars.

<sup>8</sup> Stevens, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Stevens, p. 14.

**BL Add. MS 4900**

Contains a setting for voice and lute of Heywood's poem, *What heart can think* (fol.59) and three pieces of music from M; 35, 84, 110.

***Tristitiae remedium* (BL Add. MSS 29372–5)**

A set of part books containing the only known musical setting of *Nolo Mortem Peccatoris*. Written out by Thomas Myriell (his identity is contentious, but he was most likely the rector of the church of St. Stephen Walbrook in London) in 1616, the books bear the title *Tristitiae remedium* (*A Cure for Sadness*). No composer's name is associated with this work in the music manuscript, but Morley is cited as the composer of the preceding piece. This omission, combined with the slightly antiquated idiom of the music has cast doubts over its authorship.<sup>10</sup>

**The Gyffard Partbooks (BL Add. MSS 17802–5)**

Although not directly linked to MS 15233, the manuscript contains works attributed to Redford and Master Knyght.

**The Dallis Book (Trinity College, Dublin, MS D. 3.30, 204–7)**

Dated at Cambridge 1583, the book contains lute settings for Edwards's poem, *Fair words make fools fain*, ascribed to 'Mr Parsons' (possibly Robert Parsons (1530–1570), a version of Desdemona's *Willow Song*, and a version of the popular ballad, *The hunt ys up*, another version of which occurs in MS 15233.

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<sup>10</sup> John Milsom, "Songs, Carols and Contrafacta' in the Early History of the Tudor Anthem", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* (1980), p. 43.

**The Swarland Book (BL Add. MS 15117)**

BL Add. MS 15117 is on paper dated between 1614 and 1616, but contains a collection of religious and secular music, some of which was written more than fifty years previously.<sup>11</sup> This manuscript also contains Desdemona's *Willow Song*, music from Edwards's play *Damon and Pythias*, and a lute setting for his poem, *Fair words make fools fain*.

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<sup>11</sup> Ros King, *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 245.

## **Appendix C.**

### **Diplomatic Transcriptions**

**Versions of Poems and Song Lyrics from BL Add. MS 15233**

**From Other Manuscript Sources**

Trinity College Dublin, MS 160, (D.27), fol. 81.

Comforthe at hand pluck vp they harte

Lok lowe se where hit doth stand

pluck vp they hart

Synes the redresse of all they smart

douth Ley soo good a hand

Pluck vp they harte whey d <.....> thow soo

so sayde I my thought

comforth at hand

and frome the hile I loked Loo

and with my <....> I sought

Comeforthe at hand my <....> hath found

my thought therefore be glade

pluck vp thy hart

yf she be there may hele they wounde

Whey shuldeys<....> thou then be sad

Pluck vp they hart & mornynge may

doth gett noo good by woo

comeforth at hand

by glad alway for whoo soo can

shall fynd wher soo he yoo

Comeforth at hand yoo seecke and fynd

Loke yf there be redresse

pluck vp thy hart

yf not abyde a better wynd

In soo hope of <.....>

**Cambridge University Library MS Ee.1.12, fol. 47.**

Hæc sunt verba Salvatoris:

Nolo mortem peccatoris.

Have mind for thee how I was born,  
How with scourges my flesh was torn,  
And how I was crowned with thorn;  
Nolo mortem peccatoris.

Have mind also how low I light  
Into a maid so pure and bright,  
Taking mercy, leaving my might;  
Nolo mortem peccatoris.

Think how meekly I took the field,  
Upon my back bearing my shield;  
For pain nor death I would not yield:  
Nolo mortem peccatoris.

Lift up thy heart now, man, and see  
What I have done and do for thee;  
If thou be lost, blame thou not me:  
Nolo mortem peccatoris.

**St. John's College, Cambridge, MS S.54, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>**

Father, my will it is:

Nolo mortem peccatoris.

Father, I am thine own child

And born of Mary meek and mild;

Father, now my will it is:

Nolo mortem peccatoris.

My heart is sore when I bethink

And see men trespass and in sin sink;

For all that is done amiss:

Nolo mortem peccatoris.

Thou false fiend, with all thy slent,

Y'will no more mankind be shent;

Of him thou getst no right, iwys:

Nolo mortem peccatoris.

Now make we both joy and mirth

In worship of Christ's own birth.

This is God's own word, iwys:

Nolo mortem peccatoris.

### Arundel Harington Manuscript <sup>1</sup>

In youthfull yeares when first my yonge desyres beganne  
 to pricke me foorth to serve in Court, a slender tall yong  
 man  
 my ffathers blessing then I ask'd vppon my knee  
 Whoe blessing me w<sup>ith</sup> trembling hand, these words  
 gan say to me  
 My Sonne god guyde thie wayes, and shield the from  
 mischaunce  
 and make thie iust desertes in Courte, a poore estate  
 t'advantage  
 but when thow art become one of the Courtly trayne  
 thinck on this proverb olde, quod he, that faire wordes make  
 fooles fayne

This Counsell gravely geven, most straunge appear'd  
 to me  
 till tractt of tyme w<sup>ith</sup> open eye, had made me playnly see  
 what subtill sleightes are wrought, by painted tales device  
 when hollow hartes w<sup>ith</sup> ffrendly shewes, the symple do  
 entice  
 to thinck all golde that shynes, to feede their fond  
 desyre  
 Whose shyuering colde warmed w<sup>ith</sup> smoke, in steede of  
 flamyng fyre  
 Sith talke of tickle trust, doth breed a hope most vayne  
 thys proverb olde by prooffe I fynde, that faire wordes  
 make fooles faine

---

<sup>1</sup> The transcription of this manuscript poem was taken from *The Arundel Harington MS of Tudor Poetry*, ed. by Ruth Willard Hughey, 2 vols (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960).

ffaire wordes alwaies do well, where deedes ensue fair  
wordes

ffaire speeche againe doth alway ill, that busshes gives  
for burdes

Whoe happ to have faire wordes, to trie his luckie lott  
yf I may counsell, lett hym stryke while the Iron is hott  
but they that feede on cloddes, in steede of pleasant  
grapes

and after warning often geven, for better luck still gapes  
ffull lothe I ame yet must I [tell] needs tell them in  
few wordes playne

this proverb olde by profe I fynde, that faire wordes  
make fooles fayne

Woe worth the tyme that wordes, so slowly proves to  
deedes

Woe worth the tyme that faire sweete flowres, are turn'd  
to rotton weedes

But thryse woe worth the tyme, that truth away is fledd  
Wherin I see how symple hartes, w<sup>i</sup>th wordes are vaynlye  
fedd

trust no faire words therefore, where no deedes do ensue  
trust wordes as \Skilfull ffawlkeners doe, trust hawkes  
that never flewe

trust deedes lett wordes be wordes, that never wrought  
no gayne

Lett myne experience make thee wise, ffor faire wordes  
make fooles faine/.

ffinis

**Bodleian Library, MS Gough (Norfolk) 43, fol. 37**

Let not thy sluggysshe sleepe. Close up thye wakeinge eye.

Vntill with judgemente deepe, thye dayly dedes thow trye,

He that one synne in Conscience kepes, when he to quyet goes.

more venterous is then he, whiche slepes with twentye mortall foes

Whearefor at nighte call vnto mynde, how thow the daye hast spente

prayse god if nawght amysse thow ffynde, if owght betyme repente,

And synce thy bed a patterne is, of deathe and fatall herse,

bedwarde it shall not be amysse, thus to recorde in verse.

The stretching armes and yawning breathe, that I to bedwarde vse,

Are patternes of the panges of death, when lief must me refuse,

the nightly bell which I heare sownde as I am layed in bed.

Foreshewes the bell whiche me to grownde shall ringe when I am deade

My bed is lyke the grave so cowlde, and sleepe whiche shettes myne eye

resemblethe deathe clothes whiche me ffould declares ye movld so drye

the ffriskeing fleas resemble well, the wriggelyn wormes to come

whiche in the grave with me shall dwell, wheare I no light shall see,

the wakeing Cock that earelye crowes, to weare the night awaye

puttes me in mynde the trumpe that blowes, before the latter daye.

The splendente sonne, whose goulden raye, no eye can <.....> to see

declarithe howe in that dredefull daye god shall appeare to me.

The rysinge in the morne lykewyse when slepye night is paste.

puttes me in mynde that I shall ryse, to Judgement at the laste.

I go to bed as to my grave, god knowes when I shall wake.

But lorde I truste thowe wylte me save, and me to mercye take.

thus will I wake, thus will I sleepe, thus will I hope to ryse.

thus will I neyther wayle nor weepe. But singe in godlye wyse.

**British Library, Cotton MS, Vespasian Axxv, fol. 141<sup>v</sup>**

Longe have I bene a singinge man /  
 and sundrie partes ofte I have songe /  
 yet one parte since I first began /  
 I colde nor can singe olde nor yonge /  
 the meane I mene which parte showthe well /  
 where all partes moste to excel. /

The base and Treble are extremes  
 the Tenor standethe sturdellie /  
 the counter reignethe then me semes /  
 the meane muste make our melodie /  
 This is the meane who meanthe it well /  
 The parte of parts that dothe excell /.

Of all our partes if anye farre /  
 blame not the meane beinge songe trewe  
 the meane must make it maye not marre /  
 lackinge the meane [y <...>] ʃourʃ mirthe adewe

Thus showthe the meane not meanelie well  
 yet dothe the meane in this excel. /  
 marke well the mannour of the meane /  
 and therbie tyme and tune your songe /  
 onto the meane where all partes are leane /  
 all partes are kepte from singing wronge /

though singemen take this not well.  
yet dothe the meane in this excell.

The meane in compasse is so large  
that everye parte must ioyne therto /  
it hathe an oer in everie barge /  
to saye ¶to singe¶ to thinke to do /  
of all thes partes no partes dothe well /  
withoute the meane which dothe excell.

To highe to lowe to loude to softe /  
to fewe to manie at a parte alone /  
the meane is more melodious /  
then <..> partes lackinge that one /  
wherbie the meane comparethe well /  
amonge all partes most to excell /

The meane in losse the meane in gaine /  
in welthe or in adversitie  
the meane in healthe the meane in paine /  
the meane meanethe alwaies equitie  
the meane thus ment <....> full well  
of all <...> partes most to excel

To me and myne withe all the reste /  
good Lorde graunte grace withe hartie voi<ce>  
to singe the meane [the] ye meanethe bes<t>

all partes in the best for to reioyse

which meane in meaninge meanethe well

the meane of meanes that dothe exc<el>

finis master haywoode

**Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 48, fol. 21<sup>v</sup>**

After mydnyght when dremes dothe fawll  
sumwhat before the mornyngr <eve?>  
 me thowght a voycce thus dyd me cawle  
 o lustye youthe aryes I say

O youthe he sayd lyfte vpe thy heade  
 awake awake yt ys fayer daye  
 howe canst thou slepe or kepe thy bed  
 thys fayr mornyngr aryes I say

The sonne is vp with hys bryght beames  
 as thowghe he wold with the no fray  
 and beat the vpe owt of thy dremes  
 and risse the vpe aryes I say

Hark how the byerdes all with on voyce  
 wythe one concorde the <ire?> coordes they kay  
 wythe joyfull tewnes the to rejoyce  
 and <chere?> the vpe aryes I say

Behowlde the fe<.> n<.> in lyke forom  
 furnyshd with flowres both swet <and gay?>  
 yt saythe to the thowe slothefull woorme  
 cum walke in me aryes I say

the day the sonne ye byrd ye feld  
 syns all this cawll thow lumpe of clay  
 unlesse shamlesse now be thy sheld  
 for veye shame aryes I say

with thys me thowght ye voyce reherst

thes wordes and sayd youthe I the pray  
 what means thys day and all ye rest  
 that sayd to the aryes I say

truly thys day nowe to dysclos  
 of crystys faythe yt longe hyd lay  
 and now fulle clear and fayr yt shos  
 to reasse the vpe aryes I say

what ys thys sonne that shynythe so bryght  
 the very sonne of god no nay  
 whos beames of grace be bent & avry ryght  
 to reasse the vpe aryes I say

what ys thys sonne that shynythe so bright  
 the verye sone of gode no nay  
 whos bemes of grace be bent & alwy  
 to reasse the vpe aryes I say

what be thes byrdes that thus accord  
 that ther swett cordes yche & ar wold tay  
 trulye true prechers of the lord  
 at whos swet cordes aryes I say

and se thowe walke amonst thes flowers  
 not for to pastyme to jeast and play  
 but reverently suppres thy powres  
 from wantonly pryde arys I say

for grett clarkes ther hathe byne m <on?>  
 then in thys feld themeselves dyd slay  
 trustynge to moche themselves vpon  
 beware ther fawll arys I say

now syns thowe knowst bothe wher to walke  
 and how to walke thow knowyst the way  
 lett age lye styll as drye as chalke  
 and lustye youthe arys I say

|

to thys me thowght dowtyng ye truthe  
 and lest thys voycce showld me betray  
 he sayd o voycce whye more to youthe  
 then vnto age aryes I say

that thyng sayd he I shall declare  
 thys youthe and age now to bewray  
 the jewes and getyls suer they are  
 nor gesse to whome aryes I say

the jewe he ys so owlde and worne  
 that speake to him in vayn I may  
 but thow gentylle art newlye borne  
 wherfor to the arys I say

syns cryst the lord hathe chosyn ye stoke  
 and lest hys owne floke go astray  
 now shewe thy self a lovyng floke  
 vnto the lord arys I say

Thys sayd I harde no more to tell  
 but walk and seyng fayr clere day  
 sayd to my self this wordes myght well  
 be sayde to me aryes I say

fynys

**Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson, Poet 112, fol. 25<sup>v</sup> rev.**

wher ryghteousnes doth saye lorde for my sinfull parte  
 In wrath thow shouldest me paye vengeance for my deserte  
 I can it not denye but needes I must confesse how yt continuallye  
thy lawes I doo transgresse thy lawes I doo transgresse

But if it be thy will with sinners to contende,  
 then all the flockes shall spill and be loste withoute ende.  
 for whoo liveth heere soo right, ye rightlye he can saye,  
He sinneth not in thy sight, full ofte and everye daye.

The scripture playne telleth me the righteous man offendeth,  
 seven tymes a daye to thee, wheron thy wrath dependeth.  
 yf the righteous man doth walke in no suche path.  
But he falleth nowe or then in danger of thy wrath

Then sith the case soo standes yf even the man rightwysnes  
 Falleth oft in sinful bandes wherby thy wrath maye ryse  
 Lord I that am uniuste and rightouse no noone have  
 Wherto thou shall I <.....> my sinfull soule to save?

But trulye to that poste wherto I cleave and shall,  
 Whiche is thy mercye moste, lorde let thy mercye fall  
 And mitigate thy moode or old no perishe all  
 The pryce of this thy bloode wherin mercye I call

1. Thy scrypture doth declare  
 no droppe of bloodd in the  
 but that thow [<.....>] ꝛdydstꝛ not spare  
 to shedd ech droppe for me  
 now let thos droppes most weete  
 so clense my hart most drye

that I wyth syn replete  
my lyve & syn may dye

2. that being mortyfied  
thys syn of myne in [<...>] me  
I may be sanctyfied  
by grace of thyne in [me] ꝛtheꝛ  
so that I never fall  
into such dedlye syn  
that my foes infernall  
Rejoyse my dethe therin

3. But voutsafe me to kepe  
from thos infernall foes  
& from that lake so depe  
wheras no mercye growes  
& I shall syng the songes  
confyrmed with the juste  
that vnto the belonges  
whyche art myne onlye truste

fynys qd master Redforde

**Trinity College, Cambridge MS 0.1.30 (Fly-leaf)**

And in tyme past as we have loved so Joy we now in tyme present  
 consernynge love nothinge can be moved but streight it is as commodeus  
 and as we twayne [ys] have loved and do so we be fixed to  
 love even still ye laws of love haith wrought us twayne to worke to  
 willes in one will yowr love to love yo<.> so trewly and y<.> <...>  
 <...> <...> as trewly as trewly

**Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson, Poet 185, ff 4<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>**

A pretie dittie and a pithie intituled

O mortall man.

O mortall man beholde & see

this world is but a vanetie

who shall profoundly way and scan

ye vnassured state of man

shall well perseue by reson then

That ther is no stabilitie

all is subiect to vanety

If thow be Kinge or emperoure

prince ether lord of might or powre

thy poore subiects do not deuoure

Beware of pride and crueltye

Lose not thy fame for vanetie

Lose not thy fame & c.

If thow be set to do Justice

reward vertue and punish vice

oppresse no man I thee advice

abuse not thine authoritye

to vex poore men for vanetye

to vex poore men & c.

If thou haue landes or goodes great store  
 consider then thy charge is more  
 sith yt thou must accompt therfore  
 they are not thine but lent to thee  
 and yet they are but vanetie  
 and yet they are & c.

And if thou fortien to be poore  
 so yt thou go from dore to dore  
 humblie giue thanks to god therfore  
 and thinke in thine aduersetie  
 this world is but a vanetie  
 this world is but & c.

Yf thou of youth haue oversight  
 refraine thy will with all thy might  
 for wicked will doth worke his spight  
 Let them at no tyme idle bee  
 for that encreseth vanetie  
 for that encreseth & c.

If to serue others thou be bent  
 serue with goodwill and be content  
 to do thy lordes commandement  
 serue trew and eeke painfully  
 do not delight in vanetie  
 do not delight & c.

But if thou haue mens soules in care  
 thy charge is great I thee assure  
 in wordes and deedes thou must be pure  
 all vertue must abound in thee  
 thou must eschew all vanetie  
 thou must eschew & c.

If thou be stronge & faire of face  
 Sikenes or age doth both deface  
 Thou be not proud in any case  
 for how can ther more follye be  
 Then to be proud in vanetie  
 Then to be proud & c.

Now finally be not infectt  
 with worldly care but haue respect  
 how god rewardes his trew elect  
 with most perfect felicitie  
 voide of all worldly vanetie  
 voide of all worldly & c.

Now let vs pray to god aboue  
 that he voutsaffe our hartes to moue  
 each one another for to loue  
 and <...> from all inyquitie  
 so/ shall we voide all vanetie  
 so/ shall we voide all vanetie

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### **Electronic Resources**

*British History Online* (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>)

*Clergy of the Church of England Database* (<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/>)

*Database of Early English Playbooks* (<http://deep.sas.upenn.edu/>)

*Early English Books Online* (<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/>)

*Grove Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>)

*The Broadside Ballad Index* ([http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/ballads/17thc\\_index.html](http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/ballads/17thc_index.html))

*The English Broadside Ballad Archive* (<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/>)

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